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**Music as Art or Music for Living?
Disrupting the Dominant Discourse
that Marginalizes Music in Education**

by

Sheila May Sim

B. Mus. Queen's University, 1988.

M.A., University of Victoria, 1995.

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Department of Curriculum and Instruction in Education

We accept this dissertation as conforming to the required standard:

**Dr. Betty Hanley, Supervisor
(Department of Curriculum and Instruction in Education)**

**Dr. Antoinette Oberg, Committee Member
(Department of Curriculum and Instruction in Education)**

**Dr. Margaret Robertson, Committee Member
(Department of Curriculum and Instruction in Education)**

**Dr. Ted T. Aoki, Outside Committee Member
(Emeritus Professor, University of Alberta)**

**Dr. Charlene Morton, External Examiner
(Department of Music, University of Prince Edward Island)**

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University of Victoria**

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Supervisor: Dr. Betty Hanley

Abstract

This study explores society's influence on our beliefs about music in general and music education in particular. My interest in this topic stems from my work as a music educator and my desire to understand more fully the apprehension of pre-service elementary education majors who frequently seem reluctant to engage personally in music-making and often appear unconvinced of their ability to teach music.

Other researchers who have been interested in this phenomenon have commonly assessed subjects from a psychological perspective by examining their attitudes and assumptions, yet the results of these studies have often been confusing, contradictory, and inconclusive, with little of the research influencing practice. As my research direction crystallized, I became more and more convinced that this inquiry would benefit from moving out of the psychological paradigm and exploring socially-constructed meaning. My research question therefore has been, "How do societal beliefs construct our understanding of music and music education?"

In particular, I have chosen to explore this question through discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is interpretive work that attempts to investigate how meaning is made through language and other signifying practices in society. In order to locate and generate texts that speak to the construction of meaning in musical experience, I deconstructed texts from various sources that included interviews with pre-service elementary education teachers, an interview with a fine arts coordinator, commentaries on selected musical events and other musical representations in various media, and reflections on my own experience. An inquiry into the institutionalization of music was an important part of this research.

To organize the beliefs represented in the texts, I identified dualisms that operate in society at large and then teased out how these

dualistic relationships construct our understanding of music and music education. My interpretation pointed to areas of conflict in the teaching and learning of music and showed how ideological differences about music are represented and managed in various discourses. Finally, in order to provide the groundwork for a possible disruption and challenge to the status quo, I explored a generative "Third Space" that suggests how music could be constructed as "Music for Living" rather than "Music as Art."

Examiners:

Dr. Betty Hanley, Supervisor
(Department of Curriculum and Instruction in Education)

Dr. Antoinette Oberg, Committee Member
(Department of Curriculum and Instruction in Education)

Dr. Margaret Robertson, Committee Member
(Department of Curriculum and Instruction in Education)

Dr. Ted T. Aoki, Outside Committee Member
(Emeritus Professor, University of Alberta)

Dr. Charlene Morton, External Examiner
(Department of Music, University of Prince Edward Island)

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1

THE JOURNEY**Situating Myself in the Midst of the Research**

This introduction lays the groundwork for my research journey. It, therefore, contains personal reflections on my musical path through life and then specifically focusses on my circuitous route to a research question and fitting method for inquiry.¹

Living Musically

For many years, I have lived out my convictions about the value of music in everyday life by teaching music both privately and in the public school system. Most recently, I have been teaching music education in the Faculty of Education at the University of Victoria. My musical values have been shaped by a lifetime of music-making. My Dad tells me that I begged to take piano lessons at age 5. Not long afterwards I began the weekly routine of walking up the road to the house of the neighbourhood music teacher for lessons every Saturday morning. This ritual continued until I graduated from high school.

In these weekly piano lessons I, like thousands of children all across this country, learned to perform the approved repertoire of the Royal Conservatory of Music, based in Toronto. I also studied voice in the same way, taking weekly lessons with my sisters from a local teacher who could guide us through the conservatory's performance requirements for singing.

¹ This latter point will be developed fully in chapter 2.

By the time I reached high school age, I was teaching little ones myself and playing and singing for various community functions usually centred around our family's involvement with the church. Although I received some satisfaction from performing and scoring well on the various conservatory examinations, my main reason for playing was the emotional release² I experienced when expressing myself this way. I reflected on this phenomena in my master's thesis (Sim, 1995):

As a child I spent many hours at the piano until my neck was stiff or it was time to give one of my sisters a turn. This little world of mine in the corner of the living room was a very special place for me. Even though the sounds would permeate through the entire house, I was in a world of my own.... Some days my playing was crisp and bright.... My fingers would fly over the keys with a speed that amazed me. The sound of rushing sixteenth notes would delight my ears and allow my heart to soar, belying my solid position on the piano bench with feet firmly planted on the floor. It was a moment of breaking free from the thoughts and worries that weighed me down, even as a child.... At other times I threw myself into wildly dramatic music so unlike the demeanour I projected. Thundering away at Rachmaninoff's "Prelude in C# Minor" allowed me to play out anger and hostility that I could never express verbally. But here, it was accepted, even rewarded.... Music, in this way, allowed me to play out the emotional drama that was my life, escaping for a moment from my polite, placid, self. This was where I felt truly alive. (p. 87)

In these personal experiences of music-making, I became the music. I did not think that I was interpreting Bach or Beethoven—in fact it was an effort for me to remember the particular names of pieces and their composers. The music gave form to my feelings and allowed me to express who I was with a richness that words could not convey.

This kind of intimate meaning in musical experience never

² "Emotion" literally means "a moving out" (Rudhyar, 1982, p. 10).

happened for me in school. My experience of "school music" was almost nonexistent. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, I attended a two room country school in rural southern Ontario. I don't have any recollections of music in school during these elementary years, not even of singing for recreational purposes. In the regional high school I attended, a band and choral program were offered as electives, but I didn't have much interest in music-making that was geared towards public performance. My experience of music was much more private and personal. In fact, my friends didn't hear me play, and I often resisted performing on cue for relatives at the request of my parents. I vaguely remember trying a band instrument one year in an after school club—a baritone—in order to get arts credits for a school letter, but this extrinsic reward was my only motivation for joining the club. I recall feeling frustrated with the dismal results I achieved as a beginning wind player. My playing ability seemed particularly inept when compared to the expertise I had developed on the piano. This limited experience with the baritone confirmed for me that the piano suited me much better.

High school graduation was fast approaching, yet I had no particular vision for my future. I didn't seriously consider my love for piano playing as the basis for a potential profession, even though I was already teaching piano privately after school and on Saturdays. This path seemed too predictable, too easy, too comfortable. I wanted more.

I did realize, however, that I loved to teach, so I decided to pursue teaching Home Economics when one of my teachers encouraged me in that direction. It was much later in life that I realized I should be doing what I most loved to do as my "work" and went back to university for a music degree. During this time, I started to compose, improvise, and generally experience music in a much broader way. I also started to write choir anthems and piano pieces for beginners—functional music that enlivened my work as a choir director and piano teacher. As well, I had the opportunity to teach music as an itinerant specialist in several New Brunswick public schools and once again combined my love of teaching with my love for music.

When our family moved to Victoria in the early 1990s, the local

school districts were in the midst of laying off hundreds of teachers. I knew my chances of securing an elementary music position were slim so I turned my attention to the opportunities for graduate studies in music education available at the University of Victoria. Soon thereafter I began a Master of Arts program in Music Education and eventually got my feet wet teaching undergraduate courses in the faculty. In 1996, the opportunity to teach ME 204³—"Music for General Classroom Teachers," the compulsory full year music course for students in the elementary education program—became available.

Although I enjoyed the challenge of teaching other music education courses to young adults in the university setting and had privately taught piano and voice to adults for many years, I was nervous and unsettled about this particular course. I had been told by colleagues that it was difficult to teach. The variety of students' musical experiences, ranging from the novice to some highly trained performers, made the course content difficult to plan without boring some and frustrating others. How could I engage everyone? Even with the help of colleagues who had taught the course before and regular communication with those who were teaching it at the time, I struggled with the vision of the course and its expectations. I remember in particular one colleague's remark—"We really don't want these people teaching music anyway!" This incongruity was not my only concern.

A 1994 British Columbia College of Teachers (BCCT) *Survey of Recent Graduates of BC Teacher Education Programs Report* rated the effectiveness of the methods courses in teacher education programs according to subject areas. Music Education received the "lowest rating" with only 58.9% of respondents rating the course as either "helpful" or "very helpful" (p. 6). I was also troubled by many students' overwhelming insecurities and inhibitions about music-making. Furthermore, I was frustrated that the prevailing attitude among students seemed to be that

³ ME 204 was the methods course in music education for elementary education majors at the University of Victoria until 2000/2001 when it was renamed EDUC 306 due to a restructuring of the program. This course, however, remains the required methods course in music for elementary education majors. For simplicity, I will continue to refer to this course as ME 204, whether before or after the name change, as most of the narrative accounts were recorded prior to the name change.

music should be fun. Music was so much more for me than entertainment. How could I communicate its deeper values?⁴

And finally, I was mystified by the disjuncture between the central place established for music and the arts in curricular guidelines, while in practice music was regularly side-lined as a frill that could be cut in a pinch. Furthermore, no amount of advocacy by students, parents, professional groups, or businesses seemed to change this reality. Why is music in education positioned on a fault line? My desire to understand more fully what was happening here created the motivation for pursuing this inquiry, wherever it might lead.

Following the Research Path

When undertaking such a study, the standard approach is to conduct a review of the literature to find out what researchers already know about the topic (Rainbow & Froehlich, 1987; Atterbury, 1991). A search of this type is intended to help identify what additional research might make a valuable contribution to the field. Proceeding in this manner, I came to believe that the most promising way to research my area of interest was to examine beliefs and values about music and music education. Although addressing a broad area, the direction sounded fairly straightforward. The pathway carved out for me in the research literature, however, persisted in moving down a trail that seemed to be a dead-end. The journey that follows is a reflection of my struggle with the dominant research paradigm in music education, my own immersion in it, and my desire to move away from it in order to add something new to our understanding of beliefs and values in music and music education.

The dominant research paradigm in music education has been borrowed from psychology, and therefore scientific/positivistic values permeate the music education literature. Although there has been a shift in music education research in the past 15 years from quantitative to more qualitative studies,⁵ the empirical assumptions and values remain.

⁴ For a phenomenological study of the experience of living musically see Sim (1995). *Music for Being: The Nature of Living Musically*.

⁵ For example see Ferrara's (1995) "Hermeneutic Issues in Qualitative Research."

The difficulty for me has been understanding the assumptions, beliefs, and values that exist in music education research, for these are rarely articulated. This lack of disclosure may not be problematic if one continues to build on the status quo, but if attempting to move from one research paradigm to another, then epistemological⁶ questions about knowledge are paramount. Indeed, many researchers would say that even if one remains within the dominant discourse, then as a question of validity and rigor one should be aware of the limitations and assumptions of the model being used. Indeed, music education research has been criticized both from within⁷ and without⁸ for falling short in this area.

When I located research that was concerned with the musical values and beliefs of pre-service generalist teachers, I found that researchers commonly assessed their subjects' attitudes and assumptions.⁹ Typical of the research conducted in this area during the 1950s, '60s, and '70s was that of Slagle (1967), who investigated the effects of methods of instruction on the musical achievement and attitudes of elementary education majors, and Tunk (1973), who measured the attitudes of pre-service elementary generalist teachers towards music. The use of the Likert-type scale was pervasive (Cutietta, 1992), yet the results of these studies were often confusing, contradictory, and inconclusive, with little of the research influencing

⁶ "Epistemology," which comes from the Greek "*episteme*" meaning knowledge, is concerned with theories of knowledge and questions about its origin, the place of experience in knowledge construction, its limits, and the relationship between knowledge, reason, and truth (Blackburn, 1996). As well, Blackburn (1996) pointed out that "feminist epistemology has asked whether different ways of knowing, for instance with different criteria of justification, and different emphasis on logic and imagination, characterize male and female attempts to understand the world" (p. 137).

⁷ In the *Handbook of Research on Music Teaching and Learning*, Verrastro and Leglar (1992) criticize research in music teacher education as "unfocused, methodologically uncertain, and not clearly conceptualized" (p. 676), and as a result, this research has had little influence on practice. Other educators such as Mark (1992) have offered a variety of explanations for the lack of usable research in music education.

⁸ Tuinman (1994), Professor of Education, Vice-President (Academic) and Pro Vice-Chancellor at Memorial University in Newfoundland, after reviewing *Our Research in Music Education: A Festschrift for Dr. Allen Clingman* reported that "among the many fields of curriculum study, research in music education, at least on the strength of this volume, is among the *least* [my emphasis] well-informed" (p. 31).

⁹ A review of this research can be found in the *Canadian Music Educator* (Sim, 1998a).

practice. Most of the over 400 studies I reviewed were steeped in psychological discourse without acknowledging its theoretical grounding and inherent claims of value and authority. A recent example of psychological research in music education follows to show how its preeminence continues.

Austin and Reinhardt (1999) assessed the philosophical beliefs of pre-service music teachers through a statistical analysis of a 75 item questionnaire using a MANOVA¹⁰ program. The responses by participants in this study suggested that "many individuals may enter college with well-developed beliefs about music education, and then, despite the best efforts of music teacher educators, simply continue to 'think as they were taught'" (p. 28). Although Austin and Reinhardt (1999) encouraged other researchers to replicate their study, they did suggest that "new insights might be gained by using alternative methods to assess students' beliefs" (p. 28).

The results of this research (Austin & Reinhardt, 1999) were reported in the *Journal of Research in Music Education*, a periodical of the Music Educators National Conference, whose purpose, as stated on the back cover of the journal, is to "encourage and improve the quality of scholarship and research within the profession." In fact, all seven studies reviewed in this influential American journal were empirically-based. Austin and Reinhardt's research was also presented at the "Innovations in Music Teacher Education Symposium" in Norman, Oklahoma, April 10-12, 1997. These validating practices give some indication of the prominence psychological research receives in music education circles.

Assessing attitudes and assumptions from a psychological perspective is one way of understanding the "problem" music faces in education, but it is a way that has not been very helpful to educators (Verrastro & Leglar, 1992). Dissatisfied with the results of the psychological perspective, I became more and more interested in the role society plays in meaning making—the social context of knowledge construction and how the experiences we have in daily life shape our

¹⁰ a multivariate analysis of variance design

understanding of music and music education.

Locating Myself at the Borders of Disciplinary Boundaries

It has been difficult for me to find a place where this research might reside. As with all disciplines, music has been cordoned off into various fields of scholarship¹¹ that denote a particular space whose boundaries are determined by the canon that stands at its centre.¹² Perhaps the discipline in music that comes closest to my interest in the relationship between music and society is ethnomusicology. Ethnomusicologists study music in particular cultures¹³ and are keenly interested in the experience and process of music-making. Rather than focussing exclusively on the music itself, ethnomusicologists acknowledge the significance of music's context. I have been particularly intrigued by the work of social anthropologist John Blacking (1973, 1995). Blacking has been called one of the most important ethnomusicologists of the century, exploring the relationship of music to biology, psychology, and politics. His fieldwork among the Venda of South Africa made clear that, although music-making is a fundamental and universal attribute of the human species, it is practiced and understood within particular social and cultural milieus. Ethnomusicologists, however, have been almost exclusively concerned with cultures and musics outside the Western tradition. Western art music has not been critiqued for its social significance until the 1980s.

Western art music is the domain of musicologists who analyse the form and substance of the music itself. Only recently has the scope of musicology broadened to include critical historical perspectives that examine the social construction of musical meaning in Western art

¹¹ For example, see Bergeron's (1992) description of these various fields as sites of surveillance—metaphorical spaces—in *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons*.

¹² The "canon," as its Greek etymology (*kanon*—model or standard) makes clear, supplies the works that become the standard or measuring stick against which all other compositions are measured.

¹³ Culture is defined by Small (1987) as "a set of attitudes, assumptions, and values by means of which a person or group of people is able to find meaning in, or give meaning to, not only the objects and events of the environment but also to inner experiences, and to construct from them a consistent and usable picture of the world and of relationships within it" (p. 119).

music practices.¹⁴ A few progressive musicologists have begun to deconstruct the musical canon and unravel the assumptions, values, and paradigms that it supports, but this process is still in the formative stage as the following calender of events suggest.

Kerman's (1983) "A Few Canonic Variations" was one of the first significant explorations of musical canonicity. The following year Citron (published much later in the *Journal of Musicology*, 1990) extended the exploration to include women in "Gender, Professionalism and the Musical Canon." These 2 papers set the stage for an explosion of interest in feminism and musicology at the 1988 annual meeting of the American Musicological Society. Significant interest in feminism and music education is even more recent. Lamb (1993) and Maidlow (1998) indicated that music education's interest in feminism is decades behind feminist criticism in literature and the visual arts. In 1994, *The Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning* devoted an entire issue to "Sex Equity in Music Education." Lamb (1994), one of the contributors, commented that "little or no feminist theory has heretofore been published in music education journals" (p. 5).

As well, some sociologists such as Vulliamy (1976, 1977), Shepherd (1991), and Shepherd and Wicke (1997) have been interested in the social constructedness of musical experience and have included an analysis of popular music in their studies. Canadians Elliot (1995) and Walker (1989, 1996, 1998) have also critiqued contemporary music culture in the West. In particular, two researchers studied the social world of university schools of music: Nettl (1995), and Roberts (1991a, 1991b, 1993), while Kingsbury (1988) critiqued the social world of the conservatory. But generally, music education researchers, particularly doctoral students, have unfortunately given little attention to the sociology of music education (Humphreys, 1996-97). According to Humphreys (1996-97), most of the sociological research related to music education has been completed by non-musician researchers in other fields.

I have located my research somewhere at the borders of multiple

¹⁴ For example see Green (1988, 1997); Citron (1990, 1993); McClary (1991); Small (1987, 1998); and Kerman (1983, 1991).

fields of scholarship (sociology, musicology, and ethnomusicology) and am interested in how they intersect with music education. This tenuous interdisciplinary space is further complicated by the marginalized location of music education itself, being a "step child" to both music and education. My point in briefly describing this dilemma is to convey how I am immersed in a disenfranchisement of sorts as I struggle to locate this research somewhere in this maze of compartmentalization. I feel very much "on the borders" or "in the margins" as Ted Aoki would say.

Approaching a Space

During my exploration of various disciplines that might inform my research, I also turned to art education because art and music share some comparable challenges in the marginalized space between our parent disciplines and education. But in spite of some parallels between art and music in the classroom, art teacher education courses in British Columbia have fared better than music teacher education courses in the eyes of students as they prepare to become teachers. Pre-service teachers reported feeling much more confident about teaching art than music after completing their university methods courses in education.¹⁵ What did this collective negative reaction to music education mean? Was students' discomfort related to the inherent nature of the art, the way it was taught, or other factors such as the social meanings of the art that are shared in society?

As I continued to struggle with a research question, I turned to a book called *No More Secondhand Art: Awakening the Artist Within* (London, 1989) and began to feel a resonance between London's writing about art and my experience of music. His concern for the devaluing of art in society seemed to parallel my unrest with the diminishing value of music in society. Although London's (1989) work is about creativity and nurturing the capacity for visual expression in ourselves and others, his words pointed to the problem I wanted to explore. Allow me to elucidate so that the direction of my thinking may be followed as I attempted the

¹⁵ This remark is verified by the 1994 "Survey of Graduates of BC Teacher Education" (British Columbia College of Teachers, 1995), and by the research of Hanley (1993, 1994) at the University of Victoria.

difficult transition from one research paradigm to another.

London (1989) articulated the deep meanings that peoples of the past have found in visual art while our present society seems to be content to use art for decoration and entertainment:

We seem to have lost contact with the earlier, more profound functions of art, which have always had to do with personal and collective empowerment, personal growth, communion with the world, and the search for what lies beneath and above the world. (p. 4)

The same could be said about the state of music in our society. Substitute “musical” for “visual” and “music” for “art” in the following excerpt and I believe the statement rings true for many people in our society:

We have learned to be embarrassed by our efforts. We have learned to feel so inept and disenfranchised from our own *visual* expressions that we simply cease doing it altogether.... There are some disabling myths about what *art* is, how to do it, what is good *art*, and what *art* is for, that have gagged generations, depriving them of a significant and natural means of expression. (p. xiii)

I know these statements describe many of the students I encounter in music education classes. Many are afraid of music, embarrassed to sing, and unaware of what a powerful and transformative experience music-making can be. The following selection of student comments from ME 204 support this statement:

I think I am musically inept.

I am extremely lacking in any sort of musical ability.

I like to sing but only if no one can hear me.

I used to think that music was intimidating—that music was only for talented people.

I used to think music education could be a traumatic and discouraging experience. (unpublished student reflections from ME 204, 1997)

London (1989) urges us to remove the barriers that keep us at a distance from the profound functions of art and set aside everything the world has told us about what art is. Set aside everything the world has told us about what art is? How is this possible—especially when for the most part we are unaware of the beliefs and values that we subscribe to as part of our membership in a particular society? Before we can individually lay to rest any “disabling myths” we might have about music, we first need to bring these beliefs to conscious awareness.

What is it that our culture, through its social practices, communicates about music? It seemed more productive to move my research out of the psychological paradigm, which is a deductive model, to an inductive model which might interpret how individuals “make” meaning rather than “take” meaning. If I were to move away from the tenets of behavioural psychology and theories of cause and effect, then I could unpack the construction of knowledge on a macro level—not in the mind—but in public ways through shared experiences in society.

Making conscious the values and beliefs that shape and support our collective understanding of music and how society supports and maintains these values may well be critical to our understanding of the position music education is in today—marginalized, precarious, and as Monk (1996) says—“lost in the dust of colliding value systems” (p. 12). Furthermore, a socially-grounded understanding of music and music education might provide the groundwork to disrupt and challenge the mechanisms that serve to maintain the status quo.

Framing a Research Question

As I struggled to understand generalist teachers’ beliefs about music and music education and their frequent reluctance to engage personally in music-making and lead music-making activities in the classroom, I became more and more convinced of the necessity to examine the social structures that shape our thinking, our speaking, and

our acting.

According to Hubbard and Power (1993), qualitative research questions in education frequently come from real-world observations and dilemmas. As the tensions involved in teaching and learning are explored, the focus often turns to larger issues of culture, learning, and school structure that impact what happens in the classroom. This statement resonated with my experience. I decided to explore *society's* influences on our beliefs and values related to music and music education. Therefore my research question was **"How do societal beliefs construct our understanding of music and music education?"**

2

INQUIRY APPROACH

Choosing a Theoretical Basis and Method

What theory and methodology would be the most valuable for exploring socially-constructed meaning? There are several theories that would contribute to an understanding of the socially-constructed beliefs that affect music and music education, theories that would focus the research in a particular way and send me looking for explanations of thought and behaviour in different places. I explored 3 theories that could be used as a basis for this research: construct theory, symbolic interaction theory, and linguistic and discourse theory (Sim, 1998c). How would each of these theories mesh with music and my goals for this research? I chose discourse theory as the lense best illuminating difference in human experience by analysing the social, cultural, political, and historical structures in society (Foucault 1971; Fairclough 1989; Weedon, 1997).

Discourse analysis is interpretive work. When the researcher critiques a specific discourse, s/he attempts "to investigate how it works, what conditions make it possible and how it intersects with non-discursive practises" (Pinar, 1995, p. 462). A discourse has been defined by Sardar and Van Loon (1997) as a

culturally or socially produced group of ideas containing texts and representations which describe power in relation to others. As a way of thinking, a discourse often represents a

structure of knowledge and power. A discursive analysis exposes these structures and locates the discourse within wider historical, cultural, and social relations. (p. 14)

Discourse analysis is particularly concerned with meaning that is made through language, both written and oral. According to Fowler (1985), the role of language is to continuously articulate ideology.¹⁶ Language shares this task with other semiotic systems such as dress, the arts, sport, decor, and so forth but it is the "most important system of signs in society, so richly impregnated is it with conventional meanings" (Fowler, 1985, p. 64). Further, Fowler (1985) claimed that

the vocabulary of a language could be considered a kind of lexical map of the preoccupations of a culture. Whatever is important to a culture is richly lexicalized: Detailed systems of terms develop for the areas of expertise, the features of habitat, the institutions and relationships, and the beliefs and values of a community.... Using them [the terms] in discourse keeps the ideas current in the community's consciousness, helps transmit them from group to group and generation to generation. In this way ideology is reproduced and disseminated within society—ideology in the neutral sense of a worldview, a largely unconscious theory of the way the world works accepted as commonsense. (p. 65)

Language, then, is not transparent but, in fact, carries with it socially accepted views of what is normal, natural, and commonsense. But as well as language, discourse analysis encompasses whatever signifies or has meaning in our experience. Foucault (1971) described discourses, not as linguistic systems, but as practices. He pointed to meaning embodied in technical processes, institutions, patterns of general behaviour, organizational systems, and much more. According to Macdonell (1986), *any* practice where the social production of meaning takes place may be considered part of discourse. These signifying practices indicate an underlying system of values that work together to

¹⁶ Ideology is a "generic term for the processes by which meaning is produced, challenged, reproduced, and transformed" (Barrett, 1980, p. 97). This concept is discussed more fully in the following pages.

support the beliefs of various groups.¹⁷ These groups, however, do not always agree. The political nature of ideologies becomes more obvious when we see different groups vying for power to maintain the status quo or change it. It is my hope that an exploration of the discourse that shapes our ideas about music will bring a much needed, fresh perspective to music education research.

Organizing the Research

I refer again to a statement by Monk (1996) who suggested that music education is currently "lost in the dust of colliding value systems" (p. 12). My intent is to organize this research by identifying the ideologies that surround music in our society. What is an ideology? Johnston (1997), Adjunct Professor in Political Science at the University of Toronto, defines an ideology as "a more or less consistent set of beliefs about the nature of society in which individuals live, and about the proper role of the state in establishing or maintaining that society" (p. 13). Sargent (1987) defined ideology as

a value or belief system accepted as fact or truth by some group. It is composed of sets of attitudes towards various institutions and processes in society. It provides the believer with a picture of the world both as it is and as it should be, and, in so doing, it organizes the tremendous complexity of the world into something fairly simple and understandable.
(p. 2)

According to Johnston (1997), there are certain commonalities in the many definitions of ideology. Firstly, ideologies are systems—organized or patterned beliefs that coherently yet often incompletely connect beliefs to many other facets of society.

Secondly, ideologies are political—that is they either guide or incite activity to protect a valued way of life or seek to change it. Musicologist Green (1988) defined ideology as

¹⁷ Signifying practices have been defined by Weedon (1997) as "signs which are ways of communicating meaning...open to plural interpretations" (p. 12).

a collective mental force which both springs from, and perpetuates, our material, social relations. Along with producing objects, societies produce ideas. These form bodies of knowledge, and certain of them take an essential role for the maintenance of the society.... Ideology is not simply constructed by one class or group of people and believed by another, but rather, wrought from the total social relations in a society. Nevertheless, that it explains things in a way that is to the advantage of certain social strata and the ill of others, is one of its most notable characteristics. (p. 2)

Ideologies then, exist at many organizational levels of society, supporting particular groups that have specific interests, and overlapping and competing with the accepted values and norms of larger, more powerful groups.

Shapiro (1990) stressed how important it is to consider schools as sites of ideological conflict. Educational policies and practices, he said, are full of political and ideological conflicts with "competing visions of social relations, moral norms, and 'solutions' to the problems of economic and cultural life" (Shapiro, 1990, p. xv). Weedon (1997) also identified institutions as "sites of contest," where the "dominant discourses governing the organization and practices of social institutions are under constant challenge" (p. 105). Schools are microcosms of society, legitimizing the status quo and reproducing those aspects of the wider society that contribute to a variety of injustices. One of the significant locations then for this research has been the school.

Analysing the ideologies that are present in music education will interpret the difficulties we face as music educators, not from a psychological perspective, but as a result of values and beliefs that are supported and maintained in society. This research will also draw attention to what is excluded because of our immersion in the dominant discourse.

Subjectivity in Dualistic Thought

While modernism created the illusion that individuals

autonomously controlled meaning and authored knowledge, postmodernism has recognized how power intersects with socially constructed knowledge. A postmodern discourse analysis, then, is interested in subjectivity and how difference is constituted.¹⁸ Persons are described as "subjects" as this term "helps us to conceive of human reality as a construction, as a product of signifying activities which are both culturally specific and generally unconscious" (Sarup, 1988, p. 2). In other words,

how the subject's opinions, ideas, desires, competitiveness, successes and failures, and so on, gain meaning for the subject within "society" is central to understanding the subject as endowed with a consciousness that forms, recognizes, and conforms to ideas and values. (Kanpol, 1992, p. 41)

Weedon (1997) described subjectivity as

the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world.... Poststructuralism proposes a subjectivity which is precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak.... Feminist poststructuralism goes further than this to insist that the individual is always the site of conflicting forms of subjectivity. (p. 32)

In particular, through language

we learn to give voice—meaning—to our experience and to understand it according to particular ways of thinking, particular discourses, which pre-date our entry into language. These ways of thinking constitute our consciousness, and the positions with which we identify.

¹⁸ Senyshyn and O'Neill (2001) reported:

It is important to acknowledge, however, that there is tension and debate among researchers who have defined discursive approaches in a variety of ways and there is no agreed 'recipe' for how to analyze discourses. Despite this recognition, a key assumption underpinning all discursive approaches is that subjectivity is constructed or embedded in language. (p. 43)

structure our sense of self, our subjectivity. (Weedon, 1997, p. 32)

How is this understanding of subjectivity and social learning different from "socialization" or "enculturation?" In socialization theory, the focus is on the process that individuals engage in to influence *each other*. For example, parents and teachers socialize children into certain beliefs and ways of behaving. As well, "socialization" is a narrower term than "enculturation" and is understood by sociologists as referring "specifically to the process of social learning as it is carried out in the early years" (Merriam, 1964, p. 146). Jorgensen (1997) described "socialization" as "the process whereby a group or institution inculcates its beliefs, values, and mores in its membership and ensures that its members continue to act in certain approved ways and hold particular shared beliefs" (p. 18). "Enculturation" is a broader, more totalizing term used to describe "the processes by which the individual learns his culture...a never-ending process continuing throughout the life span of the individual" (Merriam, 1964, p. 146). Although poststructuralist theory is concerned with social learning, its perspective is different. Poststructuralists are concerned with the way people *themselves* actively take up the discourses which they and others speak and write, as if they were their own.

Subjectivity is also understood as we identify both subject and object positions—a basic organizational construct in Western dualistic thought. Subject and object positions are identified in dualisms¹⁹ that operate in society at large and structure our understanding of the world and how it works (Foucault, 1970; Cixous, 1989; Derrida, 1981, 1991; Plumwood, 1993; Solie, 1993). Such divisions have their philosophical origin in the work of French mathematician and scientist René Descartes (1637/1954), the so-called father of philosophy. His famous Cartesian view that mind and body are separate entities has been fundamental to our theorizing about knowledge and has dominated Western thought for

¹⁹ Dualisms (such as mind/body) are paired opposites that are mutually defining and give the appearance of symmetrical groupings; yet in reality, dominance of the first category over the second is embedded within each pair. In other words, the category listed on the left is imbued with power over the "other" on the right, which is often marginalized.

centuries.

Thus, dualistic thought has shaped our understanding of truth, knowledge, and authority. According to Dale (1997),

It is not simply that there are divisions and differences. What is important is where the cuts and incisions are made and how the resulting parts are re-organized and re-ordered. Power, discipline, and hierarchy play a major role in the "culture of dissection." (p. 95)

These categorizations also determine how we represent ourselves and others²⁰ in order to affirm our value and define who we are. We draw tight boundaries around our fixed positions as "self" and "other" (or "subject" and "object") rather than conceptualizing people as fluid and ever changing beings. These positions we take up determine how we "speak and write ourselves into existence" (Davies, 1993, p. 1). To illustrate, let me use the concept of "talent." From my life experience in Western society, let's say that I have come to see myself as *not* belonging to the group of those who are "musically talented." I am the marginalized "other." This is the position I take up and maintain as I interact with others in the course of daily life.

It can be seen that dualisms set up a hierarchical relationship between two entities that are in opposition to one another. As well, these positions "are never on the same level;" the second, subordinated category is regularly excluded and silenced (Foucault, 1970, p. 268).²¹ Dale (1997) observed that

the use of the incisive "slash" or oblique cannot, as some authors perhaps intend, return the terms to harmony or symmetry, but rather acknowledges the formation of a certain form of knowledge which is dominant, valued, whilst other forms are subjugated. It is this metaphor of the scalpel

²⁰ In dualistic thought, the concept of "self and "other" refers to "subject" and "object" positions. Feminists use "other" to represent the objectification of women (Gould, 1994). Simone de Beauvoir (1952, 1961) first used the capitalized "Other" in this more specific sense. Throughout my research, I have used "other" in the broader sense as objectification of any sort in dualistic constructions.

²¹ As well, Derrida (1981) maintained that all divisions set up a hierarchy where one category dominates the other.

and its incision which clearly marks off the sciences (and the social sciences, which set out to emulate the success of the the natural sciences) for it highlights the importance of penetration and revelation which science still sees as key virtues. (p. 99)

Some anthropologists suggest that the slash (/) in a dualistic pair delineates "in control" and "out of control" states whereby the first group exercises constraint over the other to keep it under control.²² Feminists point to dualistic categorizations as gendered constructions. In *Women's Ways of Knowing*, Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) described the "western tradition of dividing human nature into dual but parallel streams" where "attributes traditionally associated with the masculine are valued, studied, and articulated, while those associated with the feminine tend to be ignored" (p. 6).²³ This asymmetrical, patriarchal²⁴ system of valuing ensures that women are dominated in all aspects of life.

Some theorists also point out that dualistic classifications not only influence our negative perception of the second category but actually construct it. In other words, the latter category is defined by what the former is not. The latter is "other" to the former, which is defined as the subject. For example in the talented/untalented example given earlier, individuals may not actually say they are "untalented" but they are defined as the opposite of what it means to be "talented." The "untalented" are objectified by the "talented." Meaning is "located in

²² See Koskoff's (1993) *Miriam Sings her Song: The Self and the Other in Anthropological Discourse* and Keesing's (1981) *Cultural Anthropology* for further discussion on this point.

²³ For example, Perry (1970) in *Forms of Intellectual and Ethical Development in the College Years*, charted the epistemological development of undergraduate students at Harvard and described their initial intellectual and moral beliefs as dualisms. A few women were used in the study, but only the interviews with males were used to validate the research, and only later did Perry use female responses to show where women's development conformed with the male patterns he had observed. No attempt was made to understand the unique ways women develop intellectually and ethically. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986) built on and expanded Perry's work by focusing on epistemological understanding from women's perspectives.

²⁴ "Patriarchy" is a feminist concept which acknowledges the pervasive way men oppress women through a society's social systems. This oppression creates a power imbalance whereby males enjoy superiority and seek to control, manipulate, and influence others' behaviour to maintain their dominance.

their difference" (Gould, 1994, p. 93). Solie (1993) has stressed how "difference" and in particular "dualisms" create meaning:

In general *difference* in an encompassing sense has been at the center of one area of linguistic study ever since structuralism proposed the notion that difference creates meaning. From this origin emerges the proposition that Western thought has been dominated by a series of tightly interconnected binary dualisms: good/evil, male/female, culture/nature, reason/emotion, self/other and so forth.... These linked pairings create long chains of associations virtuosic in their ready applicability, that exercise a strong and virtually subliminal influence on the ways we position and interpret groups of people, their behaviour, and their works. (p. 11)

Dualistic categorization is so entrenched in our thinking that we consider these classifications to be natural, or common sense.²⁵ We also reproduce these polarities, even when such beliefs may be detrimental or contrary to our espoused personal beliefs.²⁶ Such is the force of ideology.

This entrenched way of thinking is called hegemony, that is, the way a "dominant class maintains control by projecting its own particular way of seeing social reality so successfully that its view is accepted as common sense and as part of the natural order by those who are in fact subordinated by it" (Lewis, 1993, p. 159). According to Kanpol (1992),

hegemony refers to the body of practices, energy, lived experiences, or common-sense interpretations that become our unquestioning and absolute world.... This common sense is shared meaning, perpetuated in social practice through images and ideas embedded in everyday life. (p. 11)

One of the results of the generalized adoption of ideas and values by

²⁵ Common sense has been defined by Weller (1988) as "the level of everyday consciousness with its amalgam of unexamined assumptions, internalized rules and moral codes, and partial insights" (p. 23).

²⁶ Koza (1994), for example, has suggested that oppression is perpetuated when social constructions are framed as natural, inherent, and inevitable.

society at large is social cohesion and continuity. When we as members of society know our place, and keep in our place, we maintain the status quo. This acceptance of "the way it is" allows us to live peaceably with one another, whatever the personal cost. When, however, the cost of complicity is too great, the status quo is challenged, and as might be expected, conflict occurs.

Part of the work of this interpretation has been to show the hegemonic influence of white, Western, upper-class male thought on music and music education and how their values and beliefs exert power and control in the dualistic relationships I unravel. The effects of the discourse will be demystified as I explore, not so much how meaning is taken out, as how it is put in or added by our social practices. I have not attempted to tease out all difference that affects music, nor do I want to imply that examining difference through dualisms is a neat and tidy affair. These bifurcations form a web of understanding that is interrelated and sometimes contradictory. Also, although I am embedded in the dominant discourse, I am speaking from the margins, trying to disrupt the status quo and show where our discipline could be opened up to embrace other possibilities. Particularly in the last chapter I work on the slash (/) of dualisms, attempting to decentre the bifurcation and open up these positions that have been accepted as fixed and fundamental. I invite you the reader to struggle as I have struggled so that we might see our practice in new ways and, perhaps, even transform it.

Research Activities

In order to locate and generate texts that speak to the dualistic construction of meaning in musical experience, I have used texts from 4 sources. These include:

- interviews with students in ME 204,
- an interview with a local fine arts coordinator,
- selected media releases, and
- reflections on my own experience.

An inquiry into the institutionalization of music in schools will be

an important part of this research as the school is one of the primary sites where culture is reproduced. Bowers (1993) suggested that it would be naive to assume that

what is taught in school is objective knowledge and that teachers stand above the fray of political interests as non-partisan public servants. Not only is school knowledge political; it must be understood as part of the ideology of the dominant social class. (p. 15)

The political nature of schools is further addressed by Giroux (1993) who pointed out that

educational institutions and the processes in which they engage are not innocent. Simply stated, schools are not neutral institutions designed for providing students with work skills or with the privileged tools of culture. Instead, they are deeply implicated in forms of inclusion and exclusion that produce particular moral truths and values. In effect they both produce and legitimate cultural difference as part of their broader project of constructing particular knowledge/power relations and producing specific notions of citizenship. (p. 373)

I am concerned, then, with how schools reproduce the dominant ideology in music and privilege and legitimate certain ways of "knowing" music over other experiences.

What constitutes knowledge? "Knowledge" has been described as "cultural capital" and "schools" as sites which "reproduce the class divisions of a hierarchical society through their distribution of cultural capital" (Bowers, 1993, p. 16). Further,

the linkage between the schools' distribution of cultural capital and unequal ownership and control of economic capital in the larger society can be seen in terms of who is given access to what...[in terms of] "high-status knowledge." (Bowers, 1993, p. 16)

Of particular interest to my research, then, is how schools are complicit in valuing certain musical practices while sidelining others. What is it

that teachers teach about music? What is it that students learn? How does "school music" as "cultural capital" reproduce the inequities that exist musically in broader society?

Interviewing students. One of the ways I attempted to unravel the effects of the discourse is by drawing on the experiences of pre-service elementary teachers in ME 204. I arranged interviews with 8 students who had completed this course. Conversations with these students were particularly revealing because students could speak about school music experiences from three perspectives: firstly, as students themselves in the public school system, secondly, as students who had just completed an education course in music where they began to think about music education from a teacher's perspective, and thirdly, as adult observers and student teachers in the public school system during practicum experiences.²⁷

An introduction to the interview (see Appendix 1) was given to each student participating in the research. As well, each participant signed a letter of informed consent (see Appendix 2) which outlined the purpose of the study, the time commitment involved, and other pertinent information. The audio-taped interviews were approximately one and a half hours long and were subsequently transcribed. Students were also given the opportunity to write about their experiences if they preferred; some people express themselves better in writing and are likely to give more in-depth information because they have taken time to reflect on their responses. Writing privately also eliminates the self-consciousness that some might feel as they sit face to face with the interviewer.

The intent of the interview questions was to explore students' musical experiences in an open ended fashion (see Appendix 3). When students were asked to share their musical experiences with me, the conversation usually turned to experiences of music classes in schools and stories about their home life. I also asked specifically about their experiences in ME 204 and any subsequent practicum experiences of

²⁷ Foucault (1977a) suggested that one of the key issues in discourse is the position and viewpoint from which people speak, including the history behind these positions, which shapes our thinking and construction of knowledge.

music in the schools. As well, I prepared some questions to focus on signifying practices such as a school's organization of time, space, and resources, which indicate the value an institution places on particular subjects. Value was further indicated by talk, behaviour, inference, reward, punishment, evaluation, funding, and the symbolic life and rituals of the schools.

The ensuing explanation is given to clarify some points about these texts as they are used in the following chapters. For instance, direct quotations from the interviews are written in italics. Participants' speech has not been "cleaned up," but occasionally a word of explanation is given in square brackets and plain text. Words in curved brackets and italics were spoken as "asides" by the participants. The names of individuals and particular schools have been changed to provide anonymity.²⁸ The actual geographic locations referred to in the interviews include seven towns or cities in British Columbia; two in Alberta; four in Ontario; one in Quebec; and one in New Brunswick.

Interviewing a fine arts coordinator. My second avenue of inquiry was to interview Anne Hill, Fine Arts Coordinator in the Curriculum Branch of the B.C. Ministry of Education who was part of the committee responsible for the new B.C. *Integrated Resource Package: Music* (1998). The "Contact Letter" and "Letter of Informed Consent" for Anne Hill can be found in Appendix 4 and 5 respectively. The intent of my conversation with her was to understand more fully the government's role in controlling the discourse of music education. Included in this interview were questions that explored why a new document was needed, who wrote the document, what groups were represented on the various committees, what consultation occurred, what interest groups were left out, if feedback was encouraged, how concerns were handled, what the major points of contention were, how the new document differs from the previous one, who had the final word, and how implementation was planned.

²⁸ except where reported in the media

Interpreting selected texts. A third avenue of inquiry was to examine and interpret other selected texts that circulate in society through the media and influence society's perception of music. These texts were taken from a variety of sources such as newspaper advertisements, columns, reviews; television shows; radio and television commercials; and publications from advocacy groups and business interests. The questions below were used to frame the analysis:

1. What is the intent or purpose of the text?
2. Who will "read" the text? How will it be circulated?
3. Whose interests are being served by the text?
4. Why is the text necessary?
5. What conflicts are being addressed in the text?
6. What image or information is the text trying to dispel or create? Is there an attempt to recast something in a different light? Is change being advocated?
7. What would happen if the goal of the text was achieved?
8. What values and beliefs are supported by the text?
9. Is the status quo being legitimized? How?

Reflecting on personal experience. And finally this research is informed by my own experience. Jardine (1992) notes that interpretive work inevitably begins with a living subject in a living dialogue with the life that surrounds us (p. 60). In other words, the researcher is turning to a life experience that is familiar on one hand, yet is open to new understandings of it on the other. Teaching 12 sections of ME 204 over a six-year period provided me with ample opportunity to witness ideological beliefs at work in the classroom. I also taught numerous classes of piano students during this time and have included my reflections on these courses when applicable. This kind of ongoing assessment is particularly important to me because I actively try to engage students in reflective thought and challenge their ideas about music and its value in life. As well, students in ME 204 are asked to recollect and reflect on their own elementary music education in an assignment given in the course.

Additionally, they are asked to interview 2 other people about their recollections of music education in elementary school. These 700 plus stories provide a basis for speaking with some measure of validity about school music programs in the elementary grades.

Further questions for analysis. In addition to the questions already mentioned on page 27, the following questions, based on the work of Weedon (1997) and McLaren (1994), were also used in the analysis of the selected texts:

1. How does the dominant discourse cloak itself as natural or common sense?
2. What assumptions are embedded in the text?
3. How are inequalities maintained?
4. How are marginal groups (such as classroom teachers, women, amateur musicians) silenced?
5. In the battle over knowledge and power, who wins? How do things work? Who has the power? Where are the points of resistance?
6. What contradictions are present?
7. How does the institution of the school legitimize or reproduce the status quo and those aspects of the wider society that contribute to gender, class, and racial injustices?
8. How do schools reinforce stereotypes?
9. What are the "regimes of truth" that organize school time, subject matter, and pedagogical practice?
10. Around what topics does infighting occur?
11. What counts as true, important and relevant? What is valorized? What is devalued?
12. What knowledge is legitimated and celebrated? What knowledge gets excluded, marginalized, or passed over as a result?
13. How is the dominant discourse internalized? How do these texts reflect areas of resistance and complicity? Where are

values and beliefs conflicting?

To summarize, in this study I have attempted to:

- **interpret selected signs in society that work to shape what we have come to believe about music and music education;**
- **deconstruct various texts/discourses that show how language and other signifying practices work to shape our understanding;**
- **make conscious values and beliefs that shape and support our collective understanding of music and how structures in society (especially schools) support and maintain these values while diminishing others;**
- **identify areas of conflict in the teaching and learning of music;**
- **show how ideological differences about music are represented and managed in various discourses;**
- **raise consciousness by interpreting difficulties and/or problems in music education, not from a psychological perspective, but resulting from socially-constructed beliefs or ideologies;**
- **provide the groundwork for a possible disruption and challenge to fixed positions that serve to maintain the status quo; and**
- **open up possibilities for decentring dualistic bifurcations and embracing other possibilities.**

General Introduction to this Interpretation

My task in the following 3 chapters is to make the dominant discourse visible. This interpretive work, using various texts as outlined in chapter 2, will make conscious the ideologies that exist in and around music and music education, ideologies that either support the dominant discourse or compete with it. This interpretation has been undertaken in concert with the voices of others, rather than presenting a separate review of the literature. As well, I would like to acknowledge that I present one particular reading of the selected texts; multiple readings are

certainly possible. I trust this analysis of difference will sensitize us to the everyday experiences, language, and representations that shape our collective understanding of music in society and schools and challenge us to acknowledge how we are complicit in the construction of such realities.

To organize the texts, I have identified three dualities that emerged as being foundational in Western society at large and then teased out how each dualistic relationship constructs our understanding of music and music education. A chapter is devoted to each. These major dualisms are:

- male/female,
- work/play, and
- teacher/student.

Other contributing dualistic categorizations will be made visible in the process. For example, the male/female dualism is supported in society by several other polarized constructions. These include:

- mind/body,
- reason/emotion,
- high art/mass culture,
- culture/nature,
- secular/sacred, and
- visual/auditory.

The work/play dualism is supported in society by the following polarized constructions:

- formal/informal,
- product/process,
- public/private,
- individual/community, and
- life/art.

The teacher/student dualism is supported in society by the following polarized constructions:

- professional/amateur,
- specialist/generalist,
- literacy/orality, and

- talented/untalented.

These dualistic interrelationships are invisible pillars or foundations that support ideologies common to Western society in general and structure our understanding of music in particular.

The flow chart in Figure 1, p. 32, shows the interrelationship of these dualisms and their complex interconnections as they emerged in this analysis. The three major dualisms that are foundational to this interpretation are written in capital letters. Other supporting dualisms are listed in each box. As well, the colour of the supporting dualisms indicates another area where the dualism is influential, although this is not the limit of their influence.

Dualistic Interrelationships in Music and Music Education

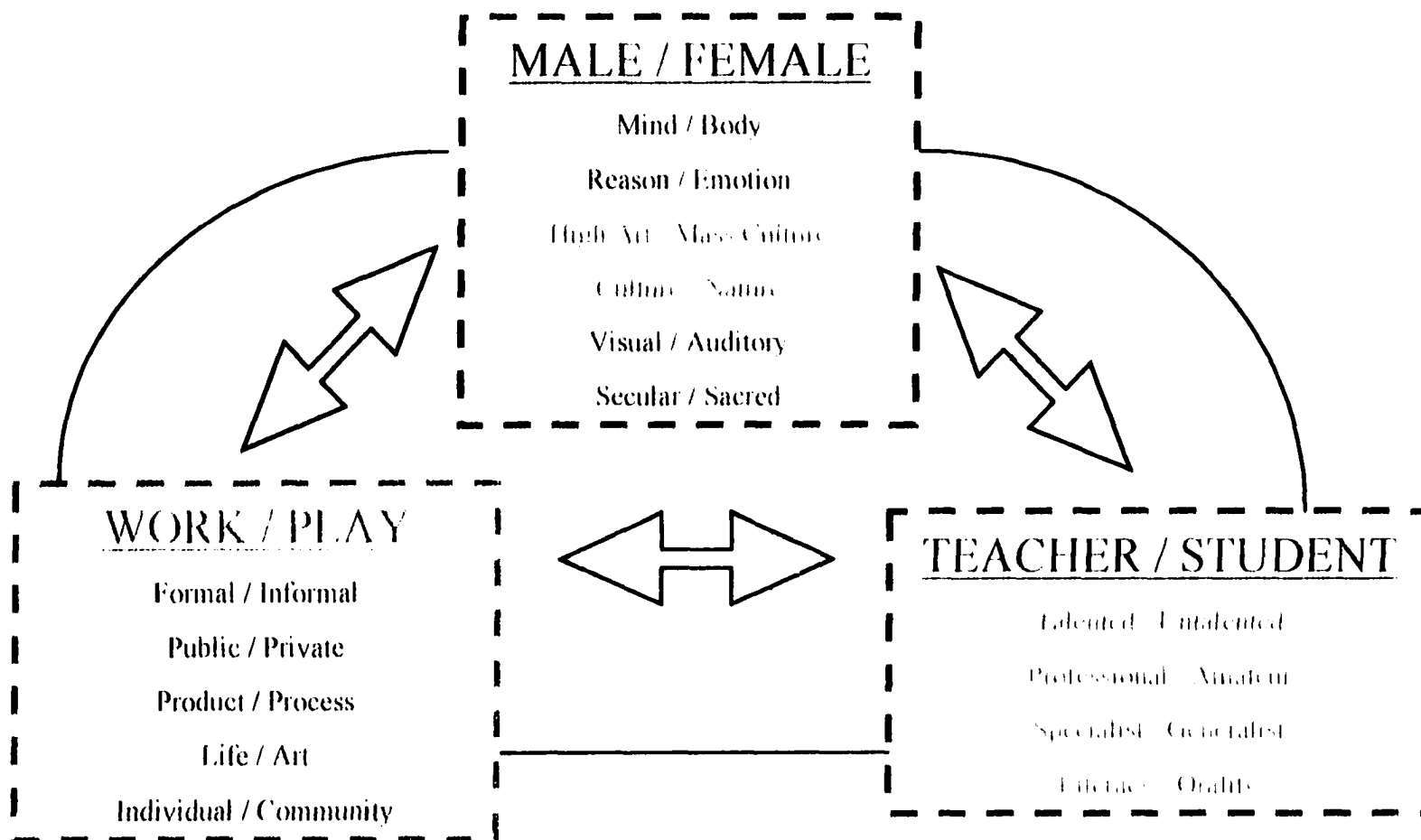


Figure 1. Dualistic Interrelationships in Music and Music Education

3

ENACTING THE MALE/FEMALE DUALISM

Introduction to the Male/Female Dualism

This chapter focuses on the social construction of sexual difference in Western society in general and how the categorizations of male and female construct our understanding of music and music education in particular. First I will tease out what we, as a society, have come to understand about sexual difference in a general way. This includes:

- *Coming to Terms with Sexual Difference,*
- *Gender Stereotyping,*
- *Social Mechanisms for Constructing Difference—*
 - *Experience or Positionality,*
 - *Language, and*
 - *Representation—*
 - *Woman as an object of sensual pleasure,*
 - *Woman as emotion,*
 - *Woman as nature,*
 - *Woman as divine,*
 - *Woman as evil, and*
 - *The code of masculinity.*

These taken for granted constructions shape our understanding of gender in particular ways that seem so natural we rarely question them. Indeed, many people take up these stereotypical, gendered roles without much conscious awareness at all.

The second part of this chapter will use these constructions of woman to unravel how our collective understanding of music and music education is shaped. As will become clear, music resides in a feminized position and is often reconstructed in male terms to gain credibility.

During the course of this analysis, other supporting dualisms will be examined. Dualisms that shore up our understanding of the polarized categories of male and female include:

- mind/body,
- reason/emotion,
- high art/mass culture,
- secular/sacred, and
- visual/auditory.

Coming to Terms with Sexual Difference

Determinations of what constitutes maleness and femaleness undoubtedly turns to a discussion of "sex" and "gender." There has been a consensus among sociologists that "sex" refers to the biological characteristics of male and female while "gender" is commonly understood as the social constructedness of male and female in a given culture. According to Wilson (1989), social theorist from York University, when sex and gender are employed in contemporary writing, the normal usage is to treat the first as coterminous with physiological endowment and the second with roles that are assigned, imposed or internalized through one or another mode of socialization. (p. 1)

But some of these distinctions are questionable. Davies (1993) and other feminists, (including some biologists), suggest that the difference²⁹ between "sex" and "gender" is "so blurry that the distinction is no longer a meaningful one" (p. 10). She slashes the two terms (sex/gender) to remind the reader of the indivisibility of these two words, or uses the word "gender" alone to "gather together the previously separated

²⁹ Feminists generally reject determinations of femininity and masculinity based on essentialist and patriarchal distinctions. Moi (1989), for example, argued that the feminine is not an essence but a culturally produced position of marginality in relation to patriarchal society. Kristeva's (1989) and Jardine's (1985) non-essentialist theories of subjectivity conceptualized sexuality as an unfixed, in process, position.

meanings" (Davies, 1993, p. 10). I, as well, will use "gender" to describe this difference.

The male/female dualism has been identified as one of the most basic metaphysical constructions, a "first principle" in society "on which much else rests" (Davies, 1993, p. 8). To illustrate just how much rests on this construction, Wilshire (cited in Diamond, 1994, p. 10), listed 22 power asymmetries³⁰ that support the construction of the male/female dualism. Cixous (1989) as well regards the male/female dualism to be an underlying oppositional paradigm in Western thought which always places the feminine on the negative, powerless side. In general, patriarchal societies value, study, and articulate³¹ maleness, while femaleness is demeaned and ignored. The powerfulness of the male position in our society is such that to most males, it is invisible and painlessly pleasant. On the other hand, marginality is visible and painfully visceral.

This power imbalance based on gender not only ensures that women are dominated in all aspects of life but also subjects men to a hierarchy of maleness through such criteria as physical strength, athletic prowess, success with women, and the ability to make money (Mackie, 1991). Through sexist³² practices men have pervasive power over women in society, but men also have power over other men. Stoltenberg (1999) helped to clarify how power works by looking more closely at the word itself. "Power," he said, is not an ordinary noun. Men have power by "doing power." By "doing power" males qualify for the category of "men." They must constantly "prove" they are men. Men sort themselves out in a hierarchy, not only by disqualifying women, but also by categorizing other men. As a result, many men also feel powerless.

³⁰ Some examples include: reason/emotion, control/spontaneity, and seeing/listening. The left part of the dualism (associated with the masculine) represents accepted wisdom. The right side, associated with the feminine, is linked to ignorance.

³¹ For example in Williams and Best's research (1982) there were 49 descriptors chosen by respondents to describe maleness and only 25 for female-associated characteristics.

³² Sexism is defined as the "inability or refusal to recognize the rights, needs, dignity or value of people of one sex or 'gender'" (Blackburn, 1996, p. 349). Sexism however, is most commonly applied to the feminine. Nelson (1992) referred to sexism as "the systematic devaluation of females and whatever is metaphorically understood as 'feminine.'... Sexism is a cultural and even a cognitive habit, not just an isolated personal trait" (p. 106).

This description of how power works points out that gender and particularly maleness is not a static possession. Gender is constantly negotiated under the watchful gaze of others, and men who do not conform to the stereotypical models of male behaviour risk being associated with homosexuality (Mackie, 1991; Pleck, 1981; Smith, 1983). What follows is a brief description of the gender differences we all understand and enact in daily life and an exploration of how social life and culture constructs these differences. I then relate these differences specifically to music and music education.

Gender Stereotyping

The cultural norms in a given society identify both feminine and masculine ways of behaving, feeling, and thinking. According to Mackie (1991), "sex (the biological fact) matters a great deal to individuals and to society. However, gender (the cultural embellishment upon anatomy) matters even more" (p. 3). The images and beliefs about what constitutes a "typical" man or woman harden into stereotypes³³ that become self-fulfilling prophecies; those who violate the gender norms are punished.³⁴

Research by Williams and Best (1982) suggests that there is considerable international agreement about traits which are part of gender stereotyping. For example the Williams and Best (1982) research³⁵ (cited in Mackie, 1991, p. 28) reported adjectives like "rational," "adventurous," "wise," "assertive," and "self-confident" as characteristics associated with males in 20 or more of 25 countries.

³³ A stereotype is a folk belief "about the attributes characterizing a social category on which there is substantial agreement" (Mackie, 1991, p. 27). Similarly, gender stereotypes are "characteristics consensually assigned to males and females" (p. 27).

³⁴ Social scientists do not consider stereotypes to be negative. They contend that gender stereotypes, for example, provide a cultural store of information that is helpful to human cognition (Mackie, 1991). Feminists, however, point out that gender stereotyping does not take into account the variety of human experiences that are exhibited in males and females and the amount of overlap that occurs between the sexes. As well, feminists challenge the assumption that male traits are more desirable (Archer, 1985).

³⁵ The research of Williams and Best (1982) involved equal numbers of male and female university students in 25 countries. (Canadian participants were from St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia and the University of Lethbridge in Alberta.) Participants were asked to identify, from a list of 300 adjectives, characteristics that were frequently associated with males and with females, not as a result of their personal beliefs, but according to the beliefs in their culture. Traits mentioned by two-thirds or more of the national samples became part of the stereotypical profiles.

Many of the male-associated descriptors underscore a universal belief in male supremacy—for example the adjectives “dominant,” “forceful,” and “strong” were identified as traits of men in all 25 countries (p. 28). Characteristics such as “gentle,” “affectionate,” “sexy,” and “emotional” were some of the adjectives used to describe females in 21 or more of 25 countries. Respondents from all 25 countries characterized women as “sentimental,” “submissive,” and “superstitious” (p. 28). While these descriptors tell us *what* the stereotypical gender differences are, the following section will describe *how* these differences are understood and enacted in daily life, that is, how these differences are constructed.

Social Mechanisms for Constructing Difference

Theorists have focussed on three social mechanisms for constructing difference: “experience or positionality, language, and representation” (Sollie, 1993, p. 9). In practice these mechanisms are not discrete, independent categories—they mutually support and define each other. Such categorizations are, however, useful to describe each construct independently.

Experience or Positionality

Through experience or positionality we see how various identities are created in the fulfilment of a given role. Indeed, many sociologists, even in the face of feminist critique, maintain that the roles of women and men are not power structures designed to “keep women in their place” so to speak, but that roles are a basis for defining the unique contributions that each gender makes to culture and collective life (Wilson, 1989). Men have traditionally been the “breadwinners,” and women, the “homemakers.” For many sociologists this division of labour where “men control the prestigious public domain of economic³⁶ and political activities,³⁷ while women are confined to the domestic realm” is regarded as the “central sociological insight on gender” (Mackie, 1991, p. 6).

³⁶ Despite the gender revolution that is taking place “In 1998, women in the United States still earned only 71 cents for every dollar earned by a man” (Falk, 1998, p. xi).

³⁷ In 1998, only 9 percent of the US Senate were women and 11 percent of the Congress were women (Falk, 1998).

