Susan Young
Beatriz Ilari *Editors*

Music in Early Childhood: Multi-disciplinary Perspectives and Inter-disciplinary Exchanges

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Music in Early Childhood: Multi-disciplinary Perspectives and Inter-disciplinary Exchanges

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Eun Cho recently completed her doctoral degree in Music Teaching and Learning at the University of Southern California, USA. She received her Master's degrees in Music and Music Education at Teachers College, Columbia University. Over the last 10 years, she has taught various early childhood music programmes as well as studio string lessons in the United States and in South Korea. An active music education researcher, she has published widely in internationally renowned journals, including *Journal of Research in Music Education* and *Research Studies in Music Education*, and has also authored book chapters. Her research interests lie at the intersection of music education, culture, and psychology.

Bronya Dean recently completed her PhD in Education at the University of Exeter, UK, exploring the spontaneous singing of 3- and 4-year-old children at home. With an academic background in music, cultural policy, and early childhood music education, she has experience working with young children in a range of educational settings. She currently lives in Tauranga, New Zealand, where she works as a freelance early childhood music educator, teaches at the University of Waikato, and participates in a range of community music activities.

Andrea Emberly is an ethnomusicologist and associate professor in the Children, Childhood and Youth programme at York University, Toronto, Canada. Her work focuses on the study of children's musical cultures and the relationship between childhood, wellbeing, and musical arts practices. At present, she is focused on three major research projects in collaboration with researchers and communities in several countries: sustaining musical practices found in the initiation schools for girls in Vhavenda communities in South Africa (SSHRC Insight Development), using repatriation of archival materials to maintain musical traditions and generate curriculum for young people (SSHRC Partnership Development), and the relationships between language, music, and education in remote aboriginal communities in the Kimberley region of Western Australia (ARC Linkage).

Claudia Gluschankof is senior lecturer at Levinsky College of Education, Tel-Aviv, Israel, teaching at the undergraduate and graduate levels in the Early Childhood Education Department and Music Education Department. She served as a member of the Music Curriculum Committee of Israel and is the academic advisor at Beit Almusica Conservatory (Shafr-Amr, Israel). She has been involved since 2006 with the International Society of Music Education, Early Childhood Music Education Commission, serves on the review board of several international and national journals (IJME, RIEM, Min-Ad), and is the *Book Review* editor of the newly launched *International Journal of Music in Early Childhood*. Her research interests focus on the musical expressions of young children, particularly on the self-initiated play of young children in various cultural contexts, especially among Hebrew and Arab speakers, as well as music teacher training. She is currently involved in the 'Global Visions Through Mobilizing Networks: Co-Developing Intercultural Music Teacher Education in Finland, Israel and Nepal', a research project funded by the Academy of Finland (2015–2019).

Beatriz Ilari is associate professor of Music Education at the University of Southern California, USA where she teaches graduate courses in music psychology, sociology of music, and research methods. She has conducted extensive research with babies, preschoolers, and school-aged children from the United States, Brazil, Canada, Japan, and Mexico. In her work, she uses a variety of approaches to study different aspects of musical development and growth of infants, children, and adolescents. She collaborates with scholars from diverse fields, including neuroscientists from USC's Brain and Creativity Institute, and psychologists and educators from the Advancing Interdisciplinary Research in Singing (AIRS) team. She is currently an associate editor of the newly created *International Journal of Music in Early Childhood* and serves on the editorial boards of prestigious journals including *Psychology of Music*, *Musicae Scientiae*, and *Music & Science*.

Panagiotis A. Kanellopoulos' research engages with creative music and music education practices from sociocultural, critical, and philosophical perspectives. His work has been published in international edited volumes and peer-reviewed

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Christa R. Kuebel is a professor of Music Education at the University of Central Arkansas, USA. She specializes in elementary general music, music teacher preparation, and early childhood music education. She also teaches graduate and undergraduate courses, directs an elementary-age community choir, and leads early music education classes to children 5 years old and under. She has presented at state, national, and international conferences and published in both practitioner and research journals.

Luc Nijs is a post-doctoral researcher at IPEM, Belgium and guest lecturer at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague, the Netherlands. His research integrates theory development and empirical studies and practice, focusing on the musician-instrument relationship, on the role of body movement in instrumental learning processes, and on the role of technology in provoking an embodied approach to instrumental music education. His work with the Music Paint Machine was awarded the EAPRIL Best Research and Practice Project Award 2012. He is a regular invited speaker on music educational seminars and conferences. Furthermore, he is a regular member of the advisory boards of the Flemish Ministry of Education, chair of the AEC working group on digitization, and associate editor of the *International Journal of Music in Early Childhood* (IJMEC).

Amanda Niland is an early childhood educator and researcher with a special interest in early childhood music education. She currently lectures in early childhood education at the University of Sydney, Australia. Her research interests are in early childhood music and inclusive education, with a focus on children's perspectives and on the role of educators. Her research has been published in peer-reviewed international journals, and she has presented at research and music education conferences. She is a past chair of the Early Childhood Music Education Commission (ECME) of the International Society for Music Education (ISME).

Berenice Nyland is an adjunct professor at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT University) in Australia. As a practitioner, music was always emphasized in the early programs she was involved in. She was a lecturer in vocational education and taught music to child studies students for 10 years. When she moved to the academia, she researched children's music experiences in early childhood centres, explored educators' practices, and investigated student teachers use of music. The birth to 2 years has been a particular interest, and her doctoral studies focused on infants and language in the child care setting. She believes in music as an important language of childhood, as a cultural right, and as a language to celebrate diversity.

J. Christopher Roberts is lecturer and coordinator of Music Teacher Preparation at the University of Washington, Seattle, USA. An elementary music teacher for 20 years, he holds research interests in children's musical cultures, world music pedagogy, and nature of children's interest in music. His coauthored book, *World Music Pedagogy, Volume II: Elementary Music Education*, was published in 2018 by Routledge. Other research have appeared in some journals including *Journal of Research in Music Education*, *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education*, *British Journal of Research in Music Education*, *Oxford Handbook of Social Justice in Music Education*, and *Oxford Handbook of Children's Musical Cultures*. He holds degrees from Swarthmore College (BA, History) and the University of Washington (MA, PhD, Music Education).

Avra Pieridou Skoutella is the author of the book *Small Musical Worlds in the Mediterranean: Ethnicity, Globalization and Greek Cypriot Children's Musical Identities* (2015), London: Routledge Press. She is a founder of a nonprofit academic organization, the Cyprus Centre for the Research and Study of Music (CCRSM), which she, since 2014, has been involved as the coordinator and partner in large-scale European Union (EU)-funded music and music education projects. She designed and coordinated the Erasmus+ KA2 Strategic Partnership 'Early Childhood Music Education in the Mediterranean: Raising Children's Musicality, Evaluating Music Learning and Enabling Teachers' Preparation' (2014–2017). She is the creator and producer of the newly published audiovisual publication *Mediterranean Musical Cradle* (2018) under the international trademark *MusiChild™*. She has been post-doctoral research scholar at the University of London Institute of Education in music education and musical anthropology of childhood and a Fulbright-CASP scholar at the Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, USA. She sits on the Editorial Board of the *International Journal of Music Education*.

Gaye Soley is an assistant professor of Psychology at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey, where she has been a faculty member since 2013. She studied psychology at Boğaziçi University and piano at Istanbul University State Conservatory. She received her PhD in Developmental Psychology from Harvard University. Before

joining Boğaziçi University as a faculty member, she also worked as a post-doctoral fellow at Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona, Spain. Her research programme is guided by two central and interrelated questions: the first line of her research examines how culture-specific experience and culture-general perceptual constraints affect the acquisition of music, while the second line of her research explores what social and communicative roles music, singing, and speech play across lifespan.

Ingeborg Lunde Vestad is professor in Music Education at Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences (INN), Norway. She received her PhD in musicology from the University of Oslo in 2013, with an ethnographic and discourse analytical study of how children use recorded music in their everyday lives. She teaches at INN's Bachelor's programme in Early Childhood Education and Care, the Bachelor's programme in Music Teaching and Teacher Education, the Master's programme in Culture and Language Didactics, and the PhD programme in Teaching and Teacher Education. She is currently head of the Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, Faculty of Education. She has published in Nordic and international journals such as *Journal of Research in Music Education*, *Nordic Research in Music Education Yearbook*, *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, and *Action, Criticism & Theory for Music Education.* She has contributed with book chapters with international publishers, such as Routledge. Her research interests include child culture/children' culture, music and media, and early childhood music education. She is currently working on a project investigating the history of children's music in radio and television.

Yen-Ting Wu holds a PhD in Music Education from the University College London Institute of Education (UCL IoE), UK. She also holds a Masters in Music Education from the UCL IoE and a Bachelor of Early Childhood Education from the National Taipei University of Education, Taiwan. She obtained her Teacher Certificate from the Ministry of Education, Republic of China (Taiwan). Her doctoral study explored the musical behaviours and development of young children of the Chinese diaspora in London and has presented her work at several international conferences, including MERYC (European Network for Music Educators and Researchers of Young Children) in 2015, ISME (International Society for Music Education) in 2016, and EECERA (European Early Childhood Education Research Association) in 2018. Alongside her academic work, she has worked as a Mandarin tutor and teacher in UK schools. She is also an amateur clarinettist in the Life and Mission Choir, in London.

Susan Young recently retired as senior lecturer in Early Childhood Studies and Music Education at the University of Exeter, UK, and, in retirement, has completed an additional postgraduate research degree in anthropology. She continues her academic activity as senior research fellow at the University of Roehampton, London, and associate of the Centre for Research in Early Childhood, Birmingham. Originally trained as a pianist at the Royal College of Music, London, winning the

outstanding student prize in her final year, she was awarded a scholarship to study Dalcroze Eurhythmics in Geneva. She spent her early career teaching music in a range of schools to children of all ages before gaining a PhD in early childhood music from the University of Surrey. She has published widely in professional and academic journals and is frequently invited to present at conferences, both nationally and internationally. She has written several books, including *Music with the Under Fours* and *Critical New Perspectives in Early Childhood Music: Young Children Engaging and Learning Through Music*.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

S. Young and B. Ilari

In recent years the provision of music for young children in its many forms has grown considerably. At the same time, young children's musical activity remains low on the scholarly hierarchy. This neglect of early childhood music in the various music disciplines relates to wider theoretical and cultural assumptions that lead to a lack of interest in young children and their music. More specifically it relates to the pervasive and persistent belief that because young children have not yet acquired conventional musical skills, their musical activity is not worthy of serious academic attention.

In the wider fields of early years education and childhood studies, early childhood music has been marginalised for a different set of reasons. It is typically viewed as a small-scale, specialist area and broadly assumed to have little relevance to mainstream issues and topics. This positioning reflects long-standing conceptions of music teaching and learning derived from music education's heritage in Western 'art' music. These conceptions suggest that music requires specialist teaching skills and that learning and progress is based on acquiring a set of narrowly defined, performance abilities. Despite much persuasive writing (e.g. Marsh & Young, 2016) that explains how musical behaviours are interwoven into holistic, playful and sociable activities in early childhood and convincing research providing empirical evidence, the assumptions are deep-set. These assumptions hold back the integration of children's musical activity into mainstream interests in early childhood and educational studies.

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In spite of this marginalisation, however, there are active scholars who are studying and writing about young children's musical experiences and activity. These scholars are working in the various fields of education, psychology, neuroscience, anthropology/ethnomusicology, philosophy, sociology and cultural/media studies. Many of them are starting to broach new ways of researching and understanding young children's music. But academics from different disciplinary areas who share interests in early childhood music rarely meet in the same conferences or publish in the same journals. Their work is dispersed. In the study of children more generally, beyond a focus on music alone, there have been important moves towards interdisciplinarity, thereby reaping benefits from bringing multi-disciplinary perspectives together and encouraging inter-disciplinary conversations. Different perspectives complement one another, and contribute to a more holistic view of early childhood music. But contact and integration between scholars with varied disciplinary orientations is not yet taking place in early childhood music. There have been published volumes by various authors which take explicitly psychological (e.g. Sloboda & Deliège, 1996) and more recently, neuroscientific views (e.g. Folland, Butler, Payne, & Trainor, 2015). Some volumes adopt an ethnomusicological view without focusing solely on young children (Campbell & Wiggins, 2013) while others view early childhood music from educational and pedagogical standpoints (Burton & Taggart, 2011; Smithrim & Upitis, 2007). At the time of writing however, we could not find a single text where different views of music and young children, and their underlying epistemologies, are presented. This book was born out of this serious omission.

Music in Early Childhood: Multi-disciplinary Perspectives and Inter-disciplinary Exchanges explores many aspects of music in early childhood, bringing together a wide range of approaches and theoretical perspectives. The variety of subjects covered includes the capacities and competences that children possess for music, their musical interactions with those close to them, their musicking (Small, 1998) within the contexts of home, daycare and nursery as well as wider issues of musical traditions and identity, commercialism and the impact of new technologies. We intend this book to have both a pragmatic purpose; to be useful to all those working in music with young children as educators, community artists, therapists and more, and to provide theoretical stimulus for those more aligned with academia and research. That said, in their writing the authors move constantly between theory and descriptions of real-world activity in ways that challenge rigid theory/practice divisions. Many authors closely examine small events that they have drawn from observations of educational experiences or children's musical activity in everyday life. By analysing these small events they draw new insights, using them to inform and progress their thinking and develop theoretical depth. Many of these insights will, we propose, suggest new directions and possibilities for research and practice.

Moreover the view of music learning that threads through the chapters is not confined to educational settings but expands to include children's immersion in everyday musical activities of family and home, and participation in musical events and activities in social groups and communities. With this volume, we also aim to problematise and contribute to the debate on musical development. Musical devel-

opment is often conceived in narrow and limited terms as the unfolding – from pre-birth through to adulthood – of musical skills derived from Western art music. Furthermore, developmental music research has typically centred on a view of music as a body of skills and knowledge to be learned, and of children as immature adults who are undergoing a process of 'becoming' musical. Until fairly recently, conceptions of musical development have also followed models or stages, with adult abilities as both the point of reference and the end goal (see Ilari, 2018). Yet, as is very evident in this book, young children live their musical lives in the present, 'being' musical. Their musical experiences can be compared to constellations in that they may appear and disappear in a fraction of time, only to re-emerge later on, in a similar or varied form. Being and becoming intersect in children's lives (see also Ilari & Young, 2016). Therefore, a much broader view of musical development is needed in order to understand what changes have occurred in children's musicking over the course of time. Such a view must encompass not only the myriad ways children engage with music, but must also take into account the diverse factors that enable musicking, from micro influences at the family level to the broader societal and cultural influences (see also Hargreaves & Lamont, 2017).

The Present Volume

In planning this present volume, we invited contributors whose work represents a range of disciplinary perspectives. We did not ask them to mould their writing to fit a predetermined framework of our design, but invited them to select topics from their recent work. We thought that the risk of divergence between chapters would be off-set by the freedom given to each author to write what they considered to be timely and important to say from their specific viewpoints. Readers will notice that chapters follow writing traditions from distinct disciplines, each with their own representations of musical child, childhood and children's musical lives.

On receiving the chapters, we read them closely and identified emerging themes that started to coalesce across and between chapters. In a multi-disciplinary text it is important to move beyond simply gathering together motley ideas drawn from different disciplinary perspectives but to look for similarities and commonalities. We discovered that some authors, although from different disciplinary orientations, were writing about similar or overlapping ideas. Equally, there were some ideas, such as the use of the term 'musicking' and an interest in children's musical agency that cropped up in several chapters but had been applied in different empirical and theoretical contexts. So rather than introduce all the chapters individually with a short synopsis as is familiar practice in the opening chapter of an edited volume, we present the topics and themes that we identified. We accompany the presentation of topics and themes with a brief discussion that points to what, from our reading, are emerging and important areas to consider for all those concerned with young children and their music. Thus we aim to begin an inter-disciplinary exchange that we hope readers will develop and continue beyond our starting points here.

Our identification of themes and similarities also underpins the grouping of chapters into four parts. The first part includes three chapters that explore music made by children as they interact with others (siblings, parents, daycare workers and peers) in homes and care settings. The second part focuses on the capacities for music that all children possess such as sociality, self-generated vocalising, and embodiment. In the third part we assembled those chapters that explore the types of music that adults provide and introduce into young children's lives with a particular focus on musical traditions and their re-enactment in light of shifting social, cultural and political environments. The fourth and final part includes chapters that explore varied constructions of musical childhoods as gendered, as created through commodified music, through formal tuition, and enabled by new technological devices. Whatever the focal topic of a chapter, in many instances discussion surrounding the introduction of types of music and musical engagements into children's lives reflect parenting, educational, cultural, political or commercial goals. As will be seen, sometimes there is congruence between these different goals, but at other times there are tensions and conflicts.

Before we embark on presenting the topics that frame the chapters and the themes that emerge from dialogue between them, there is more to say about the contributing authors. They are at varying stages in their careers: some are early career authors and some more experienced and established. In our view, new voices should be heard and new work, from new theoretical positions, should reach wider audiences. We strove for international representation, but this was less easy to achieve than we had hoped and the authors still cluster around our own European and North American locations. We are however very aware of the geographical omissions and hope in the future that it can be otherwise. Almost all our authors are either educators and researchers currently working closely and substantially with young children, or have practical experience prior to their move into academia. We believe this to be important, as nothing can replace the tacit knowledge that is acquired through direct contact and experience with babies and young children and their musicality.

The Chapters

There are some general points of convergence between the 15 chapters in this book. As we juxtaposed them, we realised there are theories and earlier works of particular salience to the field which remain informative to the writing of several authors. Examples include Malloch and Trevarthen's communicative musicality (2009), Small's musicking (1998), and Leman's embodied music cognition (2007), as well as seminal writings by John Blacking, Amanda Minks, Patricia Shehan Campbell, and Ellen Dissanayake, to name a few. This canon of literature reaffirms, in many ways, what practitioners and researchers have experienced in situ. Embodied music cognition, for example, not only aligns well with the writings of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze, but also connects with the widespread view of movement as central to

young children's musical experiences. Likewise, the works of Blacking, Minks, Campbell and others, which have helped to advance the idea of children's musical cultures, are consistent with the different expressions of musicality that practitioners across the globe witness in their daily work with young children.

Readers will also discover other crossovers in the text, such as connections between findings obtained in laboratories and those emerging from field-based studies. For example, micro-details obtained from psychological studies that explored musical responses to social and pro-social factors in experimental situations (Soley, this volume) connect with an anthropologist's discussions of social empathy among children participating in an intercultural music project (Pieridou Skoutella, this volume). Although these two chapters are very different in disciplinary orientation, both provide insights into the relationships between musical experiences in early childhood and empathy for others. Another example of a connecting theme between chapters is that of inadvertent harm to children caused by the unthinking application of dominant educational approaches. This theme is revealed through the micro-analyses of conversations and musical improvisation of one child (Kanellopoulos, this volume), and through reflections upon the curriculum and pedagogy imposed on Israeli-Palestinian children in one nursery setting (Gluschankof, this volume). These two authors write about children in different countries and educational situations, yet move between theory and observations of children's musicking to arrive at critiques of dominant and dominating practices that reveal the subtle operations of power implicit in certain educational pedagogies. These are two examples and there are many more overlaps and links between chapters.

In the next sections, some of the common topics and themes that emerged from the juxtaposition of chapters are discussed. We have encapsulated them under four interrelated headings, namely, *Places and Spaces, Music and the Child, Identities*, *Being with*, as depicted in Fig. 1.1.

Places and Spaces

Young children's musical experiences take place in a variety of settings, including at home with families, in daycare, kindergarten and schools, specialised community-based programmes like 'mummy-and-me' sessions, and in virtual communities, through the use of ever-evolving digital technologies (Young & Ilari, 2012). One of the most important recent developments in early childhood music that is clearly reflected in this book, is the interest in young children's music within the family and home environment. For a long time the focus centred on musical activity in the preschool setting, day-care or early years schooling, and activity at home was seen as merely peripheral. Now, the tables have almost completely turned and all our authors, in one way or another, address the primacy and richness of children's everyday musical experiences within homes, families and wider socio-cultural environments. Their research is either located in the home, or their discussions
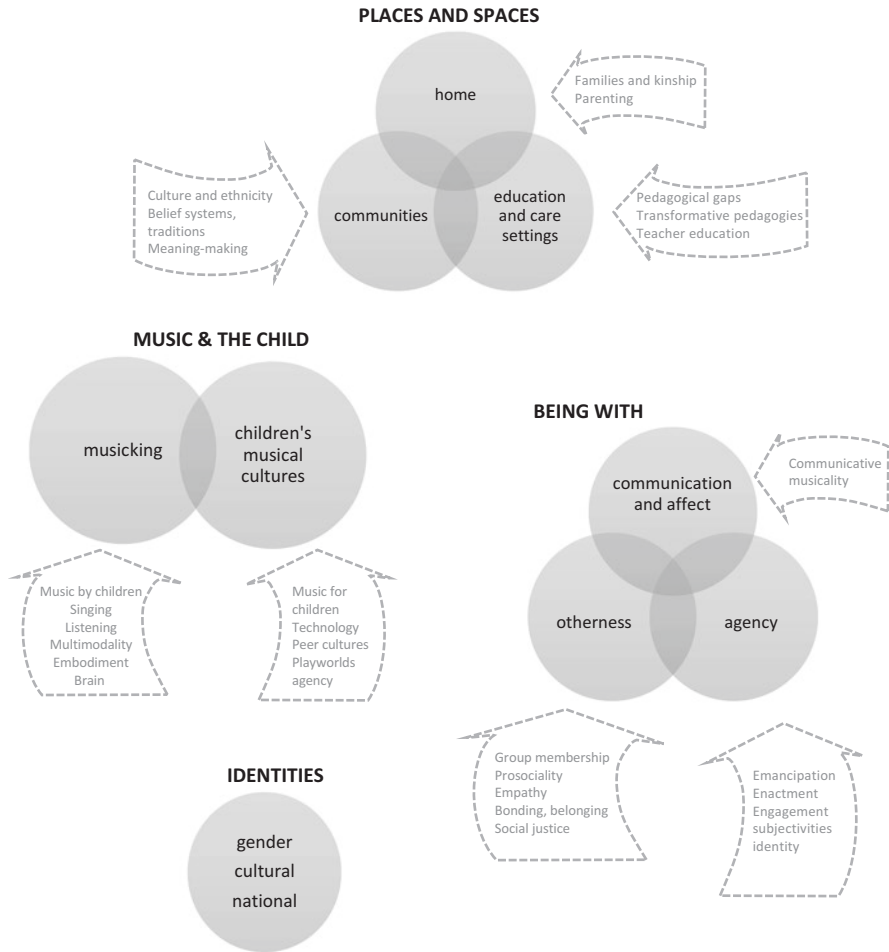
Fig. 1.1 Schematic representation of common topics and themes and their articulations

encompass the children's family musical culture as the crucible of children's musicality and the backdrop to educational activities. These expanded understandings of children's musical lives at home and in wider communities are complementing and extending understandings that have already accumulated in previous decades from studies of children in preschool settings and the more formal environments of music lessons and the research laboratory. We argue that this shift into wider contexts and with children of younger and younger ages has considerably expanded the scope of early childhood music research and expanded our understanding. One consequence is, however, that the earliest years of schooling and conventional music lessons may now be receiving less attention. Hence the value of chapters that focus on children at the start of formal education in contexts such as the school music class or instrumental lesson (e.g., Roberts, this volume).

As research into the home-family environment has developed, so it has expanded into more nuanced dimensions such as musical relationships among siblings, the contemporary family home as a place for solitary music play and the influence of touchscreen technologies on musical activity at home. As Bronya Dean puts it, both the social and material characteristics of the home afford different types of musical agency. In the context of contemporary childhoods, parenting cultures and technological developments (pertaining particularly to privileged children living in post-industrial countries), the many dimensions of home life for young children are changing and having consequent impact on the nature of children's music and musical experiences. In addition, as a place for carrying out research, the home and family life present a number of practical and ethical challenges. In several chapters authors explain how research methods are evolving and adapting to the study of music at home. Methods include enlisting the participation of parents to write diaries and collect photos and video data such as described by Lisa Koops, Christa Kuebel, Susan Young and Yen-Ting Wu, or having children wear special devices to capture their vocalisations, as explained by Bronya Dean.

A thought-provoking caveat is raised by Tyler Bickford, who suggests that an emphasis on family music can represent a 'domesticating move that encloses children within the family'. This, he suggests, may be counter to alternative conceptions of children as members of communities that exist beyond the home. Thus, in the Westernised nuclear family, cultures of parenting and ideologies of childhood may account for a focus on particular types of childhoods lived at home, that inadvertently lead to reinforcing certain conceptions of musical childhood. Andrea Emberly's chapter can serve as a counter-balance to this risk of a domesticating move, as in the Vhavenda communities that she studied.

Educational Settings, Pedagogical Gaps, and Transformative Pedagogies

In many of the chapters, from whichever direction they start out, the authors arrive at points where children's musicality, musical imaginations and musical identities connect, interact, engage with or even conflict with the musics introduced into their lives by those around them. As seen here, the majority of musical encounters are introduced by the adults in their lives, although other children, siblings and peers also play an important musical role in children's lives. The adults include parents, extended family members, educators, curriculum designers, media producers, professional musicians and commercial music marketers. Authors reflect on these points of contact and on how they introduce new possibilities that allow children's musical imaginations to flourish. There are many descriptions of interactions between educators, parents and a grandparent, and babies and young children that create moments of musical flourishing. These encounters may also introduce

constraints and mechanisms of control (whether intentionally or unintentionally) that contain rigid definitions of gender, race, or social class. Others leave these implications at the discretion of the readers, albeit offering rich accounts of children's musicking in situ. The key dilemma these reflections raise is how to arrive at a rapprochement between children's own identities, ways of engaging, their own musical imaginations, their needs for knowledge and skills as being-becoming musicians (and becoming musicians into their own musical futures) and the musical encounters provided for them by the adults in their lives. And arriving at a rapprochement that embodies the values of equality and social justice that we, as adults, aim to promote.

What is noticeable is that several authors are warning of gaps opening up between what we now understand about children's own musical worlds, their musical imaginations, subjectivities and rightful heritages, and what is offered to them in educational practice. Avra Pieridou Skoutella expresses this concern head on, writing that the 'gap between educators' pre-determined music lessons and fixed educational 'recipes' and young children's contextual forms of music learning is even wider and deeper and the need to take action is more demanding than is generally assumed'. Some authors painstakingly assemble the evidence and develop theoretical arguments in order to reveal those gaps, while others, like Berenice Nyland and Christopher Roberts, go on to explore pedagogical innovations that can work across them. These authors describe approaches that weave young children's own musical capacities and identities into their educational experiences. Avra Pieridou Skoutella, in particular, explores the skills, knowledge and understandings that educators would require if they were to develop intercultural music programmes. This chapter takes us the furthest in its recommendations for practice, particularly the need for reflective practice that allows educators to explore the emotional dimension of what a change in practice would mean for them.

Music and the Child

A second emergent theme concerns the many ways that children engage with music, whether through self-initiated practices or motivated by an adult (caregiver or teacher) or play partner. Children's musicking and their musical cultures are described from different viewpoints and in a wide range of settings—from the home to educational, care settings and the community at large. Children's musicking, although relational (to use Small's definition) is more centred on the individual child. Moreover it represents but one way in which children engage in their musical cultures. There are other forms of engagement that are common to children from a given group, community or society.

Musicking

Young children's self-initiated music-making is difficult to describe and define. When children weave their music-like activity into many other modes of activity, this interweaving defies definitions based on musical elements alone. When, for example, babies and toddlers vocalise, tap, move rhythmically and play peek-a-boo at what point can this time-based, contoured activity be framed as musical in some way? And how can children's growing understanding of how music operates be facilitated within cultural contexts and incorporated into conceptions of their musical learning and knowledge? Many of our authors turned to Small's (1998) concept of musicking as being more appropriate to young children's activity because its expanded conceptions of musical process are able to capture the fluid, multimodal and context-embedded nature of young children's music-making. For Small:

> To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing. We might at times even extend its meaning to what the person is doing who takes the tickets at the door or the hefty men who shift the piano and the drums or the roadies who set up the instruments and carry out the sound checks or the cleaners who clean up after everyone else has gone. They, too, are all contributing to the nature of the event that is a musical performance. (p. 13)

It is interesting to read how Small's flexible concept of musicking is adopted by different authors in varying ways across the volume. Lisa Koops, Christa Kuebel, and Amanda Niland use the term musicking when referring to different modes of music-making. Christopher Roberts extends the concept of musicking, suggesting that young children's musickings can have different qualities such as advanced and active (and by comparison, initial and less active). Ingeborg Vestad talks of musicking as something much broader and contextual, and further develops the idea of musicking to arrive at a concept of musickingship.

Three aspects of musicking that emerged from the several chapters are worthy of further commentary in the paragraphs that follow: generating music, singing, and multimodality.

Generating Music

A key aspect of musicking is the spontaneous generation of music (often called 'music production' among music psychologists and neuroscientists) by young children. We purposefully choose the term 'generating' (and not 'making' or 'creating'), because it alludes to both young children's agency and to a set of rules, tacit or explicit, that characterise children's music cognition. In other words, children's musical expressions, from vocalisations to improvisations and gestures, are important expressions of a musical being, whose body, mind, brain, and heart exist in time, space, and culture. The music that young children generate does not emerge in a vacuum, but is deeply interlinked with both the potentials of their brain and body

and to their navigations and negotiations with the multiple environments of their daily lives (see Young & Ilari, 2012). Readers will find many illustrations of this interlinked process as they read about the vocalisations and spontaneous songs described in the chapters by Bronya Dean and Amanda Niland, Leonie's piano improvisations in Panos Kanellopoulos' chapter, and Ingeborg Vestad's powerful description of two boys playing their 'imaginary guitars' in the sandbox.

Singing

As a manifestation of musicking and generating music, singing and its meaning in young children's lives is mentioned in a majority of the chapters. This is no surprise given that songs and singing are rich and important resources in young children's lives (Marsh & Young, 2016). There are multiple illustrations of singing among babies through to 5- and 6-year-olds (e.g., Dean, this volume; Koops and Kuebel, this volume; Niland, this volume), as well as reports on their responses to songs (see Ilari & Cho, this volume; Soley, this volume). The quantity and variety of illustrations also reflect the focus on naturalistic, everyday activity in many chapters and highlight the fact that song is the most accessible musical medium for young children.

Multimodality

Another theme that threads through most (if not all) chapters is the multimodal nature of young children's musicking. Again, conceptions of multimodality vary from chapter to chapter. Luc Nijs and Melissa Bremmer approach the idea of multimodality through the lens of embodied music cognition (Leman, 2007). Ingeborg Vestad combines a multimodal approach with the concept of affordance. She further argues that interactions are multimodal in nature and this definition ties in well with Small's (1998) idea of musicking being relational. Tyler Bickford, Susan Young and Yen Ting Wu, use multimodality in association with literacy's new communication forms and technology. And although Andrea Emberly and Gaye Soley do not use the term multimodality in their chapters, their descriptions of children's participation in the research process is also indicative of the multimodal nature of children's musical thinking and engagement. Multimodality unsurprisingly, is further supported by brain imaging research, as discussed by Beatriz Ilari and Eun Cho. Altogether, these chapters offer an opportunity for bringing varied perspectives together and redefining multimodality as it relates to young children and music.

Young Children's Musical Cultures: 'Listening' to Children

Taking children's musicking and musical cultures seriously – with assumptions of competence rather than the deficit views often perpetuated by conventional developmental accounts – has become central to early childhood music scholarship,

reflecting moves in the wider field of early childhood studies and education. Many authors reveal and discuss the ways in which they have attempted to understand from the children's own perspective, carrying out research *with* children rather than *on* them. Andrea Emberly offers some clear examples of what can be learned from and about children when they serve as co-researchers. Other authors have adopted observational, ethnographic methods that seek to reveal the realities of children's agentic musical lives with as little disturbance as possible. Yet the careful work of psychologists, neuroscientists, described by Gaye Soley, Beatriz Ilari and Eun Cho, in finding methods to study the non-vocal, and even internal responses of very young children, are no less attentive and respectful, albeit through alternative, experimental methods using advanced technologies.

The importance of attending to children's multiple ways of engaging with music is also at the heart of many chapters. Several authors expand the notion of 'listening' to mean more than simply taking in aural information. Understanding from the perspective of the very youngest non-verbal infants and toddlers presents a particular challenge. Berenice Nyland therefore expands the notion of listening to include a form of receptivity to children that aims to be sensitive to their multimodal engagements. Panos Kanellopoulos and Christopher Roberts both provide scripted conversations with children that reveal their adult efforts to listen to children in order to truly grasp their intended meanings and then to gently prompt, challenge and shift the children's thinking. Thus author/researchers in this book have also taken great care to adopt approaches to young children that will enable them to reveal their music-making, their musical capabilities, and their musical thinking.

Expanded ways of listening and being receptive, challenge the adults to reflect on children's musical actions and their words and come to new understandings that they suggest feed back into how we educate children musically. Luc Nijs and Melissa Bremmer offer some ideas concerning ways to apply embodied music cognition with young children. The activities they propose are grounded on a dynamic exchange between what is proposed by the leading adult (a teacher, caregiver or parent) and the children's responses, which are based on observation and extension. Amanda Niland's chapter offers valuable insights into a similar pedagogical process, as she explains how educators and carers can connect with young children's musical ideas and actions and build on them. While these interactive, pedagogical processes may be familiar practice in other domains of early childhood education, these descriptions of their application to music education practices (still dominated by adult-led, didactic methods), provide exemplary models of alternative practice, much-needed by the field of early childhood music education. Perhaps a good place to start 'listening' to children is through a careful observation of musical play and playworlds.

Musical Play and Playworlds

Looking back, the focus of much scholarship in the late 1990s and into the 2000s was to argue for the importance of children's self-generated musical activity within child-centred conceptions of music learning. It would seem that the rationales for children's learning through musical play are well enough established in theory, even

if less established in practice. From this firmer foothold, there is now scope to develop, expand and refine our understandings of children's musical play and the pedagogies it calls for and the chapters ahead provide plentiful and richly descriptive examples. Berenice Nyland extends music play pedagogy between daycare workers and babies by adopting and adapting the Swedish play scholar Gunilla Lindqvist's pedagogical approach of playworlds. For Amanda Niland, Corsaro's (1992) theory of interpretive reproduction provides a lens through which to analyse children in a preschool setting creating their own local music cultures through song play. Similarly Claudia Gluschankof notices Palestinian-Israeli children playing with song in ways that subvert the dominant culture, calling upon post-colonial theory to develop her arguments. Avra Pieridou Skoutella encourages forms of musical play that will foster intercultural connections between children living in different European Mediterranean countries and finds inspiration in the Aristotelian idea of *mimesis*. The newly arrived touchscreen technologies enabling new forms of musical play at home among girls, are described in Susan Young and Yen-Ting Wu's chapter.