Although today women make up roughly half the paid work force, they are still seen primarily as the caretakers of the family—as mothers and wives—and their actions, in light of these traditional roles, are interpreted as sensitive, loving, dependent, and kind-hearted. Since women are more likely to be observed taking care of children, husbands, and parents, society is apt to conclude that the abilities required for such “work” are common to the female gender as a whole, and further, that such abilities are exclusively female. Similarly when men are more frequently seen in positions of leadership in the workplace, society is apt to conclude that the abilities required for this kind of work are common to the male gender as a whole, and further, that such abilities are exclusively male.

Beliefs about the essential nature of woman have served to limit the public life of women in the past and continue to impede the professional lives of women today, although much progress has been made in the Western world. In the 19th century, the ideal woman did not engage in public work for money (Kaminer, 1984). Such activity did not conform with the then prevailing definition of womanhood. A wife's life was private, her husband's public; and these differences were determined by their gender. Women could serve their communities out of love and duty (as a caregiver of society) but were not paid for their efforts.³⁸ When women eventually became part of the paid workforce, they were seen as suited for particular work that accommodated their “nature”—nursing, teaching, child-care, and other service positions such as waitresses, secretaries, cleaners, and so forth.

As previously stated, the traditional role of the male as “breadwinner” is central to an understanding of the dominance of men in society. The powerful roles that men have played and continue to play in the workplace—wielding authority publicly—support an understanding of their “nature” as decisive, rational, independent, aggressive, and in control. But perhaps the power in this role is tied to something even more elemental.

Mackie (1991) attributed the more powerful position of men in

³⁸ These beliefs stood at the heart of volunteerism and kept women economically dependent.

society and in relationships with women to the economic benefits men have historically derived from their public work. Traditionally, women's work—named as "housework"—has been portrayed as something less than the work men do. As Romaine (1999) pointed out, "only work done to produce a profit in the public sector counts as work and goes by the name of work. The 'work' women do at home is invisible, unpaid, [and] not counted in the gross national product" (p. 13).

Whereas neither gender is shaped independently of the other, in particular, being male is defined as not being female. For example, women are characterized as economically dependent, therefore a measure of maleness in society is the ability to make money. Similarly, women in their caregiver roles are characterized as sensitive and emotional, therefore men are measured by their ability to be rational and in control—unaffected by emotion. These traditional characterizations of what it means to be a man or a woman are taken for granted, and in a sense, invisible. Such behaviour is stereotypical. It is only when we see men behaving in so-called feminine ways or women behaving in so-called masculine ways that their behaviour is visible.

Language

A second way of exploring gender difference is through language. Language in its many forms—from popular magazines to scientific literature, from informal conversations to formal rhetoric—is the repository of our shared understanding of gender difference. Language is also the main vehicle whereby we disseminate these constructions throughout society. Feminists in particular have sought to critique such "texts" to understand more fully how difference is constructed. A feminist reading or criticism interprets what the text says either explicitly or implicitly. Belsay and Moore (1989) suggested that

a feminist does not necessarily read in order to praise or to blame, to judge or to censor. More commonly she sets out to assess how the text invites the readers, as members of a specific culture, to understand what it means to be a woman or a man, and so encourages them to reaffirm or to challenge existing cultural norms. (p. 1)

We tend to think of words as transparent carriers of meaning which we use to "label a pre-existing reality" (Belsay & Moore, 1989, p. 4). At least two schools of thought, however, have challenged this notion. Poststructuralists point to an understanding of language that is multiple and changing rather than essential and fixed. According to poststructuralists, language does not represent an absent object that is merely recalled, but rather, is constitutive. The meaning of language is understood to be cultural and learned, and therefore language can be a site of oppression, resistance, and political struggle.³⁹ Language "names" reality by drawing on past meanings. In fact, according to Spender (1980),

names which cannot draw on past meanings are meaningless. New names, then, have their origins in the perspective of those doing the naming rather than in the object or event that is being named, and that perspective is the product of the prefigured patterns of language and thought. New names systematically subscribe to old beliefs, they are locked into principles that already exist, and there seems no way out of this even if those principles are inadequate or false. (p. 164)

Further, Spender (1980) pointed out that "the English language is a rich repository of these partial and false names which are designated to construct male supremacy and female subordination" (p. 165). In particular, she pointed to the language of religion⁴⁰ as an area where language has been used to construct a gendered reality.

The language and theories of psychology also contribute to our shared understanding of gender difference. In particular, the work of Freud has been denounced by feminists as misogynistic⁴¹ (Belsey &

³⁹ Much of the development in poststructural thought came out of early feminist work in cultural history.

⁴⁰ Mackle (1991) concurs that while it is true that the Judeo-Christian religion does contain some texts that support equality between the sexes, there can be little doubt that the theology of the Judeo-Christian tradition perpetuates gender stereotyping where males dominate and women are subordinate.

⁴¹ Misogyny is defined as the "hatred of women, especially by a man" (Neufeldt, 1988, p. 867).

Moore, 1989). Freud's concept of "penis-envy" is one such attempt to theorize female inadequacy. According to Freud, girls reconcile their inferiority by replacing the desire for a penis with the desire for a baby. If, though, they fail to mature, girls continue to pursue masculine aims, seeking independence and competing with men to become feminists or neurotics. Belsey and Moore (1989) commented that "in his early work Freud made some allowances for the role of culture in what he observed, but as time went on he attributed it [difference] increasingly to nature" (p. 5).

Besides specific individuals in psychology who have developed theories of male superiority, the field in general has devoted much attention to measurements of masculinity and femininity, particularly in the 1960s and '70s (Romaine, 1999; Smith, 1985).⁴² The assumption in MF (masculine/feminine) tests has been that such tests would indicate who deviated from sex-associated standards of behaviour, attitude, and opinion, and further that such deviations would cause psychological problems for these individuals (Smith, 1985).

One criticism of these tests has been that, in them, femininity and masculinity were constructed in an oppositional way, as "two poles of a single continuum, tied to each other by the principle of reciprocal interdependence: whosoever is not feminine is by definition masculine" (p. 95). That is, a response not scored as feminine was scored as masculine and vice-versa—even though much of our experience does not fit neatly into gendered categories. These tests reinforced rigid ideas of what constituted masculinity and femininity and marked every attitude, opinion, and behaviour as related to gender. These stereotypes were then reproduced in other media—particularly as the pop psychology movement gained popularity in the '60s and '70s. For example, Mackie (1991) referred to a *Reader's Digest* quiz from 1967 called "How masculine or feminine are you?" The quiz included 25 questions for readers to answer. Respondents were to assign one point for every (A) answer and 2 points for every (B) answer. The following 3 questions from the test are particularly relevant here:

⁴² Smith (1985) reviewed the five most widely used MF tests in chapter 5 of his book, *Language, the Sexes and Society*.

3. Which do you like better—(A) music, (B) sports?

10. Which interests you more—(A) art, (B) politics?

15. Have you ever cried at sad movies—(A) yes, (B) no? (p. 23)

You have probably guessed that (A) responses on this test indicated femininity and (B) responses indicated masculinity. It is also worth noting that masculine responses were regarded as twice as valuable as feminine ones. Even today, popular magazines, especially those geared to teenagers, continue to validate and categorize acceptable behaviour according to gender. These gendered expectations both explain and perpetuate sexual stereotyping and male domination. In the *Reader's Digest* quiz just mentioned, music, art, and the expression of emotion were characterized as feminine, while sports, politics, and a lack of emotion were characterized as masculine. As well, the implication of the point system is that male characteristics are more valuable.

Philosophical theories have also contributed to the marginalization of women. Of particular interest to my research is the theory of creativity espoused by men for centuries, which flourished particularly in the 19th century but still persists today. Briefly put, patriarchal thought split creativity into a gendered construction where creation involving the mind was reserved for man since bodily creation was the domain of woman. The male ability to create with his mind was deemed to be superior to the bodily or natural "reproduction" of females. This ideological difference is referred to as the culture/nature dualism. For an understanding of the term "culture" in this context, Citron's (1993) explanation is helpful:

The fact remains that life issues directly from women's bodies. Men cannot change that but they have found other ways to control creativity: as creators of art works. In a sense these function as substitutes for the real thing; art works are entities once-removed. This moves the arena of creativity to the level of culture: culture as power structures run by men. Culture indeed, has been positioned in Western discourse opposite nature. Culture is privileged and associated with men, while nature is inferior and linked with

women. Culture encompasses knowledge and human-made social structures. Nature implies a pure state unmediated by intellect. (p. 48)

Distinctions about creativity have been developed and circulated in the works of many of the "great" philosophers such as Nietzsche. In *The Greek Woman* (1871) he wrote: "Woman is more closely related to Nature than men and in all her essentials she remains ever herself. Culture with her is always something external, a something which does not touch the kernel that is eternally faithful to Nature" (cited in Citron, 1993, p. 49). Nietzsche further validated men's created works of art by suggesting that these artificial creations, through the medium of technology and symbols, resulted in "lasting, eternal, transcendent objects while the woman creates only perishables—human beings" (cited in Citron, 1993, p. 49). What an extraordinary statement to make in support of men's superior creative ability—that the created works of men are more valuable than human life, presumably because human life issues from woman.

The values of patriarchy are circulated in other ways through language. Since the '70s, many feminists have called the English language "he-man language" for up until recent decades when inclusive language has become the norm, generalized pronouns appeared in the male form (Smith, 1985; Spender, 1980). As well, many words that are supposedly inclusive and gender neutral, such as "mankind," "history," "workman's compensation," "man overboard," and "manslaughter" have rendered the female invisible. The implication, according to Belsay and Moore (1989), is that "the human race...was male, and if women were included, it was on condition that, linguistically at least, they were neither seen nor heard" (p. 4). "He-man language" makes maleness synonymous with personhood while femaleness is invisible.

This exclusion of women has occurred because, with few exceptions, women have been prevented from being the storytellers, the priests, the musicians, and the writers in our society. Males have been positioned to create the worldview of both genders. As well, this silencing of women has included the practice of stealing women's ideas, writing,

music, and so forth “without any kind of acknowledgement of their borrowing” (Moi, 1989, p. 119). It is in these ways that language, whether informal or formal, written or verbal, creates and perpetuates fixed gender positions that validate maleness and discount femaleness.

Representation

As well as gender difference being constructed in lived experience and language, we understand gender difference by the representation of men and women both in real life and fiction. Beer (1989) described the favoured status of “representation” since it

allows a gap between how we see things and how, potentially, they might be. It acknowledges the extent to which ideologies harden into objects and so sustain themselves as real presences in the world. The objects may be books, pictures, films, advertisements, fashion. Their encoding of assumptions and desires re-inforces as natural and permanent what may be temporary and learnt. So representations rapidly shift from being secondary to being primary in their truth-claims. This speedy shift to claiming authority we can all observe, in others’ practice and our own. (p. 64)

In other words, representations make ideology accessible to members of society. As similar representations build up over time they develop into fixed entities that form the basis of a mythology. The mythology that has been created around women seems to fall generally into two categories—idealization and disparagement (Tavris & Wade, 1984; Mackie, 1991). According to Tavris and Wade (1984),

Women have been esteemed, worshipped, and protected as often as she has been loathed, ignored and reviled.... Woman is goddess and devil, virgin and whore, sweet madonna and malevolent mom; she can bring a man up to salvation or drag him down with her to hell. On the face of it, the pedestal-gutter syndrome appears to reflect views that are diametrically opposed: woman is good, woman is bad. But in fact these views represent a single attitude: woman is

different. After all, whether you are looking up to or stooping down to them, you don't have to look them in the eye. (p.

3)⁴³

As the forgoing quotation suggests, woman has been represented in two general ways. On the one hand she has been idolized and venerated and, on the other, she has been maligned. Five other specific representations have been outlined by Mackie (1991). These include woman as mother nature, terrifying enchantress, saint, sex object, and insignificant non-person. Mackie (1991), however, points out that this list is neither "exhaustive nor mutually exclusive" (p. 25). The representations which I will use for woman and later apply to music are—woman as an object of sensual pleasure, woman as emotion, woman as nature, woman as divine, and woman as evil. These representations are briefly outlined below.

Woman as an object of sensual pleasure. A common representation of woman is as an object of sensual pleasure. Women are objectified—"viewed" as bodies, not people, whose function is to satisfy men's sexual needs. Connor (1992), along with others has suggested that "visual pleasure is primarily the pleasure of the male viewer, or the female viewer constituted as the male viewer, and the object of that pleasure (and so its objectified victim) is primarily the woman" (p. 42). The media typically use images of women to sell merchandise. In these advertisements women's bodies are often dismembered—reduced to isolated parts such as breasts or legs, "to peddle contemporary wares" (Mackie, 1991, p. 26). The female body may have nothing to do with the product being advertised but merely serves to attract the male gaze and suggest that "sexual access is the reward for buying the product" (Romaine, 1991, p. 263). Women also buy into this image by spending inordinate amounts of time and money on physical beauty. We all understand that, above all else, women are to be beautiful. Men on the

⁴³ Feminist theologians have pointed out that these are the two major ways women are represented in the Bible—Mary as the sexually pure mother of Jesus, and Eve as the temptress in the Garden of Eden (Mackie, 1991).

other hand, are valued more for their intellect. This differing status sets up the mind/body dualism.

Woman as emotion. Woman is also represented as emotion. Mackie (1991) reported that “females appear to be more closely in touch with their feelings and more expressive of them than males” (p. 40). This assessment, however, which one would think to be important for mental and emotional health, is not generally thought to be a positive trait in patriarchal societies. Women are negatively characterized as “emotional.” The outward display of emotion by crying, hugging, or speaking in an emotional way is considered feminine behaviour that displays weakness. Men, on the other hand, are rational and in control of their emotions. This difference in valuing sets up the reason/emotion dualism.

Woman as nature. Thirdly, the image of woman as nature is common. After all, it is woman who gives birth. This reproductive function aligns her with nature, and indeed, nature is commonly referred to as “Mother Earth.” Canadian literature is a rich repository of our shared understanding of the connection between woman and nature. According to renowned Canadian author, Margaret Atwood, nature is often portrayed as an “old, cold, forbidding and possibly vicious” woman (cited in Mackie, 1991, p. 25). On the other hand, in patriarchal society, man is considered to have superior creative ability in matters of the mind. As well, men are to be in control of nature and, therefore, in control of women. This hierarchical relationship is called the culture/nature dualism. Since women are biologically equipped to *reproduce* physically, men have claimed *original production* in the mind as their domain. Thus, men could author works of art, (cultural products), while women were limited to performing (reproducing) these works (Citron, 1993).

Woman as divine. Another characterization of woman is as divine, or saintly. This representation is usually connected to motherhood, where women are valorized in their role as caregiver. The

saintly mother always gives of herself without expecting anything in return. This message is nowhere more evident than in greeting cards where mothers are portrayed as superhuman beings who are eternally selfless. This representation is the main way that women are idolized in patriarchal societies. Although seemingly positive, this characterization is self-serving for men and continues to project the image of woman as the "other."

Woman as evil. The final folk image I will draw to your attention is the representation of woman as evil. The evil enchantress, both in fiction and real life, is able to cast her spell on men, entrapping them with her beauty and deadly magic, and bring about their downfall. Once again, literature is resplendent with images of the wicked witch and the evil stepmother who is a danger to others, even innocent children. Examples that immediately come to mind are the wicked witch of the West in "The Wizard of Oz" and the evil step-mother in *Cinderella*. These characters are the embodiment of evil—powerful and dangerous. The evil enchantress has the power to attract and arouse men who are overcome by an irresistible force that carries them away. The implication is that man is under the spell of woman and is not responsible for his actions. Although seemingly very different from the forgoing representation of woman as divine, the effect is similar. Woman is different. She has other-worldly powers that need to be controlled.

The code of masculinity. How are males represented in society? Male identity involves rejecting and devaluing everything that is deemed feminine (Romaine, 1991). It "requires a rigid separation from the close-touch world of mother and all things feminine or maternal" (Pollack, 1998, p. 28). According to Kimmel (1999), "historically and developmentally, masculinity has been defined as the flight from women, the repudiation of femininity" (p. 113). As well, Kimmel (1999) has described masculinity by identifying four stereotypical models of male behaviour: that of the "sturdy oak," "give 'em hell," the "big wheel," and the injunction to abstain from "sissy stuff."

The "sturdy oak" stereotype enjoins men to be stoic and dependable—no crying, complaining, or expressing fear. In other words, "Take it like a man," whatever "it" might be. Men are to be rational, as opposed to women who are irrational and emotional.

The "give 'em hell" or "kick ass" mentality suggests that males are biologically wired to act aggressively—even violently—expressing a bravado and penchant for risky behaviour that our society accepts as normal. After all, "boys will be boys."⁴⁴

The "big wheel" mentality encourages men to compete for power, status, and dominance, all the while maintaining an air of cool detachment. Related to this metaphor is the hero mentality that saves the damsel in distress. These three stereotypes work in tandem and are evident in society's tendencies towards violence and war. Conquest is an acceptable goal. According to Miedzian (1991), "warfare and violence are not only accepted as central, normal parts of human experience but they are transformed into heroic, exciting events" (p. 12). Indeed males are expected to prove their manhood and patriotism by being willing to die for their country.⁴⁵

The fourth stereotype in the "Boy Code" is to avoid "sissy stuff." "Sissy stuff" includes anything that is considered feminine. For example, since females are regarded as "emotional," men are to disengage from their emotions so as not to appear "weak." As in the *Reader's Digest* quiz referred to earlier, showing emotion is characterized as feminine behaviour. Pollack (1998) called this stereotype the "most traumatizing and dangerous injunction" because it cuts males off from their feelings⁴⁶ and inhibits them from being empathetic. As well, this injunction encourages males to avoid activities that are deemed to be feminine, such as singing (Pollack, 1998). What constitutes masculinity is a series

⁴⁴ Miedzian (1991) in a book by the same title, *Boys will be Boys*, explored in detail how we might break the link between masculinity and violence.

⁴⁵ Kimmel (1999) named "violence" as "the single most evident marker of manhood" (p. 119).

⁴⁶ Pollack (1998) noted that this assumption about males being unemotional is deeply ingrained in our society even in the face of research to the contrary. For in fact, researchers have found that "male infants are actually more emotionally expressive than female babies" but that "by the time boys reach elementary school much of their emotional expressiveness has been lost or has gone underground" (p. 11).

of rules about what not to do. When males participate in activities or behaviours deemed feminine, they risk attacks on their gender and endure taunts of "gay," "fag," "Nancy boy," "pansy" or whatever disparaging remark is currently in vogue. Sometimes the attacks may be vicious and physical. Kimmel (1999) goes so far as to say that "the fear of being seen as a sissy *dominates* [my emphasis] the cultural definitions of manhood" (p. 118). Parents, teachers, and coaches are often complicit in such attacks—reinforcing society's beliefs about masculinity in both subtle and crude ways by "letting boys know when they are violating the Boy Code" (Pollack, 1998, p. 58).

Kimmel (1999) summed up homophobia when he said:

this is the great secret of American manhood: We are afraid of other men. Homophobia is a central organizing principle of our cultural definition of manhood. Homophobia is more than the irrational fear of gay men, more than the fear that we might be perceived as gay.... Homophobia is the fear that other men will unmask us, emasculate us, reveal to us and the world that we do not measure up, that we are not real men. We are afraid to let other men see that fear. Fear makes us ashamed, because the recognition of fear in ourselves is proof to ourselves that we are not as manly as we pretend.... Our fear is the fear of humiliation.⁴⁷ We are ashamed to be afraid. (p. 118)

The fear that a man might be perceived as a homosexual is frequently the basis for behaving in exaggerated ways so that others "won't get the wrong idea." In other words, "women and gay men become the 'other' against which heterosexual men project their identities" (Kimmel, 1999, p. 121).

On the basis of this introduction to the male/female dualism and its impact on daily life it is clear that gender stereotyping is pervasive in society, with males occupying the power positions over females who are the marginalized "other." As well, gender difference has been constructed as two opposites on a single continuum rather than as a fluid

⁴⁷ This point reminded me of the research cited earlier in which men said what they feared most was being laughed at (Noble, 1992).

construction which would allow for a multiplicity of experiences. Gender constructions are understood by all members of society through shared experiences of positionality, language, and representation: We take up an identity as either male or female and structure our lives around this belief. As the next section will show, gender is a “first principle” in society that has pervasive influence over almost every aspect of life, even music.

The Male/Female Dualism in Music and Music Education

How does the male/female dualism construct our understanding of music and music education? I will tackle this question by unravelling how music is constructed as a feminine discourse in society at large, how it is reconstructed in masculine terms to gain credibility, and then how gender difference within the disciplines of music and music education are constructed. This analysis will proceed by taking the representations of woman that have, to this point, been briefly summarized and applying them to music and music education. I have also analyzed how these representations are often reconstructed in masculine terms to gain credibility:

- *Music as an Object of Sensual Pleasure:*
 - *Intellectualizing musical experience,*
 - *Reconstructing sensual pleasure as aesthetic pleasure,*
 - *Constructing Western art music as superior music, and*
 - *Denigrating mass culture.*
- *Music as Emotion:*
 - *Distancing music from emotion, and*
 - *Reconstructing music to serve the dominant discourses.*
- *Music as Nature,*
- *Music as Divine, and*
- *Music as Evil.*

Music as a Feminized Discourse

Music resides in a feminized position as the marginalized “other” (Solie, 1993; Green, 1997; Morton, 1996). As Shepherd (1993) has

pointed out, "this is not to say that music is essentially gendered," (p. 47) but that the human construction of reality that we understand as feminine is also applied to music. Morton (1996) clarified this use of the word "feminized" in the following:

The adjective "feminized" in phrases such as "feminized discourse," "feminized location," and "feminized work" describes something that is secondary, trivialized, subordinate, and usually exploited. It does not describe something as female per se but ascribes to it the status and characteristics of the feminine. Consequently, both men and women can be participants in a feminized discourse or in feminized work. (p. 5)

Dualistic constructions encourage us to take up positions that mark us and our activity as one or the other—in this case, as either male or female. In particular, the construction of the dominant entity requires non-association with the "other." Consequently, the feminization of music has limited many males from music-making. The gendered risk that males take in making music is grounded in the conflation of effeminacy with homosexuality.

Music as an Object of Sensual Pleasure

Music is freely metaphorized as a feminine object of sensual pleasure. Objectification involves "the gaze" or "look" by the subject. Shepherd's (1991, 1993) cultural studies identified a primeval association of the visual with masculinity and the aural with femininity. "Male hegemony," Shepherd says, "is essentially a visual hegemony" (1991, p. 156). Sound sensitizes us to the world around us, whereas sight

is the silent and inert sensory channel which allows us not only to distance ourselves from the phenomena of the world but also to interject ourselves into the world from a distance. It is the sensory channel which allows us, from a single point of view, to order discrete objects into their uniquely structured locations in space. (p. 156)

Sight is "the sense of isolation of self from the world. 'I am a camera'

looking at others and their existences; they in turn can view me and mine" (Dissanayake, 1988, p. 186).

The male affinity for the visual ensures that sight continues to be privileged as the dominant sense, while the veracity of the other senses is denigrated. According to Tyler (1987), the auditory is particularly maligned. Indeed, to have heard without seeing is inadmissible in a court of law as "hearsay." So it is that written language is valued over talk, literature is valued over music, and within the field of music, written works are valued over more spontaneous forms of music-making such as improvisation.

An example of the dominance of the visual is illustrated by the way pop music (an auditory medium) is marketed through videos (a visual medium). That is, a hit recording can no longer stand on the value of the music itself but must be interpreted through the visual. Television stations like MuchMusic (English-Canadian), MusiquePlus (French-Canadian), and MTV (American), which primarily air pop music videos, can single-handedly make a song into a hit with the power of the visual image. The stations have rotation schedules that regulate the play time; for example "on MuchMusic, a 'heavy rotation' video is aired 21 times a week; 'medium rotation' is 10 times a week; 'light rotation' is 6 times a week; and 'break-out' is 3 times a week" (Kelly, 1993, p. 84). If a song can get heavy rotation, its success is guaranteed. Thus, the dominance of the visual is a force to be reckoned with even in auditory realms.

Of particular concern is the power of the visual to objectify. Foucault (1977b) wrote about the panoptic "gaze" which freezes individuals in a framework from which they cannot escape, with "eyes that must see without being seen" (p. 171). This imagery becomes clear when applied to prisoners, as in Foucault's (1977b) *Discipline and Punishment*. The Panopticon, an architectural structure designed by Jeremy Bentham near the end of the 18th century, was a circular arrangement of cells where no prisoner could be certain of escaping the vigilant eyes in the watch tower (Sarup, 1988). As a result, prisoners would monitor their own behaviour. The power of this totalizing gaze is called "panopticism" and reflects a common system of surveillance in

industrialized societies where bureaucracy dominates and controls people from afar. And it is precisely because the look cannot be seen that it is such a powerful force in objectifying human beings.

The primacy of the eye is ubiquitous in our language. We refer to the mind's eye, to insights, visions, perceptions, and illuminations which refer to seeing as our means of understanding. We often say, "I see" or "I get the picture" as an indication that we have understood the topic at hand. We believe that the visual is the most reliable purveyor of truth. After all, "a picture is worth a thousand words," and "seeing is believing." In the words of Tyler (1987), "seeing is a privileged sensorial mode and a key metaphor in SAE" [Standard Average European language and thought], (p. 150). But what is problematic here is the assumption that the visual captures

a static reality and promote[s] the illusion that disengagement and objectification are central to the construction of knowledge. Visual metaphors encourage standing at a distance to get a proper view, removing—it is believed—subject and object from a sphere of possible intercourse. (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986, p. 18)

How is it that "standing at a distance" has anything to do with music? Merriam (1964) identified one of the tenets of aesthetic theory as "psychic distance.... What is meant [by this] is the ability of the person interested in music to remove himself from it, to hold it at arm's length as it were, and to examine it for what it is" (Merriam, 1964, p. 261).

Reimer (1989) described the value of objectifying music this way: What we need, to go beyond the dynamic flux of inner subjectivity, is some device to hold on to a feeling so it cannot wash away; a means to give it permanent embodiment. We need to objectify it, that is, make it into an object so that it stays as it is. So what can we do? You guessed it: we can capture it in artistic materials—sounds, colors, gestures of the body...and so on. Now we have done a quite remarkable, even astonishing thing.... We have

transformed an entirely inner process into an outer artistic/symbolic system. (p. 35)

He goes on to assert that "the *major function* [my emphasis] of art is to make objective and therefore accessible the subjective realm of human responsiveness" (p. 53).

Another tenet of the Western aesthetic, according to Merriam (1964), is "the *attribution of beauty to the art product or process*" (p. 266). This way of thinking about art is also connected to objectification. Just as the male gaze is directed at women as objects of beauty, so too musical performances are valued as objects of beauty. Musical beauty however, is abstract. In fact, music is often accorded the highest value as an artform for its ability to convey abstract beauty better than any other art. The argument is that visual art, for example, has a model in nature whereas music does not. This concept was well developed in the minds of the great Romantic composers, rooted in the writing of Kant (1790) and reiterated here by Henderson (1915):

Beauty is conceived only by man, and music is the pure product of his intellect, it seems to me that this art comes nearer to an expression of beauty in the abstract than any other. It is the highest product of the imagination. (p. 124)

And so music is revered as a beautiful object of the highest order, a creation of man's intellect. Added to this imagery is the notion that music captivates us. We are mesmerised by it, much like a man under the spell of an alluring woman. In this representation, music is portrayed as an enchantress.

What better example could there be to illustrate the feminized objectification of music than the title of "Duke" Edward Ellington's (1973) autobiography—*Music is my Mistress*. A poem he penned entitled "Music" contains the following verse: "Music is a gorgeous bitch...A volcano of desire/ Makes your blood to boil/ As you get higher and higher" (p. 39).

People who "love" music often describe their relationship with music in a sensual way. Sim (1995) reported that one of the graduate students in her seminar group wrote the following to describe her

experience of listening to *The Phantom of the Opera*: "When I stand before the speakers, volume turned up high, I feel it [the music] in some way meld with me. My whole being feels the music and is moved by it. At times, it is almost orgasmic" (p. 70).

These examples suggest that musical experience involves sensual pleasure. Apostolos-Cappadona (1995) described the bodily connection with the arts this way:

We communicate with the work of art through our individual bodiliness. Thus, the work of art allows us to feel our bodies! Even worse, the work of art may have allowed us to have good feelings about our bodies. Herein lies the heart of the matter—our human bodiliness denotes sexuality. Thus whatever has to do with bodiliness results in a subliminal discourse about human sexuality, gender, and power. (p. 66)

In particular, Barthes (1989) has described musical experience as "a kind of *primal state* of pleasure: it produces a pleasure one always tries to recapture but never explain; hence it is the site of a pure effect" (p. 299). I take his meaning of "pure" to refer to the direct way sound enters our body. Hearing is an inward sense, whereas seeing for example, is directed outward to an object distanced from the body. We can have an intimate relationship with music, the "other," solely because we have heard it. Bogdan (2001) has elaborated on Barthes' theory that "musical sound organizes an 'inter-subjective space' that blurs the boundaries between listener and the performed or the performer" (p. 8). Thus, the listener can have the illusion of intimacy in musical experience. One of the participants in Szabo's (2001) research, who is an avid listener of Western art music, recounted his experience of listening to Beethoven's *Seventh Symphony*:

Towards the end, the orchestra seems to be gathering its forces, with bits of the theme being tossed about and added to the whole—like an approaching thunderstorm, like an unstoppable force of nature. You have the feeling that even if the conductor were to leave the stage—the music would still roar on to its conclusion. I feel my pulse race, my heart

beats faster, everything else is blotted out. Towards the end, when the horns ring out over the orchestra, it's as though the heavens are opening. At the end I am almost gasping for breath.... (p. 114).

Perhaps the reader has noticed a striking parallel here between this listening experience and the male experience of orgasm. Pleasure for this listener occurred when he melded with the music, the object of his affection. The two became one. This is indeed an ambivalent space of intersubjectivity.

Another example of the sensual in musical experience comes from Kazdin's (1989) biography of Glenn Gould. When describing Gould's relationship with music Kazdin wrote:

His [Glenn Gould's] own emotional involvement with music—so clear to see on his face as he played—was so intense that one might conclude that the piano was his mistress. I remember a conversation I had years ago with one of my colleagues. He had heard that it was a documented fact that a musician, in the midst of a performance, could become so emotionally involved that he (or she) could actually experience a sexual climax while playing. (p. 61)

The sensual aspects of musical experience have been explored by McClary (1991) who has described the music itself (that is Western art music) as being invested with sexual overtones and even violence. Certainly I can remember in my undergraduate music studies in the 1980s being taught that the dominant or principal thematic material in sonata form was masculine in that it was bolder and more vigorous, while the second and subordinate theme was more subdued and passive (feminized). In fact, according to Falk (1998), radical feminists such as McClary believe that "the entire tradition of Western music is 'patriarchally invested' and therefore victimizes women" (p. 212).

The next four sections examine how male music theorists have distanced music from its groundedness in the body and reconstructed it in masculine terms. This includes intellectualizing musical experience, reconstructing sensual pleasure as aesthetic pleasure, categorizing

Western art music as superior, and denigrating mass culture.

Intellectualizing Musical Experience

Engh (1993) has suggested that “[although] the writings of Roland Barthes [which relate to human desire] are well known in literary and cultural studies, where they have been found to be of inestimable importance...Barthes’ work has not been influential in musicology” (p. 66). Musicologists have primarily analysed music by focussing on the syntactical, (that is, on musical meaning as contained within the music itself and in the relationships within the work) while social and cultural meanings have been excluded (Shepherd & Wicke, 1997). In other words, the understanding of music has been intellectualized. Historically, this focus was most clearly defined in Immanuel Kant’s *Critique of Judgment* (1790) in which he linked aesthetics and the arts with “cognitive judgments of taste in engagements with sensory experience” (Detels, 1999, p. 16). This intellectual frame for understanding musical experience is rooted in the neglect of affect over linguistic and cognitive functions. Pleasure is connected with the body—the feminized body—and is therefore devalued in favour of the mind, which is symbolically associated with males. Music gains credibility by being reconstructed in masculine terms, by intellectualizing it, and by distancing it from the body. These reconstructions support the belief that “mind” is more valuable than bodily experience.

How is music intellectualized? By being described in language. The hegemony of language has shaped our theorizing about music in a way that supports the dominant ideology but betrays and ignores the very power that music holds for many people. Shepherd and Wicke (1997) contend that musicologists have not contributed to how music signifies because: “music theory and music analysis have taken as their starting point not musical experience, but the production of music. They have in other words been more concerned with how the notes are “placed” than with their effect once placed” (p. 139).

To illustrate the veracity of this statement I will turn to one of the most celebrated American composers and educators, Copland (1957) and

his treatise on musical listening.⁴⁸ In *What to Listen for in Music*, Copland identified three listening planes—the sensuous, the expressive, and the musical. Briefly put, the “sensuous plane” refers to the “brainless yet often attractive state of mind” when we hear music without processing it intellectually (p. 18). We merely soak up the sound around us and experience sensory reactions such as goosebumps, tingling, or perhaps an increased or decreased heart rate. Copland described this mode of listening as the “simplest” way of listening to music, an “abuse” of music where individuals “use music as a consolation or an escape” (p. 18). Further he described this response as a “potent and primitive force” that must not be allowed to “usurp a disproportionate share of one’s interest” (p. 19). In 175 pages on listening, Copland relegated this type of response to less than one page.⁴⁹ The negative characterization of the sensuous response to music is typical in theoretical writing on musical experience yet an “odd” response since this “aspect of musical experience...is...central to the musical appreciation of the vast majority of listeners” (Ridley, 1995, p. 3).

The next listening plane Copland referred to is the “expressive plane” in which he addressed the controversial question of what it is that music expresses. He referred to “simple-minded souls” who want music to mean something specific and the “more concrete it is the better they like it” (p. 19). Indeed,

the more the music reminds them of a train, a storm, a funeral, or any other familiar conception the more expressive it appears to be to them. This popular idea of music’s

⁴⁸ *What to Listen for in Music* was first published in 1939 and has been hailed as a classic. Revised and reprinted in 1957 and 1967 it remains in circulation today, not only in English but in German, Italian, Spanish, Swedish, Hebrew, and Persian.

⁴⁹ Reimer (1989) takes up this point of view in his treatise on aesthetic education. He contends that:

At the non-musical end of the continuum, the sensuous experience is a mindless, undiscerning, passive wallowing in the sheer existence of sound. The sound can be the driving, hypnotic beat of rock and roll, overwhelming in primitiveness and volume, entering the pores more than the ears.... The ‘kicks’...are sensuous ones, minimally musical because perception is minimal but very attractive and pleasant because sensuality is, after all, a basic human characteristic. (p. 126)

meaning—stimulated and abetted by the usual run of musical commentator—should be discouraged wherever and whenever it is met. (Copland, 1957, p. 20)

In this type of response to music, the mind is involved in adding meaning to the music but in a non-musical way. Composers themselves often guide our thoughts in this way by providing programmatic details. But Copland suggested that an "intelligent music lover" should come no closer to a definite musical meaning than a general concept. He upholds the idea that music is indescribable, that words cannot convey its meaning. This "expressive plane" he described in about two pages. For Copland, this type of response is of little value, yet this kind of meaning making in musical listening is highly valued in society. Copland sets up an elitist position, where focusing on the parameters of music—the melody, harmony, rhythm and so forth is the most highly valued response to music. Indeed, the bulk of the book describes in detail how the "intelligent" listener should respond to music. It is the "musical listening plane" that we should "strive for," he said (p. 23). McClary (2000) has described this view of musical meaning as "conventional wisdom" where meaning (in the Western aesthetic) resides in the "purely musical" aspects—"no gender, no narratives, no politics: just chords, forms, and pitch-class sets. And the discussion stops here" (p. 2).

Copland's thesis is clear. Although he concedes that we listen on all three planes, the highest value is given to an intellectual understanding of music while the emotional and sensual responses are to be discouraged. Thus Copland supports the Cartesian dualism of mind over body. According to Bordo (1986), the mind/body dualism is a scholarly attempt to control the "dangerous" feminine realm with the so-called masculine attributes of reason and judgment. In other words, these gendered constructions value mind (male) over body (female), and reason (male) over emotion (female).

Reconstructing Sensual Pleasure as Aesthetic Pleasure

One of the ways theorists have dealt with the "problem" of pleasure in musical experience is to distinguish between sensual pleasure and aesthetic pleasure. So for example, the pleasure that was just described

(p. 55) by one of the participants in Szabo's (2001) study, could be interpreted not as a sensual or sexual response but as an aesthetic one. In particular, the listener's response of "gasping for breath" can be related to the word "aesthetic" which comes from the Greek *"aisthesis"* meaning "sense-perception" (Becker, 1994). As well, Hillman (cited in Becker, 1994) has pointed out that the word goes back to the Homeric *"aion"* and *"aisthon"* which mean, "I gasp, struggle for breath...I breathe in" (p. 63). Thus, this kind of reaction could denote an aesthetic experience. The beauty of the music, both literally and figuratively, took his breath away. My "read" on this person's response to Beethoven's *Seventh Symphony* is that it involved all levels of listening, such as Copland described. There is a sensuous response (racing pulse), an expressive response (reference to thunderstorm and heaven), and a musical response (noticing the theme's recapitulation and the entrance of the horns). Each enriched the other.

Becker (1994) pointed out that the unconscious yet common expectation of the audience in artistic experience is that it will "be somewhat familiar yet also transcendent, that it will be able to catapult its viewers outside their mundane lives, provide therapeutic resolution to emotional ills, and most significantly that it will end in wonder" (p. 102). Art then, in this sense represents "a desire to find a rarefied place of abandonment which makes few crossovers with the real world" (Becker, 1994, p. 102).

Aesthetics has been defined by Detels (1999) as "the study of cognitive judgments of sensory experience" (p. 47). It would seem that aesthetics seeks to educate our feelings.⁵⁰ Reimer (1970) developed an entire philosophical rationale for arts education known as aesthetic education around the "education of feeling" (p. 39). Since it was first published, his *Philosophy of Music Education* (1970, 1989) has been a valued treatise on aesthetic music education. It has received world-wide acclaim in music education circles and has also been published in French, Chinese, Japanese, and Greek. Lamb (1994) commented on the

⁵⁰ Connor (1992) described "aesthetic pleasure as a simple denial or abolition of sensual pleasure in favour of an aesthetic 'pleasure purified of pleasure,' as Pierre Bourdieu puts it. that is no longer really pleasure at all" (p. 34).

pervasive influence of Reimer's work:

aesthetic education is *the* [my emphasis] philosophy of music education. For twenty years Bennett Reimer's *A Philosophy of Music Education* was the only music teacher education text with a reference to philosophy in the title. The prevalence of this text resulted in the emergence of aesthetic education as a master theory that has remained relatively stable for nearly three decades. In fact, in the second edition Reimer states, "No alternative philosophy has been proposed by anyone else." (p. 63)

Reimer (1989), in describing aesthetic music education, pronounced aesthetic theory as "the bedrock upon which our self-concept as a profession rests" (p. xi). He also claimed that the large majority of music educators agree with the basic tenets of aesthetic education and that those who don't, his critics, have misunderstood him (Reimer, 1989).

What has been the legacy of this singular approach to music education? In spite of the claim to focus on feelings, aesthetic education has valorized an intellectual understanding of music by separating out and describing its concepts, while discarding, for the most part, its emotional and visceral effects. On the surface, it might seem as if aesthetic theory elevates the senses and musical expression as an alternative way of knowing. But actually aesthetic theorists distance emotion from art. According to Koza (1994):

even though Reimer embraces the concept of music as feelingful, he disdains emotion, which he distances from art. Feeling and musical expression, he claims, are different from either emotion or self-expression.... Music, he claims, although it is concerned with feelingful or subjective expressivity, is neither a language of the emotions nor an expression of emotion.... Devaluing of the arts in education, he suggests, results from the "misconception that they deal with emotional expression." (p. 86)

Reimer's (1989) position seems quite clear: "The better a particular behaviour is as an expression of emotion, the *less likely* [my emphasis] it

is to contain formed artistic qualities which are themselves expressive" (p. 44). He further stated that "the performer in the concert hall whose interpretation approaches self-expression is particularly painful to regard, for we do not go to a concert to be onlookers of emotional self-expression, either of a composer or of a performer" (Reimer, 1989, p. 45). In fact Reimer believes that the major function of art is to transform the subjective into the objective, to "give objective existence to [subjective] feelings" (Reimer, 1989, p. 136). This theorizing "elevates" feelings to the male domain of the mind rather than as an embodied, so-called feminine experience.

Constructing Western Art Music as Superior Music

In an effort to legitimize Western art music in masculine terms, it has been theorized by males as superior to other musics. In Western conservatories and schools of music, the theoretical foundation and analysis of Western art music is presented as "universal." According to Detels (1999), the "current pedagogy, even if one considers it successful (and I do not), comes close to academic fraud" (p. 102).

How is this music constructed as superior music? According to Becker (1986), the superiority of Western art music is based on three main axioms: firstly that it is founded on natural acoustic laws, secondly, that it is structurally more complex than other musics, and thirdly, that it is more expressive and meaningful than other musics. What follows is a description of how these beliefs construct and circulate this superiority.

The harmonic system used in Western art music is based on the science of acoustics. When a pitch is sounded by a vibrating string, it produces, in addition to its own fundamental tone, upper partials or harmonics. This "harmonic series" forms the basis for the scales and intervals used in the Western tonal system. Its roots go back some 3,000 years to ancient China and Mesopotamia, but a direct link can be traced to Pythagoras (Walker, 1990). Pythagoras' proportional harmony was built on ratios that were shown to be theoretically perfect. Walker contends that to the Pythagoreans, music was "intellectual,...conceived

through numbers and had little to do with the senses" (p. 69). This linkage with the powerful discourses of science and mathematics helped to legitimate the discourse of Western art music in male terms.

A specific example of how Western art music was theorized in this way is found in a treatise by Keeble (1784) called *The Theory of Harmonics: Or, An Illustration of the Grecian Harmonica* (reported in Leppert, 1993). The two hundred plus page book with 26 engraved plates detailing the Greek harmonic system "attracted considerable attention" even though it was "neither original nor unique to the period" (Leppert, 1993, p. 97). Keeble concluded his manuscript with the following words: "The great advantage of discovering the magnitude of all musical intervals by the Ratio cannot but be agreeable to men of science and lovers of truth" (cited in Leppert, 1993, p. 97).

Music could be objectively measured and systematized by basing it in mathematics and science. This linkage of music with measurement gave it added worth in a world "dominated by number and measurements" (Rudhyar, 1982, p. 28). Rudhyar (1982) claimed that the Western world

worships quantity and pays only attenuated homage to quality. It is ruled by number—a tyrannical rule barely modified by the ideal of so-called democracy. Science is dominated by statistics, politics by popular polls...and business by the expectation of quantitative production and profits. (p. 28)

Additionally, the statistical and analytical aspects of music were to be the domain of men: Men were encouraged to study the theory of music, while women were schooled in performance (Leppert, 1993). At work here is the Cartesian separation of mind over body, which could also be described as valuing reason over emotion and experience. Rameau (1683-1764) also set the stage for valuing music in scientific terms. According to Leppert (1993),

Rameau drives a wedge between experience (the body, or, more specifically, the ears) and reason (the mind). He tells us that experience provides no real understanding or—by

implication—justification for the form modern music takes. At the same time, he canonizes rationality via the ancients (from which come the “true principles”). (p. 100)

The second way that Western art music is deemed to be superior to other musics is in its complexity. The particular complexity that is valued in Western art music is the development and extension of musical ideas through large structural forms. The longer and more complex the form, the greater respect the work garners. For example, Becker (1986) noticed:

in Western music theory or music literature classes, complex hierarchical, structural diagrams of “masterpieces” are offered as supporting evidence of the “greatness” of the work. In my teaching of world music, I have learned that if I produce a complex structural diagram of a piece of music from anywhere, the students will listen to the piece more carefully and will regard it with greater respect. (p. 346)

We judge simple repetition as boring and unimaginative. This, however, is only one view. Composer John Cage (1976) related the following:

In Zen they say: If something is boring after two minutes, try it for four. If still boring, try it for eight, sixteen, thirty-two, and so on. Eventually one discovers that it's not boring at all but very interesting. (p. 93)

Other forms of complexity such as the polyrhythms⁵¹ in African drumming or the polyphonic interplay and subtle variations in cyclical forms of music common to sub-Saharan African nations have long been regarded by Europeans as less sophisticated than Western art music. This judgment appears to be an example of the mind/body dualism where rhythmic complexity performed by the body with drums, for example, is devalued over “intellectual” music.

We also judge the complexity of music by the technical complexity of the instruments used. A simple, crude, inexpensive instrument is thought to produce only simple, unsophisticated music. The more technologically complex and expensive the instrument, the more we

⁵¹ According to Lundquist (1989), polyrhythms and crossrhythms can be found in virtually all African cultures.

value the music it produces. Yet ethnomusicologists have documented that simple instruments such as the jew's harp⁵² (when played by New Guinea highlanders) and the Australian didgeridoo (a hollowed out eucalyptus log played like a trumpet) can produce astonishingly complex music (Becker, 1986).

An example closer to home is the lowly recorder which is commonly used in school music programs. A recorder can be purchased for a few dollars and is generally viewed with disdain by school of music students who study the piano or other "legitimate" orchestral or band instrument.⁵³ Yet the recorder can be used to produce technically complex music. The Royal Conservatory of Music, for example, has a graded recorder syllabus which proceeds through 10 grades to the Performer's and Teacher's ARCT (Associate of the Royal Conservatory of Music) just as it does for piano.

I will relate two anecdotes that I recorded in my teaching journal. These stories show how the disdain for simple instruments is enacted in daily life around the university when school of music students cross paths with education students. The first story was told to me by Ann, who was learning to play the recorder as part of the elementary education music course (ME 204).

One day, in preparation for the recorder test at the end of term, Ann was practicing in one of the school of music practice rooms. A school of music student came by and wanted to use the room to practice on the piano. Although the room was not booked by the school of music student, she did have "first dibbs" so to speak as the room was in the school of music building. The school of music student said, quite frankly, that she didn't think the recorder "counted" as an instrument to be used in the practice rooms. Enough

⁵² A jew's harp is a tiny, circular metal frame held between the teeth. The circle is open at one point where a strip of metal vibrates. This strip is twanged by the finger, and music is created by altering the shape of the mouth to produce harmonics from the fundamental tone that the metal strip produces.

⁵³ Actually the recorder has a distinguished history, particularly in the Renaissance period, but today it is often thought of as a child's instrument, primarily because it is inexpensive and used frequently in schools.

said. Ann quickly retreated so the music student could practice on the piano. (Journal entry)

Another recorder story concerns Rebecca, an elementary education student who was also learning to play the recorder. Rebecca had played clarinet in the high school band and was quite excited about learning to play a new instrument. She shared the following incident with me:

One day during "Bandfest" rehearsals at the university, Rebecca happened to spot her old band teacher. She went to speak to him and mentioned how much fun she was having as she learned to play the recorder. To her surprise, the band teacher responded with a mocking belly laugh. Rebecca was dumbfounded. "How could a music teacher have that kind of an attitude?" she thought. Totally embarrassed she quickly ended the conversation and left the building. (Journal entry)

These stories are not unusual. They represent the norm and illustrate the point that, to those schooled in the Western art music tradition, simple instruments are automatically discounted.

The third contention that has been used to support the superiority of Western art music is that it is more expressive than other musics. The central claim here is the belief that Western art music, particularly absolute music, expresses the inexpressible. Absolute music is described by Small (1998) as a musical work that "exists purely to be contemplated for the abstract beauty of its patterns of sounds" (p. 153). Horner (1999) defined absolute music as "music for instruments alone, excluding both the singing of verbal texts and the association of music with specific verbal meanings or narratives" (p. 19). Copland's (1957) treatise on musical listening, as described previously, reproduces and upholds the belief that one should not try to specify what music means by associating it with concrete concepts.⁵⁴ The unadulterated meaning of absolute music is contained in the music itself. Absolute music is deemed to be pure, transcending the social and sexual, while pop music,

⁵⁴ An associative meaning of music would be a description that ties specific musical elements to the non-musical. For example, a flourish of sixteenth notes using the whole tone scale could represent a babbling brook or dotted rhythms in a trumpet fanfare could represent the arrival of royalty.

on the contrary, is immersed in sexuality.⁵⁵ This bifurcation has created a "great divide" as Huyssen (1986) called it, between high art and mass culture, in an attempt to protect the quality of high art from the "cultural trash" of the masses.

Meyer (1956) is one theorist in particular who has used his theory of musical meaning to distinguish between high and low art. According to Meyer, primitive music—by which he meant pop music—operates with conventional clichés that yield instant gratification. More sophisticated music such as classical and jazz require the listener to delay or defer instant gratification and follow the complexities inherent in the structure of the music to their ultimate resolution. The disdain and suspicion of mass culture or the "pleasure industry," as it has been called by many aesthetic theorists, is common in aesthetic theory. Classical music or "high art," on the other hand, is deemed to be morally superior, transcending the social and sexual. Adorno and Horkheimer (1944) described the pleasure experienced in mass culture:

The culture industry perpetually cheats its consumers of what it perpetually promises. The promissory note which, with its plots and staging, it draws on pleasure is endlessly prolonged: the promise which is actually all the spectacle consists of, is illusory: all it actually confirms is that the real point will never be reached, that the diner must be satisfied with the menu. (p. 139)

In other words, mass culture produces a state of addiction, a desire for more pleasure which cannot satisfy, in essence, corrupt pleasure. Further, this kind of pleasure hardens into boredom because it requires no effort. Engagement with music at this level is deemed by aesthetic theorists to be superficial and passive. This kind of theorizing fixes a great divide between high art and low art, between music in the Western art tradition and the so-called music of the masses.

Another point to be made here is that the distinction between high

⁵⁵ McClary (1991) is especially concerned with deconstructing the master narrative of absolute music because it is this "denial of meaning in the instrumental repertoire that has systematically blocked any attempt at feminist or any other sort of socially grounded criticism." (p. 55).

art and low art runs along socioeconomic lines. According to Martin (1995), "music reflects the hierarchical divisions of a society—its patterns of social stratification" (p. 21). This assessment holds true for the split between classical music and popular music. Classical music is not the music of the majority. For example, in Canada, only three percent of the population listens to classical music (Szabo, 2001). As well, Green (2002) relates that global classical music sales in 1997 made up only 3.6% of the market, and figures for individual countries are nowhere radically dissimilar. On the contrary, 90% of global music sales are for pop music. Those who enjoy classical music are generally from the middle and upper classes, those who have had the time and money to engage in leisure activities. How is it then, that such a small group of people have succeeded in promoting their music over other music?

Martin (1995) suggested that because the middle and upper class control economic production and dominate in politics they are

in a position to lay down the rules of the game for all members of society and in the same way to impose its authority on the process of artistic production. Thus, to this day, "classical" music is legitimised as "serious" or "art" music, to the evident disadvantage of all other styles. It is protected, though never as much as its practitioners would like, from the economic discipline of the market by grants and sponsorship far in excess of those awarded to other genres. It retains privileged positions in broadcasting schedules and above all, educational curricula: the result is that even if people don't learn to love classical music, they are none the less imbued with a sense of its greatness and superiority over other forms. (p. 10)

For example, the centrality of the European tradition has been entrenched in the policies of the Canada Council from its inception in 1957. The Council's mission was to "foster and promote the study and enjoyment of, and the production of works in the arts, humanities, and social sciences" and to start Canada on the road to artistic maturity (Granatstein, 1994, p. 92). The assumption was that "artistic maturity"

meant fostering the aesthetic values inherent in the Western classical tradition.

One of the reasons that classical music continues to be held in high regard is that this valuing is taught in schools. In university schools of music, classical music still reigns supreme (Roberts, 1991; Detels, 1999). The bulk of students' studies revolve around the theory, history, composition, and performance of Western art music. According to Roberts (1991), "status [in schools of music] is gained *only* [my emphasis] through an association with classical music" (p. 63). Indeed, an association with other types of music was viewed "from the perspective of status, as a collection of negative points" and could potentially "call into question one's whole seriousness about music altogether" (p. 63).

Despite a number of moves to dislodge the adversarial relationship between high art and mass culture, (including postmodernism), Huyssen (1986) maintained that this division continues to garner "new strength and vitality" (p. vii). And yes, this division has strength and vitality in Victoria, British Columbia, although there are points of resistance.

Denigrating Mass Culture

To illustrate the strength of the division between high art and mass or pop culture locally, I would like to refer in detail to the *Times Colonist's* coverage of a concert by Canadian country music star, Stompin' Tom Connors. Prior to the concert, Chamberlain (1998), who primarily reviews classical music for the *Times Colonist*, headed the "Arts" section of the newspaper with a large colour photo of Connors and almost a full page article, recounting historical details of his success as an important Canadian folk icon. Songs like "Okanagan Okee," "Alberta Rose," and "My Home's in Newfoundland" give us a sense, so Chamberlain said, of Connor's love for this country and his ability to portray through song, the working class experiences of life. Chamberlain also quoted from a *Globe and Mail* article which said that:

Connors appeals to a parochial form of nationalism and to a rather class conscious working man's pride. Neither of these

appeals is sophisticated but both are important, if not vital to a large number of people who live in rural and small town Canada. (cited in the *Times Colonist*, September, 20, 1998, p. A10)

Then Chamberlain went to the concert. The review that followed, entitled "Stompin' Tom's Famous Songs Hit Chord with Mixed Audience" was rife with derogatory comments about the low class audience who attended.⁵⁶ One audience member was seen taking "slugs from a mickey" (Chamberlain, September 23, 1998, p. B7). There were "a couple of, well, hillbilly guys—at least they looked like hillbillies—[who] kept lurching up to do a goober dance on the stage." As well, there were "a couple of 60 something farmer guys wearing overalls and suspenders." The air "was clotted with that peculiar, sour scent of human bodies soaked generously with hard liquor." And then, the seemingly central point of the article was that Chamberlain saw his dentist at the concert—implying that a person of that class was definitely out of place in this vulgar crowd. Chamberlain hit a nerve with many of those who attended the concert. One response in the *Times Colonist's* letters to the editor the next week read, in part:

I hope Adrian Chamberlain has recovered from the shook of noticing his dentist among those attending the Stompin' Tom Connors concert Sept. 21, and also from his apparent horror at the very thought of Connors performing on the same stage once used by the Royal Winnipeg Ballet and Peter Ustinov.

What is actually shocking, or at least rather sad, is Chamberlain's arrogant tone and condescending attitude, especially in his mocking description of different members of the audience.

...I might also note that I happened to be sitting near the middle of the theatre and in the air around me there was no indication at all of "the sour scent of human bodies soaked generously with hard liquor." There was, in fact, a

⁵⁶ I suspect it was somewhat tongue in cheek.

very friendly, highly exuberant audience, which is part of the fun of attending a Tom Connors concert.

Amazing as it may seem to Chamberlain, it is quite possible for me, and I'm sure many others, to enjoy both a symphony concert and a Tom Connors concert.

Perhaps Chamberlain could learn a valuable lesson from his dentist. When the dentist next asks him to "open wide please," let's hope he applies this command to his mind as well as his mouth. (Pollard, 1998, p. A10)

Pollard questioned Chamberlain's assumption that classical music is for the sophisticated, upper class, while country music is for the working class. Certainly Chamberlain's review leaves the impression that his judgment of the audience as uncivilized was the basis for judging the concert. In fact, very little was mentioned about the music at all. It was as if there was nothing of substance for him to comment on. Yet at least one fan provided a conflicting view and admitted to a broader taste in music, one unrelated to social class.

Despite Chamberlain's stereotypical judgments about high art and mass culture that get reproduced regularly in the local newspaper, Victorians have another high profile example of an inclusive model. The Victoria Symphony has, for years, shown that they aspire to entertain a broader cross-section of the population than older middle-class aficionados. They have annually hosted the "Symphony Splash," a summertime concert of classical music for Victorians performed from the downtown Inner Harbour. In 1990, "about 40,000 people turned out for the free concert that has been an annual and much anticipated family event since 1990" (McGinnis, August 8, 2000). The event ends with Tchaikovsky's "1812 Overture," complete with canons, bells, and fireworks. Another free, family-oriented casual concert is held in Greater Victoria's Western Communities at the velodrome during the summer. The casual, outdoor nature of these two annual events seem to be an attempt to counteract the stereotypical "stuffed shirt" image of classical music.

Detels (1999) suggests that these new "softer-boundaried"

performance contexts in everyday settings with fewer restrictions on moving, talking, eating, and so forth, may be helpful to music in the long run, as music comes out of the museum and into real life. Such uses of music destabilizes the split between life and art. Further, Detels (1999) believes:

It is probably the proud insistence on the autonomy of Western art music that has resulted in its declining influence in American public life. On the contrary, music appears to occupy a higher status culturally when it is integrated with other forms of life experience, as, for example in its evident integration with poetry, dance, eating, weaving, and religious ceremonies of preindustrial societies. (p. 82)

The Victoria Symphony has further tried to destabilize traditional divisions between high art and mass culture and the perceived association of classical music with the middle and upper classes of society through partnership programs in the schools to make classical music available to all children. As well, one of their advertising campaigns was called "Test Drive the Symphony" (*Times Colonist*, 1999, p. B9). Promotional advertisements featured a picture of a young skateboarder and offered an introductory "highly energetic, non-conventional" preview concert for \$9.99. If the concert-goer subsequently purchased season tickets, the "test drive" concert price was refunded. I don't know how successful the campaign was in attracting a young, more hip audience, but the campaign is indicative of how this particular symphony is reaching out to attract a broader audience.

The symphony has also performed a variety of unusual single concerts, blending different periods and styles of music. For example, on September 15, 2001, the Victoria Symphony Orchestra played a concert with "Jeans 'n' Classics," a band that performs the music of English pop sensation Elton John (Sooden, 2001). These efforts have endeared the symphony to many in the community at large and as a result I would venture to say that fewer Victorians now consider classical music the exclusive domain of the upper class.

In summary, one of the ways that music is feminized and devalued

relates to its ties with physical sensual pleasure. Attempts have been made to distance music from this association and to validate it in masculine terms by intellectualizing music and in particular, by aligning Western art music with the dominant discourses of science and mathematics. Indeed, theorists (such as traditional musicologists) and music educators (particularly those who favour an aesthetic approach) have expunged all social context from Western art music in an attempt to privilege it over other musics as a pure, objective, formal product that can be judged from afar. Concert halls celebrate this museum approach to musical experience and distance music from real life. A reversal of this kind of valuing will need to acknowledge music's social context and relatedness to human experience.

Music as Emotion

A second way that music is feminized is by its association with emotion.⁵⁷ Music and emotion seem inseparable. Few would question music's potential to arouse strong feelings in us. Indeed, we often judge the quality of a musical performance by its ability to move us. Composers in particular have often written about what it is they are trying to communicate through music and often they make reference to emotion or feeling. The following sample of "quotable quotes" in *The Musician's Diary* (Lorenz, 1979) are indicative of the pervasiveness of this connection:

Good music expresses pure emotions (Schopenhauer, September 30).⁵⁸

⁵⁷ I am making no distinction here between emotions and feelings. Often one word is used to define the other. For example *Webster's New World Dictionary* (Neufeldt, 1988) defines "emotion" as "the arousal of feelings" while "feeling" is described as "experiencing an emotion." Some music theorists have differentiated between the two. For example, Rudhyar (1982) described feelings as

reactions of the organism-as-a-whole (in some cases of only the body or the psyche but most often both are involved) to a life situation; one feels tired, sad, insecure, depressed, or ebullient, joyful or confident. Emotions are waves of outflowing energy, directed toward some person, object, or situation. (p. 10)

⁵⁸ Each page in the *Musician's Diary* begins with a quotation for the day. The date given here refers to the page on which the quotation appears. There are no page numbers.

...music is the conscious language of feeling (Wagner, February 6).

It is our feelings above all that are first and immediately affected by music (C. M. Von Weber, February 18).

Music—we love it for the buried hopes, the garnered memories, the tender feelings it can summon at a touch (L. E. Landon, March 6).

The direct relation of music is not to ideas, but emotions. (H. Giles, March 15).

Every artist of genius breathes into his work an unexpressed idea, which speaks to our feelings, even before it can be defined (Liszt, March 29).

Music...appeals directly to our feelings, and is mistress of our deepest emotions (C. M. Von Weber, April 13).

Melody tells the most secret emotions of the heart, and reveals every desire of the human will; hence it is called the language of emotions (Schopenhauer, September 16).

Music theorists have tried to explain in more technical terms how music represents human emotions.⁵⁹ Generally, absolutists dissociate music from emotions. Absolutists and formalists believe that musical meaning is contained within the music itself and in the relationships within the work. Referentialists and expressionists, on the other hand,

⁵⁹ Langer (1953) has been one of the most influential theorists in her efforts to articulate the relationship between music and emotion. Her theory, which recognized similarities in the structures of music and forms of human feeling claimed that music represents the general, dynamic form of emotion, not the specific content, and in this way, music can be understood as symbols of human emotion. According to Langer, music is not a source of feelings, but a logical representation of emotions, moods, mental tensions, and resolutions—an analogue of our emotive life—a source of insight (1957a). See Sim's *Emotion and Meaning in Music* (1996) for a more detailed exploration of this topic.

believe that music communicates “in addition to these abstract, intellectual meanings...meanings which in some way refer to the extramusical world of concepts, actions, emotional states, and character” (Meyer, 1956, p. 1). Referentialists express an essential connection between emotional expression and musical meaning (Budd, 1985). As Reimer (1989) stated: “For the referentialist, art acts as communication” (p. 76). Absolute Expressionists, as described by Reimer (1989), occupy the middle ground. As absolutists, they believe that music’s meaning is contained within the music itself, and as expressionists, they believe that music has the capacity to transform subjective emotions into objective artistic expression.

Regardless of exactly how music and emotions relate, the fact is that this connection creates a legitimacy problem for music. Society’s general distrust of emotion and the fear of being out of control are seen as feminine and in opposition to reason and objectivity, which is considered masculine. An example of how these beliefs are reproduced for public consumption came in a recent episode of the TV drama, *Judging Amy*. The storyline revolved around a civil case in which a mother was seeking damages in the amount of three million dollars for the wrongful death of her daughter. Before the jury left to deliberate, the judge instructed the jurors to rely on the facts alone and not turn the trial into an “Andrew Lloyd Webber production.” The implication here was not only that music is emotional, but that emotions are unreliable and can’t be trusted. They cloud one’s judgment and interfere with rational, objective decision-making. When the jurors came back, they agreed on a settlement of ten million dollars for the mother—far surpassing the judgment sought. The judge was convinced that, indeed, the jurors had been swayed by their emotions. She overturned the decision and allowed no compensation.

Distancing Music from Emotion

The language of music, as a “language of emotion,” is in opposition to the language of the master narratives in our society where legal, scientific, and empirical discourses have dominated. Some music

theorists have recognized music's connection with emotion as a liability and have made concerted attempts to distance music from emotion.

According to Budd (1985), Hanslick's (1891/1974) *The Beautiful in Music* is the best known attempt to dissociate emotion from musical value and meaning. Hanslick felt that the prominence given to the relationship between music and feelings in the 19th century was the greatest obstacle to a scientific development of musical aesthetics. In a chapter entitled, "The Representation of Feelings Is not the Subject of Music," Hanslick fiercely argued against the notion that music represents emotion. He limited the connection between music and emotion to the dynamic property of motion, which, he said, is one of the concomitants of feeling, although not feeling itself. Hanslick "absolutely denied the possibility of representing emotions by musical means" (p. 55) and concluded that musical value is not dependent on music's capacity to arouse emotion or establish particular moods. Music's value is specifically musical.

Music's connection with emotion is also part of the reason music is sidelined in school curricula. The scientific and empirical values of the dominant discourses are clearly paramount in school curricula. The focus in education has been on the three R's and how such training will prepare students to become productive members of society. Miller (1992) noted that as civilizations progress, humans want to be viewed as "increasingly intelligent, ever more rational, exhibiting action that is ever more controlled and circumscribed" (p. 419). It is the "evil emotions" that are portrayed as one of the stumbling blocks to progress, yet emotions are "undeniably central to humanness" (p. 420). Isn't it interesting that, in spite of our sustained focus on the three R's, schools have often been blamed for short-changing students. Perhaps the deficiency is connected to our repudiation of emotion. As Goleman (1995) made clear, having emotional intelligence is crucial to success in life. In fact, Goleman claims emotional intelligence is more important than IQ, and that "at best, IQ contributes about 20 percent to the factors that determine life success, which leaves 80 percent to other forces" (p. 34).

The view that emotional and musical development are not valued

as intelligence has a long history. In fact, music psychologist Seashore (1938/1967) felt it necessary to devote a chapter to "Thinking in Music" in his *Psychology of Music* in order to answer the question, "Are musicians, as a class, intelligent?" (p. 173). I would suggest, however, that his response only served to exacerbate the problem as he differentiated between "musicians" and the "nonmusical world" with the following description that claimed:

musicians as a class are of the emotional type. Their job is to play upon feeling, to appreciate, to interpret, and to create the beautiful in the tonal realm. To be successful, the musician must carry his audience on a wave of emotion often bordering on the point of ecstasy. While doing this involves intelligence and intelligent action, the medium through which he works is feeling, not factual material objects or abstract philosophies. (p. 174)

In a patriarchal climate, such an explanation only serves to emphasize music's "otherness." And despite Gardner's (1983) theory of multiple intelligences,⁶⁰ which points to human knowing as a jagged profile of several intelligences, the equating of intelligence with verbal/mathematical ability has not been effectively challenged.

One strategy music teachers have used to gain credibility for music is to emphasize learning to read and write the language of music to conform with the writing-dominated world view of intelligence. Robert Witkin back in 1974 decried this approach to music education, but unfortunately it still exists all too frequently today. Often it is the specialist music teachers who strip music of its social value and reduce

⁶⁰ Gardner (1983) stands at the forefront of those who recognize intelligence as many autonomous yet interrelated ways of knowing. Gardner named seven intelligences as a minimum number of ways in which human beings have the potential to develop: linguistic, logical-mathematical, spatial, bodily kinesthetic, interpersonal, intrapersonal, and musical intelligences. He defined intelligence as "an ability to solve problems or to fashion products that are valued in at least one culture" (Gardner, 1993, p. 7). Gardner attempted to recognize, identify, and describe each of these abilities as autonomous capacities or domains. This conceptualization of intelligence is quite different from Piaget's general theories of the mind and the idea that a standard intelligence test can accurately evaluate a person's intelligence.

it to its linguistic/mathematical components.⁶² After all, this is what they have been taught in university schools of music. Heather, one of the interview participants in my research, sat in on a grade 4/5 music class during her practicum in Victoria in 2000. She recalled:

The music teacher [a specialist] discussed flats, tones, and semitones for the entire length of the class. (I thought it was kind of funny how we need people to research...why children and adults have such negative connections to music class when all it was was just sitting and listening [to talk about music], and just nothing interesting. (HE p. 1) [Later in the interview she returned to her observations in this class] The boys were turning around and making faces, poking everybody and halfway through the class asking, "Can we go outside?" [said in a dopey voice] No connection whatsoever. (HE p. 17)

While this anecdote may be an isolated example, my experience with education students leads me to believe otherwise. Specialist music teachers commonly leave students with the impression that writing and intellectually understanding music is of primary importance.

Perhaps a more common scenario in the elementary music class unfolds this way. The teacher introduces students to a new song that features a particular rhythmic element. The students sing the song, but the main purpose of the lesson seems to be the culminating wrap-up when the rhythmic sign, which has been featured, is connected with its oral production. Hanley (2000) admits that early in her career as a music teacher, "like most of my colleagues I used a literacy approach to teaching music" (p. 43).

Reconstructing Music to Serve the Dominant Discourses

Another tactic for shoring up the status of music in education is to promote music in the schools for its ability to enhance academic skills in other disciplines. I see this as an attempt to distance music from its

⁶² I think I can make this generalization, based on the hundreds of personal histories I have read as class assignments in ME 204 in which students describe their elementary music experiences. Often it was the classroom teacher, the non-specialist, who engendered a love of music in students. Specialists were often seen by students as preoccupied with the theory of music.

emotive and affective roots and re-present it in such a way that it feeds into or supports the dominant discourses in education. This approach has been widely used by advocacy groups to champion music in schools, especially since there are now numerous studies that support this connection.

For example, Weinberger (1998), founding member of the Center for the Neurobiology of Learning and Memory and Professor for the Department of Psychobiology at the University of California, in an article for *Educational Leadership*, reviewed several prominent studies that connect active music-making with increased brain activity and the development of reading and math skills. Similarly, Cutietta (1996) in an article for *General Music Today*, reviewed numerous studies which show a positive relationship between music education and the development of language and math skills. Further, he reviewed several studies that also show a positive transfer from music education to foreign language development, learning English as a second language, and not only "better discrimination skills for perceiving language," but as well, "better articulation skills for speaking language" (p. 28).

Probably the most widely read "propaganda" of this kind is Campbell's (1997) bestseller *The Mozart Effect*. Campbell credits French physician and sonic pioneer Alfred Tomatis, in his 50 odd years of research, with identifying a positive correlation between listening to Mozart's music and intellectual development. Music educators have been quick to capitalize on this connection. One of the catch phrases or slogans used by music advocacy groups now is, "Making music makes you smarter."

For example, NAMM (International Music Products Association, 1999) has assembled a music *Advocacy Kit* that includes numerous pamphlets and posters, a video, and a PowerPoint presentation for school boards. The material in the kit is designed to help anyone present an organized, strategic presentation to decision-makers in the school system—particularly, school boards. Presentations of this sort have even been made to the U.S. House of Representatives Education Caucus in 1999 (Vaughn & Winner, 2000). The NAMM Advocacy Task Force claims:

"If we could tell every school board in the nation about the research that shows how important music instruction is to academic achievement, we would declare a major victory" (NAMM, 1999, p. 3). Two of the mini posters have been reproduced in Tables 1 and 2 on the following pages. The first one on page 81 is titled: "Music Lessons Help Students More Than Computer Training." Another sample I have included on page 82 reports, "Ten-year Study Shows Music Improves Test Scores." The slogan "Making music makes you smarter" also appears on each poster. The cover of *The Music Advocate's Guide*, which is part of the kit, features a picture of Albert Einstein playing the violin accompanied by the quote, "I see my life in terms of music." These are powerful images and words.

The objective of the kit is overwhelmingly clear. Convince policymakers to keep music in the schools. But why? Who is behind this promotion? Although the group includes some representation from music educators on its Task Force, it is fairly well concealed that the kit is really to aid business interests while masquerading as aiding music education. The acronym NAMM is not identified anywhere in the promotional kit. Only the website identifies NAMM as an "International Music Products Association," formerly—"National Association of Music Merchants." There is only one veiled reference to "business" in the printed advocacy materials when it states that the contents of the kit should be used "in your day to day marketing" (p. 2). Thus, music education is used to support the dominant discourse of business and commerce.

Linking music with business and increased academic achievement has been a somewhat effective strategy in making small scale changes. For example, public outcry to save music programs in the Victoria area has sometimes caused school boards to re-allocate money and reverse their decisions to cut programs. Two examples of the power of promotion are the actions of governor Zell Miller of Georgia who provided Mozart CDs to every new mother in the state (Goode, 1999) and the new law for state-run schools in Florida which requires that toddlers listen to classical music daily (Goode, 1999).

The media's reporting of such news in the Victoria area is

Table 1—Sample of mini-posters supplied by NAMM.



Research shows piano students better equipped to comprehend mathematical and scientific concepts.

Preschoolers were divided into three groups: One group received private piano keyboard lessons and singing lessons. A second group received private computer lessons. The third group received no training. Those children who received piano/keyboard training performed 34% higher on tests measuring spatial-temporal ability than the others — even those who received computer training.

“Spatial-temporal” is basically proportional reasoning — ratios, fractions, proportions and thinking in space and time. This concept has long been considered a major obstacle in the teaching of elementary math and science.

Reference: Neurological Research February 28, 1997

Making Music Smarter

Table 2—Sample of mini-posters supplied by NAMM.



Regardless of socioeconomic background, music-making students get higher marks in standardized tests.

UCLA professor, Dr. James Catterall, led an analysis of a U.S. Department of Education database. Called NELS88, the database was used to track more than 25,000 students over a period of ten years.

The study showed that students involved in music generally tested higher than those who had no music involvement. The test scores studied were not only

standardized tests, such as the SAT, but also in reading proficiency exams.

The study also noted that the musicians scored higher, no matter what socioeconomic group was being studied.

Reference: Dr. James Catterall, UCLA, 1997

Making Music Smarter

revealing. In 1998, *Monday Magazine*, the weekly entertainment section of the *Times Colonist*, featured a full page picture of a muzzled Mozart. The title read, "Muzzling Mozart: Music in the Schools Has been Quieted by Budget Cuts. Now Research is Showing that the Music Made Kids Smarter" (Priest, 1998, p. 1). The feature article described how music programs were being cut in the schools despite a substantial groundswell of support from students, parents, music teachers, and researchers who point to its value. But administration has silenced the dissent. In fact, in Priest's interview with Harris, a University of Victoria education professor and former music teacher, Harris related that "many teachers, forbidden to go public about stressful working conditions, are frightened and afraid of repercussions if they speak out" (p. 9). Harris also stated that "I'm speaking to you today because I've got tenure. It's that simple" (p. 9). Priest experienced this "fear of repercussions" when she interviewed a teacher who revealed that

a colleague has to travel between nine different schools to teach music, that teachers without musical training are "stuck" with music, and that some children in Victoria are receiving no musical instruction at all. Later that teacher anxiously asked not to be quoted on anything "confrontational." (p. 9)

These conversations allude to the panoptic gaze of bureaucratic control that maintains the status quo and curbs resistance through psychological oppression. As reported by Morton (1996), such "oppression is institutionalized and systemic, weakening the resolve of those already feeling the effects of negative internalization" (p. 95). Ultimately, power is not in the hands of teachers or grass roots organizations, although they may have some influence. It seems that part of the way administration maintains its power is by making concessions on a limited basis without disturbing the status quo.

About a year and a half later, Goode (1999) in the *Times Colonist*, reported on the debunking of the whole "Mozart makes you smarter" theory. The header for the article was "Science," followed by "Mozart for Baby? Maybe Not," and in large text stated: "Hype surrounding the

Mozart effect has *unnecessarily* [my emphasis] sent parents and educators scurrying to give children exactly the right type of 'enriched' stimulation before the age of three, lest they suffer untoward consequences" (p. A8). Research was dismissed as "hype;" Governor Miller was characterized as "naïve;" and the general public was also chided for its gullibility. Goode, however, suggested that the impressionable public "could be forgiven" for believing such a claim due to the "publicity blitz that has attended the so-called Mozart effect" (p. A8).

The "spin" put on these stories by the media rests on the value attributed to the scientific discourses over other forms of knowledge such as music. Goode (1999) seemed to revel in exposing the musical community's efforts to gain legitimacy based on "faulty" research that connects music-making with increased linguistic and mathematical knowledge. The point I wish to make here is not so much whether the research connecting music and intellectual development to other disciplines is valid, but that such a connection is being used to legitimize the study of music at all. Establishing a connection with the dominant discourses of school is seen *even from within the profession* as a way to bring legitimacy to music, a subject that is devalued.⁶³ But implying that music should serve the purposes of math and language development will not aid music's cause in the long run. This kind of rationale only helps solidify or strengthen the position that music has no value in its own right, that we must rationalize its place in schools by what it will do for intelligence elsewhere.

Music as Nature

So far in this chapter I have explored, with the voices of others, the representation of music as an object of sensual desire and music as emotion. The third representation I will now examine is music as nature.

⁶³ This is not to say that validity is unimportant. Bumgarner Gee (in press) has pointed out that "there is so much advosearch masquerading as legitimate arts education research these days that many people in the field no longer appear to be able to distinguish between them." The *Journal of Aesthetic Education* (2000) devoted a special issue to the relationship between the arts and academic achievement. In it, for example, Vaughn and Winner (2000) reported that higher SAT scores by arts students is "purely correlational and allow[s] no causal inference" (p. 86).

These three representations of music, all working together, point to music's groundedness in the feminized body. We enjoy sensual, visceral pleasure in musical experience; we search for its beauty; we respond emotionally to music; and we engage the body in music-making.⁶⁴ This latter point further connects music-making with the feminine and has been the basis for a gendered bifurcation of musical experience since the Enlightenment. The bodily re-creation of music (performing) was thought to support feminine attributes, while mental creating (composing), was considered a masculine endeavour. In other words, Cartesian dualistic thought located male creativity in the mind and female creativity or re-creation in the body, since biologically, women were created for reproduction. (Descartes, 1637/1954). This gendered line of reasoning which placed culture over nature is what classified music-making as a feminine activity—it requires bodily creation.

To sing is to be, both literally and metaphorically, in tune with one's body (Green, 1997). The body, in a personal and intimate way is the instrument through which song is created. Singing connects us face to face in a relational way with one another. Along with singing comes a sense of vulnerability as we express ourselves—our persona—literally “through sound.” According to Bowman (1994), “experience with sound nurtures and sustains our sense of aliveness to the world, affirms our bond with it. Natural sounds reassure us both of the unity of the world and of the integrity of our place within it” (p. 18). Sound connects us with nature. It is through the sounding of the world that we recognize it as being alive—the chirping of birds, the rustle of dry leaves as a rabbit scurries for cover, the splash of water when a salmon jumps out of the river—we instinctively recognize that where there is sound, there is life.

In order to gain credibility for music as an intelligent endeavour, aesthetic theorists have tried to distance music from nature. Hanslick (1891/1974), for example, devoted a whole chapter to this point. He described how the elements of music are not found in nature, that is melody, harmony, and rhythm are not “provided for us by Nature ready

⁶⁴ Today, technology has made it possible to engage in musical experience without physically making music. The role of technology in musical experience will be discussed more fully later.

made, but...are creations of the human mind" (p. 144). Hanslick (1891/1974) described the sound of the "murmuring brook, the roar of the ocean waves, the thundering avalanche" and so forth as "mere noise—i.e., an irregular succession of sonorous pulses" (p. 149). Further, Hanslick declared:

The "music" of Nature and the music of man belong to two distinct categories. The transition from the former to the latter passes through the science of *mathematics*.... As everything in music must be measurable, while the spontaneous sounds of Nature cannot be reduced to any definite quality, these two realms of sound have no point of contact. Nature does not supply us with art. (p. 151)

What is the point of this reasoning? Hanslick is distancing music from nature and trying to show that music created by man is superior to the random sounds we hear in nature. Music is organized according to mathematical principles and is a creation of the reasoned mind of man. In this way music is represented as intellectual property—works of art—superior to skill in performance. This difference in valuing will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Hanslick's theorizing also served another purpose. It provided a rationale for valuing music above the other arts, since in nature there is no direct replication of music as there is in other arts. As Hanslick (1891/1974) stated: "The function of Nature to supply art with models is most strikingly exemplified in painting and sculpture. The painter could draw no tree, no flower, if they did not already exist in the external world" (p. 152). But "on comparing music with those arts, it is obvious that Nature has provided no model capable of becoming its subject-matter. There is nothing beautiful in Nature as far as music is concerned" (p. 154). This argument had previously been proposed by others such as Schiller, Korner, and Goethe who argued that music is the purest of the arts (Barry, 1987). According to Barry (1987), music and poetry have been elevated as arts because they are produced in the mind. Paintings, on the contrary, are produced in the body as is dance. This kind of reasoning, which adds value to the activity of the mind, is

evidence of the culture/nature and mind/body dualisms at work. Art, which imitates in relation to nature (*mimesis*), is accorded less value (Rodowick, 1994). Plato as well regarded artistic work that imitates as a kind of deception that takes us away from knowledge. As a result, "Plato did not assign the artist a significant role in taking us towards acquaintance with the form of beauty or beauty itself" (Blackburn, 1994, p. 244).

The feminization of music has also occurred because singing is strongly associated with the maternal (Green, 1997). The image of a mother singing to her baby seems to be almost universal. Nowhere is this connection more evident than in the home where a mother traditionally nurtures the family. But technology has been used to distance music from the body, allowing it to be reconstructed and legitimated in male terms and peddled as a commodity. When music is "work" in today's society, it usually involves the production of works of art as cultural commodities. This concept of art as a commodity-based industry has changed the way people value musical experience. The packaged CDs, including the technology to "burn" our own CDs on the computer, is so far removed from the actual living and breathing experience of music-making that many people no longer make any connection whatsoever with the bodily experience of music-making. When they "play" a song, it is by popping in a CD, not playing an instrument.

The reality of this distancing is only too clear when university students from the elementary music education course (ME 204) go to a live symphonic or band concert for the first time. They often comment on the "distraction" of seeing and hearing the musicians' breath and the "gross" emptying of saliva from the bells of the instruments. They seem shocked at these realities and think that somehow such behaviour is unprofessional. As Leppert (1993) has said, the irony of the musical product is that it "lacks all concreteness and disappears without a trace once the musicians' physical labors cease" (p. xx). The technology of our time is successfully wrenching music from its groundedness in the body and perpetuates the valuing of cultural products over natural embodied experiences (the culture/nature dualism).

Music as Divine

Music is also feminized and devalued by its association with the divine. Just as the mythology around woman falls generally into two categories—idealization and disparagement—so too with music these representations are common. Music has been venerated as a divine mystery, yet on the other hand as an evil enchantress. These two representations seem diametrically opposed—music is divine, and music is evil, but as with woman, these views represent a single attitude: music is different. As well, these representations underscore the belief that music has the potential to do more than produce beneficial or harmful effects. Music is immensely powerful—even mystical—and therefore needs to be controlled.

To introduce this section, I would like to explore how music has been theorized as divine. One source for this line of thinking comes from writers, theologians, and composers who celebrate music as a gift from God, and the composer as a divinely inspired genius. The following sample of “quotable quotes” in *The Musician's Diary* (Lorenz, 1979) are indicative of this view:

What a divine calling is music! Though everything else may appear shallow and repulsive, even the smallest task in music is so absorbing, and carries us so far away from town, country, earth, and all worldly things, that it is truly a blessed gift from God (Mendelssohn, January 9).

Music is one of the fairest and most glorious gifts of God (Martin Luther, April 11).

Let us accept music as a gift, a most precious gift of God; let us study it with reverence, let us practise it with humility and diligence, so that we may catch and drink in the spirit of love which it breathes, which is of God, and which leads to God (Karl Merz, November 18).

Music, in the opinion of many, ranks second only to faith

and religion; and apart from its power, its effect, and its many advantages, we may justly regard it as belonging to heaven rather than earth, awakening and stimulating, as it does in our hearts, a desire to praise the Almighty with psalms and thanksgiving (Michael Praetorius, June 26).

Whatever the relations of music, it will never cease to be the noblest and purest of arts. It is the nature of music to bring before us, with absolute truth and reality, what other arts only imply (Wagner, June 20).

These quotations represent a common interpretation of the uncommon. They align music with the divine and privilege it over the other arts. Is this perception limited to Romantic composers, clerics, and philosophers of old? How have others in our time theorized the divine and mystical in music?

Social theorists who have deconstructed much of human culture often steer clear of music or leave intact the perception that what happens in musical experience is mystical and therefore beyond comprehension. For example, anthropologist Lévi-Strauss (1970), who applied structural linguistics to anthropology and revealed the "importance of binary oppositions and other structuring dichotomies in the symbolic systems of man" (Wiseman & Groves, 1997, p. 87) had this to say about music:

Music is a language by whose means messages are elaborated.... Since music is the only language with the contradictory attributes of being at once intelligible and untranslatable, the musical creator is a being comparable to the gods, and music itself the supreme mystery of the science of man. All other branches of knowledge stumble into it, it holds the key to their progress. (Lévi-Strauss, 1970, p. 18)

Certainly this description of music as an "untranslatable...supreme mystery" contributes to its representation as other-worldly.

Another influential social theorist, Barthes, who is closely associated with structuralism and poststructuralism, remained silent

about music until late in life (Engh, 1993). It was as if, according to Engh, Barthes "seemed to observe a sort of taboo on music in his early, semiological work [and later] turned to it as the unrepresentable figure par excellence" (p. 73). Barthes simply wrote that music is "a field of signifying [significance] and not a system of signs, the referent...is the body. The body passes into music without any relay but the signifier" (cited in Engh, 1993, p. 73). This way of critiquing music's significance is totally oppositional to typical musicological analysis. Musicologists have almost exclusively devoted their analysis to the formal structures of music as a system of signs that refer to something indefinable.

Near the end of his life, Barthes seemed to be moving towards a critique that aligned music with woman and the foreign (Engh, 1993). This alignment with "the other" and particularly with the foreign, underscores music's untranslatability. Barthes (1986, 1989) also recognized that in this representation, as in the love of a foreign country, "there is a kind of reverse racism where one is delighted by difference, one is tired of the Same, one exalts the Other" (p. 297).

All the arts have the power to influence, but perhaps music is different from the arts that are processed through sight. We can look at a painting or a sculpture, read a poem, or watch a dramatic presentation from a distance in a cool, detached way. We are observing an object outside the body. But with music, sound enters the body. What is different and remarkable about this phenomenon is

the extent to which the human ear opens directly onto and colors the field of consciousness. In addition to the primitive survival value of reflective responses to sound, humans engage in contemplative, mindful activity with sound that profoundly colors experience.... It is primarily through sound we transcend the insularity of selfhood, the sense of I-it duality that so permeates non-auditory experience. (Bowman, 1994, p. 18)

In other words, it is the emptiness in music, when combined with our own consciousness, that is so powerful. Perhaps the following example will elucidate.

Participants in earlier research by Sim (1995) referred to a "space" in music that allows individuals room to think, to imagine, and to enjoy in unique ways. Ian, one of the research participants, made the point that movies, for example, structure one's response in a restrictive way. Through images combined with words and music, movies tell you what to think. Words, he said, leave a little more room for the imagination to work, but music is a step beyond that. Its "emptiness" is perhaps the key to its power.

I will now focus more specifically on four ways that music is thought to be divine—through religious liturgical worship, through ecstatic religious and/or spiritual experiences, through mythical experiences, and through redemptive spiritual experiences. What is required first is to define the difference between my use here of "spiritual" and "religious." "Religious" refers to musical "experiences that pertain to religion, that is they must denote, represent, express, or explicate, among other ways, certain beliefs and practices prescribed or acknowledged by religious groups or institutions" (Jorgensen, 1993, p. 108). "Spiritual" musical experiences refer to those "dimensions of human experience that reside beyond the realm of easily detectable materiality—frequently referred to as metaphysical—but not connected to a supreme being" (A. Palmer, 1995, p. 92). Often people point to a spiritual union in musical experience where something intangible is communicated and shared. In previous research, Sim (1995) referred to this metaphysical union in musical experience as "truth-telling," where people share a oneness or unity in an authentic musical experience. This, according to the preceding definition, would be a spiritual experience.

Music is represented as divine because of its association with religious liturgical worship. In many Christian denominations, particularly Anglican and Catholic, church music is used to support the liturgy. The word is still supreme (as revealed in the Bible and the Prayer Book), and musical texts must not hide or detract from its import. For example, the following is an excerpt from article 112 and 121 of Vatican II (October 11, 1962—December 8, 1965):

The musical tradition of the universal Church is a treasure of inestimable value, greater even than that of any other art. The main reason for this pre-eminence is that, as sacred song united to the words, it forms a necessary or integral part of the solemn liturgy. Holy Scripture, indeed has bestowed praise upon sacred song (42), and the same may be said of the fathers of the Church and of the Roman pontiffs. ... Therefore sacred music is to be considered the more holy in proportion as it is more closely connected with the liturgical action, whether it adds delight to prayer, fosters unity of minds, or confers greater solemnity upon the sacred rites.

121... The texts intended to be sung must always be in conformity with Catholic doctrine; indeed they should be drawn chiefly from holy scripture and from liturgical sources. (Overkott & Spindelbock, 1998/2001, p. 1)

Specific texts are sung for particular seasons in the church year. Settings for the texts are approved by the church and sung in set places within the service. The goal of worship in this tradition is to "perform the ritual work so as to present to God a 'pure offering:' sacred objects re-created to live again as they have lived for generations" (Caswell, 1995, p. 86). Music of the great "masters" is revered and sung in its original language in "high" church traditions. According to Caswell (1995), "sacred objects are to be treated with the care accorded objects of high art" (p. 85). The "higher" the church, the more music and worship is formal and organized, with the expression of emotional involvement by the people kept at arm's length. For example, Anglican clergy and laity in cathedral churches generally value sacred Western art music over contemporary Christian music.

This difference in valuing is reflected in the lyrics of anthems. For example, contemporary church music often explores an intimate faith experience in the first person, whereas traditional religious art music is more impersonal and tends to paraphrase Biblical texts in the third person. The contemporary anthem, "Shout to the Lord," for example, by

Zschech (1993), begins with the lyrics, "My Jesus, my Savior./Lord, there is none like You./All of my days, I want to praise/ the wonders of your mighty love." In contrast, Stainer's (1951) "Crucifixion" contains the anthem, "God so Loved the World," based on John 3:16,17. It begins this way: "God so loved the world,/God so loved the world,/ that He gave His only begotten Son, that whoso believeth, believeth in Him/ Should not perish..." The lyrics of the great cantatas of the Baroque masters (such as Bach and Handel) are also written in this style.

In traditional liturgical worship, authority figures are responsible for doing the ritual acts in order and decency⁶⁵ on behalf of the people. Although there is certainly a move to involve more lay leadership, most parishioners accept the role of the priest as one specially trained and authorized to perform sacramental duties according to the regulations of that tradition. Music is also in the hands of the specially trained. Organists and choirmasters have usually had choral and instrumental performance training and experience. As well, the choir sings for the people because they have been trained to do it better. I often encounter this belief when I ask members of the congregation if they would like to join the church choir. Often they say something like this: "I enjoy singing but I'm not very good at it." Sometimes people have said to me, "Shouldn't I take some voice lessons first?"

Jorgensen (1993) reported that music as an extension of the liturgy is "formally complex, intellectually appealing, objectified, and hierarchically organized" (p. 106). Music constitutes a "means of access, or a vehicle through which human beings come to know the 'Other'" (p. 106). The "lower" the church, the less ritualistic the worship and the more people are encouraged to participate first-hand.

The second way that music is represented as divine is through ecstatic religious and/or spiritual experiences. Spiritual experiences occur when individuals experience an altered state of consciousness, in some cases a trance-like effect. The object of this kind of worship is to

⁶⁵ One of the guiding principles in Anglican worship is to do everything in "order and decency." For example, an Anglican publication entitled *Readiness and Decency* (Palmer & Hawkes, 1946) described how the priest should celebrate the holy Eucharist and other services in a thoughtful and orderly fashion.

experience God, not merely approach Him. In these instances, "religious experience transcends the verbal and embraces a multi-sensory world" (Caswell, 1995, p. 87). Caswell (1995) described this ecstatic aspect of worship in the churches of African-American Christians where the services have an improvisory feel; there are no rigid distinctions between the spoken word and singing. Even the preacher moves effortlessly between the two. This fluidity is facilitated by the organist who jumps in and punctuates the message musically. Encouraging outbursts from the worshippers follow. Indeed,

members of the congregation are expected to testify through transcendent speech and or ecstatic dance.... Outcry and bodily movement—are essential to black worship, their presence signalling successful communication; i.e., worshippers becoming one with the Holy Spirit and rejoicing in its influence on their lives. (p. 84)

The purpose of music in this kind of worship is to

achieve group transcendence; the state in which we leave—even if temporarily and partially—the bounds of earth and quotidian life to make more tangible our relationship with God. Preacher, choir, instrumentalists, and congregation succeed at worship by the degree to which they manifest this mystic state. (Caswell, 1995, p. 85)

Such worship may also include ecstatic utterances known as glossolalia—singing (or speaking) in tongues. This phenomena is not exclusive to Afro-American Christian denominations. It is described in the New Testament as a sign of the infilling of the Holy Spirit and is part of worship in Pentecostal churches and charismatic groups in other denominations such as Roman Catholic and Anglican.

The First Nations use of music in spiritual ceremonies could also be described as ecstatic spiritual experience where chant and song are used to guide individuals while communing with the spirit world. Boyea (1999) reported that "in probably all native traditions, music is most importantly, and first of all, "a medium of communication and contact with the supernatural" (p. 107). I am, however, somewhat at a loss in

describing this phenomenon. To Western eyes, it appears as a trance-like state of altered consciousness, but this is essentially a Western, colonialist view. Boyea (1999) explains the epistemological difference this way:

In the past native Americans did not have this meta-cognitive perceptual stance toward their music and for some Indians today it is regrettable that such a position, such a consciousness, has developed.... This point of view intercepts and breaches the unity between music and community soul, and thus interrupts the sacred, the mystery, the immersing of self through music with the All. (p. 108)

Music in First Nations cultures is not separate from its function. In fact, "the functional aspects of music are most significant, the major *raison d'être* of most traditional musics" (Boyea, 1999, p. 107).

Another way that people have ecstatic spiritual experiences is through flow or autotelic experience. In this state, as described by Csikszentmihalyi (1990), individuals are so immersed in what they are doing that they experience an altered state of consciousness. They become so completely absorbed in the activity that it becomes spontaneous, almost automatic as they merge with the activity. In other words, subject and object positions disappear. Music-makers become the music. For the on-looker there is an appearance of effortlessness and fluidity because energy is flowing so smoothly. When experiencing flow, individuals have a sense of control over their actions yet they lose the sense of clock time and allow the rhythm or flow to be dictated by the activity itself. Csikszentmihalyi's (1990) research identified musical experience as an activity that frequently produces the state of "flow" or optimal experience.

Music is also represented as divine through mythical experiences. Some cultures revere certain objects as having magical or numinous qualities or powers that have the ability to change the natural world. This belief is "characteristic of animistic and totemistic religions, in which the 'Ultimate reality' appears to be present in all kinds of objects, things, persons, and events, and everything is infused with the hand of

this mysterious, powerful Other” (Jorgensen, 1993, p. 105).

A particular case in point comes from the Aboriginal people of Australia who believe songs themselves have mystical power. Chatwin (1987) described the Aboriginals' ancient “Dreaming-tracks,” the paths through the outback that were created through song. Aboriginals tell of their ancestors who, while travelling through the country, scattered trails of words and notes along the paths they travelled. These “Dreaming-tracks” across the land were the paths of communication between tribes (p. 13). The songs were both maps and direction-finders. If you knew the songs you could navigate your way across the country. But songs were also much more than this. The Aboriginals believe they are keeping the land alive through their singing. This is indeed, a mythical musical experience.

And finally, music is also represented as divine through redemptive spiritual experiences. For many people music is a saving grace in their lives, a redemptive agent that is alluded to with the same depth of feeling that some Christians use when speaking of Christ. This imagery comes through in Wagner's musical dramas and in his writing. Following is a version of the “Apostle's Creed” he wrote. Although flippant in part, it is, none the less a statement of his beliefs. A portion of it is quoted below:

I believe in God, Mozart and Beethoven, and likewise in their disciples and apostles;—I believe in the Holy Spirit and the truth of the one, indivisible Art:—I believe that this art proceeds from God, and lives within the hearts of all illuminated men;—I believe that he who once bathed in the sublime delights of this high Art, is consecrate to Her forever, and never can deny Her;—I believe that through this Art all men are saved, and therefore each may die for Her of Hunger... (cited in Aberbach, 1988, p. 171)

Wagner's belief in the redeeming power of music is not unique. In phenomenological research Sim (1995) found that many people experience music as the quintessence of life and when music in their lives is threatened, then life itself is in jeopardy. Examples of people who experience music in this way that immediately come to mind include

Beethoven, Glenn Gould, and Thelonius Monk. The example of American jazz pianist and composer Thelonius Monk will help illustrate my point.

Music brought Monk to life. The movie *Straight No Chaser*, showed rare clips of Monk in the studio, on tour, and behind the scenes. Away from the piano, the video footage reveals an empty shell of a man—withdrawn and uncommunicative. His speech is low, slurred, and very difficult to understand. Yet at the piano, even before he sits down, there is an urgency and intensity that energizes his whole body. In a word, the transformation is magical.

During the mid 1950s, Monk began to exhibit strange behaviours. He experienced fits of depression and euphoria during which he would be distant and unresponsive, then get excited and energized, sometimes pacing for days: His behaviour resulted in his collapsing from exhaustion. During the 1960s, he was hospitalized several times for schizophrenia. Suddenly in 1972, he stopped playing without explanation. Harry Colomby, Monk's manager, related that something inside Monk clicked. "He didn't want to play any more, and he didn't give any reasons." About the same time he admitted to a close friend, Nica De Koenigswarter, that he was seriously ill. "He never said it again," she confides. Ten years later, he died.

We do not know which came first—the realization that he was sick and therefore could no longer play, or the fact he could no longer play, so he realized he must be sick. For Thelonius Monk, music was life, and life was music. Monk's experience came to mind when I read Wagner's words in his creed—that through music men are saved, and if not, then they "may die for Her of hunger."

As just described, music has, through social experiences, language, and representation, been understood to be divine. These constructions align music with the feminine and the mystical, and therefore there is a need to control what could potentially be an out of control state, especially when the altering of consciousness is involved. But music as dangerous, even evil?

Music as Evil

Perris (1985) stated that "music is doing something to everyone who hears it all the time. It is an art which reaches the emotions easily, often (always?) ahead of intellectual awareness" (p. 6). Therefore it has great power to influence our behaviour. Music's "emptiness" as described earlier allows it to be used for a variety of purposes, both good and evil.

One of the meanings of "evil" is "deceptive" or "manipulative." Certainly music is used to manipulate our behaviour—music is used to get us out of a restaurant faster, to make us stay in a store longer, to make us think the waiting time on hold is shorter, to scare us at the movies, to distract us at the dentist's office, and so forth. The list is endless. And although some practices are manipulative, we often benefit from such uses of music. For example, in ME 204, I encourage prospective teachers to use music to change the atmosphere in the classroom. If students are hyperactive at Hallowe'en for example, I suggest they play slower, softer music to help calm students down. If students are drowsy after lunch, I suggest teachers play faster, louder music to invigorate the children.

Often music is employed to manipulate our buying habits. For example most television commercials now use music, not so much in a blatant way (as with jingles), but more subtly through association. Luxury cars are sold to the accompaniment of classical music, capitalizing on our association of classical music with its upper class status. Another example that stands out in my mind is last year's Christmas promotion by The Gap that featured boy and girl bands made of average young teens, dressed in Gap fashions. This association fed into the teenage fantasy of being rock stars. The use of music to sell a particular product to a target market is widespread in our consumer society. Advertisers market values and lifestyles as much as they do products. And although such practices are deceptive and manipulative, we barely raise an eyebrow. Consumerism rules.

So what does society consider an evil use of music to be? The question of what is evil and how it came to be is one of the oldest questions in society. There is a wide semantic field covered by the word

"evil." The dictionary gives a broad range of definitions that include "manipulative," "harmful," "repulsive," "depraved," "immoral," "criminal," "sinful," and "deadly." According to Spencer (1993), a

study of a people's popular beliefs regarding the sources and nature of evil reveals submerged realities about their nature as religious human beings. This is because the study of evil is essentially the study of morality, for evil cannot be examined without some comprehension of the parameters of what is perceived by a people to be good, sacred, and holy. (p. xxii)

In other words, when we look at something that has been vilified as evil, we should also look for other beliefs that are hidden or disguised in the process. I would like to use rock and roll music as the prime example of a music that has been characterized as evil by some and ferret out how this attribution has been made.

There is no question that the volume of rock music is physically harmful. The Occupational Health and Safety Act warns that "exposure to 115 decibels should be for no more than 15 minutes a day, above that, no exposure is permissible. At 130 decibels there is a risk of permanent hearing damage after just 75 seconds" (cited in Green, 1999). Rock concerts by groups such as Metallica easily reach these dangerous levels and sustain them for hours. Today many of the musicians in rock groups wear ear plugs as "more than 90 per cent [of musicians] have the beginnings of hearing loss" (Green, 1999). Chasin, co-founder and auditory research director of the musicians' Clinics of Canada notes that "[a]ny hearing loss can cause learning problems" (cited in Green, 1999). This harmful effect would seem to be a legitimate concern for parents. But in what other ways was rock music, especially in the early days, portrayed as "dangerous?"

One phrase that comes to mind is "sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll." Rock and roll with its sexual lyrics—called "leerics" and pounding beat was seen to promote promiscuous sexual behaviour among young people. Bloom (1987) suggested that

rock music has one appeal only, a barbaric appeal to sexual

desire—not love, not *eros*, but sexual desire undeveloped and untutored.... Rock gives children, on a silver platter, with all the public authority of the entertainment industry, everything their parents always used to tell them they had to wait for until they grew up and would understand later. (p. 73)

In short, Bloom (1987) said that via rock music, "life is made into a nonstop, commercially prepackaged masturbational fantasy" (p. 75). Indeed, the term "rock and roll" was "black slang for having sex" (R. Palmer, 1995, p. 8). Everyone knew what songs like "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On" and "Good Rockin' Tonight" meant. Martin and Segrave (1988) reported that earthy lyrics had been sung in rhythm and blues for decades, and nobody seemed to mind. Rhythm and blues, however, was directed solely at black audiences. Rock and roll was the white appropriation of rhythm and blues and was marketed for white audiences. Yet the lines began to blur. We know that some of the first integrated gatherings in the south were not in churches or schools but at rock concerts (R. Palmer, 1995).

Now the accusation of "dangerous" gets more interesting. Was rock music dangerous because it started chewing away at social practices of racial segregation? As well, the beat of the music, which has been referred to as "the beat of sexual intercourse" (Bloom, 1987, p. 73) was also often given the racist tag "jungle rhythm" or "jungle music." Church leaders, journalists, doctors, politicians, musicians from accepted music practice (not just classical musicians but pop icons such as Frank Sinatra), and other members of the establishment denounced rock and roll publicly, often revealing their true inner motivation. For example, Palmer (1995) reported that a picket sign outside a Bill Haley concert in 1956 read, "Christians should not attend this show. Ask your preacher about jungle music" (p. 46). A white supremacists' circular from New Orleans said in part, "Help save the youth of America. DON'T BUY NEGRO RECORDS.... The screaming idiotic words and savage music of these records are undermining the morals of our white youth in America" (cited in Palmer, 1995, p. 52). It seems whites used rock and roll, which

was also called the "devil's music," to support their stereotypical views of blacks as immoral and sexually promiscuous.

Of particular interest is the public's reaction to Elvis Presley. According to Martin and Segrave (1988), "no one ever received such a torrent of bile delivered over so short a period of time as did Elvis Presley" (p. 3). This violent reaction was founded on a variety of societal beliefs that were being threatened at the time. For example, Elvis sounded black. He disrupted the white/black segregation that prevailed in society and in music. He also ruptured the stereotypical model of male/female. Elvis "cultivated an androgynous sexuality in his looks, moves, and lyrics" (Weinstein, 1999, p. 106) that modelled a gender cross-over that has persisted in rock music for decades.⁶⁶ Further, Elvis disrupted the divisions society placed on secular/sacred music. Popularizing sacred music with guitar accompaniment broke the rules of propriety that said the secular and the sacred were to be separate.

The association of music with drugs has also contributed to its portrayal as evil. We know that large rock concerts in the '60s were venues for open drug use, particularly marijuana and LSD. The "Grateful Dead" for example, by their own admission "played r&b with a large amount of weirdness inserted into it [for] people who were taking LSD and dancing their hearts out" (cited in R. Palmer, 1995, p. 156). The combination of drug use, particularly LSD, with music was so popular because LSD provides alternative ways of processing sound. One could have the experience of getting inside sounds and colours—feeling green or tasting red for example. LSD slows down time so that "the tripster/listener now had time to appreciate the sonic detail, the specific, sensuous texture of each sound" (R. Palmer, 1995, p. 161).

Originally rock and roll was an outlet for the rebellion of youth against the status quo. As Weinstein (1999) reported,

when rock 'n' roll emerged in the 1950s, the authorities to be resisted were parents and the schools, which were disciplining teenagers to be good middle-class adults. In the

⁶⁶ The androgynous look of pop stars such as Mick Jagger and Michael Jackson come to mind, as well as performers in the "glam" rock era when outrageous costumes and outlandish makeup were the norm for males.

1960s the focus shifted to military and governmental authorities and the universities. After the 1960s, a focus for resistance was lost. (p. 109)

Rock music was now big business, bigger than movies, bigger than professional sports, bigger than television, and so the claim to be protesting against the dominant values of society seemed empty since the musicians and record companies were part of a multibillion dollar, multinational media industry. Rebels without a cause had nowhere to go but to new heights (or depths) of depravity. Killing live animals on stage, drinking their blood, chaining and raping women on videos, promoting violence against the police in lyrics, and suggesting suicide as the only way out⁶⁷ are but a few of the examples of why rock music has, over the years, horrified parents and religious and civic leaders. Rainbow (1995) suggested that, in our market driven society:

recording companies and disc jockeys, rather than philosophers, influence young people's tastes; children's heads are daily stuffed with rubbish by the media; indifferent cult music has become a badge of youthful protest. And the term "barbarians"—which the Greeks employed to deride foreigners—has lost much of that exclusive connotation. Instead, in a society growing more brash, far from resisting barbarism, we often seem intent on manufacturing barbarians from among ourselves. (p. 49)

It seem that some rock music has succeeded in vivifying the mythology of times past. For example, the Greek god Dionysus was nicknamed the intoxicated, irrational one, and Shiva, from an ancient pre-Aryan cult, was nicknamed the Howler, the Noisy One or "Skanda," which literally means "the jet of sperm" (R. Palmer, 1995). According to Palmer (1995), "these are the gods of ecstasy and rampant sexuality" (p. 148). Both of these beings are represented as horned gods, and interestingly enough, fans at heavy metal concerts would sometimes make the two horned sign

⁶⁷ The suicide of grunge singer Kurt Cobain in 1994 prompted several teenagers to take their own lives. The "no-hope" lyrics of Cobain's music and the example of his own death gave some teens the push they needed to choose suicide as the only way out (Watts, 1995).

with their fingers, pledging their allegiance, so to speak, to these deities (R. Palmer, 1995). Rock music was for many, a religious experience celebrating values and deities that were in opposition to traditional religions in the West.

I have focussed here on the portrayal of rock music as evil, but this is not the only kind of music that has been so designated. Perhaps one of the most famous examples of "fiendish" music that incited people to riot was the Paris premiere of Stravinsky's ballet, *Rite of Spring*, in 1913. The *Rite of Spring* was considered a barbaric assault on the senses. Its pounding rhythms with varying patterns of accentuation, its polyrhythms and dissonant harmonies which were loud, percussive, and repetitious, and its use of instruments playing in the outer limits of their ranges all contributed to anger and outrage on the part of the first audience. The visual representation of a rape scene and the sacrificial death of a young girl no doubt contributed to the audience's horrified reaction. The conductor Pierre Monteau, recalled that:

the audience remained quiet for the first two minutes. Then came boos and catcalls from the gallery.... Neighbours began to hit each other over the head.... Soon their anger was concentrated against the dancers, and then more particularly the orchestra, the direct perpetrator of the crime. Everything available was tossed in our direction but we continued to play on. The end of the performance was greeted by the arrival of gendarmes. (cited in Lederman, 1975, p. 129)

Music has power to stir us to violence but it also has "charms to soothe the savage breast." Since the time of Plato, there has been an awareness of the potential for good and evil in musical experience and therefore the need to control it. Plato in *Republic III* (cited in Mark, 1982) recommended that certain modes, rhythms, and instruments be disallowed because of their negative effect. Only music that had a "civilizing influence" was to be used to educate the young and encourage in them sensitivity and an awareness of beauty and harmony.

Interestingly enough, both of these characterizations of music as divine and music as evil work against music in education. Metcalfe

(1987) noted that:

there still exists some distrust of its [music's] abstract and ephemeral nature, its bonds with religion, pageantry, culture and ritual, a certain unease at its properties of enhancing emotional states and particularly at its pervasive influence on the young. (p. 97)

In times past, schools and churches had similar missions. Dewey wrote "The teacher is a true minister of God and the usher of the true kingdom of God" (cited in Welker, 1992, p. 17). Crusaders for public education were commonly deeply religious. Teaching was seen as a calling, and the school as a vehicle for reinforcing the values of the church. Indeed, "to read the Bible or the Catechism was the primary reason for learning to read" (Tellstrom, 1971, p. 11). Similarly, singing was promoted in schools as a way to enhance singing in church (Rainbow, 1995). As well, learning to read music was encouraged to bolster singing in church. English educator John Curwen (1875) wrote:

schools are waiting for the cheerfulness and the moral influence which song can give; homes are waiting for the healthy recreation, the social pleasure, and the delightful study which music can afford; and congregations are waiting for young men and maidens, old men and children to learn to sing that they may praise the Lord. (p. 1)

But by the beginning of the 20th century the function of schools began to change. As Welker (1992) reported: "the forces of industrialization and urbanization put great pressures on the schools to educate children for life in the modern world" (p. 16). Schools were now to serve the industrial economy by preparing children to be productive adult members of society. Practical and vocational aims in education became paramount while the classical model of education as moral training became secondary. The role of music as a supporter of religious values no longer held much sway. The roles of science and technology expanded in schools; the close ties with the church diminished. Today religious training is largely absent in public schools. Parents who want religious teaching to play a vital role in their children's education enrol

them in private schools.

In an effort to avoid presenting a single belief system in our pluralistic society, most opt for presenting nothing of spiritual or religious value. Many music teachers feel compelled to perform only secular repertoire (Jorgensen, 1993). Even "Christmas concerts" are now called "Winter Celebrations" where Santa is featured as a personality who will offend no one. Thus, music's connection with religion works against it in schools, as does music's potential to be used for evil.

In summary then, music is marginalized as the feminized other in the following representations:

- music as an object of sensual pleasure,
- music as emotion,
- music as nature,
- music as divine, and
- music as evil.

These representations uphold asymmetrical dualistic constructions which include valuing mind over body, reason over emotion, high art over mass culture, culture over nature, the visual over the auditory, and the secular over the sacred.

In the next section, I will deal with the gendered construction of music from within the disciplines of music and music education. In particular the following areas will be analysed:

- *Ways of Making Music:*
 - *Singing,*
 - *Playing instruments, and*
 - *Using technology.*
- *Styles of Music,*
- *Career Opportunities:*
 - *Performing,*
 - *Composing,*
 - *Conducting, and*
 - *Teaching.*

Gender Construction within the Disciplines

How is gender difference constructed within the disciplines of music and music education? First, I will trace the moving strand of relationship in the production of music through singing, playing instruments, and using technology.

Ways of Making Music

Making music is generally considered a feminine art. Performing requires sensitivity and comes to life through the body. These two aspects of performance—emotional perception and bodily creation—mark performance as feminine. If the body can be distanced from the activity, as in playing instruments or through technology, then performing is more socially acceptable as a male activity.

Singing

As previously discussed, singing is particularly feminized because of its union with the body. As Campbell (1998) relates, “singing is intimate musicking, as the voice is the sound from within, the human source of musical sound” (p. 188). It comes as no surprise then, that singing is widely characterized in school as “sissy” (Green, 1997). Heather, a participant in my research, shared the following reflection about singing in school:

I think girls are generally more, I guess, compliant in that they would go along and do it [sing] but not necessarily like it. You wouldn't necessarily have a girl say, “This sucks, I don't want to do this. This is gay.”... Oh if I had a dime for every time I heard a boy say “Oh I don't want to sing this, this is gay,” meaning stupid and homosexual. (HE, p. 7)

But nevertheless, some boys do sing. How are they able to resist the sissy stereotype? I would suggest that proving one's masculinity could be described as collecting or amassing points. Singing has a negative value, but if, for example, a boy plays hockey as well, he may have enough points from this activity to counteract the negative value of singing. He might also turn the situation around and suggest that the other boys are sissy because they haven't got the guts to do what he's doing. By acting

this way he draws on one of the stereotypical male models of behaviour mentioned earlier—the “give ‘em hell” or “kick ass” mentality. Here, his bravado expresses a confidence to participate in “risky behaviour” of another sort—not life threatening activity but gender threatening activity.

The type of music being sung can also factor into the equation. Jazz, for instance, is considered masculine.⁶⁸ As well, singing that is related to sport could also add masculine points. Heather commented on the contextual value of relating singing with sport, as opposed to singing in school. She described a scenario in the classroom where the teacher said:

“Now boys, we need you to sing this part.” Of course the guys would be like “Oh man, we gotta sing,” but you know, get guys out on the soccer field and you’ll hear them singing cheers to their buddies. They don’t have problems doing that. But again that’s connected to their life. They’re singing to cheer on their team, to give them enthusiasm, to get the person to score. You know, if you watch international soccer matches, you’ll hear the spectators. They have songs that they sing for their team, to inspire their team. And all I hear are guy voices. But then again it’s for sport. It’s for something that is connected with their lives. Whereas in my experience, in the classroom it was the choir singing and the songs that we’re singing are from Canadian curriculum which as I said is not a bad thing but you could put something else in there you know.... Then you’ll get boys and girls singing. (HE, p. 7)

Most boys who have a choice between music and sports at school will choose sports as it affirms the dominant “macho” image. Interestingly enough, sports is also one of the few arenas where males are allowed, even encouraged, to express emotion and show affection (Pollack, 1998). Playing sports is an activity that celebrates the valued masculine traits such as strength, agility, competitiveness, and aggression. Put more forcefully, “the primary product of sports is masculinity” (Lenskyj, 1986,

⁶⁸ This point will be discussed in more detail later under “Styles of Music.”

p. 15). Not so for females. On the contrary, their femininity is often in question if they continue to play competitive sports beyond puberty since competition is a mark of masculinity while females have been socialized to value co-operation. Thornton (1993) related:

in Canada a boy grows into his childhood sports as his height, weight, and muscular development increase. Girls, on the other hand, tend to "grow out" of their sports at puberty when their breasts and hips develop and their body fat level increases. This is a cultural matter, not simply a matter of biology. (p. 142)

In other words, girls beyond puberty are physically capable of participating in and enjoying sports, but society's marriage of sport with masculinity provides a strong deterrent.

As well, sport is complicit in the feminization of music. Certain sports are deemed feminine when musical interpretation is part of the package. Some people even question whether such activities are indeed sports. In gymnastics, for example, women perform their floor routines to music; men do not. Implicit in the evaluation of the women's efforts is their ability to interpret the music and move with feminine grace and beauty. Males are judged for strength and agility. As well, women do rhythmic gymnastics, which involves performing gymnastic moves while manipulating a number of apparatuses and interpreting music. Men do not participate in this event. The same is true for synchronized swimming. Both men and women swim competitively, but only women do synchronized swimming which involves interpreting music. In sports where men *are* required to interpret music, such as figure skating and ballet, their masculinity is questioned.

The recent movie "Billy Elliot" provides one such example, as does Dakers' (1999) full page article in the *Times Colonist* entitled, "Ballet Is Too for Boys." Dakers (1999) reported that the peer pressure against boys in ballet is enormous. Most boys who dance keep it to themselves "for fear of the terrible razzing and pressure to quit that often comes from their peers" (p. D1). One student at the Pacific Dance Centre in Victoria resorted to home schooling as the only way he could deal with the

pressure. Veteran ballet teacher Maureen Eastick commented: "It's a shame because you've got a kid [boy] who loves it and he's immediately labelled as homosexual.... We've had children stop dancing for that reason" (cited in Dakers, 1999). As well, the clothes add to the feminization of ballet, although some local ballet schools are becoming more lenient with boys' training clothes, allowing them to practice in shorts and a T shirt. But performances still usually involve feminine costuming such as tights. Figure skating is doubly feminized in this way as well.

The participants in my research also confirmed the equating of music, and particularly singing, with femininity, and sports with masculinity. Anita reported: "*Once we got to grade seven there was [sic] no more boys coming out to choir. The boys that were singing in grade three, four, and five...suddenly dropped out. It wasn't cool to be in choir anymore*" (AN, p. 6). But singing loudly and aggressively is considered masculine. Also singing sexually explicit lyrics is another way to mark singing as masculine. The lyrics of many pop songs come to mind, but also boys (in the pre- and early-teen years) enjoy improvising crude, violent, and sexually suggestive lyrics to known melodies. These risqué songs explore areas of sexuality and talk that have now piqued their interest. Such songs are popular because they allow boys the opportunity to explore what they consider to be adult topics and to test its shock value among their peers.⁶⁹

Singing in the ways just described results in the collection of positive points for males and counteracts the generally feminized value of singing. If singing is combined with playing an instrument that is considered masculine (such as a guitar), then this also garners positive points. Evan, one of the participants in my research shared the following:

I'd always wished I could play the guitar. I just never got

⁶⁹ Following are two such songs collected by Sim (1985). The first is sung to the tune "Joy to the World:" Joy to the World, the school burned down./ And all the teachers are dead./ We're looking for the principal./ He'd hanging on the flagpole, With dynamite around his balls (his balls) (repeated). The second is to the tune of "Yankee Doodle:" Yankee Doodle went to town, Riding on a lady./ Pulled her teat and made her shit./ And now she's havin' a baby.

around to it. I wish I could play a guitar and sing because that's cool. You can take a guitar anywhere and sing. Girls like that. So I've always envied the guys who could do that. (EV, p. 18)

As well, singing combined with a loud, electronic instrument, such as an electric guitar, amasses more masculine points. If a singer writes his own songs, then this too results in collecting points as composing is still considered masculine.⁷⁰ If singing results in a record deal and a high profile career, then this adds a multitude of positive points because it supports the masculine values of being rich and famous. Being a star also feeds into the Western value of individualism.

Playing Instruments

How are instruments characterized as masculine or feminine? Instruments that are loud, big, and technologically advanced support stereotypical images of masculinity. For example, drums and brass instruments have traditionally been deemed suitable for males because they are loud. Large instruments such as the cello, double bass, and tuba, are considered masculine because of their size. Instruments that are used in the electronic production of music—synthesizers, computers, and such are “male” because they are technologically sophisticated.

The guitar, both acoustic and electric, seems to stand above the rest as an instrument that signifies masculinity. Is it that the curved shape of the acoustic guitar is like the shape of a woman's body, and therefore playing a guitar is like holding a woman? Or is it that playing softer, expressive music on an acoustic guitar allows males to show their sensitivity and girls consider such expression romantic? Remember, when guitar playing is combined with singing, Evan said, “Girls like that.” The following poem, written from the perspective of a teenage boy gives a glimpse into the magical powers of the guitar to denote masculinity:

I Play Guitar Pretty Good

I play guitar pretty good,

⁷⁰ This point will be elaborated on further under “Career Opportunities.”

and one night
I went to this party
at Sue Sawyer's house
and I'm standing around
being the usual
beanpole jerk that I am
when I see a guitar behind a chair.
So I pull it out
and it's way out of tune
but I get it as tuned
as anyone can
and I start playing.
I'm playing some Villa-Lobos
and some Kottke
and some Albinez,
and next thing I know
I've got four or five
girls sitting there with moon eyes,
and I'm feeling like
I am the most beautiful man
in the world.
My teeth are getting straight,
and my skin is clearing up,
my jaw is squaring,
and my shoulders spread like wings.
I sit there beautiful
all night long,
playing.
and the moon girls
flutter against me now and then
the way girls can do
that sends your blood
rushing to the right places.
Then wouldn't you know.

the next day I'm back at Maxwell's
 and sure enough they all trickle in
 sometime during the day
 and they seem kind of confused,
 kind of like they took a wrong turn,
 and there are
 no moons
 and no flutters,
 and the jerk is a pumpkin
 they could have sworn
 was someone else the night before.
 I wipe the crumbs
 off the counter and I understand
 like I never did till now
 why Cinderella
 ran so hard
 and so fast
 when the clock struck twelve.
 (Rylant, 1993, p. 67)

The electric guitar represents masculinity as well but in a different way. It allows males to show off aggressively. The electric guitar is loud and powerful, and when combined with the sexually explicit lyrics of rock music, it represents virility. Added to this is another powerful dimension that is unique to the guitar and accounts for the reason it is used so pervasively in rock music, as opposed to an instrument such as a keyboard which is tuned in equal temperament. The ability to bend tones on the guitar allows the guitarist to create an orgasmic sound experience that blends and builds overtones, interference patterns, and other acoustical phenomena to a mind numbing climactic explosion. The sexual connotation is clear.