Identities

Young children's musical experiences and the opportunities afforded to them to exercise musical agency are directly linked to identity construction, our third emergent theme. Children derive meaning as they engage with music in multiple ways and as they generate their own music. An assumption of many scholars in early childhood music is that such experiences are profound, and may create a lasting impression later on (e.g., Davidson & Emberly, 2012; Trevarthen, Gratier, & Osborne, 2014). The authors in this book write about many aspects of children's identity construction, in and through music. Two identity-related themes prevalent in this volume are culture and gender. These obviously intersect with other social categories of difference such as ethnicity, race, nationality, religious background, age and generation.

Gender Identity

In several chapters, an aspect of gender identity through music emerges from discussions of other topics. These various discussion points serve to remind us how musical practices can include powerful signifiers of gender.

Unguided free play, although the mainstay of practice in early childhood education contexts, may serve to reinforce stereotypical behaviours. Drawing on their background experiences, young children often re-enact popular music performances in their play. Amanda Niland describes an observation of girls wearing fairy wings who were singing and dancing. Their performance prompted the boys to take up an inflatable guitar and loudly pronounce 'boys' music'. The boys were declaring and 're-presenting' a gender division that is present and emphasised in pop music. This

observation relates directly to Ingeborg Vestad's discussion of the gender-based interpretive frames that we may unwittingly bring to bear in our responses to girls or boys making music in playful situations. Claudia Gluschankof is also presented with a dilemma when she observes children's self-initiated music play that reproduces rigid male/female social roles. On the one hand, the song play provides Palestinian-Israeli children with a vehicle to subvert the linguistic and cultural dominance of the Israeli-Hebrew curriculum but on the other hand it reinforces the separation of male and female roles within Arab society. Thus, chapter authors arrive at the challenges faced by educators in deciding whether and/or when to intervene in children's free play and if so, how. There are thoughtful equations to be made between allowing children freedom (and agency) and actively steering them towards what is desirable for the wider society in terms of equality and social justice (Biesta, 2014).

Along similar lines, Susan Young and Yen-Ting Wu acknowledge that their case study children are all girls. This gender-biased selection was unintentional; only girls were volunteered to participate in the study by their parents. However this gender bias is likely to be a reflection of Chinese parenting values in relation to daughters and sons. It is interesting to note that music technology is characteristically a masculine-biased activity, yet the everyday accessibility of touchscreen technologies generate, among girls predominantly, forms of sing-along activities that draw heavily from the gender-essentialist princess and fairy themes of Disney popular culture (Young & Wu, this volume).

This present-day emerging yet secondary focus on gender contrasts with the 1990s when issues of gender in music education enjoyed a short-lived period of theory-inspired academic activity. This, to us, signals a return to gender as a topic of importance in early childhood music scholarship after it has been side-lined for many years. What is interesting is that the issues around gender have emerged from observations of children's self-initiated music play and are therefore brought to the fore from an empirical rather than theoretical viewpoint—in contrast to the 1990s when the motivator was arguably more theoretical.

Cultural Identity

It is perhaps not surprising, given current global intensities around issues of national identity and diversity, that many of our chapters address what it means to have a sense of belonging to a particular cultural group and how that can manifest through musical practices. As Gaye Soley argues, 'Indeed, a large body of evidence suggests that music is used as a marker of one's social history and social identity and affects perception of others'. Moreover race and coloniality receive much attention in this volume. This attention reflects broad changes in the concerns of education and, in many countries, the increasing political control of education.

The wider political and social environments within which authors are working clearly influence their perspectives and the topics they have chosen to write about. In

the socially fractured countries of Cyprus and Israel the mechanisms through which national identity is either fostered or subverted through educational processes is more apparent than it may be in other countries because the tensions are closer to the surface. Nevertheless the mixed musical identities of Greek Cypriot and Israeli children are indicative of issues that may relate to other geographical locations. What these two chapters highlight is the importance of attending to specific cultural-historical moments and situations and how these impact on music in early childhood.

While for some authors the pedagogical endeavour is to emphasise and enrich fragile musical identities among minority groups that are threatened for a range of reasons, it is interesting that two authors who live and work in the US, discuss the expansion of children's musical horizons, either through pedagogical design or commodified music production. Christopher Roberts describes 'mixing up' the children's identities even more, by introducing musics that lie outside their traditions and everyday experiences. Through music, he aims to provoke the children to think with a greater awareness of social divisions and inequalities. Tyler Bickford, in turn, discusses a relatively new genre of Kindie music, and adult decisions that lie behind cultivation of musical style for young children. If, as Biesta (2014) proposes, the purpose of education is to exist in the world in a 'grown-up' (i.e. a philosophical and reflective) way, then the endeavours of Christopher Roberts to bring new musical challenges to young children, honestly told with successes and failures in verbatim scripts of his teaching, complies with that purpose.

Related to cultural identity is the intergenerational transmission of musical knowledge and, consequently, the sustainability of cultural heritage. The latter is of interest to several of our authors, particularly in those contexts where cultural heritage may be more fragile because of political dominance over the minority group. These issues are brought up by Andrea Emberly in her work in South Africa, Claudia Gluschankof in relation to minority children in Israel, and Avra Pieridou Skoutella in relation to Mediterranean traditions. It would seem that it is in countries where cultural identity and musical traditions are more threatened, that this becomes a pressing issue.

Being With

Whether they take place in homes, schools or communities, musical experiences in early childhood are highly influenced by children's companions, including interactions with family members, peers, teachers or community members. All authors, without exception, draw attention to and respect the 'being with' aspect of music in the early years, our fourth and last emergent theme. While some authors focus on music-related interactions happening 'in the moment' or in what Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2001) have called micro-time (e.g., Lisa Koops and Christa Kuebel, Panos Kanellopoulos, Susan Young and Yen-Ting Wu, in their descriptions of music in homes), others have focused on the meso-time or the consistency of activities and interactions in a child's life (i.e., Ilari and Cho, when they discuss 'effects of music').

Still others like Andrea Emberly and Tyler Bickford have made efforts to discuss macro-time issues, or those related to social and historical times. These different interactions and conceptions of time illustrate the complexity of the relationship between children's sense of belonging; to a family, to a group of peers, to institutions, to a country and culture.

As noted earlier, communicative musicality (Malloch & Trevarthen, 2009) continues to be a fruitful theoretical source that Lisa Koops and Christa Kuebel, and Berenice Nyland use to explain aspects of close engagements in musical interactions. Koops and Kuebel adopt this theoretical framework to describe sibling interactions in one nuclear family with four children. Berenice Nyland, in turn, uses communicative musicality as a lens to describe the social interactions of a 9-month-old in a daycare centre. These different interpretations and applications of communicative musicality point to its continuing potential as an explanatory framework.

Other views of music as a form of 'being with' in the early years follow different theoretical orientations. Christopher Roberts, for example, bases his work on Campbell's (2016) World Music Pedagogy with its implicit goal of promoting social justice. 'Being with' takes a wider dimension here, by potentially increasing affiliation and social cohesion. Recognising that knowledge of songs may provide important cues into one's past social history and culture, Gaye Soley describes carefully designed studies where she examines young children's perceptions of otherness through songs. In her work, she shows how knowledge of songs may foster children's peer interactions, raising many questions about the role of music and music education in early childhood. A converging point between these different forms of 'being with' in and through music is an underlying assumption that babies and young children have some degree of agency.

Agency

How we approach the study of children's musical experiences in the early years is dependent on methods that allow and encourage them to represent and voice their own views on the role of music in their lives. Agency is, unsurprisingly, context dependent and is constrained, enabled and articulated in different ways according to each situation. Understanding agency is central, given its role in children's musicking and musical cultures, in the development and construction of identities, and in children's interactions with others and the world. Many chapters advance our thinking of this concept.

How children take up and re-work music on their terms, with musical agency, emerges in many chapters following the clear idea that children are not passively socialised into music, but absorb, transform and adapt it, and through these processes imbue it with their own meanings and purposes. In those chapters we hear of children using songs and music in their lives to make relationships with peers, siblings, and close adults, to form a stronger sense of their own identity. Although songs appear to come more readily to children, agency through playing instruments

is also present in the lives of children, particularly those beyond the preschool years, as seen in the narrative of sibling musical interactions by Lisa Koops and Christa Kuebel. Even if she does not use the term explicitly, Berenice Nyland brings to light the issue of agency in babies in her chapter, and similar to the work of Smørholm (2016) and Gottlieb (2000) sees agency in shared, relational terms. Agency here refers to one's ability to change the lives of those in their surroundings, which is consistent with Nyland's descriptions.

Agency as a relational phenomenon is also prominent in several chapters. For Luc Nijs and Melissa Bremmer agency is not only defined in individual terms or 'I agency', but also in relational terms as 'we-agency'. In their work, the body is viewed as a source of agency. Although early childhood music educators often speak about the ubiquity of body movement and gesture in young children's musicking, it is noticeable that the body in musical action emerges less strongly in our chapters. Only Luc Nijs and Melissa Bremmer give embodied agency such prominence, although it is subtly present in many chapters through the frequent descriptions of actions and gestures. This hints at a topic that deserves prominence but has currently slipped into the background in early childhood music scholarship.

However, as Tyler Bickford reminds us, 'While research in music education and ethnomusicology has established that children are important social and musical agents, it is equally important to understand how adults actively define and circumscribe that agency in their interactions with and ideologies about children'. This adult role in providing both potentials and constraints on children's becoming musical is evident in Bronya Dean's and Susan Young and Yen-Ting Wu's descriptions of parental roles and Ingeborg Vestad's analysis of the role of educators. In Panos Kanellopoulos' chapter we notice the grandmother providing responsive interactions with piano improvisations and a researcher who, by talking with the child and listening, endeavours to foster a sense of the child's own musical agency to improvise. Here Kanellopoulos troubles the notion of children's agency and shows how it is easily constrained by assumptions of how musical learning should be conducted in a process seemingly benign and not imposed, but one that assumes the control will be absorbed and become self-imposed.

Another view of agency, one perhaps less obvious, arises from reflection on laboratory-based studies. Researchers working in such settings strive to create tasks that are appealing to young children to keep them motivated. While these tasks vary in terms of how much freedom children may have to express their own ideas and desires while completing them, in this type of research, anticipated responses are usually defined *a priori*. Thus, it takes a skilful researcher to design a task that allows children to exert their agency while also being playful, engaging and informative. Some methodologies, as discussed in the chapter that focuses on neuroscience (i.e., Ilari and Cho), may limit children's musical agency, although we certainly hope that future technological advances may solve this issue.

Final Word

These are some of the main themes that emerged through juxtaposition of the chapters and the dialogue between the chapters that was generated for us as editors. Our hope is that readers will not only find the individual chapters informative, but will agree with us that there is much to learn about the interdisciplinary exchange presented in this book.

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Part I
Children Making Music with Others

Chapter 2
Singing and Playing with Friends: Musical Identities and Peer Cultures in Early Years Settings

Amanda Niland

Introduction

The Dump Truck Song

Ethan (aged 5 years 2 months) sat down on the 'teacher's chair' to have a turn of my guitar. I crouched behind him, my fingers on the fret board fingering an E major chord while he strummed. Seeing him with the guitar, a group of about eight children quickly gathered at his feet to listen, including three boys who were his regular playmates. 'Sing your dump truck song', his best friend Cory asked him. 'Yeah, dump truck song', echoed 4-year-old Phil, who viewed Ethan and Cory as his heroes and was always anxious to play with them. Ethan looked at the circle of expectant, upturned faces, grinned broadly, took a deep breath and began his dump truck song. Field journal notes (Niland, 2012)

For these children, music is not an abstract concept, defined in terms of patterns of sounds; rather it is a form of action they share with those around them (Small, 1998). As Small says, 'music is not a thing, but an activity, something that people do' (p. 2); indeed Small argues that music should be a verb rather than a noun, and terms this *musicking*. For Ethan and his friends, musicking is a way of playing, of expressing themselves, of communicating with each other as together they make meaning of their worlds (Barrett, 2006; Bjørkvold, 1989; Wright, 2012).

Recognition of the inherently social, action-oriented nature of music underpins this chapter. In it I explore the ways children musick (Small, 1998) as they interact with each other in their play. Musicking is one of the many modes of communication that children slip seamlessly between as they go about their lives (Bjørkvold, 1989; Vestad, 2019, this volume; Wright, 2012). This then plays a role in the development of their social identities and peer cultures in early childhood education and

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care settings. Children themselves drive the creation of these identities and cultures, through a process sociologist William Corsaro terms *interpretive reproduction* (2005). The ways they musick also reflect reciprocal intersections with broader spheres of musical culture (Slobin, 1993) in the social ecology of their lives (Bronfenbrenner, 1981/2009). The form of music I will focus on in this chapter is singing, as it is something many children frequently do (see also Dean, this volume).

To begin the chapter I contextualise this exploration of musical identities and cultures with a discussion of the changing perspectives on research into early childhood development and education, and the consequent changes in music research related to early childhood. I argue for recognition of musicality as an inherent human quality, and thus an essential part of childhood. I provide definitions of identity and culture relevant to contemporary understandings of young children's development and their lives in early childhood education and care settings. I then draw on some of my research, in Australia, into the role of singing in young children's musical identities and peer cultures, in order to illustrate the central role that children themselves play in creating these.

Background: Music in the Early Years

Music, particularly singing, is likely to be part of a child's life right from birth, often beginning with the soothing songs such as lullabies sung to them by mothers and other close adults. In the twenty-first century, in many urban communities around the world, music is experienced in a greater myriad of ways than ever before, due to music technology and the commercialisation of music industries (Campbell, 2015; Hargreaves, Miell, & MacDonald, 2002; Young, 2009). However and regardless of this, singing remains an integral part of young children's musical lives and cultures, as well as being central to early childhood music education (Welch, 2016).

Singing has traditionally been regarded as essential in early childhood education in many Anglo-European countries, acknowledged by educational thinkers such as Rousseau, Froebel and Dewey, whose influence is still evident in contemporary early childhood approaches to pedagogy, and also by the composer/music educators Kodaly and Orff. Singing is a readily accessible form of musicking for young children. They begin to explore the musical potential of their voices early in infancy (Trehub, 2001), and play with improvised song as they grow (Barrett, 2006; Young, 2004). Singing can be frequently observed in children's play, and because this play is widely recognised as central to their learning and development (DEEWR, 2009; DfE, 2017), it follows that children's singing should be nurtured by early childhood educators. While in the past this was often the case (Bridges, as cited in Gillies, 2002), unfortunately today many pre-service educator training courses contain very little music education, including singing skills, and it is therefore increasingly common for early childhood educators to lack confidence and ability in singing (Kim & Kemple, 2011; Swain & Bodkin-Allen, 2014). Kim and Kemple also found that

early childhood educators without musical backgrounds are likely to engage in less music, including singing, in their work with children, or to recognise the value of musicking for children's learning and development across the curriculum. These worrying findings point to the need to use research to build understanding in the wider early childhood education community of the role and value of singing for young children.

Early Childhood Music Education Research

In the past, research into children's musical development and music education commonly adopted an individualised, behavioural focus. However, in the last few decades this research has become gradually more socially focused, with interactions, contexts and other influences being considered. Whereas once musical development was understood and studied predominantly in terms of children's abilities to perceive and accurately reproduce elements of music such as beat, rhythm or pitch (Gordon, 2003), nowadays the influence of families, communities and cultures is recognised (Campbell & Lum, 2007; Young, 2016). Beliefs about the role of music in children's lives, and hence the place and focus of music education, have also changed, with early childhood music education aimed less at skill development in isolation, and more at recognising and enriching children's musical identities and respecting their social and cultural contexts (Barrett, 2010; Hargreaves et al., 2002). The research presented in other chapters of this book provides many examples of the value and relevance of these broader, contextualised perspectives on music in the early years of children's lives.

While past early childhood music research may generally have had an individualised, behavioural focus, often with quasi-experimental designs, it is also important to note that there were some significant researchers who, influenced by anthropology and ethnomusicology, departed from this trend. These researchers provided an important foundation for current recognition of the need for more holistic understandings of young children's musical lives outside educational settings. For example, as far back as late 1930s Donald Pond with the assistance of Gladys Moorhead (1941/1978) studied young children's musical play in a nursery setting, and in 1976 Helmut Moog published a book about his research into preschool children's musical experiences and capabilities. While Moog's work did focus on individual children's musical skill development, he also recognised the importance of musical play in supporting this development. In the 1980s Jan Bjørkvold conducted extensive research in several countries that was influential in guiding early childhood music researchers towards new, broader perspectives (Young, 2016). His ethnographic research involved extended time spent as a participant observer in early childhood settings, in which he explored children's singing in the context of their play and peer social cultures. The research sites were in the USA, Norway and Russia, and data were analysed from both musicological and socio-cultural perspectives, in the tradition of ethnomusicological research. Bjørkvold adopted the term *ngoma*, an African

word for music-making which is interactive and incorporates dance, drama and story. This term, with its recognition of the social, active nature of music, resonates with Small's concept of musicking (1998).

Curriculum Approaches to Music

The gradual move to more holistic early childhood music research parallels trends in research in early childhood development and education generally, where a socio-cultural perspective has become increasingly prevalent, influenced by the work of theorists such as Vygotsky (1978), Bruner (1986), Bronfenbrenner (1981/2009), and Rogoff (2003) and by the emergence of sociological perspectives on childhood (Corsaro, 2005; James & Prout, 1990). In the past two decades Malaguzzi and the educators of Reggio Emilia in Italy (Rinaldi, 2006) have also influenced approaches to early childhood research and pedagogy, with their respect for the rights of children and for children's creativity and competence as leaders of their own learning and development. Current early childhood curricula in parts of the world such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada, UK, Singapore and some European countries, are underpinned by socio-cultural, rights-based perspectives. These curricula prioritise process- rather than product-oriented outcomes with a focus on educators, families and children co-constructing learning in ways that are interactive, and responsive to contexts and cultures (see for example, Best Start Expert Panel on Early Learning, 2007; DEEWR, 2009; DfE, 2017; Finnish National Agency for Education, 2016; Ministry of Education Singapore, 2013). The focus of these curricula is on children's identities and strengths, and on the development of foundational dispositions for learning such as curiosity, creativity, problem-solving and resilience rather than on specific milestones in skill development (Carr & Claxton, 2002/2010).

Similarly, many of these early childhood curricula recognise music as central to children's lives, cultures and identities, and outline approaches to music education that are play-based and integrated across the curriculum (see curriculum documents listed earlier). Interestingly, each of the curricula cited here conceptualise music as having different forms of social, cultural and educational relevance to children, thus resonating with Small's concept of musicking (1998). The current UK Early Years curriculum framework is organised into areas, and includes music under 'Expressive arts and design' (DfE, 2017). The Finnish early childhood curriculum has a similar curriculum area: 'Artistic experiences and self-expression' (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2016), as does the Singapore preschool curriculum (Ministry of Education Singapore). The Chinese curriculum also focuses on the arts as distinct from other areas. It is divided into five domains for children's learning and development: health, language, social development, sciences and the arts. Within the arts domain, there are two major focus areas: 'feelings and appreciation' and 'expression and creation' (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2012).

In contrast, the curriculum relevant to my research context, the Australian Early Years Learning Framework (EYLF), is organised into five broad learning outcomes

that focus on children's identities and learning dispositions (Carr & Claxton, 2002/2010) rather than on curriculum areas (DEEWR, 2009). The EYLF includes music and the other creative arts under Learning Outcome 5: 'Children are effective communicators', which regards the various art forms primarily as 'languages' or modes of communication for children. This conceptualisation of the arts is valuable as it recognises the ways children integrate artistic expression into their play, and use music (and other art forms) to make meaning of the world and to express themselves, thereby acknowledging the social and communicative aspects of the arts. However, the EYLF arguably fails to differentiate between aesthetic/artistic and other ways of knowing, to recognise the value of each art form in and for itself, or to acknowledge the elements, concepts and skills of the art forms and young children's potential for artistic (including musical) learning. It is important to note here that literacy and numeracy are privileged in Outcome 5, with music included only as a form of literacy, 'literacy includes a range of modes of communication including music' (DEEWR, 2009, p. 38).

Despite differences in the ways music is positioned in the curriculum examples discussed, it is significant that all share a focus on nurturing young children's identities. In light of this international recognition of the importance of a positive sense of identity in the early years, and the increasing focus on children's musical identities in current early childhood music research, the next section explores understandings of young children's identity development.

Identity Development in Early Childhood and the Role of Music

The sense of self 'is constantly being reconstructed and renegotiated according to the experiences, situations and other people with whom we interact in everyday life' (Hargreaves et al., 2002, p. 2). This perspective recognises children's individual identities as being socially constructed, and therefore intricately intertwined with their social identity development. Social identity can be defined as a sense of oneself in relation to others (Bennett, 2011). This develops gradually, beginning in infancy, and originating in the close relationships between infants and their close carers/family members. As children grow, their understanding of themselves in relation to others gradually becomes more complex, and they recognise, and identify with a range of different human groupings through their life experiences. In the earliest years of life, gender recognition is thought to be evident from late in infancy (Quinn, Yahr, Kuhn, Slater, & Pascalis, 2002), as is recognition, and identification with, those who speak the child's home language (Nazzi, Bertoncini, & Mehler, 1998), and differentiation between children and adults (Sanefuji, Ohgami, & Hashiya, 2006). Throughout the early years, and indeed beyond, children's recognition of, and identification with, social groups is also linked with the particular material, social and cultural resources in their lives that they have in common with others

in their peer groups (Bourdieu, 1986, as cited in Bennett, 2011). Music is one of these resources, and musicking is one of the means by which children develop a sense of identity.

A feeling of belonging is integral to the development of a positive sense of identity for young children (DEEWR, 2009). Belonging and identity are cultivated through strong, trusting relationships with close adults and peers in children's lives (Degotardi, Sweller, & Pearson, 2013). The shared singing and musical interactions that are so often part of children's earliest relationships can thus play a key role in supporting a sense of belonging within families (Ilari, 2007; Malloch & Trevarthen, 2009; Papousek, 1996). Studies of children's interactions with parents/significant adults during infancy indicate an instinct for mutuality (Stern, 1985), in which researchers have identified musical qualities (Malloch, 1999). Further, some researchers argue convincingly from an anthropological perspective for children's innate, intuitive musicality (Cross & Morley, 2009; Dissanayake, 2009). This innate musicality has been identified in the musical nature of the reciprocity between child and adult inherent in early infant/mother interactions (Dissanayake, 2000; Trevarthen, 1999). It can therefore be argued that music is indeed a social action, for which the verb *to music* is appropriate (Small, 1998). The hypothesis I sought to explore in the first research project presented in the following section was that belonging, a key outcome area in the Australian early childhood curriculum (DEEWR, 2009), could be supported by music not just within the family, but also in early childhood education and care settings. In this project, mutuality and an implicit desire for social togetherness (van Oers & Hannikainen, 2000), contributors to identity development and belonging, were seen in the children's musicking. Togetherness, as conceptualised by van Oers and Hannikainen (2000), and further explored by Rayna (2001), is a way of conceptualising children's urge to connect with peers, to share space, time and experiences, and to find satisfaction and joy in each other's company.

Musical Identities and Peer Cultures in Infant and Toddler Settings

Research Project 1: Music, Identity and Belonging in a Nursery

Using ethnographic and narrative research methods, I investigated the question: 'How does singing contribute to the development of a sense of belonging for infants and toddlers in a group setting?' (Niland, 2015, p. 1). The research site was an early childhood education and care setting on a university campus in a major city in Australia, selected for its high quality early childhood programme, inspired by a Reggio Emilia philosophy, in which musicking occurs regularly across the day in all rooms. The nursery was relaxed and homelike, attended by 12 children per day, with four educators. All the educators had early childhood qualifications.

At the time of data collection, this included one educator with a master's degree and another studying for a bachelor's degree. The educators were all keen singers and one played several musical instruments, so music was central to this nursery. Musicking was mostly spontaneous *a capella* singing, with CDs very occasionally used for soothing background music or for dancing. I was a participant observer in the nursery on the same day each week for about 7 months and my observations were the primary data source. In order to respect the privilege of being a visitor into the lives of the children and educators, I adopted a reactive approach, waiting for children to initiate interactions (Corsaro & Molinari, 2000). Once I became familiar to them, I also joined in group-time singing during my visits and played the ukulele, sometimes accompanying the lead educator in the room, who often played keyboard with the children. Data were recorded using written field notes and video, some filmed by me and some by the centre's outdoor teacher, who worked with all age groups and hence was well known by the children. Interviews with the nursery educators were also conducted, involving discussions around their pedagogical beliefs regarding the role of music, including singing, and reflective discussion of the video footage.

Thematic analysis was used to identify singing behaviours within social interactions that signified aspects of togetherness (van Oers & Hannikainen, 2000), inter-subjectivity (Degotardi, 2011) and peer relationships (Degotardi et al., 2013). Firstly I categorised singing moments in relation to two key aspects: their function and the children's role (Niland, 2015). I identified three functions for these: spontaneous singing during play interactions, established singing rituals during routines and transitions, and intentional singing during daily group time. In relation to the children's role, I categorised these according to whether the child or children were initiators, followers, co-constructors or extenders of the singing. Next I analysed the children's singing moments from an interactive perspective. I looked for indicators of communicative musicality (Malloch, 1999; Malloch & Trevarthen, 2009) such as the synchronisation of musical pulse and matching of vocal quality, and for indicators of togetherness (van Oers & Hannikainen, 2000) such as physical proximity, eye gaze, eye contact, or intersubjectivity (Degotardi, 2011). Intersubjectivity between children of this age is evident through shared engagement in experiences, leading to shared thinking and understanding, which Degotardi describes as 'concordance on both behavioural and perspectival levels' (p. 2). Similarly, while togetherness may primarily be shown by children's physical proximity and attentiveness to each other, it can also be observed to have emotional, cognitive and musical dimensions, which are evident in the next vignette.

I found examples of both communicative musicality and togetherness in all the children's musicking, regardless of the function of the singing moments. While this was unsurprising in relation to child/adult singing interactions, as many other researchers have established (e.g. Powers & Trevarthen, 2009), it was particularly notable in relation to children's peer interactions and relationships. The following vignette provides examples of such moments.

Peek-a-Boo

The nursery environment has been carefully provisioned by the educators to encourage interactive play and the building of relationships between children. For example, the wide doorway of the small wooden storage shed at the edge of the sandpit has two sheer black curtains hung across it each day, inspiring many games of 'peek-a-boo'. Today I watch as Cindy goes behind the curtains and stands patiently, waiting for someone to 'find' her. Kerryn (educator) notices and begins to sing: 'Where is Cindy?' to the tune of Frère Jacques. She pauses her song, and Cindy (aged 2) pops her head between the curtains, shouting 'Boo!', then disappears. Connor (aged 1 year 3 months) stops filling a bucket with sand and goes to join Cindy. She momentarily tries to push him out, but Connor ignores her, sitting down, and she seems to decide to share her hiding space. Kerryn is watching, and waits for them to be ready before starting the song again. As Kerryn sings, Connor gets up and pushes the curtains aside, emerging with a happy squeal before the end of the 'Where is… ' part of the song. Cindy pulls him back, saying 'shh' with a finger to her lips. Connor looks at her, then at Kerryn, and stays still. At the appropriate point in the song, Cindy flings the curtains aside and runs to Kerryn, saying 'Here'. Connor runs after her and Kerryn gives them both a hug. 'More', says Cindy with a questioning tone, looking at Connor first, then at Kerryn. Connor nods vigorously and runs back behind the curtain. 'More' Cindy says firmly to Kerryn, then dashes back into the shed.

The game continues for about fifteen minutes, with other children coming and going for a turn or two. Most look to Cindy, who is the oldest child in the room, for their cues as to when to appear from behind the curtain. Katy (aged 8 months), crawls in to join the fun. At first she lifts the curtain and peeks out quite often, with seemingly no awareness of the timing of the song. I am interested to note that while Cindy seeks to guide the other older children to appear at the appropriate time, she seems to understand that Katy may not yet understand. Katy does very quickly begin to imitate the excited squeals of the other children, and joins in with great energy and volume! A few minutes later she seems to grasp the way the other children are timing their emergences from the curtain, and there are several renditions of the song where Cindy, Connor, Ari and Katy all appear at exactly the same moment.

Kerryn keeps repeating the song, varying it as needed, to include the names of all children involved, and waiting each time until they are positioned happily behind the curtain before beginning to sing again. I listen to the musical ways she makes the song expressive to match the children's emotions and engagement – varying her tempo and dynamics, accenting some words, pausing dramatically. Connor watches Kerryn intently, showing keen interest in her expressive singing: he nods his head in time with the beat when it is regular with an impressive accuracy, seems to stand up straighter when Kerryn's singing is louder, and opens his eyes wide when she pauses to wait for children to appear, bouncing with excitement just before popping out to say 'Boo!'. Field journal notes (Niland, 2015)

This example of spontaneous singing woven into the children's play was typical of many such interactions I observed. Songs were frequently improvised to frame peek-a-boo games, rocking horse rides, digging in sand, exploring playdough, and other types of play. As in the vignette, an educator was most often the initiator of the song, however on a few occasions I did observe children initiating similar types of songs during peek-a-boo or playdough play. Significantly, educators were very attuned to this and one of them would always look at the child to see if their involvement was invited, for example shown by the child looking towards her and pausing as if waiting for her to join in. During the peek-a-boo game described in the vignette, only Kerryn, the educator, was singing; however the children musicked through

their timing of the game, the nodding of Connor's head and his facial expression and body language. Intersubjectivity (Degotardi, 2011) was evident in the children's responses both to Kerryn's singing and to the play responses of their peers. Their desire for togetherness could be seen in the way all of the eight children who were outside at the time joined in with the game at some point, and all of them, from 8-month-old Katy upwards, watched and followed the actions and vocalisations of their peers. The musical shape of the song and the peek-a-boo game provided a framework for togetherness (van Oers & Hannikainen, 2000). The children's joy in playing together while accompanied by singing, and their secure sense of belonging were obvious. Song play episodes such as this one clearly show how musicking based around singing, intentionally and responsively facilitated by musically confident educators, can provide significant opportunities for building positive identities, and for children to develop socially, emotionally, cognitively and musically.

In the next section I discuss identity, culture and musicking in a setting for 3- to 5-year-olds. The section begins with a discussion of musical identity and peer cultures in relation to preschool-aged children, and continues with a vignette from another research project. In that study, the children's identities were found to be more consciously social, and the wider, commodified cultures were discovered to be influential on their musicking and peer interactions. The role of the educators' musical identities and levels of training was also shown, and provided a contrast to the nursery setting presented earlier.

Musical Identities and Peer Cultures in Preschool and Kindergarten Settings

As children grow, they generally participate more in their communities outside home and family, and their social and cultural identities and overall learning and development are further shaped by this (Bronfenbrenner & Evans, 2000). Anthropologist Clifford Geertz saw culture as 'webs of significance' that people weave in their quest to make meaning of their lives (Geertz, 1973, p. 5). This definition reflects a view of culture as continually evolving and changing, implying that people, including children, are active in this process, and that culture and identity are inter-related. For preschool-aged children, the spinning of the 'webs' of their cultural identities, begun by family, grow and become more complex as they interact with a range of people, places, relationships and situations. The use of a lifecycle-related metaphor by Geertz resonates with Corsaro's theory on the way children's peer social cultures develop (2000). Corsaro's ethnographic research in preschool settings in the USA and Italy examined the ways in which children shape their peer social cultures, by drawing on the adult cultures around them and re-weaving them, to create new 'webs of significance' (Geertz, 1973). Corsaro also uses a life-cycle metaphor, terming the process by which new peer social cultures evolve interpretive reproduction (2000). This theory informed the research project discussed later in the chapter.

Theoretical perspectives from ethnomusicology also influenced my approach to this research. Ethnomusicologists have explored the ways in which music is embedded in cultures and interwoven into many facets of the social fabric of communities (e.g. Blacking, 1976; Slobin, 1993). Both the findings and research methodologies from ethnomusicologists have become influential in some strands of early childhood music and music education research, as Andrea Emberly discusses in Chap. 9. As a result, ethnographic research methods are increasingly being adopted. The design and analysis of ethnographic methods encompass the physical, social and cultural contexts of families and communities. Music education researchers, most notably Campbell (1998, 2015) and Marsh (2013), have drawn extensively on ethnographic approaches and ethnomusicological understandings in their research into children's musical identities and cultures and have used these viewpoints to explore the role of music in situations such as playgrounds, schools or refugee centres.

In developing my research into young children's peer musical cultures in an early childhood education and care (ECEC) setting for 3- to 5-year-olds (Niland, 2012), I drew on the theory of ethnomusicologist Slobin (1993). Slobin broadened the traditional approaches of ethnomusicologists by investigating music within USA and European cultures rather than researching musical 'others' in far-flung geographically or ethnically-defined cultures. His research explored the ways in which musical cultures overlap and interweave, as he argued that in the now largely mobile and globalised world, people can belong to a range of diverse cultures at the same time. Slobin's analysis of musical cultures involved categorisation into levels: 'super-cultures', 'sub-cultures' and 'micro-cultures' (1993). In drawing on this theoretical framework, I interpreted the super-culture level as the globalised, mass-media-driven popular musical culture that commonly underpins the musical affordances and experiences in the lives of Australian children and families. Sub-culture constituted the musical culture that develops as a result of the super-culture, and can often include the interweaving of a range of musical micro-cultures, for example within families and other social groupings. My research involved exploration of the musical micro-culture of the children and educators in one early childhood setting (Niland, 2012). One aspect of that research involved analysis of the ways in which these levels influence each other, in order to explore the extent to which the children's peer musical cultures reflected broader musical cultures, and the ways in which their musical micro-culture was created by the children themselves.

Slobin's (1993) arguments about the multi-directional influence of different cultural levels resonates with the work of other theorists such as Bronfenbrenner (1981/2009) and Corsaro (2005). Corsaro defines peer cultures as 'a stable set of activities or routines, artifacts, values and concerns that children produce and share in interactions with peers' (Corsaro, 2000, p. 92). In his ethnographic research in USA and Italy, Corsaro investigated the ways in which children, through their social play interactions, actively reshaped elements of adult and community cultures through the process of interpretive reproduction, to develop their own unique peer social cultures and values. He identified themes of agency, power and autonomy in the children's actions and conversations (Corsaro & Molinari, 2000). These themes are evident in the research project presented in the next section.

Research Project 2: The Lives of Songs

In this research, I combined arts-based, ethnographic and narrative research methodologies to explore the ways in which new songs became part of young children's musical cultures in an early childhood setting. My role combined that of musician/song writer with researcher. The setting was the room for 3- to 5-year-olds in an early childhood education and care (ECEC) centre run by local government in a lower middle-class suburb on the outskirts of a major Australian city. The participants were 25 children and their educators. One educator had a university degree, one a diploma, and the others had no formal qualifications. While all believed that music should be included in their curriculum, none had musical training; thus although enthusiastic singers, most were not able to sing with accurate pitch. The educators usually sang along with CDs of commercial children's songs with the children.