Instruments which are small, soft, and simple, support stereotypical images of femininity. The clarinet, piccolo, and flute have traditionally been played by women and represent femininity. The upper strings are also considered feminine (Maidlow, 1998). Instruments that

were played by plucking strings (such as the harp and lute) were also thought to be feminine because of their soft dynamic. Another part of the definition of what is deemed appropriate for women has to do with not distorting the body (by blowing into an instrument for example), or appearing in an ungainly or sexually suggestive position (Neuls-Bates, 1996; Green, 1997).

These gendered associations are reinforced by the "mentors and models available to young musicians, and may even be exacerbated by the beliefs held by those people themselves" (Maidlow, 1998, p. 45). The importance of role models that defy the stereotypes is acknowledged in research by Bruce and Kemp (1993). As well, one of the teachers in Hanley's (1998) research said, "Possibly because I am a brass player and female, there are lots of females playing trumpet" (p. 66).

An instrument that doesn't seem to fit the stereotypes just described is the piano. How is it that the piano is considered a feminine instrument? It is played in an "demure, which is to say, 'feminine,' seated position" (Green, 1997, p. 59). As well, the modern piano is known for its great expressive qualities; the mechanics of the piano and the addition of the damper pedal in particular allow each performer to exhibit a distinctive, feelingful touch; Such displays of emotional sensitivity are deemed to be a feminine. Further, although the piano is technologically advanced, it is widely associated with female domesticity and the private world of music-making in the home. Historically, the clavichord and harpsichord, followed by the piano, were centerpieces for music-making in the "parlour" and extremely useful for teaching music to children. The clavichord and harpsichord were also frequently decorated with paintings, which reinforced the notion that they were objects of beauty. Together, the female musician and the instrument created a powerful image of feminine beauty.

We now know that not all women conformed to the constraints of the time, but for women in general during the 17th and 18th centuries "the psychological pressure to conform was considerable. Only during the second half of the nineteenth century did the choice of instruments among women widen significantly, and even today the effects of sexual

stereotyping linger" (Neuls-Bates, 1996, p. xiii).

Participants in my research supported the belief that sexual stereotyping of instruments, although less prescriptive, still holds power. Haley reported the following:

Well it's interesting, I went to the Oak Bay Tea Party Parade on the weekend and I was watching all the band members (as I started to think about this [interview]), and as they were going by and it's still very much the girls play the flutes and clarinets, there's still that distinction, but it is a little better and I think I saw more kids with funkier hair-dos, do you know what I mean? I hate to say it—more cool kids seemed to be in the band than when I was younger. When I was in high school it just wasn't cool unless you were the guy that played the drums or the guitar. They were the cool kids and the rest were just social misfits. It was almost like if you weren't a jock, then this was your other option, if you still wanted to be social. (HA, p. 8)

The gender stereotyping of instruments is so common that we see it as natural. Anything different is surprising and noticeable. Haley started our conversation this way:

There was always music in my house. My Dad actually is a very large man—six foot four, big guy, and he played the flute so my friends always thought that was quite funny—that a large man would play the flute, but he wasn't necessarily a middle-aged hippie or anything, he just really, really liked music a lot. (HA, p. 1)

Even with this example in her home, where her father defied the male stereotype, Haley allowed gender stereotyping to keep her from learning an instrument:

Haley: I remember I wanted to be in band in junior high. I wanted to learn the saxophone or the drums or the guitar and when I told a bunch of friends that, they laughed and said, "Well those are boys' instruments, you've got to play the flute or the clarinet," and I just had no desire whatsoever to play the flute or the clarinet, so that's why I never joined band. Um, and

also the time constraints with band, I remember thinking, when I was in junior high, that I didn't want to put aside that much time and they didn't offer a choir. I may have been interested in it, but probably not. As I said before, it wasn't that cool and I was pretty obsessed with what was cool at that stage.

Int: So you think your friends had a major influence on your decision?

Haley: Oh yeah, definitely in junior high because I would have taken up an instrument, a "boy" instrument if they hadn't made fun of me about it. (HA, p. 4)

Evan provided a view from the male perspective:

I would never say that being part of band was a geeky thing. I don't think that at all, because there was a bunch of us cool people in it, [we laugh] and I think I'm cool.

Int: Isn't that interesting because in some schools it's just the opposite.

Evan: Oh yeah, for sure. There were a bunch of cool people in the band. I'd like to say, "I was cool and I was in the band." Though there was [sic] nerdier instruments I'll tell you that.

Int: What was a nerdy instrument?

Evan: If you were a guy playing a clarinet, that was a bit effeminate and only guys could play drums. We had two drummers and they were both guys. And there was one girl who played the tuba and she was kind of a bigger girl, and we thought that was quite fitting. (EV, p. 6)

Evan seemed to accept quite naturally that the drums were for males, as this representation supported his concept of masculinity. Similarly, the assessment that clarinets were feminine instruments seemed natural as well. Further, when a large girl played a big, supposedly masculine instrument, Evan thought this was appropriate. She didn't fit the stereotypical image of femininity, and therefore playing a "male" instrument" was not seen as a contradiction of her gender, but a fitting representation of her.

Evan dropped out of band after grade 7. He said, "I felt I wanted to

concentrate on school.... [I thought to myself] I don't have time for music anymore because you've [sic] got sports and schoolwork" (EV, p. 12). Notice however that sports were still in his schedule. As indicated earlier, sports serve to support masculinity, while music doesn't.

Using Technology

How is it that technology, and particularly computers, are considered masculine? Bowers (1993) and others suggest that computers represent a Cartesian epistemology...and that the use of this technology reinforces the Cartesian orientations of our culture—which includes the critically important aspect of consciousness, wherein the self is experienced as separate from the natural world. (p. 76)

In other words, the separation of mind and body, and indeed, the absence of the body in this type of communication, reinforces the dualistic construction of mind over body. We can "chat" without speaking or being in the presence of another human being; we can pay our bills without interacting with a bank teller; we can "make music" (literally burn CDs) without bodily involvement in producing sound; we can play games with other people without being in the same room; and so forth. Computer communication then, is a disembodied experience that highlights the separation between mind and body, isolating us from real world encounters, and popularizing the objectification of the "other."⁷¹

Evidence that this preferred way of processing information is stereotypically male is present in our visual image of the "computer geek." Such a person is male and computer savvy but socially inept and physically unattractive. This "nerdy" image visually exemplifies the mind/body dualism—an astute intellectual (symbolized by black horn-rimmed glasses), but trapped in a weak, unmanly body. The "computer

⁷¹ Technology also represents man's control over nature (Nettl, 1995). In patriarchal society man is in control of nature through technology, and woman is part of nature that is controlled. Ultimate control is evidenced by weapons of war. Activities which require no extraneous object to control it—no technology—are considered feminine. The act of singing, therefore, is considered feminine (Green, 1997), while playing instruments is more masculine as it involves the use of technology.

geek" (with a pocket protector in his nondescript shirt) has no regard for his physical appearance. This image is in stark contrast to the ideal woman who is to be beautiful.

What happens when technology is combined with music? How does this male-gendered mode of communication affect the feminized agent of music? When computer technology is combined with music the technology aspect legitimates the activity in male terms, and more males are willing to participate.

Computer technology is commonly used in secondary music composition classes. One teacher commented:

Music composition 11 and 12 are computer MIDI-based independent study and enrolment is typically 80% male. I believe that this is related to the gadgets and machinery like a Computer science course. The boys really seem to enjoy the technical challenges and work through them to the creative challenges. Girls seem less willing to tame the machinery.

(Hanley, 1998, p. 64)

Boys show an increased interest in music when technology is involved. The use of technology distances music-making from the body (and its female connotations) and objectifies it in a way that supports masculine values. Music becomes totally removed from the living and breathing bodily experience of music-making.

Technology has revolutionized our experience of music.⁷² Today, music is a commodity more than it is an art, and this objectification changes how we attend to it and interact with it. The computer's technical ability replaces human processing and understanding. For example, someone can "be a composer" by picking an instrument, a rhythm and so forth from a menu board on a computer without understanding anything about these choices.⁷³ This kind of entertainment approach to composing is far removed from the craft practised by traditional composers.

⁷² Technology's influence on music will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

⁷³ I do not mean to imply that all computer music programs operate this way. Indeed, the express purpose of some computer programs is to teach notation and other aspects of musical understanding.

Healy (1998) has concerns that these new technologies cultivate a "preference for free association and a quick-paced, undisciplined way of handling information" (p. 143). Processing visual computer images requires less mental effort than processing sound and therefore lends itself to "shallow processing" (Healy, 1998, p. 143). As people spend more and more time in front of TV and computer screens, they are programmed to prefer visual presentations over auditory, real life experiences. The perseverance required to listen, to engage in meaningful conversation, or to read a book mean these activities will become relics of generations past. This travesty is already a modern day reality. Although technology may attract more males to music, I would suggest that such approaches will greatly *reduce* the chance that music might be profoundly meaningful.

Technology also affects teaching methods. The more students are exposed to technology in other areas, the more they are conditioned to prefer visual processing even in music class. Again, although technology may be more "entertaining" initially, it will keep students at arm's length from experiencing music in a personally meaningful, embodied way.

Styles of Music

To identify gender difference in musical styles I will use the example of jazz and classroom music. This classification—classroom music—may seem odd, but I am using it in the sense of being the "other" when compared to jazz.⁷⁴ Under the umbrella of classroom music, I am referring to the repertoire of the elementary classroom which includes a smattering of classical music, folk music, both Canadian and multicultural music, and many little composed pieces which serve a particular musical purpose but lack any distinctive style.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Research by Bresler (1998) is the only music education research I have seen which identifies "school music" as a genre of music. She describes it as including "traditional and patriotic music; folk; 'multicultural' music; and classical. As a rule, music instruction avoided the more popular genres of jazz, pop, and rock" (p. 14).

⁷⁵ I feel fairly safe in assuming that little, if any, jazz is used in the elementary classroom. An exception might be a unit in the intermediate grades on jazz, but generally the exposure to jazz in the classroom is minimal. A valuable contribution to this deficiency is Grant's master's project (1999), which explored constructivism as a theoretical framework for developing strategies for implementing jazz curriculum in general music, grades 4-8.

Jazz is a male domain. A few women, such as Ella Fitzgerald and Diana Krall have "broken in" so to speak, but they are exceptions, and their music-making is still limited to activity which is considered feminine, such as playing the piano and singing. A case in point is the *Marsalls on Music* series of educational videos. The music for the series is alternately provided by an orchestra, in this case The Tanglewood Music Centre Orchestra conducted by Seiji Ozawa, and the Wynton Marsalis Jazz Orchestra. All members of the jazz ensemble are male, and most are black, while the orchestra is a multi racial mix of both males and females.

Why is jazz considered masculine? Teachers in research by Hanley (1988) expressed the opinion that jazz appealed more to boys because of its faster tempo, its louder volume, and its outgoing style which is less reserved than classical music. As well, the brass instruments and rhythm section (drums and electric bass) are all considered to be male instruments. Further, jazz requires aggressive play, including the ability to improvise and take risks. Remember that one of the typical male stereotypes is a "give 'em hell" or "kick ass" mentality that suggests males valorize risky behaviour. Jazz is risky behaviour of a musical kind. One jazz musician had this to say about performing:

It's like going out there naked every night. Anyone of us can screw the whole thing up because we're out there improvising. The classical guys have their scores, but we have to be creating, or trying to, anticipating each other, taking chances every goddam[n] second. That's why when jazz musicians are really putting out, it's an exhausting experience. It can be exhilarating too, but there's always that touch of fear, that feeling of being on a very high wire without a net. (cited in Sales, 1984, p. 120)

Such behaviour is more difficult for girls who have been socialized to be demure. Playing jazz is not an extension of their gendered reality, as it is for males. As one teacher in Hanley's (1998) research said, "Girls tend to 'waft' where boys go for the gusto.... Power is hard for some/most girls" (p. 62). It conflicts with what they have learned about their place in

society.

Sadker and Sadker (1994) reported that as teenage girls' confidence decreases so does their willingness to express themselves and take risks at school. Girls often settle for being popular with boys and not competing with them intellectually. Girls at that age have already been socialized into the practice of taking care of males' feelings and not challenging them. Jazz requires a bravado that is foreign to most teenage girls. In a word, jazz is "macho" and says in a musical way—"Look at me." This attitude taps into the "big wheel" male stereotype mentioned earlier and celebrates the uniqueness of individual personalities.

Indeed, the history of jazz is a history of individual performers. This focus is different from the classical tradition. In jazz, the separation between composer and performer is blurred, as each performance is a unique creation. The great jazzmen are those who can run with the changes during performance. On the contrary, it is the composers of Western art music who are regarded as the geniuses. Although many of the great classical composers were also successful performers, the distinction is noteworthy for my purposes here. A composer can disappear so to speak from the public gaze. Performers, however, must constantly demonstrate their expertise in the public arena. This is generally difficult for women on two fronts. First of all, they are often not in a position, because of family responsibilities, to travel freely as a public performer. Secondly, women are socialized to be dependent—not autonomous, to fit in—not be unique, in other words to be enablers so that the men in their lives can be distinctive. Boyce-Tillman (1993) reported that women "have often preferred to stay hidden, and valued their belongingness above their originality" (p. 160). Certainly this way of behaving is more acceptable. What becomes clear is that association with jazz performance conflicts with the dominant ideas of femininity and supports concepts of masculinity. The history of jazz bears this out. According to Sales (1984),

jazz in the early days developed a male-dominated community whose players were steeped in a super-macho ethic reflected in their stance, attitude, slang, in the titles of

jazz compositions, and in the nature of the music itself. With rare exceptions, women's role in jazz, until quite recently, was restricted to the piano and, most of all, singing. (p. vii)

This practice of restricting women to singing and piano playing fits with the wider stereotypical models for women in American society. Singing and piano playing were closely linked with domestic life and the nurturing of children in the home. If a women was particularly good at playing jazz piano, she had cultivated the ability to "play like a man" (Peretti, 1989, p. 174).

Peretti (1989) called jazz a "male fraternity." Women were systematically excluded because of the "patriarchal transmission of musical instruction in the south" as well as the "taboos" in both African and American cultures on women playing certain instruments such as guitars and trumpets (p. 174). Men also enjoyed a camaraderie in the nightclubs and dance halls in which they played and saw women in this atmosphere primarily as "commodified sex objects" (Peretti, 1989, p. 175).

In spite of these factors, there were several famous women blues singers like Ma Rainey and Bessie Smith who became "cultural icons of [female] sexual power" (Carby, 1998, p. 480). But their era was short-lived. In the history of jazz, however,

there exists a cultural mythology...that wants to trace a pure lineage of blues from a cluster of rural, male blues singers recorded in the 1930s. And that mythology tends to either erase the women who first brought the blues to broad public attention or else to condemn them for having compromised that pure lineage with commercial popular culture. (McClary, 2000, p. 42)

Another point that relates to the gendered position of jazz music is that jazz is about "breaking the rules" (Sales, 1984). Jazz originally represented the lived experience of blacks in America. Jazz was one area where blacks had power and control and could express their individuality in a way that was accepted, even applauded, in a age of racial tension and prejudice. Jazz therefore, is edgy, often loud, raucous, dissonant,

and continually changing. The music reflected real life and the desire of blacks to break out of the cultural restraints that entrapped them.

But jazz is also on the edge—marginalized in another sense by academia. Classical music continues to be the mainstay in conservatories and schools of music (Green, 1988; Kingsbury, 1988; Martin, 1995). Jazz is at different stages of acceptance in Canadian universities—there is a growing trend to include jazz studies, especially since many high schools have specialized performance programs that focus on jazz, yet it is never “fully acknowledged and promoted” the way classical music is (Roberts, 1991, p. 63). Small (1987) maintained:

the majority of university music departments are still stuck in an exclusive concern with the past.... Like all institutions universities on the whole tend to be intolerant of genuine innovation.... Tame artists, in fact, make good pets for university establishments. (p. 176)

Jazz is the classical music of America, yet it continues to be marginalized by our Eurocentric tastes for Western art music. As a gendered discourse, jazz is also in opposition to classical music, which is considered feminine. Classical music requires sensitive interpretation, a skill which fits with the stereotypical view of females as emotional and sensitive. On the contrary, adjectives that have been used to describe men (as in the Williams and Best (1982) research cited in Mackie, 1991, p. 28) such as “adventurous,” “assertive,” “self-confident,” “dominant,” and “forceful,” could also be used to describe good jazz musicians. Characteristics which were deemed feminine in the same research, such as “gentle,” “fearful,” “weak,” “mild,” “submissive,” “pleasant,” and “charming” are the antithesis of jazz and jazz musicians.

Teacher participants in Hanley’s (1998) research identified classical music as “more feminine” for other reasons (p. 61). In particular, “eleven teachers attributed girls’ penchant for classical music to private piano lessons, more years of study, and earlier exposure through dance, piano, and skating” (p. 61). When classical music is an important part of other activities that are valued, it has value by association. Some teachers also mentioned that boys are pressured into not liking classical music by

their peers and at home. It is considered effeminate. One of the male participants in my research echoed this opinion:

Randy: So even if you did like it [classical music] the culture dictated that you were not to let anybody know about it, never admit how good you were.... People wouldn't go for a person like that.

Int: In a negative way?

Randy: Oh definitely. It always seemed to be that way when I was a kid.

Int: Why do you think that is?

Randy: Jealousy. I'm sure some of it is jealousy, not being able to do it yourself and in small town rural Quebec "Oh, it's artsy fartsy"...If you're good at sports or you're good academically (people are going to make fun of you but they're also going to realize that you're also smart) but if you're good at art or music or something like that, they're going to look at you strange. He's one of those. Yeah. OK. There must be something wrong with him. It's in the culture. You kind of go along with the culture, depending on who your parents were. But my father was a teacher so we didn't look down on anyone like that. (RA, p. 4)

The image of the arts as effeminate is rampant in society and particularly in the media. Two examples from television come to mind, one subtle, the other outrageously obvious.

The subtle message that the arts are effeminate was reproduced in the following recent TV commercial. A young man and his grandfather are engaged in conversation, catching up on the details of each other's lives while sharing a coke. The grandfather asks how university was going. The grandson responds by saying he'd changed his major. He is now in fine arts. Immediately the camera focusses on the grandfather's raised eyebrow and although not a word is said, the implication is clear. The arts are a questionable choice for a young man.

The second scenario is from the comedy show, *Everybody Loves Raymond*. Raymond has twin sons, about six years old, who are in a school production as fairies. They come home with their wings on,

singing and dancing with great gusto. Ray is uncomfortable about the long term effect this could have on their masculine development. As well, Ray gets pressure from his father to "do something about it fast before it takes." Raymond tries to convince the boys about how much fun it would be to have another part in the play. He goes to great pains to even try and convince them that being a rock—hiding under a paper mâché form for the duration of the production—would be preferable to singing and dancing. The whole episode focusses on Raymond's homophobic fears and the lengths he will go to prevent his sons from engaging in activities that he considers feminine.

Some participants in my research related the feminization of music to girls' more accommodating nature. The music didn't have to be exciting for them to engage with it. If the teacher thought the music in question was worthy of their time, then girls seemed more willing to go along with it. Randy made this observation:

Well it always seemed like in elementary school the teacher constantly worried about keeping the boys on task and the girls would respond to the music and respond to the task at hand and look down at the boys who didn't. (RA, p. 4)

Robin's recollections were similar:

I would have to say that boys didn't seem to have much patience for it [music]. They just wanted to go out and play. I remember there was a group of guys, the clowns, that she [the teacher] sort of took a liking to. They seemed to know the stuff, so they must have been taking music lessons, but they didn't want to do it.... The girls seemed more interested. The boys seemed to have this attitude that it wasn't their cup of tea. (RO, p. 4)

Heather also had an opinion about the differing engagement levels of boys and girls with classical music: "When we were focusing on classical music, I think the girls had more tolerance to do something that did not interest them. Maybe I should say...they were more compliant" (HE, p. 7). Girls tend to be more co-operative and studious. As one teacher commented in Hanley's (1998) research, girls often are "more interested

in pleasing the teacher and their parents and often treat classical music as a 'more adult' thing to do" (p. 61). They have indeed learned to treat classical music as "serious music."

Career Opportunities

The Western tradition of specialization means that career opportunities in music are distinct areas of expertise. The particular gendered positions I wish to highlight here are those of performer, composer, conductor, and teacher.

Performing

As previously outlined, the prevailing dualistic theory of creativity in patriarchal societies has reserved mental creation for males and bodily creation, or re-creation, for females. This categorization has been referred to as the culture/nature dualism. Green (1997) succinctly described this difference in *Music, Gender, Education*:

In extreme polarised form, masculinity is defined as active and productive; as committed to the pursuit of knowledge, hence rational, inventive, experimental, scientific and technological; as bound up with the production of Art, hence creative. At the opposite pole, femininity is defined as passive and reproductive; as involved in the nurturing of others, hence caring; as occupied in the production of Craft, hence diligent. (p. 14)

In other words, the reproduction or performance of music has been considered suitable for women while the prerogative to create music has been reserved for men. The understanding of woman as emotional and in tune with her body means that she is equipped to sensitively interpret music. Indeed, one of the judgments of an excellent performance is to play or sing with feeling (Kingsbury, 1988). Playing "with feeling" means interpreting the "internal affective states," the excitement, the passion, or the foreboding in the music, as well as the bodily movement of hands and arms (p. 96). Master teachers, Kingsbury claimed, forge a strong relationship between "feeling as a internal affective and emotional state and feeling the bodily sensation of the inhaling and exhaling air" (p. 96).

This connection makes very clear the association between the bodily and the emotional, sites where women are expected to excel. Certainly men do perform, and I have already mentioned many of the ways that performance for men is turned around to support masculinity. Additionally, there are also males who are not swayed by the stereotypes. If music has value for them, particularly if musical training has occurred early in life, then they will endure the taunts that come in puberty because the enjoyment they receive from music is worth it.

Composing

Until recently composing has been limited to males since it involved mental creation. This alignment of composition with masculinity has meant that women who wanted to compose were discouraged, forbidden, or channelled into other more womanly pursuits. We now realize that the history of Western art music is, quite literally, "his-story," with women's contributions rarely acknowledged until the last 20 years.⁷⁶ Falk (1998) reported that even now, music history textbooks generally omit the contribution of women⁷⁷ and music students are therefore unaware of their contribution. This was true in my experience. I did not even question the absence of women in this area, (despite a life-long study of music including a Bachelor of Music degree) until I started graduate studies at the University of Victoria. The perception of Greene (1996) is insightful here:

When we simply adopt the schemata or patterns of our predecessors and contemporaries to structure our social worlds, we may not be conscious of the schemata in use. We simply see through those schemata at what becomes a "natural" and coherent world. (p. 132)

I had related the absence of women in composing exclusively to their traditional roles as wives and mothers, unaware of the systemic practices that denied them access to composing.

⁷⁶ For example, see *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present*, edited by Neuls-Bates (1996).

⁷⁷ Sometimes in schools of music the contribution of women is dealt with in separate courses as an addendum to music history. For example the University of Victoria's School of Music offers a course called "Women and Music: MUS 329" which is the study of the role of women in the field of music.

One of the primary ways of keeping women from composing has been to restrict their education in music. Limiting women's education and activities to conform with their "essential nature" was a strategy used generally in society in the 18th century to limit women to the private realm of the home. Rousseau's *Emile* (1760/1959), which has been regarded by many as having "the greatest influence on the course of educational thought and practice," certainly subscribed to limiting and controlling girls to conform with their "nature" (p. 1). Rousseau indicated that girls "ought to have little freedom" (p. 140). As well,

not only should girls be careful and industrious but they should be kept under control from an early age. This hardship, if it be a hardship, is inseparable from their sex. All their lives they will be under the hard, unceasing constraints of the proprieties. They must be disciplined to endure them till they come to take them as a matter of course and learn to overcome caprice and bow to authority. (p. 130)

With regard to work, Rousseau pointed out:

If it is important for men to confine their studies in the main to everyday knowledge, it is even more important for women whose way of life, through less laborious, does not permit them to devote themselves to the talent of their choice at the expense of their duties. (1760/1959, p. 138)

Indeed, women's

education must be wholly directed to their relations with men. To give them pleasure, to be useful to them, to win their love and affection, to train them in their childhood, to care for them when they grow up, to give counsel and consolation, to make life sweet and agreeable for them: these are the tasks of women in all times for which they should be trained from childhood. (p. 135)

The authority invested in such writing provided the rationale for limiting women's education and preventing their encroachment into male dominated public roles. This influence lingers today in the realm of

music composition as the following examples show.

Falk (1998) noted that "until the end of the nineteenth century only nuns, the children of musicians and the daughters of exceptionally wealthy families had any access at all to musical training beyond a limited amount of piano instruction designed to help with an unmarried girl's romance" (p. 213). Citron (1993) reported that in Munich women were not allowed to study counterpoint until 1897. In the 20th century, composer Edith Bornoff found it very difficult, even in the 1940s, to find someone to mentor her in composition. When a few women did persist despite all the roadblocks, they were met with hostility. The following examples from the lives of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, Clara Wieck Schumann, and Alma Schindler illustrate this point.

Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel (1805-1847), sister of Felix Mendelssohn, was a pianist and composer who, until recently, has been relegated to the footnotes of music history. The case of Felix and Fanny is particularly interesting because, as siblings, they enjoyed equal opportunity and privilege in their younger years, pursuing piano and composition together. Neuls-Bates (1982) stated that Fanny's musical abilities were as prodigious as Felix's and that some of her early songs were published under Felix's name. As they grew into adulthood though, two distinctly different roles were crafted for them. Felix embarked on a brilliant career as a composer and conductor, while Fanny retreated to music making in the home. Their mother, however, did want Felix to help Fanny get some of her music published. Felix gave his negative response in the following letter:

...to persuade her to publish anything I cannot, because this is contrary to my views and to my convictions.... I consider the publication of a work as a serious matter for I maintain that no one should publish unless they are resolved to appear as an author for the rest of their life.... From my knowledge of Fanny I should say that she has neither the inclination nor vocation for authorship. She is too much all that a woman ought to be for this. (p. 148)

We can see here that Felix's ideas about who should compose are tied to

gender—that authorship is perceived as a male domain which involves commitment to a public career. Fanny's salon music, written for entertainment in the home, was not valued in a way that produced a public reputation. Public work was and still is valued over private work. Citron (1993) reported: "In a private, self-directed, non-commercial musical enterprise Hensel may have experienced as wide a variety of musical activities as the professional in the public arena" (p. 106). But most of her works remained unpublished. Her manuscripts were kept by the family, away from public view for several generations (Reich, 1991). It is only in recent years that publications and recordings of her work are being made available to the public.

Women still often face serious consequences in their careers when they also are chiefly responsible for raising a family. Citron (1993) says that when a woman interrupts her career for "non-work-related activity" she is viewed as a "dabbler" (p. 95). Further, an older woman who puts off her career in order to have children may have to fight negative societal images of the aging woman since she "is often ignored and trivialized. The white-haired man becomes wise and distinguished, the white-haired woman haggard and expendable" (Citron, 1993, p. 96). Such judgments reflect a so-called "desirable" split between art and life, between culture and nature.

Clara Wieck Schumann (1819-1896), wife of famed composer Robert Schumann, is another female pianist and composer of the Romantic era who struggled with the gender disparity of her time. Nancy Reich (1991) affirmed Clara's place in history as the foremost female pianist of the 19th century, with a career spanning over 60 years. Her performance ability was celebrated. In fact, "newspaper accounts of the work of successful professional women musicians almost always assured the readers that the musician was not only accomplished but also 'womanly'" (Reich, 1991, p. 99). Yet the creative aspect of her art was always a source of ambivalence for her. In a letter to Robert in 1839 she wrote:

You ask me if I am not composing anything; I have written one quite tiny piece, but I do not know what I shall call it. I

have a particular aversion to showing you anything that I have composed, I am always ashamed. (p. 153)

Later in the same year in her diary, Clara again revealed her inner turmoil about composing: "I once thought that I possessed creative talent, but I have given up this idea; a woman must not desire to compose—not one has been able to do it, and why should I expect to? It would be arrogant..." (p. 154). The prevailing view of what was acceptable feminine behaviour was so firmly entrenched in society that even a strong, successful, touring performer like Clara Schumann could not escape it.

In addition to the psychological and social pressure to abstain from creating music and conform to the accepted views of what was feminine behaviour, marriage and family life brought with it another set of societal expectations which were to be a priority. Clara dutifully cared for eight children and devoted herself to Robert and his career. With these family obligations and a busy career as a touring pianist, there was little opportunity for her to compose. Eventually Clara condemned her own work as "effeminate and sentimental," echoing the criticisms she had heard from others (Reich, 1991, p. 155).

Alma Schindler provides a 20th century example of the struggle women composers have continued to endure. In 1902 she married celebrated composer Gustav Mahler and, although she was a composer herself, she agreed to stop writing when she married. The following is an excerpt of a letter (cited in Falk, 1998) Gustav wrote to her shortly before their marriage:

How do you picture the married life of a husband and wife who are both composers? Have you any idea how ridiculous and, in time, how degrading for both of us such a peculiarly competitive relationship would inevitably become?... The role of "composer" the "worker's" role falls to me. Yours is that of the loving companion and understanding partner. (p. 207)

Thus we see the prevailing view of "woman as care-giver" used to limit women's creative endeavours.

Despite the obstacles, however, several women found ways to be

taken seriously without the interference of gender. Some used male pseudonyms for their work to gain greater attention. Citron (1993) cited Edith Borroff who described her experience this way:

After earning degrees in composition I found that performance and publication of my music were inseparably linked with my sex: all works that I submitted with my right name were rejected.... Conversely, the two that I submitted with male pseudonym were accepted. When I gave up the subterfuge on principle, I virtually relinquished any chance for significant activity as a composer until the late 1960's when attitudes began to change. (p. 98)

Sometimes works were simply labelled anonymous; however, anonymous works are problematic in a system where the composer's life and works are elemental to canonic formation. According to Randel (1992), anonymity has most often made music critics uncomfortable, and works so designated were usually deemed unworthy of serious study. In a self-perpetuating circle, male conductors and journalists accepted compositions written by men and rejected others because they were written by women. Many of these giant male personalities also undertook numerous roles by conducting their own music and then favourably reviewing their own work in the press.

The lack of public visibility and publication of women's music has been interpreted to be a lack of skill. A lack of opportunity would have been a more accurate description. As well, grants and commissions were given to men, and these are the kinds of valuations that generate income to support a professional career. In these ways, women were assigned the role of amateur because of their gender and were dominated by the group known as professionals, who were men.

But even in the face of all this opposition, women were gaining some measure of prestige as composers. By 1900 fear had gripped the males in the profession, and there was a very deliberate attempt to discredit female newcomers by re-echoing theories of the past which connected original works of creativity with masculinity and lesser, interpretive work, such as performing, with femininity. Neuls-Bates

(1982) noted that "critics decried what they saw as a feminization of music, with its inevitable deterioration, and they developed theories that maintained the innate inferiority of women as composers" (p. 206).

Music critics invented a "sexual aesthetics" (Falk, 1998) to limit women's compositions to short works such as songs and piano pieces that were to contain graceful, sensitive melodies, appropriate for their gender. Men were expected to write the larger more powerful works with elaborate orchestrations. If women overstepped these boundaries, they were attacked and denounced by the critics. When the success of women in these male domains could no longer be denied, critics praised women for thinking in masculine terms and successfully emancipating themselves from the limitations of their own sex. In other words, women who are successful composers exhibit masculine traits.

Upton (1880) was one such influential theorist who presented a theory of women's innate inferiority as composers. He allowed that women could interpret music as performers but that they could not write great music. The proof was that women had not written great music in the past. Upton based his theory on the view that women were dominated by their emotions whereas men were intellectual beings in control of their emotions. Even as recently as 1948, Seashore, in his attempt to answer the question why there were no great women composers, suggested that women were equal to men in talent, intelligence, and education, but that they did not create because they are by nature passive. He claimed that women's fundamental urge was to be beautiful, loved, and adored as a person, whereas man's basic urge was to achieve in a career.

Thus we see that a gendered theory of creativity has continued to be proclaimed in an effort to deter women from entering this historically male-dominated field. The ongoing propaganda has been effective. Research by Green (1997) revealed that teachers:

portrayed girls' and boys' compositional abilities very differently, emphasizing the perceived superior creativity of boys in comparison to the inferior, rule-bound conformity of girls. Pupils themselves also adopted conventional

constructions of gender in their own portrayals of their compositional capacities and inclinations. Boys presented themselves as confident and talented without the aid of hard work, able to find themselves positively reflected in the music they wrote. Girls tended to shy away from such self-presentation, freely admitted to their hard-working conformity to the teachers' paradigms, and were reluctant to position themselves in the role of composer. (p. 241)

Hanley (1998) replicated Green's study with British Columbia music teachers and found they believed that boys were superior to girls in composition, even though grade 12 examination results showed that *girls achieved at a considerably higher level than boys*.

Conducting

Conductors epitomize leadership and control in the musical world; through gesture and bodily movement they must speak volumes without saying a word. According to Falk (1988), "[i]n our male oriented society which attributes the use of power almost only to men, the role of the conductor is not only seen as un-feminine but is viewed as decidedly masculine" (p. 210). It is not surprising then, that as of 1988, there were only about ten women conductors with significant appointments actively working in the United States (Falk, 1988).

Actually, the conductor is an invention of the 20th century, and some maestros from the past such as Gustav Mahler, Arturo Toscanini, and Herbert von Karajan have been giants—cultural gods who oversaw every aspect of the orchestra's work. Today the conductor's autocratic power is somewhat diminished with the advent of orchestral business managers, but still, the conductor is a powerful figurehead.

In *The Maestro Myth* Lebrecht (1991) claimed that "someone who knew nothing about power could discover all its attributes, one after another, by careful observation of a conductor" (p. 3). His authority is god-like. Philosopher Elias Canetti described how

his [the conductor's] eyes hold the whole orchestra. Every player feels that the conductor sees him personally and, still more, hears him.... He is inside the mind of every player. He

knows not only what each *should* be doing but what he *is* doing. He is the embodiment of law, both positive and negative. (cited in Lebrecht, 1991, p. 2)

The conductor is master of the panoptic gaze. This powerful image meshes with what we have come to accept about men in society. A female conductor is a contradiction, a distinctly visual one. We are not accustomed to seeing women use their bodies as symbols of power and that is precisely what a conductor must do.

Teaching

Teaching in general is a feminized profession (Steedman, 1987; Miller, 1992).⁷⁸ Teaching was one of the few career opportunities that was acceptable for women in past centuries as it fit with their "essential" nature as caregiver. It was also deemed appropriate that women, through the school, provide moral guidance for the young. By the middle of the 20th century, however, the image of the spinster school marm, teaching for a few years before she got married, began to change.

Teaching's shift to align with science and technology, combined with the opportunity to make teaching a life long career, now meant men were attracted to education as a profession, although they still remain in the minority. Statistics from 1996-97 show that 28.7% of those enrolled in full-time undergraduate education programs in BC universities were males (British Columbia Teachers' Federation). Nevertheless, men have assumed the leadership positions in teaching. The British Columbia Teachers' Federation has supplied the following statistics for the 1991/92 school year on its website: Women represented 61% of all school and district staff in British Columbia; they were 67% of all regular teachers, 35% of all department heads, 29% of all vice-principals, 21% of all principals, and 8% of all superintendents (British Columbia Teachers' Federation). What we find in the school system is that the younger grades are overwhelmingly taught by women, but as the grade level increases and the curricula focusses more on discrete disciplines and less on general life skills, more men enter the picture. The situation in music

⁷⁸ The feminized position of teaching will be discussed more fully in chapter 5 under the teacher/student dualism.

is parallel. General music specialists in the elementary grades are overwhelmingly females, while band and orchestra teachers in secondary schools are more likely to be males. We mirror this division at the university level as well. In our Education Faculty at the University of Victoria, elementary music education tenure track professors are women. Tenure track professors responsible for the secondary program are men. In our elementary program classes female enrolment far surpasses male enrolment, whereas in the secondary program, the number of males increases substantially.

These trends and statistics show that as bureaucratic power (and money) increases, the numbers of women so employed decreases. Men hold the power positions and make more of the policy decisions, which are then implemented by women in the classroom. Men continue to be characterized as the "thinkers" while women are the "doers."

Koza (1994) elaborated on this construction when she pointed out that

although few today subscribe to the popular belief in some nineteenth century North-American middle-class circles, that women are not as capable thinkers as men are, the work men and women actually do often reflects a gendered thinking/doing dichotomy, men heavily represented among the elite group labelled "thinkers" and women relegated to low-status implementation work. (p. 80)

Educational employment practices at the close of the 20th century (at least in British Columbia) reflect this line of thinking.

Recapitulation

This chapter has explored the gendered construction of male and female in society in general and then unravelled some of the particular ways that that gender difference is constructed within the disciplines of music and music education. I have, of course, not identified all the ways gender differences permeate our discipline, but have used examples and situations which come out of my experience, study, and research.

What is clear is that music and music education reside in a

feminized position. In general, "[m]usic education's vulnerability and subservient role in the curriculum re-enacts an aspect of gender politics that mirrors the way in which the subordination of the feminine is acted out between men and women every day" (Morton, 1996, p. 6). Music is the objectified "other" in the curriculum, trivialized by comparison with the academic "core." Within the disciplines of music and music education, gender difference is also firmly intact. As well, music is frequently reconstructed in masculine terms to gain credibility.

Although some gendered practices in music have been effectively challenged, many discriminatory traditions from the past remain. Contrary to the opinions expressed by many music teachers (Hanley, 1998), issues of gender are problematic in music education. Just because more girls play the trumpet or join jazz ensembles does not mean that gender barriers have been eliminated. The beliefs of previous generations bleed through our current experience and make the eradication of some sexist practices seem a distant reality. As well, males and females continue to develop new ways of constructing gender difference through musical experience.

This is not only problematic for women but for men as well. As Kaufman (1999) said:

I believe the rewards of hegemonic masculinity are simply not enough to compensate for the pain in the lives of many men. For the majority of men who comply with North American culture, at any rate, the pain of trying to conform and live up to the impossible standards of manhood outweigh the rewards they currently receive. In other words, patriarchy is not only a problem for women...but for men as well. (p. 93)

How can gender stereotyping be challenged? Particularly with regard to music education, how could the marginalized aspects of music that relate to so-called feminine ways of behaving receive more attention? These questions will be addressed in the final chapter.

4

ENACTING THE WORK/PLAY DUALISM

Introduction to the Work/Play Dualism

This chapter focuses on the social construction of work and play in Western society in general and then how these categorizations construct our understanding of music and music education in particular. In general, work is valorized in our society while play is the marginalized "other." In the process of teasing out what we have come to accept about work and play as polarized opposites, I will show how play, in the devalued position as the antithesis of work, is often reconstructed as work or as somehow supporting the values of work to gain credibility. Then I will proceed to unravel how music is positioned to the right of the slash, in the marginalized, devalued category as play and how it, too, is reconstructed as "work" to gain credibility.

In particular, the following constructions will be explored:

- *Work as Paid Employment,*
- *Play as Non-Productive Leisure,*
- *Play as Idleness,*
- *Work as Product,*
- *Play as Process,*
- *Work as Serious Responsibility,*
- *Play as Fun,*
- *Play as Pleasure, and*

- *Play Reconstructed as Virtuous, Cultured Activity.*

These constructions generally value work as more important activity while play is trivialized as frivolous entertainment. As well, these constructions organize our world in particular ways that seem so natural we rarely question them. Many times we are not even aware of how these structures work.

As well, other dualistic constructions are at work here as invisible pillars that support our understanding of work and play. These include the dualistic constructions of

- formal/informal,
- public/private,
- product/process,
- life/art, and
- individual/community.

The male/female dualism is also actively present in all of these constructions. In general terms, work is understood as masculine while leisure activities are marked as feminine (Morton, 1996). As indicated in Figure 1, page 32, all of the dualistic constructions I will explore here support our collective understanding of masculinity and femininity. I invite the reader to look *at* rather than *through* the linguistic surface of the texts to understand more fully how these taken for granted representations construct our understanding of work and play and how they in turn structure musical experience.

Work as Paid Employment

For most of us, work is not an option; it is the main activity we engage in for most of our "productive" lives. And even in the stages of life before and after employment, we feel the effects of society's focus on work. Schools are busy, even at the elementary level, engaging students in career preparation, and after retirement, many individuals struggle to find meaning in their lives without work. Work validates our existence as contributing members of society. When seniors are no longer "gainfully employed," the media and the government often represent them as a drain on society.

Work is physical or mental exertion that provides us with the means to buy the necessities of life. As the saying goes, "man does not live to work; he works to live." What we call "work" is understood in economic terms as "paid employment." According to Jenkins and Sherman (1979), economists have always believed that "employees work until their monetary reward is sufficient and then they trade off work for leisure" (p. 9). As well, the economic value of work becomes a bargaining tool for employment that is less than intrinsically satisfying. In these situations, workers exchange job satisfaction for benefits such as seniority, higher wages, paid vacation time, medical plans, and pension plans. The importance of job security is paramount. Pearsall (1988) identified this point about work as one of the myths we commonly accept: "Pick your career and stick with it. Don't be a job hopper. Establish seniority, security, and stability. Change jobs only for more money or when you 'can't take it anymore'" (p. 155). Hanson (2001) reported that according to high school counsellors, administrators, and trendwatchers, more than in recent generations, the graduates of British Columbia high schools are "pining for a return to good jobs and guaranteed wages. They are planning careers with shrewd practicality, weighing security against risk and generally choosing stability" (p. B8).

Our equating work with money is a seemingly "natural" but limited perspective. This view legitimates the visible work of men while excluding the work of women in the home. In other words, public work is valued over private work. Housewives work but are not employed for pay and therefore are not recognized or valued very highly by society. As Romaine (1999) pointed out, "only work done to produce a profit in the public sector counts as work and goes by the name of work. The 'work' women do at home is invisible, unpaid, [and] not counted in the gross national product" (p. 13).

Work can also be understood as "physical or mental effort to do or make something; purposeful activity, labour or toil" without financial compensation (Neufeldt, 1988, p. 1538). For example, someone can "work" at their golf game but would not consider the effort to be work because it is done in leisure time without financial remuneration. A golf

pro however, working on his game would consider that same effort to be part of his job. In some ways, limiting work to paid employment is meaningless. For example, in school curricula, the *BC Personal Planning Integrated Resource Package* (1999) indicates that students are to be made aware of volunteer activities available in the community and the contribution such unpaid work makes to society. An earlier version of this document (1995) required students to "distinguish between work and play," based on an understanding of work as paid employment and leisure time activity such as volunteering as play (p. 35). As one teacher mentioned to me, such categorizations are immaterial. While one student may identify a particular activity as play, another student can give the example of a parent doing the same activity as their work.

It is also clear that financial compensation is not the only reason people work: Most people also want their work to be personally meaningful. The popularity of bestsellers such as *Super Joy: Learning to Celebrate Everyday Life* (Pearsall, 1988), and *The Joy of Working* (Waitley & Witt, 1985) indicates that large numbers of people want to experience satisfaction and fulfilment in their work.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the economic view of work prevails, and we tend to give more value to labour for which we are paid.

Play as Non-Productive Leisure

As previously indicated, the valued category in a dualistic construction negatively frames and represses the "other." "Play" is represented as an interlude that relaxes or refreshes us so that we can return to work with increased focus and vigour. Play is often a hobby, game, or sport—an amusement that temporarily distracts us. Often these activities are not valued in themselves, but only have worth in so far as they serve the purposes of work.

Play's lack of economic value accounts to a great extent for its

⁷⁸ Zuboff (1983) reported that "the new class of educated professionals [in the 1960s and 70s] introduced the language of self into public discourse, demanding greater responsiveness from political and educational institutions—demands that gradually spread to private enterprise as well" (p. 167). Self-fulfilment and personal development through employment took on much greater importance.

play and leisure elude simple definition; however, "in this society, leisure⁷⁹ is essentially defined negatively; it is opposed to the business of earning a living" (p. 1). Generally, play in adult life is viewed from an economic perspective as non-productive and is primarily valued in terms of relaxing and rejuvenating us for the purpose of working again.

How is leisure reconstructed as work? Many people "moonlight" or take second jobs in their leisure time to add to their income. Such efforts are considered admirable because they help people "get ahead" financially. Sometimes hobbies, such as woodworking or sewing for example, are turned into home businesses. These practices reconstruct leisure into purposeful activity that has financial compensation and thereby support the values of "work." Leisure activities also gain status when they have monetary value or the potential for such value in the future. Indeed, some overzealous parents seem to encourage their children in sports and music for the express purpose of one day garnering a handsome salary from being a professional hockey player or a famous singer.

Today, leisure is big business. To be properly outfitted to participate in some recreational activities is expensive. For this reason leisure activities can be status symbols that reflect one's financial success at work. One of the earliest commentaries on social class and leisure suggested that leisure is a means of ensuring social status and maintaining class distinctions between people (Veblen, 1899). Veblen theorized that the rich possess leisure by their conspicuous consumption of leisure goods and services and thereby maintain their distinction as the upper class.

⁷⁹ I will try to distinguish between the usages of the words "play" and "leisure." According to Mergen (1992), "there is general agreement that play is behaviour that involves a degree of self-awareness, is more or less voluntary, and mostly pleasurable" (p. 161). From biographical research Mergen found that children's play involved or included food, pets, violence, make-believe, imaginary others, vertigo, mimicry, skill, strategy, chance, board games, handmade or manufactured toys, and books. Grier (1992) defined leisure as "connoting adult activity that is voluntary and takes place during 'free time.' Children do not have 'leisure time' until they also 'go to work'—that is, until they attend school" (p. 1). From these definitions of play and leisure it would seem that the primary difference between the two is that the word leisure is applied to adult recreational activities while play is used to describe children's activities.

Play as Idleness

Play in adult life is often negatively construed as idleness. During the Reformation, religious leaders, who endorsed work as duty to God, characterized time spent otherwise as "idleness." Webster defines an "idler" as "a person who wastes time and does no work, a lazy person" (Neufeldt, 1988, p. 670). The adjective "idle" is defined as "having no value, use, or significance; worthless, useless" (p. 670). Although this derogatory characterization of play was initially connected with the Reformation, its impact remains today. I remember being raised with the maxim, "Idle hands are the devil's workshop." This saying, attributed to Benjamin Franklin, represents an attempt to "put together a religious motivation for work and the American penchant for keeping busy"⁸⁰ (Bammel & Bammel, 1992, p. 143). How effective this representation has been. So enormous is the value we place on work that many of us feel uncomfortably "idle" when we are not working. We feel guilty for "wasting" time. After all, "time is money." Occasionally we do things "just for the fun of it," but more often, our activities are goal oriented—productive.

In contrast to this negative portrayal of play as idleness, Csikszentmihalyi (1996) and Nachmanovitch (1990) give us a different perspective. They refer to "play" as essential to creativity for the germination of ideas. Participants in Csikszentmihalyi's research (1996) "unanimously agree that it is important to let problems simmer below the consciousness for a time" (p. 98). According to one of Csikszentmihalyi's research subjects, physicist Freeman Dyson, mental meandering is a necessary precursor to a productive burst.

Another alternative to the dominant discourse is Nachmanovitch's (1990) view that "not doing can sometimes be more productive than doing" (p. 153). He related that

⁸⁰ Like jugglers we keep a number of projects spinning at one time, the more the better. Yet interestingly enough, Pearsall (1988), in his work with terminally ill patients, found that, "contrary to popular myth, many of these people choose to sit, to think, to fish, and to stroll during the last months of their lives. They do not typically choose to crowd as much into their remaining days as possible by engaging in constant hectic activity" (p. 54).

come off in an episode of relaxation or surrender. Walt Whitman spoke in this light of the value of loafing. But relaxation here does not mean indolence or lethargy; it means an alert, poised equilibrium, attentive, ready to shift in any direction with the movement of the moment. (p. 154)

In other words, ideas need time to incubate. I have found that the monotonous jobs in life—like washing dishes or driving, provide opportunities for the mind to relax within the known structure of the task and gives it freedom to be creative in other ways. I get some of my best ideas while drying my hair. Since the mechanics of this task are not engaging my mind, it subconsciously works at other questions that I have been pondering. This mental meandering also happens just before sleep and just before coming fully to consciousness again. These different states of mental awareness are times when the mind can be very active and creative. Unfortunately we often consider such periods as wasted time. We get machines to do the monotonous work of life for us and take very little time to reflect on anything. Busyness overtake us, and the days are never long enough to fit everything in.

Nachmanovitch (1990) also challenged our negative perception of "idleness" by suggesting that the practice of the sabbath, setting aside one day of the week "for going inside ourselves, for rest, review, and revelation" is a powerful instrument of discovery (p. 155). At such times one's mind can truly be "at play."⁸¹ The practice of the sabbath recognizes that "we need space and time reserved from the rushing and pressures of everyday life" to go deeper within (Nachmanovitch, 1990, p. 155).

Another twist in the meaning of "idle" relates to women's work and the practice of volunteering. For the first half of the 20th century, the ideal middle-class woman was to be fashionably "idle." "Real" paid work was the exclusive providence of men, and a woman shamed herself and her family by working outside the home. Marriage and motherhood were deemed to be a woman's true calling, and the only acceptable way for a woman to work publicly was to volunteer. Volunteer work was

⁸¹ Nachmanovitch (1990) further described play as "the free spirit of exploration" (p. 43).

constructed as leisure, stripped of its power and financial gain.

Today the norm is to reconstruct leisure in adult life to fit with our values about productivity and work. We turn leisure into purposeful activity such as playing sports, games, physically “working out,” or engaging in any number of activities with a work-like fervour—planning, scheduling, and coordinating them in much the same way we organize our work. We also ambitiously plan our children’s play by organizing their free time with various lessons.

Work as Product

In our capitalistic society, work is valued primarily as a product which results in financial gain. When productivity is the bottom line, the faster and more efficient we can be, the better—especially when “time is money.” Sales quotas, numbers of customers served in the fastest time, and other such targets measure our productivity and push us to compete. After all, such efficiency will pave the way to economic prosperity. But Nachmanovitch (1990) pointed out that our trivialized view of time and our equating of time with money has reduced the quality of our work. If, as Nachmanovitch (1990) said:

we operate with a belief in long sweeps of time, we build cathedrals; if we operate from fiscal quarter to fiscal quarter, we build ugly shopping malls. The ugliness of many modern artifacts is not due to plastics and electronics being inherently uglier than stone and wood, and it is not because people are stupider than they used to be. It’s due to the detached nonrelation between the people and the things. The artificial separation of work from play also cleaves our time and the quality of our attention.... When work and play are not one, when work and worker are not one, when self and environment are not one, then quality becomes an irrelevancy, a frill; and presto—we fill the world with ugly places and things. (p. 151)

When we live this way, we objectify work as a project to be completely as quickly and efficiently as possible rather than as a process that could be

transformational.

The value of the "almighty dollar" was not always the primary measure of success at work. Before the industrial revolution, work and play were intermingled in daily activities. People often took time to enjoy life in the midst of their work. Work was a family affair in the local community—whether on the farm, at the store, or in the workshop. Living and making a living were not separate entities. According to Stokowski (1994), "in nonindustrial nomadic and agricultural societies, work and leisure appear to be intertwined and almost indistinguishable and activity patterns are structured not by strict time schedules but by seasonal and environmental variations" (p. 6). On the contrary, today work is clearly defined for most people by specific periods of time when we "go to work" and the rest of the time when we are "off." All other activities of life are structured around this commitment, and so, it becomes important to "get the job done" in order to free up more time at home.

When work moved from the community to the factory—becoming centralized and synchronized, it became necessary to supervise workers in order to eliminate any activities that tended to distract them from focussed concentration on the job at hand. Every effort was made to control productivity. Zuboff (1983) recounted that:

elaborate systems of fines were developed to reinforce desired behaviours.... Spontaneous non purposeful actions, such as wandering from one's workstation, gazing out the window, washing, whistling, talking with others, swearing, drinking, lateness, and "seduction" were all subject to heavy fines. (p. 157)

As well, time sheets, clocking in and out, and informers were used to further impose constraints on workers. The division of work into "management" and "labour" increased employees' discontent in the workplace. The belief that people need to be managed has contributed to the perception of work as a place of powerlessness and oppression.

Workers were treated as "costs" and every effort was made to substitute automation, controls, and procedures for skill, independence,

and intelligence (Kanter & Mirvis, 1989). Processes were formalized as standard operating procedures to increase levels of output and guarantee a uniform product. Work became progressively deskilled as a mechanistic vision of labour took over. Creating was now not the function of labour but the function of technology, in the hands of the elite who controlled labour. As Holland (1990) reported, "the whole process was guided by an autonomous and secularized understanding of technology, mediated through the market-led expansion of production for the sake of maximization of profit" (p. 106). And so it has continued.

Adversarial relationships between management and labour are daily news with unions bargaining for employees' rights and limits to their hours and conditions of employment. Bammel and Bammel (1992) reported that "the number of people with jobs perceived as menial and unappealing has increased. For so many employees, the job has become strictly a means of earning money to enable the doing of something else" (p. 141). Work is increasingly seen as time "beyond our control" and provides a distinct contrast to "free time" which is time when we do what we please.

This jaded perception of work is reproduced in common sayings such as T. G. I. F. (Thank God It's Friday) or calling Wednesday "hump day" because we are now on the down slope towards the weekend. As a result, many people now yearn to make money as quickly as possible and look forward to a time when they can retire. Money is valued for buying freedom.⁸² Certainly the media have been influential in constructing this belief.⁸³ London Life's "Freedom 55" is a popular sales concept that has attracted many investors. Their T.V. commercial featuring a carefree middle-aged couple sailing in warm, crystal blue water represents a lifestyle that many of us yearn to experience. And the sooner we can retire, the happier and more contented we will be. Early retirement is a badge of success that signals our economic independence and freedom

⁸² One of Stokowski's (1994) definitions of leisure is that it involves a feeling of freedom. In fact, the word "play" is sometimes used to denote freedom in other ways. For example, "play" can refer to freedom in movement, such as the play of sunlight on the water, or the play of muscles or the play of action in a mechanical device.

⁸³ The power of television is deemed to be so strong that certain hazardous products like tobacco and hard liquor are currently not allowed to be advertised on this medium.

from the constraints of work. It is our reward for working hard. For some, leisure becomes more highly regarded than work, even becoming the primary goal of life with work as the activity that supports leisure (Bammer & Bammer, 1992).

Play as Process

Picture a child playing with a set of building blocks. She is totally engaged in carefully balancing one block on top of the other until that moment of delight when, with a mischievous smile, she topples the precarious structure in a second. It seems that the child gets just as much or even more enjoyment from smashing down the tower as she had in building it. The pleasure is in the embodied act of doing, in exploring and discovering what will balance and what won't. There is no end product here, nothing to show for the time spent. The process—the doing has captured the child's imagination. Dissanayake (1988) noted that "the child artist finds the process to be more important than the result, and children rarely admire or contemplate their finished work, though they may request others to acknowledge it" (p. 53). This aspect of play makes play less valuable in an adult world where productivity and commercial value are paramount. Mergen (1992), in his historical research on play in American society indicated that

as children grow in self-awareness, so does their appreciation of the nature of play. They learn that play—purposeless, frivolous, and limited in time—is opposed by work—purposeful, serious and ongoing.... Children discover that their own definitions of play, the activities that make them happy, may be challenged by adults and playmates. (p. 162)

In other words, "frivolous play" may be limited, even in childhood, by organizing time with more formal pursuits such as music lessons or team sports. Interestingly enough, play has been sanctioned as valuable in childhood by referring to it as "the work of children" (Grier, 1992).

Often the only time adults play is the time when they interact with children. Playing for the sake of the children is acceptable. As children

grow into adults, it is understood as natural that they will spend less time playing and more time working. Those who resist "facing the music" are often labelled immature or childish if they continue to play too much and avoid "settling down" in the discipline of a regular job. Even further, economic punishment is thought to be the "deserved consequence" of "the shiftless, the wasteful, and the inefficient...a "sign of personal irresponsibility" (Gutek, 2001, p. 281).

But one of the contradictions in the work/play dualism is that work's focus on "product" at the expense of all else has led to a reversal of value in some cases. For some, leisure is valued more than work. Play represents freedom⁸⁴ since work is structured in many ways beyond our control. Rybczynski (1991) described discretionary time as beginning when we pass "from the mundane, communal, increasingly impersonal, increasingly demanding, increasingly bureaucratic world of work to the reflective, private, controllable, consoling world of leisure" (p. 234). But ironically, the extent to which we can afford to play is contingent upon our economic success at work. "Play" in our consumer society is a symbol of prosperity.

Work as Serious Responsibility

Zuboff (1983) pointed out that, during the Industrial Revolution "when productive activity was severed from the inherited fabric of village life, it presented itself as a new and special problem" (p. 153). How could people be enticed to accept the demands of labour in an industrial society? What emerged was the "work ethic"⁸⁵ which has served and survived as an ideological framework for productivity, even in the face of economic and social change. Barbash (1983) described the work ethic as "a commitment to work which is stronger than just providing a living. It

⁸⁴ Stokowski (1994) defined leisure around its 3 most notable features: leisure is either "an attitude or feeling of freedom; a kind of social activity; or a specific time period" (p. 3).

⁸⁵ Siegal (1983) has defined the work ethic as "a value or belief (or a set of values or beliefs) concerning the place of work in one's life that either (a) serves as a conscious guide to conduct or (b) is simply implied in attitudes and behaviour" (p. 28). Siegal claimed this definition is culture-free, neutral to historical time, to location, and to non-work interests, as well as leaving room for all the composite work ethics that have been articulated by sociological, political, or religious groups such as Protestant, Calvinist, Puritan, feudal, Buddhist, communist and so forth.

is a conviction that work is a worthwhile activity in its own right" (p. 231). In fact, the work ethic was a moral imperative to work hard for its own sake. Even today, despite the cynicism that surrounds work, it is believed to be good for us, "no matter how hard or boring" (Kanter & Mirvis, 1989, p. 189).⁸⁶ As well, 72% of respondents⁸⁷ in the Kanter and Mirvis (1989) research strongly agreed that "being involved in work makes you feel good about yourself" and they strongly agreed with this statement regardless of age, sex, race, or social status (p. 189).

Not only has work been understood as onerous, but it has been constructed as duty and service through religious writing, preaching, and hymnody.⁸⁸ Calvinism (the particular reformist strand of Protestantism that placed emphasis on work as a calling) articulated the value of labour as service to God which brought Him glory. Work was also portrayed as a responsibility. For example, Matthew 25:14-30⁸⁹ deals specifically with our duty to develop the talents we have been given. In

⁸⁶ Research by Kanter and Mirvis (1989) showed that the work ethic remains strong in American society. Roughly 50% of their research sample strongly agreed that "no matter how hard or boring, work is good for people to do as long as they can." Forty-six percent strongly agreed that "others think better of me if I am working" (p. 189). People less likely to agree with these statements were baby boomers, young workers, and the better educated.

⁸⁹ Respondents in this research were 850 employed Americans, ranging in age from 18 to 70 (excluding students and retirees) and representing proportionately all the major occupational and employment sectors in the country.

⁸⁸ I remember singing the hymn "Work, for the Night is Coming!" as a child. This hymn gives the impression that it is our duty to work non-stop: "Work, for the night is coming! / Work through the morning hours: / Work while the dew is sparkling: / Work 'mid springing flowers: / Work while the day grows brighter: / Under the glowing sun: / Work, for the night is coming. / When man's work is done. 2. Work, for the night is coming! / Work through the sunny noon: / Fill the bright hours with labour: / Rest comes sure and soon. / Give every flying minute / Something to keep in store: / Work, for the night is coming. / When man works no more. / 3. Work, for the night is coming! / Under the sunset skies. / While their bright tints are glowing. / Work for daylight flies. / Work till the last beam fadeth. / Fadeth to shine no more: / Work, while the night is dark'ning. / When man's work is o'er" (Coghill, 1938, p. 639).

⁸⁹ The Matthew story concerns a man going on a journey. He gives his three servants various sums of money to invest while he is away. To one he gives five talents, to another—two, and to another—one, each according to his ability. When he returns, he praises the two servants who have wisely invested the money and have doubled its value. But the servant who received one talent was afraid, so he hid the money and of course made no return. This servant is rebuked. As well, the talent is taken from him and given to the one who had 10 talents. The story concludes with the moral, "For to everyone who has will more be given, and he will have an abundance; but from him who has not, even what he has will be taken away" (Matthew 25:29 R.S.V., Zondervan, p. 95).

the vernacular we might say, "Use it or lose it."

Early in the 20th century Max Weber (1930), a prominent German social and economic historian, sought to explain the capitalistic spirit in his controversial but highly acclaimed book, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Weber theorized that the capitalistic spirit was intimately connected with Calvinism and made "the accumulation and intergenerational transmission of wealth praiseworthy rather than blameworthy" (Buchanan, 1994, p. 84). The pursuit of wealth was now seen as a responsibility, one that demanded constant attention. As Methodist preacher John Wesley once said, "Never be unemployed and never be triflingly employed" (cited in Osbeck, 1990, p. 305). Even in our secular society the belief about work as duty persists. According to Pearsall (1988), we believe that "work must go on. Even if you are sick, go to work. The 'show' must go on, and we must demonstrate that we are willing to die for our jobs. In fact, many of us will" (p. 154).

These beliefs and practices all contribute to our acceptance of work as serious business. The discipline of work includes punctuality, obedience, diligence, and industriousness. But more than that, it is often represented as an obligation the "working stiff" endures with little joy. For example, on just about every Academy Awards show I have ever seen, some recipients say how lucky they are to be paid for doing what they love to do. The implication is that most of the rest of us aren't.

Play as Fun

According to Pearsall (1988), we believe that "work is not fun. Fun is what you have on weekends or vacations. Work is what you do so you can have fun later" (Pearsall, 1988, p. 153).⁹⁰ Thus the bifurcation between work and play hardens into a belief that not only says work is serious and play is fun, but further, that if you are having fun, then you must not be working. The common usage of the word "play" associates it with fun or amusement. Play involves the pleasurable experience of living in the moment. This kind of spontaneous, direct, and usually physical engagement is often in contrast to the "disciplined" way we approach

⁹⁰ Pearsall identified this belief as one of 5 myths commonly accepted about work.

work which often includes deferring pleasure now for reward later—the “no pain no gain” mentality.

Generally we accept that adults work and children play. And so, maturing into adulthood is seen as progressively playing less and working more. In adult life, play is restricted to leisure time when we might “play” a game, “play” music or even “play the field.” Sometimes play is tinged with deception or risk, such as “playing a trick,” “playing him for a fool,” “playing the ponies,” or “playing the stock market.” This use of the word “play” further adds a negative connotation to playing.

Play as Pleasure

In the words of Piaget (1962), it is possible to reduce play to a single entity—“pleasure-seeking” (p. 149). Bammel and Bammel (1992) further suggested that play is pleasurable because of the “immediate gratification” that it affords. Pleasure is often related to the senses. For example, we experience sensual pleasure when we smell freshly baked bread, see a beautiful sunset, hug an old friend, or hear the familiar voice of a loved one on the phone. Chapter 3 described in some detail how an activity such as listening to music involves sensuous appeal. It is this relationship between play and pleasure that places play in a devalued position as the senses, along with our emotions and feelings, are considered to be in opposition to rational thought and controlled behaviour. These divisions are also gendered distinctions which position the rational male “mind” over the irrational female “body.” Such categorizations represent the mind/body dualism at work. According to Connor (1992), the relationship between pleasure and value bifurcates along hedonic and utilitarian lines. That is, “for the hedonist, pleasure and value are identical; for the moralist they are distinct.... The moralist aims to convert pleasure into value, the hedonist to convert all value back into pleasure” (p. 35).

Webster's New World Dictionary (Neufeldt, 1988) has various meanings for “pleasure,” including “a pleased feeling, enjoyment, delight, satisfaction,...gratification of the senses, sensual satisfaction; and amusement or fun (p. 1036). But work can also be pleasurable. Yet,

generally, we persist in equating work with unpleasant responsibility from which we long to escape. According to Csikszentmihalyi (1990), just the opposite is true. People "supposedly enjoying their hard-earned leisure, generally report surprisingly low moods; yet they keep on wishing for more leisure" (p. 158). When it comes to work,

people do not heed the the evidence of their senses. They disregard the quality of immediate experience, and base their motivation instead on the strongly rooted cultural stereotype of what work is supposed to be like. They think of it as an imposition, a constraint, an infringement of their freedom, and therefore something to be avoided as much as possible. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, p. 160)

For some, free time is commonly spent passively consuming mass media, as voyeurs watching other people actively participating in sports, games, and life in general.⁹¹ But as Csikszentmihalyi (1990) found, these experiences do not generally make us happy and strong; they absorb our energy, "leaving us more exhausted, more disheartened than we were before" (p. 163). Participants in Csikszentmihalyi's research reported having more experiences of flow at work than during leisure. Perhaps Csikszentmihalyi's distinction between pleasure and enjoyment would be helpful in understanding this seeming contradiction.

In his research on optimal experience, Csikszentmihalyi defined pleasure in psychological terms as the "feeling of contentment that one achieves whenever information in consciousness says that expectations set by biological programs or by social conditioning have been met" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, p. 45). In other words, the biological need fulfillment of eating when we are hungry, is pleasurable. Other experiences that often overlap with pleasure but are different in that they go beyond need satisfaction, he characterized as enjoyable. There is an element of growth and accomplishment in enjoyment, he theorized, which involves an investment of energy and attention. Csikszentmihalyi (1990) found that regardless of age, sex, economic status, or culture, people all over the world have described similar kinds of optimal

⁹¹ The recent crop of "reality based" TV shows has taken this concept to new heights.

experiences and have commonly used the word “flow” to describe their experiences.

Play Reconstructed as Virtuous, Cultured Activity

Historically, leisure pursuits increased during the late 19th century because of technological developments, longer life expectancy, and increased per capita income. The new middle class had more time and money to spend on recreation, and the array of new consumer products and services available in the entertainment industry exploded. Some religious leaders, however, were concerned about the moral effect of “unsavoury” entertainment. As Grier (1992) reported, although “the Protestant establishment of ministers...agreed with doctors and advice authors that leisure pursuits were necessary to personal, moral, and physical development,” Christians were admonished to be morally vigilant and not participate in unsavoury pastimes and entertainment (p. 3). They were also encouraged to use leisure time for service to the community.

The construction of leisure as virtuous activity can be traced back to Greek culture. Stokowski (1994) pointed out that Aristotle's writing about leisure in Greek society revealed the purpose of leisure:

not simply to achieve private physical and spiritual perfection, but to use one's knowledge and excellence for expressing virtue in political action. Leisure was not only an individual pleasure but a public good. The leisured man was required to contribute to and improve public, communal life through the application of knowledge and virtue in politics.

(p. 4)

The “ideal man” would spend time being schooled in the arts, discourse, sport, and military endeavours. But not everyone in Greek society developed leisure pursuits; such undertakings were the domain of the upper class male who could rely on slaves and women to perform the mundane chores of daily living. Similarly today, the likelihood of contributing to the public good in leisure time rises with one's economic means. Today, leisure or discretionary time, as in Greek society, is the

prerogative of the middle and upper classes.⁹²

As arts activities increased in Canada during the 1920s, participation in such events was associated with being "cultured." The arts and music in particular were deemed essential areas of study for the cultured young woman. According to Tippet (1994), the belief was that "either passive or active involvement in cultural activities could 'refine and elevate'" (p. 44). Being schooled in the traditions of European high art was associated with cultural maturity both individually and nationally. The young nation of Canada, led by the Canada Council,⁹³ sought to establish a national culture and world class status on the international arts stage. The role of the Council was also to "overcome the small population, great distances, and the overpowering presence of the United States that had stifled development of a national culture" (Granatstein, 1994, p. 90).

So far in this chapter, I have explored some of the differences we understand about work and play in daily life. As with the male/female dualism, the work/play bifurcation is pervasive in society and profoundly affects how we categorize all activity. Through language, positionality, and representation we accept particular constructions of work and play that influence our lives in profound ways. Rarely are we fully aware of these influences. In an important area of my own life, I too accepted the cultural imperative to separate work and play. When it was time for me to make a career choice I specifically avoided music because I didn't want to risk turning my love for music into drudgery. Unconsciously I had accepted that work was an onerous obligation that could be burdensome at times. It was much later in life that I figured out I should be doing what I most enjoy as my occupation and infuse my work with pleasure.

In general then, work is accorded primary importance because of its economic value. Play, as the marginalized "other" is viewed oppositionally in adult life as a distraction from work and has, at times,

⁹² The 1997 Canadian National Survey of Giving, Volunteering, and Participating found that "only 22% of persons whose household income was less than \$20,000 volunteered during the reference year, compared with 44% of those with household income of \$80,000 or more" (Ministry of Industry, 1998, p. 31).

⁹³ The origins of the Canada Council go back to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences. in 1949 (Granatstein, 1994).

been negatively construed as idleness. Play is an experience which has value in and of itself, while work is more concerned with an end result. Beyond its economic value, work has been characterized as serious responsibility that is good for us, whether we like it or not. Play, on the other hand, is pleasurable and fun, and for some, the goal of life. Many have bought into the London Life motto and yearn to be free at 55. Leisure in our age has come to be a sign of wealth, freedom, and independence.

The Work/Play Dualism in Music and Music Education

How does the work/play dualism construct our understanding of music and music education? I will tackle this question by unravelling how music is marginalized as play as well as how music has been reconstructed as work to gain legitimacy. The representations of work and play that have just been examined in a general way will now be applied specifically to music and music education. In particular I will examine:

- *Music as Play:*
 - *Music as Leisure Time Activity,*
 - *Music as Pleasurable Fun,*
 - *Music as Cultured Activity, and*
 - *Music as Process.*
- *Music Reconstructed as Work:*
 - *Music as a Product of Technology,*
 - *Music as Performance:*
 - *Music lessons constructed as work,*
 - *Talent reconstructed as serious responsibility,*
 - *The objectification of performers, and*
 - *Performance products in schools.*

Generally, music suffers in our economy-driven society because it is more closely tied to enjoyment of life (which we categorize as play) than to making a living (which we call work).

Music as Play

The following representations contribute to our understanding of music as play: music as leisure time activity; music as pleasurable fun; music as cultured activity; and music as process.

Music as Leisure Time Activity

Will music be work or play, career or recreational activity for most people in society? Actually, few people make their living as musicians. Even parents who value music are often very reluctant to encourage their child's interest in musical performance as a career choice.⁹⁴ The reality is that "in our culture, a huge number of talented and motivated artists, musicians, dancers, athletes, and singers give up pursuing those domains because it is so difficult to make a living in them" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, p. 333).

Where is live music performed these days? Dance clubs? Concert halls? Churches? Employment opportunities for musicians are few and far between. Only major cities hire symphony players, and Saturday night "gigs" are viewed more as supplementing income rather than as a primary means of support. Similarly positions as church organists and choir directors do not offer full-time employment. In fact, trained musicians are often asked to perform for various functions at schools and churches for free. Perhaps the grandfather in the commercial referred to earlier had good reason to raise his eyebrow when his grandson chose the arts as his major in university.

On the other hand, music is commonly associated with entertainment and leisure in our society. Whether we dance, go to concerts, learn to play an instrument just for the fun of it, or enjoy listening to music as an accompaniment to other activities such as dining or quiet relaxation, music is a common denominator in our recreational practices.

⁹⁴ Music is more than performance and careers in music include a broader range of activities such as composing, teaching, and technical support. The booklet *Now Hear This!* (Cultural Human Resources Council, 1998) profiles hundreds of career opportunities in the music and sound recording business. However, the primary function of conservatories and Schools of Music is to train musicians for public performance.

Schools also reproduce the concept of music as recreation by their scheduling practices. The supposedly tedious work of learning “academics” is broken up with small doses of fun at recess, lunch, and before and after school. This practice includes the scheduling of games, sports, and musical activities during students’ “free” time. Musical groups such as ukulele or recorder clubs and choirs also often rehearse at lunchtime or before or after school.

Historically, the connection between music and leisure is what helped to create a *raison d’être* for music in schools in the first place. In Aristotle’s *The Politics, Book VIII* we read:

Now the accepted sorts of learning are, as was said earlier, ambiguous. Essentially there are four things they customarily educate in: letters, gymnastics, music, and fourth, some expertise in drawing—expertise in letters and drawing as being useful for life and having many uses, gymnastics as contributing to courage; but about music one might already raise a question. At present most people share it for the sake of pleasure; but those who arranged to have it in education at the beginning did so because nature itself seeks, as has been said repeatedly, not only to be occupied in correct fashion but also to be capable of being at leisure in noble fashion. (n.d./1984, p. 230)

This theme in educational practice was taken up again early in the 20th century as people began to have more leisure time and wanted to have fulfilling lives beyond work. A 1927 *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers* stated that “education must take into account the whole man and aim at enriching his personality, and when the wise use of leisure is acknowledged as one of its chief objects, then the arts, and especially music, are seen to deserve generous recognition” (cited in Pitts, 2000, p. 36).

The insignificant allotment of time for the arts in school timetabling further confirms its value as recreational diversion. Even if music received the instructional time that is mandated in British Columbia schools, this amounts to “10% of instructional time” for *all*

the fine arts⁹⁵ in grade six and seven," and "5% of instructional time in grades eight and nine" (*Curriculum Handbook for Parents* [Middle School Edition], Ministry of Education, 1998, p. 54). As well, the decreasing amount of time given to the arts as students move through the school system reinforces the notion that the arts are less important in higher education and real life. If you are serious about school, you must concentrate on the maths and sciences and minimize your participation in fun pursuits like music. Evan, one of the students interviewed for this research, related his reasoning for not continuing with band in junior high:

And also, even though it's not true, you think going into junior high, "Oh, I don't think I'm going to have time to do band. You get to choose 2 of your subjects and you think that's awesome and of course the reality is that you could do band if you wanted to. But you also think, "I have to concentrate on my studies." (EV, p. 8)

Evan also took private piano lessons but stopped in grade 7. He continued:

I felt I wanted to concentrate on school now. This is what you think, "I don't have time to play music anymore," because you've got sports and schoolwork and you don't have time for music. That's such a fallacy but really, that's what you think, going to a new school, I'm going to have a locker, I'm not going to have the same desk all the time, my life is going to change. If I just had someone say, "It will change but you will definitely have time for whatever you want to do music wise" maybe I would have stayed with it, but at the time my perception was that I wouldn't have time for it. And so I stopped in grade 7.

Int: And it sounds like you're saying too that it [music] wasn't serious, and you had to be serious now that you were getting older and concentrate on the serious subjects.

Evan: Yeah, you're thinking, "I've got to do well in school." And I was a very good student in elementary school and I wanted

⁹⁵ Collectively, the disciplines of dance, drama, music, and visual arts are referred to as the fine arts or the arts.

to continue. They have honour rolls in grade 8 to 10 so you want to hit the honour rolls. My Mom and Dad really wanted me to do well in school. (EV, p. 12)

Music is not generally associated with the real work of schools but rather as light-weight recreation, a change of pace to refresh students so they can concentrate on the "serious" subjects like mathematics and science.

When no music specialists are hired to teach music in the elementary classroom, often music is not treated as a discipline that is valued in its own right. Its sporadic use in the classroom often serves other than musical purposes. For example, students might learn language, mathematical concepts, or behavioural concepts such as learning about sharing through a song. This kind of "integration" enhances other instructional activities, but the Coalition for Music Education in Canada (1995b) suggests that "this type of instruction cannot substitute for a separate program of instruction in music because it cannot teach the skills and knowledge of music in a comprehensive and sequential manner" (p. 7-18).

Often education students are surprised when they find out that music actually has a prescribed curriculum in the elementary grades—that there is something to learn in music just as there is in other subjects. Surprise sometimes turns to feelings of betrayal and anger as students realize what they have missed, based on their teachers' personal decisions to opt out of teaching music. By contrast, what teacher would consider not teaching mathematics? An omission of this magnitude would not be tolerated by parents or school authorities—even students would be dumbfounded—yet this omission happens on a regular basis with music.⁹⁶ As Stake, Bresler, and Mabry (1991) reported, once out in the field, "the teachers of the elementary schools we saw were able to read the signals pretty well. They understood they had neither the community nor the profession to fear if they failed to pursue the articulated aims of arts education" (p. 303).

⁹⁶ One of the students interviewed in my research related the following: "I asked my sponsor teacher if she taught music in the classroom and she replied, "No, I can't teach music" (AN, p. 9).

Even those who are specially trained to teach music employ a hodgepodge of methods and goals. Gantly (1989), professor emeritus of music education at the University of Victoria, witnessed a "varied, inconsistent and inequitable range of instructional content and teaching styles" in the delivery of music programs by British Columbia's music educators (p. 127). Nothing much has changed since 1989. Some programs are formal, literacy-based; others are activity-based with little or no sequential development; and the remainder are performance-based, preparing instrumentalists to take their place in junior secondary band programs. These approaches send three different messages. In the first, it's important to read music; in the second, it's important to experience music; and in the third, it's important to perform music. It seems we, as music educators, contribute to music's fate as "recreational" when we fail to communicate any sense of a shared belief in a common purpose for music in schools.

"Serious" subjects, on the other hand, are grounded in formal principles and theories and a widespread belief in their importance. These powerful discourses, based on proof and reason, embody our belief in the power and promise of science and technology. Randy, one of the students interviewed in this research described the subjects his father valued:

Int: What school subjects do you think were important to your parents?

Randy: My father was a geography teacher, so geography, history, basically being aware of why you are Canadian and how you are different from Americans. My father always considered the "hard" sciences as the ones you should have. Physics, chemistry, biology, that sort of thing, mathematics. And he was big on the whole "high tech" movement. He forced me to take a computer programming course when I was in school. (RA, p. 9)

The dominant discourse underlying these statements values objective, empirical thought, and subjects that are based on positivistic reasoning. These subjects sit in stark contrast to music which is perceived to be

subjective and emotional. Determinations of subjects as "hard" or "soft" also point to gendered differences which classify the "nonessential, 'soft,' indeterminate, oral, and aural-based" subjects as feminine and "basic, 'hard,' determinate, print, and visual-based" subjects as masculine" (Morton, 1996, p. 109).

Maths and sciences are also legitimized by the overwhelming weight they are given in high school graduation requirements while the arts are marginalized. Currently in British Columbia, of the 52 credits needed to graduate from high school, only 2 are fine arts (*Curriculum Handbook for Parents* [Grades 11 & 12], British Columbia Ministry of Education, 1998a, p. 73). Music courses are also generally excluded as legitimate credits for university entrance requirements. High school students concerned about accumulating such credits will avoid music courses because they don't "count." Randy's comments during our interview support this point:

Most people were taking academic courses [in high school] because they were going on to university afterwards and you wanted to have as many of your bases covered as possible—like biology and chemistry and physics—those type of courses and the way the schedule was, you only had a certain number of options even at level 5 so you took the courses you needed to get into university. And then you could pick other courses—like typing—something that you knew you could do well on—that you could get a high mark on to keep your average up so that you could get into university—the same way it is now. It's not what you took or where you took it but how well you did—the numerical value of your final grade. (RA, p. 6)

Even in the new elementary teacher education program at the University of Victoria, music education courses don't "count" as upper level academic electives.⁹⁷ This lack of validation for music education courses sends a very clear message to students about the hierarchy of knowledge in the educational community and music's non-status position. Some of

⁹⁷ This ruling is a judgment of the British Columbia College of Teachers.

us may believe that intelligence is a jagged profile of many different intelligences à la Howard Gardner (1983), but educational policies generally uphold the centrality of the linguistic, scientific, and mathematical discourses.

As well, in today's society, many people are more interested in education as training for "making a living," than in education for making a life. As Metcalfe (1987) suggested, "music is an endangered subject in this utilitarian age" (p. 114). Indeed, many

corporate stakeholders and politicians (who are concerned about productivity) and activist parents...are collaborating in developing a business model of schooling which talks of input-output, of systems analysis, and of clients, as if education were the same thing as business. (Hanley, 1996, p.

1)

A 1996 news report in Victoria's *Times Colonist* (Dutton, 1996) gave further evidence of the current thrust in education. In this article, Sihota, the British Columbia Minister of Education at the time, identified "stability" and "relevance" as the new focus for education in the province. Sihota explained "relevance" as "a greater focus on applied studies—applied mathematics, applied sciences, technological training, computer training and communications," clearly supporting the notion that education and career preparation are synonymous (p. A5).

Society's support of career preparation in public education has not been lost on advocates for music in schools. Since there are increasingly more career options in the entertainment industry that are broadly related to the arts and technology,⁹⁸ these opportunities are used to justify music and the arts in schools. Publications from the Getty Trust such as *Educating for the Workplace through the Arts* (1996), (also reprinted in *Business Week*, October 28, 1996), and *Arts Education for Life and Work* (1997) describe the role the arts play in educating the workforce of the future. Kennedy (1999), in her presentation at the

⁹⁸ The [American] National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies (1994) reported that 1.3 million jobs are supported by the arts nationally. A pamphlet in the Canadian Coalition for Music Education's *Music Advocacy Kit* (1995a) states that "the arts are Canada's 11th largest industry, representing fully 4% of the Gross National Product" and that arts jobs are expected to increase 130% more than non-arts jobs in the 90's."

National Symposium on Arts Education in Victoria 1998, reiterated that certain skills such as “flexibility, creativity, problem solving, cooperative learning, group dynamics—five qualities valued by the business world, are quite naturally embraced by music instructional experiences” (p. 275).

Similarly, the rationale used for music education in the British Columbia 1998 *Fine Arts Kindergarten to Grade 7 Integrated Resource Package* states:

Music education, as envisioned in this curriculum, contributes to the intellectual, aesthetic, human, social, and career development of the educated citizen by providing opportunities to...investigate and experience emerging technologies that apply to music...[and] contribute to society through music-related pursuits and careers. (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 1998, p. 120)⁹⁹

This current strategy for legitimizing music in education attempts to imbue music with value based on its ability to provide us with opportunities for work. We have yet to see how effective this approach will be in securing a place for music in education.

Music as Pleasurable Fun

Musical experience by its very nature is pleasurable. In Aristotle's *The Politics* we read:

But all of us assert that music belongs among the most pleasant things, both by itself and with melody...singing is the pleasantest thing for mortals; hence it is reasonable to expect it to be brought into [social] gatherings and pastimes, as being capable of providing good cheer. (p. 235)

As human beings we experience the sensuous enjoyment of music when we respond physically to music. Our hearts may race, our bodies sway, or our toes start to tap. The physical pleasure we experience through music connects it with play.

In my ME 204 classes, the most common response to the question,

⁹⁹ I do not mean to imply this is the sole focus. The list includes 11 other points.

"Why teach music?" is "Because it's fun!" Several factors contribute to this assessment. University students remember what it was like in elementary school. They have frequently experienced music in the early grades as a pleasurable experience, organized around activities that are fun and entertaining, but often devoid of musical learning. Randy, one of the students interviewed for this research related that in music, *"there wasn't the pressure that you had to learn something"* (RA, p. 3). Ivy, another student interviewed for my research recalled the following about her experience of elementary music: *"Music was fun because we got to go down there [to the multi-purpose room] and fool around basically and sing. Yeah we just really didn't learn anything. It was just all for fun"* (IV, p. 3).

Music functions largely as a change of pace in elementary school, a temporary diversion from the real work of schools. The following comments from students in ME 204 speak to this point:

In September I used to think that music in school was just for fun. There was nothing to learn.

In September I used to think that music was just a nice change from regular classroom learning.

I used to think that music is a fun activity but does not have any practical purposes. (Sim, 1998a, p. 47)

These comments reflect students' personal experiences of music as entertainment, experiences that lacked purposeful learning. Such reflections are supported by the research of Stake, Bresler, and Mabry (1991) who found that in U.S. elementary schools, the attitude of the arts as a fun diversion from the real work of school, is prevalent. These researchers observed that *"the arts were regularly marginal, almost always secondary to academics"* (p. 310).

Students also comment on the sheer pleasure of making music together. As well, the free expression, the accomplishment, and the camaraderie enjoyed in the process all contribute to their judgment that music is fun. Other factors that students related as contributing to the

assessment of music as fun were reported by Randy and Megan. Randy commented, *"I was excited to get out of the regular classroom. You go to a different part of the school that you're not used to. It's a different routine for you. It was novel"* (RA, p. 8). Megan, speaking of band trips, related the following:

It was a fun time. I was on a trip with my friends so it was a lot more than just a concert. You got to wear white and black [a uniform]. I never really got to do a lot of fun things when I was a kid. Getting out of the town, even on a bus, was fun. (ME, p. 13)

But fun is also interpreted as "not serious" and is therefore suspect in the classroom. Thus, even when music lessons involve musical learning, some teachers, parents, and administrators wonder how much children could actually be learning when they're having so much fun. According to Csikszentmihalyi (1996), adults do a really good job of making "serious tasks seem dull and boring, and frivolous ones exciting and easy" (p.125). And so in music class, when students enjoy active participation in the adventure of music-making, we wonder if they can actually be learning anything of value. Some arts educators have said that we have known for years what academic educators have only realized since the '70s—that active engagement with the materials of the subject makes learning more enjoyable. And although many schools have turned to more child-centred programs that allow for more freedom and personal discovery in learning, the joy of learning is often stifled beyond the early years of school. School becomes drudgery, much like work in adult life. According to Natchmanovitch (1990),

Schools can nurture creativity in children, but they can also destroy it, and all too often do. Ideally, schools exist to preserve and regenerate learning and the arts, to give children the tools with which they may create the future. At worst, they produce uniform, media-minded grown-ups to feed the marketplace with workers, with managers and with consumers. (p. 116)

Music is firmly established as play for another reason. Not only is

music-making enjoyable but the experience of "flow" is also relatively common in musical experience (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). For the past 20 years, the term optimal experience or flow has been associated with the extensive research of Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, but the connection in general between enjoyment and intrinsic reward has been recognized for centuries in various cultures throughout the world. The Taoist concept of *Yu*, the Hindu attitude towards life that pervades the *Bhagavad Gita*, and Aristotle's concept of virtue all make a connection between happiness and intrinsic or autotelic reward (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, p. 255). In fact the term "autotelic," referring to self contained activities that are enjoyable in themselves, comes from the Greek *auto* meaning self, and *telos*, meaning goal (p. 67).

Music as Cultured Activity

Historically in America, music-making has been represented as a feminine pastime and also as a sign of the cultured woman, suitable for marriage. Indeed, "the instruction of women in the fine arts—or what some have pejoratively referred to as the acquisition of 'ornamental skills'—brought many of the country's first art and music institutions into being" (Tippett, 1994, p. 32). Thus, music study, and particular classical music study has been identified as an activity of the well educated, affluent woman. In our time, the stereotype has been more generally applied to both males and females. According to Calhammer (1993), those who listen to Western art music are thought to be "a breed apart,...older, more educated and articulate than other listeners, more affluent, conservative, and usually white" (p. 22).

Because of the financial investment some musical activities require, music can be a status symbol for the wealthy. For example, the money required to take piano lessons and buy and maintain a piano, gives music the image of being elitist.¹⁰⁰ Recent research at UCLA confirmed that access to the arts is inequitably distributed in society. The study reported on by the Coalition for Music Education (1998) found

¹⁰⁰ Certainly an ad in the *Times Colonist* entitled, "Play the most expensive piano in the world" was crafted to appeal to the elite. Apparently the Disklavier Pro2000 piano is valued at \$500,000.00 (February 16, 2001, p. A4).

that children from affluent families are more likely to be engaged in the arts.

Music has been understood since the time of the Greeks as a civilizing influence. From Plato's *Protagorus* we read: "when they have learned to play the lyre...[b]y this means they become more civilized, more balanced, and better adjusted in themselves and so more capable in whatever they say or do; for rhythm and harmonious adjustment are essential to the whole of human life (p. 57). This sentiment is reflected in the saying, "a boy who blows a horn will never blow a safe" (Hoffer, 1983, p. 47), and has been used as one of the rationales for music in education—that music is "an important moralizing force, as a way of diffusing passionate emotions and redirecting them towards habits of industry, thrift, contentment, sobriety, and patriotism" (Metcalf, 1987, p. 98). Certainly the saying "Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast" suggests that music can discipline the "base" emotions. Thus musical appreciation has come to be a sign of being "cultured."

This theme was taken up in the 1920s when Christian leaders were concerned about the increase in leisure time for young people and adults, coupled with the explosion of unsavoury entertainment becoming available. Service clubs (such as the YMCA), churches, and arts organizations provided "entertainment for children to oppose the pestilence of unwholesome attractions continually featured at downtown theatres" (Tippett, 1994, p. 44). As well, the "Free Concert Movement" of the 1920s in Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal was an example of recreation that was intended to educate and edify. Such activities were thought to exert a "splendid influence upon national character" (Tippett, 1994, p. 46). To this end, music festivals and competitions that had existed in Ontario since the mid-19th century took on importance all across the country. The festival movement caught the imagination of the nation as a way to develop "refined taste" among the public by encouraging the playing of "the right kind of music in the right way" (Tippett, 1994, p. 47). In other words, high art was thought to produce refinement and cultured tastes while pop culture appealed to the baser emotions.

Thus the arts became firmly established as leisure activity. But "art for art's sake" is a bourgeois, sexist construction. When music is separate and distinct from real life, (the life/art dualism), "free time" is required for its enjoyment. Music as leisure also requires money to buy the products we consume as entertainment. Also, the construction of art as products separate from real life frequently excludes the work of women, because women's creative efforts have often had utilitarian functions in the home (Koza, 1994). According to Koza (1994), "historically, few women have had the opportunity to create art as art—the lived realities of women's lives have often required that women's creations be useful (p. 82). For example, quilts and clothing can be artfully produced in the home, but these items are usually considered "crafts," not art. In music, women who teach children in the home and at school may commonly and out of necessity compose music for teaching purposes. These small-scale, utilitarian pieces are mostly discounted, however, and instead we celebrate the larger musical forms of professional male composers.

Music as Process

Music comes to life when human beings actively make it—music moves through time and space as an in-process creation. Before music could be reproduced through technology, it was always a living creation. To enjoy music meant you had to make it yourself or at least be in the actual presence of people who were. This reality intimately grounded music in embodied experience. Indeed, the music-making of our ancestors before the radio and the phonograph was always alive and socially grounded. As such, the *experience* of making-music was valued.

Today music can be enjoyed as a process or a product. More commonly, it is enjoyed as a product. Planomania¹⁰¹ has long since

¹⁰¹ "Planomania" can be traced back to late Victorian England. It occurred as the benefits of industrial capitalism began to filter down to the general population and the production of pianos and sheet music flourished. It has been estimated that, by the mid-19th century, 15 to 20,000 pianos were being produced annually in England, and that by 1910, there was one piano for every 10 to 20 people in England (Martin, 1995). For those who can afford it, even today, the piano is one of the more common instruments for learning music in the home.

died. Pianos sit eerily silent in the corner of living-rooms as dusty old monuments to a by-gone era. Music emanates instead from the hi-tech stereo system. With the aid of technology we are able to distance ourselves from the bodily production of music and expunge it of all social context. This way of valuing music fits with the values of our economy-driven society. Intimate experiences of music, which are valuable to a small numbers of people, have little or no commercial value. The following example serves to illustrate this point:

I remember "The Rankin Family" from my days in the Maritimes. The Rankins are a family of musicians from Cape Breton Island who performed folk music at local venues early in their career. Concerts were rich in Celtic traditions: the girls often sang in Gaelic and did step dancing as well. But in order to draw a wider audience they succumbed to the pressure to adapt to the mainstream. Now they are nationally known, but their music, however, is much less distinctive. They now have a more generic pop sound and do much less Celtic music in their concerts. (personal reflection)

In an effort to reach a larger audience and sell more of their "product," the Rankins became more mainstream, more commercially viable.

Another way that productivity has affected music-making is that spontaneous forms of music-making have been neglected. Improvising provides one such example. Musical improvisation is defined in *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* as "the creation of music in the course of performance" (Nettl, 1986, p. 392). It is a spontaneous act that occurs once—in the moment. Hence it is not valuable in a commercial sense. Should it be surprising then, that with few exceptions, the art of improvisation is dead in our society?¹⁰² Small (1987) tracked this deficiency back to classically trained performers who are totally dependent on the printed score:

Virtually never will concert performers of our time attempt
in public anything other than the realization of a score

¹⁰² Small (1987) reported that "in the west today improvisation flourishes only within the Afro-American tradition" (p. 291).

which has been rehearsed as thoroughly as time will allow. It is not only that the training of musicians has almost certainly left them unequipped to engage in any kind of on-the-spot invention but it has also left them without the slightest idea that such activity is either possible or desirable. (p. 281)

From a commercial standpoint, the scores required to read classical music support a publishing industry. Improvisation on the other hand, is not dependent on manuscripts. I have even noticed that jazz concerts (which feature improvisation) rarely bother with a printed program—thus subverting the printed page on another level.

Music Reconstructed as Work

Music has successfully been reconstructed as “work” in 2 ways. The first involves the technological revolution that has forever changed how we experience music. The music industry is now a multinational corporate giant. This change signals a power shift in the valuing of music in society. Music as a product of technology can be extremely lucrative. The second way that music has been reconstructed as “work” is through a focus on performance. From private music lessons to the concert stage, live music-making is conceived of in a very narrow sense as a performance product.

Music as a Product of Technology

Music has been commodified as a product of work. Technology has created a music industry that organizes the production and consumption of music in our culture. It is packaged, distributed, and sold like movies, clothes, or any other commodity. Thus, music is now less about art and more about cultural re-production. The majority listen to pre-recorded music and rarely attend live concerts or make their own music.¹⁰³

As a society we accept these packaged musical performances as more valuable than the actual experience of making music for ourselves.

¹⁰³ One of the assignments in ME 204 is to attend and critique a live musical performance. Many students relate that they have never been to a live concert for any kind of music other than pop.

In other words, the product is valued over the process. And so, stereo sound has taken the place of mothers' lullabies; we entertain ourselves, not by singing around the piano, but by turning on the stereo or the television and listening to others do it for us. Music-making is left to the talented¹⁰⁴ few while the rest of society generally experiences music in passive leisure-time pursuits as part of the silent majority who pay to be entertained.

Perhaps the lengths to which technology can be used to simulate real experience is only beginning. On April 20, 1999, the television program *Crook and Chase* featured the latest acoustic instruments that play themselves. A "high tech" version of the player piano and a violin on a stand are now available for about ten thousand dollars each because, as the promoter said, "people like the ambiance created by real instruments." Consumers who buy this kind of product (who could also purchase an instrument and several years of lessons) value the effect of technology—the virtual reality of live music—over the experience of making music for themselves. Creativity, musically speaking, is now more a function of technology than a human endeavour.

The following scenario is another example of how technology has perverted our appreciation for musical experience and how the glorification of technology (over real-life experiences of music) is circulated and reproduced through the media. The following radio commercial aired frequently in Victoria in the summer of 2001. It went something like this:

A boy (in a whiny voice) is complaining that he's stuck at camp, where the closest fast access internet server is across the lake at the girls' camp. He says, "I'm sitting here around a campfire singing "Kum Ba Ya" while the girls are listening to *real music* on line." (personal reflection)

How twisted, yet I can easily visualize this happening. Technology has the power to distance people from their own creativity and even cause them to prefer the medium over the message. We are content to play with the toys rather than engaging with music in a personal way.

¹⁰⁴ This point will be discussed further in chapter 5.

Being musically illiterate is acceptable in our society whereas being technologically ignorant is not. The wizardry of today's technology and society's accompanying valorization of technological ability are in good part responsible for this assignment of value. After all, you can get technology to write the music you can't write yourself. And for that matter, Paul McCartney never learnt to use traditional notation and isn't he the epitome of success in the music business? Consider also the financial rewards for being technologically savvy. The computer geeks of yesterday are the Bill Gates' of today. Recording and manipulating sound through technology (such as composing music on computers and other audio equipment), and even remixing previously recorded sound, is now a widely accepted way to make music. The legal ramifications however, regarding who owns what, are the recording industry's current nightmare.

Music production in our industrial, capitalistic society is big business. The marketing agents of the superstars distribute an "easily recognizable and stable product, no matter whether the star's name is Michael Jackson, John Coltrane, James Galway, or Herbert von Karajan. The buyers know what to expect and the company knows what its market is" (Small, 1987, p. 412). A single hit can create a millionaire overnight, but the music itself is only one aspect of the commercial package. An amazing array of other products such as posters, clothes, and the official name of the group on everything from lunchboxes to notebooks, and backpacks to sleeping bags, insures that the stars will become multimillionaires. As well, endorsement contracts for other products are just as lucrative. In our society, this kind of outward validation that garners fame, fortune, and power is celebrated as success. This objectification of music as a commercial product is not limited to pop music. Its volume of sales and mainstream appeal make it the most visible musical product in our society; however, other genres of music such as opera, jazz, hiphop and so forth are also marketed to particular segments of the population in much the same way.

This concept of music as a product has evolved from the practices of 19th century European musicians who were becoming "independent

creators of art, establishing independence from guild restrictions and ecclesiastical and aristocratic patrons" (Elliot, 1995, p. 24). In this climate music emerged as a "non-functional, commodity-based art" (p. 24). Musicians built their reputation and career around their published scores, performances, and favourable reviews in the right publications. They were revered as divinely inspired geniuses whose works were to be faithfully reproduced according to the notated score. This development set the stage for valuing music the way we do today, primarily as formalized, functionless, and aesthetic objects of art.

Valuing music as a product rather than a process has occurred with the support of 3 other dualisms operating in society: valuing the formal over the informal, the public over the private, and the individual over the community. For example, the performance [formal] of a celebrated pianist [individual] in a concert hall [public] is a construction of music as a product, as work. The experience of a family [community] singing together around the piano [informal] at home [private] is a construction of music as leisure or play. The commercialization of music increases its value as work, but decreases the potential for making social, physical, emotional, and spiritual connections with music through active music-making.

Music then, as these scenarios suggest, can be experienced as work or play, as product or process, but in our modern capitalist economy, the value of commercialized musical products takes precedence over personal music-making. This assessment parallels the valuing in broader society where formal, public products are rewarded over activities that are informal, private (such as in the home), and process-oriented. The rewards are often monetary ones. By buying the CDs, the clothes, and all the other products that are available to us, we make a few recording artists into "stars"¹⁰⁵ and distance the many from personal experiences with music. In a sense, music has been successfully re-invented from play to work, from process to product, from informal experiences to formalized packages, from private experiences to public ones, from

¹⁰⁵ Small (1987) contends that the "star system in fact, completely dominates the arts of Western industrial societies; it functions effectively to distance the majority of people from their own creativity" (p. 414).

community experiences of music-making to stardom for a few. This concept of music reproduces the values of the dominant discourse—such as capitalism, materialism, technology, and individualism—but distances people from the deeper meanings that can be found in musical experience.

Music as Performance

The performances that are the most highly valued in our society are products—that is decontextualized music-making in a public, formalized setting, where it is viewed as a object of art by an audience. From private music lessons to the concert hall we see the effects of this particular kind of valuing.

Music lessons constructed as work. As previously stated, we tend to organize our children's free time to engage them in purposeful activity, in a sense, applying the values of "work" to "leisure." Chief among the typical lessons children engage in, musically speaking, are piano lessons and the more money that is invested in such training, the more children are expected to "work" at it so that their parents' investment pays off. One such example was related by Megan, one of the students interviewed for my research. She told the following story:

I had one friend who was the daughter of a doctor and they had [emphasized] to practice. They went through piano like it was serious stuff. You got a check mark for each half hour you practised and if you didn't get all your check marks for the week, holy, you'd better watch out. So she was like so far above me. She didn't even worry about me. I think she was probably in grade 8 [conservatory level]. (ME, p. 9)

Thus, the work ethic was applied in this case to music. For this child, "free time" was now turned into work where she was expected to practise the required elements of the piano lesson as set out by the teacher. Practising usually conforms to this model, and limits a playful discovery of the instrument's and student's capabilities.

School music lessons also conform to this model. Even with

percussion and Orff instruments the music teacher emphasizes that there is a proper way to play the instruments, and that we as the teachers will pass on to students just exactly what the playing technique entails. Students are given little opportunity to experiment with instruments on their own. I was made keenly aware of this the first time I introduced Orff instruments to a particular class. One of the students said, "Is this just a tease?" I didn't know what he meant so I asked him to explain. He said that in elementary school so much time was taken up talking about the proper way to do this and that, that they never had time to just "mess about" with the instruments. Thus we exercise playful discovery out of musical experience and turn it into work.

The ritual of taking private music lessons may start out rather casually in the early years, with children starting to learn to play from the local music teacher down the street or at the local music store, but eventually, if the parents are "serious" about their child's development, the lessons will be given by a registered teacher who has a reputation for developing talent. Such a teacher will focus on developing the technical ability required to play the classical repertoire and organize periodic testing according to the conservatory's standards. The substance of the lessons is technical performance combined with learning to read the notated scores of the masters. Although more teachers now include popular music in their selection of repertoire for students, this inclusion is permitted with the understanding that such music should be practiced only when the serious pieces have been learnt. Serious musical study is grounded in the classical repertoire while popular music represents a "just for fun" approach. Further, it is the rare teacher who indulges students' desires to create their own music and encourages improvisation and composition. The focus is generally on performing the classical repertoire to an accepted standard which is under the auspices of various conservatories.

Traditionally piano lessons involve following a syllabus or a particular method of instruction. Except for the Suzuki method and a few other lesser known models, traditional piano instruction generally relies heavily on the visual to introduce reading music at the same time

as technical skills are being developed. Even in the study of music we pay homage to the primacy of the eye and organize musical learning through a literacy approach. The score is the ultimate authority. Even matters of interpretation are spelled out so that the performer has little room for personal creativity. The aim is to "faithfully reproduce" the music of the past.¹⁰⁶ According to Hubert Meyer, General Manager of the National Youth Orchestra, "In rock and jazz there's more room for spontaneity or improvisation....[b]ut when you're dealing with classical music, it's your ability to play a piece exactly as it's written that's vital" (cited in the Cultural Human Resources Council's *Now Hear This! Careers in Music and Sound Recording*, 1998b, p. 26).

The difficulty of the printed music increases step by step as students learn to read it. Often this can be a frustrating experience, much like learning to read, and students' interest may quickly fade if the visual processing becomes too tedious. Thus students learn that music lessons are actually more about learning literacy skills than about learning musical concepts. This is why some people can take lessons for years but never have an embodied experience of music where they "know" the music and "feel" it in an intimate way. Such students have never become the music. The music is always objectified as notes on a page.

Suzuki's (1983) approach, on the contrary, is grounded in aural experience. Students eventually learn to read music but they progress much faster because they listen to the music repeatedly and imitate what they hear with the help of their teacher. His system has been recognized the world over for the astounding results that some very young performers achieve. Suzuki recommended that children begin the study of music at the age of three, but this approach requires dedicated parents who are willing and able to invest their time, effort, and money in such programs. Nevertheless, this kind of music-making is still largely a performance product, where students excel in reproducing others' music but rarely create their own.

¹⁰⁶ How might the phrase "It's time to face the music" speak to this point? It seems that when we use this phrase we are implying it's time to face reality, submit to the powers that be, and own up to our responsibilities. Following this interpretation, "facing the music" then refers to the power of the score and our submission to its authority.

Talent reconstructed as serious responsibility. Just as work in general is understood as duty and responsibility, so too when music is "work" it is also seen as an obligation. Music lessons then, whatever the particular method, are usually, at least from the parents' perspective, approached in a work-like fashion. After all, it is costing money. The serious music student must be disciplined and committed to regular practice. For many who take music lessons, practising is a duty, especially when the parents' investment compounds year after year. The older the child gets, the more costs increase with the demand for a higher quality instrument, a more prestigious teacher and so forth. There is the expectation that the investment should "pay off." For those who proceed to full time music study, the perception of duty to develop talent and follow through on the investment made by parents and teachers is even greater.

Roberts (1993), in his research at 5 major Canadian universities into the identity of "musician" and the social world of university schools of music, was shocked at how overpowering and destructive it can be to focus exclusively on performance with its attending duty to practice and continually prove one's self as a top performer. Students at all 5 universities confirmed the substance of one student's statement that "the most obvious outcome of a performance degree...was that you never touched your instrument again" (p. 187). In other words, students' initial love of music-making had been transformed into a burdensome duty that they would choose to avoid in the future.

Kingsbury (1988) reported that "while being 'talented' may be positively valued, it nevertheless entails definite moral obligations of musical development (p. 76). I am reminded of the Biblical parable of the talents referred to earlier which admonishes us to use the talents we have been given, "for the man who uses well what he is given shall be given more, and he shall have an abundance. But from the man who is unfaithful, even what little responsibility he has shall be taken away from him" (Matthew 25:29, *Living Bible*, Zondervan, 1970, p. 95). Although in Biblical times the "talent" referred to a sum of money, the import of the text has been understood in general terms. Certainly the

use of the word "talent" makes it easy for us to interpret its meaning as using the abilities or talents we have been given.

Because of the time and money that parents invest in developing their children's "talent" and also the investment made by various teachers, students often feel a great deal of pressure not to disappoint. Kingsbury (1988) related the following story of a conversation he had with a promising piano student in her freshman year at a College of Music. During a lengthy chat she expressed great misgivings about continuing in the music performance program and following up another interest she had recently cultivated. When asked why she couldn't follow up this other interest she said:

"Oh, because I'm talented." I suggested to her that she need not experience her own musical talent as an albatross strung around her neck.... She had always felt that if she should go into any academic field other than music, it would not only upset her hometown piano teacher and guidance counsellor, but more than that, it would devastate her parents, who took great pride in her musical gifts and accomplishments. (p. 4)

Talent then, appears to be an attribute that demands development, even if the responsibility seems burdensome at times. And the responsibility is not only for the benefit of the talented but also for the supporting members of the cast who have contributed to the individual's success. Kingsbury (1988) found that the duty to develop talent was reproduced in conservatories as well. He likened the conservatory to a seminary in that the "concentrated focus of conservatory training seems more an inculcation of devotion than a preparation for a career. The sense of commitment among conservatory students seems more personal, moral, and emotional than professional or economic" (p. 19).

In my own experience as a music student at Queen's University, I remember well the assumption that music was to be the all encompassing focus of one's life. Classes and practice consumed the days, ensemble rehearsals ate up the evenings, and study and performance engagements filled the weekends. This was the expected

behaviour for one committed to music as a vocation. The seminarian analogy works well here as such a schedule leaves little time for anything else. I had a growing family during these years and other commitments that were important to me and so my total devotion to music was, at times, suspect.

The objectification of performers. Although for some, public performance is enjoyable, it does have a dark side. For many years Glenn Gould endured the critical gaze of audiences who often seemed more interested in his stage mannerisms than in his music—his self conducting, his body hunched low over the piano, the rickety old fold-up chair that he always carried with him, and his faint singing while playing. Gould likened the concert situation to the atmosphere at a circus—the crowd hoping that something dangerous would happen. “At live concerts,” he said, “I feel demeaned like a vaudevillian” (cited in Payzant, 1978, p. 22).¹⁰⁷ In the end, many dismissed Gould as an eccentric, unable to cope with the public role of the performing artist. Few recognized his exit from the public’s gaze as deliberate. Small (1997), who is interested in the social nature of music-making, also refers to the “circus conditions” in modern day performances and in particular the pop/rock concerts’ “counterfeit community” where “popular artists make a great show of their unity and identity with the audience,” but in fact the audience is a collection of strangers who have merely paid the required admission (p. 10). This kind of performance is truly a cultural commodity.

The classical music concert is also described by Small (1997). The audience, he said, is made up of

spectators rather than participants, and our silence during the performance is a sign of this condition, that we have nothing to contribute but our attention to the spectacle that has been arranged for us. We might go further and say that we are spectators at a spectacle that is not ours, that our

¹⁰⁷ Gould acknowledged that not all performers share his negative assessment of audiences and the concert situation. Some artists, such as Menuhin and Rubinstein seemed to thrive on the stimulation of a live audience.

relationship with those who are responsible for the production of the spectacle—the composer, the orchestra, the conductor, and those who make the arrangements for tonight's concert—is that of consumers to products, and our only power is that of consumers in general, to buy or not to buy. (p. 44)

And although the audience is a collective body, their silence is testament to the private nature of the experience. One concert goer is not to interfere with another. Even the rustle of candy wrappers is offensive. As Small (1997) related: "It is not that people do not socialize at a concert; they do, and the socializing is an important part of the event" but the socializing takes place separately at the intermission, and before and after the concert—"the center of the night's event, is a solitary one" (p. 42). Thus, in the concert hall, the performers and music are "object" to the spectators. Music is enjoyed from a distance—at arm's length.

Performance products in schools. Just as outstanding performances capture our society's vision of what is to be prized and respected with regard to live music-making, so to, outstanding performances validate school music programs. In other words, "performance" resides in a subject position and marginalizes all other types of music programs in schools. Performance reigns as the central preoccupation of music education (Stubley, 1992). High quality, polished performances have come to symbolize school music programs and serve as justification for music in schools. One of the results of this valuing is that other ways of experiencing music, such as composing and improvising, are marginalized. Another result is that this valuing of music as entertainment keeps it marginalized as "play" rather than as core curriculum that represents the "work" of schools.

Music programs in schools across this country include general music, band, strings, choral music, composition and technology, and keyboarding. Yet whenever music programs are in jeopardy the headlines rarely name "music" as being in danger but "band" or "strings." A case in

point is an article by Decker (1999, p. D2) in Victoria's *Times Colonist*. The title reads, "Let the bands play on..." while the body of the article refers to the potential loss of all music programs. The assumption that high school performance groups represent the sum total of music education is a common one. A colleague who has been involved with meetings to discuss music programs in the province lamented the fact that the assumption in discussion groups was regularly that committee members were talking about band. General music, for example, was invisible.

At the university level the valorization of performance continues. Music programs in schools of music include degrees in composition, theory, musicology, ethnomusicology, and music education, but the degrees that are the centrepiece of schools of music are their performance degrees. For example, an advertisement in the *Times Colonist's* Art & Entertainment section (1999, p. 2) read this way: "Music at UVic—Over 150 concerts each year," and then listed the various performance groups and types of recitals that regularly occur. This is what you would expect in an entertainment advertisement, but the import to the outsider is that performance is all there is at the University of Victoria's School of Music.

Another example of society's and schools' preoccupation with performance in music comes from a parents' night that was held at Chester Elementary School in British Columbia on January 28, 1999. The "Forward" [sic] in the program, written by one of the teachers, said in part, "Tonight we are able to focus on the fine arts program." What followed was a series of 29 performances by individuals and small groups who had auditioned to sing, dance, and play instruments. How was this demonstrating a reflection of the school's fine arts program? It was rather, an opportunity for students who take private lessons but attend that school, to perform. Not one performance involved a school group such as a choir. I was shocked that a school could and would present this kind of a program as a representation of the school's fine arts program. So deeply are we entrenched in the marriage between music education and performance that the glaring misrepresentation in this

instance was rendered invisible. One of my students in ME 204 attended this concert with the purpose of reviewing it for a class assignment. She reacted very favourably to the concert (as did those who attended) and never questioned the premise stated on the program to which I just alluded.

This focus on performance is one of the strategies music teachers use to gain credibility in the classroom, since music is in a devalued position as "play." If the school music program can turn out a high quality performance (a product) then it has value. The culminating year-end event might even be staged in a professional venue (like the McPherson Playhouse or the Royal Theatre in Victoria) to showcase the school's "talent." These events mark school music as performance and contribute to further prominence and status by linking the production with the commercial world of entertainment.

But the limelight for music is fleeting and conflicted. Generally school music is the marginalized "other" to the core curriculum, yet at important times when the school is brought together as a whole, music plays a central role. Bresler (1998) related that:

although academic achievement was the major, explicit aim of schooling, most principals value its [music's] social aspect, and school's relations with the larger community of students' families. Music seemed to be a primary tool for the social functions of schooling. Principals let the teachers know that they expected students to perform. PTA meetings, ethnic evenings, and holiday and honor programs, were viewed as opportunities for creating such a community. (p. 7)

Such recognition, though fleeting, is hard for music teachers to resist even though "music specialists...[are] aware of how performance can dilute their music goals" (Bresler, 1998, p. 6). Morton (1996) as well, has alluded to the "profoundly seductive" showtime mentality, but warns that

the "prima donna"¹⁰⁸ syndrome among music educators is

¹⁰⁸ Harris (1991, 1995) identified the "prima donna" syndrome as descriptive of music teachers who are primarily committed to a "showtime" mentality by focussing on competitive performances.

symptomatic of an illusion of power, competency, and importance in school life. Recalling that most roles for opera prima donnas portray women who are dead by the final curtain, I hazard the comparison that most music educators court the same fate. (p. 91)

Even general music programs in elementary schools frequently succumb to the pressure of providing performance experiences of music by involving students in productions. Anita, one of the participants in my research, remembered elementary school music in BC's interior this way:

My teacher was Mrs. Martin and she was great too, lots of energy and always putting on musicals. We did Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs and actually I should go back to when I was in grade four and we did a big musical about Noah's Ark. I remember singing lots and I was always in the Christmas...concerts. (AN, p. 1)

Randy's recollections from across the country in English-speaking Quebec are similar:

Int: So do you think we could start with your elementary music experiences and tell me what you remember about that?

Randy: I remember playing recorder a bit, and banging around on the tambourines, and then a lot of school productions. Everything was focussed towards school productions—a stage show every year, one at Christmas and later one at the end of the year and that was pretty much it. (RA, p. 1)

Randy: I do really like that everything was for the performance but like I said it was depending on the teacher, it might be something original or timely you know. In grade 6 we did a production that was about John Denver. It was just a couple years after that Thank God I'm a Country Boy album came out—there were three or four songs on that that got quite a bit of play and were popular at the time. Everybody liked that. It seemed like the parents wanted to hear that sort of

music—popular, kind of timely music. (RA, p. 2)

You may wonder if the emphasis has changed much since these young adults were in elementary school. It seems that productions often continue to substitute for music programs and serve as public relations tools, not even so much for the schools' arts programs, as for the schools themselves. The experience of one of my students in her teacher education practicum shows to what lengths a school will go in their drive for the perfect performance. Haley is also a student who very much enjoyed school musicals as a youngster and often ended up with the lead role in such productions. Now she had the opportunity to view this kind of performance from a teacher's perspective:

Haley: Yup I did it [my practicum] at Central elementary ...and that's K thorough seven. It was a really interesting experience. I was really excited that they were doing the musical when I was there, but as soon as I got there, I actually thought that the musical took up too much of their time. I thought it was ridiculous, at least [in] the class that I was in, it was totally ridiculous. I was [in] kindergarten and there were a.m. and p.m. sections and several of the days they were brought in together but it ended up being (because they are not in the whole entire performance—they just did one song) they would go up and perform their song and then sit there for hours while everybody else tried to figure out where they were going and what they were saying and doing. So it was really interesting to see it from that perspective because now I know if I do this in my own class, it's not going to be like that because it's not fair.... It was a good production but I think they could have done it differently, at least having one dress rehearsal as opposed to the three they had.... Of course I wasn't going to say anything being the student teacher. I was just going to keep my mouth shut. They also practiced it to death, to the point that the kids were not enjoying it anymore. And they have a music specialist in the school and when she came in to the class, (and she came in to the class every day or at least four

times a week) and they practiced the song that they were doing for the musical over and over...and you could just see as the time progressed over the three weeks that I was there and of course the teacher was getting so frustrated by it [she'd say] "Come on smile, put some emotion into it." They didn't enjoy the song anymore and they didn't care. And it frustrated me because singing in general is still going to work on their voices, it doesn't necessarily have to be the same song over and over.

Int: So they really wanted it to be successful.

Haley: Yeah. Yeah. They did, and the teachers were totally obsessed about it. It took over everything. I've never seen anything like that.... And I didn't see anything wrong with devoting a few days to the production, but it was almost the whole three weeks I was there.... So many things were being cancelled. I mean a lot of my lessons were being cancelled, and at the time I thought, "I'm here for three weeks and I'm not even able to do my lessons because you want to practice this one song twelve times and I will go crazy if I hear this song one more time." (HA, p. 10) (This student also found out that students had been practicing the musical for weeks before she arrived.)...

Int: And was there good support [for the musical] in the school from the other teachers?

Haley: Yes, they also were looking for the perfect performance. They really wanted to make an impression. It was really interesting to see. Even my sponsor teacher, the kindergarten teacher, she was so worried about one of them doing something wrong. She had them doing actions the same time as singing, and [she was concerned about them] not swaying in the same direction, and I'd have to hold the laughter back at times because I thought, "What do you expect? You should know after being a kindergarten teacher for over ten years that no matter how hard you try they are not all going to sway in the same direction." They don't have that [ability]. They're not

developmentally able to do that. They'll try. It's not that they're not listening, which was often the way she would be going. "I don't feel that everyone's listening right now," [said in a chiding voice]. I just wanted to say, "Chill out. They're trying. Let's not do the song again." So they'd just keep doing the song over and over again and then she'd be grabbing the hands trying to get them together and it was just painful. And then everybody in the staff room the next day [after the performance] looked like they'd been bulldozed. Just completely wiped out. (HA, p. 13)

How sad that such goings on occur in the name of education. But this is the price we pay for focusing on performance as a product and excluding other creative aspects of music-making. I would suggest the scenario just described is not music education but training to be a performer and a misguided emphasis on the importance of the perfect performance. Nachmanovitch (1990) has suggested that:

we often confuse education with training, when in fact these are very different activities. Training is for the purpose of passing on specific information necessary to perform a specialized activity. Education is the building of the person. To educ means to draw out or evoke that which is latent; education then means drawing out the person's latent capacities for understanding and living, not stuffing a (passive) person full of preconceived knowledge. (p. 118)

A focus on performance values music as an object of art. This is a museum approach to music education, as opposed to a lived experience of music. When what we value most is music reproduced according to a set standard, we send the message that music is a dead art—it belongs to someone else from a different time and place. Small (1977) eloquently described it this way:

Composed music is like a travel book, which we can read and open at will, but it remains essentially an account of a journey which soon becomes familiar; we may read it with repeated pleasure but without any expectation of seeing anything new other than perhaps some previously unnoticed

detail.... The journey of exploration, which might well have been momentous...is over before we learn of it. (p. 176)

On the other hand, when improvising,

the musician takes us with him on his journey of exploration; we negotiate with him every twist and turn, every precipice and danger. We may not know how long the trip is going to be, or even necessarily where we are going. It may be that we shall not enter any new territory at all, or even if we do, that it will prove just a dismal swamp that no-one will wish to revisit, but every now and then we obtain glimpses of glittering new lands, are dazzled by the sight of beauty and meaning which is all the more astonishing for being unexpected. (Small, 1977, p. 176)

This kind of music-making is empowering as a living process. It is a spontaneous, intuitive act which requires choice after choice after choice. It is playful, engrossing, relinquishing control and going with the flow. It is believing that ideas will come. It is a process that integrates what I know about music with who I am. It is totally engaging. If these statements are true, then why does classical music have such a stranglehold on conservatories and schools of music? Might there be other socially constructed reasons for the neglect of improvisation in our society?

According to Nettl (1998), the neglect of improvisation as both a legitimate style of music-making in North American society and as a subject worthy of scholarly study by musicologists is rooted in a racist ideology that embraces the Eurocentric belief of cultural supremacy. Nettl (1998) relates improvisation's subordinate position as a minor art or craft with its cultural "otherness," that is, cultures outside the Western classical tradition (p. 7). Non-Western music, folk music, and the music of minority cultures in North America in which improvisation is significant are regarded as musics of lesser quality. Improvisation is characterized as the "music of people who don't plan ahead and don't have elementary musical technology" (p. 7). Composed music, on the other hand, embodies the values of discipline and predictability, concepts

widely respected in German culture at large. These values are celebrated over the spontaneity and invention of improvised music. Improvisation has also been feminized as "a 'weaker' form of music than composition. Though not in itself feminine, when improvisation affects "true composition, that quintessentially male form of music making," it is considered to be a weakening factor (p. 9).