The field work comprised half-day visits on the same 2 days each week for 5 months, and then weekly visits for a further 3 months. I functioned mostly as a participant observer, but also led singing during the scheduled daily group time. In order to be respectful of the children's rights and of their peer cultures as a visitor to this early childhood community, I adopted a *least-adult approach* (Corsaro & Molinari, 2000; Mandell, 1991), waiting for children to initiate interactions and then following the flow of ongoing interactions and conversations. My aim was firstly to understand the existing peer musical cultures of the children, and then to share a group of my original songs with them, documenting and analysing the ways in which, over time, the songs became integrated into the existing musical cultures. Data were generated through field notes, reflective journals of my song writing for and with the children, audio and video recordings. In keeping with the arts-based focus of the data, and the evolving nature of the research, I used an arts-based approach to analysis and reporting, known as portraiture (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Hoffman Davis, 1997): a form of narrative research similar to ethnography, as both seek to capture the essence of a particular context. The researcher, termed portraitist, creates a portrait in words, using creative writing techniques such as metaphor to create aesthetic resonance. The metaphor I used was the human life cycle (Niland, 2012), identifying the stages of conception, gestation, birth, infancy and childhood in the lives of my songs in the research setting.

The findings showed that the processes of interpretive reproduction, as my new songs became part of the children's peer social cultures and their musical microculture (Slobin, 1993), were influenced by the children's home musical experiences, those provided by educators within the early childhood setting, the existing peer social cultures of that setting, their various friendships and their shared and individual play interests. My initial investigation of the children's peer musical culture revealed several key themes that were linked to educator, family, peer and media influences: an interest in fast and loud musicking, and in musical performance play along gendered lines. The educators' provisioning of the play environment included a karaoke microphone and speaker, many CDs of pop-style children's albums which

could often be heard blaring out during playtimes, and plastic inflatable electric guitars. The themes of loudness and performance, with the children using some of these play resources, are evident in this next vignette.

Boys' Music and Girls' Music

When I arrived today everyone was playing outdoors. On the wide, sheltered veranda recorded music was playing and many children, mostly girls, were dancing. The album was by Hi-Five, and all its songs had a fairy theme. The music was electronically produced, fast in tempo, and with a repetitive, very busy artificial percussion accompaniment. A few of the girls were dressed up with fairy wings and others were waving scarves (mostly pink). Two of the 5-year-old boys asked to have some musical instruments, which an educator fetched from inside for them. They then sat right near the dancing girls and began to drum and shout with great energy, chanting 'boys' music, boys' music, yeah, yeah, yeah!'

Five-year-old Gemma, somewhat of a social leader amongst the girls, stopped dancing and went to a nearby shelf to fetch a play microphone and an inflatable electric guitar, which were favourite play items of many children at the moment. She jumped up on a nearby row of balancing tubs and began to sing into the mike in her loudest voice, waving the guitar around with her other hand. A sort of 'noise battle' between girls and boys ensued for a few minutes, until a toddler close by began to cry, and Dana (an educator) intervened to help the children resolve the impasse. 'But we hate this girls' music,' Cory said to the educator. 'We hate your boys' music,' Gemma retorted. Dana suggested another CD. At first the girls resisted, but Dana gave them several choices, and eventually both girls and boys settled for The Wiggles. 'I'm Greg!' (lead singer) shouted Cory. He grabbed another inflatable guitar and jumped on a tub, singing along with 'Hot Potato'. Performing on the tubs continued for the whole morning, and when jostling for a place on the 'stage' occurred, Dana organised some children into being an audience, placing a mat and cushions for them to sit on, and encouraging them to clap along. Field journal notes (Niland, 2012)

The shaping of this pop music-style performance musical play shows the children's interpretive reproduction (Corsaro, 2005) of the musical cultures of the educators, families and the wider media culture into a particular style of musicking often observed during my fieldwork. The adult influence begins with the musical media that children are exposed to at home and in the community. This is followed by the types of material resources that the children are provided with in their early childhood settings (Bourdieu, 1986; as cited in Bennett, 2011). The process of interpretive reproduction involved adapting the setting to suit their play (the balancing tubs providing a stage) and the power struggles between friendship groups that were mostly divided by gender. Musically, the play involved chanting/shouting rather than actual singing and energetic movement and performance role play, which could be understood as a form of *ngoma* (Bjørkvold, 1989). The children's movements were often similar in style to those of dancers in popular music videos and TV talent shows. The key musical cultural influences were the pop-style recordings produced for children that were ubiquitous in these children's lives, along with the style of musicking actively encouraged by educators in both child-led play and educator-led group time activities. Conversations with many of the children during fieldwork revealed that highly commodified musical resources (Meyers, McKnight, & Krabbenhoft, 2014), notably DVDs, CDs and TV shows, were regularly watched, listened to, and sung along with at home and in the car. Many children knew names

of songs and artists and could sing or chant lyrics of The Wiggles, Hi-Five, and adult pop songs by artists such as Pink or Justin Bieber.

One of my aims in this research project was to engage in some song-writing with children, in order to respect, and draw on, their existing social and musical cultures. Midway through field visits, the educators began developing a concert to take place during end of year 'graduation' celebrations for those children going to school the following year. Dramatising well-known folk tales was something Dana (educator) loved to do with the children, and which many of the 4- and 5-year-olds had enthusiastically engaged in. Therefore it was decided that they would prepare a performance of The Three Little Pigs for the graduation. Preparation of sets, and rehearsals video-recorded with constantly changing casts so all had a chance to perform, took place most days for several months. Seeing this as an opportunity for collaborative song-writing, I asked a group of the graduating children if they would like to sing a song at the end of the play. Most of this group were keen to help write a song, so, over lunch 1 day, I asked them what the pigs might like to sing about after they had chased the wolf away. They had lots of ideas for lyrics, and several girls also suggested that they should dance with the song. I took their ideas and shaped them into a simple song. I sang it with them, and also made a simple recording for the educators to use when I was not present. The song became the finale of the performance. Dana did not direct their actions, but allowed the children to perform the song however they liked. Significantly, the key themes of the musical culture of this setting, and hence of the children's musical micro-culture, were evident in their interpretive reproduction of the song: they sang it loudly, faster than on my recording, jumping and dancing around with great energy, and shouting the chorus. Usually, most of the children watching would also jump up and join the performers in a sort of impromptu 'flash mob'.

Conclusion and Implications for Early Childhood Educators

Although it is not possible to make generalised comparisons based on the findings from these two very small-scope research projects, some comparative analysis is useful. It provides interesting food for thought, firstly in relation to the role of music in early childhood curriculum, and secondly to the role of music in early childhood educator training, particularly in university programmes. In relation to the Australian context, where children's learning of the concepts, elements and skills of music as an art form are not addressed in the national early childhood curriculum (DEEWR, 2009), it appears that in both project settings presented in this chapter, music is part of their social cultures, and educators provided children with opportunities to musick with their peers. They did this in ways that support children's sense of belonging and their development of positive self-identities. Conversations with educators in both research settings revealed that all believed they had allowed the children to achieve aspects of Learning Outcome 5 in relation to music (DEEWR). In both cases educators felt they were using music effectively to build children's sense

of belonging. However their interpretations of the children's musical development were very different, reflecting a contrast between educators with musical training and backgrounds and those without, supporting the findings of Kim and Kemple (2011). In the nursery, the musically-skilled educators intentionally facilitated musicking in ways that encouraged awareness of the elements and aesthetics of the art form. However in the preschool setting, the educators lacked the skills or awareness to provide such opportunities for artistic development, and consequently the children's musicking showed much less awareness of musical elements and the aesthetic potential of those elements. It is nevertheless significant to note that in both settings the children often musicked together spontaneously in their play, as well as in group times led by educators, and showed great enjoyment of music, whatever form it took.

In recent years there has been some notable naturalistic research undertaken in early childhood settings where musically trained educators work with children on a regular basis as part of the broader curriculum. These projects show the potential for children to develop their musical skills and creativity, as outlined in some early childhood curricula (see curriculum documents listed earlier), when educators are skilled, confident and responsive to children's musicality. For example, in the USA Reynolds, Renzoni, Turowski, and Waters (2015) have worked alongside educators in Reggio Emilia-inspired early childhood settings, and have showed the creativity and musicality of children's musicking. In Australia, Nyland, Acker, Ferris, and Deans (2015) have documented some very sophisticated singing explorations over long periods of time in a centre where the arts are central to curriculum and the educator team includes musicians, music educators and researchers. Their long-term research documentation includes a project stemming from a child's interest in Mozart's 'The Magic Flute' that led to impressive musical understandings in 4-year-olds, and another where the children were instrumental in forming a choir. During the choir project, children and educators used YouTube to research the role of a conductor, the positioning of singers, repertoire and part-singing.

Seeing the possibilities of song, dance, music, drama, paint, sculpture and storytelling for enhanced teaching and learning, is not a new concept. Valuing of the aesthetic can be traced in the work of Comenius, Rousseau, Froebel and Pestalozzi where rhyme, verse, song and storytelling were regarded as important to young children's development (Nutbrown, 2013, p. 244).

The joy that children find in musicking together is recognised by families and early childhood educators. This book contains many important examples of young children's musicality and the central role that music can play in their lives and development. As Nutbrown states, the significance of the arts, including music, in early childhood education was recognised by philosophers and educators centuries ago. In the twenty-first century, skills that can be measured and scored often seem to be the key focus of education policy and curricula. It is therefore crucial that early childhood research continues to advocate and provide evidence for the need to make the arts, and especially music, a higher priority in preservice educator training and in early childhood education.

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Chapter 3
Probing the Dynamics of Sibling Interactions in Relation to Musical Development

Lisa Huisman Koops and Christa R. Kuebel

Introduction

The following vignette describes examples of a child's musical development and the impact of sibling interactions on this development. We chose to share this story to illustrate the unique nature of the sibling relationship in the area of musical growth.

Theo, aged 2 years, had been coming to my (Lisa's) early childhood music class with his mother for 8 months; prior to that he attended music class with Miss Christa from the age of 14 months. Throughout the year that he was 2, he was consistently shy and withdrawn in class, seldom participating in activities. Some weeks he would remain outside the room while his mother sat in the doorway, gradually coaxing him in with props and instruments. After the holiday break, his mother commented, "You would not believe it, Theo found the scarves at Aunt Linda's during the holiday dinner and did *Firecracker*! We were so excited, and I thought, yes, it's getting in."

One Tuesday in March, Theo's 7-year-old sister, Leah, came along to class because her school was on spring break. Theo dashed into the room behind her, laughing, and readily approached the gathering drum to play the hello song. He continued to be engaged physically, verbally, and musically throughout the class, offering suggestions for activities, singing back patterns, and occasionally rough-housing with his sister. During class, Theo's mom commented on the change in his participation and motioned to his sister while we exchanged raised eyebrows. Over the course

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of the 45 min class, I was surprised and delighted by the change in Theo's behavior, which I attributed to the presence of his sister. I had seen many children's participation alter when older siblings came along to music, most dramatic in Theo's case. He had remained quiet in class through various prior situations, including when his grandfather brought him. Perhaps Leah's presence made Theo more comfortable, in that he saw someone closer to his age doing the activities. Possibly, he was used to interacting with Leah in a slightly competitive way. Or maybe because Leah was on spring break, their morning had unfolded differently than usual, and Theo had slept in, or had more time for breakfast, or played before coming to class. Leah and Theo may have engaged in music play at home before coming to class, thus warming Theo up to the activities or setting the stage for their interaction in class.

Most weeks following Leah's visit Theo continued to remain more engaged and expressive, including one memorable day when he laughed and played with his mother under the parachute while we sang "Underneath My Big Umbrella." He continued to sing and chant responses, give answers to child-directed activities, and sing along with some of the songs. At the end of the course session in May, I asked Theo's mother what she thought about the change in him, and she commented that the day Leah came seemed like a turning point. She suggested that maybe seeing Leah doing the activities helped Theo realize "I can do that too!"

This vignette highlights the role a sibling may play in a child's musical development; in this instance, Theo's participation and expression. Leah helped her younger brother find a level of comfort in music class that enabled him to participate more fully and express himself musically even when she was no longer there. Her involvement resulted in a different level of engagement from Theo than that of his mother or grandfather's involvement. This is an example of the unique role of siblings in musical development and expression that is the focus of this chapter.

Siblings

While we employ the term "sibling" throughout to mean brother or sister, we may consider more broadly that "siblings" include family members or even close friends who are in the same general age range as children and spend significant time together in the home setting. In the case of an only child, the sibling roles discussed as the chapter unfolds might be played by cousins or close friends. In some cases, a family pet can substitute as a music playmate, as found in Gingras's (2012) study of the musical lives of families. Pew Research Center reports suggest that the average number of children in United States families has declined since 1976, the 1st year of their data set, with the number of two-child families increasing and the number of four-child families decreasing (Livingston, 2015). We acknowledge that the discussions and examples in this chapter are culturally situated among Caucasian, middle-class families including highly educated parents living in the United States; the attendant cultural capital and benefits available to the children impact the scenarios we describe.

Musical Development

We use the term "musical development" in this chapter broadly, to indicate an individual child's growing or changing participation, involvement, skills, knowledge, interest, and/or understanding of musical behaviors, including singing, moving, playing, listening, and creating. As Young (2016) pointed out, recent scholarship in early childhood music has moved away from assumptions of a universal unfolding or timing of children's musical skills, recognizing that children's musical expression and activities are culturally influenced and situated within various spheres, including home, school, and community. We also employ the word "engagement" to include forms of musical interactions including singing, moving, and playing. In considering the role of the family in early childhood music engagement, researchers have documented the parent-child relationship (Barrett & Tafuri, 2012; Berger & Cooper, 2003; Custodero & Johnson-Green, 2006; Custodero, Britto, & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; de Vries, 2009; Ilari, 2005; Ilari, Moura, & Bourscheidt, 2011; Ilari, Young, & Gluschankof, 2016; Mackinlay & Baker, 2005; Trevarthen & Malloch, 2012); however, sibling interactions also play a key role in musical development. From older children providing novel musical soundscapes for younger siblings, to younger siblings' interest and admiration spurring older children in their musical achievement, to siblings purposefully distinguishing themselves from one another through music preference and activity choices (Barrett, 2009; Gingras, 2012; Koops, 2012, 2014, 2018; Wu, 2018), siblings influence one another. In her study of London-based families of the Chinese diaspora, Wu (2018) found that older siblings elicited their younger siblings' musical behaviors, including singing and dancing; in several families, siblings' musicking prompted more musical responses from younger siblings than any other recorded music or adult singing. Gingras (2012) also noted the central role of siblings in her study of families' at-home music-making; in her work, she noted that siblings served as role-models for one another, as well as functioning in antagonistic roles, such as teasing during piano practice or arguing over music to play in the family vehicle. Music therapists have noted the importance of family members, including siblings, on the outcomes of their clients (Allgood, 2005). Sibling influence is also seen in the musical development of popular musicians, with early learning coming from friends or siblings, as described by Green (2002); many prominent music ensembles across history feature siblings, from the Mozart siblings to The Jackson 5 to country music legends such as The Carter Sisters (Peterson, 1997).

Three Interdisciplinary Frameworks

However, just as in the broader literature of family studies, in which sibling relationships are less often studied than parent-child relationships (McHale, Updegraff, & Whiteman, 2012), the sibling relationship in musical development has not often

been the focus of early childhood music research. In this chapter, we present three interdisciplinary frameworks instructive in probing the dynamics of sibling relationships and influences on musical development. First is the interplay of complementary and reciprocal facets of sibling relationships described by Dunn in 1983, and utilized by subsequent researchers in analyzing the role of sibling interactions in various developmental arenas (Harrist et al., 2014). Second is Minuchin's (1974) family systems theory as explored in the context of emotional understanding and regulation by Kramer (2014). Finally, we outline the theory of communicative musicality (Trevarthen & Malloch, 2012), frequently cited within music education research, and we critique the absence of work on siblings within this theory. Using these three frameworks, we share examples of musical interactions and influences of siblings drawn from fieldwork with three families over 10 years, arguing that sibling relationships exhibit similarities and differences to parent-child relationships and are crucial to understanding the musical development of children with siblings. A secondary aim of presenting the frameworks is to familiarize scholars with theoretical frameworks that may be of use in designing and conducting studies of early childhood music-making.

Probing the Dynamics of Sibling Interactions

In this chapter we discuss three frameworks: complementary and reciprocal sibling interactions, family systems theory, and communicative musicality. Complementary and reciprocal interactions and family systems theory were developed in disciplines other than music. Presenting them in the context of sibling music-making may provide music educators with additional understandings of sibling relationships that can illuminate children's musical actions. Communicative musicality is often used in music education to describe adult-child interactions, but here we suggest that it could be used as a lens through which to view sibling relationships, specifically those sibling relationships that demonstrate complementary behavior.

Research Project Participants and Methods

I (Lisa) taught the children of the three families described in this chapter in early childhood music classes beginning at age 16 months (Kensington twins), 31 months (Angelina Kensington), 20 months (Leo Jones), and 14 months (Lucia Gibson). The families continued to participate in the parent-child music class, as well as extracurricular music classes and research projects with me from 2009 to 2016. The data in this chapter are drawn from research studies as well as smart phone videos and emailed vignettes shared by the children's mothers during the research projects and in subsequent years. I also conducted several interviews regarding sibling relationships specifically for this chapter. All names used in this chapter are pseudonyms.

Siblings' interactions included modeling musical behaviors and serving as audiences for one another; encouraging as well as critiquing musical expression; initiating music play and other music-making; and creating music together independent of adult mediation. While some of these factors are also evident in parent-child activity, many of them are unique to sibling interactions, and take on different meaning or power within the sibling relationship.

Complementary and Reciprocal Frameworks

Prior to the 1970s, interactions between children were understood by making comparisons to child-adult relationships. The terms reciprocal and complementary were initially used to describe child-child interactions (reciprocal) and child-adult interactions (complementary) (Piaget, 1965). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, researchers began to identify elements of both terms within child to child communication, specifically between siblings.

Reciprocal relationships are considered as peer-like and emerge due to similarities in developmental status, common interests and humor, and emotional intensity (Dunn, 1983; Harrist et al., 2014; Teti, 2001). Reciprocity is often shown through the frequency and quality of interaction, imitation, and affect. It can also be shown through antagonistic actions such as teasing, annoying, and competing as it emphasizes similar levels of development and shared interests.

Teti (2001) defined complementary as "any relationship between two individuals who differ in developmental levels and competencies" (p. 195). Complementary interactions are shown through caregiving, teaching, and the development of attachment behaviors (Dunn, 1983; Teti, 2001). Specific examples include scolding, entertaining, showing concern at a siblings' signs of distress, and attempting to comfort and reassure.

In Dunn's (1983) frequently-cited article on reciprocity and complementary interactions between siblings, she summarized research that exemplified the implications of these two types of interactive behaviors. Sibling relations with more frequent reciprocal behavior were shown to increase role-taking skills, social sensitivity, and perspective-taking ability. These siblings were able to perform advanced joint symbolic play (Light, 1979; Stewart 1983). Dunn also discussed the influence of siblings on linguistic development. Although the research cited in her article was inconclusive regarding the impact of adults versus siblings on increasing linguistic skills, it was suggested that nonverbal reciprocal interactions between siblings may lead to improving communication skills such as attention-getting and the use of endearment (Dunn & Kendrick, 1982; Keenan, 1974). The implications of complementary interactions between siblings on children's development were however, less conclusive.

Complementary and Reciprocal Relationships
with the Kensington Family

The Kensington family provides a window into complementary and reciprocal sibling relationships. There are three daughters: the oldest, Angelina, is 16 months older than twins, Lizzie and Meg. When she was two and a half, Angelina was diagnosed as having autism spectrum disorder (ASD). Since that time, she has received a broad range of therapies, including music therapy and play therapy. One might assume that most of the interactions of the Kensington sisters would be reciprocal, given their closeness in age. However, perhaps because Angelina has ASD, the twins have often taken on a complementary role with her, while Angelina's response was reciprocal.

   When the trio were toddlers, it was often Meg, physically the littlest, who led the way in new musical pursuits. She jumped into the middle of the circle to grab a new prop or instrument, and the sisters followed her lead. She directed her sisters in kitchen dance parties and car sing-alongs to Disney music. Meg's musical leadership has continued in her school ensemble, where she is the sole clarinet player. Meg described how she chose the clarinet, "So I was thinking of playing the bells, which is what my friend does, but then if we did then we couldn't really do any songs that included a clarinet because there was no clarinet to play it" (interview, 19 November 2016).

   Mrs. Kensington has consciously supported these varied forms of relationships over the years. She has nurtured their closeness, and reciprocity, with a shared bedroom arrangement for all three girls from the time the twins were infants, that continues through today. She has encouraged them to play complementary roles for one another, including helping one another work through emotions. She explained the importance of this to her as a mother: "So, they can rely on each other which is really nice. That's important because I can't be with them one hundred percent of the time. You know somebody is at school, somebody's at camp and so I think that kind of resilience is really important" (interview, 25 July 2017). She went on to note that because Angelina has specific emotional needs related to ASD, as a mother she often verbally models how to work through emotionally intense situations. Mrs. Kensington thought all three girls had developed more skills that fit with the complementary description as a result of her intentional and frequent demonstrations.

   Without knowing about the framework of reciprocal and complementary relationships, Mrs. Kensington has also supported both the solidarity and differentiation needed to develop these varied relationships, with solidarity and differentiation contributing to both forms of relationships. She requested that the twins be placed in different classes in preschool so that each would have a chance to develop their own voice. This was balanced with an approach of "we're all in this together," which

Mrs. Kensington described as developing as a result of her parenting background. As an only child herself, Mrs. Kensington said she did not know how siblings would interact:

> *So, I think I just sort of thought okay, we're all in this together; we have to go everywhere together; we have to be together every day … we all kind of have to be as a unit, otherwise how are we going to get through this thing? You know what I mean? Having three little kids at the same time is really – I mean, talk about a mental load, you know? It's huge! So, I think as I was learning how to parent I just sort of did what works and I threw away what didn't work and what worked was kind of keeping everybody together. Okay, well now we're going to do this thing, and if one of them is going to do it we all have to do it, you know. (interview, 25 July 2017)*

Their musical group activities included attending music class, dance class, informal music listening and dancing at home, and shared listening in the car.

The moments of complementary interactions often seemed influenced by Mrs. Kensington's modeling; the twins noted that their caregiving was patterned after their mother's words and actions. The strength of their reciprocal relationships, too, was mediated by their mother: during an interview, the group laughingly shared a favorite pastime, watching old videos of dance parties. Mrs. Kensington's description was woven with the common interests, humor, and emotional intensity that mark reciprocal relationships (Dunn, 1983; Harrist et al., 2014; Teti, 2001):

> *So, what we love to do is we love to watch old videos of us having dance parties here in the kitchen and we think that is hilarious. So sometimes at night during wind-down time we'll watch those and then we'll laugh and laugh and laugh because we'll laugh about how we used to look, and how [we used to move]… (interview 25 July, 2017)*

The framework of complementary and reciprocal relationships is particularly helpful in understanding the musical interactions of the Kensington sisters. As a trio there is a fluid movement between the types of relationships, supported and modeled by their mother, who is in a complementary relationship with the girls. The girls' closeness in age provides an especially interesting case to study these relationships, as both the complementary and reciprocal roles are evident with the sisters. By considering specific interactions through the lens of complementary and reciprocal relationships, the musical interactions can be understood within the larger context of the sisters' relationships. For instance, when Angelina was four, when riding in the car, she sometimes began a chant called "Stretch and Bounce," an activity from the early childhood music class she attended (Valerio, Reynolds, Bolton, Taggart, & Gordon, 1998). The twins jumped in with the response of the call-and-response activity, and the family continued to chant together as they rode. Mrs. Kensington elaborated:

> *Mrs. K: Angelina would initiate that. It's like she wanted it; she needed that stimuli. So, because she knew that they [her sisters] knew what to do, you know, that was it.*
> *Lisa: She would sing in the car –*
> *Mrs. K: – all the time and she still does. (interview 25 July, 2017)*

Mrs. Kensington went on to say that when Angelina was between 2 and 4 years old, she did not always find language for her feelings, but could reliably turn to music for communication. Given this common interest between the siblings, Angelina was able to engage in a reciprocal relationship and used the call of "Stretch and Bounce" to reach out to her sisters, thus knowing their presence and companionship in the car.

Family Systems Theory

Family process theory (Jackson, 1965; Kantor & Lehr, 1975), or family systems theory, developed during the second half of the twentieth century (Minuchin, 1974) in the field of family therapy. Family systems theory was an important paradigm shift in family therapy defined by Minuchin (1974) as "a body of theory and techniques that approaches the individual in his social context" (p. 2). As opposed to focusing on the individual in isolation, the theory analyzed the family as an "open, ongoing, goal-seeking, self-regulating, social system" (Broderick, 1993, p. 37). Minuchin (1985) outlined the basic principles of family systems, highlighting the impact of individual behaviors on the entire family unit. First, "If the individual is part of an organized family system, he or she is never truly independent and can only be understood in context" (p. 290). Secondly, both adult and child behaviors influence one another, not that one causes the other. Third, families develop mechanisms to return to balance when something happens to cause a disruption to equilibrium in the system. This disruption could be something like a child starting school or an adult losing a job. Fourth, changes are an inherent part of a system and a family must find new ways of adapting when a change takes place. Fifth, the family includes subsystems, which may include the individual, parent-child, spouses, and siblings. Lastly, each member of the system establishes different boundaries for the different individuals across the various subsystems; for example, a child might know that she may tease her brother, but teasing her sister would lead to upset or reprimand. In follow-on sections, we address these principles within a music context.

Siblings have been observed as an important subsystem of family systems theory since early in its development (Minuchin, 1974). Within a family, major life changes such as the introduction of a child or sibling or interactions between siblings, may create opportunities for both positive and negative changes among typical interactions in a family system. Although sibling relationships were viewed in terms of rivalry and competition until the 1970s, siblings are now seen to be playing a variety of roles such as teacher, playmate, caretaker, and friend within the family system (Teti, 2001).

Siblings may, in fact, be agents of prosocialization, or engaging in positive social behaviors such as problem solving, "keeping the peace," and respectful interactions. Siblings may also be sources of emotional understanding and regulation, now a contemporary area of exploration within family systems theory (Greenberg, 2002;

Kramer, 2014). When children are provided opportunities to understand their emotions within the context of their siblings and familial unit, they carry this understanding into other relationships (Greenberg, 2010). Positive sibling interactions, such as playing together, smiling, laughing, and showing affection, also lead children to develop more mature relationships among siblings (Kramer & Gottman, 1992; Kramer & Kowal, 2005). More positive, warm, and close sibling relationships promote higher levels of emotional understanding and empathy in relationships outside of the family system (Broderick, 1993; Kramer, 2014; Lam, Solmeyer, & McHale, 2012). We consider it to be important to note that within family systems theory it is difficult to isolate the interactions between siblings without also acknowledging how other family members, such as parents, may influence behavior.

Family Systems Theory with the Jones Family

We will now present a mini-case study of the oldest child in the Jones family. We highlight key moments in his musical development, and analyze these through the lens of family systems theory. Leo Jones is the oldest of four children. His brother was born when Leo was 3, a sister arrived when he was 5 and another sister when he was 8. Leo's father graduated from professional school when Leo was 8 and the family undertook a cross-country move to return to the area where Leo's mother grew up, and where some of their extended family lives. During the 2 years that followed the move, the Jones family lived in several homes while renovating the home they now occupy.

As a baby, Leo's home environment was filled with parents singing, dancing, and listening to a broad range of music genres. As a toddler, he loved to look through and play with the instruments that his mother gathered in a wooden crate in their living room. In an interview just after Leo turned two, his mother described:

One of his favorite things, when we're all together is "Hey family! Let's make music!" He'll make sure everyone has a drum. Sometimes he's even pretty particular about where he wants you to hold the drum. We can all make music together, and it's really fun that that's something he initiates and wants to share. (interview 22 October, 2008)

Leo took a leadership role at a young age in bringing his family together for a music activity, something that continued with his siblings with more or less frequency at various points in the following years.

From an early age, Leo was drawn to rhythm in music. As his mother noticed:

For my child, he hears the rhythms for things and can mimic things. I'm sure the [early childhood music] class has helped him hear better. It's funny, even if there's a song that he's singing that doesn't really have a percussive element, he'll add drum sounds to it. Even a song that we have a recording of, he'll make sure he adds in the musical elements in between. (interview 22 October, 2008)

I (Lisa) noticed this rhythmic proclivity as well: on one occasion during a music class, Leo began beat-boxing and walking around the outside of the circle while I

sang a song about trains during a rhythm stick activity. We completed our rhythm sticks and transitioned into an improvised activity building from Leo's rhythmic expression.

At age 2, Leo frequently built elaborate drum sets from pots and pans, as well as other household objects, in his home. On one occasion, his parents took him to an outdoor summer concert, where he was captivated by the drummer. After the concert, the family went up to speak with the drummer, who gave his drumsticks to Leo. This fueled Leo's passion for drumming and drum sets, which was also encouraged by his parents.

At age 3, Leo's parents began to look for cello teacher, encouraged by Leo's aunt, a conservatory student who suggested cello would be a good fit for his music interests and preferences. At age 3.5 Leo began lessons with a teacher who taught from her home using the Suzuki method. The entire family was excited about the lessons and proudly shared the news on Facebook when Leo graduated from The Twinkles. During this time, he also began writing songs using music notation, and loved to sit outside on the porch to write long songs, then asked his mom to play them on the piano.

As lessons went on, the Jones family found that Leo became resistant to practicing. What was once a joyful part of their lives became a burden, and they reached the decision when he was 6 years old to take a break from cello lessons. Mrs. Jones commented,

> His little baby brother was born when he turned 3—looking back I can see how hard that was to help Leo practice while also taking care of a little baby. Baby sister was born when Leo turned 5 and she was a baby that took a lot of my time plus starting Kindergarten was a big change for him. Throughout the time of cello lessons, Leo struggled feeling motivated or excited about learning and practicing—he would enjoy performing sometimes for the right people. The joy of music he had once had so much fun and play with was leaving as cello became a fight and struggle. I think the fact I had a toddler and a baby at the time made it easy for both of us to let go of cello lessons despite the investment, hope and expectations we had put into it. (email interview 29 July, 2017)

Leo continued to participate in the extracurricular music class, Music Play Zone, although I noticed as a teacher that he was not always interested in the activities. Some activities were perhaps boring or not engaging for him; others, such as playing the recorder and drawing sound shapes or free drawing during music listening, captured his interest. Leo's siblings participated in Music Play Zone as well; his brother often followed Leo's lead on participating or sitting back, while his sister often rolled into the group for fuller participation.

At age 4, Leo became intensely interested in origami. Supplied with ample paper and tutorials on YouTube, Leo spent hours learning to fold whales, ninja stars, and dragons. His mother noted that she heard Leo and his younger brother singing while folding:

> So it's usually when they're just playing, and they kind of get a chant sort of thing going, or I'll notice it from either a piece of music we've done in class or recorded music that we've listened to earlier in the day, or even a week ago, or music we've been singing at church. It kind of comes out…it's almost like they're not even conscious that they're making music.

> *They're not thinking, "I'm gonna sing a song right now." It's like they're in this zone where they're building blocks and looking for something, or for Leo, folding paper, or drawing, and it's like a reflex that comes out! I think it's so interesting. I think that's where it's at right now. (interview 4 June, 2013)*

As the oldest child in the family, Leo was often the one to begin a musical interaction or to decide whether to sustain it or shut it down.

A year after the Jones family moved cross-country in 2015, Leo's mother shared in an interview that Leo had taken the step of writing a letter to his parents requesting viola lessons. They had gladly arranged this with his aunt. Mrs. Jones noted that Leo's younger brother had been asking for cello lessons and his younger sister for violin lessons, but at this point she responded "I'm thinking maybe we can wait a little, no rush" (interview 4 November, 2016). Their experience with Leo's early cello lessons seemed to influence the parents' approach to lessons for the younger siblings.

In summer, 2017, Leo participated in a 2-week children's theatre camp and played the part of Jack in *Into the Woods*. This experience led to an invitation for Leo to be part of the children's chorus for a nearby professional summer theatre production of *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat*. Mrs. Jones described the sibling impact:

> *So … this summer the trickle down for myself and his siblings is that there has been a lot of singing and acting and playing out parts of* Into the Woods *and* Joseph *around the house. Even [the littlest sister] – age 2.5 – joins in. She runs around and sings "Go Go Go Joseph!" "Jacob and sons" and "Into the woods to Grandmother's house!" [The middle two siblings] know all the songs too and have a lot of fun singing and acting them out. Leo has all of Joseph memorized and could probably pull off a one-man show of it at this point. … It feels like we are back in the spirit of play and enjoyment with music that everyone is having a good time with it. (email interview 29 July, 2017)*

Viewing Leo's musical development through the lens of family systems theory framework, specifically Minuchin's (1985) six principles, we see that Leo's musical journeys can be understood through his relationships with family members. When using family systems theory, we do not consider sibling interactions separately from the entire family system. Hence in this analysis we have included siblings' as well as parents' interactions when considering influences, impacts, and adjustments. First, Leo's musical development was viewed within the context of his family system and not in isolation. His musical preferences were influenced by the music his parents chose to listen to and the experiences they provided for him as an infant and toddler. His desire to play the cello, fed by his own interest in instruments and preference for low timbre, was also nurtured by encouragement from his aunt and excitement from his parents and siblings listening and watching him learn to play. Thus his musical involvement and participation also sprang from family influences: his parents, his aunt, the conservatory student, Leo's own interests, as well as a genuine delight with music.

Minuchin's (1985) second principle of a two-way influence between parents and children, is seen in the family decision to stop cello lessons. Leo's behaviors surrounding cello lessons and practice, and subsequently his family's, changed over the

course of several years. Together they made a decision to stop the lessons. Leo's parents were also responsive to his listening preferences, noticing his interest in rhythm and finding music examples that were rhythmically complex and satisfying. Two-way influence is also evident between Leo and his siblings, as the younger siblings were influenced by Leo's cello lesson experience as well as his listening interests. His musical development was influenced by the timing of their births, as well as through opportunities for sibling music-making.

Third, there were multiple disruptions in Leo's story. A disruption, according to family systems theory, could include a new sibling being born, a child starting school, a parent getting a new job, and a family moving. All of these occurred for Leo, and some of the turning points in his musical development coincided with a disruption and subsequent return to equilibrium. For instance, before their cross-country move, Leo had not shown an interest in taking music lessons or engaging in instrumental playing; shortly after their move Mrs. Jones wrote to me to share several musical updates. In this case, perhaps the return to equilibrium coincided with a shift in Leo's internal focus and interests, and his desire to play the piano and sing in the church program.

The fourth principle of family systems theory states that families need to find ways to adapt when changes take place. The Jones family provides a helpful example of this. Their family priority for listening to live music did not change when new siblings were born, and although some of the venues may have changed, they continued to seek concerts where the entire family could go and enjoy music together. Their desire for Leo to play an instrument was put on hold when he expressed great resistance to the cello, but the family continued to find ways to make music available to him until he was ready to ask for a music instrument himself. When Leo stopped playing cello, his interest in origami intensified, which may have been a way for him to shift his creative energy from music to paper crafting.