Nettl (1998) further believes that our society makes its judgments about composed and improvised music based on a comparison between composed art music and improvised jazz, correlating composed music with:

discipline, art for art's sake, reliability, and predictability, while the opposites of these characterizations apply in the case of jazz. There is further correlation between classical musicians as middle class and conventionally moral, as against the old stereotype of jazz musicians as unreliable, with unconventional dress and sexual mores, excessive use of alcohol and drugs, and more. (p. 7)

The difference in valuing between classical music and jazz is also a product of the teacher/student and visual/auditory dualisms. In the classical tradition, which is legitimated by the authority of the printed score, knowledge and expertise are transferred in formalized lessons from master teacher to student, whereas the unwritten idioms of jazz are learned through the sounding of music—by the teacher and the student playing together. These signifying practices have served to deny jazz a status equal to that of classical music in university schools of music even though jazz has been referred to as the classical music of America (Sales, 1984). Granted, some universities offer jazz studies, but the music that overwhelmingly counts is still classical (Green, 1988; Kingsbury, 1988; Martin, 1995). The token recognition of styles and genres other than classical is purported to be evidence of a new broad-minded acceptance of other musics, but in reality such concessions work to maintain the status quo. Martin (1995) described the change in the acceptance of jazz in England for example, from a "filthy product of modernity" to its inclusion in "serious" music broadcasts with some

support through public subsidies. This has happened, Martin related: as a result of lengthy periods of proselytising and political campaigning by committed individuals and groups, gradually winning concessions from a generally hostile cultural establishment. Such gains, however, are small and insecure, while other styles—"folk" and other ethnic musics, for example—have made virtually no progress at all. (p. 182)

And so, classical music, even though it represents the tastes of a small percentage of the population, continues to reign supreme as the epitome of "serious" music. This happens because Eurocentric values dominate in the upper class and their views are reproduced and valorized through political and financial means.

Recapitulation

To summarize then, the following dualisms uphold and support a variety of differences that construct our understanding of work and play: formal/informal, public/private, product/process, life/art, and individual/community. For most in society, music is entertainment. As such, it is oppositional to the world of work and earning a living.

In any capitalistic society, money and value are generally equated. In the course of this research, however, the pervasiveness of our belief in money as the *only* indicator of value was overwhelming. So many decisions come down to a question of money. According to Connor (1992),

the evil of economic exchange—value is not that it melts away the fixity of use-value, but precisely that it subordinates all forms of exchange to the force of one form alone—the economic. The general corruption of an era of exchange—value lies in the fact that it makes everything exchangeable according to this one standard or register. (p.

4)

Because of this valuing and the perceived need to "get ahead," our work is often reduced to the "bottom line," and even our leisure is used for monetary gain. We take courses to reach the next pay level or take

another job, or turn a hobby into a home business. In such a society, music is experienced as an escape from a world which is increasingly hostile to personal fulfilment. We are pushed to compete and produce more with less, and the faster the better. The perception of work as a place of powerlessness and oppression has actually increased with the advent of technology. Nevertheless, we must work to live.

Music is marginalized in this dominant discourse, and our educational system is complicit in reproducing this discourse in schools. Music programs are validated by providing entertainment. On the one hand, the entertainment value of music garners accolades for schools and music programs as it supports one of society's fundamental beliefs about the value of music, but as well, we never quite escape the assessment that the arts are merely recreational diversion. As long as music is primarily concerned with providing entertainment products, music will be marginalized as unrelated to real life.

As Canadian composer Murray Schafer once said: "To the five-year-old, art is life and life is art. To the six-year-old, art is art and life is life. The first year of school is a watershed in a child's life—a trauma" (cited in Smithrim, Uptis, & LeClair, 1999, p. 93). In school, children learn that academics are work and the arts are play. The two are mutually exclusive. And although our performance approach to music education may provide moments of glory, it leaves us vulnerable in times of budgetary restraint, since we function as "play" in the business of school.

This, however, is not the whole story. Music is often reconstructed as work to gain credibility in the educational community. A focus on the theory of music and its written system of notation is a sign of our belief in the hegemony of the word. Music teachers are sometimes described as cruel taskmasters who take the joy out of learning with their focus on perfect performances and theoretical understanding. These priorities distance students from other forms of music-making that could be personally meaningful.

But perhaps the biggest problem music faces is the impact technology has had on the way most members of society experience

music. Primarily we are increasingly passive consumers of musical products that come to us without a trace of the embodied experience of music-making. Society now seems to prefer these second-hand experiences over real ones. Technology has allowed music to extend its influence and value as work, in that technology provides us with products of art, but is this the value of art we want to promote as music educators? As Reimer (1997) has said, singing and playing are no longer essential to experience music. Listening is now "the dominant musical involvement in our culture" while "singing and playing remain the dominant activities in music education" (p. 33). This difference creates disjuncture between music in the classroom and music in the real world. As well, even if we attempt to sing and play popular music, much of it is enhanced in technological ways that make it impossible to duplicate in the classroom.

As music educators we need to consider what aspects of musical experience we value most. Although there should be room for a plurality of purposes in musical experience, are there any aspects that are fundamental? How might the perceptions of both work as discipline and play as fun be merged in school music programs? These questions will be addressed in the final chapter.

5

ENACTING THE TEACHER/STUDENT DUALISM

Introduction to the Teacher/Student Dualism

This chapter focuses on the social construction of teacher and student in Western society in general and then how these categorizations construct our understanding of music and music education in particular. Classifications of teacher and student rest on the belief that the teacher is the expert, the one in control of the marginalized "other," the powerless student. Even though education has become more child-centred over the years, the stereotypes remain. This chapter teases out how the stereotypes continue to make meaning in society today.

In particular, the following constructions will be explored:

- *Teacher as Woman,*
- *Teacher as Authority,*
- *Teacher as Professional,*
- *The Non-Professional as Amateur,*
- *Teacher as Specialist,*
- *Gifted Students, and*
- *Forms of Knowledge.*¹⁰⁹

These constructions frame our experience in particular ways that seems so natural we rarely question them. Many times we are not even aware of

¹⁰⁹ The preferred way of transmitting knowledge in Western society will be explored as it structures to a large extent our experience of school.

how these structures work. Once again I invite you to look at, rather than through these structures to get an understanding of how difference is constructed.

The teacher/student dualism is related to other dualistic constructions that include:

- professional/amateur,
- specialist/generalist,
- talented/untalented, and
- literacy/orality.

In the process of unpacking the meaning in the teacher/student dualistic construction, these other supporting dualisms will be explored.

Teacher as Woman

As previously mentioned in chapter 3, teaching in general is a feminized profession (Steedman, 1987; Miller, 1992) as it fits with our stereotypical notions of woman as caregiver. Eaklor (cited in Morton, 1994) reported that:

It was understood, for example, that when women became nurses, teachers, and reformers in the nineteenth century, they were performing their "private" nurturant and moral functions within public space. It was only because they continued to fulfil a feminine role that they were allowed into this space at all. (p. 115)

The stereotypical representation of the school mistress in years past as a kind, nurturing, mother-figure, serving the community with devotion, has been romanticized through books and television shows such as *Little House on the Prairie*. Many of us even envision the model teacher dressed as she would have been in pioneer days, with a long flowing skirt, high buttoned bodice and hair neatly pulled back in a bun (Weber & Mitchell, 1995).¹¹⁰

According to Canadian researchers Weber and Mitchell (1995), our image of the teacher mirrors the texts we "read" in society, texts that

¹¹⁰ I asked one of the students in my research to "Quick! Think of a teacher. What do you see?" She said, "She has glasses and a bun, she's not smiling, she's wearing a turtleneck—a high-necked top that ends in a dress" (HE, p. 21).

today surround us on television, in movies, stories, whether fictional or historical, and through real life experiences. When real life experiences conflict with the powerful images from the media, children often persist in identifying what is "culturally desirable and acceptable instead of, or in addition to, simply reflecting their personal environment and the experiences they have had" (Weber & Mitchell, 1995, p. 19).

Weber and Mitchell (1995) analysed the drawings of 600 children as they depicted their image of the school teacher as well as the drawings and reflections of undergraduate education students at Concordia and McGill universities. They found that "nearly everyone drew a female teacher" (p. 39). This is not surprising, as the overwhelming majority of elementary teachers are female (Grumet, 1981; Gaskell & McLaren, 1987).

Many drawings and reflections also indicated that students connected teaching with mothering. In particular Weber and Mitchell (1995) found that "kind, nurturing images of teachers occurred most frequently in the drawings and comments of elementary female students and pre-service female teachers, images consistent with the idealized images of teachers in much of the the popular culture marketed exclusively for girls" (p. 50). This connection was also evident in the research of Bullough (1991) who indicated that many teachers-in-training see teaching as a form of mothering. The connection of teaching with mothering has a long history. As Steedman (1987) reported:

The emotional dimensions of the relationship that "good mothering" implies—attention, identification, empathy with the child—have been encouraged as a pedagogic device since the early nineteenth century, particularly within the school of thought that has developed out of the work and writing of the German educationalist and philosopher of the kindergarten movement, Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852). (p. 122)

As might be expected, few men, even today, enter a profession which is so deeply immersed in female sexuality.

Teacher as Authority

Up against this construction of the “teacher as woman” is the “teacher as authority.” Teaching for women then, is a conflicted space, as authority usually rests in the hands of men. The dualistic construction of teacher/student is also possibly one of the best examples of how the categories in a dualism denote “in control” and “out of control” states. The stereotypical advice to teachers is that they *must* establish control, otherwise the students will take over. Control is achieved by projecting authority in every possible way.

For example, the teacher is advised to project a professional image through appropriate dress, tone of voice, language, and a generally serious attitude towards learning. Weber and Mitchell (1995) found that the depiction of teachers’ clothing and accompanying comments in children’s drawings painted a picture of “a figure of traditional authority who commands respect” (p. 58). There was a “general uniformity in the somewhat dull, conservative nature of much of the teacher attire portrayed in drawings and in movies and television” (p. 58).

Student teachers are given the impression that proper dress is a “pedagogical strategy in itself, a means of commanding respect and order, of establishing a serious working atmosphere, and of exerting control” (p. 64). For some, clothes that reflect a business-like seriousness are very helpful in overcoming other hindrances that prevent new teachers from being accepted as an authority—such as youthfulness, being short, or lacking experience. Others find that being “impeccably dressed and perfectly groomed” projects “distance, superior knowledge, and status” (p. 64).

As well, some teachers use “superhuman powers” to keep students on their toes—much like parents. They, for example, “have eyes in the back of their heads” and know when student are lying and cheating. Teachers seem like “other” beings—asocial and asexual—existing totally in the classroom, as they are there before students arrive in the morning and they are still there when students leave in the afternoon. In my experience students are genuinely surprised when they see a teacher in another location such as the grocery store. One of the student teachers

in my research recalled that when she served one of her students while waitressing in a local restaurant, the student did not recognize her even when she called the child by name.

The traditional teacher gives orders and expects children to obey. Learning must not be very pleasant, because most children don't seem to want to do it willingly. When children "play school" the one who is "teacher" indicates that she is in charge by appearing stern, wagging her finger, and generally being bossy and domineering in word and tone. In this way she maintains order and control over the students, making them learn, whether they want to or not. Such coercion, when it exists in real life, brings out hostility, particularly in boys, who resent being under the authority of a woman. Several pictures in the Weber and Mitchell (1995) research showed teachers reprimanding boys and ordering them to behave. Not a single picture of over 600 drawings "portrayed a teacher disciplining a girl" (p. 42). One of the male participants in my research had similar recollections:

Well, it always seemed like in elementary school the teacher constantly worried about keeping the boys on task and the girls would respond to the music and respond to the task at hand and look down at the boys who didn't. (RA, p. 4)

Weber and Mitchell (1995) found that boys sometimes portrayed teachers as monsters or as "male women" (p. 41).¹¹¹ We might expect that a hundred years ago male students might be resistant to the authority of a woman in the classroom. Miller (1992) quoted a New Jersey superintendent's report from the late 19th century that read in part:

I am strongly in the opinion that the presence of women as teachers of boys in the upper grammar grades, and even in the first and second year of the high school causes thousands [my emphasis] of boys to become disgusted with and to leave the schools...because of their intense dislike to being (using their own words) bossed by women. (p. 4)

But is there still such intense dislike for women in authority today?

¹¹¹ For example, the child's drawing of a teacher on p. 40 of *That's funny, you don't look like a teacher*, has the bulky physique and face of a man but is dressed in a flowered skirt and sweater.

Apparently so. Boys have few public models of women in authority. As well, in literature and media aimed at boys,

women are almost totally absent.... When they do appear, it is more often as victims to be rescued, vague mothers hovering in the background, or hysterical aunts, than as empowered or interesting individuals. (Weber & Mitchell, 1995, p. 104)

Marketing agents in television have figured out that if they want boys to watch shows which feature teacherly characters, the teacher should be male (Weber & Mitchell, 1995). Prime time shows such as *The Wonder Years*, *Boy Meets World*, and *The Simpsons* all bear this out. As well, pre-school shows such as *Sesame Street*, *Mr. Roger's Neighbourhood*, and *Mr. Dress-Up* all feature males in teacherly roles. Even the Muppets on *Sesame Street*, such as Bert and Ernie, Grover, Cookie Monster, Herbert Birdsfoot, and so forth are overwhelmingly males. According to Weber and Mitchell, girls are willing to watch show that feature male characters, but boys are not willing to watch show that feature female characters.

As boys get older, they realize that the power of the teacher is rather tenuous. What can a teacher actually do to you? Students, particularly boys, figure out that in many ways the teacher is powerless and therefore they are more willing to express their displeasure over particular aspects of school life they resent. After all, the opportunity to display some macho bravado is well worth a short excursion to the principal's office or being sent out into the hall. Power struggles over who is in control in the classroom, particularly in the pre-adolescent and adolescent years, are common.

According to Britzman (1986), both students and teachers implicitly understand that:

unless the teacher establishes control there will be no learning, and, if the teacher does not control the students, the students will control the teacher.... A teacher-centred approach to learning is implicitly sustained since this myth assumes that students are incapable of leadership, insight,

or learning without a teacher's intervention. (p. 449)

Megan, one of the participants in my research, seemed to have this figured out. She recalled one band teacher who had control and another who didn't:

Int: So when you describe the first one [band teacher] as being good and the other one as being quite a contrast, what do you mean by that? In your mind what was a really good teacher?

Megan: She had control of the students. She taught us specifics about music. The next teacher had completely no control. I remember he came to get us for band class and we said: "We don't want to go to band today, we want to have a spare." And he said, "OK," [she laughs] and that was pretty well the whole year. He'd give up. It was pretty sad. I was telling my brother about it and he said "Yeah, I guess I kind of gave that guy a bad time, but he had no control. And I think he could have been a good teacher. He knew his stuff but it just never happened. Actually that's when I stopped playing French horn and went on to percussion and keyboard, and you were supposed to have 3 years of piano to play keyboard and I just was desperate to get off this French horn so I said, "Sure, yeah."

Int: And you managed alright?

Megan: No. He completely gave up on all of us. (ME, p. 3)

In spite of more progressive teaching methods in recent decades and the physical organization of classrooms in more egalitarian formations (such as the teacher's desk at the back of the room and students' desks clustered in small working groups), the traditional model of teacher-directed learning persists (Delamont, 1987). The teacher is the expert in charge who fills the students with knowledge as "empty vessels," often against their will. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) referred to this style of teaching as the "banking" model of education where knowledge is prepared by the teacher in advance, expounded in the classroom, then deposited into the students whose job it is to memorize what they have been taught.

The teacher has ownership over the knowledge—what is taught, and how it is taught. This assumption is part and parcel of the way we relate to one another in the classroom, the way curricula are organized from above, and the way students often feel coerced into learning. Children are “actively taught to defer to teachers and to textual authority (Davies, 1993, p. 41), putting little stock in their own acquired knowledge and experience. Children’s interviews and written comments in the Weber and Mitchell (1995) research showed how important it was to have the “right answer.” Because knowledge is presented wholly formed for student’s consumption, with the teacher taking few risks in front of the students, students in turn are willing to take few risks. This kind of “disembodied” knowledge appears objective, factual as opposed to theoretical, and even of divine origin.

Teacher as Professional

One way that teachers can gain status in the community and in the classroom, is by being identified as professionals with particular expertise. Our society’s reliance on experts originated in the 19th century with increased prosperity, technology, and emphasis on the sciences. People could now earn a living in service industries as providers of health care, legal services, expanded government services, and education. The standards of production that were previously applied to products in industry could now be applied to people. According to Welker (1992), “the beguiling promise of expertise is that the same standardized and calculated methods that worked to harness natural forces can be used to mold and direct human potential” (p. 10). Teaching’s shift to align with science and technology, combined with the opportunity to make teaching a life long career, now meant more men were attracted to the field, particularly as administrative positions were created. As well, teachers organized themselves in unions and professional organizations to oversee, control, and negotiate for the membership.

Education is intimately tied to expertise. In fact, the purpose of most post secondary education and even secondary education is now to train people for specialized work. Such work often requires unique skill

on specialized equipment and honing these technical abilities during periods of internship or apprenticeship. As Welker (1992) reported: "schools are the breeding grounds of the expert, the places where specialists gain that rarefied knowledge that sets them apart from the common layperson and that provides them with social wealth and power" (p. 7). The understanding of specialized, technical language is now paramount to an increasing number of jobs, and the more intricate the work, the more detailed and sophisticated the language. Thus, "the use of technical language indicates a superior status and a special knowledge based on long training and specialized qualification" (Mehan, 1986, p. 160). Technical language acts as a gatekeeper to insulate areas of expertise from public understanding.

Anything that has value in a society is named and cordoned off to mark the boundaries, boundaries that include some and exclude others. And so, particular people are deemed to be experts because of their qualifications, skill, and experience in specific areas. These areas of expertise for professionals are organized into scholarly fields¹¹² or disciplines that have an examinable canon¹¹³ at their core. As well, each discipline and sub-discipline has a different perspective on what is important in their research, education, and practice (Detels, 1999).

Qualification to be recognized as a member of each particular field of expertise usually involves some form of examination. The examination, as Foucault (1977b) pointed out, is a "normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them" (p. 184). "Professions" then, create social structures and practices that carry power by giving them operational visibility in the society in which they function and bureaucratic legitimation. The exclusivity and power differential that such practices engender sits in contrast to the sociological definition of "profession":

¹¹² Bergeron (1992) has defined a field as a "site of surveillance, a metaphorical space whose boundaries...are determined by the canon that stands at its center" (p. 4).

¹¹³ "Canon" comes from the Greek "*kanon*" meaning model or standard. Thus the canon becomes the standard against which similar work is measured.

(1) it is a body of highly specialized knowledge which has to be formally mastered before it can be practised; (2) it is a monopoly, ie, [sic] the body of knowledge is recognized as the exclusive competence of those who practice it; (3) it is autonomous, ie, [sic] the professionals control their own work and how it should be done, and (4) it embodies a service ideal, ie, [sic] "a commitment of ethical imperative to place the welfare of the public or of the individual client above the self-interest of the practitioner, even though the practitioner is earning a living through the exercise of the profession." (Goldstein, 1984, p. 175)

As illustrated in the foregoing quotation, the sociological understanding of "professions" is one of benevolence and selflessness. But Frug (1984) maintains that the transparency of bureaucratic structures and their supposedly unbiased stance is a myth because the "objective" qualities of the bureaucracy (the profession in this case) are also created by it.¹¹⁴

We get some idea of how the surveillance of professions works when teachers, police officers, lawyers, and doctors for example, discipline their own, or when internal investigations examine government mismanagement, protocol, and so forth. The public has come to recognize the potential conflict of interest in such processes where generally the individual member under review is protected over the larger concerns of the public good. Distrust for professionals (particularly politicians) has precipitated student demonstrations since the 1960s and an increased activism by consumers in general (Welker, 1992). On the one hand, we expect more and more of professionals, yet trust them less and less. The dramatic increase in claims of malpractice in the medical profession, for example, gives evidence of society's burgeoning quest to reverse the power of the expert and take control, at least in monetary terms.

Specialists are isolated from the public, set apart by their

¹¹⁴ Derrida's notion of "interaction" gets at this point. It essentially means, as Cooper (1997) has suggested, that "no division can ever realistically be made between these concepts [of subjectivity and objectivity] since they are 'confused' within each other" (p. 38).

expertise, authority, power, and control. They are also set apart physically, working in distinct buildings such as hospitals, courts, universities, and so forth. Today we have reached the point where it is often difficult for people to tell others exactly what they do. This is true even within disciplines. It is also difficult for workers, involved in only one aspect of production, to take pride in and responsibility for their work when it represents such a small part of the finished product. Our knowledge is fragmented, partial; our perspective, narrow. The Renaissance man, one who is respected for being skilled and well-versed in many or even all of the arts and sciences, is an ideal from the past. Today we are more likely to call such a person a "dabbler," a "jack of all trades and master of none."

The Non-Professional as Amateur

The word "amateur" is used today as the opposite of professional. It carries the understanding that "someone is not quite up to par, a person not to be taken very seriously, one who falls short of professional standards" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, p. 140). Actually the meaning of "amateur" has changed over time, as the Latin verb *amare* for which it comes, means "to love." Similarly, the word "dilettante" comes from the Latin *dilettare* which means "to delight in," but now has come to mean "a person who follows an art or science only for amusement and in a superficial way" and is considered a term of disdain (Neufeldt, 1988, p. 386). As Csikszentmihalyi (1990) has pointed out, "the earliest meanings of these words therefore drew attention to experiences rather than accomplishments; they described the subjective rewards individuals gained from doing things, instead of focusing on how well they were achieving" (p. 140).

What is admired today is the quality of the performance over the quality of the experience. We measure performance by professional standards—the chef over the cook, the pro golfer over the duffer, the concert pianist over the person who "just plays" and so on. The amateur is considered to be a dabbler, one who lacks skill and devotion to the activity, rather than one who takes delight in the doing. And so, the

amateur is discounted as one who "plays" at something, rather than approaching it in a disciplined way as "work."¹¹⁵

Our understanding of amateur and professional is also shaped by the sports world, and particularly the Olympics. In times past, competitors in the Olympic Games were amateur athletes who loved the sport and the thrill of competition. Professional athletes, those who made money from their sport, were not allowed to participate. The argument against this practice seemed to centre around the belief that, by disqualifying "working" athletes, those who were the best were prevented from competing. Today professional hockey players, figure skaters, and basketball players as well as others regularly participate in the Olympics. Once again, we pay tribute to the belief that the quality of the performance is of utmost importance.

Teacher as Specialist

Education has also been affected by society's desire for expertise and specialization. The greater demand for specialization in the workplace has placed increased demands on schools. The number of years that young people remain in school to prepare them for life has increased dramatically in just a few generations. In order to cope with this demand, schools have adopted a "bigger is better" model. Instead of one room country schools in every locale where one teacher teaches all 8 grades, schools have, over the years, been centralized in huge buildings that often house hundreds of students. The amount of administration to control and supervise these structures and those who work in them, has also steadily increased. Welker (1992) reported that in the United States, there was one supervisor for every thirty-one teachers in 1920; by 1930, one supervisor monitored twenty-two teachers; by 1974, one person

¹¹⁵ My difficulty with "naming" the amateur version of a concert pianist is indicative of the extent to which the non-professional is excluded in language and also referred to in a pejorative or self-deprecating way (for example, someone might say, "I just play for fun. I'm not really very good"). Further, not only do categorizations like "chef" and "cook" denote professional and amateur status, but they also often reflect other dualistic categorizations such as male/female and public/private. Women's work such as the private work of cooking for the family, is devalued over the professional, usually male chef, who publicly prepares food with an artful flair. The everyday, amateur, feminized version of similar work is accorded lesser value.

supervised sixteen teachers; and by 1985, the ratio was one supervisor for every eleven teachers. Most teachers are women, whereas most administrators are men (Gould, 1994). As teachers, women are the "other" to administrators. According to Gould (1994), administrators "retain power (control) over almost every aspect of teachers' professional lives—and until as recently as the 1940s, certain aspects of teachers' personal lives as well" (p. 94). Thus teachers reside in a conflicted space as "other" to administrators, but as "subject" to students. The itinerant music teacher is further conflicted as she is "other" to the regular teachers in the schools. As well, in the educational climate of today, teachers are "other" to a growing number of people. Increasingly, teachers are becoming responsible to parents.

Jacobs (1996), in *Grading the Teacher: A Canadian Parents' Guide*, described how schools are being called to account. According to Robertson (cited in Jacobs, 1996), schools are

among the most exclusive, secretive, and authoritarian power structures we will ever encounter. Parents are seldom told what their children are being taught, why or how: we have almost no ability to criticize the curriculum, evaluate the teachers or assess the schools' standards. (p. 1)

Historically, parents have been expected to accept the educational system unconditionally. But no more. Today's parents are being educated to question the power of schools and to speak on behalf of their children. Many parents are turning to home schooling and private schools as a way to have more power in the educational system.¹¹⁶

The assumption has been that specialization will result in a superior education, and accordingly, teachers have been paid more for increasing their education. As well, individuals schools—such as vocational schools, university prep schools, and fine arts schools for

¹¹⁶ For example, Jacobs (1996) pointed out that the chain of authority in a standard elementary school is (from bottom to top): teacher, vice-principal, principal, superintendent, and director of education. In a junior high and high school, two other levels are added. Above the teacher is the guidance counsellor or staff adviser and the department head. However, in the private school scenario, the parents are in the power position. Above the teacher is the principal or headmaster, the school proprietor, the board of directors, and then, ultimately the parents.

example—have focussed on particular areas of expertise. Schools have also been founded to support various religions and cultures such as Catholic schools, Hebrew schools, First Nations schools, and Chinese schools. These schools provide education within a particular framework of beliefs and values that the group espouses.

Education has been carved up in a variety of other ways to cater to particular needs. For example teachers specialize in particular subject areas. Institutions who grant teaching certificates require students to identify major and minor areas of specialization. Teachers are also certified to teach particular grades, such as primary, intermediate, or secondary. In universities, professors must have the credentials to teach the particular subject in question, usually indicated by a completed doctoral degree. Professors who are teaching in education faculties must also have teaching experience as well as disciplinary expertise. However, these requirements seem to be negotiable; sometimes experience is valued more highly than a degree, and in other cases, a degree is valued more highly than teaching experience.

Another area where teaching has been specialized is through the development of "special education" where the needs of the mentally retarded, the physically handicapped, the emotionally disturbed, and the learning disabled are met by those trained to specifically deal with these needs. Education seems to go through cycles of development, when policy-makers advocate greater specialization and periods when policy-makers promote greater integration. The British Columbia College of teachers, for example, is currently advocating, by its control of teaching programs in universities, a return to integration, especially in the elementary system. This means that the general classroom teacher is required to be a jack of all trades so to speak, dealing with all students, including those with special needs, and all subjects, including French and music, which have often previously been the domain of specialists. This trend marks a shift in the power structure of the specialist over the generalist and is currently a hot topic of debate as specialists resist the move.

Gifted Students

Another way that education has created categories of exclusiveness is by identifying students who are particularly gifted or talented and providing enrichment programs for them. What do we understand talent to be? Webster's *New World Dictionary* says that "talent implies an apparently native ability for a specific pursuit" (Neufeldt, 1988, p. 1365). Furthermore, talent is often described as "raw" or "natural" to emphasize its innateness. Kingsbury (1988) described talent as being located

in the person's mind, psyche, or perceptual apparatus, and [it] is widely felt to be transmitted genetically, like hair and eye color. Talent then is a representation of differentials of potential for certain socially valued behaviour, differentials that are believed to be ordained not in social order but rather by the inherent nature of people. (p. 63)

Sometimes the word "gifted" is used to describe exceptionally talented people. Webster defined this meaning of "gift" as a "special ability bestowed on one by nature and not acquired through effort" (Neufeldt, 1988, p. 569). Winner (1996), in *Gifted Children: Myths and Realities*, used the word "gifted" to apply to children who exhibit the following three atypical characteristics. Firstly, they are precocious. They begin to show mastery of a particular domain at an earlier than average age and they make progress more rapidly than normal children. Learning seems to come easy for them. Secondly, gifted children not only learn faster but they learn in a distinctively personal way. They require "minimum help or scaffolding from adults in order to master their domain, and much of the time they teach themselves" (p. 3). Thirdly, gifted children have a drive for mastery; they are intrinsically motivated to understand their domain and often experience the state of "flow"¹¹⁷ while engaged in their domain. A "prodigy" Winner (1996) defined as "a more extreme version of a gifted child, a child so gifted that he or she performs in some domain at an adult level" (p. 4).

Childhood giftedness has most often been studied and noticed in

¹¹⁷ According to Winner (1996), flow is "critical to the development of talent" (p. 214).

four areas: language, mathematics, visual arts, and music (Winner, 1996). The "more formal and rule-governed the domain, the more likely it is to yield gifted children.... We rarely notice gifted children in diffuse areas like leadership, interpersonal understanding or self-awareness" (Winner, 1996, p. 5). Of the four domains mentioned above as being sites for the study of giftedness, the academic domains receive the most attention. Excellence in language and mathematics is measured by psychologists and educators with IQ tests and other standardized tools. Parents expect schools to take on the responsibility for developing these potentials when they are identified in students. On the other hand, if exceptional ability is noticed in art or music, parents are expected to accept the responsibility for developing these talents themselves, with extra lessons outside of school. Winner (1996) reported that

schools in our country [United States] have minimal art programs, do not try to identify children with artistic ability, and would not even know what to do with such children if they did identify them. (p. 251)

Those who excel in art and music find their mentors outside the classroom. Art is not treated seriously in schools; indeed, most students gifted in art or music discount their school experiences in these fields (Winner, 1996).

Areas of intelligence other than the mathematical and linguistic, such as those identified by Gardner (1983), are hardly even noticeable in schools. Children who exhibit exceptional empathy or interpersonal skills are, perhaps, admired. But teachers don't generally think of these abilities as intelligences, and schools don't seriously attempt to cultivate these skills in any kind of systematic way. Indeed Jorgensen (1994), suggests that "having opened Pandora's box of multiple ways of knowing, one is then confronted with justifying which of these many ways ought to, or practically speaking can be, represented in the school curriculum" (p. 24).

Winner (1996) identified the gifted as a marginalized group, for, although psychologists have been interested in the gifted, "the study of giftedness has taken a back seat to the study of the typical and the

pathological" (p. ix). Similarly in schools, teachers cater to the majority and the "learning outcomes" that are the norm for that particular age, stage of development, and grade. Preparing extra work for both over achievers and under achievers adds to the workload of teachers who already face enormous challenges in classrooms today. As well, often children do not want to be recognized for superior ability, as this acknowledgment carries with it the stigma of being a nerd. It is safer and more acceptable to be one of the crowd, to be "normal."

But in spite of the ridicule children get for being exceptional in some area, they also get power over others who are deemed to be the "have nots." When students and teachers believe that talent is a biological gift of lineage, then the implication is that for the rest of society, the "normal" people, no amount of work will be worth their effort. This folk belief that "talent" is "entirely inborn: you either have it or you don't" (Winner, 1996, p. 143) is part of the dominant view of giftedness that we subscribe to in Western society.

Motivational research by Nicholls (1984) found that by age 11, children view ability as something innate and unchangeable and give up trying because they don't have the so-called "talent" (p. 49). It seems that students' willingness to commit themselves to a task will largely depend on whether or not they think they can be successful at it. If society, and particularly teachers, continue to talk about ability in certain areas such as music and art as "talent," then the majority of students will continue to see themselves as the marginalized "other."

Forms of Transmitting Knowledge

Knowledge can be oral or written and, indeed, societies have been classified by anthropologists as "cultured" or "oral," with the designation of "cultured" referring to societies that develop symbolic systems of representation. Such systems were thought to denote superior intelligence. In other words, written language is associated with advanced civilizations, while oral cultures are deemed to be primitive (Frawley, 1987).

Pioneering work in social anthropology regarding literacy/orality

has been done by Lévi-Strauss (1962) and Goody and Watt (1968). The descriptive terms "cultured" and "oral" are used to name the ways "individuals gather and access knowledge in a culture" (Frawley, 1987, p. 41). Lévi-Strauss determined that "cultured" people tend to develop abstract thought and scientific knowledge whereas oral cultures rely more on mythical knowledge. As well, "cultured" people fragment knowledge and organize it into discrete disciplines, where specialists are in control. On the contrary, "savage" (his term) cultures tend not to fragment knowledge. They have no sense of the past as something removed from them, since

their tradition of oral knowledge does not allow for the past as phenomenal and distanced; thus savages see their ancestors as co-existing with the living, as unremoved; the present is infused with the past. (Frawley, 1987, p. 34)

Spoken language involves the past, yet is always grounded in the present as its communication requires human agency. When words are spoken, they physically resonate with the speaker. Similarly singing is grounded in the physical and aligned with orality as a more primitive form of communicating. Song is equated with illiteracy. The histories of indigenous peoples are contained, not in books, but in songs and have received little attention in schools for this reason.

On the contrary, written discursive practice includes the ability to objectify knowledge—depersonalize it—and distance it from the present. Words, knowledge, and ideas are organized, produced, and then given legitimacy by their reference to other texts. This is nowhere more evident than in a doctoral dissertation. Doctoral students frequently complain that they are not free to make any statements based on personal experience. Everything must be documented as coming from a source other than personal experience. If, however, one is previously published, then the student's word has a measure of validity and can be quoted in the third person. One might wonder how such practices allow for the production of anything new.

As indicated by the forgoing example, scholarly work is embedded in textual analysis. As Frawley (1987) reported:

there are no self-made scholars; they are all credentialed individuals, licensed by the status quo as participants in a social group through the acquisition of a peculiar type of propositional knowledge. To become a scholar, to engage in a discursive space, is to submit to the universe of discourse and to submit to the inculcation of various ways of talking about the world. (p. 89)

This inculcation into the valuing of written texts over oral ones begins long before university life as a graduate student. All schools are complicit in valuing the written over the oral. According to Olson (1977),

schools are tied to a specialized language and to a specialized form of knowledge as a consequence of our reliance upon written prose. Literacy is not only a primary goal of schooling, it is deemed necessary for the achievement of other goals. The advantage of that bias is that virtually every activity becomes an occasion for developing competence with that use of language and that form of knowledge. The disadvantage of that bias is that all forms of knowledge and competence come to be translated into prose text. (p. 260)

The authority of the written word is not lost on any of us. We tend to believe what we read, and indeed accept quite readily the veracity of most published texts.

Today we live in a "hyperliterate"¹¹⁸ society where daily we "read" a multiplicity of texts. Increasingly texts refer to other texts. Indeed some individuals are employed for the sole purpose of producing texts about other texts. Clerics, scholars, teachers, and critics review books, movies, and concerts. Internet sites provide an endless source of instant texts. In this state of "intertextuality," the danger is that distinctions between reality and fantasy break down (Kvale, 1995). Texts are no longer grounded in personal knowledge and "real world" experiences.

And so the world of the teacher and student is a complex, contested construction based on the traditional authority of the teacher as expert over the marginalized student. Teaching is also feminized, and

¹¹⁸ Frawley's (1987) term

therefore carries with it a conflicting image of both power and powerlessness. Other representations that support this polarized construction include valuing the professional over the amateur, the specialist over the generalist, and the talented over the rest of society. As well, institutionalized knowledge is intimately tied to the valuing of written texts over oral ones.

The Teacher/Student Dualism in Music and Music Education

How does the teacher/student dualism construct our understanding of music and music education? To answer this question I will examine the representations that have just been described as they relate specifically to music and music education. This analysis includes:

- *The Music Teacher: A Gendered Construction of Power,*
- *Ambivalence Toward Music in the Intermediate Grades,*
- *The Authority of Professional Musicians,*
- *Maligning the Amateur,*
- *Generalists of Specialists?*
- *Identifying Musical Talent, and*
- *Rarefied Musical Knowledge.*

The Music Teacher: A Gendered Construction of Power

The established gender patterns in education regarding who teaches what carry over into the discipline of music. Music in the elementary grades is taught primarily by women, whereas band and other high school music teaching positions are more commonly held by men. As indicated previously, this gender break-down is modelled in our music education program at the University of Victoria. Tenure track professors responsible for the secondary program are men while tenure-track professors who teach in the elementary division are women. Cultural constructions of male and female encourage us to accept this difference as normal and natural.

Music teachers in the primary and elementary divisions, as well as regular classroom teachers do more nurturing, encouraging students to enjoy music and participate in music-making as a natural part of school

life. This approach works well in the early years as music is often an integral part of children's lives both in the classroom and on the playground. Children improvise songs as early as 3 or 4 years of age. They also participate in skipping and hand-clapping games that are accompanied with rhythmic chants and songs. These activities are particularly enjoyed by girls between the ages of 6 and 9.¹¹⁹ Children (often to grade 3 or 4) naturally sing and are not overly critical of their own or others' attempts to participate in music-making.

Kindergarten and grade one classrooms are often musical places. Indeed, teachers are often hired in the primary division because they have some specialized training in music, and it is expected that music will be an important part of primary education. The day is punctuated with singing to organize activities, to welcome students, to mark their birthdays and other special occasions, even to learn French, or numbers, or develop vocabulary. Music is functional¹²⁰ and fun, especially when organized by the classroom teacher.

Randy, one of the students interviewed for my research related that music in elementary school was

a time out, a break. That's what I looked at it as. Kind of part of the school program but it was one of those things where if you were bad they could just take it away so everyone would be good for it.

Int: *As a reward almost.*

Randy: *Almost as a reward. And I can't think of anything else to say about it. Looking back at it, it was just another part of the curriculum that you had to do but there wasn't the pressure that you had to learn something. It was kind of like you learnt it as you went along. Some people were better at it than others but the message seemed to be... "do your best. Everybody else is doing it. Don't worry about it." But it was fun. (RA, p. 3).*

Then something happens. Music often disappears as a regular part of schooling until it re-appears in the upper elementary and secondary

¹¹⁹ For a rich description of children's music, see Campbell's (1998) *Songs in their Heads*.

¹²⁰ Music is also functional in the elementary program when it is structured as preparation for Christmas concerts or productions.

divisions as performance groups such as band (sometimes with a jazz emphasis), orchestra, or chorus. These have been the staples of secondary music, with other options such as keyboarding and composition appearing in more recent years.

Band teachers, who are more often males, demand more of a disciplined approach in these music programs that culminate in public performance. Excellence at these performances is crucial. How groups "measure up" on the district stage, or even the provincial, national, or worldwide stage, is seen to be the measuring stick of success for music programs in secondary schools and beyond. The more awards and trophies that can be garnered, the better. Winning competitions is evidence of expertise and value, and what prestige success engenders.

For example, the Glenlyon-Norfolk school choir from Victoria, recently won a silver medal at the Choral Olympics in Linz, Austria, where 350 choirs from all over the world competed. The award winning performance showed they were "truly international in stature," and the headlines were front page news in the Capital Region section of the *Times Colonist* in Bell's column "Where You Live" (A Quick Look at What's Shaping and Shaking Greater Victoria), (2000, p. C1). Accomplishments such as this are frequently used as status symbols for the particular schools who are deemed to be the best.

A similar scenario is played out in sports. Successful teams are public relations vehicles for schools who become the home of the Huskies, the Raiders and so forth. The drive for excellence, as determined by competition, predominates when sports and music are turned into "work" rather than recreation, and, particularly in sports, results in a preoccupation with "record keeping and the statistical measurement of performance" (Howell, 2001, p. 6). This focus on performance feeds into the larger process of economic and cultural production as the most successful players become the next professional athletes and musicians.

Commonly, students in ME 204 reported that they gave up band because it wasn't fun any more. The teachers were sometimes harsh, very focused on the end product, and displayed little patience for struggling students. Randy, one of the participants in my research, recalled his

band teacher and experience of band this way:

I didn't know anything about the bassoon but they needed a player. The teacher was a bit of a flake. Very histrionic. As I look back I'm wondering if the guy was in the early stages of ALS [amyotrophic lateral sclerosis or Lou Gehrig's disease] or something because he had a real jerky movement and a lot of facial ticks or maybe that's just from being a public school teacher for 25 or 30 years [we both laugh]... He...was just savage with people. "Saxophones, horrible!" [in a loud disgusted voice]. And he'd look down his nose at them. He'd actually go over to them and actually grab the instrument away from people and say "Like this. This is a 'C' and this is a 'D.' Do you have me?" That's another reason. He wasn't a very pleasant guy. He was a perfectionist. (Ra, p. 6)

Similarly, Ross (1995), described the focus of the choral music teacher as typically "short of temper and quick on the pre-emptive strike. With an infallible and exquisite ear she banishes the growler to eternal damnation...in order to bask in the rarefied atmosphere of the gifted exceptions" (p. 185).

Gammon (1996) outlined six types or styles of teaching music, one of which is the "musical director." Such teachers are preoccupied with the re-creation of music to a set standard and, therefore, neglect creative aspects of music such as composition and improvisation. As conductors, these teachers are also "in charge" in a very visible, commanding way. The conductor embodies power and authority and fits with society's image of masculinity. The role of music director and conductor also fits with the public role of men at "work," while the role of the elementary (and often female) music teacher is more about making music in the present, not geared so much towards practising for public performances yet to come.

Ambivalence Toward Music in the Intermediate Grades

Now I would like to explore further that ambivalent space between the primary and secondary grades when music education is more

unpredictable. Researchers have “consistently found that primary level (PK-3) teachers spend more time than intermediate (4-6) teachers providing music experiences for their students” (Morin, 1995, p. 5). Of course, there are scenarios where, for example, no music is present in a grade one class,¹²¹ but generally speaking, music in the intermediate grades is on more shaky ground.

This instability is partly due to a lack of consistency regarding who teaches music. One would expect that band instructors have specialized knowledge about music, but is general music—as proposed in the intermediate music curricula—general knowledge or specialized knowledge? Many classroom teachers seem to think it is specialized. Most feel ill-prepared to teach music and simply don’t do it, other than as a casual diversion or change of pace in an otherwise stressful day. Evan, a student interviewed for my research, related his experience of music in elementary school this way:

In grade 4 we would have music time occasionally throughout the year, grade 4 and 5 actually, (we had a couple grade 4/5 split classes) and we would go in all together sometimes and we'd have songs that we would sing together as a class. I still remember some of the songs. Maybe once every 2 weeks, (I wouldn't say every week), about 45 minutes of music and we would sing and we'd have sheets, a menu of all the songs we would know—and sometimes the class would get to learn a new song or pick old favourites, and there was music appropriate to the times, we would have Christmas songs and that was good. I remember those songs. (EV, p. 2)

No wonder then, that many education students are surprised when they find out that music actually has a prescribed curriculum—that there is something to learn in music just as there is in other subjects. Many are further surprised when they are informed that they might have to teach it. Morin (1995) in her research of pre-service elementary teachers found that, at the outset of their music education course, “subjects did not quite agree that classroom teachers should assume some responsibility

¹²¹ This was the case in the practicum class of one of the students in my research.

for the music education of their students" (p. 7).

Administration also seems ambivalent about who is responsible for teaching music in the intermediate grades. In practice,

a growing trend in Ontario elementary schools, and indeed, across Canadian provinces, is the "phasing out" of music specialists, at both the school and board levels.... This leaves a number of elementary classroom teachers responsible for the teaching of music, thereby facing a new area of curriculum, one they often feel unable to tackle. (Upitis, 1995, p. 29)

Yet the Ontario curricular guidelines for the intermediate division provide an "out" so to speak for classroom teachers. Although music is compulsory for grade 7 and 8 students, the curriculum guide indicates that programs will be "influenced by factors such as...the availability of a specialist or highly qualified music teacher" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1990, p. 12).

We should not be surprised then that some classroom teachers are terrified of the prospect of teaching music. Hayley, one of the students in my research, went to a professional development day for teachers in one of the local districts and had this to share about a music presentation that she attended:

She [the clinician who was an elementary music specialist in the district] amazed me because she was teaching these [classroom] teachers what I had been learning at university [in ME 204]. And afterwards I stood up and said, "I just wanted you to know that all of the exercises that we have done are what we have been learning [at university]."... The teacher also brought along her daughter and they did hand clapping patterns to the beat. The daughter, who was probably 9 or 10, said that her and her friends do it all the time on the playground.

Int: And what was the reaction of the teachers who were taking this on the Pro D day?

Haley: It was interesting. It was a very mixed reaction. Some

of them seemed to look like they were totally confused by it. They didn't seem to have any background knowledge so when she was talking about "Kodaly" some of the teachers were like, "Who is that? What is that?" I found with my knowledge base I knew exactly what she was talking about the whole entire time. But the other teachers, a lot of them definitely seemed confused. The teacher that was heading the workshop did her education at U Vic so it was really neat.

Int: That's interesting. And some of them might think, "Why would I as a classroom teacher be wanting to do this?" Did you get that sense of it?

Haley: A little bit. I actually wanted to interject a few times but once again I had to keep my mouth shut. We would do an exercise but she didn't explain too much why we were doing the exercise so a couple of people around me were grumbling and I wanted to say, "Hey we're doing this to the beat and if we learn the beat then we'll be able to do this." Because of the time constraint I think the teacher that was doing the workshop just kind of went full tilt and if she had just taken a couple of those examples instead and done the theory behind those examples then it would have made more sense to the teachers. Because afterwards so many of them said, "Are there any books on this?" And that's when I really realized they really didn't know anything about this stuff.

Int: So...that gives you a good insight into the lack of knowledge that sometimes exists out there.

Haley: Definitely, and there were a couple of teachers that were at the same school as her, and I guess she's the music specialist and they kept saying, "Thank God you're here." And I thought, "At least you're here learning what your students are learning. At least that's a start." But it's not that difficult. The stuff we were doing wasn't that hard. Also I noticed people's inhibitions. She passed around a bag of instruments and we were to take one and play it to the syllables of our names. [she

demonstrates Chris-tin-a). And we all had to do it at once and everyone was kind of looking around and they were very inhibited. And then she was trying to get the triangles in one group and the sand blocks in another group and people...were terrified of it.... And I think she sensed that too because she seemed to be pretty high strung and stressed out throughout the whole entire thing. I think she was just getting from them that they were so stressed out.... It was very interesting to watch the dynamics of it. (HA, p. 16)

How is it that general classroom teachers have come to be so afraid of music? I believe this fear is intimately connected to our understanding of music as performance by professional musicians.

The Authority of Professional Musicians

Music professionals, like other professionals, are concerned with producing an acceptable identity and practice. Their "disciplinary gaze" surveys the field and regulates who and what is acceptable. Training in what constitutes acceptable practice occurs for musicians in the country's conservatories and university schools of music. The focus in these institutions is on "highly disciplined approaches to musical 'technique,' [and] formalistic studies in 'music theory'" rather than on "the social and personal experience of music and music-making" (Kingsbury, 1988, p. 5). The twin pillars of "acceptable practice" in these institutions is very narrowly understood as the public performance of Western art music.

How is it that these institutions have come to stand for "music education" in our country? There is a network of various conservatories across Canada, but the one with the most prestige and status is the Royal Conservatory of Music, based in Toronto since 1886 and at times affiliated with the University of Toronto. By its own account, "the Royal Conservatory of Music is recognized as the leading music-training force in Canada, and one of the most significant musical institutions in the Commonwealth" (p. 63). Indeed, "in 1947, a Royal Charter was granted to the Conservatory by King George VI in recognition of its wide influence"

(p. 63).

Outside of the actual building in Toronto, and sometimes smaller conservatories in other major cities, this network exists without physical structures of its own. An army of private music teachers train students according to the standards of the conservatory, and examinations take place in rented facilities across the country. The Royal Conservatory accounts for its "extraordinary strength" because of its "strict adherence to high standards, and the sheer breadth and variety of its activities, which include teaching, examining, publishing, research, and community outreach" (Royal Conservatory of Music, 1998, p. 3). Further, "the strength of the curriculum is reinforced by the quality of the examiners. A rigorous examiner-training program combined with regular evaluation procedures ensures consistency and the highest quality experience for examination candidates" (Royal Conservatory of Music, 1998, p. 3).

The approved repertoire and other technical requirements are spelled out in detail in the syllabus. The examinable repertoire is circulated in official examination books; indeed, a whole publishing industry has developed to support the requirements of the Royal Conservatory's examinations. As a result of this strict control over repertoire if someone says they have Grade 2 Royal Conservatory or Grade 8 Royal Conservatory in voice or piano or violin, for example, those in the system have a very good idea of what this level of proficiency means. The standard of performance at the Royal Conservatory of Toronto is recognized around the world.

The evaluation of skills is, however, selective, assessing technical proficiency in the playing and memorization of scales, chords, and the like, and then allowing the bulk of the marks for reproducing repertoire from the Western art musical canon. In particular, the theoretical understanding of music is tested separately and as a result, many students schooled in this system develop great skill in playing from the printed page but understand very little about the structure and harmonic relationships in the music they are playing. As well, these students have usually had little opportunity to create music either through improvising or composing.

In terms of numbers, the Conservatory is involved in the music education of more than a quarter of a million Canadian students annually. Their graded curriculum is the closest thing we have to a national standard¹²² for music education and in fact, passing the conservatory's grade 8 performance examination with grade 2 theory is recognized as a high school graduation credit in most provinces.

Performing at festivals and recitals is also an important part of the conservatory model of music education. According to Kingsbury (1988), "childhood performances of music are typically evaluated very carefully for indications of talent, and the possibilities for subsequently learning musical performance skills are very much contingent upon adult evaluations" (p. 73). By the time the best music students arrive at university schools of music, they have proven themselves as worthy performers by their audition, their marks on conservatory examinations, their affiliation with reputable performing groups, their placement at recitals and festivals, and often by the reputations of their teachers. From this point on, they must continually negotiate their status as a performer. L'Roy (1983) reported that

[u]ndergraduate students in any school of music at any college are called upon to prove their worth as performer through juries¹²³ each semester. Students are also required to take applied lessons, participate in ensembles, and to perform in a variety of departmental recitals as a matter of common practice.... It can be seen that they are being tested and rewarded for competence in performance constantly throughout their tenure in school. (p. 183)

Excellence in performance, however, is not enough. In both

¹²² There has been new activity on this front in recent years. The NSAE (National Symposium on Arts Education, 2001) has recently developed a national agenda—a shared vision for arts education in Canada. Their website is <http://www.artsed.ca>. As well, The Coalition for Music Education in Canada has formulated guidelines for a general music framework (K-8). Their website is <http://www.coalitionformusiced.ca>. Although education is under provincial jurisdiction, these organizations are, for the first time, working at articulating shared goals for arts education on a national level.

¹²³ Certainly the use of the word "jury," as we understand it in the practice of law, implies that others are sitting in judgment over the "defendant" who must be proven guilty or innocent.

conservatories and schools of music, students must strive to be the best. Kingsbury (1988) reported that the "culling of students perceived as less talented, less accomplished, or less musical...is generally accepted as necessary and inevitable in conservatory life, even if this is accomplished in an unpleasant fashion" (p. 105).

Some students, desperate to prove their worth, resort to deceitful practices:

They [music students] carry around music they cannot play. They announce concerts exterior to the university that they do not play. They use before class opportunities to show off new sections of technically difficult material they may not actually be studying. They brag, they lie, and they make obvious even the smallest thing that might make them noticeable as a better or best musician. (Roberts, 1991, p. 32)

These practices surely point to the overwhelming value schools of music place on being the best. As one student in Roberts' study (1993) commented, "Why do you have to be a star, why can't you just be really good at what you do and enjoy it" (p. 189)?

It is not surprising then that Roberts (1991b) found performance to be the "major criteria [sic] of worth and status" in schools of music and that education majors were perceived to be less serious musicians who couldn't make the grade as performers (p. 97). This valuation was also confirmed for me during a conversation with a visiting scholar at the University of Victoria. In his experience of interviewing/auditioning prospective students for a school of music in the northwest, he related that the practice was to nominate the best for the performance track and channel the weaker performers into education. The old cliché "those who can, do; those who can't, teach" fits right in with this valorization of performance as the most prestigious, highly valued of musical practices.

In other words, the implication is that performance would naturally be the first choice of all students of music and further that recommending excellent performers for an education degree would be a waste of their talent. Such "signifying practices" are not lost on

students; In fact, "many performance majors begin to assume a position of self-worth superiority based upon the official designation of 'superior performer'" (Roberts, 1991b, p. 100). As one student in Robert's (1991b) research related:

It must be a real letdown to say that I got all these AR¹²⁴ pieces and go *down* [my emphasis] to music education and say OK let's sing to a bunch of little kids. It must be such a letdown. To have all that power in your hands and then say sing row row row your boat. To have played the masters and then play these little things. (p. 97)

This perception of superiority based on performance ability was a "common theme among those interviewed" by Roberts (p. 102). Similarly, Kingsbury (1988) in his ethnographic study of conservatories found performance ability to be tied to self worth.

This powerful model of and agenda for music education is carried into the public school system even when school curricula prescribe a much broader approach to musical understanding. Part of the reason for this transfer is, of course, that school music teachers, for the most part, come out of this system of training and tend to perpetuate the values they were taught. According to Hanley (1995):

people tend to replay what they have experienced in their past. As a teacher, unless you think carefully about what you do and why you do it, studies¹²⁵ suggest that you are likely to continue offering students what you have undergone even though you may have objected to the use of the same strategies by your former teachers. (p. 3)

¹²⁴ AR or ARCT refers to a performance diploma received from a conservatory, such as the Royal Conservatory of Toronto (Associate of the Royal Conservatory of Toronto).

¹²⁵ Kagan (1992) Professor of Teacher Education at the University of Alabama, conducted an extensive review of 40 learning-to-teach studies published between 1987 and 1991. One of her objectives in conducting this research was to see if, collectively, common themes developed in the studies concerning the evolution of teachers' professional growth. She defined professional growth as "changes over time in the behaviour, knowledge, images, beliefs or perceptions of novice teachers" (p. 131). Kagan found that students' biographical history played a central role in their image of self as teacher. Students relied on how they functioned as learners in their own education and on the influence of one or two role models. Students then carried these stable and inflexible beliefs and images into their professional studies and "neither the content of the course nor the field observations affected prior beliefs" (p. 133).

Thus, music education continues to be understood as the public performance of music in the Western European classical tradition. Uptis (1995) denounced what passes as music education in the majority of schools. "It is absurd" she said, that

most music teaching consists of teaching people to play instruments primarily, if not entirely, through music created by other people. It would be unthinkable to teach a child to write by only copying the texts of Shakespeare and Dostoevski. (p. 30)

As well, Uptis (1995) suggested how music educators might teach music composition by using "many of the trademarks of process writing and the whole language approach" (p. 31).

In my own practice, I have often been absolutely amazed at the creations of students and the level of involvement that such work invites. Students will spend hours working on their own compositions. In these situations the motivation to work is high, as students use their knowledge to create something of their own rather than merely "doing homework" that the teacher has required them to do.

Classroom teachers, then, along with the rest of society, generally accept the conservatory model of music education as the pattern to be replicated in schools. Unless teachers have had at least some training in this system, they feel ill-equipped to teach music in the classroom, even though music in this setting has a much broader mandate. Montgomery's research (1994, 1995) showed what abilities generalist elementary teachers' thought they should have in order to teach music. Her 1994 study involved 206 non-specialist elementary teachers in Ontario and their opinion on what musical competencies they believed to be most important for success in music teaching. The competency statements were developed from previous research by Taylor (1980), Stafford (1987), Kinder (1987), provincial curricular documents and guidelines, and outlines of university music education methods courses and texts, as well as interviews with teachers and consultants from various school districts in Ontario. The sixty-item questionnaire was divided into 4 categories of competencies with 15 items in each category:

vocal skills, instrumental skills, musical knowledge, and musical materials. Montgomery's 1995 study used the same method and format to evaluate competencies valued by 250 Alberta teachers. I was surprised by this research, surprised that non-specialists placed such high value on skill development, skills that go beyond what they are taught in the one or two semester university preparation course they may receive in their elementary education program. The list of 60 competencies, which included such skills as transposing a vocal score by sight at the piano, and notating a children's song after hearing it, would be challenging for a specialist. This research shows that generalist teachers believe they need very specialized skills to teach music effectively. In other words, music specialists have been very successful in drawing the boundary around their territory and claiming special status for music in education.

Maligning the Amateur

As Althusser (1972) has related, "the school. . . teaches 'know-how,' but in forms which ensure *subjection of the ruling ideology* or the mastery of its 'practice'" (p. 246). Heather's written reflection which she read during our interview gave her particular perspective on this point:

Most of the music in my [elementary] school years was very, I found, one dimensional.... To me, music is everywhere in life and yet at school there's only certain things that are focussed on. To say that someone was musical or to enjoy music it meant they could play an instrument. That was it. There were two types of kids. They could sing or play an instrument, and if they couldn't play an instrument well then they just weren't musical, you know? They weren't gonna do well in class. And so what I wrote was um: I may not be able to play an instrument with mastery but I consider myself a very musical person. Being able to play an instrument was one of the one dimensional views I experienced in school. There were those that could play instruments and those that could not. Just because you couldn't play an instrument doesn't mean that a person's not musical. (HE, p. 1)

I was taken aback by the defiance in her voice. The same theme emerged a few minutes later:

I may not be able to master an instrument, I would love to, that's a goal of mine.... I highly value that.... Maybe there's still a bit of my [school] music teacher saying in order to truly be a musical person you need to play an instrument.... And I mean it wasn't necessarily something that was said. It was just that the students that she knew played music outside of school got first dibs on the instruments. [She'd say] "I need an example. Tom, come up here and play this. Who can read music? OK what are these notes?" I'm sure you try and not play favourites [as a teacher] but in music there is [sic] because if you want something demonstrated, you want it demonstrated by someone who knows what they're doing. I think it's a societal thing as well. People who are musical can play instruments. It's not necessarily something that is said but something that I have felt in my life. It's just something that's out there in our society.
(HE, p. 4)

This student's response shows that there must be other ways to enjoy music besides performing it. The definition of "musicality" she experienced in school was very narrow and reflected the conservatory model of music education.

It seems that music specialists have a hierarchy of musical values with musical performance at the top. What is the result of this elitist view? I continued along these lines in my conversation with Heather:

Int: I'd like to go back to what you said about what sometimes happens in the classroom where the teacher wants some information and so she goes to the people who seem to have this outside knowledge because they took piano lessons or whatever. So, what was the effect on you of seeing that that's how it worked?

Heather: Well I mean the teacher's only teaching to 5 students. The other 20 students were sitting there—they're like "Tom knows everything. This is stupid." So then they're going to act

out. They're going to act out to get attention. They're going to act out to play instruments. You'd think you'd want to focus on the kids who don't have a grasp of it. This wasn't in every single music class. I liked music...[but] realistically the teachers were teaching 5 students and the other 20 would just shut off immediately and they'd lose them. That's probably why some music teachers find they have trouble controlling classes or have trouble getting kids participating because the teacher may have a lesson planned at a certain grade level (say grade 4) but are only focusing on those 4 or 5 students who can read music. So I think they are narrowing down the amount of kids that they are reaching and it's too bad because these kids have already been reached with music. They are already doing it on their own time, they already, you know, they have some kind of enjoyment out of it. (HE, p. 5)

Another student I interviewed expressed similar observations:

Robin: I think a lot of the students had music background. Back then it seemed like if you had the talent they [music teachers] were interested in you but if you didn't, they just pushed you off. There were a few other people too who did other instruments.¹²⁶ Actually I thought it was pretty neat to play the bass...but now I feel ripped off.... A lot of the students were taking private music lessons like I was in dance.... There were a lot of people who were musically inclined whereas I could dance but I couldn't read music. (RO, p. 1)

Robin also recalled:

I was terrified to go [to music] because I didn't know what I was doing. I remember them [other students] saying F A C E [the letter names of the treble clef spaces] and I tried to remember that, that's all I remember, and I would sit there and try to figure it out and by the time I did they were so far ahead of me it wasn't even funny. So I didn't like going there. I don't

¹²⁶ Robin is referring to a ukulele class here. Students who couldn't read music were shown how to use percussion instruments or the double bass rather than being taught to read music.

remember how long the class was. We would just go there for a bit and then I remember it was recess right after and I was always ready to go out and have fun. I didn't like going. I wasn't taught anything. I told my Mom that I wasn't enjoying it and she came in and talked to the teacher and that's how I think I got on to the bass. Actually now that I think of it, that's what happened. I was really frustrated, but instead of her [the teacher] sitting down and taking the time to find out what was wrong, she put me on the bass. She was really a nice lady, really fun and upbeat, but I just didn't feel part of it. (RO, p. 3)

Even in the educational setting where one would expect process and inclusivity to be important, music specialists regularly give the impression that music is elitist. Those with the financial means and opportunity to study music privately are ahead of the majority, possessing the mysterious musical "talent" that sets them apart. Their knowledge is used as power over others. The novice student is scorned.