The importance of subsystems is also clear in Leo's musical development. The data shared here highlights the importance of three subsystems: mother-son, Leo and his aunt, and Leo and his siblings. Participating in an intense and direct way during cello practice proved to be a drain on the mother-son subsystem, as Mrs. Jones reported frankly:

> With the first go around, with cello and the Suzuki method, it's very much like the parents are right there and I was ready to take on that role and get an A+ [laughter], but I found that that wasn't really good for our relationship and that surprised me. I thought, "This isn't how it's supposed to be." (interview 4 November, 2016)

During the more recent viola lessons, Mrs. Jones took a hands-off approach, leaving the responsibility to practice with Leo, who was guided by his aunt, who taught him viola. Leo and his siblings were also a subsystem; as the oldest, Leo often took a leadership role in initiating music activities or enlisting his family members to play certain parts. He also became a musical role model, with his younger siblings imitating his music-making and wanting to take instrumental lessons.

Finally, in terms of the differentiated boundaries in the system, there is evidence that Leo's parents made different decisions about their subsequent children's music

lessons and activities following their experiences with Leo. They chose to wait longer to introduce formal music lessons for the younger children, and encouraged informal music play and enjoyment, with direct comments that this was because of their experience with Leo's cello lessons.

Communicative Musicality

In literature on early childhood, researchers recount observations of musical interactions between adult caregivers, most often mothers and children. When both the adult and infant are engaged in these interactions, they often appear as melodic fragments without words or imitation of sounds, rhythms, or syllables between adult and child. This is referred to as "communicative musicality" (Malloch, 1999). As Malloch (1999) described, "baby and mother listen to one another's sounds [and] creative co-operative patterns of vocalisations" (p. 30). Communicative musicality is not only imitative in sound and gesture, but in emotion (Malloch, 1999). When the child receives the affective response they are seeking in that moment (Stern, 2004), they are more likely to continue to engage with the adult. Malloch and Trevarthen (2009) concluded that communicative musicality is comprised of three components: pulse, quality (melodic and timbral contours), and narrative (pulse and quality).

Communicative musicality and other types of musical interactions between adults and young children have largely been explored as a phenomenon between mother and child (Malloch, 1999). More recently, Trevarthen and Malloch (2012) include the term "parentese" while some researchers have described interactions between father and child (Barrett, 2009; Trehub et al., 1997). Siblings' relationships, however, have not yet been fully investigated within the context of communicative musicality. Eckerdal and Merker (2009) and Bannan and Woodward (2009) each include siblings in their examples of communicative musical interactions between family members. Their brief mentions of siblings indicate a willingness on the part of scholars to consider siblings when studying communicative musicality in the broader sense, referring to musical exchanges between children and others; yet most published literature focused on the parent, especially the mother. A notable exception is Calí's (2015) work studying mutuality in musical interactions of children in middle childhood with other family members; she extended the communicative musicality framework to consider children age 7–10 and included parents, siblings, and other friends and family in her analysis of the relationships and interactions that occurred during musical experiences.

More awareness of the role of siblings in work on communicative musicality comes from Custodero's (2009) chapter. She describes the improvisatory music-making of a child going throughout her daily life and development: "As children grow and thrive, they extend their cultural interactions to siblings and extended family, peers, teachers and others… Compared with infant-mother interactions, communicative musicality in young children may be interpreted more globally, as

they strive to interact, to understand their place in local culture" (p. 518). We take this embrace of the global nature of communicative musicality in young children, along with the earlier mentions of siblings in music-making relationships, as grounds for using communicative musicality as a lens through which to understand some of the interactions of the Gibson siblings.

Communicative Musicality with the Gibson Siblings

There are four children aged 11, 6, 4, and 2 years in the Gibson family. The eldest daughter Lucia, has played violin since she was 4 years old, and clarinet for the last year and recently switched to bassoon in the school band. She also plays self-taught piano and keyboard, and sings in a church youth choir. Next in line, Jenny, began cello at 4 years, and switched to viola at age 5. David, aged four, enjoys listening to music in the home, but claims that "music makes me car-sick!" and asks for CDs to be turned off in the car. Georgie, aged 2, sings along to CDs in the car, to his sisters' instrument playing, and to his bedtime lullaby. Beginning in infancy all the children participated for one or more years in early childhood music classes with me. When I (Lisa) asked Lucia about how her siblings responded to her violin playing, she commented "They love to dance when I play!" (interview 13 November, 2016). This is one form of sibling musical interaction, but further observations and interviews with the Gibson family revealed examples of interactions with qualities of communicative musicality, broadly defined, between siblings. While communicative musicality has thus far been portrayed as between adults and children, we argue here that similar interactions have occurred between siblings, such as the Gibsons. Based on the variety of roles siblings play, as discussed before in family systems theory, and complementary and reciprocal relationships, we suggest that children may participate in communicative musicality with one another, while we acknowledge that further research is needed in this area.

All three of the older Gibson children displayed examples of communicative musicality in their interactions with the baby of the family, Georgie. Accustomed to hearing their parents and grandparents interact musically with babies, it was not surprising to hear them taking turns to sing a soothing "Georgie, Georgie" lullaby to the baby when he came home from the hospital. When Georgie was several weeks old, Lucia composed a song that came to be known as "Dwin Din" (see Fig. 3.1). She noticed that it calmed him down, and he responded with eye contact and coos.

When I asked Lucia about composing this song, she said "I honestly don't know. I just came up with the words one day, and I added on when I found out that it made Georgie stop crying" (email interview 19 July, 2017). "Dwin din" has now become part of the family's repertoire, and Jenny and David often sing it to Georgie as well. Beginning at about 6 months of age, Georgie sometimes hummed along when someone sang it to him. Lucia has figured out how to play it on her violin as well. In this family example we find that a 2- or 3-year-old sibling can have a musical interaction with an infant, that is marked by turn-taking, musical expression, and a

Fig. 3.1 'Dwin Din': Lullaby composed by Lucia (age 9) for her baby brother

Fig. 3.2 'Many Fish in the Sea': Song composed by Lucia and Jenny for their baby brother. Subsequent verses follow the pattern of "there are many _____ in the _____" and end with a pretend sneeze

deepening relationship. David and Jenny learned "Dwin din" from Lucia, who had seen her parents and grandparents model lullaby singing in parentese interactions and musical play with her younger siblings and cousins, in the years leading to Georgie's birth.

In observing the Gibson family, I noticed that when the children wanted to calm Georgie, particularly Lucia, she came close, perhaps stroking Georgie's head or hand, and sang softly. At other times they sang more upbeat songs to rile everyone up, or distract someone from a bump or scrape. Lucia and Jenny together composed "Many Fish in the Sea" (see Fig. 3.2), another piece that was repeated enough to become somewhat fixed and part of the canon.

The ending "ah-choo" was a key point Lucia used in moving her younger siblings from sadness or pain to a happy or calm state. In a video of "Many Fish in the Sea," I observed Georgie bouncing along with the rhythm of the song and performing the "ah-choo" at the end of the song, thus participating in a communicative musicality circle with his sisters.

These shared songs are interesting in that they remained consistent over the months and reappeared at multiple times in the family's life. Music seems to be an

important part of the sibling relationships of the Gibson family, with songs, sounds, beats, or experiences forming in-jokes or connections for the siblings, woven together in moments of musical play such as those documented in Koops (2012, 2014). At times, the siblings communicate with one another through melody or rhythm, or add a musical accompaniment to action in the home. For instance, recently Georgie grabbed Lucia's pencil and ran through the house, with Lucia chasing him to get her pencil back. Jenny, who had been playing around with a harmonica, jumped in creating some exciting chase music on the harmonica to accentuate the drama of the moment. This musical action also relieved the tension between Lucia and Georgie.

Another interaction of interest has been the passing of particular motifs from one sibling to another. This has happened with a tune from Lucia's violin playing that Jenny incorporates into her pretend play, or a song Jenny learns at school and sings at home that David then learns and sings with partial accuracy. Some of the motifs are drawn from a shared experience, for example, a modified children's show, and then brought up at multiple times as a joke, such as a line from the show *Peg + Cat* (i.e., an educational, North-American animation for children that runs on public television) when a character sings "I still like triangles!" in an operatic way. This illustrates the progression from communicative musicality-type interactions in which one sibling assumes the role of caregiver, to a relationship more marked by mutual creation and sharing. It could also be understood as a form of reciprocal relationship, perhaps marking a "graduation" from the communicative musicality interactions to a situation with more democratic interactions. The use of music to build relationships through shared experience and common meaning behind expressions may be seen as another step in the development of shared understanding through musical communication. In the case of the Gibson siblings, it seems that this new step was facilitated by the time spent in interactions marked by characteristics of communicative musicality. Progressions such as these could also be understood through the lens of family systems theory. As siblings attain new skill levels and emotional maturity, so do their interactions and relationships.

The Gibson siblings, as is the case for all children described in this chapter, have a rich home musical environment that led to competencies and familiarity with musical skills, music materials, and creative processes. These three families are by no means unique; many other families with whom I (Lisa) have worked in early childhood music classes and research projects, have shared examples of communicative musicality-infused interactions between siblings (Koops, 2012, 2014, 2018). More research is needed to understand the nature of these interactions, what supports the development of musical communication between siblings, and what the relational and musical impacts may be.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined musical interactions in data from three families, with specific emphasis on sibling relationships. We have argued that while sibling relationships have not often been a primary focus of our research, these relationships are essential to understanding children's musical development and musical experiences. The importance of the parent-child relationship in a child's musical development, explored by multiple researchers, can be understood as distinct from sibling relationships. These sibling relationships, as found by Wu (2018), may be more influential in children's musical development than hitherto realised. Similarly, the opportunity to interact musically may influence siblings' interactions in other shared moments, as in the example of the Kensington sisters.

The three frameworks used in this chapter each help us to understand sibling relationships and musicality. One goal of this chapter was to introduce the frameworks to readers for use in their future research studies. When choosing a theoretical framework for a research study, we encourage researchers to consider how the framework may fit with the research questions, while remaining open to studies in which the data emerges as particularly relevant to one or another framework. These frameworks may be useful not only to those studying musical siblings, but to researchers studying family musical interactions more broadly.

The case study examples described in this chapter are starting points from which many future studies may be considered. The Kensington sisters showed us that proximity in age does not preclude complementary relationships, and that these relationships can have an impact on music-making. This implies that researchers could investigate instances of younger children who take on a complementary role for older siblings or, conversely, reciprocal relationships between widely-spaced siblings. For instance, what might be the impact on joint music play of a cultivated reciprocal relationship between a 10-year-old and 1-year-old sibling pair? With the Jones family, we noted the effect of the first sibling's musical experiences on subsequent siblings. Further research could delve into reverse effects, such as the influence on an older sibling when a younger sibling begins piano lessons and then the older brother suddenly wants to start, keep up, and advance. Family systems theory requires us to consider the impact of musical involvement on all of the systems of a family. How the theory of communicative musicality might shed light on the role of siblings is another topic that suggests further exploration. The cyclical influence of communicative musicality on musical development and relational development of siblings, could be explored through targeted intensive case studies of siblings. Returning to the example of Theo and his sister in the opening vignette, research on the role of siblings in one another's musical participation could help parents and teachers in facilitating children's musical participation. Such research can also add to our overall understanding of the importance of sibling relationships to children's musical development.

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Chapter 4
The Art of Listening: Infants and Toddlers in Education and Care Group Settings

Berenice Nyland

Introduction

Baby Samantha was an alert 9-month-old. The educator casually tapped the lid of a toy box. The baby smiled and tapped. The educator then tapped a short pattern. The baby appeared to listen carefully and then tapped back. The first part of the pattern was an accurate imitation but the baby added a number of extra taps. This turn-taking went on for some minutes. The accuracy did not improve past the first few taps but the baby remained engaged and it was the adult who changed the activity [Baby Samantha (pseudonym) and an educator playing together].

This observation records a common occurrence that demonstrates how everyday unnoticed events hold musical elements that evoke engagement and joint attention in babies, young children and adults. Music in this chapter is seen as a social and communicative act that is related to the development of voluntary action (Leont'ev, 1994; Vygotsky, 1978). Voluntary attention and intentional acts are part of social and cultural development and the baby here was able to both respond to and create, a dialogue with the educator. Music was the underlying 'text' being explored and musical texts are powerful for communicating emotions, for self-regulation and developing young children's cultural understandings. Music has practical applications and can be experienced for relaxation, pleasure, cultural activity or to give pattern and control to physical movement. Combining the idea of social and communicative voluntary action and music as an aesthetic text the observations presented here can be seen as a form of *playworld*, drawing on Lindqvist's (1995) concepts of play pedagogy and playworld that are explained later in the chapter.

The baby and educator described in this first observation were exploring the sound and rhythm of the tapping. This observation is an example of music as a

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communicative tool and the participants were pattern-making using percussion to establish a music-like conversation. The observation introduced the chapter because it illustrates the social nature of joint expression through sound, and the complexity of the interaction that can develop between a baby and adult. Using only a few musical elements, what emerged here is the potential of pattern-making as a form of language, communication, expression, meaning-making and the role of the adult in assisting the baby to discover her musical identity.

Two main themes are pursued in this chapter. The first theme is the importance of listening to infants in order to build on spontaneous events that encourage musical communication (Trevarthen, 2008) and reciprocity (Bruner, 1995). In other words if we accept that infants can enjoy the world of play created with others then childcare can provide an opportunity for children to experience and enjoy learning in the context of a playworld (Lindqvist, 1995). The second theme is that the group care environment can offer a range of experiences for adults and children that are diverse, and thereby potentially promote a setting that becomes a rich musical and cultural space. The possibilities of the group childcare context are dependent on the structure—social and physical—at any given moment.

The research study which informs this chapter was based on observations of baby, toddlers and adults in an Australian daycare and interpreted within a framework of reciprocal relationships. This framework revealed the emotional engagement and shared aesthetic (musical) text which then allowed for the notion of playworld to be established.

The Setting and the Participants

In the centre where these observations took place there were ten babies in the room for under-2s with a separate cot room. An outdoor shaded space led to a larger play area. There were three staff members working in this room with a floating member of staff available to help maintain ratios. The staff had a minimum level training of Certificate 111 in Early Childhood Education and Care (Department Education and Training, 2018). This is a basic education program with units on caring for babies, nutrition, designing safe environments and some elementary child development knowledge.

In Australia children can be enrolled in childcare from the age of 6 weeks. The primary reason that babies need childcare is because the parents are working. This means that workforce participation interests have tended to take precedence over educational concerns (Pascoe & Brennan, 2017). This has two ramifications; the hours infants spend in childcare, and the minimal level training available to most who work with babies. Babies in childcare tend to spend more hours each day in a centre because they are dropped off and picked up by a working parent before and after the work shift. The baby Samantha, the main subject of these observations, was 5 months old when she started at the centre and attended for 3 days per week for approximately 10 h.

In early childhood education and care, educators plan from the child. It is by observing the children that learning and care environments, best suited to the child, can be developed. As in many countries the Australian National Quality Framework (NQF) has a requirement that all early childhood centres implement a planning and evaluation cycle that is based on documenting observations of children's learning. The observed actions of child and educator can be interpreted to provide information on the context, cultural beliefs about infancy and the educators' theories of infancy.

Three examples of Samantha's musical experience drawn from her time in daycare are described and interpreted. The first observation, presented at the beginning of this chapter, was an event that occurred spontaneously. It was initiated by an adult and pursued by the two actors (i.e. baby and adult) paying careful attention to the sequence of the activity and the initiation of each phase (Adamson & McArthur, 1995). This is an activity that could be revisited by infant or adult using any percussive object and has the possibility of gaining in complexity. A second observation, which is presented next, emphasises the relationships that can be fostered between the contexts of home and daycare by taking one familiar ritual from home into the group setting and involving members of that culture in the activity (Bond, 2011). The third observation concerns the baby carefully watching a musical performance that engaged three toddlers. This kind of participant observation is an important way for infants to gain knowledge and awareness of others (Thorgrimsson, 2014). The group care setting can thus be viewed as a meeting place of different cultures, languages and musical experiences. In the very early years there is enormous potential for children to observe and interpret in the 'everyday' which is 'a primary site for cultural participation' (Barrett, 2009, p. 115). Thus, the observations reveal group care to be an everyday context that offers varied experiences with a range of people. Musical pedagogy and learning through reciprocal relationships are emphasised in the observations, and there is opportunity for extension beyond the immediate situation so that these events can be viewed as potential projects and as creative explorations of musical texts in playworlds (Nilsson, 2009).

Music in the World of Infants and Toddlers

The question of what could be counted as a musical activity among babies and toddlers was essential to this study. Small's (1998) view that music should be seen as an action, rather than as object, allows it, importantly, to be inclusive of different types of participation (see also Vestad, this volume). Small suggested that if the word music is a verb then we should talk about 'musicking'. There is also the question of what types of participatory activity should be considered as 'musicking'. There is a strong body of knowledge on infants and musicality (e.g. Ilari, 2002; Malloch, 1999; Trevarthen, 2008; Young, 2005) which has broadened the concept of music in the world of infants and toddlers. Musical aspects of infants' communication have been identified from birth. Malloch (1999/2000) describes the sharing of

emotions between mother and infant as 'communicative musicality which is the art of human companionable communication' (p. 48). Childcare research with infant-educator dyads has also explored communicative competence of infants and the importance of a listening adult (Vallotton, Harewood, Karsten, & Decker, 2014).

Much of the literature on music for young children discusses the role of singing and games (Custodero & Johnson-Green, 2008). Lullabies and children's songs are vitally important and are a successful way of introducing the infant into a musical culture (Doja, 2014). Young (2004) added to research into young children's music by exploring the idea of spontaneous vocalising during play events. This work supports an approach which takes an inclusive view of music as a narrative form that involves movement, emotional states, and intersubjective communication (Trevarthen, 2008). The concept of music as text or narrative that connects to a broader notion of playworlds, also applies. The baby Samantha, at 9-months-old, is at an age when she can come to recognise the separateness of self and other, with meaning-making as a shared system (Trevarthen, 1980). From shared attentiveness at birth, to interpersonal engagement and later object involvement, joint attention emerges. Through shared referencing and an awareness of the intentions of others, the child is now developing the ability to impute mental states to herself and others (Wertsch, 2000). The baby's social explorations of cultural tools, like music, now become more intentional. This intentional interactive activity leads to interpersonal understanding so that joint activities can become more complex and more reciprocal in nature. The child will initiate more interchanges based around her own interests and interactive sequences become more prolonged. Children have become successful communicators and can exchange meaning through reciprocal interactions. Music is an important vehicle for this type of reciprocal conversation.

The role of music in group work with infants and toddlers has received attention in the theoretical literature though much has focussed on the educator rather than children (e.g. de l'Etoile, 2001). In group work it is often difficult to identify the musical competence of individual infants (Ilari, 2002), and group work does not allow for the recognition of the wide range of actions that communicate through the use of musical elements. As this chapter is emphasising, working with infants includes the importance of reciprocal relationships where infants can take a lead in the shared communicative structure of the exchange. This is not likely to happen in a formal group for the very young. A study by de Vries (2005) explored educators' expectations of themselves as practitioners who could use music in their settings. These educators perceived themselves as lacking formal skills that included being able to plan musical activities, use instruments and sing appropriate songs. DeVries's study was conducted with educators who worked with children aged 24–36 months. That adults lack confidence in providing musical experiences for very young children is a strong theme in the early childhood music education literature. Interestingly, in a project involving artists in early childhood education, Young found that working with babies was initially the most challenging aspect of the project for the participating artists (2005). However, learning to engage with the infants turned out to be a successful element of the project that "fed upwards into the project as a whole" (p. 295).

Introducing Play Pedagogy and Playworlds

Gunilla Lindqvist (1995, 2003) did not develop her influential ideas of play pedagogy and playworlds with preverbal children and much of the playworld research has centred on older children and on literary texts (e.g., Kullenberg & Pramling, 2017; Ferholt & Lecusay, 2009). Nevertheless it is possible, and valuable, to relate the same concepts—of shared aesthetic meaning-making in playful situations with adults or with peers—to younger children. Baumer (2013) describes the concepts of Lindqvist's play pedagogy and playworlds thus. Play pedagogy advocates adult and child joint play in which adults provide a variety of social, emotional, cognitive and communicative resources to enrich and support children's play. Children bring to this joint play their expertise in pretend play and symbolic imagination, which, in turn, helps adults revitalize their own playfulness and improvisational competence (Baumer 2013). Lindqvist (2003) focussed primarily on literary texts as she explored the idea that 'there is no opposition between imagination and reality' (p. 249). 'Imagination', she writes, 'is a form of consciousness—an ability to combine— which is connected with reality in more ways than one' (ibid).

In the following sections of the chapter, two more observations are presented with interpretive comments. These are followed by a discussion of the observations and the chapter concludes with remarks on implications for practice.

Observation 2

Samantha and her mother arrived at the centre around 9.30am. This was a relaxed time with most of the other children already settled and the educators sitting with the children. A small group of children were on the veranda and a couple in the adjoining sandpit. The design of this centre allowed for this outside area to be always available as an extension of the indoor space and it was covered partially with a combination of roof and shade cloth. The educators explained that the extended space left room for children to be physically active while the atmosphere could be reasonably quiet and relaxed.

An educator was sitting on a couch with three of toddlers when Samantha came into the room. The toddlers immediately chanted the baby's name and asked that she sit with them. The mother came over and sat next to the educator. She told the toddlers that Samantha had a new game that made her laugh. She stood Samantha on her lap. The baby stood on straight legs and the mother chanted: 'Timber,' spreading out the first syllable and dipping in pitch and accenting the 'ber'. The baby let her body fall in a straight line, shrieked and laughed loudly. 'Do it again,' called the children. The mother repeated the game a few more times with the desired effect.

After the mother left, the children wanted to continue playing the game. The educator suggested the baby have a rest from the game and then they could play it again later. The children then decided to play the game themselves and started calling 'timber' and throwing themselves down. Samantha laughed very loudly at this.

This observation contained both social and musical elements. The children could take control of the game because it was made up of simple elements: the rhythmic pattern of the two syllable word; the duration on the first syllable; and the excitement of the lower, faster, louder sound that equated with crashing to the floor when

the second syllable was introduced. The children could choose how long to elongate the first syllable 'tim' and then suddenly lower the pitch and increase the dynamic to accent the 'ber' for falling down. Their bodies matched the sound they were making. Simple and engrossing, the game involved rhythm, pitch, timbre, bodily movement and improvisation. The children were using their voices to play with the core narrative using a range of musical and dramatic concepts. The game was introduced into the setting from Samantha's home. She first played the game with her mother and then recognised her game when the toddlers started playing it. Body movement in space, especially a downward falling movement seems to satisfy many children in the toddler-age group. It involves the whole body, and the wait for the signal to fall creates a feeling of delayed gratification. The pleasure that young children derive from whole body movement is evident in the popularity of singing games like 'Ring-a-ring-a Roses' with its final collapse at the line 'we all fall down'. The toddlers adapted the 'timber' game to their own purposes while also acknowledging the important role of Samantha and her family. The simplicity of the game and the elegance of the elements also meant there was room for creative innovation, and the activity could become an ongoing part of the play culture in the infant/toddler room of the centre. These features match characteristics of a playworld situation as there were multiple texts shared between adults and children. There were musical elements, movement, a basic story and reciprocity. The educator assumed a guiding role by advising on Samantha's well-being while watching the toddlers appropriate the story and play it out themselves.

Observation 3

In the mid-afternoon, Samantha had woken from a nap and finished a snack. Two toddlers were playing with the blocks near where Samantha was sitting with a basket of toys. One toddler knocked over a block tower and the other burst into tears.

The educator came quickly and judging the children to be tired and needing distraction started to sing the song 'Three little Ducks' using fingers on one hand for the three ducks and the left hand for mother duck. This was a familiar song-story for the toddlers and they stopped to watch. Instead of asking the toddlers to join in the song, the educator turned it into a performance. The children watched as mother duck became more and more cross and worried. Samantha looked at the toddlers gazing intently at the educator and then at the educator. Her eyes kept moving backwards and forwards. Finally it was time for the mother duck to go and find her ducklings. She was furious. When she found the ducklings, the educator made the fingers on her right hand cower and pull away from the angry mother duck. The children watched. Suddenly she reached over, pulled the right hand to the left and kissed the finger ducklings. There was a perceptible relaxation from the children who smiled in what could have been relief. Samantha's gaze had been on the children and the performance throughout. Now she smiled as if reflecting the relief that all felt at the successful culmination of the performance with a happy ending.

This 'Three Little Ducks' musical drama for young children is well known. Custodero (2005) also used the same story-song when researching infants' experiences of musical engagement. The theme is the elemental one of a parent's concern and how this can be expressed through anger, relief and love: heady emotions that can be shared with the very young. This simple song-story is often used for counting

and as a narrative in early literacy experiences. In this instance the educator sang the song for the children with dramatic intent. They were positioned as the audience to watch the age-old story unfold. The singing started, quiet and tuneful, with the little ducks going out. There was a break in the rhythm when only two came back. Confusion and miming came next as the two ducklings were carefully counted and then the singing started again as the two went out. By performing a story that was known to the children the educator was able to retell a familiar story through a known melody and narrative sequence and to use their prior knowledge to create a highly emotional interlude with the children actively listening.

This observation illustrates the value of closely attending to children when they are listening and engaged. Another form of listening in the sense of awareness to children's capacities that can be identified from this observation, is the educator's decision to change the song to three ducks, instead of the usual five. Limiting the number meant that the children would not find it too repetitive for the narrative to build up and therefore, by being aware of the children's capacity for engaging, the educator could maximise the dramatic effect.

Interpreting the Observations: Playworlds and Play Pedagogy

Music as a language of childhood has long been considered a crucial educational experience in its own right. The observations and musical interpretations presented in this chapter are all examples of spontaneous events that would be commonplace across the day in a high quality early childhood centre. In the three observations the educator was attuned to the children and to baby Samantha. Such sensitivity can determine how engaging a play event can be.

In the first observation the educator chose to initiate a drumming conversation with Samantha using a rhythmic pattern. Samantha's response was positive and the exchange reciprocated. Trevarthen (1980) has stated that human language and cognition have a social foundation from the very beginning. Samantha's ability to achieve affective interactions with others was established; she could predict the actions of others and influence them intentionally. In this instance the caregiver 'read' the child so she predicted that the introduction of the rhythm play would be accepted and she did not persist when it became imitative turn-taking, but was not being extended through variation. The idea of reciprocal exchange through pattern-making was established and could become part of her playful repertoire for future explorations. Samantha was responsive, and further practice and experience would develop this into a medium where each could offer their own patterns and build on the routine so it could become more expressive.

In the second observation a game from Samantha's home became a shared event. The caregiver played a mediating role here. She shared the game with Samantha and the mother and then suggested to the other children that Samantha might want to wait before being the falling tree again. The result might have been unplanned but the children's actions meant Samantha gained an agentic and active part in the

exchange as the children appropriated her game. She expressed pleasure at this. The game itself had considerable musical potential for such young children and could become part of the play culture of the centre. The educator had actively observed, listened and been able to facilitate a role for Samantha that extended beyond simply being the subject of a game that amused the toddlers.

The third observation contained a combination of different modes of listening as the educator responded to the toddlers becoming frustrated. Samantha became the listener and participant as she carefully watched the educator's performance and the other toddlers' responses. As a 'looker on' Samantha was able to gain insights into the story of the ducks, the emotional roller coaster the educator portrayed and the enjoyment that the toddlers were able to extract as audience. This event was linked to levels of involvement and one strategy practised by the educator was to limit the number of ducklings to three. The children observed here concentrated for the duration of the song story, their immersion in the event suggested an energy as the attention was sustained and persistent. Their emotional understanding of the differing emotions of mother duck displayed an intuitive intensity. This was also a story within a story as Samantha observed both the performance and the audience; here she was a participant observer on two levels. Pascal, Bertram, and Ramsden (1997) have worked with the notion of involvement drawing on the work of Laevers (1994) and differentiate between strong feelings towards an activity that may be emotionally motivated, for example, the 'Three little ducks' incident that led to the educator's actions and the learning that will come from intense, self- motivated attention to a task.

In all three observations the sensitive observing of the educator indicated a relationship where listening was practised in different ways to enhance opportunities that arose for musical exploration. Since the idea of listening to children and musical pedagogy has been a focus of this chapter, it is timely to address questions of practical import. What can be gained from these three child observations and how can that be usefully applied to the context of the childcare environment? Relevant ideas that can be taken from the observations include the notion that listening comes in many forms and that preverbal children are capable of displaying high levels of communicative competence in a listening space. I have introduced the concepts of playworld associated with specific play pedagogy strategies to suggest how the role of the adult might be understood, interpreted and to provide a model for practice in daycare with under 2-year-olds.

Observing young children closely is a time-honoured practice in general early childhood education (not only in music), and is perhaps the closest approximation we can get to how the infant perceives his or her world and the people in it. In this sense, observing is an important part of listening. The context and the age of the child are also significant. In the work presented here, the age of the child, 9 months, was chosen because children of this age are communicatively competent and have the ability to communicate meaningfully using a variety of media. This is important for those designing educational environments for young children. As emphasised, relationships are paramount, and reciprocity and intentional use of cultural tools within the specific context can potentially provide rich experiences.

Rogoff, Mistry, Goncu, and Mosier (1993) presented the idea of participatory appropriation which can be adopted to explain how the infant or toddler might enter the culture of childcare. The child actively appropriates knowledge and transforms social experiences to become their own. We saw how the toddlers adopted the 'Timber' game. Educators then have the opportunity to mediate infants' experiences into making sense of the world of childcare. Music, with its social, cultural and personal values is ideally an everyday life event (DEEWR, 2009). In an environment with educators and other children, specifically designed to be a satisfactory context for learning and development, there is time and opportunity to pursue children's interests. As mentioned earlier, research in childcare centres by de Vries (2005) has suggested that educators do not necessarily feel they have skills to mediate messages of competence in the realm of musical discovery and this may in part be caused by a narrow view of children's music.

Children learn cumulatively. The child remembers, reflects and experiments with actions to interpret and build more understandings. New information is soon accompanied by communicative acts and joint attentional sequences that will give rise to joint accomplishment. In other words, as in the concept of playworlds, the adult is also able to learn. Both child and adult are observers of the stories happening around them. In the three observations offered in this chapter, there were many musical concepts to build upon. Having experienced quite sophisticated musical events for a child of 9 months—a rhythm-making conversation, the one-word chant and action game, and the song-story performance in a social setting—and events that were shared with others, the infant is developing a rich music-play repertoire. If music play opportunities are available within the setting, in the same way that children's books and crayons are available, then the child can share their repertoire and continue to collect and build on their own musical knowledge and skills in daily life in the real world.

Music as a language of childhood manifests in many ways. Through speech children will be introduced to musical concepts such as rhythm, meter, form, tempo, dynamics and pitch. At 9 months the baby is able to pass objects from one hand to the other and has gained voluntary release. This leads to actions like clapping and drumming with hands or objects. Holding the child and moving can be used to experience patterns in music, strong and weak beats. Dynamics, pitch and timbre will be present in singing. If recordings are used, the educator can encourage active listening and participation by singing along, moving or paying obvious attention to the music. The language of music and the foundations of music are omnipresent and only need to be recognised to potentially lead to conceptual understanding and therefore the opportunity to use music as an exploratory, expressive and creative language.

Conclusion

To conclude, observing is an important form of listening that consists of careful watching and acting on the information received. Offering an experience when the child is receptive, following the child's lead, appreciating the value of participant

observation, are all methods of listening within the expanded conception of listening that has underpinned this chapter. I have introduced several themes: that infants possess musical competencies, that observing can be interactive and reciprocal, and that the group care setting has many potentials for creating musical playworlds.

Images of children are dependent on cultural assumptions about children in our society, and ideas of reciprocity and the importance of learning within relationships, is now well established in the early childhood literature (Ebbeck & Yim, 2008). If we acknowledge the communicative competence of infants then collaborative exchange is possible. Music as a human and cultural activity that is a fundamental and profound way of exchanging meaning is something to be valued highly in the daily life of the childcare setting. Lindqvist's idea of playworlds, adapted as a framework for understanding the creative exploration of musical narratives was introduced in this chapter as a possible approach to practice that could inform educators' attentive listening and deliberate responses to spontaneous events.

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Part II
Young Children's Capacities for Music

Chapter 5
The Social Meaning of Shared Musical Experiences in Infancy and Early Childhood

Gaye Soley

The Acquisition of Culture-Specific Music Knowledge and Preference

Like language, music of different cultures varies considerably (Cross, 2001). Individuals learn the rules and the patterns that are characteristic of their own musical culture, by merely being exposed to music in their daily lives (for reviews, see Bigand & Poulin-Charronnat, 2006; Hannon, 2010). Knowledge of the melodic and rhythmic structure in music from one's own culture starts to form in infancy (Hannon & Trehub, 2005a, 2005b; Koelsch et al., 2003; Trainor & Trehub, 1994) and accumulation of such knowledge elicits well-documented difficulties in perceiving, producing, memorizing and understanding emotions in unfamiliar music of other cultures (e.g. Collier & Wright, 1995; Demorest, Morrison, Beken, & Jungbluth, 2008; Gregory & Varney, 1996; Hannon & Trehub, 2005a, 2005b; Repp, London, & Keller, 2005).

Growing up in a certain musical culture also shapes our evaluative responses to different musical styles or genres and these preferences emerge surprisingly early in life. In one cross-cultural study, we tested 4- to 8-month-old North American and Turkish infants' listening preferences for regular (simple) and irregular (complex) musical meters (Soley & Hannon, 2010). Meter is a component of rhythmic structure in music that elicits the perception of strong and weak beats (Lerdahl & Jackendoff, 1983). Meter in Western music is mostly regular and simple, with time being divided into equal units (London, 2004). The music of different parts of the world, such as the Middle East, Eastern Europe, South Asia and Africa, on the other hand, can have both regular and irregular meters featuring complex duration ratios,

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as a result of unequal divisions of time (London, 1995; Rice, 1994). We expected Turkish and North-American infants to show different patterns of preferences, given the rhythmic variation in their respective musical cultures. North American infants were expected to prefer simple meters over complex meters. In contrast, Turkish infants, who are supposedly familiar with both simple and complex meters, were expected to show a different pattern of preference. These predictions were based on previous research showing that monolingual infants prefer to listen to speech in their native language over speech in unfamiliar languages (Moon, Panneton, Cooper, & Fifer, 1993), whereas bilingual infants do not show a preference between the two languages they are exposed to, preferring speech in both of their native languages over speech in an unfamiliar language (Bosch & Sebastián-Gallés, 1997, 2001).