I find this to be true at the university level as well. Examples have already been given which describe the way music students belittle the efforts of education students as they learn to play the recorder for the first time. But examples also occur in the wider university community. Instructors who are learners (i.e. graduate students) have lesser status than tenured professors. The completion of a doctoral degree is one of the ways that an area of expertise is cordoned off to include some and exclude others. Further, the understanding is that graduate students who complete their degrees at a particular institution will not generally be hired by that institution as a tenured professor. What is the implication here? Is it that once identified as a student, faculty can never see such individuals on their level? There seems to be a very stable division between teacher and student.

The final example in this section highlights the behaviour of an elementary music specialist and how she lives out her belief in the superiority of professionals over amateurs. Haley, the interview participant who earlier described her practicum experience at Central elementary where the whole school was immersed for weeks in rehearsals

for a musical, recalled her conversation with the music specialist regarding this school production:

It was actually interesting to be in the staff room. The day before the production everybody was saying "Who's coming? Who's coming? Are you going to bring your husband or your boyfriend?" and the music specialist just rolled her eyes at me and said, "I'm not bringing my husband to this." I kind of looked at her and said "Well why not?" and she said, "We're both musicians. We've both done huge things. This is like nothing compared to what I'm used to doing. My husband would laugh!" I thought it was so weird to hear that from a music specialist. The amount of time that the kids and you and everyone has put into this, it just blew my mind. I couldn't believe it. And yet I, the student teacher had my Mom and my boyfriend and my best friend [come], and I had such a small part and yet I was so proud that I had contributed to it. She says, "I've played for the Victoria Symphony and no, he's not going to come to this." That's weird. It's just amazing. And she also, when I first arrived there was really gung-ho, and then as you would watch the dress reversals and bringing the kids together and kids being kids, not knowing the words, or not being as loud one day, you could see her going red in the face and by the end of the three weeks she just totally gave up, which was too bad. It was sad to see. She didn't care. She really didn't. Even when she was directing them you could see in the beginning her hands were all over like this [demonstrating in a grandiose style] and towards the end they were lackadaisical—just going through the motions. (HA, p. 12)

Here the music specialist judged the musical efforts of her students according to adult, professional standards, and found the students' efforts lacking. The performance product, once again, was the primary measurement of value.

Specialists are often perceived to be looking for students with

"talent" to star in performance groups; having standards that were too exacting (even encouraging some to "mouth the words" for example); and teaching to the few who had private music lessons rather than to the majority of the class. Such practices reflect the "hidden curriculum" learned in schools—that most people are not really very musical in comparison with the minority who are.

In contrast to this elitist view of "talent" and doing music "right" according to canonic standards, is the epistemological difference of valuing the experience and the appropriateness of the attitude of the person making the music. According to Boyea (1999), in First Nations music

there is a deep sense of spiritual and social "rightness" that most Indian Communities and individuals take care to preserve.... Hence, music requires an intensity of spirit: to do it well requires "a good heart;" it must be performed with "understanding what it is all about." In traditional [aboriginal] views, almost universally, one's spiritual attitude is more important than skill in dance movement, voice quality, or ability to keep time. Talent is usually not an issue, save in the sense of a special calling for special spiritual roles in the community. (p. 108)

If music in education was more concerned with music's context and value for those who make it, then "talent" would become a moot point. This difference in valuing could affect not only the historical study of music, but as well, music-making in the classroom, where the communal experience of musicking is valued over the expertise of the few. In other words, if this difference in valuing were to occur, it would help to destabilize the categorizations of talented/untalented, and professional/amateur.

Beliefs of students in ME 204 reflect the dualistic social constructions of talent/untalented and professional/amateur. As they move through the course, when I try to challenge their beliefs, change does occur for many. These changes were evident in students' reflections half way through the course in the 1997-1998 school year. Students were

asked to respond in writing to the following prompt: "In September I used to think...but now..." with reference to music, music education, and their ability to make music. (Students were also given the opportunity to identify any unchanged beliefs.) Their responses showed that many students initially believed musical ability was a matter of birth-right and that music education was only for the talented few. Later, some of these students came to believe that everyone could benefit from music education. The following sample of comments shows the shift that took place for some students:

In September I used to think that some people are just not musical people, but now I believe anyone can become interested in music and learn to appreciate music.

In September I used to to think that music was intimidating—that music was for talented people, but now I see that music can be enjoyed if I just try to do my best and not worry about what others think.

In September I used to think that I just wasn't good at music and never really would be, but now I believe that I can learn to sing and to play instruments. It's just like everything else in life you try to do. If you want to learn it you can.

In September I used to think that I couldn't sing very well, or didn't really know a whole lot about music, but now I realize that there is a singing voice inside of me and that I am musical.

In September I used to think that music education could not teach people to sing. Singing was inborn—you either have a good voice or you don't, but now [I believe] singing can improve with music education. (1998, p. 46)

These comments show that challenging the dominant discourse about innate musical talent is possible. But often such empowerment is short-lived as students experience the power of the dominant discourse in

every-day life.

Specialists or Generalists?

How is it that the question of who teaches music has become such a contentious issue? Let us turn our attention to the training of educators to see how this division between specialists and generalists is constructed. The training of music educators at Canadian universities happens in a variety of ways, as the responsibility is shared between schools of music and education faculties. Sometimes universities house music education students in the music faculty (as is the case at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario) while other universities include music educators in the Faculty of Education (as is the case at the University of Victoria).¹²⁷ The strengths and weaknesses of each of these approaches is indicative of the values in the corresponding institutions. Roberts (1991b) reported that

the balance of the disciplines of music and educational studies is typically viewed critically by both sides and charges of "poor teacher but good musician" or "poor musician but good teacher" are hurled back and forth between the academic units in the university. (p. 9)

Roberts (1986) also reported that faculties of music have been very successful in convincing administrators that they are somehow special and that the skills and knowledge needed by students wishing to teach music can only be provided by the school of music:

It is a curious development that music is perhaps the only subject whose practitioners at the university level typically have meddled in the mandate of education faculties. One sees journal advertisements that proudly claim that music education courses are taught almost exclusively by music faculty. (p. 32)

In other words, only musicians can teach music. If this theorizing were extended to all subjects, only scientists could teach science, only artists could teach art and so on. Roberts (1993) further commented on this

¹²⁷ In Canada there seems to be a tradition of music education aligning with music in the east, and with education in the west.

anomaly:

From the perspective of teacher education generally, music teacher preparation might be viewed as an obvious anomaly because music teachers appear to be typically much more concerned about "being a musician" than a science teacher is concerned about "being a scientist." Thus it must be apparent that science teaching can be viewed as informed by science studies but that music teaching may be viewed as a function of a musician. That is to say that one cannot simply borrow the knowledge about music as one might with science, but rather, one must be a musician. Every music education student in Canada is required to *perform* [my emphasis] to some pre-set standard on an acceptable instrument, that being one with a classical repertoire. (p. 204)

Being a musician then, sets individuals apart by the special knowledge and ability they possess. Both those inside and outside the field recognize performance as the badge which identifies musical expertise.

Not only are music students set apart because of the specialized knowledge they possess but they are physically isolated and distinct on the university campus. Most schools of music are self-contained buildings that segregate music students from the general university population. Music students take their classes together and rarely move outside their building. As well, most music courses are not open to the general university population. According to Detels (1999), "academic requirements for music majors now commonly involve so many credits and so little choice that music students find themselves isolated from other students, who in turn are prevented from academic study of music by the design of the curriculum for music majors only" (p. 107). The result of this isolation is that music students are viewed as a closed community, both by insiders and outsiders. In fact some music students have described the closed environment of the school of music as a "little high school" (Roberts, 1991b, p. 34). One of the students I interviewed told the following story which attests to this physical construction of

difference and isolation:

I have a story about my friend Jenny and I [sic]. It was raining one day and we were trying to by-pass the parking lot and we walked through the school of music and all of a sudden heads turned and stared at us. [They seemed to be thinking] "They're not music students. Are they lost?" Did we have a ple on our face or something? (HE, p. 11)

This vignette attests to the closed community in the school of music which strictly identifies students as insiders or outsiders. Difference in this situation, although related more to architecture and geographical space than specialized knowledge, serves to reinforce the concept of music students as special and unique in the university community.

How is value added to music specialists once they are out in the schools? Specialists are valued for logistical reasons because in many districts, hiring music specialists is a convenient way to deal with the regular teachers' need for preparation time. The time the specialist is teaching the class is the time when the classroom teacher can have his/her required preparation time. Music specialists are also welcomed by generalists in the schools because music seems to be one of the subjects that teachers feel least competent to teach.¹²⁸

Hiring specialists to teach music, even general music at the elementary level, is also sanctioned by the Coalition for Music Education in Canada. In their *Music Advocacy Kit* (1995b), they endorse "a comprehensive music program, taught by specialists...from kindergarten to grade 8" (p. 7-17). The practice of hiring specialists to teach music in the elementary classroom may be well intentioned from an educational perspective, but in reality it sends a clearly elitist message to students (Hennessy, 2000). Anita, one of the students interviewed in this research, recalled that music was strictly the domain of the specialist:

Int: *So right from the beginning they [your music teachers] were all specialists?*

Anita: *Yup. We always had specialists.*

¹²⁸ This remark is verified by the 1994 Survey of Graduates of BC Teacher Education (BC College of Teachers, 1995), and by the research of Hanley (1993, 1994) at the University of Victoria.

Int: *Do you remember any music in the classroom with your classroom teachers?*

Anita: *No, other than for artwork they may have put the radio on.*

Int: *And when you went to have music, did your classroom teacher ever go with you?*

Anita: *No.*

Int: *So it really seemed like it was a separate thing.*

Anita: *They were our music teachers and that was it. We went to them and the regular teachers just disappeared and did their own thing. (AN, p. 2)*

When students see that music is the only subject their regular teacher doesn't teach, this practice reinforces the notion that musical ability is not part of everyone's makeup and that it requires a special talent or ability that most of us don't have. No wonder then, as Campbell (1998) reported, "the greatest number of classroom teachers will pass the responsibility of musically educating children to the specialist-teachers whom they regard as the trained performers, more musical than themselves" (p. 182).

But the reality in many schools is that, during times of budgetary restraint,¹²⁹ classroom teachers are left to teach music. Some who feel ill equipped simply ignore this part of the curriculum. Others engage the school in productions which substitute for fine arts programs, and a few exchange teaching loads with their colleagues—for example someone who plays the piano might agree to teach someone else's class music if that teacher will take her class for French or perhaps physical education. Once again the assumption is that the music teacher must be a performer. Nevertheless, although playing ability is helpful, it is not essential for teaching a general music course.

¹²⁹ *The Music Advocacy Kit* (Coalition for Music Education in Canada, 1995b) reports that aside from the the cost of instruments (which are often rented by students anyway) "music costs no more than any other school program. Recent statistics suggest that cutting music budgets does not save money. Junior and senior high music classes are often larger than other academic classes, and therefore require fewer teachers" (pp. 7-16). If this is true, then using budget cuts as the reason for axing music programs is only a ruse for disguising fundamental differences between the valuing of music and other subjects.

Teaching ME 204 has put me right in the middle of the specialist/generalist debate. Fewer and fewer schools have music specialists at the elementary level and so if music is to be part of the curriculum (as is mandated), then classroom teachers will need to teach it. Many professionals think it is a travesty to have "amateurs" teaching music, indeed that their efforts are laughable. (My education students and I working on musical activities in the hallways frequently encounter this attitude from the music majors passing by.) One such example follows:

On a typical day in the faculty of education I had just finished teaching a recorder class to a group of education students in ME 204. The last piece of music we had played was the theme from "The Good, The Bad, and the Ugly." I thought it sounded really neat on the recorder—and I was pleased with the efforts and responsiveness of the students. As I left the class and went to my office a school of music student approached another professor's office [The school of music students use some of the facilities in the education building]. Referring to the end of the recorder class that she had just heard, the school of music student said in an arrogant, loud voice, "I don't know what those people in there think they're doing!" (journal reflection)

The level of disdain in her voice was striking. What had created such a vehement response? I would interpret her remark to be related to 3 things: firstly, the recorder is a low status instrument, purchasable for a few dollars and made of plastic; secondly, we were playing popular as opposed to classical music; and thirdly and probably most importantly, the students were exhibiting an elementary level of skill as they had only taken 5 lessons. What kind of music teacher will this student who has so little regard for the beginner, at whatever age make? In fact, my experience with the hundreds of stories students have told me about their elementary music teachers shows that classroom teachers teaching elementary music have often had a more positive effect on students' enjoyment of music than did specialist teachers.

Specialists come out of conservatories and schools of music that have a very specific, narrow focus. These institutions train students for the public performance of Western art music, yet school music has a much broader mandate. Although part of the general music curriculum includes developing literacy in music, understanding traditional notation, and performing, it also includes creating music, listening to music, analysing music, exploring the social, historical, and cultural context of music and so forth. Even if music teachers attempt to broaden their horizons and meet these learning outcomes, the underlying attitude that is often transmitted to students is that this part of the curriculum is "fluff" and the real "meat" of music education is musical performance.

When "the arts are represented as single-disciplinary practices, unconnected with each other and with the core curriculum and oriented more to the training of specialists than to the education of general student and the public" then we seal our own fate as being a frill in general education (Detels, 1999, p. 1). Wilshire (1990) argued that the extreme specialization in American education, with disciplines acting as elite closed communities now functions more to serve their own needs, rather than advancing learning in the wider community.

Identifying Musical Talent

Intimately tied to our construction of "professional" and "amateur" is the notion of "talent." We believe that those who work as professionals in the field of music are imbued with "talent" that the average person doesn't possess. Kingsbury (1988) described the belief this way: "On the one hand, people with musical talent are perceived by many as something of a breed apart, fully appropriate for discussion as an 'other' group" (p. 12). This belief works to keep an elite few at the core with divine-like powers and distance the many from participating in musical activity.

Let's look more closely at how this meaning is made. People often use the word "talent" to refer to a biological predisposition for excellence in a particular area when they are actually referring to an acquired skill. An example of this indiscriminate exchange between the words "talent"

and "skill" occurred in the *Times Colonist* (2001) recently. A picture of students playing stringed instruments is titled "String of Musical Talent" while the caption under the picture reads: "About 500 elementary, junior high and high school students performed at Reynolds high school Thursday evening as part of a year-end strings concert showing off the *skills* [my emphasis] they learned in the last year" (p. B2). The implication in the title is that here are students who have a natural gift for music while the caption refers to the skill development they are demonstrating.

Great performances are the product of years of practicing the requisite skills. And so, children who begin a sustained focus on performance in piano or violin, for example, at the tender age of 3 (which is common in the Suzuki method) develop great skill over the course of several years and get a substantial head start over the general population. Megan, one of the students interviewed for my research, related the following story:

Megan: I think my great grandfather taught himself how to play it [the violin].... But I was learning the Suzuki method.

Int: And did you have class lessons or individual?

Megan: Individual. And I remember feeling uncomfortable with the teacher. It was in her home and she always seemed a bit frustrated so I was always kind of on edge. I learnt stuff but [pausing] oh that was the other thing. They had all these people who had been playing violin since they were probably two years old and there'd be Suzuki gatherings. All it was was humiliation time for me. These kids who were half my size would be playing whatever so I just felt like a big stupid loser, really, because I couldn't play what they were playing and they were a lot younger. I don't think I ever honestly competed because I just felt out of it. (ME, p. 10)

Early skill development is construed as "natural talent" and works in society and schools to separate the musical from the unmusical. This construction of difference is one of the main reasons music has such a difficult time being accepted as a credible subject in the school system. If

music is a matter of genetics and cannot be learned by all, then surely it has no place in schools. I would agree. Those who have these special abilities can take private lessons on their own time, at their parents' expense. Why should the school system have to pay for the tutelage of the elite few? I would suggest that this is exactly what many people think and represents part of the reason why the efforts of advocacy groups, although gaining a few concessions here and there, have effected few significant changes.

Not everyone would agree with me on this point. For example, Tupman (1999), in the (Canadian) *Coalition Contact* newsletter indicated that advocacy efforts have been effective. Sometimes school music programs are rescued, but the victories are small in terms of the big picture. A few concessions here and there only serve to maintain the status quo. One positive outcome of the music education crisis in our schools is that Canadians have banded together on a national scale to publicly circulate a philosophical rationale for music education and publish research results which attest to music's value in human development. The Coalition for Music Education in Canada is the largest national advocacy group for music in the country, with membership including individuals, educational groups, and music businesses. In 1995 they produced the *Music Advocacy Kit* which can be used as a tool to educate and influence parents, students, and educators about the value of music in education.

The assumptions and contradictory beliefs about musicality and talent held by students in this research became very evident in our conversations. The following examples illustrate several points I have taken up here. In this first excerpt, Ivy questions whether musical ability is strictly a matter of genetics:

My Grandma is really musical. She used to sing in a choir and plays the piano at church; my aunt's a music specialist and my uncle took music at university and he's in all the local musicals in Pleasantville. Even my Mom says somehow the musical thing just missed our family. Do you think some people just have it?
(IV, p.14)

Earlier in our conversation she was considering whether or not music is a skill that can be developed: *...I don't have an ear for music at all.... I really think that you kind of have it or you don't. Do you think that everyone can learn it?* (IV, p. 8)? Ivy's struggle with this dilemma surfaced at several points in our conversation. She considers herself to be unmusical and yet now as a teacher in training, she must convince students that they can do music:

Int: *Do you think you're musical?*

Ivy: *No. Not an inch [emphatically].*

Int: *Why do you say that?*

Ivy: *Well I'm trying to talk myself out of it because if I'm going to be a teacher I've got to have confidence to do these things and not say that you're not musical because everyone has an opportunity to be musical but in my heart of hearts I think that it's something that's innate. I don't have good rhythm, I have a terrible voice, I don't like having music on in the house, you know some people always have it on in the morning and I think it's crazy. I don't know what the connection is, if it's because I like it quiet, or what.* (IV, p. 7)

Ivy's words show by what signifying practices she has judged herself to be unmusical and how deeply entrenched her beliefs are even when she is aware that they are limiting.

In the following excerpt, Anita, another participant in my research, becomes aware of her own assumptions and contradictions about innate musicality, talent, and skill development as she speaks, and how these constructs affected her and others in school music programs:

Int: *Do you think you're musical?*

Anita: *Yup.*

Int: *Why?*

Anita: *That's kind of a loaded question because I think I'm musical but I could also just be very teachable. Do you know what I mean?*

Int: *So when you say that, what do you mean?*

Anita: *I think I'm musical because I can carry a tune. I learnt*

that. I can play an instrument. Yes I am musical [said with more conviction]. When we played jazz band, there was a lot of improvisation and we played blues stuff and I did quite well with that, whereas a friend of mine, there was no way she would do a solo. Yup, I think I'm musical.

Int: In response to my question you said, "Or am I just teachable?" It sounds like when I say "Are you musical?" you think it's an inborn ability. Is that right?

Anita: Yeah, that's how I took it.

Int: OK.

Anita: But I don't know. Boy that's weird, because it's not, right? That made me just think of this. My teacher (this is a bad thing) said to me, she told me I was musical and she said "You'll do very well because it's in your genes." And suddenly I thought, "Well what if it's not?" And I remember talking to my friend about it and she said, "Oh I guess I won't be good at it then." I remember her [the teacher] saying to people. "Well maybe you're just not musically inclined." Boy that triggered a memory that's for sure. I know I am very teachable and I know that's an advantage.

Int: OK, you say you're teachable. Can you expand on that?

Anita: Um, well I'll explain it through sports. My coach always said I was teachable because they would tell me to do something and I would just do it. It wasn't so much that it was a natural ability but when they said, "Do this, this, and this" I could do it... I couldn't do it on my own but if someone told me how to do it, I'd think, "OK, I can do that." (AN, p.10)

Anita realized in the midst of our conversation that she had learned to make music, just as she has learned to play various sports; but as well, the pronouncement of being "talented" validated her as being part of the "elite" group. She also realized that such categorizations served to distance others from participation in music-making as their lack of success was a forgone conclusion. In this way, dualistic categorizations such as talented/untalented shape students' understanding of truth.

knowledge, and authority. The tight boundaries that are drawn around the talented and the untalented cement these fixed positions and as Davies (1993) says, determine how we "speak and write ourselves into existence" (p. 10). According to Kingsbury (1988),

[i]t is not a minor point to note that among adults who consider themselves to be untalented or unmusical, childhood experiences of this kind [i.e., being told to mouth the words] are a very common phenomenon indeed. Significantly, people who as children encountered such experiences are likely to report them only as evidence of their own complete nonmusicality: "I'm so bad, why, I couldn't even make the third grade glee club." The point here is that these persons' nonmusicality was socially developed in the context of social power relationships in which they were at an insuperable disadvantage. (p. 77)

Davies (1989) has described what children do to construct the self and where they fit in these polarized positions as "category maintenance.... Children ensure that the categories of person, as they are coming to understand them, are maintained as meaningful categories in their own actions and the actions of those around them" (p. 18). In musical terms then, children evaluate the talk and the actions of those around them and make certain decisions about who is musical and who is not. And one of the chief cultural constructs which is used to differentiate the one group over the other is this notion of "talent."

The identification of "talent" as a cultural construct can be attested to by anthropologists who have studied music-making in other cultures. In his study of the Anang Ibibio of Nigeria, Messenger (1958) reported that

we were constantly amazed at the musical abilities displayed by these people, especially by the children who, before the age of five, can sing hundreds of songs both individually and in choral groups and, in addition, are able to play several percussion instruments and have learned dozens of intricate dance movements calling for incredible muscular control. We

searched in vain for the "non-musical" person, finding it difficult to make inquiries about tone deafness and its assumed effects because the Anang language possesses no comparable concept. (p. 20)

In contrast, the idea of "not being able to carry a tune in a bucket" is "for many people [in our culture] an unexamined given of everyday social experience, rather than being viewed as a particular characteristic of Western society" (Kingsbury, 1988, p. 62). Yet Campbell (1998), in her research on the music-making of American children found that "music emerges from children...music is a childhood constant" (p. 168). It is only as children grow that others' judgments of their voices cause them to be silenced because they don't measure up to the performance standards we valorize in the entertainment industry.

And so, as Campbell (1998) concluded:

sadly, it is fashionable in most western cultures to pay tribute to the musically elite minority who are tagged early on as "talented" and then tracked and provided with the training that others cannot have. Children who at the outset of their training do not fit the mold of what a gifted musician should possess are then given minimal stimulation in the schools, often not a great deal more than this thing called "exposure" (the result of a half hour's worth of group music instruction given once weekly—about twenty hours¹³⁰ of music in an average school year). (p. 170)

When music programs operate sporadically in schools with meagre resources and poorly trained generalist teachers or specialists who seem to target the "gifted," they reproduce stereotypical beliefs about the elite, talented few who get special training through private instruction and the untalented majority who are not musically inclined and don't merit serious consideration.

Early in elementary school students get the idea from music

¹³⁰ In contrast, a pamphlet by the Coalition for Music Education in Canada (1995a) entitled *Becoming Informed: Questions for Parents to Ask* stated that "a successful music program requires a minimum 80-120 minutes of classroom instruction each week," which is four times the typical amount cited by Campbell (1998).

specialists that not everyone is going to understand music and that they don't have the time to help those who are struggling. Robin, one of the participants in my research, was one such student. She was keenly interested in music and had developed a sensitivity to and love for music through dance lessons which she took as a child. She also enjoyed singing. A theoretical understanding of music was lacking in her education however, and she seemed to feel behind other students in this regard. Even when I assured her that every question she asked in ME 204 was welcome she continued to preface her inquiries with: "This may be a silly question but..." During our interview, when I asked Robin about these insecurities regarding music she said:

I guess that goes back to the fact that I still feel that my questions are something I should already know. But I'm starting to realize that if I don't ask I'm not going to learn.

Int: I suppose that's related to the story you told me [when you were] back in grade 4 and you already thought that you were behind.

Robin: Oh yeah. I've always felt like I'm struggling.

Slowly Robin's confidence began to increase as she began to grasp musical concepts in a theoretical way. She also began to play the recorder and the piano and subsequently continued with a piano course in our department.

After finishing her course work that semester Robin did a practicum in a grade 5 class and together with her sponsor teacher, in a two-week period, they organized a class performance of *The Sound of Music*. After watching the movie, students wrote the dialogue, cast the parts, learnt the songs, constructed the sets, and put on the production for parents and other classes in the school. Robin thoroughly enjoyed this experience and related the following story in our conversation:

It was so nice to hear grade 5's sing. They have such beautiful voices at that age, both boys and girls. Sometimes they were a bit shy... but they got over that. I got to direct the actual singing, the highs, the lows, the holding—that was really neat to do. I, for once, got to do something like that [said with a

sense of pride and accomplishment]. Then I got a nice little compliment in the staff room afterwards. One of the teachers said, "It's a good thing that you and Lance got together" (that's the sponsor teacher I was with). I said, "Yeah, he's incredible." And he said, "It's not often that you get both teachers who are musically inclined. And I laughed and said, "Well actually I'm not." And he said, "Oh yes you are." And I said, "I've just been taking courses you know." And he said, "You directed them and they understood it. They changed their voices—I couldn't do that." And I went, "Oh yes you could." (RO, p. 8)

Robin had learned a lot through her music education courses and had developed some confidence to believe that she could in fact guide students in their musical learning. Yet she still didn't consider herself to be musical, even when someone else acknowledged her ability. Robin attributed her success to "courses" and seemed to imply that her newly acquired skills are somehow inferior to those who have a "natural gift" for it. Yet interestingly enough, she tried to convince this teacher that he could be musical too (in other words that musical understanding could be acquired) when he didn't consider himself to have this ability. Robin has learned well what our society has taught her—that musical talent is only bestowed on a few at birth, and the rest of the population may enjoy music at some level, but they cannot measure up to the gifted minority.

Certainly the media supports this perception. When Jann Arden came to Victoria to sing at the Harbour Festival in 1998, a full page picture and article headlined the Arts section of the *Times Colonist* (Devlin). The title read: "Jann's Ardor: You Just Are a Musician You Don't Become One." In the body of the article, Jann is quoted as saying "Young people always ask me how to become a musician," and I tell them, "You just are one, you don't become one" (p. F7). The implication here is that since talent is something you are born with, no amount of education or desire will make you successful as a performer (even though the article also refers to the hard work of musicians).

The theme of this section has been the few versus the many, and specifically how professionals with talent are the ones in society whose

musical contribution is valued in comparison with the silenced majority. This bifurcation is reproduced in schools, at the hands of the music professionals themselves who are complicit in constructing their own value as elite, talented performers over the general population who presumably lack inborn ability, skill, and discipline. A further example of this belief was related by Randy, one of the participants in this research:

Grade 7 at that school didn't [have music] because they had a music specialist there and the specialist was under the impression that it was just a waste of time because it was too hard keeping them focussed. It was just easier to go up and work on computers, go up and work on that skill than it was to bring them down and try to get them involved in something with beat or rhythm and capture their interest and keep them from screwing around. He felt at grade 6 it was hard to teach them and by grade 7 they were gone. Their interest was gone, in learning the foundations of music, the theoretical considerations. He didn't have time for it.

Int: So there was a music specialist in the school but he just decided not to teach music to grade 7?

Randy: Right, he taught up to grade 6 and in grade 7 they did computers.

Int: And there was no band program?

Randy: No. They had a really nice room there too. Good equipment and everything. Just couldn't keep everybody interested. (RA, p. 13)

In this case, the specialist simply gave up on the musical development of the general student population in grade 7, acquiescing to computer skill development because it was easier to teach and presumably of more utilitarian value to those who didn't seem to have musical ability.

Carl Seashore and his tests for musical aptitude have been influential in perpetuating the belief that only a limited number of people have musical ability. Until recently, his measure of musical talent (Seashore, 1919) was used extensively to sort students according to their "innate" musical ability for participation in performance programs in

schools and entrance to university schools of music.¹³¹ According to Frances (1988), Seashore believed that "acuity stabilized in childhood and remained constant in spite of practice" and therefore a greater degree of success could be achieved by training those who had a natural propensity for it (p. 31).¹³² This kind of reasoning perpetuates the belief that only a few have musical ability and are worthy of training. But such reasoning is not applied to other subjects. Imagine screening students for mathematics and then only teaching math to students who have a natural propensity for it. How ridiculous.

Our Western notions of talent then are exclusive and reinforce the assumption that music is only for the few while the bulk of society sits passively in the audience. We name the "best" as "stars" and heap adulation of god-like stature on their heads. This practice feeds into the Western value of individualism, and as well, capitalism is served by the marketability of the stars and the industry that develops around them. But what do these practices do to the majority in society? From my 30 odd years of experience teaching music, I would say that Western society's concept of "talent," coupled with our prolific use of the word to denote the privileged, is one of the most destructive practices in our society that discourages the majority from active musical participation. I urge my education students to avoid the word completely, as such categorizations are particularly debilitating in the school environment.

For example, Asmus (1985, 1986), found that *young* school children cited ability and effort most often as reasons why students succeed in music (1986, p. 264). Young children believe that if they try hard enough, they will succeed (p. 275). But by early adolescence, when students have been sufficiently socialized by teachers and other students

¹³¹ These 6 tests measure one's ability to differentiate pitch, loudness, rhythm, time, timbre and tonal memory (Lehman, 1968). For example the pitch test requires subjects to identify whether the second tone in a pair of pitches is higher or lower than the first. In testing rhythmic sensitivity, the subject is asked to identify whether a second rhythmic pattern is the same or different from the first. In a timbre test, the subject is asked to judge whether 2 tones in a pair are of the same or different tone quality and so forth. Seashore insisted that aural acuity was analogous to visual acuity and that the capacity of the sensory organs were subject to both physiological limits and cognitive limits.

¹³² Seashore's conclusions were based on a study of 25 children who were passively exposed to auditory training without feedback.

to see things differently, they shift from effort-related attributions to success in music to ability-related attributions (p. 275). In other words, children's evolving ideas about talent and innate ability structure, to a large extent, their reasons for pursuing music in the classroom (Asmus, 1986; Nicholls 1984).

Talent, then is a cultural construct that creates subject and object positions. In Western society, those who are labelled "talented" are positioned as the privileged few who then claim the right to make music on behalf of the rest of society. The "non-musical" are relegated to the role of passive on-lookers as the marginalized "other." World-wide, we know of other cultures where *all* people enjoy music-making, yet Western society persists in its elitist view of musical ability as an inherited birthright.

Rarefied Musical Knowledge

Just as written languages are thought to denote cultures of intellectual superiority, so too, cultures which have developed complex symbolic systems for representing music have deemed their music to be intellectually superior. This difference reflects the literacy/orality dualism at work. Western Art music has been celebrated as superior for this reason while musics that are orally transmitted are generally marginalized. The epistemological difference here revolves around the modernistic illusion of the author as a autonomous creator who can fix meaning and author knowledge independently. Individual composers are enshrined as geniuses, and their works are presented as timeless and aesthetically pure. Meaning is thought to reside totally in the work, purified from any external references to the particular place and time in which it was created. Reimer (1989) echoed this assessment when he said: "The better the work of art, the more it transcends its time of creation and is relevant to human experience in general" (p. 142).

Citron (1993) reported that the larger-than-life Romantic notion of the composer included the idea that he was a divine agent who inspired awe. He inhabited the "sublime and as such...[was] distanced from the trivialities of daily existence" (p. 113). Thus authorship "takes on a kind

of disembodied form beyond social specificity" (p. 113). On the other hand, works of art that are socially constructed and communal, are discounted as music of lesser quality and unworthy of serious study.¹³³

Folk music, sometimes called the music of the people, is one of the musics that is marginalized because of this difference in valuing. It does not claim to have definite authorship, as the music is passed down from one generation to the next. Zuckerkandl (1973) eloquently described the general "snobbery" that exists around the term "folk music":

the term is not simply one of classification; it also expresses a value judgment. Beyond the boundary it establishes lies something lesser, no more than a primitive model, a humble seed, showing no trace of the splendour of the organism when fully developed. Occasional expeditions to this lowly region may turn up valuable finds, and in times of crisis it may lure us into an ephemeral return to nature. But the "real" music, the embodiment of truth and value, lies on this side of the boundary. Here, and only here, in composed masterworks, does music reveal its true essence and full range. (p. 14)

In contrast, "serious" music is highly lexicalized, and so, individuals undertaking "serious" musical study are schooled in the classical canon of Western art music. In our conservatories and schools of music, this canon reigns supreme (Roberts, 1991; Detels, 1999). Roberts (1991b) further related that the

association with other genres or types of music can be viewed, from the perspective of status, as the collection of negative points. Whereas one concert performance of classical music outside the university would elevate one's

¹³³ There are exceptions to this kind of valuing. For example, when I lived on the Miramichi in New Brunswick, I noticed that folk music was revered above all other kinds of music. When the locals found out I taught music, they wanted to know whether I played by sight or by ear. They valued playing by ear more highly and couldn't understand why anyone would bother learning to read music if they could play by ear. A second exception is that as multiculturalism is highly valued in schools today, culturally diverse music is more important in the music curriculum than it used to be. Several educators have appealed for more inclusiveness in school music, among them are Small, 1977, 1998; Shepherd, 1991; Shepherd and Wicke, 1997; Green, 1988; Reimer, 1989, 1997; and Campbell, 1991.

status considerably, one rock concert performance by an otherwise serious musician would call into question one's whole seriousness about music altogether. (p. 63)

The canon of Western art music acknowledges music in the European tradition composed by white middle to upper class professional men. Here, forever enshrined as musical geniuses, are the timeless giants—Bach, Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann, Mendelssohn, and so on. Citron (1993) identified the immense power of valuation that canonicity perpetuates. "The canon" she said, "creates a narrative of the past and a template for the future" (p. 1). Bergeron (1992) also referred to the authority invested in a canon and likened trained scholars in a particular field to "rehabilitated prisoners" who learn how to negotiate their field of scholarship by not committing crimes (p. 5). The canon provides the model to imitate and thus maintains certain standards of excellence within the repertoire.

Of particular importance to canonicity is the musical score and the authority with which it is invested (Kingsbury, 1988). The authenticity of a particular edition is of utmost importance to performers and musicologists. Indeed an important focus in musicology has been "the enterprise of researching the manuscripts and original publications of the important composers, and publishing editions that are faithful to the thus legitimized and authenticated texts" (p. 88). However, the importance of the score and the definitive authorship it represents indicates an historical shift, for up until the end of the 18th century, Western European music was a performer's art. According to Elliot (1995),

because the conditions of their employment required a steady stream of adaptable music, composers frequently combined original, reworked, and borrowed musical ideas in the form of incomplete scores and parts that they or their fellow performers would fill in on the spot during performances. (p. 24)

As well, "improvisation remained an important part of the musician's training and subsequent performance activity" (Campbell, 1989, p. 37).

Composers at that time did not envision their scores as precisely notated permanent records. But as more and more musicians became independent creators of art, establishing economic independence from guild restrictions and ecclesiastical and aristocratic patrons, music emerged as a “non-functional, commodity-based art” (Elliot, 1995, p. 24).

By the early 19th century composers were revered as divinely inspired geniuses whose works were to be faithfully reproduced according to the notated score. The history of music was soon to be framed by the life spans and careers of the giants who were professional composers. Orality had been superseded by literacy as

the primary means of transmission of music from person to person over time and distance. With the fading of the oral tradition of music learning went also the emphasis on improvisation. Music became a recreative rather than a creative venture, and the performer was seen as a communicator of the composer’s—rather than his own—ideas. (Campbell, 1989, p. 37).

Small (1987) suggested that the rising value of the composer over the performer and improvisation “has played its part in the decline of creative energy in the classical tradition which can be seen and heard around us today” (p. 309). Further, Small (1987) indicated that “there is a direct relationship between the strength of, and the respect given to, a tradition of improvisation (or “playing”) and the health of the musical culture in general” (p. 309).

Reliance on notation revolutionized the practice of music-making in the West and set the stage for valuing formalized, functionless, and aesthetic forms of music as contained in the Western art musical canon. This valuing resulted in a shift away from informal performances that were grounded in social, moral, and political expression. “Reproduction” becomes the accepted model of musical practice.

The reliance on historical canons as the primary way we understand the arts has resulted “in a neglect of questions about the meaning and connection of the arts to life” (Detels, 1999, p. 37). Emphasis on the performance of canonical works *underplays* “the

meaning and function of artworks and artistic practices for the artists and their cultures, instead emphasizing mainly technical issues of form, style, and technique" (Detels, 1999, p. 37). The experience of music with its social, spiritual, and political meanings has been discounted in favour of music as the performance art of professionals. This elitist way of valuing music has not served us well in establishing the worth and value of music in the school system and in life generally.

Music educators, in their advocacy efforts, often use statements like "Music for all" or "Music allows us to express what it means to be human." Yet in practice we tell another story. The "lived experience" for most students in the school system, musically speaking, is extremely elitist. A focus on creating performers and identifying the "talented" few feeds the star mentality and distances the majority from personal music-making. If students were encouraged to make their own music rather than always playing what someone else has written, they could enjoy the creative aspects of music.

In summary then, music specialists seek credibility in education by framing music in mathematical and linguistic terms to comply with the writing-dominated world view of intelligence in schools. Music, as with other alternative ways of knowing, has been marginalized by the dominant discourses of schools and sidelined or "controlled" by being pushed into the realm of the "extra-curricular."

What ground we gain by intellectualizing music and upholding the status quo works against us in the public's view. The extraordinary level of specialization in music education today, both at the secondary and tertiary levels, has produced an isolation which has created an "ever-widening gap between arts specialists and the public.... [This] in turn [has] been devastating to public understanding and support for education in the arts" (Detels, 1999, p. 120).

The ability to read and understand the mysterious symbol system we call music is regarded as "special knowledge," of little practical value in the 21st century. In terms of subjectivity, music is the "other" compared to the core subjects in the school curricula, yet elitist and "subject" to the public as "other." This construction of music promotes

an exclusivity that keeps the profession elitist and separates the expertise of music specialists from the rest of society. As Green (1988) says:

the dominance of an elite musical institution...[is maintained by] propagating the appearance that there is a musical mass which, along with its profane products, is not really very musical. Hence a complex and multifarious division is created and maintained between...elite and mass musical styles to which these modes correspond. (p. 11)

Specialization also creates a "subject" identity for the music specialist, and an "object" identity for the classroom teacher. As previously mentioned, many classroom teachers are uncomfortable teaching music. Upitis (1995) reported that "many are mystified by the teaching of music, afraid to show themselves as unmusical, and simply cannot conceive how another curriculum demand can be added to their already overloaded day" (p. 29). The degree to which music specialists can continue to construct themselves and what they do as special, will be the degree to which they can secure their positions. According to Bresler (1998),

there were more specialists teaching music, relative to the other arts. When given the option to choose a specialist in one subject area, music was the number one choice: classroom teachers felt less secure in teaching music, as compared, for example, with teaching the visual arts. (p. 4)

A good part of generalist teachers' discomfort with music is related to their inability to understand music's symbol system and extensive terminology. The specialized language of music makes the curriculum guides unintelligible. For example, one of the participants in my research said: "I find the IRP (Integrated Resource Package) so difficult. As a beginning teacher I think it's a nightmare" (IV, p. 14). But difficulty with the language of music is not limited to educators.

The terminology of music is even thought to deter people from attending the symphony. A full page article in the *Times Colonist* called, "Learning the ABCs of the Symphony" began with the following in large

type:

The new Symphony season is fast approaching and, based on what you heard at "Test Drive the Symphony" or perhaps the Splash, you think you really might rather enjoy a symphony concert, but for one thing. The language. What are all those people talking about with their allegros and adagios? (Barker, 1998, p. B1)

Thus, the language of music is one way that music retains its exclusivity. Both the symbolic system of notation and the terminology in English and Italian act as a gatekeeper to cordon off an area of special knowledge that indicates superior status.

Recapitulation

Traditional learning is based on our shared understanding of the distinct roles of teachers and students. Teachers are in the power positions, guardians of knowledge that they then impart selectively and partially to students. Certain constructions in society contribute to this understanding, dualistic constructions such as professional/amateur, specialist/generalist, talented/untalented, and literacy/orality.

Although specialization has served a crucial role in the advancement of knowledge since the Renaissance, it has also become a potentially destructive force when specialists become so narrowly focused within their disciplines that they lose the ability to communicate their knowledge to others. But further than this, many have *lost the desire to communicate their knowledge and expertise to others*. As Heather, one of the participants in my research commented:

I think elitism comes with mastery. When you master something I think there's two levels to it. Either you master it and you know you're good at it, and you want people to challenge you, to dare you. And then there's the other ones who realize they're gifted at something and are thankful for it. [Their attitude is] "Can I help you be as good as me?" In music I think you'll find more people with the "challenge me" attitude. "Let me show you how good I am." And then you'll get a couple

other people who will say "Let me show you how I did that."
(HE, p. 18)

In other words, when specialization becomes self-serving and only solidifies the difference between the few and the many, then surely its usefulness in education is questionable.

Music education seems to be primarily concerned with maintaining the status quo and preserving the Eurocentric values of the past. As well, we make sure that students understand there is a right way to make music and that we, as the experts, are in charge of doing it right. When music continues to be about reproducing someone else's music, and the composers we revere represent a different time, age, gender, social class, and race than our students, then we only reaffirm students' position as "other" in deference to acceptable musical practice.

This exploration of the teacher/student dualism has shown how the teacher is subject to the student, particularly in the role of expert. Most of us who have had post secondary music education are familiar with the traditional approach. As Wiggins (1996) suggested:

we are accustomed to certain kinds of music making, where there is someone in charge and an assumption that *that* someone will be making all the decisions about the nature of the performance. We accept and expect that leadership. (p. 26)

In turn, this is primarily the way we teach unless we have very deliberately attempted to shift the balance of power. Musical independence will only be achieved when students are give some of the control.

As a profession, Wiggins (1996) has also suggested that we have "deeply rooted beliefs about who has the right to initiate musical ideas and what children need to know first in order to earn the right to do so" (p. 26). This is an elitist approach that blocks creativity and reduces music to imitation. If we believe that music is essential to every child's education then not allowing all to create their own music would be like saying children can't eat at the table because their table manners aren't perfect yet. Children still need to eat even if they don't yet know the

nutritive value of the food or exactly how to eat artfully. Similarly, children need to eat music—inwardly digest its sound and how the various elements all fit together. This can be done much more effectively and holistically when creating music, not reproducing it.

How might we challenge these oppositional positions? How can teachers relinquish some of their power to give students more autonomy and control over learning? How might students experience learning as a process in which they are more intimately involved? According to Dewey (1964), students thrive when given “the power to act and to execute independent of external tutelage” (1964, p. 256). Learning is facilitated when the teacher functions less obtrusively as a mentor. Less interruption by the teacher may even help students experience “flow.” The research of Csikszentmihalyi, Rathunde, and Whalen (1993) showed that students identified teachers who encourage optimal experience as those who had a “sense of timing and pace, an understanding of when to intervene and when to hold back, of how to turn mistakes into information that can lead to improvement” (p. 187).

When students only experience knowledge presented to them fully formed, they have no concept of a learning curve. Learning must be grounded in an exploration of students’ knowledge that allows time for integration and experimentation. Part of the process is an acceptance that so-called “mistakes” are important opportunities for more learning. What students seem to have learned from school is that mistakes are to be avoided at all costs. Nachmanovitch (1990) suggested that mistakes can be powerful opportunities to hone our best work: “The troublesome parts of our work, the parts that are most baffling and frustrating, are in fact the growing edges. We see these opportunities the instant we drop our preconceptions and our self-importance” (p. 92). Surely this is an important lesson, not only for musical learning but for learning that is valuable in all of life. Musical learning can “serve as the foundation for the metaphorical exploration of life” (Heuser, 2001, p. 57).

Learning in this way transforms curriculum from a planned experience to a living experience. According to Jorgensen (1997):

Curriculum is not just a set of topics that the teacher sets

out and reviews during the instructional process...it is a dialogue between teacher and student—and student and student—that is invested with meaning for all concerned. Students' interests, abilities, and ideas are enlisted in what becomes a life-changing process charged with intrinsic meaning rather than characterized by extrinsic rewards and products. (p. 81)

Part of the difference that is being described here is an ontological one. Where does knowledge exist? In schools, knowledge is traditionally "owned" by the teacher who decides in advance what the class will learn, according to her own interests and the curricular guidelines. Before knowledge is presented to the class, it has been "packaged" in a lesson plan and is presented "fully-formed" so to speak. In other words, knowing occurs before speaking.¹³⁴ But what other possibilities exist? That is, could we not also consider how knowledge is formed *through* speaking? Through conversation teacher and students can participate together in the creation of knowledge. This involves "saying before knowing,"¹³⁵ and involves students in the creation of knowledge. I am reminded of Belenky, Clinchy, Golberger and Tarule's (1986) concept of the teacher as midwife. They suggest that "midwife-teachers focus not on their own knowledge (as the lecturer does) but on the students' knowledge. Teachers contribute when needed, but it is always clear that the baby is not theirs but the student's" (p. 218). These are some examples of ontological alternatives that would work to destabilize the oppositional roles of teacher and student. The final chapter will make further suggestions for disrupting the power imbalance in the teacher/student dualism and breathing life into the planned curriculum.

¹³⁴ See "Mary's Voice: Knowing and Saying: Metaphors and Fragments" (Rivkin, 1991).

¹³⁵ An approach to use in the classroom to get this working is to wonder outloud. For example the following question could apply to any concept: "I wonder what would happen if...?"

6

MUSIC: RESONANCE FOR LIFE

Final Reflection

One of my objectives in this research has been to make visible the body of practices that construct our musical world in particular ways. This web of signifying practices supports and maintains the values inherent in the dominant ideology. Included in these values are many dualistic beliefs that legitimate certain practices and marginalize others. My hope is that this research might awaken in all of us a desire to explore more fully the potential of the marginalized “other” as well as other generative possibilities previously left unexplored. As outlined in chapter 2, I have interpreted selected texts that work to shape what we understand about music and music education. This analysis has made visible some of the social constructions that we take up and enact in daily life, often without conscious awareness. Primarily these constructions are understood and circulated in society through language, positionality, and representation. The way I have chosen to get at the oppositional forces at work in society is to identify dualisms. These polarized constructions form invisible foundations or pillars that construct our reality in particular ways. An exploration of these polarities then, is crucial to make clear what values are circulated and reproduced in society and how dominant and marginalized groups handle these differences. Sometimes both dominant and marginalized groups

reconstruct the discourse in order to change public perception.

This work is an interpretation, woven together with the voices of others. Our stories not only transmit information but also speak to the social order in community and how we, as individuals, fit into that order. Each situation that is described, each experience that is lived, provides us with multiple constructions of reality from particular points of view, locations, genders, classes, and so forth. Knowledge is "situated" from the actual lived encounters of people with other people and therefore constitutes a plurality of possible meanings.

Exploring the plurality of musical meanings as they are constructed in society has been a neglected area of scholarship in music education. Yet such understanding is fundamental if we seek to effect change. The precarious position of music in education should alert us to the need for some serious soul-searching. Certainly as professionals, music educators need to interact more with the broader community of education researchers and work to articulate what it is we are trying to accomplish through music education.

What do we want to teach about music? What do we hope students will learn? How are we personally complicit in representing music in particular ways, in reproducing the status quo in the classroom, and in turn reproducing the injustices people experience in wider society? Do we as teachers reinforce the stereotypes or do we work to dislodge them? Do we provide alternative models? Do we look beyond our own discipline to get a sense of the world as it is portrayed in other value systems? Do we consider how our own practice might be enhanced by challenging some of the stereotypical beliefs? How do we present knowledge in the classroom? Is it so tied up and polished that no student would dare question its authenticity? This research will, I hope, work to raise the consciousness of teachers by providing an alternative to psychological studies, an alternative that seeks to understand the marginalized place of music in education through discourse analysis.

One of my objectives has been to provide the groundwork for a possible disruption and challenge to the mechanisms that serve to maintain the status quo. How can these grand dualistic constructions be

destabilized and interrupted? Specifically, I would like to revisit the 3 major dualisms presented in the forgoing chapters and describe what might be possible if these fixed positions were destabilized. How could music education be more vibrant and living—providing resonance for life—if we disrupted stereotypical notions of male/female, work/play, and teacher/student as polar opposites? Is there a third place of possibility where the best of both worlds could co-habitate musically speaking? What are the possibilities that might expand our notions of music education to include more people?

Before developing these ideas more fully, I would like to explore briefly what others have said about a “Third Space” of possibility. Perhaps best known for articulating this concept in cultural terms is post-colonial literary scholar, Homi Bhabha. Bhabha (1994) pointed to a “Third Space” of possibility as an alternative to multicultural policies that are the norm in Western societies. According to Bhabha (1990), multicultural policies, as administered by the dominant culture, encourage cultural diversity as a kind of “connoisseurship” where the host culture acknowledges other cultures “only eventually to transcend them and render them transparent” (p. 208).¹³⁶ Diversity is contained by the dominant culture, and racism is still rampant. Bhabha’s (1990) alternative notion of “hybridity” is a “Third Space” where other possibilities might emerge:

I try to talk about hybridity through a psychoanalytic analogy, so that identification is a process of identifying with and through another object, an object of otherness, at which point the agency of identification—the subject—is itself always ambivalent, because of the intervention of the otherness. But the importance of hybridity is that it bears the traces of those feelings and practices which inform it, just like a translation, so that hybridity puts together the traces of certain other meanings or discourses. (p. 211)

Bhabha suggests that “by exploring this Third Space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of ourselves” (1994, p. 39).

¹³⁶ For a discussion of Canadian multicultural policies and music education see Morton (2000).

The promise of this perspective, as I see it, is its blurring of subject and object positions—its disruption of hierarchical relationships where one is in control and the other is controlled. The hybridity of a generative “Third Space” encourages us to own “otherness” as parts of ourselves.

This concept is particularly valuable when trying to disrupt the polarized constructions in dualisms. As expressed in chapter 2, dualisms are asymmetrical power relations which legitimize the dominant discourse over marginalized discourses that are subordinated by it. Indeed, the “otherness” of the marginalized is used to define the exclusive identity of the dominant category. Being male, for example, is defined as not being female. In other words, “women and gay men become the ‘other’ against which heterosexual men project their identities” (Kimmel, 1999, p. 121). Since women are characterized as emotional, men prove their masculinity by being unemotional. Since women have traditionally been economically dependent, men prove their masculinity by creating wealth. And so it goes. According to Rutherford (1990), in dualistic categorizations,

the centre expels its anxieties, contradictions, and irrationalities onto the subordinate term, filling it with the antithesis of its own identity; the Other, in its very alienness, simply mirrors and represents what is deeply familiar to the centre, but projected outside itself. It is in these processes and representations of marginality that the violence, antagonisms and aversions become manifest—racism, homophobia, misogyny, and class contempt are the products of this frontier. (p. 22)

Thus, dualisms represent “deep structures of prejudice, contempt and aversion [that] characterise the response of the centre to the marginal,” resulting in an experience of subordination for many that includes men’s violence against women, the oppression and abuse of children, racism, and so forth (Rutherford, 1990, p. 23). Our post-modern world is rife with divisions where “self” projects its identity against the “other” and creates isolation and displacement. “Not belonging” is endemic in our culture and “our struggles for identity and a sense of personal cohesion

and intelligibility are centred on this threshold between interior and exterior, between self and other" (Rutherford, 1990, p. 24).

How is Bhabha's concept of "hybridity" and a "Third Space" different from the polarized, oppositional constructions in Western dualistic thought? In this construction both categories or groupings are acknowledged as having value. In fact, Bhabha suggests that a generative "Third Space" involves recognizing ourselves in others. To relate this concept to my research, I am attempting to move into a "Third Space" of creative possibility that embraces the difference in male/female, work/play, and teacher/student and opens up new alternatives. I am not advocating a reversal in the relationships that currently exist, so that females dominate males, play is valued over work, and students are valued over teachers. Rather, a hybrid "Third Space" would recognize value in both ways of being and use this understanding to inform and generate other possibilities. For example, in the variety of expressions that constitute maleness and femaleness, could we recognize and value ways of being that are distinctly human, regardless of gender? Regarding work and play, could we embrace the value of both and consider how the two might effectively merge rather than be understood as oppositional? Similarly, in the roles of teacher and student, could we value both perspectives and ferret out how each could inform the other?

It is interesting to note that other scholars who have taken up the discourse of a generative "Third Space" have often come from curriculum studies. Smith (1996), for example, wrestled with a middle space between East and West and between the values inherent in each of these traditions. Issues of identity, which involve our notions of "Self" and "Other" and which more aptly show themselves as "Self against the Other," are identified as sites of struggle (p. 9). Jardine (1992), as well, described a "Third Space" although ambivalent and uncertain, as a space of generative possibilities. Why does this notion of a Third Space seem to appeal to educators?

Aoki (1996) observed that, "the word *curriculum* is yearning for new meanings. It feels choked, out of breath, caught in a landscape wherein 'curriculum' as master-signifier is restricted to planned curriculum with

all its supposed, splendid instrumentalism" (p. 14). Curriculum, as understood in schools, is the planned, the authorized, the compulsory, the homogeneous approach to learning that must be measured incrementally. And if the learning can be measured by means of provincial standardized testing, then it is all the more legitimized. Live(d)¹³⁷ curriculum, on the other hand, is the living experience of teaching and learning. There is a presence in such experiences, sometimes referred to as "teachable moments" when students and teacher move together into new territory that emerges out of the planned curriculum but is in some ways a surprise. This is a generative space which breathes life into learning. Aoki (1996) has called on fine arts educators to "offer inspiration and leadership in the promising work of creating a new landscape wherein 'live(d) curricula' can become a legitimated signifier" (p. 14).

I have taken up Aoki's challenge by exploring the possibilities for a "Third Space" as it applies to music education and this research in particular. The "Third Space" I would like to explore here relates specifically to the dualistic constructions that have been the primary focus of this study, namely, male/female, work/play, and teacher/student. Table 3 on the following page is a summary of how these limiting categorizations might be opened up. These generative possibilities are foundational to a construction of "Music for Living" rather than "Music as Art." As well, Table 3 relates these points to the dualisms that have been analysed in this research. The column on the left, which describes our understanding of "Music as Art" represents the dualisms in full force. In other words, the construction of "Music as Art" maintains the status quo. The column on the right, which lists points that might contribute to our understanding of "Music for Living" is an attempt to disrupt the oppositional categories of the dualism and create a generative "Third Space." The same colour coding applies as in Figure 1: the points that relate to the male/female dualism are outlined in red; the points that relate to the work/play dualism are in blue, and the points that relate to the teacher/student dualism are in green. Once

¹³⁷ Aoki (1996) uses this particular writing of the word "live(d)" to denote both "live" experiences which are ongoing, and "lived" experiences which are in the past.

Table 3. Two Constructions of Musical Experience

Status Quo Music as Art . . .	"Third Space" Music for Living . . .
1. values its distance from extra-musical associations, as it is believed to transcend the social and cultural	1. values and explores music's connectedness with real life, its situatedness in the social and cultural
2. values divided experience where spectators maintain "psychic distance" from both the music and the performers	2. values embodied music-making experiences, particularly singing and dancing, in a community of active participants
3. renounces emotional self-expression and objectifies/reconstructs it as artistic expression	3. is grounded in emotional expression. Music is understood as a form of communication, both individually and collectively
4. values the end product – the quality of the performance	4. values the process, the experience of music-making
5. has autonomous value. "Music as Art" preserves culture and is valued as functionless.	5. is a functional, living expression of culture and cannot be separated from it
6. is highly lexicalized and intellectualized	6. may be oral or written
7. values the contributions of the specially trained	7. values the contributions of all

Red - Male/Female Dualism, Blue - Work/Play Dualism
Green - Teacher/Student Dualism

again, this designation does not represent the limit of the force of the dualism, but indicates where in particular it has considerable power.

***Authentic Personhood (male/female)*¹³⁸**

Chapter 3 developed in detail the feminized construction of music as an object of sensual pleasure, as emotion, as nature, as divine, and as evil. I also unravelled how music is reconstructed in masculine terms to try and gain credibility in the educational system. This attempt to legitimize includes intellectualizing music, concentrating on reading and writing notation, reconstructing sensual pleasure as aesthetic pleasure, distancing music from emotion, and reconstructing music as a servant of the dominant discourses.

This research has made me much more aware of how fundamental gender is to our concept of "self" and "other" and how gender difference structures almost everything we do. Davies' (1993) assertion that gender construction is a "first principle" in society "on which much else rests" is by no means overstating the point (p. 8). As children begin to construct their gendered identities in the pre-adolescent and adolescent years, they are keenly aware of what constitutes acceptable behaviour for males and females. Everywhere in the media the messages are loud and clear. Females are valued for being beautiful (in a very narrowly defined sense), sexy, and sexually available. As well, women are valued as caretakers—not only in a physical sense by cleaning the house, washing clothes, preparing meals and so forth, but also in an emotional way by caring for other people's feelings. The sensitive woman acts as a peacemaker, always deferring to the needs of others. Men, on the other hand, are valued for their strength, independence, objectivity, intellect, and the multiple ways they can demonstrate their power through wealth, position, ownership, and so forth. Maleness is also demonstrated by not being female, in other words, by adhering to a strict set of rules about what not to do so that people will not "get the wrong idea" and judge them as effeminate or gay. The power imbalance in the male/female

¹³⁸ The strike through the male/female dualism here is an attempt to highlight "authentic personhood" as an alternative to the oppositional categorizations of male and female.

dualism also includes demonstrating that males have control over females. And interestingly enough, music is commonly used to sell these gendered images to the youth of the day.

A multidimensional partnership has emerged as music is mixed with a variety of other products to sell values, lifestyles, sexuality, fashion, movies, music, and more. According to Detels (1999), "[i]t is as if advertising and the arts were bound in an unholy marriage in which the arts, like almost everything in our culture, are allowed to serve monetary gain" (p. 7). The mix is deceptive and manipulative; the impact—enormous. Many parents would readily admit that the media have more influence over their children than they do. After all, children are immersed in pop culture for hours each day. Even while walking to school, doing homework, or working out, many young people are wired for sound. It is because of this pervasive influence teachers should be vigilant in exposing music as a gendered cultural commodity so that students will not merely accept everything they hear and see but will begin to question how music is being used to manipulate and influence their behaviour.¹³⁹

For example, I recently watched, by accident not design, the VHI Vogue Fashion Awards on television. This production is one of the multifaceted collaborations that uses music to promote a variety of cultural commodities. The show was interspersed with musical presentations by such high profile stars as Mick Jagger and Mariah Carey. I say "presentations" because what they did was more than sing. Jagger presented the macho image of aggression and power, while Carey exuded the stereotypical model of the tempting seductress.

The "categories" for the awards included an eclectic mix such as model of the year, designer of the year, video of the year, "fresh face" of the year, leading man and leading woman of the year, best dressed TV

¹³⁹ Sexism in pop music is a staple of our culture. Gangsta rap in particular is notorious for its misogynistic lyrics, but other pop songs and videos also treat women as little more than sexual objects to be used and abused—all framed as "entertainment." Will Smith is one of the few rappers who refuses to use music as a vehicle for such degenerate purposes. Gangsta rappers, he says, too often get into "socially degenerate, misogynistic, emotionally destructive concepts that I can't relate to" (cited in "Actor Will Smith," 2001, p. B5).

show and so on. The songs, the clothes, the whole production was immersed in a blatant sexuality that seemed to epitomize (at least for me) how Hollywood is in the business of selling values and lifestyles that actively promote sexism. These gendered images are widely accepted as desirable, especially by youth who are intimately concerned with their own gender construction.

Comedian Jim Carey, one of the winners, openly mocked the importance of receiving such an award, so much so that the audience didn't quite know how to respond. Such media events would certainly make for interesting discussion in the classroom, but music educators have generally spent little time contextualizing musical experiences. This is related, no doubt, to our immersion in Western art music, which is valued precisely for its so-called distance from extramusical associations. I would suggest that a critical analysis of the social and cultural uses of music in society should concern us deeply as educators and be an important part of music education since music is so actively complicit in our gendered understanding of society. Students, as consumers of music, need to be aware of the ways music is used for good or ill, to influence, deceive, manipulate, or benefit us.

Ignoring music's social situatedness in schools keeps us out of touch with the real world. On the contrary, a live(d) experience of music explores music's connectedness with every day experiences, whether positive or negative, and its immersion in a particular social and cultural milieu (see Table 3, p. 263, point 1). In particular, advocates of Western art music, as feminist musicologists such as McClary (1991, 2000) have pointed out, need to face the fact that no music can be "absolute" in the sense that it transcends the social and cultural values in which it was created. In fact, Walker (1998) claimed that "it is the disconnection of music from the socio-political and economic means and purposes of existence in the West that is at the root of the curriculum crisis in which music finds itself within Western education" (p. 56). When music, on the contrary, is situated in live(d) experience, it functions "as living testimonies to our heritage, as well as continued expressions of our spirit, feelings and beliefs, music can put us 'in touch' with ourselves

and our cultures in ways that are crucial to the development of cultural consciousness" (Rose, 1995, p. 44).

Another factor that distinguishes "Music for Living" from "Music as Art" is that as art, music is distanced from real life. "Performance" in this sense is commonly understood as the decontextualized making of music in a public, formalized setting, where it is viewed by an audience. In short, "performance" is used to describe music as entertainment—as a cultural commodity. I wish there was a word for music-making that did not involve the objectifying gaze—a word that conveyed the sanctity of making music that could be public or private, but which is not for sale. I am referring to music-making that has value in a social context, more along the lines of music as it is part of First Nations cultures. Music in this context requires performance—and skill is important to the performance—but the communal experience of the music-making is not to create a public exhibition or spectacle. It has other meanings that give the music significance and power.

"Spectacle" comes from the Latin "*spectaculum*," meaning "public show" (Hoad, 1986, p. 452), and so, perhaps music-making that has important, transformational meanings could be identified as "non-spectare" performances. For example, music performed in church to give voice to communal beliefs has powerful value for those involved. The congregation does not applaud the performers, nor pay to hear them. The music is more than entertainment. Similarly, songs shared in the home between parents and children have interpersonal values, building familial relationships and emotional bonds. These "performances" would be entertaining in the sense that they would be enjoyed by the participants, but this is not their primary value. These experiences are grounded in their social value. Music, when part of everyday experience, breathes life into the ordinary and makes it special.

If music is to be a live(d) experience for all, then we, as music educators, would be wise to consider how we might diffuse the power of the myth that music only supports feminine values. Since gender identity is a critical concern for adolescents, music's alignment with the feminine seriously hinders males' active participation in music. As previously

discussed, schools are important sites where gender positions are taken up. As children struggle with creating an identity for themselves, in order to affirm their value and define who they are, they draw tight boundaries around the fixed positions of male and female. For boys, sport confirms and complements everything they have been taught about what it means to be male. Sport celebrates strength, speed, competition, and aggression. These values mesh with male sexuality. Or put another way, sport produces masculinity. The same is not true for females. Competitive sport interrupts the societal image of femininity, creating disjuncture between woman as a beautiful, passive creature who defers to others, and the so-called masculine attributes in sport of strength, agility, aggressive play, and so forth.

In comparison to the masculine value of sport in school, music, and particularly singing (which is the main focus of elementary music programs), is thought to generally support feminine values. Singing is emotionally expressive, produced in the body, and is linked by association with childhood and intimacy with mother. As part of the "boy code" males are to reject and devalue everything that is deemed feminine (Romaine, 1991). In particular, boys are uncomfortable with "high" singing as they associate it with girls' voices (Phillips, 1995). This association is strengthened when they begin to experience their own voices changing and dropping in pitch as they mature physically. In fact, many researchers claim that the changing male voice is the main reason boys opt out of choral activities (Roe, 1993; Castelli, 1986; Swanson, 1984). However, I would disagree. If society did not equate music with the feminine, and if singing was a valued activity for boys before puberty, then the time it takes for boys' voices to change would only represent a "blip on the screen" so to speak. Boys might temporarily stop singing for fear of embarrassing themselves while their voices change but would return to it once again when the transition was complete. The changing male voice may well be the reason many males give for not continuing in choir or music generally, but is this their real motivation?

The response I often got from the male participants in this research and from conversations with male students in ME 204 was that,

on the surface, they expressed a bravado that indicated they would have continued to take music if they wanted to. They just didn't want to. I would suggest that the cultural pressure to be otherwise engaged in activities that denote masculinity is an underlying, organizing force that few of these males have consciously recognized. This matter could be an important area for further study, with attention given to the social construction of gender identity and its relationship to singing and music practices in general.

If the music teacher is female, which is likely in the elementary school, boys will further react in a negative way, as they experience few women in positions of authority (Weber & Mitchell, 1995). As I have already mentioned, music during the intermediate grades is often sporadic and sometimes entirely left out. Even when music specialists are hired, they sometimes give up on music programs for intermediate students. Time in the computer lab is seen as more valuable in a utilitarian sense and is more easily tolerated by males. Computer technology, as you will recall, represents a male gendered way of processing information while auditory processing is associated with females (Bowers, 1993).¹⁴⁰ As well, visual processing is less demanding than aural processing (Healy, 1998). Female teachers-in-training deserve to know that many of the struggles they will encounter, particularly with intermediate male students, are gendered ones. Understanding how this works gives us, as teachers, power to acknowledge and defuse the stereotypes and expose them for what they are.

As teachers we can emphasize how flawed the assumption is that males who are involved in music are effeminate or gay. Musical experience is valuable for all human beings. Music can help us reach our potential and develop in areas that are not specifically male or female, but are part of what it means to be human. Teachers can provide alternate models that defy the stereotypes. For example, female teachers could invite male musicians into the classroom to perform for students. Another suggestion would be to profile famous individuals who have

¹⁴⁰ Barthes (1977) also aligns the male with discursive language and the female with music.

defied gender stereotypes and have gone on to enjoy successful careers in music and music-related ventures, doing what they love to do. For example, Canadian figure skater Kurt Browning started out playing hockey, but also began figure skating to develop his technique and get more ice time. When he eventually decided to quit hockey in favour of the feminized sport of figure skating, he endured ridicule and sexist slurs, but his story has a wonderful ending. What a marvellous skater he has become, and how sad that may male singers, dancers, and other performers who interpret music quit because they cannot bear the peer pressure.

I want to be clear that I am *not* suggesting that we as music educators “dress up” music in masculine clothes to make it more appealing to boys. For example, from what I have identified as masculine preferences, music could be presented in the following way to appeal more to males—use computers, minimize singing, use jazz rather than classical music, allow the boys to play the drums and other loud percussion instruments whenever possible, give the boys the leadership roles and decision-making tasks, and so forth. Such an agenda does nothing to disrupt the stereotypes but only feeds into them. My goal, although at times using some of these strategies just mentioned, is to flesh out the missing or devalued strands of meaning in musical experience that males have not connected with.

Critical to live(d) musical experience is music-making that is grounded in the body; that is, students should be actively and physically involved in music-making by singing and dancing/moving, and to a lesser extent, playing instruments (refer to Table 3, p. 263, point 2). Remember that some cultures have no separate word for dance: It is included in music-making. Pedagogically then, we should resist substituting recorded music for living musical experiences. Recorded music can be used to complement embodied musical experiences, but not used pervasively to substitute for them.

In fact, I have generally resisted the use of technology in the music classroom. I am convinced, even moreso after this research, that music should be an embodied experience, even though this puts music in

opposition to male conceptions of accepted knowledge and thought and Western scholarship, both of which continues to separate mind and body and malign the latter. In fact, Walker (2000) goes further to suggest that Western thought has developed a musical scholarship that “ignores [my emphasis] the bodily basis of musical meaning” (p. 39). Indeed we live in a

virtuosic culture in which audience and performer seem to inhabit different worlds. We use a system of written transmission that allows us to recreate music from past centuries without experiencing the physical culture that accompanied it and that encourages us to believe that music exists on paper, for us to analyze and to dissect in hopes of fathoming its meaning. (Walker, 2000, p. 39)

This portrayal of music is testament to our heroic efforts to fit music into the dominant discourses of our society, discourses that value the written over the aural and valorize commerce and technology.

Music is intimately connected to the body and to motion as it proceeds through time and space. Many of the terms used for music relate to its movement: its tempi, and many “musical metaphors—rising and falling phrases, building or resolving tension, energetic or relaxed rhythm” attest to music’s groundedness in motion (Walker, 2000, p. 34). As one of the students in Campbell’s (1998) research said: “Nobody should have to sit still when there’s music. It moves and it makes you move” (p. 206). But again, schools mostly ignore this kind of intelligence, which is grounded in the body—even though dance is one of the fine arts disciplines in the British Columbia elementary curriculum. Dance slips through the cracks, “covered,” for example, in the University of Victoria’s elementary education program by the Physical Education department. In spite of the curricular separateness of dance, I regularly use movement in the music classroom and think that the compartmentalization of music and dance is counterproductive. I would also suggest that the devaluing of dance is related to the mind/body dualism that still persists in schools and elevates the workings of the mind over the use of the body.

Bruce Pullan, Lansdowne Visitor at the University of Victoria in

1999, said that he would make "dance" compulsory in teacher education because of the importance he attributed to being able to use the body effectively.¹⁴¹ Indeed, if the effective use of the body and the voice were an integral part of general education surely teachers would be more comfortable in their own skins. Singing and dancing¹⁴² should be the focal points of elementary music programs with emphasis on the use of such experiences to express ourselves as individuals and as communities. Musical meaning occurs both as it becomes a way of expressing who we are as individuals but it also communicates our connectedness as a community.

What community am I talking about? We experience community in our families, our churches, our cultural groups and clubs, but the classroom? Isn't it somehow a counterfeit, artificial grouping? How can we sing about common beliefs, goals, and so forth when we all come from different belief systems? Is the classroom a legitimate place to experience community? I would suggest that it is, and that the sooner we embrace this community, the less we will need to publicly perform music to validate our programs. If class time is used primarily to perfect musical performances for somebody else, aren't we belittling the validity of our own community? Music-making has immediate value right where it is, in the community of the classroom.

I find that the more music in the classroom involves singing and moving, the more students enjoy it and leave the classroom feeling refreshed. As Nachmanovitch (1990) said:

I have never ceased to be astounded at the power of writing, music making, drawing, or dance to pull me out of sadness, disappointment, depression, bafflement. I am not talking about entertainment or distraction, but of playing, dancing, drawing, writing my way through and out. This process resembles the best in psychotherapy. We don't go away and

¹⁴¹ Pullan has been Professor of Music at Western Washington University in Bellingham and Chair of the Department. He is renowned for his work with the Bach Children's Choir in Vancouver and currently is Professor of Choral Conducting at the University of British Columbia.

¹⁴² The word "dance" is rather limiting and unsatisfactory because of its association with recreation, leisure, and set patterns. Movement is a more inclusive term.

avoid the troubling thing, but rather confront it in a new framework. (p. 185)

This is the mystery of cathartic artistic experiences. Having positive embodied musical experiences week after week with pre-service elementary education teachers is the best way I know to encourage the continuation of music in our schools, because pre-service teachers then want their students to have the same transformative experiences they have had.

Such a focus may even help to establish music as central in the schools of the future. Schank and Jona (2000) explored how technology will drive educational change. They suggested that the central role of schools will be to counterbalance the social isolation and alienation people experience from the increased use of computers and television. Web courses will teach the basics, while live teachers will teach subjects that require social interaction. According to Bates (personal communication, June 30, 2000),

[i]f indeed Shank's predictions do come to fruition, it could be great for music education and music educators. It could be great that is, unless we are so successful at establishing music as a "legitimate" and "academic" (information based rather than doing based) subject on par with math, science, language and history, that it can be taught equally well via really good software. However were we to emphasize the social aspects of music and the positive effect music making has on quality of life, then as music educators we just might fill an important function in Schank's school of the future. Ironically, current efforts to make music a "legitimate" and "academic" subject may get us on the bandwagon just in time for that ride to be over.

I, as an educator, like many other educators, am searching for ways to open up knowledge beyond the abstract and conceptual, to an embodied understanding. In *Towards Curriculum for Being* Aoki (1991) found that when teachers shared their understanding of embodied knowledge, insights turned more and more away from the visual

metaphors such as insight, vision, illuminations and so forth, to auditory metaphors such as resonance and attunement. I contend that music will have more resonance for life when it is an embodied experience. This has a greater possibility of happening when we actively make music and resist the counterfeit technological experience.

Another area of concern, if music is to be a live(d) experience for all, relates to the feminization of music because of its association with emotion. How can we acknowledge and embrace music's intimate relationship with human emotion (however we might describe that) in a patriarchal society that regards the express of emotion as feminine? Music can provide all people, both males and females, with opportunities to identify feelings and express them in a safe environment. Emotional intelligence is an area of development that is neglected in schools, yet is essential to success in life. Surveys of parents and teachers show a worldwide trend for the present generation of children to be more troubled emotionally (Goleman, 1995).

It has been interesting for me to notice that often, when students are given the opportunity in ME 204 to express how they think and feel about a particular piece of music, males sometimes give the most vivid, poignant descriptions, rich with feelings. Sometimes we, as a class have had one of those silent moments of awe when we have been struck with the depth of feeling that has been shared. Such opportunities to share feelings are particularly advantageous for males whose sense of sharing has often been dulled by the pressure to compete. Szabo's (2001) research which focussed on males who are avid listeners of Western art music, reported that in our society there are few ways for men to express their emotions: the participants in her study related that listening to Western art music was a highly valued way to explore their feelingful nature.

I would suggest that a generative "Third Space" in musical experience must be grounded in emotional expression¹⁴³ and an understanding of music as a form of communication, both individually and collectively. On the other hand, the concept of "Music as Art"

¹⁴³ The music education text *Principles and Processes of Music Education: New Perspectives* by Tait and Haack (1984) is very helpful in developing music lessons that involve thinking, feeling, and sharing.

repudiates emotional self-expression and objectifies it as artistic expression (see Table 3, page 263, point 3).

In what other ways might we create a generative "Third Space" that distances music from gendered constructions? When exploring creativity, Csikszentmihalyi's (1996) attention was drawn to similarities between the sexes rather than differences. According to Csikszentmihalyi (1996), creative people, to a certain extent, escape rigid gender role stereotyping. For example, creative girls are more dominant and tough than other girls, while creative boys are more sensitive and less aggressive than their peers. In other words, creativity is not gender specific: Csikszentmihalyi spoke of the "psychologically androgynous" creative personality. In the music classroom, we could encourage, for example, a timid, insecure girl to improvise, to learn how to think on her feet and act more decisively. On the other hand, an uncommunicative boy could benefit from listening activities that require him to identify and share what he thinks, feels, and hears in a particular selection of music.

Such approaches to music education would be empowering but would also require time, understanding, and a co-operative spirit in the classroom. Often this is not what transpires. In our rush to get on with it and have things work well, we tend to pick students who volunteer quickly and will perform the task well the first time. This, we rationalize, gives others a good model experience to follow, but it also sends an elitist message. As pointed out earlier in this research, many students think that music specialists seek out the talented who have already had success with music. If musical experience is to be transformational, teachers will need to resist the easy fixes and take the time to engage the timid and those who have yet to enjoy music. Slowly, bit by bit we may dislodge the fixed, gendered ways that people respond to music, but it will not be easy. I find that what progress I do make in the classroom is often sabotaged very quickly by students' experience at home, with their peers outside the classroom, and in society in general. Destablizing the polarized constructions of male and female that affect music will be a lifelong commitment.

Playful Work (work/play)

How might a generative "Third Space" be opened up between our dualistic constructions of work and play? Can we disrupt society's penchant for separating life into these oppositional categories? And if we could, what would be the value? Simply put, we could bring more joy into our lives by resisting the split between work as serious endeavour and play as fun. Play can be interpreted, not as particular activities but as a way of engaging with activity—a process. Nachmanovitch (1990) described play as "the free spirit of exploration.... It is not what we do but how we do it" (p. 43). In German, the word "*Funktionslust*" refers to the "pleasure of doing, of producing an effect, as distinct from the pleasure of attaining the effect or having something" (p. 45). Play in this sense is a process, a way of doing something in which we take pleasure. Anthropologists have coined the term "galumphing" as:

the immaculately rambunctious and seemingly inexhaustible play-energy apparent in puppies, kittens, children, baby baboons—and also in young communities and civilizations. Galumphing is the seemingly useless elaboration and ornamentation of activity. It is profligate, excessive, exaggerated, uneconomical. We galumph when we hop instead of walk, when we take the scenic route instead of the efficient one, when we play a game whose rules demand a limitation of our powers, when we are interested in means rather than in ends. (Nachmanovitch, 1990, p. 44)

When work is approached in this way, the process becomes intrinsically rewarding. The whole focus is not on the end product and whatever value that might provide. For example, I could not continue doing doctoral research if I did not enjoy the creative process of writing, reading, and searching out connections. A focus on the product alone—the final copy of the dissertation would not have been enough to motivate me year after year.

Another interpretation of play comes from the Sanskrit word "*līla*" which means "divine play, the play of creation, destruction, and re-creation, the folding and unfolding of the cosmos. *Līla*, free and deep is

both the delight and enjoyment of this moment and the play of God. It also means love" (Nachmanovitch, 1990, p. 1). This meaning reminds me of the original definition of the word "amateur" which denotes someone who engages in a particular activity for the love of it.

Many of the self-help books whose authors have studied achievement in the workplace notice that those who are most successful in their work are people who love what they do. In *Million Dollar Habits* Ringer (1990) described the life of Edward DeBartolo, an American shopping centre magnate with an estimated net worth of \$900 million dollars. Apparently DeBartolo, at 80 years of age still goes to work every day at 5:00 a.m., 7 days a week and claims he has never had a vacation. As Ringer was retelling this story to one of his children, the child responded, "What's the point of having \$900 million if you can't enjoy it" (p. 94)? Ringer responded, "Who said Mr. DeBartolo doesn't enjoy it? Maybe he's on vacation seven days a week; maybe he just loves what he's doing" (p. 94).

A similar story was reported in the *Times Colonist* ("Centenarian Still Works," 2001) recently. At 100 years of age, Harold Fisher continues to work as an architect—5 days a week, 6 to 8 hours a day because he loves what he does. Society assumes that we can no longer be productive beyond 65, and indeed many people who don't have a passion for what they do, are happy to retire at 65, and sooner if financially possible. So in order for Fisher to continue working, he has his own company where he's not bound to a compulsory retirement age. Work for Fisher is not about financial reward. Each day's activity is rewarding in itself.

Our Western notion of enduring the struggle now for greater returns in the long run carries with it a high price, a price with which music students are all too familiar. Nachmanovitch (1990) reflected on the consequence of making practice (a form of work) a means to an end:

Our stereotypical formula, "practice makes perfect," carries with it some subtle and serious problems. We think of practice as an activity done in a special context to prepare for performance or the "real thing." But if we split practice from the real thing, neither one of them will be very real.

Through this split, many children have been irrevocably taught to hate the piano or violin or music itself by the pedantic drill of oppressively boring exercises. (p. 67)

On the contrary, the Eastern notion of practice is quite different. Practice in Zen tradition is a creative act, complete in itself. In *Zen and Western Thought*, Abe (1985) remarked that "even while directed to practice, one is told not to anticipate a realization apart from practice, because practice points directly to original realization" (p. 57). This Eastern notion of practice is liberated from dualistic thought in three ways: the duality of means and end, the duality of subject and object, and the duality of potentiality and actuality. In this paradigm, practice is pure. It is not a means to an end but is conceptualized as a circle "where every point is its starting point as well as its end" (p. 59). The Zen understanding of subjectivity is also nondualistic. The realizer and the realized are one and the same. Practice in this sense is a process of recovering from within. As well, the duality of potentiality and actuality is overcome in Zen thought by rejecting an ultimate reality beyond the here and now.

Educational psychologist and philosopher John Dewey (1933) recognized the value of incorporating work and play. He coined the term "serious play" to describe the ideal mental condition for learning when purposeful activity is approached in a playful, creative way. The contrasting qualities of work and play seem to create a productive and satisfying rhythm in human activity. Dewey further postulated that interest or motivation in the classroom could be facilitated by combining immediate enjoyment with long-term goals.

When this way of behaving is valued, then the subjective aspects of the experience take on more importance, and the possibility exists that music could enlarge the concept of self and inform who we are both personally and in community. The current focus in music education is on a few musicians attending to the quality of the performance so that spectators may objectively enjoy the music as on-lookers. Positionality or subjectivity is totally different in these cases. I would suggest that music-making could be more meaningful for more people if the

opportunity for active engagement was extended. When value in musical experience is grounded in the quality of the experience, rather than the quality of the performance, musical experience becomes a creative process of discovery rather than a product.

In the piano courses that I teach I have tried to structure learning with an emphasis on integrating work and play. First students develop some technical proficiency before reading music. They get a feel for the physical requirements of playing the instrument and are encouraged to relate touch with effect. For example, the question "What happens to the sound when we do this or that?" encourages students to listen attentively to the effect they are creating. Exercises to develop technique for beginners change with every class, engaging students' minds as well as their fingers. These exercises follow patterns that take students over two or more octaves and use both hands, as opposed to most beginner approaches that force students to read a limited number of notes on the staff. These exercises can be played in any octave, further discovering the effects of pitch, whereas traditional approaches start in the centre of the piano and rarely move beyond one or two octaves for years! On the electronic keyboards we use, students can also experiment with changes in tone color by using settings that simulate a harpsichord or vibraphone for example. As well, I accompany these exercises with rhythmic chording that further makes the experience musically satisfying. In other words, although students are learning skills that will equip them to play particular pieces, they are totally engrossed in the activity at hand. The work we are doing is centred in playful discovery and has immediate value for students as it is musically enjoyable yet is also developing skill. Such activities are more engaging than memorizing chords and scales.

As students begin to read music, they also learn about basic harmony and very quickly can play a melody with accompanying chords. As their theoretical understanding develops they are challenged to use these skills in new ways through improvising, transposing, and composing. Musical development is structured in seven areas—technique, keyboard harmony, accompaniment, transposition, improvisation, composition, and sight reading. Further, the course

outline states:

Accomplishment and enjoyment at the piano come when students *work* at developing their skill and then *play with what they know*. This philosophy will be reflected in the structure of each class as there will be time for group instruction and time for individual practice and experimentation.

The result is that students experience a high level of enjoyment as they develop a variety of skills. They are also motivated to continue expanding their skills by applying their knowledge to new challenges.

In comparison, when music lessons are strictly focussed on learning to read and interpret the printed score, the experience is often flat. Yet this method persists as it supports the consumer model of playing (and buying) other people's music. Students are kept powerless. They often have no concept of the basic structure of music, even after years of playing. A recent example comes to mind. A student in ME 204 who had successfully passed grade 9 Royal Conservatory in piano and also had 2 years of accompanying classes at a local college, still did not have the skill to improvise an accompaniment to a simple melody with any sense of musicality. How sad indeed, as such skill is very personally liberating (not always having to find something in a book and practice it) and functional in the classroom.

The traditional approach, as described earlier, is one dimensional, yet it remains as *the* dominant model for music education in Western society. The alternate approach which I practice and which has been further developed alongside this research is transformational and empowering for students. This "Third Space" is vibrant with possibilities. Some students are apprehensive at first, especially as they begin to trust themselves rather than a printed score; but the rewards are powerful. A beginner in ME 208 (Piano Class for Beginners) reported: "It's amazing how much I've learned in this course, and how many practical playing skills I am mastering in such a short period of time while being an absolute beginner" (course evaluation comments, November 26, 1999).

The second level of this course, ME 308 (Intermediate Piano Class)

attracts students who have completed ME 208 as well as others who have a background in conservatory study. Students who come from a conservatory background frequently bubble with enthusiasm as music comes alive for them. The following comment was made by a conservatory student: "This course has been the most helpful piano instruction I have ever had. Suddenly everything has fallen into place" (course evaluation comments, June 24, 1997).

Students comment on their progress regularly in journals. Near the end of the term one student wrote: "I'm really pleased that I have learned things in this course that I will truly make use of for the rest of my life.... Now I can figure out folk dance tunes by ear and harmonize them myself" (student journal). Another comment that is frequently made in student journals is that learning to play accompaniments is fun. One student wrote, "I feel like a kid again." Being playfully engaged with music is an experience that is often a distant memory from childhood.

Another positive aspect to the concept of "playful work" is that there is a greater chance that "flow"¹⁴⁴ will occur. Flow experiences enhance the quality of life. If such experiences could be incorporated into learning at school, two important things would happen. First, the products of education would improve because people produce their best work when they are in a state of flow. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the process of learning would be more enjoyable and students would be motivated to continue learning because it is fun. Many jaded students can't wait to graduate from school because they are tired of being manipulated by external rewards such as marks, the approval of parents and teachers, and so on. These students have rarely experienced the joy of learning for its own sake. If we as educators care about reaching such students, then it is paramount to recognize what a powerful experience flow can be. According to Csikszentmihalyi (1990), the state of flow itself is a motivator because it is pleasurable, and the energy that drives it is addictive.

Thus, by destabilizing the work/play dualism, we can move into a generative "Third Space" where the process or live(d) experience of music-

¹⁴⁴ as described by Csikszentmihalyi (1990)

making is valued. As indicated in Table 3, p. 263, under point 4, the alternative in the "Music as Art" model is to value the quality of the performance over all else.

Before concluding this section on destabilizing the work/play dualism, I would like to comment on one particular point that has been clarified for me personally. I have always felt uneasy about relying too heavily on technology in the music classroom but was unclear about the reason for anxiety. I am now able to say that the reason I have been wary of excessive use of computers and so forth in music education is that it distances us from the embodied experience which is, from my perspective, crucial. As discussed in chapter 5, technology had transformed forever the old-fashioned embodied experience of music into decontextualized products of work. These signs do not copy reality, they constitute reality, but only partially.

The technology of our age adds layers of multiplicity to our experience as "the contrast between reality and fantasy breaks down and is replaced by a hyperreality, a world of self-referential signs. What remains is signs referring to other signs, texts referring to other texts" (Kvale, 1995, p. 19). We become immersed in a world of intertextuality where texts refer to other texts, and grounding in "real world" experience fades. Fascination with technology has reached the point where many, at the turn of the 21st century, actually prefer the image to the thing, the copy to the original, the representation of reality to the live(d) experience. I think we need to resist the pull of technology and continue to ground musical experience in active music-making. I hope that this research will draw attention to the problems that an intertextual experience of music presents and that we might wrestle with what it means when some of us come to prefer hyperreality over real life experiences. For example, many people now develop friendships and love interests over the internet. Yet this is only a partial experience, a partial reality that can be problematic when the two individuals actually meet face to face and interact in "real" terms. What are the potential pitfalls for valuing the technical products of music over personal music-making?

One pitfall is that we have little concept of the contextual value of

music that is experienced in many other cultures. For example, in First Nations cultures music is intimately connected to particular individuals, families, or clans, and to specific situations. There is a sacred belonging involved in music-making that is foreign to our culture. We are generally only concerned about ownership in a monetary sense. This epistemological difference is problematic for educators, who are now to provide multicultural experiences for students in the classroom. I have heard of more stories where teachers have offended First Nations people by what they have done in the classroom in the name of multicultural education, than I have heard of stories that were positive. The concept of multiculturalism assumes that we can take someone else's music out of its context and evaluate and appreciate it on its own terms. This is just not possible when its meaning is embedded in its social and cultural context. In fact, it is a sacrilege to defile the music by "showing it off" so to speak in another context where the audience or participants are not acquainted with or properly prepared for the experience. Equally foreign is our concept of music as entertainment. Music's connectedness to real life in First Nations' cultures, makes it more than entertainment. Music is a living expression of their culture.

There has been an attempt to use more multicultural music in the classroom, particularly since such inclusions support the government's multicultural policies. Certainly the British Columbia curricular guidelines encourage the inclusion of music from different cultures,¹⁴⁵ but I wonder how authentic these experiences really are? As Jorgensen (1997) reported:

the intent might be the noble one of valuing each musical tradition for its own sake, but the sheer enormity of the task and the limitations of teacher training may lead to such pitfalls as tokenism or exoticism of the kinds that provides inadequate sampling of world music or a superficial treatment of them. (p. 74)

¹⁴⁵ British Columbia's *Integrated Resource Package: Music* (1998c) in K-3 states that students will "demonstrate a willingness to experience music from a variety of historical and cultural contexts" (p. 136). In grades 4-7, the prescribed learning outcomes indicate that students will "demonstrate respect for music from various historical and cultural contexts" (p. 156).

I have found that when listening to musics that are very different from Western music, it is extremely difficult to engage students in any kind of active way with the music. We (myself included) just don't get it because our ears are not attuned to it. In this sense, music is *not* a universal language. Music presented this way is little more than a museum piece—a cultural artifact—an object of art. Bhabha (1990) would question just how noble such efforts are. As already mentioned, Bhabha (1990) is concerned that cultural diversity, when administered and legislated by a "host" society, creates a false sense of consensus. The status quo is maintained because the diversity is contained.

Nevertheless, many aesthetic theorists and formalists have suggested that non-musical values cheapen music. Reimer (1989), for example, is quite definite about this point. He says the primary function of music should be to understand its intrinsic power as an art, and that when music "is weakened in favour of the non-musical emphases that submerge it, we have betrayed the art we exist to share. It is that simple" (p. 48). I disagree. Such theorizing objectifies music as museum pieces to be brought out and admired as artifacts. Music in this model preserves culture (see Table 3, p. 263, point 5). This is the modern (Cartesian) view that "has diminished the role of art in comparison to its place in traditional (so-called primitive) cultures" (Bowers, 1993, p. 130). As such, this concept of art "focuses on the aesthetic qualities within the art object; the ability, intent, and historical place of the artist; the art object as an entity that is free of context and has autonomous value" (Bowers, 1993, p. 131).

Thus, an object of art "serves no purpose other than its own existence as something for aesthetic contemplation. In this view, art is 'for' nothing except itself" (Dissanayake, 1988, p. 40). In fact, this is one of the "important characteristics" of aesthetic music education according to Reimer (1989):

the value of the experience comes from its own, intrinsic, self-sufficient nature. Aesthetic experience is not a means toward nonaesthetic experience and serves no utilitarian purpose. It is experience for the sake of experience in and of

itself. (p. 103)

This sense of objectivity or "psychic distance" as it has been called, involves an "absence of utility or purpose" as well as the ability to hold the music at "arm's length as it were" in order to fully appreciate it (Merriam, 1964, p. 261).

Although I sometimes attend concerts to enjoy music in this way, I am not generally motivated to do so. My experiences of music are active and functional—integrated into daily life. The question I would propose here is, if you can make music, would you habitually choose to listen to someone else make music rather than do it yourself? Obviously, I cannot personally reproduce the variety and quality of music that I can hear professionals execute. That is a given. But consider this parallel in sports. When my son was young and played hockey in little league, even though he loved hockey, he would rarely watch it on TV with his Dad. It didn't interest him. Now that he no longer plays regularly, he does occasionally watch hockey on TV, but this is a second choice that keeps him in touch with the sport on a passive, spectator's level. Similarly, my daughter plays field hockey. I asked her if she would sit down and watch a field hockey game on TV. She said she would, partly because there are so few field hockey games televised. She would be interested, she said, in following the play and watching the skill level of the participants to perhaps pick up some pointers. But she also said that if she could go out and play a game, she would prefer the active involvement. The positionality of the performer and the spectator in these scenarios is quite different. As spectator, the subject views the sport or objectifies it from a distance. As a player, the subject and object positions disappear. The player is living hockey, experiencing it live.

My experience with music is similar. Most of the time I would rather be making music myself than listening to someone else do it. I listen to music when I am unable to make it myself—as an accompaniment to driving or exercising for example. When I do make music, my desire is not to display great technical proficiency in playing (although I am keenly interested in playing with skill), but to imbue another aspect of my life with heightened meaning. For example, singing

"Good Night Moon" with my granddaughter has special meaning as we bond through song. Figuring out the guitar chords for a popular song we have heard on the radio allows my daughter and I to "jam" with great fervour, I on the piano and she on the guitar. Recently I was asked to play the organ for a funeral. The family wanted me to play a particular pop song that I did not know and for which they did not have the music. So I took the time to listen to the song repeatedly on CD until I had figured it out and could play it with the same chord progressions and the same style as on the recording.

These examples show how music functions in my life, not how I am entertained by it. If my music education only involved learning to play the classical repertoire from a notated score, then my experience of living musically would be very limited. On the contrary, learning how to improvise, compose, and generally understand music in a holistic way—its form, harmonic structure and so forth allows me to live musically in a much broader, active way. Rose (1991) suggested that "people want to be active makers of their culture, active makers of music, and not just passive recipients of a handed-down culture and 'established' musical traditions" (p. 50). Further, Boyce-Tillman (2000) regarded "involvement in a deep way with the interlocking areas of [musical] materials, expressive character, construction (form), and valuing by improvising/composing" as leading to a "measure of transcendence" which she calls "spirituality" (p. 92).

I know there are people who enjoy performing on stage, and school music programs, particularly secondary ones, have catered almost exclusively to this particular view of music-making. What I am suggesting here is that there are other ways of making music that have been sorely neglected in schools because of our focus on performance. As I revisit this writing and think about the values I have described as important to me, I notice that the ways I enjoy music are "feminized" in that they are usually functional and often related to family, private music-making, and emotional and spiritual expression. Does this gendered valuing have anything to do with the neglect of these ways of making music in schools? On the other hand, the experience of music as

a performance product, stripped of social value, is an intellectualized "masculine" way of valuing music.

As I take a break from this writing, I sit down to watch some figure skating on television. It occurs to me that the way I view figure skating as entertainment is probably similar to the way many people appreciate music—at arm's length. I don't skate. As a child I tried it a few times but my feet never felt comfortable in skates. This perhaps even magnifies my admiration for those who can do it so well and I am often moved by particularly exquisite, musical performances. Perhaps some people would describe their relationship with music this way as well. They can't do it, but they admire those who can. I have no doubt that non-performers who go to concerts as entertainment can also be moved by particularly artful displays. However, I see a difference in these two seemingly parallel activities. Ice skating is a particular skill that can only be developed when we buy skates and take skating lessons. As the bodies of these performers grow, and strength and agility increase, some are able to do amazing feats and excel far beyond what the average person can do.

Our relationship with music, however, is fundamentally different. We are born with the physical equipment and ability to sing and move. The rhythm of life is in us. Children naturally express themselves through movement and song. It is only as they mature and are affected by the culture around them that they accept others' pronouncements of their so-called lack of talent. Although some may hone their skills in very specific ways and dazzle us with spectacular performances, this is not the goal of musical experience. The goal of musical experience is to vivify life. Living musically is part of what it means to be human. As such, music is part of a complete education. Skating is not. How sad that we have convinced the bulk of society that they must be content with the role of spectator—that they can never be "players" in the musical game of life.

The Student as Teacher and the Teacher as Student (teacher/student)

How might a "Third Space" be opened up where students and

teachers could both actively engage in teaching and learning? Traditionally, we align teaching with teachers and learning with students, or to put it another way, much teaching focuses on the subjective experience of the teacher as the disseminator of knowledge while the student is seen to be the object of this focus. In such cases, the teacher as subject and student as object are at opposite poles. Knowledge is presented as fully formed with little room for questioning. Music specialists are particularly immersed in this presentation of knowledge, primarily because it has been the bulk of our experience for many years in conservatories and schools of music.¹⁴⁶

Generally the study of music is very prescriptive. Without literally saying it, we in effect say: "This is *what* you will play" (a particular score) and "this is *how* you will play it" (which includes the "correct" reading of the particular notes as well as matters of interpretation). The authority of the score is paramount and reflects the "Music as Art" model (see Table 3, p. 263, point 6). According to Heuser (2001):

students in school music programs in the United States frequently labor under the strict direction of a conductor/authority figure to perform works, not of their choosing and often of dubious musical value, in as authoritative a manner as possible. Present in this hierarchy are archetypal figures that include not only the teacher and the music but also extend to every aspect of the tradition in which the student is involved be it private classical instruction, practicing jazz turn-arounds in all twelve keys, or the demands of participating in a choral, symphonic or marching organization. (p. 55)

The model for teaching music remains a very teacher-centred approach. When every other teacher in the school is involved in a more co-operative, egalitarian path to learning in the classroom, the music teacher continues to stand at the front of the class and expound her expert knowledge. For example, all of the lesson plans in *The Musical*

¹⁴⁶ As Detels (1999) has suggested, the key to changing this pattern will need to occur in university schools of music.

Classroom (Hackett & Lindeman, 2001), the text we use for ME 204, are lecture type lessons based on teaching students the elements of music. Very little creative, co-operative opportunities would be modelled for teachers-in-training if the course instructors only used the material presented in this book.¹⁴⁷

Yet there is no simplistic answer. Such lessons are actually comforting to student teachers who have little theoretical musical understanding: They are so afraid of saying something wrong, and such lessons give them the assurance that at least these lessons are theoretically "right." They have been successfully indoctrinated. Many of them would prefer that a specialist be responsible for music education.

Why do we resist a more egalitarian approach to music education that would be more empowering for students? Heuser (2001) has an interesting interpretation. He suggested that

parents and school administrators find great comfort when children are engaged in such [performance] activities, not for their musical values, but because they see young people under wilful subjugation, their youthful energies contained in time consuming encounter with an(O)ther that is defined by adults rather than peers. Practiced in this manner, music education seems to safely preclude the possibility of rebellion and the questioning of personal and societal values that are so often present when the young engage in music making of their own creation. The entire gamut of structures surrounding and supporting educational practice in music seem to function as an immutable archetypal Other that offers little room for the development of musical thought.... No wonder that music education is frequently criticized as being little more than a pleasant pastime... (p. 55)

Why do we consider music education good for our children? We say it teaches them discipline, respect, commitment, and habits of hard work. Perhaps these values are tinged with a desire to break the will of

¹⁴⁷ Other texts which encourage more co-operative learning, such as *Teaching for Musical Understanding* (Wiggins, 2001), are for student teachers who already have a basic knowledge of music.

rebellious adolescents and teach them habits of conformity which we think will stand them in good stead in adult life.

I would add another interpretation and suggest that one of the reasons we resist a more egalitarian approach to music education is that we, as educators, discount what students' know about music. The musical knowledge that we deem appropriate for schools is a very selective part of music in which we are expert. We often prefer to keep student interests and tastes out of the equation: It's so much tidier that way, and easier to plan. This way we can "cover" what we need to, according to provincial guidelines and then focus on building a reputation that represents the high level of achievement for which our group and school is renowned.

What would music education look like if the lines were more blurred between teacher and student? Simply put, students would have more opportunities to share their knowledge, and teachers would actively show more evidence of continuing to be learners (see Table 3, p. 263, point 7). But such a shift is hardly simple, and many would question whether it is desirable.

We have two examples of teachers who live in this conflicted space of being both teacher and student—student teachers and graduate students who are university instructors. This ambiguous space is usually viewed as a temporary situation which normally one would want to escape as soon as possible. Graduation signals the end of being a student. Student teachers will have arrived when their practicum experiences are complete, and doctoral students will have arrived when their degrees are complete. This, of course, is not to say that new teachers and tenured professors stop learning once these probationary periods are completed, but it is to say that the impression such validating practices give is that learning and teaching are oppositional.

The positions of teacher and student are immersed in politics and power relations, and for those in the ambiguous position of being both teacher and student, the power is partial and fragmented. For example, student teachers experience some of the authority of the teacher. They are addressed by title (Mr., Miss., or Mrs.) and surname and are given at

least some measure of respect in the classroom; they get to use the "staff only" areas of the school such as the lounge and the restrooms ("This is huge," said one student teacher in my research); they have a mailbox in the office (even if it is for all the student teachers); they have keys for equipment; they take questions at the front of the class and allow certain students to respond. But in other ways they are powerless. Student teachers are under the watchful eye of the sponsor teacher, and at times, a representative from the university to make sure they are "doing it right." They are told what subjects to teach, when and for how long; they are given specific instructions on how it should be taught (by university education professors, curriculum guidelines, practicum supervisors, and sponsor teachers). If students in the class are unhappy with a particular punishment or assignment, they complain to the "real teacher" who has the true power and authority. Some student teachers even report that they are requested to "serve" the sponsor teacher with coffee and so forth whenever possible. "Service" might also include doing photocopying or "housekeeping" in the classroom such as cleaning up after art class, rearranging furniture, or supervising students during recess and lunch times. These maintenance jobs are part of a teacher's responsibility, but low status parts. When these types of tasks are "unloaded" on student teachers they too experience the powerlessness of the student, as opposed to the control of the teacher. They are the "other" to all those who stand in authority over them.

When most or all of the power rests in the hands of the teacher and the teacher controls all the details of what students will learn, students may become discouraged as their interests and needs seem irrelevant. They have to be coerced into learning with external rewards such as candy, money, grades, and so forth. One of the student teachers in my research described a classroom which she and a group of student teachers visited, where the grade 7 teacher rewarded correct answers in a social studies lesson on Mesopotamia with candy. "OK, Mesopotamia" he announced to the children. Then he retrieved a large bag of candy from his desk drawer and placed it in front of him. The children seemed to be primed for what would happen next. The first question was given. When

a right answer was offered, the teacher pitched the student a candy from the bag. The teacher smiled broadly as this continued for some time and seemed to work effectively. He felt he had more than adequately impressed the student teachers with his control. The student teachers, unbeknownst to him, were shocked by this seasoned teacher's approach to motivation.

Dewey (1964) suggested that "interest" in learning is crucial. "Interest," he said, "marks the annihilation of the distance between subject and object; it is the instrument which affects their organic union" (p. 269). In other words, students become more interested in learning when knowledge is not presented as a fully formed object outside of their experience but as a collaborative act that involves their experience. Together, students and teacher "open up broader theoretical consideration, to tease out its limitations, and to engage in a vision of community" (Giroux, 1993, p. 369). Students have some ownership over what constitutes knowledge in the classroom. There is room to engage as a community of learners where student voices are valued in an authentic way (as opposed to providing right answers). According to Giroux (1993), "this does not suggest that as educators we should abandon our authority as much as we should transform it into an emancipatory practice" (p. 369). Emancipatory practice creates opportunities

for students to be border crossers in order to understand otherness on its own terms, and the need to create borderlands in which diverse cultural resources allow for the fashioning of new identities within existing configurations of power. (Giroux, 1993, p. 370)

In such scenarios students' experiences qualify as legitimate forms of knowledge.

Recently, (September-December 2000), I taught a course on "Improvising and Composing" in Coquitlam, British Columbia. This course was part of a program for teachers who were doing a 2-year course of study in music education through Continuing Education at the University of Victoria. Most of the students were elementary classroom teachers. Some were music specialists who taught all music, or mostly

music. Yet they were all able to participate in this course, often with amazing results. Those who had been taught by society that improvisation and composition are only for the elite few felt empowered to explore who they were by making their own music.

Part of the aspect of empowerment is that students were making connections for themselves. This way of working is actually very helpful for the teacher who is trying to meet the needs of many students at once. Students can work with the material at their own level. Someone who learns how to extend a musical idea in a particular way can try it out with elementary skill on the recorder or advanced skill at the piano. And this is precisely what happened in this course. As well, to the delight of some of those with more limited skill, sometimes members of the class would take a melody another student had composed on the recorder and flesh it out with harmony on the piano. A co-operative spirit emerged, where students encouraged each other and shared their ideas.

In this learning environment, the division between students and teacher blurred. The mood was co-operative as students helped one another. I circulated as a mentor, advisor, and although at times I brought the class together in a traditional way to present something in a teacherly fashion, this instruction was short-lived and merely served to introduce the experience that was to follow. Of course, this situation was unique in that these students were also practicing teachers, but this same kind of sharing can occur in regular classrooms.

With any particular lesson, a teacher could respond to these two questions: "How can students be empowered to take more responsibility for their own learning? Where in this lesson can I give students more opportunities to make decisions? It is more difficult to do this in ensemble groups, but not impossible. For example, in a choir, rather than the director being totally responsible for all aspects of the performance, individual students could have particular responsibilities. One individual could be particularly mindful of the clear articulation of the text; another could be listening particularly for a sense of phrasing and oneness in entries and cut-offs; another member could attend particularly to the balance of the parts; another member could evaluate

the effectiveness of the dynamic changes and maybe even make alternative suggestions. Sometimes one or two students could sit out and totally focus on the overall effect. When the director is dissatisfied with a particular section, she could let the students make suggests about what the group needs to work on.¹⁴⁸ The "wondering out loud" strategy could be applied: "I wonder what would happen if we...?"

I am not suggesting that every decision should be up for discussion. This would be entirely too time consuming and frustrating. At a recent choir rehearsal I came face to face with frustration that occurred because I had shared the leadership with the choir members. At one particular practice it seemed to me that too many people were having entirely too much to say! When I thought about the cause of my frustration I began to realize that I was reacting to the ambivalent position of simultaneously being in control, yet out of control. At that particular point in the rehearsal I wanted to push ahead with my agenda and not attend to things that members of the group thought were more important. Upon reflection, however, I realized they were right. Their proposed strategy met the need better than my plan did.

The point I wish to make here is that trying to destabilize the teacher/student split puts teachers and directors in an ambivalent space because by definition we are the ones in control. Giving up or sharing that role requires flexibility and trust in the group as a whole and in *their* commitment to the project as well as our own. This way of behaving honours students. It affirms that their learning is more important than our teaching. I am reminded of Belenky, Clinchy, Golberger and Tarule's (1986) concept of the teacher as midwife. They suggest that midwife-teachers focus not on their own knowledge, but on the students' knowledge. It is always clear that the baby to be birthed is not theirs but the students'.¹⁴⁹

Music as Resonance for Life

Many of the threads of meaning that have been scrutinized in this

¹⁴⁸ For other empowering suggestions specific to the choral setting see O'Toole (1997).

¹⁴⁹ For further reflections on childbirth as a metaphor for creativity, see Friedman (1989).

research either point to a construction of music as integral to meaningful living or a construction of music that sets music apart with special status as objects of art (the life/art dualism).

If music educators are concerned with the current state of music as a "frill" in education and life, then we ought to be prepared to dismantle some of the social structures that perpetuate the status quo. As Koza (1994) noted: "art and ways of thinking about art are cultural constructs wedded to the culture that creates them" (p. 79). Our elitist notions of "art" are not universal. The Balinese, for example, tend to say: "We have no art; we do everything artfully." The creation of offerings, which visitors from another culture might view as the making of Balinese art, is considered part of everyday religious ritual by Balinese people" (Koza, 1994, p. 79). Daily life and artistic endeavours are not discrete but inseparable. In fact, according to Dissanayake (1988): "Many societies have no word for 'art' at all" (p. 35).

As already mentioned, First Nations' peoples also have an epistemologically different view of music and the arts as integral to life, integral to living their culture, not preserving it. Olsen (1993), anthropologist and longtime scholar of Indian musics, indicated that

from the perspective of the "First People," music is more than the reiteration of instrumental or vocal repertoire for the purposes of entertainment, excitement, personal enrichment or self-expression. Aboriginal song and dance have served as prayers, accessories to the forces of nature, powerful resources for healing, vehicles of prophesy, nonverbal languages, improvisational lessons, historical records, honouring devices, community-wide recreation, intertribal bonding agents, proofs of lineage, and personal gifts of the highest value. (cited in Boyea, 1999, p. 107)

Music in these varied contexts is so much more powerful and important to First Nations people than the elitist Western practice of art as entertainment. Recognition of the non-musical values in musical experience does not weaken music as Reimer (1989) suggests, but indeed strengthens it. When music education is more involved with the live(d)

experience of music rather than “wrenching it out of the whole that gives it meaning, and trying to understand it in isolation,” change can occur (Ballentine, 1984, p. 21). For example, one of the elementary pre-service teachers in Morin’s (1995) study wrote the following after taking Morin’s elementary music education course:

I have begun to see that music may work to reinforce ideas, *to bring a culture to life* [my emphasis], to invoke imagination in art or in writing, and to provide an experience which goes beyond the listening, speaking, reading, writing many subjects have been more traditionally linked to. (p. 8)

Integrating that special way of knowing we call music into everyday life vivifies experience. It has the potential to make the ordinary sacred.

How is it that the ordinary is made sacred or holy through musical experience? Dissanayake (1988) describes this function of art as a “behaviour” that involves “making special.” In “making special,”

reality is converted from its usual unremarkable state—in which we take it or its components for granted—to a significant or specially experienced reality in which the components, by their emphasis or combination or juxtaposition, acquire a meta-reality. (p. 94)

The ordinary is marked as meaningful through its relatedness to everyday life. In other words, “‘making special’ has to do with communicating, often in a highly metaphorically way, about relationships” (Bowers, 1993, p. 130). Experiences of this kind are highly contextualized.

Some have tied this idea of “making special” to rituals. DeAngelis (1994), for example, described rituals as powerful opportunities that transport us from the regular everyday world into the world of the sacred. During rituals or personal ceremonies, she said, “you instantly become conscious and mindful. You create a sacred time and space, as each act is rich with significance” (DeAngelis, 1994, p. 253). Sun Bear, as cited in DeAngelis, related that during ritual activities, “everything outside of that space shrivels in importance. Time takes on a different dimension. Emotions flow more freely” (p. 253).

Small (1999) also identified ritual as “a type of organized behaviour

in which humans use the language of gesture to affirm, explore and celebrate their ideas of how the relationships of the cosmos operate, and thus how they themselves should relate to it and to one another" (p. 15). "Ritual," says Small, "is the mother of all the arts" (p. 15). In earlier times, and particularly in traditional societies, life was rich with ceremony. There were rituals for planting crops, for recognizing the changes in seasons, for celebrating entry into womanhood and manhood, for hunting, for blessing, for healing, and so forth. Dancing, singing, and chanting occurred at prescribed times for particular purposes. In a formalized way, these customs or solemn observances united people in a common belief. The ritual is larger than any one participants. As well, such rituals "are performed in a place that is temporarily and spatially marked off from routine, everyday life...and objects or words taken out of their everyday context may acquire a potency not ordinarily evident" (Dissanayake, 1988, p. 84). But

slowly, as the centuries progressed, we disconnected from the earth and shifted from a spiritual existence to a more secular existence. And in the process, we removed much of the rituals from our lives. We were too busy trying to achieve more and become more to stop and perform ceremonies that did not create the instant results to which we had become addicted. (DeAngelis, 1994, p. 254)

Kivy (1991) hinted at the ritual value of music when he evaluated the place of music in a liberal arts education. Kivy suggested that there are many interesting arguments for including music in education that attest to music's benefits, but as Jorgensen (1994) pointed out:

To say that a thing is good does not constitute sufficient justification for its inclusion in the school curriculum. To be assured of a place in the public school, one must also demonstrate that it is essential, and show conclusively the degree of its importance or centrality to the curriculum. (p. 24)

Kivy (1991) was "hard pressed" to explain why music should be studied by all. I find it interesting that this article was published in the

Journal of Aesthetic Education, which, as I have expressed earlier, holds to a very elitist view of music. The only reason Kivy did give was music's role in "tribal rituals," a concept he didn't elaborate on. I would suggest that Kivy was hinting at musical meaning as experienced in traditional societies: such experiences of music could potentially be rich in meaning for all members of society. But certainly, music as it is presented in most schools today, is not music that is essential for all students.

In my own experience, I am reminded of the Christian celebration of the Lord's Last Supper as commemorated in the service of Holy Communion and suggest that there could be a parallel here with the "making special" aspect of musical experience that I have been trying to describe. In communion, the common food and drink of everyday life—bread and wine—is made holy,¹⁵⁰ infused with supernatural meaning. The everyday has a quality of sacredness. So too when music is part of everyday living, it has the potential of being a powerful, vivifying force that supports the sacredness of life. When music is intimately connected to real life it has the potential to be transformational, even spiritual.

According to Greene (1988), if education is to mean anything, it should be about developing personhood and achieving community. Music education can be an important vehicle for developing a sense of personhood and community if we as music educators recognize the cultural and historical reproduction in which we are enmeshed and how such reproduction limits and distorts musical value and its potential for vivifying life. This is political work. It involves disrupting the dominant storylines, resisting the status quo, and developing educational strategies that will help students critically read texts and understand the force of ideology to shape who we are and what we believe. No longer can we or our students be content with being passive recipients of culture.

¹⁵⁰ Christ says, "Take, and eat: this is my body which is broken for you." In the same way he took the cup, saying, "This is my blood which is shed for you." Do this in remembrance of me (Anglican Church of Canada, 1985, p. 197). These excerpts from the Eucharistic prayer in the Anglican Service of Communion are based on Mark 14: 22-24, as well as other gospel accounts of Jesus' Last Supper.

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Appendix 1

What to Expect During Your Interview for the Study—

Music as Art or Music for Living? Disrupting the Dominant Discourse that Marginalizes Music in Education

The purpose of this research is to understand more fully societal beliefs that affect how we think and feel about music in our culture. In order to focus our time together in this area, I would like to hear stories from your life experience that have affected your beliefs about music, music education, and your ability to make music. These vignettes could come from any part of your life experience at school (elementary, secondary, and post secondary), home, or in other environments. Feel free to talk about any situation that has affected how you think and feel about music. The events you describe might have occurred over a lengthy period of time (such as a school program or private music lessons) or they may be seemingly incidental occurrences that have made a lasting impression on you.

I'm looking forward to our conversation. I've enclosed a notebook which you can use to jot down anything that comes to your mind which you want to include in the interview. After the interview you might also remember stories that you wish you had mentioned. Please feel free to write about these experiences as well.

Appendix 2

Consent Form for Interview Participants in the Study

I wish to sincerely thank-you for assisting me with the research for my dissertation, *Music as Art or Music for Living? Disrupting the Dominant Discourse that Marginalizes Music in Education*. The purpose of this research is to understand more fully how beliefs and values about music are shaped by society and how these beliefs affect the teaching and learning of music. It is my hope that this research will show how structures in English-Canadian society (especially schools) support and maintain certain musical values while diminishing others and provide the groundwork for a possible disruption and challenge to the mechanisms which serve to maintain the status quo.

Part of this study will include an audio taped interview with you. You will be asked about your own musical experiences and particularly your recollections of school music. I expect the interview will require 60-90 minutes of your time with the possibility of a shorter follow-up session at your convenience to address matters that have occurred to either of us since our first meeting. I will also give you a notebook where you can record, if you wish, any related thoughts that occur to you after the interview.

Your participation is voluntary and you may refuse, without explanation, to answer any questions. The interview will be taped and transcribed. You can decide whether or not the data will be destroyed at this point. Please be assured that you are also free to opt out of this research at any time should that become necessary. Please be assured that the information collected will be held in strict confidence. Your name will not be attached to any published results, and your anonymity will be protected by using a pseudonym. The taped interviews will be kept in a secure location and will be accessible to only my university advisor, Dr. Betty Hanley, and me.

Thank-you once again for your time and helpfulness.

Sincerely yours,

Sheila Sim, Graduate Student
Telephone:
Faculty of Education, University of Victoria
Faculty Supervisor: Dr. Betty Hanley

I consent to participate in this research. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time. I also consent to have my interview recorded. I understand that the interview will be treated confidentially.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 3

Interview Questions

Tell me about your musical experiences.

The following questions were used, when appropriate, to gather additional details.

Home:

- 1. Do you remember any particular relatives that encouraged or discouraged you in music?**
- 2. Did you ever ask for music lessons?**
- 3. What school subjects were most important to your parents? Why? Were any incentives offered for achievement?**

School:

- 1. Was music instruction given by a generalist or a specialist? Describe this person and how s/he encouraged or discouraged your efforts.**
- 2. How did the class in general react to music and the music teacher?**
- 3. What did s/he teach you about music?**
- 4. What did you learn about music?**
- 5. What was the reaction of the boys to school music?**
- 6. What was the reaction of the girls to school music?**
- 7. Where in the school was music class conducted (classroom, special music room, gym, portable)? Did this location have any effect on you?**
- 8. How was music evaluated? Was this evaluation different from evaluation in other subjects?**
- 9. Did the school have adequate resources for a music program such as instruments, music, class sets of textbooks, audio equipment, space for individual and group work?**
- 10. How much time was devoted to music instruction?**
- 11. Were you ever given opportunities to create music?**
- 12. Were music activities extra-curricular (conducted at noon-time or**

before or after class)?

13. What subjects were most important to your classroom teacher? Why?
Were any incentives offered for outstanding achievement?
14. What was your classroom teacher's attitude towards music and the music teacher?
15. Was music used in an interdisciplinary way in the classroom?
16. What rewards for excellence in music were offered by the school (such as trophies, scholarships, trips, etc.)?
17. Did interest and participation in sports preclude involvement in music?
18. Did any of your friends influence your attitudes about music?

University:

1. How did ME 204 help prepare you to teach music in the schools?
2. How did ME 204 affect your estimation of your own musical ability?
3. Did anything about the course or other students' reactions to the course surprise you?
4. Have you had any contact with students in the school of music here?
Could you describe any of these encounters?

Finally:

1. Do you think you are musical? Why or why not?
2. Is there anything else you would like to add to our conversation today?

Appendix 4
Contact Letter for Anne Hill,
Fine Arts Coordinator, Curriculum Branch,
BC Ministry of Education.

August 1, 2000.

Anne Hill,
Fine Arts Coordinator, Curriculum Branch,
BC Ministry of Education,
620 Superior Street,
Victoria, BC,
V8V 2M4.

Dear Anne;

I am currently conducting doctoral research concerning music education. The institutionalization of music will be an important part of this research, and in particular the curricular documents which are created for the study of music in the classroom. Since you were on the committee for the new Fine Arts Integrated Resource Package and the ministry suggests you as a contact person for more information, I would be delighted to speak to you about the creation and implementation of the Music IRP.

The intent of this conversation is to understand more fully the government's role in structuring music education. My questions will seek to find out why a new document was needed, who wrote the document, what groups were represented on the various committees, what consultation occurred, if feedback was encouraged, how concerns were handled, what the major points of contention were, how the document differs from the previous one, and how implementation was planned.

The interview can be arranged at your convenience. Thank-you in advance for taking the time to assist me with this research.

Sincerely yours,

Sheila Sim.

Appendix 5**Letter of Informed Consent for Fine Arts Coordinator**

Dear Anne,

I wish to sincerely thank-you for assisting me with the research for my dissertation entitled, *Music as Art or Music for Living? Disrupting the Dominant Discourse that Marginalizes Music in Education*. The purpose of this research is to understand more fully how beliefs and values about music are shaped by society and how these beliefs affect the teaching and learning of music. In particular I am requesting your help as I try to understand more fully the role government plays in structuring music in the classroom. It is my hope that this research will shed light on the way music education is structured in English-Canadian society.

Part of this study will include an audio taped interview with you concerning curriculum development in music education. I would expect that a second meeting will be needed to answer questions that have arisen. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw, without reason, at your discretion. You may also refuse, without explanation, to answer any questions.

Please be assured that the information collected will be held in strict confidence. The raw data will be kept in a secure location and will be accessible to only my university advisor, Dr. Betty Hanley and me.

Thank-you once again for your time and helpfulness.

Sincerely yours,

Sheila Sim, Graduate Student
Telephone: home office
Faculty of Education, University of Victoria
Faculty Supervisor: Betty Hanley
Telephone:

I consent to participate in this research. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time. I also consent to have my interview recorded.

Signature: _____

Date: _____