To measure infants' preferences, we used a preferential listening paradigm. Infants were seated on their parent's lap with a screen located in front of them. On this screen, infants saw a movie clip while they listened to melodies with alternating rhythms through centrally located speakers. The duration of their attention to the movie clip was measured. The melodies continued to play for up to 60 s or until the infant looked away from the screen for more than 2 s. This way, infants could control how long they listened to each melody. The results showed that North American infants listened longer to melodies with Western (simple) compared to Balkan (complex) meter, whereas Turkish infants, who are familiar with both kinds of meters, exhibited no preference. Both groups, however, preferred melodies having Western and Balkan meters, over melodies featuring an unfamiliar, highly irregular and complex meter, that does not exist in any musical culture. Thus, both familiarity and simplicity of the rhythmic structure in music seem to affect the formation of listening preferences already in infancy (Soley & Hannon, 2010).

It appears, however, that exposure is not the only factor playing a role in the acquisition of music preferences. The social context in which exposure occurs is also critical, and starts in infancy. For instance, infants attend more to individuals who are from their own group, such as individuals who speak their native language (Kinzler, Dupoux, & Spelke, 2007). They selectively imitate these individuals' actions (Buttelmann, Zmyj, Daum & Carpenter, 2013), and adopt their food preferences (Shutts, Kinzler, McKee, & Spelke, 2009). Thus, in infancy, social learning is already an important way in which culture is transferred among members of a social group.

In one study, we asked whether infants' music preferences would be modulated by their preference for native speakers (Soley & Sebastián-Gallés, 2015). Thirty-two monolingual, Spanish-hearing 7-month-old infants were tested in the study. Infants were seated in front of a three-screen set-up with centrally located speakers. During an initial familiarization phase, infants were shown videos on left and right screens. In these videos, two different actors appeared in alternation, one on each side. The actors spoke in their respective languages (Spanish or German) and each played a tune by pressing a button on a music player (see Fig. 5.1 for example displays and notation of the tunes). These tunes were composed for the study, and were therefore unfamiliar to all infants. In addition, the actors were bilingual speakers of German and Spanish, thus the actor-language as well as the language-tune pairings

Fig. 5.1 Example of display and notation from Soley and Sebastián-Gallés (2015)

could be distributed evenly among all the participating infants. In this way, we could eliminate preferences that could potentially be elicited by a specific person or tune. After the familiarization phase, during which actors appeared on left and right screens, infants were presented with a checkerboard on the middle screen, while the two tunes they previously heard, were presented to them in alternating order. In this phase, infants could control how long they listened to each tune. The tunes continued to play for up to 60 s or until the infant looked away from the screen for more than 2 s. The results showed that after being equally exposed to two novel tunes during the familiarization phase (i.e., infants' looking times to the videos featuring each actor did not differ), Spanish-hearing 7-month-old infants later preferred to listen to the tune that was introduced by the Spanish speaker rather than the tune that was introduced by the German speaker.

While exposure clearly influences the acquisition of culture-specific structures and preferences, because infants are generally exposed to stimuli in a social context, the effects of social-emotional factors—above and beyond the effects of exposure on the acquisition of preferences— are not easily detectable. Yet, because in this study, infants' exposures to the two novel melodies were controlled and equated, the preference for one melody over the other during the test phase, cannot be explained by exposure itself. Instead, the social and emotional context in which exposure occurs, also seems to play a role in the formation of music preferences and infants' preference for their own group (i.e., speakers of their native language), might already have an influence on their preferences for music. This finding also raises the possibility that similar social and emotional factors might influence infants' learning of music very early in life.

Music as a Form of Shared Cultural Experience

Throughout history, music has been an important element in diverse cultures (Brown, 1991). Different cultural groups create their distinct music and songs, making music an important part of one's social and cultural identity (e.g. Allen, 1988; Baily, 1994; Shepherd, 1977; Stokes, 1994). Indeed, a large body of evidence suggests that music is used as a marker of one's social history and social identity, and affects perception of others. For example, musical taste is commonly used by adults and adolescents to make inferences about others' social attributes (North & Hargreaves, 1999; Rentfrow, McDonald, & Oldmeadow, 2009). Furthermore, shared music preference and knowledge lead to more positive evaluations of other individuals (Bakagiannis & Tarrant, 2006; Lonsdale & North, 2009; North & Hargreaves, 1999), and elicit social preferences, particularly among adolescents (Boer et al., 2011; North & Hargreaves, 1999; Selfhout, Branje, ter Bogt, & Meeus, 2009).

Even though the cultural and social factors begin to shape one's perception of and preference for music very early in life, the role of shared culture-specific musical experiences in cementing social bonds early in life is largely unexplored. Collaborating with a colleague, I recently examined the role of music in guiding 4- and 5-year-old North-American children's social preferences (Soley & Spelke, 2016). A total of 184 children participated in different conditions of the study (20–24 children per condition). In this study, we 'borrowed' a paradigm that was previously used to demonstrate that children's social preferences are influenced by the social category membership of the potential social partners (e.g. Kinzler et al., 2007; Shutts, Roben & Spelke, 2013). In these studies, children are introduced to two novel target children differing for instance, in the languages they speak or their genders. Participating children are then asked which of the two target children they would like to be friends with. In our study, we varied target children's favourite songs over multiple trials and the participants were asked which of the two children they would like to have as a friend. For different groups of children, the two songs differed on two dimensions of familiarity: familiarity with songs (e.g. a familiar and an unfamiliar Western song) and familiarity with musical style (i.e. unfamiliar songs having Western vs. unfamiliar songs having a Balkan meter). The results showed that children prefer other children whose favourite music constitutes a song that they themselves know. In contrast, children showed no preference between other children based on the familiarity of the musical style (i.e. two unfamiliar songs, one with Western and one with Balkan rhythmic structure).

After establishing that songs elicit social preferences in young children, we explored the nature of these preferences. The songs in previous experiments were always introduced as the favourite songs of the target children. This procedure gave two kinds of information to the participating children: that the target child knows the song, and that he or she likes the song. In subsequent experiments, we introduced the participating children to two target children who differed in terms of their knowledge of and/or preferences for familiar or unfamiliar songs. The familiar songs were popular American children's songs and the unfamiliar songs were eigh-

teenth century American folk songs. A separate group of same age children were also asked about their preference for, and familiarity with, the familiar and unfamiliar Western songs. Children identified contemporary American children's songs as more familiar when compared to eighteenth-century American folk songs and also indicated that they preferred familiar songs over unfamiliar ones. Children's social preferences, on the other hand, showed interesting differences in terms of the importance of shared preference and shared knowledge. Children preferred those who liked songs, regardless of their familiarity with the songs. Interestingly, children chose to be friends with others, who knew familiar songs, and rejected others who knew unfamiliar songs, despite their contrasting music preferences. Thus, for young children, shared knowledge of songs seems to be a surprisingly important factor when choosing potential social partners.

Shared Knowledge of Songs as a Marker of Shared Group Membership

Why might shared knowledge of songs be more privileged than shared preference for songs in eliciting social choices in children? A fair number of studies suggest that shared preference leads to social preferences in adulthood and adolescence (Boer et al., 2011; North & Hargreaves, 1999; Selfhout et al., 2009). Similar findings are also shown by studies carried out with children (Fawcett & Markson, 2010). Yet, in many studies, as in our everyday life, taste also implies knowledge. Thus, the social effects of shared preference might be partially driven by shared knowledge and furthermore, shared knowledge might even be a more potent marker of one's social history than shared preferences (Soley, 2012; Soley & Spelke, 2016; Vélez, Bridgers, & Gweon, 2016). For instance, whether someone would like a particular song can be determined by various factors including biological factors and personality characteristics in addition to previous exposure (Masataka, 2006; Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003; Soley & Hannon, 2010). Knowledge of songs, on the other hand, has been transferred through direct social contact for most of our history, and is still mostly acquired through social means, particularly for young children. Thus, children's remarkable attention to common knowledge of songs in their friendship choices might arise as a result of song knowledge being an important cue to one's past social history and culture.

Findings from a recent study are in line with this argument (Soley & Aldan, under revision). In this study, we explored children's inferences of shared knowledge of and preference for songs, based on prominent social categories of gender and language in a third-party context. Sixty Turkish-speaking 5- and 6-year-olds were presented with triads of children's photographs and listened to short sound clips that were identified as the voices of the children in the photographs. The target child whose photograph appeared at the top of the screen, matched the other two children either in terms of gender or language. In other words, if the target child was

a Spanish-speaking female, one of the other two children was a Spanish-speaking male and the other child was a Turkish-speaking female. Children were then asked which of the latter children *knew* or *liked* the same songs as the target child. We found that children generalized knowledge of songs to same-language speaking children rather than same gender children, whereas when asked to generalize preferences for songs, children were equally likely to choose same-gender or same-language children. In other words, children selectively generalized knowledge of songs across language, a social category that marks cultural boundaries.

To explore this idea further, we also assessed children's attributions of shared knowledge of songs and preference for songs based on novel social groups. We introduced 72 5- to 6-year-old Turkish children to two novel social groups composed of cartoon-like agents. On each trial, children were shown a triad of agents, where two of the agents belonged to the same group and one belonged to a different group. (See Fig. 5.2 for an example display.) Children were then asked to guess which of the two agents would *know* or *like* a tune that was known by the target agent (presented at top of the display). The tunes were unfamiliar, instrumental melodies, adapted from eighteenth-century American folk songs. Children could choose the agent that belonged to the same group as the target, the agent that belonged to a different group or they could choose both. Results showed that children were significantly more likely to choose the character that belonged to the same group as the target agent, when asked who would also know the song that was known by that agent. In contrast, children tended to choose both agents, when asked who would also like the song that was liked by the target agent. In a further condition, children were asked to generalize generic facts (e.g. rabbits sleep 16 h per day) that the target agent knew. Unlike the case of generalizing song knowledge, children indicated that both agents would know the generic facts, suggesting that they do not

Fig. 5.2 Example of display from Soley (in preparation)
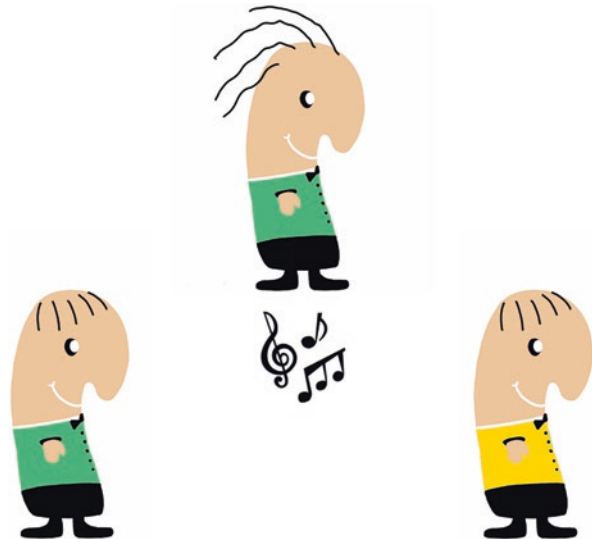
simply think that group members tend to know similar things, but they selectively generalize knowledge of songs on the basis of social group membership (Soley, in preparation).

Together these results suggest that for children, shared knowledge of songs is more tightly linked to cultural groups than shared preferences and this might be the underlying reason why children privilege shared knowledge of songs over preference, when choosing friends. An interesting possibility would be that these music-based social inferences might change with age, as individuals become more autonomous and have more control over their music exposure and preferences. Thus, these findings leave open the possibility that music preferences might become more strongly related to one's social history and social identity, and become more critical in eliciting social preferences later in life.

The Effects of Shared Musical Experiences in Infancy

Shared musical experiences already influence social preferences in infancy. For instance, using a method that was adapted from previous studies demonstrating preferences for native speakers in infants (Kinzler et al., 2007), 5-month-old North American infants were found to prefer singers of familiar songs (Soley, 2012). In these studies, infants were presented with videos of two actors singing two different songs (one familiar and one unfamiliar). Before and after this familiarization phase, both singers were presented silently smiling; how long the infants looked at each of them was measured. The results showed that the infants looked equally at each actor before the singing phase. However, after the singing phase, infants attended significantly longer to the singer of the familiar song ("Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star") compared to the singer of the unfamiliar song. In a different condition, when infants were presented with two unfamiliar songs, one following a Western melodic structure and one violating it, although infants are sensitive to these differences (e.g. Cohen, Thorpe, & Trehub, 1987), they did not show any preference between the two singers before or after the singing phase (Soley, 2012). The familiar song in this study ("Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star") was chosen based on an initial survey with the parents.

Later research, by teaching parents a novel song to sing to their infants, has also shown that infants prefer singers of familiar songs, but only if they were previously exposed to the song through their parents and not through a music toy (Mehr, Song, & Spelke, 2016). Similarly, 11-month-old infants selectively interacted with individuals who previously sang a song known to them (Mehr & Spelke, 2017). In a recent study, Cirelli and Trehub (2018) presented 14-month-old infants with renditions of a children's song by a female singer who recited the lyrics of the song or read a book near the infant and his or her parents for about 2.5 min. After this period, the woman indicated her need for help to get an object that she dropped and infants' helping behaviors (i.e., picking up the objects) were observed in these three conditions. The results showed that infants' helping behaviors increased both in the

song and the recitation conditions, compared to the book reading condition. Crucially, there was a relation between parents' reports on their infants' familiarity with the children's song and infants' helping behaviors as such; the more familiar infants were with the song, the more helping behavior they exhibited. Thus, according to the studies presented and discussed in this chapter, the shared social experiences of music, and particularly songs, seem to be an important factor eliciting social preferences and prosocial behaviors starting in infancy.

The Effects of Music Education on Children's Cross-Cultural Attitudes

The social significance of music, and songs in particular, emerges remarkably early in life. If children perceive songs as an important attribute of cultural groups, teaching children songs from other cultures, might have an influence on children's attitudes towards different cultural groups. Similarly, teaching common songs to children from diverse cultural groups might help to increase affiliation and cohesion among children from different cultural or ethnic backgrounds. To date however, research on this topic is rather limited.

One study by Sousa, Neto and Mullet (2005) assessed the effects of a cross-cultural music education program on 7- to 10-year-old Portuguese children's ethnic biases. One group of children took part in a cross-cultural music education program, while the other group continued with the regular music curriculum at their school. Children's ethnic biases were measured before and after the 18-week long music program. The cross-cultural program consisted of exposing children to Cape Verdean songs as well as some Portuguese songs, while the control group was only exposed to Portuguese songs. Before the music education program, both groups of children showed a moderate level of racial stereotype. After the program, while children's racial biases in the control group did not change, a significant decrease was observed in the racial biases of the children, particularly among 9- to 10-year-olds, who took part in the cross-cultural music education program. A more recent study also found a decrease in 11-year-old Portuguese adolescents' implicit and explicit ethnic biases after a similar music program, while such a decrease was not observed among children in the control group. Further, follow-up measures revealed that these effects were still evident after 2 years (Neto, da Conceiçao Pinto, & Mullet, 2016). It is not known, however, whether the effects can be attributed to a selection bias, as children in either study were randomly assigned to music education and control groups by classrooms.

Aside from the fact that studies examining the effects of cross-cultural music education on children's social attitudes are very rare; the variability in the target age group, content, duration and the structure of music education programs makes it difficult to reach conclusions regarding what aspect of these programs are beneficial, and whether some age groups benefit from such classes to a greater degree than others.

Nevertheless, a few existing studies present promising results, suggesting that cross-cultural music education can have positive effects on children's biases against individuals from different social, cultural and ethnic groups.

Conclusion

Music has long been known to be a powerful means of inducing emotional and social effects and connecting individuals by synchronizing their bodies and moods, or simply by creating a common ground of communication between them. Sensitivity to various aspects of music emerges early in life, pointing to its important status as a social cue (see Niland, 2019, this volume). In line with this, recent evidence suggests that music has crucial social and emotional implications that are evident in infancy.

Even though this chapter focused on shared cultural experiences, from very early in life music exerts social effects through different mechanisms as well. For instance, a growing body of evidence suggests that synchronizing to an external beat with others facilitates social cohesion among individuals (e.g. Hove & Risen, 2009; Wiltermuth & Heath, 2009). After being rhythmically synchronized with another person, infants and children show increased prosocial behaviors and positive attitudes toward that person (e.g. Cirelli, Einarson, & Trainor, 2014; Kirschner & Tomasello, 2010). These effects do not seem to be driven by music itself (e.g. Tunçgenç & Cohen, 2016), but music, with its regular beat is likely to facilitate interpersonal synchrony, thereby positively influencing individuals' social behaviors and attitudes. Music is also widely used in the early mother-infant interaction and communication. Singing to infants is prevalent cross-culturally (e.g. Trehub et al., 1997) and is argued to serve important social functions such as regulating infants' emotional state, facilitating emotional communication with preverbal infants (Trainor, 2006; Trainor, Clark, Huntley, & Adams, 1997; Trainor & Schmidt, 2003), enhancing the caregiver-infant bonding by attracting infants' attention to the caregiver (Nakata & Trehub, 2004) and by increasing synchrony between the infant and the caregiver (Longhi, 2009). In addition, research reviewed throughout this chapter emphasizes the importance of familiar songs in cementing social bonds and suggests that shared knowledge of songs has an important social meaning for infants and young children. Thus, these early emerging social effects of music suggest that the significance of music might originate from its social nature (see also Trehub, 2003).

While music, as with language, varies from one culture to another, it constitutes an important aspect of culture virtually everywhere. Therefore, one might expect music-elicited social effects to be observed in diverse cultures. For instance, social preferences based on shared knowledge of songs, are evident as young as 5 months of age (Soley, 2012). While previous exposure to particular songs and the context in which such exposure occurs is clearly crucial for the acquisition of the songs, given the cross-cultural ubiquity of singing to infants (e.g. Trehub et al., 1997), similar social effects are likely to be evident across different cultures, even though these

effects would be driven by different songs in different cultures. Nevertheless, the lack of direct cross-cultural comparisons does not allow us to conclude that music-elicited social effects would be similar across cultures. For instance, in some cultures, where musical behaviors are more central to the daily lives of the individuals, the social effects might be observed to a larger extent. Similarly, the implications of these findings are also largely unexplored. Evidence reviewed in this chapter raises the possibility that teaching common songs to children might provide a simple and effective way of increasing cohesion and affiliation among children and might provide a useful tool for educational settings, for instance for classrooms with children from diverse backgrounds. An interesting question arising is whether and how social effects of shared music experiences would change in multicultural environments. In such contexts would children associate particular songs and cultural groups more or less strongly? (For a discussion of this topic see Gluschankof, 2019, this volume.) Furthermore, while prior the modern means of circulating knowledge, music, as a form of cultural knowledge, used to be transmitted exclusively through direct social contact. Today however, with technological advances such as the internet, such knowledge is not necessarily transferred exclusively through social means. An intriguing question for future research is whether the social effects of songs differ for children depending on how these songs are acquired (see also chapters by Bickford and Niland, 2019, this volume). Finally, while music is an important form of cultural knowledge, societies also share other cultural practices such as particular traditions, rituals and folk tales. Future research that explores whether songs have a privileged status among other types of cultural knowledge in bolstering social bonds in infancy and childhood, will be worthwhile.

Shared musical experiences and their associated social preferences and inferences, offer a fascinating and largely unexplored network of interactions between perceptual, emotional, and social implications that emerge remarkably early in life. Investigating these rich interactions to shed light on different functions of music, particularly on its cultural significance, is of great interest in the field of early childhood music.

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Chapter 6
Embodiment in Early Childhood Music Education

Luc Nijs and Melissa Bremmer

Introduction

Learning is not all "in our head", but occurs from the very beginning of life through our sensory engagement with the world and through the movements and postures that provoke this sensory engagement (Hannaford, 1995; Schroeder, Wilson, Radman, Scharfman, & Lakatos, 2010). Therefore, movement and kinaesthetic awareness are key components of the physical and cognitive development of children and the search for sensory input through movement is an inborn mechanism that shapes human interaction with the world. The essential role of the body in our understanding of the world is the basic idea of the theory of embodied cognition, according to which cognitive processes are shaped by the dynamic interactions between the brain, the body and the environment (Gallagher, 2017; Shapiro, 2015). Accordingly, the body is not conceived as peripheral to meaning-making but, on the contrary, as constitutive to our experience and understanding of the world (Foglia & Wilson, 2013). From this "embodied" viewpoint, learning is ideally grounded in sensorimotor activities, involving bodily interactions with the social, cultural and physical world (Bowman, 2004).

Educational philosophers and psychologists such as Piaget, Dewey, Freire and Vygotsky have stressed the embodied and situated nature of cognition but now an increasing amount of educational research points to the importance of experience

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and its sensorimotor foundation as the basis of cognition. This more recent research shows that body movement and associated bodily sensations affect learning at different levels. One level concerns promoting children's learning *readiness* through movement. Research findings show that physical activities may promote *cognitive* aspects of learning such as attention and memory, *emotional* aspects of learning such as reduced stress and an increase of positive feelings, and *social* aspects of learning such as positive social interactions and group cohesion (Lengel & Kuczala, 2010). Another level concerns the way physical activities promote learning *effectiveness*. At this level, movement is employed to enhance the pupils' understanding of the learning content (Shoval, 2011). By integrating physical activities in learning activities such as whole-body movements, gestures or object manipulations that are congruent with a learning task, the learning process becomes more effective, resulting in higher learning gains (Paas & Sweller, 2012). Learning gains through the use of movement have been found in the educational fields of mathematics (Goldin-Meadow, Cook, & Mitchell, 2009), language (Goldin-Meadow & Alibali, 2013), science (Lindgren, Tscholl, Wang, & Johnson, 2016) and reading comprehension (Glenberg, Brown, & Levin, 2007). Through the bodily experience of concepts, they are encoded in a multimodal way and, according to scholars such as Lakoff and Johnson (1999), Washburn (2010), and Sweller (1994), this might lead to a deeper understanding of the learned content.

In the domain of education, early childhood is an age category *par excellence* in which the movement-learning connection could be fully exploited. Considering that young children have a natural inclination to move and to learn through experience, physical activities would fit in well with early childhood education. However, learning as embodiment is disappearing in early childhood education and, more and more, young children are becoming just the activity of their brains (Oenema-Mostert, Goorhuis-Brouwer, Van Boekel-Van der Mei, & Oosterhoff, 2016). This could be due to the shift from a play-based curriculum to a content-based curriculum (Bodrova, 2008) and – or – anxieties concerning touch and the safety of the child (McHugh-Grifa, 2011; Tobin, 2004). In contrast, early childhood music educators and the traditional music pedagogies of Dalcroze and Orff acknowledge children's natural inclination to move to music and often use physical activities that provide children with rich musical experiences that foster musical understanding (Bremmer, 2015, 2016). However, despite their practice-based understanding of the body's central role in learning music, these pedagogies do not seem to be informed by empirical research findings that explain these understandings (Young, 2016). Yet, gaining insight into why and how the body plays a role in learning music could lead to a more conscious and systematic employment of the body.

The theory of embodied music cognition and related empirical research findings offer a framework that can provide such insights. These research findings not only convincingly undergird the idea of the relationship between human movement and musical experience, as a cornerstone for musical understanding (Leman, 2007, 2016), they also provide a conceptual framework that describes the basic process of embodied interaction with music and, as such, of embodied learning.

The embodied music cognition conceptual framework that will be discussed was developed by Leman (2016). We believe this framework may serve as a useful tool for early childhood music practitioners who want to systematically design movement activities for their music lessons that enhance the understanding of music. Furthermore, an interesting aspect of this paradigm is the supportive role of interactive technologies in creating meaningful musical experiences that appeal to the embodied nature of musical interactions.

First, this chapter will take a closer look at how, according to an embodied music cognition perspective, the body facilitates the meaning-making process of music, which basic mechanisms underlie that process and what this could mean for teaching and learning music in early childhood education. Secondly, the role of interactive technologies as facilitators for an embodied approach to learning music will be discussed.

Embodied Music Cognition

Embodied music cognition is a research paradigm that studies how bodily involvement shapes the way we perceive, feel, experience, and comprehend music. The idea is that embodiment determines, to a large extent, why and how a stream of sounds is experienced as music and why engaging with music is a rewarding experience.

Enactment: Transforming Sound into Music Through Movement

When studying the nature of musical experiences, one of the basic questions that arises is how people make sense of and learn music. Making sense of music can be seen from different viewpoints, which shed different lights on the multifaceted process of musical meaning-making. According to the embodied music cognition view, music is not inherently meaningful but the musical meaning-making process is considered to be the outcome of an active bodily involvement with music (Leman, 2016). The idea is that, while interacting with music through listening, dancing or playing, a sound-movement-intention connection is established that transforms the stream of sounds into a meaningful musical experience. This transformation process, also called *enactment*, occurs through the association of patterns in the sounds (e.g. chord sequence or melody) with movement patterns (e.g. shape, direction, energy) and thereby with the intentional states (e.g. an emotion) that underlie these patterns. This connection is made possible because music and movement share certain features (Sievers, Polansky, Casey, & Wheatley, 2013). Both modalities are time-based and thus music can be experienced as a flow of movement, imbued with

a certain *quality* and with an intentional *direction* that can evoke an emotion (Stern, 2010). From this viewpoint, understanding music can be understood as a multimodal process.

According to Leman (2016), the transformation from a stream of seemingly random sounds into music is facilitated by two processes. A first process concerns the emergence of higher-level musical patterns that reduce the complexity of the sound stream when interacting with music. Such structuring of the sounds facilitates the alignment of a movement or action pattern to the music, and as such, the attribution of intentions to the music. For example, the beat is a pattern that emerges and, once found, enables a person to move more easily to the music. Note that the emergence of patterns can be culturally determined. When one is acculturated to Western European Classical music, complex polyrhythmic music (e.g. West African music) might be a real challenge to move to (Cameron, Bentley, & Grahn, 2015).

A second process concerns the elements or 'mediators' that affect the relationship between one's perception of musical patterns and their processing. These mediators determine how particular aspects of a sound pattern (e.g. subdivision of a rhythmic pattern) are selected, disambiguated or reinforced (Leman, 2016). Typical examples of such mediators are attention, knowledge, moods and movement. With regard to the latter, Phillips-Silver and Trainor (2007) found that movements mediate the musical perception of young infants. Being bounced either to a duple or triple meter appeared to affect the listening preferences of the infants, who listened longer to the rhythms with the accent patterns (i.e., meter) to which they had previously been bounced. Thus, movement becomes a mediator for the perception and meaning-making of music.

Building on the relationship between bodily experiences and musical meaning, early childhood music educators have the possibility to design *movement-based* music activities that stimulate children to make sense of music. Such activities can help children to develop a repertoire of movements that support and strengthen their sound-movement-intention connection. Furthermore, these activities can broaden their repertoire of bodily responses to music or intensify mediators influencing the process of meaning-making, but ultimately can enable children to become responsible for the meaning-making process themselves and, as such, to become autonomous learners (Custodero, 2010).

Basic Mechanisms of Enactment in Music

The general processes we have described of attributing intentions to music by associating musical and movement patterns, is rooted in several basic mechanisms: alignment, entrainment and prediction. In the following section, we will explain the concepts of alignment, entrainment and prediction, and give examples of how these concepts can be applied in early childhood music education.

Alignment with Music

When children move expressively to music, they intuitively start to match their physical actions to the music (Eerola, Luck, & Toiviainen, 2006). The emerging correspondence between music and movement is based on the ability to feel the music and to *align* one's movements accordingly, in response to particular aspects of the music. Some children might move to the beat, whereas others might show an emotional response, or imitate the character of the music.

The ability to align one's movements to certain musical aspects can be conceived from two viewpoints. From the first point of view, alignment becomes apparent in movement patterns. Here, Leman (2016) distinguishes between two main types of alignment. A first type, *phase alignment*, is concerned with the correspondence or synchronization of movements to salient time markers in music, for example stepping or moving the head to the beat. This type of alignment helps to establish a person's global timing framework. Note that phase alignment does not necessarily imply that a movement such as an arm movement will always coincide exactly with the beat. A child could feel the tempo of the music but might be consistently slightly too late or too early with her movements on the beat. Furthermore, moving to the beat does not necessarily mean to *every* beat. Depending on the kind of music or the tempo, phase alignment can be on the first beat, but might just as well occur on the first and third beat of a quadruple meter. The second type, *inter-phase alignment*, is concerned with what happens in-between the salient markers, or, in other words, the way the continuous expressive flow of physical actions matches the time in between the beats of the music. The expressive flow of movements in between the beats can be related to different musical aspects, such as melodic contour, rhythms, dynamics or harmonic structures.

Simply said, phase and interphase alignment refer to the way in which physical actions match with what happens in the music, i.e. on the beat and in between the beats. Depending on which aspect a learner attends to, one of both types of alignment might be more prominent. Nevertheless, as the flow of associated bodily and musical rhythms occur within an overall discrete timing framework defined by beats, meter and tempo, it is likely that phase and inter-phase alignment have mutual dependencies.

Illustration

> *A musical activity that addresses the different types of alignment could be that children are invited to experience the beat physically and the time in between beats. They might first be asked to think of a movement that coincides with the beat. Typically, educators focus on this kind of alignment. However, to introduce inter-phase alignment, children may be asked to think of a way to move in between the gestures or movements they are performing on the beat. By way of illustration, think of a child that pats his legs on the beat and then does a free movement with the arms in between the beats that leads to the next pat on the legs.*
>
> *This might be repeated in different tempi to elicit different movement responses as the timeframe in between the beats varies. For example, a slower tempo might lead to different expressive bodily responses in between the beats.*

From the second point of view, patterns are properties of certain states. Leman (2016) distinguishes between three transition processes that contribute to state changes and, thereby, to the experience of music as a pleasurable and empowering phenomenon. A first transition process concerns *predictive* processing, leading to a *sense of agency*: being able to predict what comes next in the music and to successfully *align* one's movements to music induces a feeling of being in control, and this may cause feelings of satisfaction, reward and immersion (Clarke, 2014). This process also applies to the interaction and alignment with peers, thereby possibly inducing pro-social emotions. In this case, me-agency turns into we-agency (McNeill, 1995). That is, the individual sense of agency ("I did it!") becomes valued within the collective agency of the group ("We did it!") (Pacherie, 2014).

A second transition process concerns *energetic* processing. The physical effort it takes to carry out and maintain *alignment* can lead to an increased sense of agency and to an increase in one's *arousal* level. Physical activities to music may induce physiological and psychological states of being awake, alert and excited and, thereby, improve executive functions (Byun et al., 2014) and facilitate higher cognitive functions (Audiffren & André, 2014).

The third transition process involves expressive processing, which leads to the attribution of affect value to music, such as pleasant vs. unpleasant, happy vs. sad (Roda, Canazza, & De Poli, 2014) and to a pro-social attitude. Musical patterns can affect the energetic state of a person based on their qualitative features such as degree of variation, bass drum decibel level, length and structure of motives or timbre. For example, music can be relaxing or activating and thereby generating a transfer from sound energy to motor energy and thus affecting the way movement is aligned to the music.

Illustration

> At a certain moment, the children might be asked to pick out one of their peer's movement responses on the beat, and to perform that movement together, e.g. patting their legs. When all the children manage to pat together, the discrete sounds of the individual taps will merge and start sounding as one. This may start feeling as if the "me" dissolves into the "we". However, it is not always easy to arrive at this point, because children have to adopt another child's movement response and this might require attention and effort. When they do succeed, it not only boosts their sense of agency but also induces feelings of excitement and the confidence to be fully expressive.

The mutual reinforcement of the three transition processes affects feelings of reward (as we explain later), which then not only reinforces alignment but also the process of entrainment, being the compelling force that drives the human tendency to synchronize with music (Clayton, 2012).

Entrainment in Music

Aligning with music entails observable patterns of bodily responses to music. Such alignment happens within a global timing framework that is established through the synchronization of movements with salient time markers in the music, such as the

beat. Synchronizing is a very natural human response. Imagine yourself taking a walk with a friend – sooner or later you will find that your footsteps will unconsciously start synchronizing and your bodies will sway together in the same walking rhythm (e.g. Bargh & Chartrand, 1999; Bennet, Schatz, Rockwood, & Wiesenfeld, 2002). This process of being *pulled* towards synchronization has been called *entrainment* and helps one to align with music (Clayton, Sager, & Will, 2004). In general, the concept of entrainment refers to 'the coordination of temporally structured events through interaction' (ibid, p. 3). Note that events can be interpreted broadly: from heartbeats that synchronize to moving and dancing together (Clayton et al., 2004). Entrainment not only allows for precision and flexibility in timing between people, but also for a sense of participation and emotional bonding between them (Phillips-Silver, Aktipis, & Bryant, 2010).

Remarkably, entrainment also happens between people and music. People are pulled to synchronise motor output to sensory input, as when synchronizing physical actions with salient elements in the music, such as the beat (e.g. Ilari, 2015; Large, 2000; Phillips-Silver et al., 2010). By attracting or pulling people towards the beat, entrainment enables three sensorimotor mechanisms: finding, keeping and even being the beat and thus enables the emergence of a person's overall timing framework (phase alignment). *Finding* the beat is the process of recognizing the regularity in time of salient markers that allows *keeping* the beat, and eventually *being* the beat. Note that from finding to being, a transition occurs in effort. Finding the beat requires effort, but once the beat has been found and prediction runs smooth, it no longer requires effort, and energy is freed up to spend on other aspects of the musical interaction.

Illustration

> *To evoke the experience of entrainment, children might be invited to walk around the classroom freely whilst carefully listening to the sounds of their feet on the ground and to trying to walk in such a manner that the stepping of their feet sounds together. At first, this might require some effort and attention of the children ("finding"). At a certain point, they will manage to sound together, but this will require some effort too ("keeping"). The educator may then pick up on the average tempo and perform some music on, for example, the drums or piano that synchronize with the beat of the children's footsteps. Adapting the tempo of the music to the sound of the stepping feet might stimulate the illusion that the stepping causes the music ("being"). Changing the tempo of the music can provoke the necessity to re-adapt and engage in a new cycle of finding, keeping and being the beat.*

Entrainment, however, does not necessarily occur automatically or smoothly. First of all, the ability to entrain only emerges when certain conditions are met. A child must be able to *detect* the salient moments in the music (e.g. beat), to *perform* rhythm patterns (e.g. the music itself), and to *adapt* the performance of rhythm patterns to fit the overall timing framework (Phillips-Silver et al., 2010). Furthermore, the process of entrainment is influenced by human factors such as motor variability (Demos et al., 2014) and preferred tempo resulting from biomechanics and neuronal clocks (Styns, Van Noorden, Moelants, & Leman, 2007). For example, several studies have looked at the spontaneous synchronization of children with music and conclude that not only synchronization is easier or better when the tempo of the music is close to the preferred tempo of the child, but the preferred tempo can also change over time (e.g. Van Noorden, De Bruyn, Van Noorden, & Leman, 2017).

Predicting Music

Alignment and entrainment are fundamental processes of an embodied interaction with music. They are closely connected to a third basic mechanism, namely the process of prediction. Establishing a global timing framework through the mechanisms of entrainment and aligning is based on the ability to sense what comes next (to predict how the music unfolds) and the ability to predict the outcome of a movement, such as hitting a drum or reaching a point in space to the beat. An embodied cognition approach assumes that together with the biomechanical constraints of the body (such as the length and form of our legs and arms; e.g. Dahl & Huron, 2007), our state of arousal (feeling fatigued or being energetic) characterizes the way we interact and predict music. From this perspective, prediction or anticipation of music is viewed as the expected outcome of *bodily-mediated* perceptions and physical actions with music, rather than the expected outcome of a direct line between music and the brain.

Leman (2016) distinguishes between different interaction situations with music that are determined by predictive control. When the prediction of music is successful, the self-generated sensory information that stems from playing or moving to the music no longer requires conscious monitoring (*attenuation)* and attention is freed up for other elements in the musical interaction, such as concentrating on the melody or the actions of others.

Illustration

> *The children can be asked to work in pairs (mutual entrainment) and imitate each other's inter-phase alignment response to the music that is being played. Imitating this response might require some effort and continuous monitoring with regard to the direction, or speed of the movement. This can prevent the children from focusing on and adequately synchronizing with the music. Once the child can effortlessly imitate her peer, she no longer needs to pay attention to her own movements and the child then can concentrate on the music and on the joyful interaction with the other child.*

Interestingly, Leman (2016) observes that interaction with music can become easier by facilitating the prediction of a certain channel in music, such as timing, over other channels, such as melody or harmony (*facilitation*).

Illustration

> *Once the children are used to performing a movement on each beat of the music, for example, a quadruple meter, they can be asked to only do the movement on a specific beat, for example, the first beat, or the first and third beat. This could be more difficult for children as the time in between their phase alignment responses is lengthened. However, different strategies can help children to optimise their feeling of timing in between the phase alignment responses. Children can step all the beats of, for example, a quadruple meter by using a specific movement pattern (see Fig. 6.1) that helps them to localise where the first beat in the meter occurs. However, a child can get fully preoccupied with executing his movement pattern and loose connection with the music. Therefore, the educator may ask the children to stand in a circle so they can observe each other whilst*
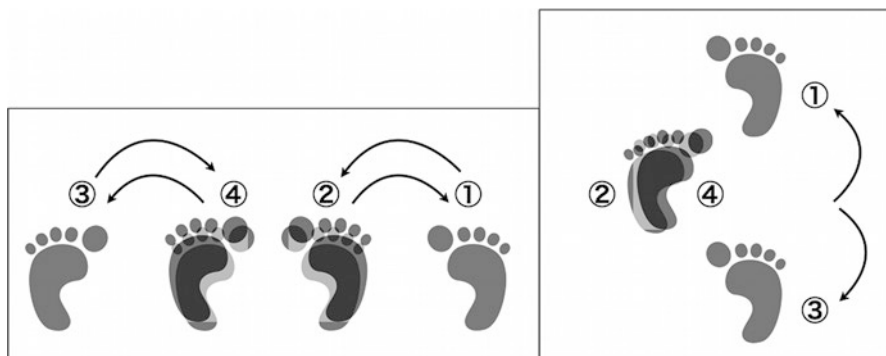
Fig. 6.1 Two examples of feet patterns in a quadruple meter

performing the movement pattern. Now the process of entrainment will help them to align their movements to those of their peers. As soon as the group can perform the movement pattern to the music as a whole (phase alignment), a sense of we-agency might be elicited, allowing the children to focus their attention on a different type of movement response. A child can be invited to stand in the middle of the circle and perform an additional movement based on the melody (interphase alignment), such as showing its contour with the arms or upper body, whilst maintaining the movement pattern in the feet. This then can be imitated by the group.

Finally, ambiguities in the music in terms of perceptual or affective-expressive content may hinder prediction. For example, music can be interpreted in different meters (e.g. duple meter vs. triple) or in different emotions (e.g. happy vs. sad). The ambiguity introduces uncertainty and interferes with pattern detection and with the emergence of higher level patterns that enable the enactment process. As such it becomes more difficult to couple states (e.g. sadness vs. happiness) to patterns (e.g. minor mode vs. short notes) and thereby to associate intentions with the music. Movement can reduce that uncertainty by aligning to the music in such a way that a certain content is favoured (disambiguation). For example, movement can be used to disambiguate metrical ambiguity such as binary versus ternary groupings of the beat (e.g. Naveda & Leman, 2009) or dancing a sad or happy choreography to ambiguous music influences the perceived expression in the music (Maes & Leman, 2013).

Illustration

Standing in a circle, the children listen to a familiar piece of music. The educator's aim is for the children to learn to hear different lines in the music, such as the bass line versus the melody. As children tend to focus on the melody, they might be uncertain about the bass line. To help them distinguish the bass line from the melody, the educator might introduce a movement that aligns to the bass line and thereby scaffolds the children in hearing the bass line.

To summarize this section, the process of turning sounds into meaningful music occurs through the association of movement and musical patterns, thereby facilitating the attribution of intentions to the music. This process has its roots in several basic mechanisms (alignment, entrainment, prediction) that not only support the cognitive processing of music but also facilitate its affective processing. This is an empowering process that leads to the expressive interaction with music.

Musical Interaction, Reward and Expression

Interacting with music is a rewarding activity. Neurobiological findings indicate that music affects the human reward system, a brain structure that is key to our motivation, behaviour and psychological makeup (Dubé & Le Bel, 2003; Zatorre & Salimpoor, 2013). According to Leman (2016), this rewarding nature stems from the expressive alignment with music, based on the use of musical patterns to enact musical expression. As such, feelings of reward through music are intrinsically related to the ability to anticipate and predict how the music unfolds (Huron, 2006; Salimpoor, Zald, Zatorre, Dagher, & McIntosh, 2015). Leman's argument is that the interaction with music involves the combination of the three interaction-reward states that were described in the section on alignment: agency, arousal, and valence. The three-state transition processes run parallel and, together with pattern processing, establish a *cognitive-motivational loop* that generates the rewarding and empowering nature of musical experiences: the mutual reinforcement of the three transition processes affects reward. The processing of expressive patterns involves the tight coupling between patterns and reward. Based on prediction, effort and expression as the major ingredients of the enaction process, the pattern processing that underlies alignment and entrainment involves the co-occurrence of arousal, positive valence and the feeling of being in control.

An interesting viewpoint is the idea that the rewarding nature of musical interaction is modulated by our innate expressive system through which the pro-social value of musical interaction is activated. Interacting with music appeals to the human urge to evoke expressive responses from others in order to establish an interaction that is rewarding for both (Leman, 2016). This expressive system involves the sensitivity (perception) to expressive elements in the music and the ability to generate expressive responses (action) to these elements. Such responses have a *biological origin*; reflexes as manifested in the urge to express oneself, and a *cultural origin* that involves the control of these reflexes as shaped by implicit and explicit learning processes. This means that musical activities that integrate movement not only support the development of controlling reflexes, also broaden the development of a learned repertoire of musical responses.

Technology Supporting Embodied Music Learning

The embodied music cognition research paradigm has a firm connection to interactive technologies, due to the use of sensor technologies that enable the measurement of bodily involvement in all kinds of musical interactions. An important research strategy of this paradigm is to optimize ecologically valid situations by integrating these sensor technologies in interactive music systems through which participants in experiments can engage in meaningful musical activities. This has led to a variety of applications that not only enable quantitative approaches to the study of the body in musical experience but also create new kinds of learning environments that bring opportunities to exploit the value of embodiment for learning and interaction.

For example, 'Besound' is an application intended to support young children in learning the basic elements of composition. Rhythm, melody, and harmony are explored by mimicking objects or characters, whereby the qualities of whole-body movements are analysed in real-time and used to control sound (Volpe, Varni, Addessi, & Mazzarino, 2012). Another example is the Music Paint Machine (MPM), an application that engages young music learners in a multimodal experience when learning how to play a musical instrument (Nijs & Leman, 2014, 2015). Using a combination of movement and music, children are enabled to make a digital painting. The concept of the MPM was embedded within the framework we have described. Through the combination of music, movement and creative visualisation, this application seeks to address the basic mechanisms of enactment. Based on the flexibility of the system, teachers can design a variety of practices ranging from free explorations with music, sound and visuals to activities based on direct instructions that guide young learners in a stepwise manner towards a specific educational goal (see Nijs, 2017, Nijs & Leman, 2014, 2015).

Departing from the concept of the Music Paint Machine, a consortium of universities (Ghent University, Rotterdam Erasmus), universities of the arts (Rotterdam, Amsterdam), the creative industry (The Patching Zone) and a cultural organisation (CKC Zoetermeer) is developing Singewing Space at the time of writing. This is a web-based interactive application for augmented blended music learning, based on an 'embodied' approach to music learning. The tool is designed to be used in and beyond the classroom, connecting face to face learning to distance learning (*blended*) and introducing the use of sensors in online learning (*augmented*). Using motion capturing and sound recording, the system will integrate the possibility to play, sing and move to music, alone or with different users at the same time (see Fig. 6.2). It will enable children to (1) collaboratively *create* a visualisation of music in a virtual environment, (2) generate sounds through physical movements therefore enabling the possibility to *respond* musically to each other's musical creations through physical actions, (3) *adapt* what is being or has been created, and (4) *reflect* on the musical experience.
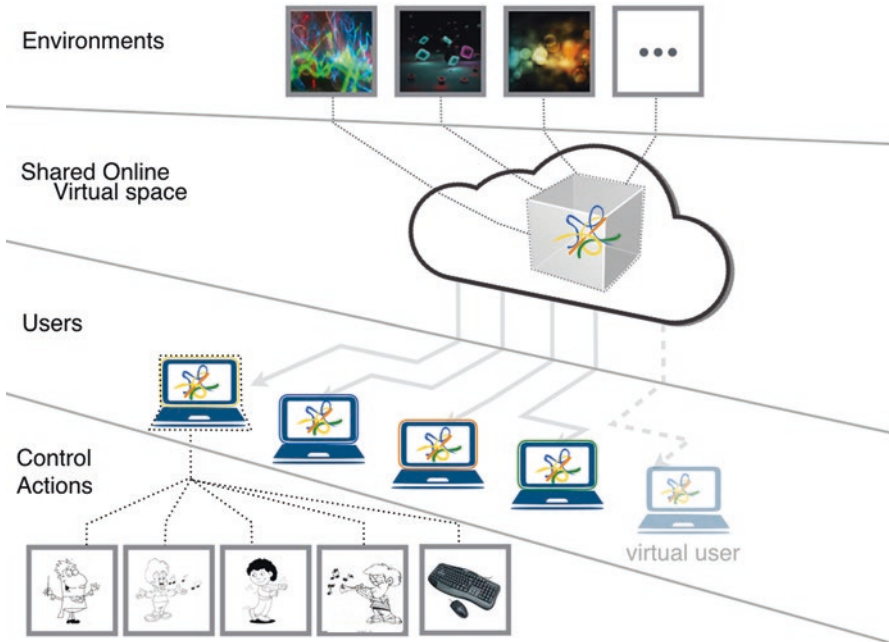
Fig. 6.2 The concept of Singewing Space. Different users can interact in a shared online virtual space, by choosing an action control (e.g., play, sing, move, keyboard)

We believe that Singewing Space has a large potential in the domain of early childhood music education. Although music technology can be met with some apprehension by early childhood music educators, it has the potential to open up learning opportunities for young children and to bridge music educational practices with the musical lives of young children at home (Young, 2009). Singewing Space allows for the transformation of musical ideas in visual representations and movements and for the transformation of visuals and movements into new musical ideas. Young (2009) notes that young children are strongly inclined to transform and see connections between different modalities and when they change musical ideas from one form to another it can generate new musical ideas and make new connections possible. Furthermore, transforming music in other modalities such as visuals and movements has the possibility to highlight certain musical aspects and to make them easier for children to share and understand. Due to the possibilities of the multimodal approach, Singewing Space implements the framework of embodied music cognition as presented in this chapter. Through the combination of music with visuals and movement the process of enactment and its basic mechanisms are addressed and this scaffolds the music learning process. For example, Singewing Space can visualise the beat automatically (phase alignment), but the movements in-between the beats (interphase alignment) can be visualised on the basis of a child's hand movement. Also, as it will be possible to track several children, differ-

ent users can be presented, for example with different coloured lines, and thus participatory creativity can be stimulated by co-creating a visualisation on the basis of music and movement.

Conclusion

Music learning is all about learning how to make sense of music. In early childhood music education, it is essential to design musical activities that provide children with rich musical experiences, provoking and supporting musical meaning-making.

Musical meaning-making can be seen from different perspectives, ranging from the sociological, the anthropological to the psychological. This chapter presented a psychological viewpoint, based on the theory of embodied music cognition This viewpoint starts from the idea that, at a fundamental level, musical meaning emerges from the process of enactment, an intentionality induction mechanism based on the association of sounds and movement patterns. The coupling of pattern processing to agency, arousal and affect leads to the rewarding effect of interactions with music. As such, the body plays an essential role at the highest levels of meaning-making of music.

In line with this viewpoint, it is important for music education to actively address this fundamental role of the body in musical meaning formation. Understanding the basic mechanisms of the enactment process, namely alignment, entrainment and prediction, can provide practitioners with insights that inform the systematic design of movement-based musical activities that promote children's embodied understanding of music. These basic mechanisms also provide lenses through which practitioners can observe the development of the children's understanding of music.

Technology provides the possibility to translate the theory of embodied music cognition and its research findings into a powerful learning environment. Implementing a multimodal approach based on the use of movement sensors and visualisation, these kinds of learning environments may support embodied music learning and participatory sense-making through co-creation based on collaborative enactment.

In conclusion, an embodied music cognition perspective might serve as a valuable tool for early childhood music practitioners for employing music learning activities that encourage children to connect sound and movement in a meaningful, expressive and fulfilling way. Vice versa, through practice, early childhood music researchers may be provoked to address more fundamental questions and issues about the body in relation to musical mean-making. As the theory of embodied cognition is still in development, it holds the future promise to connect to the broad and rich range of sources and theories on musical meaning making and embodied music learning.

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Chapter 7
Spontaneous Singing and Musical Agency in the Everyday Home Lives of Three- and Four-Year-Old Children

Bronya Dean

Introduction

Often unnoticed by adults, spontaneous singing is woven into the fabric of young children's lives at home (e.g. Barrett, 2009, 2011). Young children sing as they go about their everyday routines, sometimes quietly, under their breath, at other times raucously, filling the space. Their singing flows with their activity, directed inwards, to themselves, or outwards towards others. They draw on their musical experiences to make vocal music which is both meaningful and useful to them. Spontaneous singing is initiated by the child and can include singing, humming, chanting, and vocal play (Campbell, 1998/2010). Studying spontaneous singing can focus our attention on that which is musically important to a child and can help us to understand the child's musical skills and interests. This chapter draws on a study that set out to explore how young children use spontaneous singing in their everyday home lives and how their singing can be interpreted through a theoretical framework of musical agency.

The everyday musical experiences of young children have for a long time been relegated to the margins of music education research (Campbell, 1998/2010). Traditionally, research in early childhood music education has been framed within the theories of developmental psychology. These theories are typically concerned with understanding how children progress to ultimately attain adult standards of musicality and musical behaviour. When considering spontaneous singing and the everyday musical experiences of young children, approaches that emphasise musical development can result in a deficit view of children's current musical abilities. Alternative approaches explore young children's experience of music-making at a single point in time—that is, without a developmental concern—and within specific

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contexts. Approaches such as these can be found within fields such as ethnomusicology (e.g. Campbell, 1998/2010) and childhood studies (e.g. Ilari & Young, 2016; Young & Gillen, 2007). In this chapter I approach spontaneous singing from a sociocultural perspective aligned with the field of childhood studies. From this perspective, I consider young children to be relatively competent (Sommer, 2012), active in constructing their own experiences and social lives, and able to influence the lives of those around them (Corsaro, 2005; James & Prout, 1997; Tisdall & Punch, 2012). My approach is influenced by the work of music sociologists DeNora (2000), Batt-Rawden and DeNora (2005), and Karlsen (2011). Although music in everyday life is a fundamental concern of music sociology, music sociologists have largely ignored the everyday musical lives of young children.

Young Children's Spontaneous Singing at Home

Research relating to young children's spontaneous singing has often focused on the characteristics of spontaneous singing and how these fit within models of musical development or contribute to the culture of childhood (e.g. Bjørkvold, 1989; Moog, 1976; Moorhead & Pond, 1978; Sundin, 1998). Up until the 1990s there was a focus on seeking universal models, either of musical development or of child culture, that could be applied to all children, regardless of their social or cultural context. The publication of Campbell's study, *Songs in their Heads* (1998), marked an important shift of focus away from this search for universals towards the qualitative study of children's musical experiences within the context of their everyday lives. Campbell explored the role music plays in the lives of children from an ethnomusicological perspective, drawing on the work of Nettl (2005) and Blacking (1973) and contemporary ideas that viewed children as competent and able to comment on their own lives and experiences. Campbell's case studies were based on interviews with 4- to 12-year-old North American children and observations of children singing in a school playground, a school cafeteria, a preschool, a large toy store, a school bus, and a family home.

Campbell was particularly interested in what music meant to children and argued that music holds meaning for children because it is useful to them. The children in Campbell's study used music, both personally and socially, as an activity in its own right and as a means of enhancing other activity. Campbell concluded that children express thoughts and feelings through singing that they cannot express in other ways and that music is important for forming identity. Perhaps unsurprisingly, family environment was found to be very influential on a child's engagement with music.

Most studies of young children's spontaneous singing have taken place in educational settings and therefore reflect young children's musical behaviours when they are in a public space and/or interacting with their peers. There is very little research that specifically addresses spontaneous singing at home. The home is a very different location to educational settings and is an important location for young children's musical experiences, as young children typically spend a great deal of time at home.

For many people in the middle-class Minority-world, home is a place where a family can relax and be themselves. Home is both a physical location and an environment created by the everyday interaction between family members and the interaction of family members with the physical space (Plowman & Stevenson, 2013). As such, unique family cultures are constructed within the home. This has implications for music-making as both the social and physical aspects of the home can afford different types of musical agency.

In contrast to work or education settings, at home people have the opportunity to withdraw and be on their own. In a study of 2-year-old girls, Hancock and Gillen (2007) found that because parents considered the home to be a safe place, children could enjoy a degree of autonomy and independence in their play at home. Whilst the children were rarely out of view—or at least earshot—of parents, the children found spaces in which they could experience the feeling of being "almost alone". The idea that the home is a place where children can attain some degree of privacy and independence, is important as this contrasts with educational settings, where young children often do not have access to private spaces (Markström & Halldén, 2009).

A number of studies have used data collected in the home (e.g. Dowling, 1984; Moog, 1976; Tafuri, 2008) to examine the role of spontaneous singing in musical development. In contrast, researchers such as Young and Gillen (2007, 2010) and Barrett (2009, 2011, 2016) have used small-scale qualitative studies to seek to understand young children's musical experiences within the contexts of their everyday lives. Young and Gillen's research was part of a larger project in childhood studies, the *Day in the Life* project (Gillen & Cameron, 2010). This project was an ecological study of one 2.5-year-old girl in each of seven different countries: Canada, Mexico, the UK, Peru, Thailand, Italy, and Turkey. The girls were filmed for an entire day, and the resulting footage was analysed from a range of perspectives. Music had not initially been intended as an area of focus but was included when researchers noticed the salience of music throughout the girls' days. Barrett (2009, 2011, 2016) explored the role of singing and music-making in young children's identity-building through a longitudinal study of 18 Australian children aged 18 months to 4 years. Data were collected primarily at home through parental observations, which were recorded intermittently in paper and video diaries, and parental interviews. Additional data were collected through observations of the children participating in a *Kindermusik* programme.

In the United States, Sole (2017) examined the solitary singing of nine middle-class toddlers, aged 18–36 months, before they fell asleep at night. Twice a week, over a period of 4 weeks, parents listened outside their child's bedroom door after they had put their child to bed and made notes about what they heard, and a recording was made for the researcher. While Sole was particularly interested in the developmental functions of this private singing, she also considered its social and emotional function.

Research undertaken in Minority-world homes where parents sing to and/or provide musical resources for their children indicates that all children sing at home (Barrett, 2009, 2011, 2016; Custodero, 2006; Young & Gillen, 2007, 2010). Singing at home can be part of solitary, parallel, or social play (Barrett, 2016). Children sing

learnt, adapted, and improvised songs (Barrett, 2011; Custodero, 2006) and sing along with recorded music (Young & Gillen, 2007). Three- to 4-year-old children are often prolific singers and seem particularly inclined to produce sung narrative (Barrett, 2016; Custodero, 2006; Forrester, 2010, Tafuri, 2008). Singing and musical play are embedded within a child's flow of play activities, sometimes existing in the background and at other times becoming the focus of the child's play (Young & Gillen, 2007).

These at-home studies highlight the role of music in social interaction, emotional regulation, and identity. Young and Gillen (2010) and Barrett (2009, 2011) demonstrate how musicality continues to influence the way parents interact with their young children beyond infancy. Adults use their own singing (Barrett, 2009; Young & Gillen, 2010) or recorded music (Barrett, 2011) to regulate their children's emotions and facilitate daily routines. Singing is also an important part of family life and identity. When familiar songs and musical experiences are repeatedly shared between family members, a sense of belonging, security and family unity is established (Barrett, 2009; Custodero, 2006; Young & Gillen, 2007). Young children use singing and musical narrative to explore both their own identities and their relationships with family members (Barrett, 2011; Sole, 2017).

Although several of these home-based studies mention solitary singing and the home is where we might expect to find solitary singing in greater quantity than in more public settings, it is not discussed in any detail and very little insight is provided into how children behave musically when they are alone. Researchers report that young children use both known and invented song when they are alone to accompany their play, as a means of coordinating physical action (Barrett, 2009, 2011, 2016), to provide commentary on activity (Barrett, 2011; Forrester, 2010), to express emotion or to maintain certain emotional states (Forrester, 2010; Knudsen, 2008), and to explore personal identity and relationships (Barrett, 2011; Sole, 2017). Young children may also use solitary singing to provide comfort and companionship (Barrett, 2016), to transition between social and alone-time, and to self-soothe (Sole, 2017). Sole concluded that the time young children spend alone in their cots before they go to sleep is important both for practising musical skills and for musical reflection.

The primary reason for the limited discussion of the more private aspects of young children's musical lives at home, despite an increased interest in this area, is the problem of access. This also accounts for why studies of young children's spontaneous singing at home remain rare and tend to rely on very small sample sizes and limited amounts of data. Researchers wishing to study young children's singing at home not only have to negotiate access to this private environment, they also face significant methodological barriers. Over the last few years, technological advances have meant that tiny devices capable of making and storing good-quality audio and video recordings are now becoming readily available. These new technologies are beginning to open up the private worlds of young children's singing to further research.

In my research, I used all-day recording technology to collect continuous audio data from 15 3- and 4-year-old English-speaking middle-class Minority world chil-

dren in the United Arab Emirates and New Zealand (see Emberly, this volume, for explanation of Minority world). The children were recorded during their normal everyday activities at home using a recording device that was operated by their parents. The audio data was analysed and interpreted through careful listening not only to the singing, but also to the sounds of the context in which the singing occurred. The following example is a summary of one of these recordings and is presented here as a means of demonstrating how young children's spontaneous singing occurs within the context of everyday life at home.

At Home with Alfie

Alfie is an English 4-year-old who lives with his expatriate family in the United Arab Emirates. He has two older sisters who both attend school. Alfie and is cared for at home by his mother. This audio recording begins shortly after Alfie and his mother, Helen, arrive home after driving Alfie's older sisters to school:

Helen helps Alfie put the research vest on and begins the recording. Alfie asks for a cupcake and sings a brief improvised phrase on syllables as he chooses one. He hums as he eats and chants, 'I've got mucky fingers'.

When he has finished eating, Alfie asks to play outside. He hums as Helen helps him put his shoes on and as he runs across the lawn. Alfie plays outside on his own for about an hour, punctuated by several trips indoors. He engages in imaginary play; talking, singing, and humming to himself as he does so. He adopts different character voices, using his voice expressively as part of his play. Alfie's vocalisations during this time are almost constant— a mix of self-talk, singing, humming, and vocalising. His singing is largely improvised but he often sings phrases from pop songs that he has learnt from the radio. When Alfie hears his mother whistling a song they both know, he immediately starts singing the song.

Alfie goes indoors. He goes to wash his hands, singing to himself on syllables as he walks to and from the bathroom and humming while he eats the rest of his cupcake. During a further stint of outdoor play, Alfie' shoe comes off and he goes back to the house to ask his mother to help him put it back on. Helen speaks to him sternly for walking mud through the house. Alfie hums quietly. Once his shoe is on, Alfie goes back outside to play. After a time, Alfie makes his way indoors, singing on syllables as he goes. He goes upstairs with his mother to help her change the bed linen. He asks his mother to throw all the sheets in a pile then lies in the sheets, pretending to be a baby. His baby talk is interspersed with babyish singing on syllables and humming as he pretends to self-soothe.

Helen finishes changing the beds and allows Alfie to watch television. After about twenty minutes, he starts humming intermittently. He hums a known tune, hums tunelessly into his cup, and improvises a tune. He also hums along to the soundtrack on TV.

Helen supervises Alfie as he plays on the trampoline. Alfie bounces and sings a few words from a pop song. He then starts singing, 'One, two, three, four, five, once I caught a fish alive'. He sings the song over and over, changing the words, which get more and more silly. Once, he stops singing to chant, 'I can jump the highest'.

At lunchtime, Alfie sits at the table and sings, 'Oh where, oh where has my baby gone, oh where, oh where can he be?' This turns to self-talk and is then sung again, partly using nonsense syllables. As he eats, Alfie partly hums, partly sings the tune. Helen hums the pop tune that Alfie was singing earlier. Alfie slowly speaks then sings the words. He then immediately starts singing My Ship's Home from China, *a song they both know from a preschool music group they attend: 'My ship's home from China, with a cargo of tea, all laden with*

presents for you and for me. They brought me a fan, just imagine my bliss, as I fan myself,
going like this … like this … like this … like … this'. Alfie continues humming the song.
Helen joins in humming, then sings the words, 'For you and for me'. Helen and Alfie then
start singing together, spontaneously taking turns.

> *Alfie: They*
> *Helen: Brought me a*
> *Alfie: Fan*
> *Helen: Just imagine my*
> *Alfie: Bliss*
> *Helen: When I fan myself, going*
> *Alfie and Helen together: Like this, like this, like this.*

Alfie says, 'Let's do that again!' This time they alternate on each word until Alfie
sings, 'Of tea, all laden with presents for you and for …' and he pauses to allow his
mother to sing 'me'. They continue, alternating on each word until 'fan', when Alfie
seems to lose his place and Helen steps in to help him. When they finish, Alfie asks
to do it again, and they repeat the song in the same way twice more. Alfie giggles
when he accidentally repeats a word that his mother has already sung. Helen starts
to lose interest, and Alfie has to remind her what to sing, picking up the song in the
middle of a phrase. He also encourages her, 'Mummy, come on'. When they finish
for the third time, Alfie says, 'Let's do it again', and starts singing. However, Helen
seems to be doing something else and says, 'Hang on', so Alfie continues without
her. Helen tells Alfie, 'Eat up, we'll do it in a minute, okay?' Alfie agrees but con-
tinues to hum. He then starts singing with his mouth full, and Helen tells him to stop
singing and eat, at which point Alfie sings, 'growl growl growl'. Alfie asks to get
down, but Helen insists that he eat more of his lunch. He hums as he eats.

After lunch, Alfie asks to play outside again. As he puts on his shoes, he hums
My Ship's Home from China, then sings the last phrase several times in a silly
voice. Outside, he sings a nonsense word repeatedly until, finally, he says to him-
self, 'Oh no, I just had the wrong channel', and he sings, 'I found myself going like
this'. Once again, while Alfie plays he talks to himself using different character
voices, hums, and sings. He improvises using the My Ship's Home from China tune,
and freely improvises on syllables. He also uses tongue clicking and voiced bilabial
trills. When he wants to be pushed on the swing, Alfie calls out to his mother, using
his voice in many different ways.

> *Later, Helen calls Alfie inside as it is nearly time to collect the girls from school. Helen*
> *sends Alfie to the toilet before they get in the car. In the bathroom, Alfie sings a pop tune on*
> *syllables. He stops to talk to himself, then improvises on syllables. Helen comes in and gets*
> *cross with Alfie because he is being slow. In response, Alfie sings an improvised tune on*
> *syllables.*

During this 4-h episode, Alfie demonstrates a range of singing behaviours and uses
his singing for many different purposes. He hums and sings songs he has learnt both
formally and informally. He also improvises his own tunes. He sings using lyrics—
both learnt and invented—syllables, and nonsense words. He also engages in vocal
play, experimenting with his voice. Alfie sings when he is alone, in the presence of
his mother without interacting, and while interacting with his mother. Much of his

singing takes place during solitary play outside and while he is engaged in routine activities, such as toileting, washing hands, and eating. This narrative demonstrates the extent to which Alfie uses singing during his normal everyday activities.

Applying a Framework of Musical Agency

How can the role that spontaneous singing plays in Alfie's day be interpreted? One way to make sense of singing in Alfie's everyday life, is to apply a framework of musical agency. Agency is a key concept within childhood studies and is essential to the idea that children are active in the construction of their own social lives and contribute to the social lives of those around them and the culture of wider society (Corsaro, 2005; James & Prout, 1997). While some aspects of agency have become recognised as problematic (Esser, 2016; Tisdall & Punch, 2012), the concept provides a useful framework for the study of spontaneous singing as it facilitates an exploration of spontaneous singing through the actions and possible intentions of the children themselves. A useful perspective on child agency is that it is both situated and relational. That is, different contexts and circumstances, including social relationships and non-human entities, afford children different types of agency (Esser, Baader, Betz, & Hungerland, 2016). As a cultural tool, singing can be considered part of a network of elements that make up child agency at any time.

The concept of agency has been interpreted and applied to music in a number of different ways. Much of the literature in the field of music education discusses musical agency in terms of a child having personal autonomy in music or having the ability to act musically (Burnard, 2013). In this vein, Wiggins (2015) describes the musical agency of children as "their sense that they can initiate and carry out their own musical ideas and ideas about music" (p. 103). This definition is fashioned on Bruner's (1996) definition of agency as the capacity to both initiate and complete acts. Wiggins argues that children's musical agency is grounded in musical experience and engagement and reflects musical understanding and knowledge. Importantly, she suggests that children's readiness to assert their musical agency "is dependent upon opportunity and upon their belief that their ideas will be accepted and valued" (Wiggins, 2015, p. 115). Here, Wiggins draws on Bandura's theory of self-efficacy. Bandura (2006) argues that in order to act an individual needs to believe themselves "capable of making things happen." (p. 170). In terms of spontaneous singing at home, this suggests that to act with musical agency, children need to believe they are musical and expect their singing will be accepted and understood. This would depend on their musical experience, and on whether they have been parented in musically sensitive ways. Therefore, the home musical environment and parental attitudes would appear to be crucial to the use of musical agency.

Wiggins (2015) suggests that musical agency is rooted in musical identity. This reflects music psychologists Hargreaves, Miell, and MacDonald's (2002) view that self-concepts contribute to a sense of agency. However, working with the sociologi-

cal concept of affordance, DeNora (2000) suggests that music *provides* the agency through which identity is constructed. While writing about music and agency, DeNora tends not to discuss musical agency as such but music as a tool—or medium—for social agency. She suggests that agency resides in the act of using music to construct identity rather than stemming from identity. These are two similar but distinct approaches to musical agency. One approach stems from the psychology literature and views musical agency as emerging from musical experience and identity and manifesting itself in a personal belief of what can be achieved musically (Wiggins, 2015). The other approach stems from sociology and views music as a tool for the realisation not only of musical agency, but also of social agency (DeNora, 2000). Importantly, in DeNora's approach, music is seen as a tool through which to achieve extra-musical means. Although DeNora's work addresses the agency of adults, her approach is closely aligned to the relational theories of agency found within childhood studies (e.g. Esser, 2016; Oswell, 2012), as it places music—or the process of musicking—within networked constructs of agency where musicking is one non-human, cultural, element of agency. Whether or not agency provides or is rooted in identity, these different interpretations indicate a reciprocal link between agency and identity.

Inspired by the works of DeNora (2000) and Small (1998) music educationalist Karlsen (2011) developed a framework, or 'lens', of musical agency for use in music education research. Karlsen defines musical agency as 'the individuals' *capacity for action* in relation to music or in a music-related setting' (p. 110) and sets out a framework of musical agency that takes into account both individual and collective action. In my own study of the spontaneous singing of 3- and 4-year-olds, I wished to explore the wider role of singing within the everyday lives of young children. Therefore, I defined musical agency as the capacity to act in or through music. This definition is particularly influenced by DeNora (2000) in that it allows for the use of singing as a means of acting musically to non-musical ends. That is, to act *through* music, using music as a tool for social or personal agency, is as much an aspect of musical agency as being able to act *in* music for purely musical goals. This enabled a focus that highlighted singing not only as a way of acting musically but also as a means of action in the wider sense, as part of being-in-the-world. Taking the view that agency resides in practice (Esser et al., 2016), my interpretation of the data I collected indicated that the practice of spontaneous singing provides a space in which young children can exercise agency to develop their place in the world.

Using the idea of music and singing as part of a networked agency, I found that the children in my study used singing as a tool of personal agency to act on the self, and as a tool of social agency to manage social interaction. The manifestations of agency in young children's singing are expressed in the diagram in Fig. 7.1. Personal and social musical agency can be explored through the narrative of Alfie's day.

Social musical agency

Communicating

Managing relationships

Expressing identity

Exploring self-identity

Managing experience

Managing the self

Personal musical agency
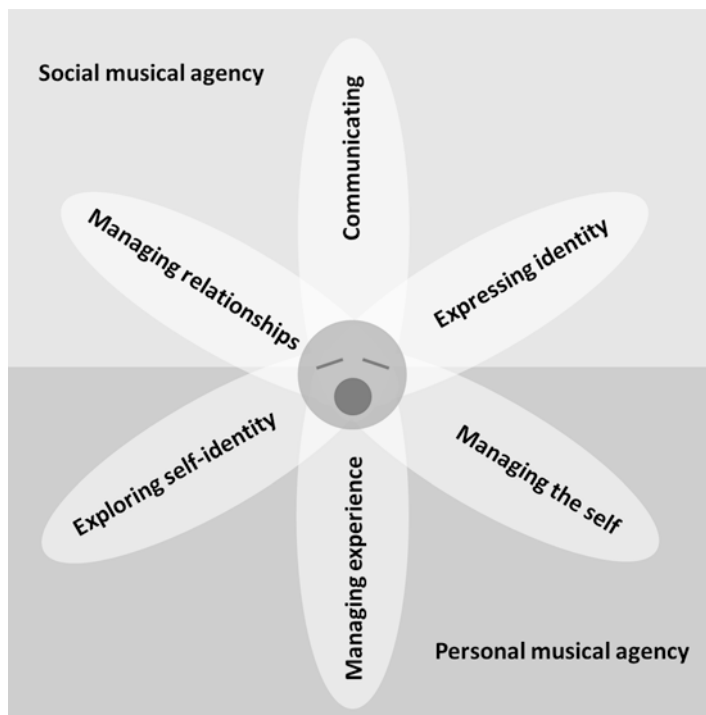
Fig. 7.1 Manifestations of musical agency in young children

Spontaneous Singing as a Tool of Personal Agency

Solitary, or self-directed, singing was abundant in the data I collected. In the narrative account of Alfie's day, we can see that, like many young Minority world children who are cared for at home, Alfie was expected to entertain himself occasionally while his mother was busy with household chores. Spontaneous singing was a salient feature of Alfie's solitary play at these times. Music is a cultural product and therefore, within the sociocultural tradition, musical engagement of any kind is considered to be a social act. Within sociocultural research, this has led to a strong bias towards social musical activity—and indeed social activity of any kind—which neglects the commonplace phenomenon of children playing alone at home. The necessity for children to entertain themselves without extensive peer interaction is one element that makes the home an important location for the study of children's spontaneous singing.

In my study of spontaneous singing at home, I found that young children use self-directed singing to manage their experiences, to regulate themselves and their behaviour and to explore their self-identity. The most salient use of personal musical agency was to influence their own experience—that is, to change, manipulate, or enhance it in some way. Mundane experiences were transformed through singing

and singing provided motivation to carry out routine activities and chores. Spontaneous singing was also used to intensify engagement with experience, to make sense of experience, and to focus the attention. Alfie can be heard using singing in these ways many times throughout his day. He sings to himself while playing in the garden, thereby engaging with and enhancing his play experience. He sings to transform everyday routines such as washing his hands and he hums while he eats.

These findings reflect observations from other home-based studies. The idea that children use singing to engage with and enhance experience has been suggested by Bjørkvold (1989), Young (2006), and Knudsen (2008). Bjørkvold (1989) describes spontaneous singing as taking an experience beyond the mundane; Young (2006) suggests that singing adds an emotional element to experience; and Knudsen (2008) describes a young girl singing as she eats her cereal, interpreting her singing as engaging with the experience and maintaining a state of mind. Many researchers refer to young children singing to entertain themselves (Campbell, 2010; Custodero, Chen, Lin, & Lee, 2006; Young, 2006). In addition to this, evidence from my study suggests that children sang to transform experiences such as waiting or having to sit at the dinner table during mealtimes.

As well as managing their experiences, children also use singing to manage themselves. They sing to coordinate their bodies, regulate their behaviour, engage with their emotions, and protect their self-esteem. While the data collection method I chose limited the extent to which I could assess movement, I did collect evidence that supports the idea that young children coordinate their singing and gross motor movement (Bjørkvold, 1989; Young, 2006) and singing also appeared to motivate movement (DeNora, 2000). For example, Alfie sings as he runs across the lawn, bounces on the trampoline and, in another recording, he sings as he propels his scooter along the street on a hot day.

It is widely acknowledged that music and emotion are closely linked, even though the exact nature of the relationship remains unclear (Juslin & Sloboda, 2011). The data I collected contained many examples of joyful outbursts of singing, indicating the children used singing to express emotion and as an emotional release. There were also several examples of children singing quietly to themselves as they relaxed. My analysis suggests that the children use singing to engage with emotional states and match singing to their mood. I also found that several of the children sang to restore their sense of self or protect their self-esteem when they were faced with parental anger or criticism. We see this in the way Alfie hummed to himself when his mother scolded him about traipsing mud into the house. In situations such as this, it was fairly common to hear the children sing quietly to themselves. This strongly suggests that the children were able to use singing as an agentive tool to change an aspect of their experience and restore a sense of self.

There was evidence to suggest that the children in my study also used singing as a means of regulating their behaviour. Two of the children appeared to sing to inhibit their responses. A 3-year-old boy sang to stop himself peeking while his mother hid treasure for a treasure hunt, and a 4-year-old girl sang while she waited for the right moment to jump out and surprise her mother. This appears to support the findings from Winsler, Ducenne, and Koury's (2011) laboratory-based psychology study, which showed some children sing as a means of controlling their behaviour. Several

of the children also sang to focus their attention while carrying out parental instructions, which demonstrates another way of regulating behaviour through singing.

Many of the ways in which the children in my study used singing to act on themselves are likely to stem from experiences of being parented in musical ways. Research shows that mothers use singing with toddlers and young children influence their behaviour, regulate their emotions and entertain them. Parents often sing to facilitate daily routines, such as dressing and brushing teeth (Barrett, 2009; Custodero, 2006), and this was also reported by the mothers of the children in my study. It seems likely that parental singing acts as a model, which the children emulate once they can undertake these routine activities on their own. Singing then also becomes available to use as a motivational tool to accomplish small chores, such as a child clearing their plate from the table. We see an equivalent among adults, who often listen to recorded music as a source of mental and emotional stimulation to alleviate the monotony of routine tasks, such as housework (North, Hargreaves & Hargreaves, 2004). Parents also sing to their infants and toddlers to distract them, particularly from unwanted behaviours (Barrett, 2009, 2011) and use recorded music to keep them entertained (Young & Gillen, 2010). It seems reasonable to suppose that young children learn how to use singing to entertain themselves from parental example during infant and toddlerhood. Interestingly, I found that the children in my study who engaged in the most self-directed singing had parents who sang to themselves. This indicates that parents model ways of singing to act on the self and the use of singing as a tool of personal agency.

Using singing as a tool for emotional regulation is likely to also be learnt through sensitive musical parenting. Young and Gillen (2010) identify how parents match their singing to the emotional state of their toddlers; singing, for example, upbeat play songs when they are alert, and gentle songs when they are tired. This matching of mood may teach infants and toddlers to regulate their own moods through singing.

Spontaneous Singing as a Tool of Social Agency

Alfie, like the other children in my study, also used singing as a means of managing social interaction and exercising social agency. The children sang to communicate, to manage relationships, and to express their identity. Singing was used extensively as a communicative tool. Sung communication was either explicit, as a way of exchanging information, or implicit, as a means of adding meaning or to communicate thoughts and emotions. Singing was also used to seek attention. In the narrative account provided earlier in this chapter, there are many examples of Alfie communicating through singing. At the very beginning of the account, Alfie communicates his pleasure at the idea of eating a cupcake by improvising a joyful phrase while he chooses one. After eating the cupcake, he uses chant to let his mother know, "I've got mucky fingers!" Later, when Alfie is playing outside in the garden and wants his mother to push him on the swing, he calls out to her using his voice in many different ways to seek her attention.

Singing is a useful means of communication for young children, because, as Bjørkvold (1989) notes, "Spontaneous singing, just like ordinary speech, is capable of being adapted to fit a given social situation" (p. 63). The children in my study used singing to convey information in a similar way to speech, sometimes using chant, as discussed by Moorhead and Pond (1978) and Bjørkvold's (1989), and sometimes improvising. When the children intended to communicate information, their sung phrases were short, and they used clear, understandable words. It is well documented that singing goes beyond communicating information and is a means of communicating thoughts and feelings that are difficult to express through spoken language (Barrett, 2005, 2016; Campbell, 2010). The children in my study used singing as an extension of speech to add emotional content or emotional weight to their communications. They also sang to express emotion, particularly joy and excitement, and to express extra-musical associations in musical ways.

Research has shown that the early communicative exchanges between mothers and infants are inherently musical, and these musical exchanges contribute to the relationships that infants build with those around them (Malloch & Trevarthen, 2009). It is likely that infants who have been parented in musically responsive ways are able to draw on their musicality to facilitate relationships beyond infancy. As musical agents, singing is a tool that children can use to express themselves in their interactions with others.

The 3- and 4-year-old children in my study used singing to connect with others and affirm their relationships. Several times during the recording summarised earlier in this chapter, Alfie heard his mother singing or humming and joined in, confirming an emotional closeness and sense of belonging. The musical exchange between Alfie and his mother at lunchtime is particularly interesting as a demonstration of how singing can be used during social interaction to affirm and develop relationships. Initially, Alfie takes up a song his mother is singing and uses this to connect with her and capture her attention. Once he has her attention, he draws her into a song of his choice. In the exchange that follows, Alfie and his mother explore their relationship and their identity as singers. They express their shared experience at the music class where they learnt the song, their shared love of singing, and they demonstrate their musical abilities. Alfie and his mother are both competent singers. They sing tunefully, and they are both able to sing internally, singing alternate phrases out loud. They coordinate their timing and find humour in the experience. As a social musical agent, Alfie is able to draw his mother into the game and hold her there for some time, during which she is completely engaged and focused on him.

In addition to connecting with others and affirming relationships, the children sang to facilitate cooperative play; to attain and maintain control in social interactions; and to negotiate relationships in non-confrontational ways. It is in managing relationships that the children most clearly use singing as a tool of social agency. In these interactions, the children use singing intentionally and skilfully to achieve—or attempt to achieve—a desired social outcome. These interactions often involve

the negotiation of power and position. Knudsen (2008) discusses children's sung communications at home from a Foucauldian viewpoint, explaining how improvised vocalisations are used by children to situate and empower themselves as agents. Knudsen's study was based on the analysis of four video clips of five children, aged 3–7 years old, during play at home in Norway. He uses examples of two 6-year-old boys and a 7-year-old girl to demonstrate how meaning can be communicated and power negotiated though spontaneous singing. Although these children are older than those in my study, Knudsen points out that children of all ages are engaged in power negotiations throughout their everyday existence, including the struggle to be seen, to be heard, to be respected, and to gain control (Knudsen, 2008).

Music psychologist Cross (2014) considers the communicative strength of music to be its ambiguity or 'floating intentionality' (p. 813). He suggests that music may be 'an optimal means of managing situations of social uncertainty' (p. 812–3). This idea was clearly reflected in the way the young children in this study used singing to manage relationships. The ambiguity of meaning in singing allows children to challenge parental authority and provides a space for them to exercise their agency. One of the most interesting findings in my study was that the children used singing as a way of expressing disagreement and dissent without putting themselves in a position of direct confrontation. Singing also provided a space in which the children could behave outside normal expectations. For example, Alfie sings, 'Growl growl, growl' as a retort when his mother tells him to stop singing and eat his lunch. Singing allows the children to assert themselves, express disagreement, attain or maintain control of an interaction, and evade or resist control by others.

In the narrative account of Alfie's day, Alfie's mother tries to hurry Alfie to get ready to go out and starts to get cross. Alfie ignores and evades her irritation by singing. His singing gently but defiantly indicates that he is resisting her attempts to hurry him. Alfie uses singing in this situation because its ambiguous nature allows him to resist in a way that avoids conflict. Adult–child relationships have an inherent imbalance of power and the children in my study used singing as a way to redress this. As previously mentioned, on several occasions the children sang to protect their sense of self when faced with parental anger. In these situations, the children sang to act on something they could control—their own sense of self—rather than their parent's anger, which was outside their control. Power is closely linked to agency as agency implies the ability—or power—to act, although it should be remembered that this ability to act is situated and relational (Esser, 2016; Oswell, 2012). Singing is a vehicle or tool of agency that is situated across the context of the home, the relationships between family members, and the medium of the interaction—the singing. Spontaneous, improvised singing is endlessly pliable and able to be manipulated in ways beneficial to the child. Together with its ambiguity of meaning, this makes singing an important means for young children to negotiate power and exercise agency in their social interactions.

Singing to Explore and Express Identity

Identity exploration and expression is an underlying theme that is evident in many of the ways that the children used spontaneous singing at home as a tool of both personal and social agency. Sommer (2012) claims that children's identities are embedded in everyday interactions and specific cultural contexts, and Hargreaves, MacDonald, and Miell (2017) suggest that musical identities are created on an ongoing basis as part of everyday life. These ideas would suggest that young children's spontaneous singing, embedded as it is within their everyday lives, is a vehicle for identity construction and expression. The children in my study appeared to use singing as a means of exploring their identity, expressing that identity, and presenting themselves to others. Spontaneous singing also connected them to others and allowed them to explore their group identity as members of their family.

Evidence that the children used self-directed singing to explore their personal identities can most clearly be seen through sung narratives where the children sing about themselves and others who are important in their lives. This exploration of identity through musical narrative is also described by Barrett (2009, 2011, 2017), who has written extensively on the subject of young children's identities expressed through spontaneous song. The children in my study also expressed their self-identity and presented themselves to others. They did this through the expression of musical preference, using singing to assert their musical identities, and performing. The songs the children chose to sing also expressed their identity, both as individuals and members of the family and wider community. For example, among the other children in the study, Karl (4 years) was good at beat-boxing, Maggie (4 years 2 months) sang songs from musicals, Oliver (3 years 1 month) loved 'Fireman Sam', Alfie sang pop songs, and James (3 years 8 months) sang hymns. Several of the children enjoyed enacting the role of performer, either performing learnt songs or improvising songs especially for the performance.

Conclusion

Interpreting young children's spontaneous singing through a framework of musical agency enables a focus on how children make use of singing in their everyday lives. The findings from my study suggest that young children act as musical agents to influence themselves and others. Young children's musical agency occurs through the act and practice of singing within a specific context and in relation to others in that context. To use singing as an agentive tool, children must have experience of singing and opportunities to sing. This includes having a repertoire of songs they have learnt, freedom to sing, being exposed to positive attitudes about singing, and having role models who sing. The agency children draw from singing goes beyond purely musical agency. They not only act within music as a cultural tradition, they also use music as a tool of personal and social agency to act in and on the world around them.

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Chapter 8
Neuromusical Research and Young Children: Harmonious Relationship or Discordant Notes?

Beatriz Ilari and Eun Cho

Early childhood—the period from birth to 8 years of age—is increasingly recognized as a foundational time for children's lifelong learning, behavior, health, and general well-being (Anderson et al., 2003). As brain imaging technology becomes more sophisticated, neuroscientists are increasingly able to gain insights into how the brain perceives and processes musical information, including in the early years of life. Several studies on the developing brain been published in the past decade, yet there is still a fair amount of "misunderstanding, misapprehension, and misapplication" (Croft, 2011, p. 6) of neuroscientific research in the arts and humanities, as well as in education. In this chapter, we offer a critical review of neuromusical research conducted with children aged 0–8. We begin with a brief description of the developing brain and the main imaging techniques used with young children, namely EEG and MRI, followed by a review of imaging studies published in the past decade (2008–2018) concerning music and young children. We then turn to some of the main criticisms associated with neuromusical research, particularly those by scholars in the psychology of creativity, music education, and social work fields. We conclude the chapter by offering ways forward, along with implications for research and practice in early childhood music.

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The Developing Brain

At birth, the human brain contains roughly 100 billion neurons, yet most are not linked into specialized connections called synapses. A typical neuron consists of a cell body, dendrites, and an axon—each neuron receives electrical signals through short tentacles called dendrites and sends out the signals down to its axon, a long, slender projection of the neuron (Spitzer, 2006). Each axon has more than a thousand axon terminals each transmitting signals to the dendrites of other neurons. Neurons are constantly firing, meaning that they continually transmit neurotransmitters from the axon across the synapses to the dendrites of neighbouring neurons. The strength of the signal is determined by how many times per second it fires or sends information to the other neurons. While a typical neuron fires 5–50 times every second, a highly active neuron fires over 50 times per second (Sawyer, 2011).

In the first few years of life, more than one million neural connections are formed, which results in a massive synaptic production. As children grow, neural connections are reduced through a process called synaptic pruning. The neural pathways that are frequently used become stronger while redundant and weak connections that are seldom or never activated are withered. This process occurs throughout childhood and continues until early adulthood, making the brain circuits more efficient. In the developing brain, each brain region undergoes different trajectories of the synaptic overproduction and pruning process. For example, while the growth of synapses in the occipital cortex (i.e., known as the center of visual processing), peaks in the first few years of life, in the prefrontal cortex (i.e., area associated with higher cognitive functions), synaptic growth usually peaks at around 4–5 years of age (Huttenlocher & Dabholkar, 1997). This difference in timing in peak synapse production suggests that the later a synapse production peaks, the longer the region remains plastic (Tierney & Nelson III, 2009). Since the developmental process of neural connections is highly influenced by individual experiences and environmental stimulation, experiences in the early years of life are known to play a powerful role in shaping the patter of brain architecture and behavioral development (Braun & Bock, 2007).

Two Brain Imaging Techniques Appropriate for Use with Young Children

Recent advances in brain imaging techniques have opened up new possibilities for studying human brain structure and function across the lifespan. Two specific techniques, electroencephalography (EEG) and magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), have been used in musical research with infants and young children, birth to 8. These techniques have furthered our understanding of music and brain development taking place in the early years of life.

Electroencephalography (EEG)

The neural activity that constantly takes place in the brain produces small amounts of electrical currents. EEG is a technique that measures electrical activity generated in the brain. In an EEG test, multiple electrodes are placed onto a participant's scalp (i.e., typically between 32 and 128 electrodes, see Sawyer, 2011). While the participant is engaged in a task like listening to sounds or watching a video, the electrodes pick up the electrical impulses and send them to an EEG system. EEG records the signals as wavy lines on a computer during or right after the stimulus event, which is called event related potentials (ERPs). The participant is given the same task many times. Mathematical algorithms are then used to average the EEG data over all trials. Data are typically interpreted in terms of frequency (Hz,) amplitude (microvolts), form, and distribution.

Sawyer (2011, p.139) offered a useful summary of the different frequency bands of the brain's electromagnetic field in relationship to the different types of brain activity. EEG signals typically studied by neuroscientists are those occurring in the frequency range of 1–50 Hz, and ERP signals between 0.5 and 20 Hz. Delta waves (.5–4 Hz) occur during deep sleep. Theta waves (4–8 Hz), which are greater in childhood, are associated with encoding and retrieval of information. Alpha waves (8–13 Hz) are those that occur when people are awake and relaxed, and with eyes closed. Beta waves (13–30 Hz) have been associated with increased alertness and focused attention. Gamma waves (higher than 30 Hz), in turn, have been associated with conscious perception, yet they are probably the least understood of them (Sawyer, 2011, p. 139).

The advantage of EEG is that it has excellent temporal resolution; it detects the brain's response to a stimulus almost immediately, in less than a millisecond. Also, because EEG is a silent procedure, it is particularly appropriate for auditory research. Other advantages include the fact that EEG is non-invasive, it is known to be virtually risk free, relatively tolerant of participants' motion artifacts, and low in cost. These factors make EEG advantageous for studies involving young children (see Sawyer, 2011; Trainor, 2012). A major weakness of EEG, however, is its poor spatial resolution, meaning that it does not provide precise data regarding the neurons that may be causing changes in the electromagnetic field (Sawyer, 2011). Other imaging methodologies with a higher spatial resolution, such as PET and fMRI, are more appropriate to detect specific brain regions engaged in a task, although they have been less commonly employed in neuromusical research with young children.

Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI) and Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI)

MRI uses a strong magnetic field and radio waves to generate detailed two- and three-dimensional images of the brain. It reveals the brain's anatomy, providing a comprehensive description of its structural connectivity. MRI has been used to

identify specific brain structure abnormalities, helping to diagnose a variety of disorders, such as tumors, strokes, dementia, and multiple sclerosis in clinical settings. It also helps researchers to map brain regions associated with different human behaviors, often by comparing brain structure in different groups of individuals.

A special type of MRI, known as functional MRI (fMRI), has been used to generate images of the brain while it is engaged in a specific task. fMRI utilizes a magnetic field to track changes in blood flow and oxygen levels, which signal neural activity in the brain during various cognitive tasks. It does this by measuring the ratio of oxygenated to deoxygenated blood, referred to as blood oxygen level dependent (BOLD) signal. When a specific brain region is active, it consumes more oxygen and blood flow to that region increases, causing the BOLD signal to increase. In a typical fMRI, the participant is asked to lie still in the scanner. The participant is often given earplugs to mask the sound because the motion of the camera within the scanner generates noise (Flohr & Hodges, 2006). The participant is presented with a task that possibly increases blood flow to specific brain regions. The machine scans the participant's brain, while he or she completes the given task. Through the scan, the researcher can visualize the parts of the brain that are working the hardest to perform the task (Sinclaire-Harding, Vuillier, & Whitebread, 2018).

fMRI is considered to be one of the best imaging modalities for children, primarily because it is non-invasive and safe; it does not involve any ionizing radiation that could be potentially harmful to developing brains and bodies. fMRI offers a higher spatial resolution and availability (Glover, 2011). By recording signals from all areas of the brain, fMRI is a powerful source for studying the accurate localization of neural activities. However, one of the weaknesses of fMRI is its low temporal resolution. There is a larger time gap between each frame or image (data point) than in other methods like EEG. Also, the fMRI scanner is a very noisy environment which can potentially affect the results of a study on auditory perception (Glover, 2011).

Despite the advances of these brain data collection techniques, researching brain development in young children continues to be a challenge. Young children often have a limited ability to cooperate with data collection as their attention spans are short and they can tire quickly (Trainor, 2012). Young children are also known to move constantly, which can be problematic for brain imaging techniques that require participants to stay still. Lying in a dark, noisy scanner like a MRI machine can be difficult for young children (Gilmore, Knickmeyer, & Gao, 2018). Also, these imaging techniques utilize a device or machine that can seem overwhelming; even if they are virtually non-invasive and risk free. Therefore, parents may become anxious to give consent for their children to participate in imaging studies, which directly influences recruitment (see Habibi, Sarkissian, Gomes, & Ilari, 2015).

Now that we have briefly reviewed two main techniques that have been used to gain insights into music and the brain of young children, we turn to actual findings from recent studies. Here, we focus on studies that examined formal music learning in infants and young children. Because the distinction between formal and informal music learning is muddled in the first few years of life (Young & Ilari, 2012), we

also include a brief review of neuroscientific studies on informal music learning—in homes and elsewhere—at the end of this section.

Formal Music Learning and the Young Brain

Research concerning the role of music education on brain development has focused predominantly on school-aged children, with fewer works focusing on the early years. This is understandable given the challenges inherent to brain imaging in early childhood that were outlined earlier, as well as retention issues associated with longitudinal brain research (see Habibi et al., 2015), wherein researchers chart children's development over the course of time. Most studies conducted to date have focused on children who were learning instruments formally, which often does not occur before children are 5 years old (Trainor & Hannon, 2013). Children under the age of 5 years, particularly those from the middle class in Western countries, often start their formal music education through early childhood collective programs, known, for example, as 'Mommy and me' classes in North America (see Trainor & Hannon, 2013), *musicalização* in Lusophone countries (e.g., Ilari, 2010) or musik-garten[1] in East Asia countries like Korea (e.g., Youm, 2013). Therefore, while our focus here is on recent imaging studies conducted with young children (i.e., under the age of 8), we also include some seminal behavioral studies to the discussion, in an attempt to get a clearer picture of research concerning potential transfer effects between formal music learning and young children's development. Importantly, the term 'formal music learning' used in this context refers to forms of music education in which a more experienced adult—a teacher or facilitator—leads musical activities for groups of same-aged children, with the aims of developing music-related skills like singing, listening, performing on instruments, moving to or inventing music. Selected studies were grouped in relationship to the role of music in a child's life: as a means or an end in itself. In other words, while some studies have focused on the development of music-related skills or *development in music*, others have centered on development of extra-musical related skills or *development through music.*

Development in Music: Brain Plasticity and Auditory-Perceptual Skills

In recent years, several longitudinal studies on the development of musical skills have emerged. Two seminal brain imaging studies were conducted at Harvard University and were likely the first ones to center on children's musical development

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[1] In some East Asian countries, the term Musikgarten, which is the name of a well-known early childhood music education program, has also been used to refer to early childhood music education more generally.

(Hyde et al., 2009; Schlaug, Norton, Overy, & Winner, 2005). In these studies, the researchers compared the anatomy of the brains of 5-year-olds who were about to start taking lessons with the anatomy of the brains of same-aged controls. No differences were found at the beginning of the study (Schlaug et al., 2005). Fifteen months later, significant changes emerged in auditory and motor regions of the brains of child musicians (Hyde et al., 2009). Although the researchers did not randomly assign children to the music or control groups, the absence of brain differences at the beginning of the study (i.e., before children started to take formal music lessons) suggests that there likely were effects of music education on brain plasticity.

Cortical thickness is an important index of brain development, being associated with both cognitive ability and behavior (Brito & Noble, 2014). Hudziak et al. (2014) investigated the association between music training experience and cortical thickness development. Two-hundred and thirty-two study participants underwent MRI scanning, along with several behavioral tests, in one to three separate visits at 2-year intervals. Results indicated that the interaction 'age versus years of playing a musical instrument' was associated with cortical thickness in premotor and primary motor regions. Similarly, Habibi et al. (2017) used MRI to examine the brains of 18 children from underserved communities in Los Angeles, who had been attending an El Sistema-inspired music education for 2 years, as well as 18 children involved in collective sports and another 20 children who did not participate in any intensive extracurricular activity for 5 consecutive years. All children were matched in terms of socioeconomic background and cognitive abilities. Habibi et al. (2017) found significant differences in terms of cortical thickness in auditory regions of the brains of child musicians, suggesting that 2 years of formal music education had an impact on structural brain development.

Formal music education has also been associated with children's brain responses to varied musical stimuli. Shahin, Roberts, and Trainor (2004) found that 4- and 5-year-olds who were taking lessons through the Suzuki method for a whole year to have earlier ERP responses to isolated tones that were different from those of same-aged controls who did not learn music formally, and similar to children who were 3 years older than them. Unlike controls, children who had attended Suzuki music lessons also showed an increase in Gamma-band activity, which has been associated with attention and memory (Shahin, Roberts, Chau, Trainor, & Miller, 2008).

While children's formal music learning often focuses on mastering a musical instrument, several studies have attempted to investigate whether participation in group musical activities that involve no instrumental training may also facilitate the development of neural auditory skills. Trainor, Marie, Gerry, Whiskin, and Unrau (2012) conducted an experiment with 34 Canadian 6-month-olds to examine whether participation in active music classes leads to a different trajectory of brain development, compared to participation in passive classes. The active classes involved a rich musical environment, with a curriculum that focused on movement, singing, and playing small percussion instruments. In the passive classes, parents and infants engaged in other types of play activities, such as art, book reading, and block, while being exposed to synthesized music. EEG recordings were made when children started their music classes and 6 months later. Infants listened to a repeated standard

piano tone through a speaker while EEG signals were recorded from electrodes placed in specific areas of their brains. Infants in the active music classes showed larger and earlier ERP responses to the musical sounds than children in the passive classes. That is, those who had attended the active classes showed more advanced tone processing than their peers in the passive classes (Trainor et al., 2012).

Putkinen, Tervaniemi, Saarikivi, and Huotilainen (2015) used mismatch negativity (MMN), an indicator of the brain's ability to perform automatic detection of changes in acoustic stimuli, to examine potential effects of active group musical activities involving singing and playing small percussion instruments. The MMN response in ERPs to distracting acoustic stimuli is generally known to depend on age; adults commonly show a negative response whereas children show both: a positive as well as negative MMN response (see Lindín, Correa, Zurrón, & Diaz, 2013). In this study, EEG was recorded in 2-year-old children who had just entered a playschool that provided weekly 45-min group music classes. EEG recordings were made when children were 2, 4, and 6 years old. Children listened to a series of frequent standard sounds, with rare deviant sounds being occasionally interspersed. The researchers compared EEG recordings of children who attended the playschool for 4 consecutive years with recordings of children who had attended the playschool for only 1 or 2 years. There were no significant differences between the brain activity of children from the two groups in the first measurement. However, in subsequent years, EEG data revealed a significant change toward negative mismatch responses favoring children who had attended the program for a longer time period. Given that the shift toward negative mismatch response indicates the maturation of auditory abilities, these results suggest that engaging in group musical activities can impact the development of sound discrimination.

Taken together, these studies offer some clues into the development of the musical brain in early and middle childhood. Along with earlier research on the brain of trained musicians (see Trainor & Hannon, 2013), these works suggest that music education in early childhood has the potential to promote anatomical brain changes in specific brain regions after a relatively short amount of time. But are these potential changes exclusive to the early years? This question relates to the idea of sensitive periods for music learning.

Sensitive Periods for Music Learning

Music learning, and instrumental music education in particular, involves highly sophisticated tasks that entail multimodal systems and higher-order cognitive processes. Continuous engagement in music education is likely to result in structural and functional changes in the brain (Herholz & Zatorre, 2012). Neuroimaging studies further suggest that an early start of formal music education might result in greater brain changes (e.g., Elbert, Pantev, Wienbruch, Rockstroh, & Taub, 1995; Gaser & Schlaug, 2003; Scherg, Dosch, Specht, Gutschalk, & Rupp, 2002; Schlaug, Jancke, Huang, & Steinmetz, 1995). This idea is consistent with the notion of sensitive periods.

Sensitive periods can be defined as a window of time in development, typically during the early years, when life experiences exert profound and long-lasting influences on brain and behavior (Knudsen, 2004). Because the circuitry of the nervous system is very plastic in the beginning of life (Steele, Bailey, Zatorre, & Penhune, 2013), experiences readily instruct "neural circuits to process or represent information in a way that is adaptive for the individual" during this time (Knudsen, 2004, p. 1412). Certain capacities are, therefore, readily acquired, shaped, and altered by experiences and stimulation received during sensitive learning periods. As an example, one of the earliest studies to examine the effects of music training on the brain revealed significant differences in the surface area of the anterior half of the corpus callosum (CC), a motor-related region, in musicians who started to learn music formally before the age of 7 (Schlaug et al., 1995). Yet, research concerning enhancements to specific brain regions as a result of formal music education is often difficult to interpret as defining one's age at the start of formal music education can be challenging, and is oftentimes confounded with total amount of music education (Trainor & Hannon, 2013). Furthermore, little attention is given to learner motivation and amount of deliberate practice during the course of music studies.

The terms "sensitive periods" and "critical periods" are often used interchangeably, although recent research makes a clear distinction between them. Critical periods indicate a fixed window of time during which experience makes irreversible effects on the brain development (Gervain et al., 2013). A clear example is the 'filial imprinting' that occurs during a limited time period shortly after young birds hatch out, when they learn immediately to recognize and form a strong social bond with the first moving object they encounter. In most natural contexts this means their mothers and siblings (Lorenz, 1937). Imprinting appears to be irreversible, which means that attachment is unlikely to be altered for the rest of a bird's life. But the effects of early music education experiences are likely distinct from imprinting. Therefore, discussions of potential effects of early musical experiences on the brain should be understood in relation to sensitive periods, not critical periods (Cho, in press). In other words, even if certain musical skills like absolute pitch and musical aptitude may be more easily acquired in the early years due to a greater neuroplasticity of some brain regions (Moore & Linthicum, 2007), this does not mean that humans will never acquire these skills if they begin their music education later in life. As a matter of fact, some have argued that the existence of critical periods is a neuromyth, as the brain undergoes many changes across the lifespan (see Conkbayir, 2017).

Development Through Music

Comparatively speaking, there are more studies focusing on development through music than development in music. This is understandable, as such studies address an 'old' problem in cognition research which is transfer of learning, or how learning in one situation impacts learning in another one. Scholars often describe two types

of transfer: near and far (Perkins & Salomon, 1992). Near transfer refers to transfer of learning within a same domain (e.g., transfer of knowledge and skills from music theory classes into instrumental lessons); whereas far transfer is associated with learning across two different domains (e.g., transferring knowledge from aural skills in music into perception of phonemes in language). Studies concerned with development through music usually address questions concerning far transfer. Most of these studies have made use of behavioral tasks, with some recent works also including neuroimaging data, as seen ahead. Here, we review studies that focused on collective early childhood music programs.

A main question that has been of interest to researchers is the association between music learning and cognitive abilities. Rauscher and Zupan (2000) assigned 62 American kindergartners to two groups: collective keyboard lessons and control. Children in the music group received 20-min, collective keyboard lessons, twice a week, for 8 consecutive months. Children in both groups were tested on two tasks of spatial-temporal abilities and a pictorial memory task, before the lessons started for the music group, 4 and 8 months later. Although there were no group differences for the memory task in any time point, scores for spatial-temporal abilities were enhanced in the music group after 4 and 8 months of classes. Moreno et al. (2011) compared responses to two subtests of a scale of intelligence (i.e., verbal and block design) by 48 Canadian 4- to 6-year-olds involved in one of two computerized inter-active programs: music listening and visual arts. Children also completed a go/no go task (i.e., a task in which they were required to press a button when they saw a one type of stimulus and not press it when they saw a different one), while their brain activity was recorded. Results suggested that children who completed the music program scored higher on the test of verbal intelligence and were more accurate on the go/no-go test. Jaschke, Honing, and Scherder (2018) conducted a longitudinal study to investigate the potential effects of music education on children's executive functioning skills over the course of 2.5 years. One hundred and forty-seven Dutch children with an average age of 6 years were randomly assigned to four groups: two music education groups, a visual arts group and a control group. Children were tested periodically on a battery of computerized executive functioning and verbal IQ tests. Results suggested that there was an increase in test scores on inhibition, plan-ning and verbal intelligence for the music groups. Findings from both studies are in line with an earlier work that found effects of an early childhood music program on self-regulation of 3- and 4-year-olds in the USA (Winsler, Ducenne, & Koury, 2011).

Associations between formal music learning and language abilities, particularly phonological awareness and reading skills, have also been at the heart of recent research. Escalada, Lemos, and França (2011) examined the associations between formal musical experiences, auditory processing and phonological awareness of 56 Brazilian children with a mean age of 5. Children were divided into two groups: the musical group was composed by 26 children who were taking part in early child-hood music programs uninterruptedly for at least 4 months. The control group was composed by 30 children matched in age and socioeconomic status. Children in the music group scored higher on the tests of auditory processing and phonological

awareness than controls. Although the researchers did not randomly assign children to experimental and control groups, these results are consistent with earlier works that suggested some transfer effects between music and language (for a review see Trainor & Hannon, 2013). A more recent study also found transfer effects of early childhood music education into language abilities in 90 Canadian children aged 3–6 years (Hutchins, 2018), reinforcing the idea that there may be transfer effects between music learning and language.

Informal Musical Experiences

As we have seen in the previous sections, instrumental music education and structured music and movement classes have been associated with transfer effects in specific areas of young children's development (see Williams, 2018). Less is known about informal musical experiences in early childhood, or, those that involve 'incidental or semi-structured musical play activities with parents in the home, or with educators and peers, where music is used as a tool for play and enjoyment' (Williams, 2018, p. 92), without a deliberate focus on learning specific musical concepts. While thorough descriptions exist of such experiences with compelling interview and observational data (for examples see Ilari, 2018; Young, 2018), data obtained through correlational and experimental methods is scarce. This is particularly true for studies that involve brain imaging.

In recent years, studies focusing on potential 'effects' of informal musical experiences in early childhood have emerged. Williams et al. (2015) studied the associations between home shared musical activities, book reading, vocabulary, numeracy, attentional and emotional regulation, and prosociality in young children. They analyzed data from a sample of 3031 children who took part in a large-scale national study in Australia. Mothers of children under the age of 5 completed a home music activity item in a parent interview when children were aged 2–3, and also provided data on outcome variables 2–3 years later, when children were aged 4–5. Participating families were primarily English-speaking and from a higher socioeconomic demographic. Results suggested that shared music activities in the home were positively associated with children's numeracy, attentional regulation, and prosocial skills, even after controlling for frequency of book reading.

Focusing on the relationship between the amount of informal musical activities at home and electrophysiological correlates of auditory discrimination and attention, Putkinen, Tervaniemi, and Huotilainen (2013a) recorded auditory-event potentials while 25 2- and 3-year-old Finnish children, who listened to sounds varying in frequency, duration, and intensity. Parents offered detailed information about their children's engagement in musical activities at home, such as musical interactions between parents and child and child-initiated musical play. EEG results from this study suggest that children who come from rich musical home environments tend to be more sensitive to acoustic changes, have more mature auditory change detection, and are less easily distracted by novel sounds, compared to children from home

environments that are not as musically rich. These findings highlight the significance of informal musical activities during the early years, when children are developing auditory skills that are also essential for subsequent language and attention skills (Putkinen, Saarikivi, & Tervaniemi, 2013b).

Although informal music learning is implied in many auditory-perception studies involving babies and young children (for examples see Trainor & Hannon, 2013), only the three studies reviewed in this section were found at the time of writing to directly address informal music learning. More works are clearly needed given how fuzzy the distinction between formal and informal learning is in the early years of life (Young & Ilari, 2012). Now that we have reviewed existing neuromusical research concerning young children, we shall turn to some of the criticisms associated with these works.

Neuroscientific Research and Early Childhood: Discordant Notes

Neuroscientific research is important because it allows us 'to begin to *see* what early childhood theorists, developmentalists and researchers have been investigating for decades' (Conkbayir, 2017, p. 4). Neuroscientific research is now enabling researchers to identify positive and negative effects of early experiences on structural brain development. But this work is, of course, not without its criticisms. Methodological difficulties inherent to conducting research with young children including their short attention span, lack of interest in some tasks, limited vocabulary, and difficulties staying still in a brain scanner in a dark and noisy room (Conkbayir, 2017), may discourage researchers from collecting data with this population, which partially explains the relatively small number of studies conducted to date. Other methodological issues associated with neuroimaging research include the costs associated with brain scans, the difficulties associated with retention of participants in longitudinal work, particularly if they come from underprivileged backgrounds (Habibi, Sarkissian, Gomez, and Ilari, 2015), and the classic problem of random assignment in educational research (Cook, 2001). To complicate matters, access to research funding is often limited in music studies. Thus, study samples tend to be relatively small, raising questions about their representativeness (see Odendaal, Levänen, & Westerlund, 2018).

Although brain imaging techniques suitable for neuromusical research with young children have advanced enormously in the past few decades, some limitations persist. EEG, for example, does not indicate the exact brain region where the electrical activity originates from (Conkbayir, 2017). MRI and fMRI, in turn, are limited in the sense that they do not allow researchers to study babies and young children's musicking in their natural environments, requiring a specific configuration (i.e., lying down nearly motionless) that is counter to children's customary way of engaging with music, which is multimodal and rich in motion (see Nijs & Bremmer, this volume). Furthermore, as Sawyer (2011) has argued, the approach

typically adopted in neuroscientific music research tends to be reductionist, as the mental processes that are studied are usually brief. In Sawyer's own words, 'any meaningful creative product is likely to have behind it tens or even hundreds of those brief mental events' (p. 150).

Methodological issues aside, another criticism that has been aimed at neuroscientific music research relates to what has been referred to as 'the problem of translation' (see Conkbayir, 2017; Vandenbroeck, 2017). Neuromusical research findings are often oversimplified, helping to create and dispel neuromyths (Odendaal et al., 2018), which have impacted both early childhood education (Conkbayir, 2017), and early childhood music education. As an example, in an examination of research reports and stories published in the popular press on music and the brain, Odendaal et al. (2018) found several major problems including a lack of negative findings and replication in neuromusical research, and the generalization of a single type of music or musical experience to all repertoires and musical experiences.

Another example was described by Conkbayir (2017), who examined the evidence behind brain-based educational programs like Brain Gym (trademark), which was designed to boost young children's learning. This program was very popular in nurseries and schools across the UK in the late 1990s. The Brain Gym program is based on 26 exercises aimed at promoting hand-eye coordination, listening skills, and flexibility in learners. Although Brain Gym is not a music learning program, music is an ancillary component; the program includes a CD with songs in six styles can also be used with young children. Some teachers and learners supported the claims, yet peer-reviewed research failed to do so, in terms of both improved learning and changes into brain mechanisms (Conkbayir, 2017). Even if Brain Gym was discredited, it continues to be used in educational settings across the globe. According to Conkbayir, 'the dangers of such misleading pseudoscience occurs when teachers and early childhood practitioners take this information as unquestionable, applying them with children in nurseries and schools, without assessing the reliability of the claims put forward' (p. 22). This occurs for many reasons, including educators' lack of training in the sciences and the oversimplification of neuroscientific research (Conkbayir, 2017; Odendaal et al., 2018), which translate into specific constructions of neuroscience in early childhood education and early childhood music education.

Constructions of neuroscience in early childhood education also impact policy in profound ways. Vandenbroeck (2017) stressed the political undertones that underlie the applications of neuroscientific research into early childhood education. Despite the limitations of neuroscientific research findings, what seems to attract policy makers and advocates, are the perceptions of equalities of opportunities that brain data affords, and not redistributive social policies that could, for example, help to eradicate poverty. Brain images also add credibility to messages about child learning and development, whilst legitimizing the view of children as the object of policy (Vandenbroeck, 2017). An example is the discourse of early childhood education as an investment; by focusing on young children, future social problems of delinquency and unemployment may be avoided. Here, the focus is on young children as undergoing a process of becoming (see Young, 2018). In Vandenbroeck's (2017)

words: 'When education is instrumentalised as the road towards a predefined goal that lies beyond childhood, this inevitably raises the question about who is entitled to define this goal. Who can participate in the debate about what early childhood education is for?' (p. 14). These questions are also central to early childhood music education.

Ways Forward: Towards a Harmonious Relationship

In this chapter, we have presented a critical review of neuromusical research conducted with children under the age of 8. Although neuromusical research has offered some important insights into the musical experiences of young children and has much to offer in the years to come, we should not forget that it is still a new field of inquiry. Likewise, we should remember that neuroimaging research findings offer insights into a small part of a larger, more complex system (Odendaal et al., 2018; Sawyer, 2011). As we have seen, the methods that are currently available for neuroimaging research have limitations, particularly in studies involving young children.

Still, the possibility of unravelling the inner workings of the developing human brain is met with great excitement, not only from members of the scholarly community who wish to learn more about the central nervous system, but also by the general population, who may be particularly attracted to brain research findings because they validate their own explanations of cognitive phenomena (see McCabe and Castel, 2008). Some have also suggested that the seductive allure of neuroscientific findings, the complexity of both the brain and neurological research (Illes et al., 2010), along with the social pressure that impinges on families and educational settings to have children succeed in a competitive world (see Furedi, 2001), further contributes for neuroscience to be so prone to misinformation and inaccurate reporting. Misuses of neuromusical research data are likely to continue, including through the emergence of neuromyths that impact both early childhood education and early childhood music education. Conkbayir (2017) attributes the persistence of neuromyths to the 'absence of a suitable forum in which professionals from neuroscience, psychology, early childhood education education and care come together' (p. 25). Along the same lines, Collins (2014) and Odendaal et al., (2018) call for neuroscientists and educators to work collaboratively—from designing studies to discussing and translating research findings.

Collaborative efforts between professionals from neurosciences, music education and related fields will not only assist in defining what aspects of the research need to be translated to the public and what are the main obstacles to public understanding, but can also guarantee that challenges, questions and opportunities from both education and neuroscience are equally represented (Conkbayir, 2017; Illes et al., 2010). Although some exceptions exist (e.g. Trainor et al., 2012), at the time of writing, most neuromusical research concerning early childhood music education had been carried out by teams of psychologists and neuroscientists, with little to no

input from early childhood music educators. In the future, we would like to see more multi- and interdisciplinary research teams working together on neuromusical research, addressing questions that are relevant to both neuroscientists and educators. Such approach to research which is met with enthusiasm by some neuroscientists (see Cheever et al., 2018), will not only add to our understanding of the developing musical brain, but will also help to tear down disciplinary barriers and hierarchies. This is far from being a trivial feat, of course, but definitely an ideal to be met.

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Part III
Music for Young Children: Traditions

Chapter 9
Sustaining Musical Traditions in Early Childhood: A View from the Field of Ethnomusicology

Andrea Emberly

Introduction

In ethnomusicological research on children's musical cultures there is a developing effort to recognise the agency that children employ within their musical communities. The intergenerational transference of musical knowledge is no longer viewed as unidirectional—from adult to child or even child to child—but rather as complex, multidirectional, and interwoven transmissions between children, young people, and adults. As Whiteman suggests, young children traverse musical borders, "they move in, out, and through a range of musical traditions and customs as they weave new musical cultures" (Whiteman, 2013, pp. 468–469). This musical border crossing provides a framework for recognizing the agency children employ in sustaining, creating, and sharing their musical cultures, knowledge, and practices. Recent ethnomusicological scholarship views children as drivers and agents of their complex musical worlds (Boynton & Kok, 2006; Campbell, 2010; Campbell & Wiggins, 2013; Emberly & Davhula, 2016; Gaunt, 2006; Green, 2011; Hohti & Karlsson, 2014; Marsh, 2008, 2012). This significant shift in how to approach the study of children's musical cultures, is dependent on collaboration that locates pathways for children to represent and voice their own views on the role of music in their lives. For ethnomusicology this requires a recognition that children do not simply belong to a standardized category of childhood, but that generationally, children participate in music-making in diverse and meaningful ways at varying moments in their lives.

In music research children are often conceptualized as the next generation of culture bearers who will be entrusted with valuable cultural materials to be sustained into the future. This heavy responsibility, whether from insiders, outsiders,

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and those in-between, positions childhood as a receptacle, not only for learning musical culture, but often as a place for connecting with so-called "cultural traditions", often those that are viewed as becoming endangered. Understanding children as the next generation of culture bearers informs the ways in which children receive and engage with musical learning (both formally and informally), which in turn impacts the sustainment and perpetuation of musical traditions. Examining the ways in which young children engage with music, language, and education, amongst other influences, is crucial to informing the ways they may engage in research processes and outcomes including decisions surrounding the knowledge transference of their musical arts practices.

This chapter examines how ethnomusicology can contribute to the study of early childhood music by recognizing the diverse roles that young children play in the health and wellbeing of musical practices. Drawing on my research with children in Vhavenda communities in Limpopo, South Africa, this chapter aims to outline how the perspectives of children might yield deeper insight into how children's musical cultures and sustainability are understood.

Ethnomusicology and Childhood Studies

There have been limited comprehensive ethnomusicological studies of children's musical cultures and perhaps even fewer discussions of the vested and active interest children have in the perpetuation of their musical traditions (Emberly, 2014; Minks, 2002). This is mirrored in research in general, with the acknowledgement that children have often been left out of the anthropological picture (Hirschfeld, 2002). Until the publication of the *Oxford Handbook of Children's Musical Cultures* (Campbell & Wiggins, 2013), there had been limited recognition that the study of children's music is a vital study within the field of ethnomusicology (Emberly, 2014; Minks, 2002). One of the most substantial studies in early ethnomusicology was John Blacking's historical study of Venda children's songs (Blacking, 1967, 1969), where he argued that children's music is an "audible badge of identity" (Blacking, 1967, p. 29). Furthermore, young children have perhaps been left out even more significantly in the field of ethnomusicology where music mastery and demonstration of an identifiable musicality have been the focus of study.

Moving forward from Blacking's historic work has demonstrated that there is a strong need for understanding, acknowledging, and sharing-in the musical cultures of young children around the world. Scholars have acknowledged the role children play in contributing, building, and sustaining musical traditions (Benedict, Schmidt, Spruce, & Woodford, 2015; Campbell & Wiggins, 2013), but the field of ethnomusicology rarely recognizes the diversity of children's experiences within their own communities based on age and development (amongst other factors). Thus the youngest members of communities are often left out of the picture. However, through interdisciplinary inquiry, recognition of the diversity of children's experiences, coupled with a greater understanding of the importance of studying children's

musical worlds, has begun to shape the field of ethnomusicology. In addition, viewing children as *being*, rather than *becoming*, acknowledges that they are fully competent members of a community at each stage in their lives. From this framework their musical experiences can be viewed as both independent and connected to the musical worlds around them.

The recognition that children are active agents in their cultural lives can be linked to the field of childhood and youth studies. This field suggests that research concerned with children needs to focus on the knowledge generated *from* children rather than simply *about* children (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Greig, 2013; Montgomery & Woodhead, 2003; Tisdall, Davis, & Gallagher, 2009). Current ethnomusicological research suggests that the study of children's music requires a nuanced view of the diverse ways children engage with music and the complex meaning it has within their lives. Understanding the context of children's musical lives requires researchers to investigate the constructions of childhood within both the local and global. In the growing field of childhood and youth studies, scholars argue that any study about children's culture requires acknowledgement of the first-hand knowledge of children and youth from within that community.

Drawing on theories and methodologies of childhood studies, ethnomusicologists can begin to connect music to the broader contexts and realities of children's lives. For example, applied ethnomusicology and its connections to music sustainability (see for example Pettan & Titon, 2015), offer intersections of importance for the study of children's musical cultures. Recent scholarship on musical sustainability (Grant, 2014; Grant & Schippers, 2016) implies that children are important figures in safeguarding endangered musical traditions (Emberly & Davhula, 2018 in press; Treloyn & Emberly, 2013). Intersections between music education and ethnomusicology have also offered a successful model for exploring the musical lives of young children (Campbell, 2003, 2010; Marsh, 2008, 2013, 2015; Marsh & Dieckmann, 2016, 2017). In addition, applied outcomes that support music sustainability offer a potential link for the field of childhood studies that has noted a large gap "between the academic discourse of childhood studies and arenas of policy and practice" (Punch, 2016, p. 353).

Ethnomusicology may also offer the field of childhood studies greater scope for understanding the significance of context, culture, and experience in children's lives. Childhood studies has been criticized for privileging Minority world notions of childhood whilst problematizing childhoods from the Majority world. Current language utilized in the field of childhood studies such as Minority world, referring to what was once called the first world or Global North, and Majority world, referring to third world or Global South, aims to challenge how academia has been framed around the experience of the minority of people in the world whilst the majority of people have been viewed as the other. As Abebe recognizes, the field of childhood studies "routinely focuses on a uniform childhood defined by existential challenges that not only flatten children's varied experiences but also view childhood as a mere site of intervention" (Abebe & Ofosu-Kusi, 2016, p. 304). Thus, ethnomusicology may challenge notions of the "'tribal child approach', which tends to exoticize, particularize and, sometimes, universalize children's experiences as 'indigenous' and unique" (ibid).

What Is a Child?

When examining and contextualizing the study of children's music it is important to centralize one of the questions that frames shifts in the methodologies of research in the growing field of childhood studies – what is an adult and what is a child (Christensen, 2004, p. 166)? As Punch argues:

> Too many practitioners and organisations still over rely on traditional developmental models of understanding childhood in their everyday work… Childhood studies now takes for granted that children are social actors, but recently it has been recognised that this needs to be problematised in relation to wider structures and power relations…as well as being located within the generational order…The concept of generationing is a useful starting point for considering the different relational categories of adult and child … For example, what are childing and adulting practices in different contexts and how do we recognise them? (Punch, 2016, pp. 355–356)

Differences between historical approaches to the study of children's music and the present, offer insights into the changes in research approaches with children. They also offer insights into the potentials for creating lasting legacies of children's musical cultures through collaboration and recognition of children's contribution to knowledge pathways. Although this might be a goal for the field of ethnomusicology, "children themselves continue to find their voices silenced, suppressed, or ignored…and even if they are consulted, their ideas may be dismissed" (James, 2007, p. 261). James also argues that the need to listen to children is "often paid lip service outside the academy, all too often those voices are silenced by images of childhood that cling to the more traditional, developmental discourse of children's incompetence, rather than competence, as social actors" (ibid, p. 266). In particular, the musical experiences of a community's youngest members are often viewed as in-progress, not fully formed, and dependent upon the transference of musical knowledge from older members of a community. Young children's musical experiences are rarely the site for in-depth examination as their musical voices are often viewed as incomplete.

Thus ethnomusicologists are uniquely positioned because the researcher's goal is to listen, and children's music offers an important area for truly *listening* to children's voices as they sing, make music, and engage in diverse musical arts practices. Listening that positions children as competent music makers in their own right, challenges adult/child binaries that view children as "mini or not-yet adults" and confronts the "deficit perspective" of childhood (Rodriguez, 2017, p. 236). Furthermore, studies of the music-making of infants and young children challenge ideas of what it means to make music. For example, Dissanayake argues that infants do not just respond to the musical utterances of mothers but rather elicit these signals by actively contributing to communication (Dissanayake, 2009, p. 23). Thus, as Young articulates, "young children produce many types of playful behaviour which can be described as 'musical'…ethnomusicologists emphasize the shift from music as the outcomes of individual thinking to music-as-action" (Young, 2005, pp. 281–282). Therefore, the musical lives of young children can provide ethnomusicologists with an opportunity to view music-making as action and connection rather than just a product or process.

Research with Children

At present, researchers who work with young children are faced with complex ethical issues to consider. These include questions surrounding consent from children; children's ability to understand the long term ramifications of documenting music including video and audio recordings; issues of children being documented at significant (and perhaps vulnerable) events in their lives where music is central such as during initiation ceremonies; issues surrounding children driving the research decisions and conducting research with other children in terms of snowballing consent, particularly when the researcher is not present; and issues of positionality and cultural understandings of the adult/child dichotomy. These ethical considerations challenge researchers to consider children's participation in the research process and how to shift away from tokenistic representations of children to informed, child-directed and child-initiated research participation, whilst balancing issues of consent, access, and dissemination (Greig, 2013).

Conducting research with children and in particular, young children, requires a delicate balance that considers the unique ethical issues of working with children; the construction of childhood in both a local and global context; and the need for further research *with* children rather than research *on* and about children. This has led to a movement towards participatory research methodologies that engages children as social actors in the research process (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Bucknall, 2012; Cheney, 2011; Christensen & James, 2017; Gallagher & Gallagher, 2008; Greig, 2013; Groundwater-Smith, Dockett, & Bottrell, 2015; Grover, 2004; Harcourt, Perry, & Waller, 2011; Hill, 2006; Hohti & Karlsson, 2014; Holland, Renold, Ross, & Hillman, 2010; Horgan, 2017; I'Anson, 2013; Kellett, 2010; Kim, 2017; Komulainen, 2007; McTavish, Streelasky, & Coles, 2012; Raffety, 2015). However, assumptions about the role of children as co-researchers has led to an examination of the "tendency to underestimate the power dimensions at play" (Kim, 2017, p. 245) leading towards a more holistic understanding of children's participation in the research process.

It is important also to deconstruct this movement of engaging children in the research process as it raises significant questions in terms of ethics, methodologies and long-term goals. Do children have the ability to consent or refuse to participate in research when the researcher is another child? What happens when an interest in skill-building (such as learning to use cameras, audio equipment etc.) overrides the interest in participating in the research and are children only participating as a means to access technological equipment? What happens when a child wants to stop participating (see Fig. 9.3) but the other children do not regard their choices? A balance between the movement towards participation (such as Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child UN General Assembly, 1989) and the right to an informed decision to participate in research must be considered in work with children.

Children are often very enthusiastic to participate as co-researchers, making and recording video and audio, taking photographs, editing film and sound, and even in

various stages of analysis. Over the course of my own multigenerational collaborative research in Vhavenda[1] communities over the last 12 years, children have become engaged in the research and in the process of "doing" the research themselves. By asking children to document and analyse the role of music in their own lives, children become an integral part of the research process—as filmmakers, collaborators, and investigators. The reflexive processes of this work also include examining the varying layers of collaboration that stem from this type of work (Emberly & Davhula, 2016). Children as young as 4- to 5-years-old can participate by using cameras, singing and dancing with older children who are recording them, and by demonstrating their musical languages in diverse ways. As children get older (6–12 years), they become more engaged in the research process, asking questions (to the researcher and to each other), choosing what, when, and where to film, and demonstrating their changing musical skills as well. In addition, documenting the knowledge transmission processes has been an important site for understanding how musical knowledge is shared amongst different generations of children. For example, in Figs. 9.1 and 9.2, young children participated in a recording session where they chose to listen intently and dictate what songs would be recorded. The children participating were between the ages of 5 and 7 years.

Disrupting the notion that older children are more competent with technology has also been a tool of research. When young children are given the opportunity to utilize equipment that is typically reserved for adults or young people (in particular young men), it challenges how children view each other as producers of knowledge. In Figs. 9.3 and 9.4 young girls (ages 7–10) are running a drone camera used to film dancing, once they mastered the skill, the older boys came over to watch them and to learn how to use the camera. In this instance young girls became the teachers of the older boys.

It is widely recognized at present that research with children must recognize children's rights including the right to participate in research and their right to an informed approach that includes methodologies, language, modes of communication, documentation and analysis. These rights also include the right to "have a say about things that concern them" (Thomson, 2008, p. 1). As Christensen suggests:

> The recognition of children's social agency and active participation in research has significantly changed children's position within human and social sciences and led to a weakening of taken-for-granted assumptions found in more conventional approaches to child research. In order to hear the voices of children in the representation of their own lives it is important to employ research practices such as reflexivity and dialogue. These enable researchers to enter into children's cultures of communication. (Christensen, 2004, p. 165)

Participatory methodologies have a meaningful space in research with children because they challenge the adult-child and researcher-participant binary by includ-

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[1] Vhavenda is a culture group in Limpopo, South Africa. Tshivenda is one of the 11 official languages in South Africa but one of the least spoken with about 1.2 million speakers (about 2.4% of the total population of South Africa). Venda people live primarily in semi-rural and rural communities in the most northern part of the Limpopo province, an area once known as Venda that was independent during the apartheid era.

Fig. 9.1 Phunzo (age 5) listens intently and monitors the sound while recording singing of Rudzi (age 7), Oluga (age 5), and Tshimangadzo (age 5) at their home. Tshakhuma village, June 2015

Fig. 9.2 Phunzo (age 5) listens intently and monitors the sound while recording singing of Rudzi (age 7), Oluga (age 5), and Tshimangadzo (age 5) at their home. Tshakhuma village, July 2015

ing children in the research process. However, even though these methodologies are recognized as limited, they do offer the opportunity for researchers to challenge universal notions of childhood and "the diverse lifeworlds of children" (Horgan,

Fig. 9.3 Young girls fly the drone camera as young men come to look at how to operate the camera. July 2017

Fig. 9.4 Young girls fly the drone camera as young men come to look at how to operate the camera. July 2017

2017, p. 246). Applied outcomes also offer the opportunity to recognize children's ability to evoke social change and to adapt musical traditions and cultures to support their sustainability into the future.

Music Sustainability and Childhood

In Vhavenda communities my own research with children has been built on multi-generational collaboration and a community drive for applied outcomes that will have potential impact on musical sustainability. As has been written by several scholars (Blacking, 1967; Emberly & Davhula, forthcoming; Emberly & Davidson, 2011; Kruger, 1999; McNeill, 2011), Venda music has faced sustainability challenges in many ways. Some forms of music, primarily group dances (*tshigombela, malende, tshifasi*), the national reed pipe ensemble *tshikona*, and some forms of folk stories and songs have seen varying levels of sustainability, often through school competitions of traditional cultural practice. However, many genres of music, including children's songs (*zwidade* and *nyimbo dza vhana*) have faced significant loss given that many of the traditional songs are no longer sung. In terms of children's musical cultures there are many reasons attributed to the loss of musical traditions, from educational, to environmental, to governmental, to social, to a shift in children's responsibilities within communities. Despite the loss of many musical traditions there are many genres of children's music and folklore that remain resilient and thus Venda communities are faced with a dichotomy—both the sustainability of musical traditions and a "quieting" of them. Children are often at the centre of this, sometimes being reprimanded for not following their cultural paths and other times being praised for using creativity, interconnectedness and tradition to sustain musical practices.

Applied outcomes that have come from two collaborative projects—The Dancing Domba Project[2] and the Connecting Culture and Childhood Project[3]—aim to privilege children's roles in supporting the sustainability of cultural heritage. Through these projects we are acknowledging children's roles in sustaining cultural heritage practices and the pathways for children to connect childhoods from the past to the present; revitalizing, reimagining and re-conceptualizing intergenerational and multidirectional musical arts engagements. Outcomes include a database of *zwidade* that have been documented, recorded, and transcribed in collaboration with primary schools, learners, teachers, and community elders throughout the region (Fig. 9.5). To date the project team has created a database of over 145 songs that are being translated into a book for schools. The book includes recordings of

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[2] Dancing *domba*: An ethnomusicological study of childhood, musical arts education, and wellbeing in contemporary Venda communities. Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada Insight Development Project (SSHRC IDG 430-2014-00031). This project is a collaboration between ethnomusicologists, educators, community leaders, and children that aims to create resources for teaching and learning and for documenting the musical practices found in initiation schools for girls.

[3] Connecting culture and childhood: implications of the repatriation of archival recordings for children and young people. Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada Partnership Development Project (SSHRC PDG 890-2015-0079). This collaborative project brings together researchers, non-profit organizations, archives, community members, educators, and children and young people from five countries (Australia, Canada, South Africa, Uganda, USA) to explore the impact of repatriation on music sustainability for children and youth.

songs so that teachers can use the songs in the classroom. Children have been piv-
otal in learning the songs from historical documents for recording that has included
use of the Blacking archive to re-introduce songs that are no longer sung. Teachers
have been using the songs and database in the classroom, not only to teach about
music but also to connect history, socio-political contexts, and other indigenous
knowledge systems into the school classroom.

The project team have also recently held two community events at the University
of Venda that have showcased children's roles as leaders in music sustainability in
Venda communities. In September 2017, we held a celebration of children perform-
ing traditional Venda music that saw performances by over 350 primary school chil-
dren. At this event cultural leaders spoke about the role of children in honouring
their heritage and children spoke about why and how they are preserving their cul-
tural practices today. In addition, young children performed various cultural heritage
practices that, although not specifically musical, demonstrated how music links to
other community practices. For example, feeding of young children, pounding
maize, and gathering harvest materials. These were linked to musical skills that
children engage in from a young age, from songs for naming babies, to songs that
teach babies how to hold up their heads, to the earliest dance songs where young
members of the community learn to embody songs through movement. The children
used this opportunity to demonstrate their mastery of these musical and extra-
musical skills and to acknowledge the linkages between childhood, music, and cul-
tural competence (Figs. 9.6 and 9.7).

Fig. 9.5 Children recording *zwidade* at Bashasha primary school, Limpopo, South Africa. October
2015

**Fig. 9.6** A poster from the cultural heritage event

Fig. 9.7 Young girl (age 13) demonstrates the traditional way to feed a baby on a young boy (age 6). University of Venda Children's Heritage day celebration. September 29, 2017

Conclusion

Rather than static and unidirectional, children's musical worlds can be understood as diverse, shifting, and embodied transmissions that move within and beyond

themselves and their communities. Through diverse notions of musical arts, children rely on the communicative experience of musical arts practices to create community. Functions and roles of musical arts, for both children and communities, are a constantly shifting and adapting form from which children both extract and ascribe meaning. Music provides a means for social inclusion and flexibility and allows children to engage on both an individual and communal level, interlinking and adapting linguistic, social and psychological skills through musical engagement. In addition, scholarship on indigenous knowledge systems acknowledges that there is a need for "emancipation from generations of silence" (Chilisa, 2012), which can be applied to the knowledge systems surrounding children and their active roles in creating and disseminating knowledge both within and beyond generations. Thus research with children opens possibilities for triangulations of knowledge that reconsiders where knowledge is truly located.

What researchers working with children today ask is: How do the limitations, methodologies and distinctive features of childhood distinguish themselves from adulthood and what impact does this have on the research process? By recognizing that the culture of childhood can be examined from a unique viewpoint that engages children in the research process, the methodological and theoretical foci of research can benefit children, their local communities, researchers, the international academic community at large and beyond. Engaging in research poses several important questions such as: What is the relationship of academics with young community collaborators? What are the collaborative and reflexive processes that can be used in the production of ethnographic knowledge? What are the ethics of research and documentation in terms of access, ownership, and responsibility? When considering children, these questions become even more significant as children stand to benefit both in terms of immediate skill building and through future engagement with research collections that document their musical lives and upbringings. By providing children with tools to represent their own musical lives, the goal in fields such as ethnomusicology and childhood studies, is to present a more holistic view of children's musical worlds and to move away from the historical 'othering' of children and their musical communities.

This chapter demonstrates some of the ways in which children are not only beneficiaries, but also key drivers in sustaining and revitalizing musical arts practices in their communities. Ethnomusicology can contribute significantly to the field of childhood studies that has been focused on Minority world childhoods in relation to the problematization of Majority world childhoods (Pérez, Saavedra, & Habashi, 2017). As Imoh argues: "a concentration on the lives of the poor and those living in difficult circumstances may possibly be driven by a desire to demonstrate the dissonance between the global hegemonic ideal, with its roots in the North, and the local realities of a significant number of children in many contexts in the South" (Imoh, 2016, p. 457). Thus, by examining children's musical cultures in collaboration with children in their communities, there is a potential to heed the "call for more research that underscores how children's diverse experiences of growing up fill in the deficits in knowledge about the complex terrain of childhoods" (Abebe and Ofosu-Kusi 2016, pp. 314–315).

The forms of intergenerational knowledge transmission that emerge from engaging in traditional musical arts practices exhibit a fundamental reciprocity and interdependence between the actions of children, on the one hand, and adults on the other, where—moving away from a unidirectional understanding of knowledge transmission as solely from adult-to-child—children are seen to be engaging with adults and their wider communities to sustain musical traditions within their communities. In these ways, children play an active, rather than passive, role in their musical communities. Moreover, by reinforcing connections with communities through their performance activities, children contribute by supporting and nurturing musical arts practices. Within this context, as Simpson suggests, knowledge "is generated from the ground up and its power stems from its living resonance within individuals and collectives. Younger citizens might first understand just the literal meaning. As they grow, they can put together the conceptual meaning, and with more experience … the metaphorical meaning. Then they start to apply the processes and practices … in their own lives, and meaning-making becomes an inside phenomenon" (Simpson, 2014, p. 7). It can also be seen how children assert themselves as advocates for keeping traditions of knowledge strong through innovation, self-reflection, and performance. In these ways and more, it is clear that the continuation of musical arts practices is not just *for* them, but is, in fact, dependent on them.

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Chapter 10
Interculturalism in Early Childhood Music Education and the Training of Educators: An Anthropological Framework from the Mediterranean

Avra Pieridou Skoutella

Introduction

Interculturalism in early childhood music education is a relatively new and pioneering perspective of conceptualisation, topic of research and way of teaching young children and preparing educators. My first piece of extensive research into Greek Cypriot children's musical identities in the Republic of Cyprus (2015)—and the follow-on second piece of comparative research among children, music educators, musicians, early childhood educators and families in Cyprus, Spain, Greece, and Italy during the Project funded by the European Union, *Early Childhood Music Education in the Mediterranean* (2014–2017) (Pieridou Skoutella with colleagues, 2017)—revealed the need for such an anthropological framework. The European project was designed and developed by drawing on the conclusions of my first piece of research. This research into Cypriot musical childhoods provided the motivation and foundation of this project to further promote similar investigations around the Euro-Mediterranean region in relation to the conceptualisation and teaching/learning methodologies of early childhood music education, in order to contribute to these fields.

The strategic importance of identities framed and infused by the past and present of the Mediterranean region's diversification, syncretism and heterogeneity—together with global circumstances—provided the foundation for the development of this framework. Later in this chapter I will discuss intercultural principles and positive emotions as fundamental ingredients of this person-centred intercultural framework. Such starting points supported the implementation of certain strategies of *mimesis* regarding (a) musical representation and creation and (b) children's play,

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especially pretend play. These processes have been significant in the formation of musical and cultural identities among both children and adult social groups—and in the formation of creative expressions around the Mediterranean rim, in postcolonial and culturally diverse contexts for centuries; representing, transforming and recombining diverse forms of discourse (Minks, 2013; Pieridou Skoutella, 2015). Such concepts and processes facilitate the blending of musical and linguistic culture-specific, age-specific, ethnic and other competences, thus allowing intercultural competences to emerge and be learnt. Therefore syncretic cosmopolitan musical identities are formulated that are workable and meaningful for each person, in each context for a particular purpose each time.[1] I propose that these strategies are useful because they provide both educators and children in the music classroom with opportunities to adopt different roles and, thus, explore the cultural and symbolic tools available within the wider world. Such participation improves children's knowledge and understanding of themselves and others around them.

From Greek Cypriot Children's Musical Worlds to the Mediterranean

My investigation into Greek Cypriot children's musical identities proposed how different cultural oppositions—that is, forms of power and struggles, ideologies, symbolic consumption or resistance, and expressions of nationalism—were formulated until recently. Their musical identities accentuated fluid, contextual and often contradictory qualities, and pointed to the unequal differentiation among social classes in children's musical enculturation. Greek Cypriot children's musical and cultural identities might be viewed along a continuum with strong articulations of Cypriot local identity at one end and globalised identity at the other end. They are formulated between the dichotomies of West and East, traditional and modern, urban and rural, and local (Greek and Cypriot) and global and framed by intense social definition. These dualisms are imbued with Greek Cypriot nationalism and the country's political problems. Eurocentric ideology in relation to the symbolic manipulation of rural versus urban contexts of the country—and the 'low' versus 'high' ideological meanings—dominate Greek Cypriot children's musical enculturation and the formation of their musical identities. As a result a child can be more Cypriot in contexts that promote local resistance and celebration of local culture while in another context she might even reject the Cypriot tradition for the sake of constructing a modern identity or Europeanised identity. Often during play children construct events that synthesise multiple identities and signify different even contrasting values and ideologies (Pieridou Skoutella, 2015). Musical identity in contemporary childhood is temporal and contextual, shifting and relational, multiple and

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[1] Supportive pieces of research include work on Miskitu children's speech and songs on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua (Minks, 2013) and previous research into children's musical playground (Marsh, 2008).

overlapping, fluid and consistent, private or social, and dominant or subversive, as children learn how to master the skills for living, communicating and creating. Syncretic identities flourish in abundance. A child talking in Cypriot dialect mixing in a few English words (with a heavy Cypriot accent) and wearing fashionable clothes helps his father in the fields, while listening to his smartphone. His selections might include Greek globalised sounds and Greek *laïkó* songs[2] and popular *s*ongs with strong Middle Eastern musical characteristics and hints of Spanish flamenco or American rap (Pieridou Skoutella, 2015). This same child performs standardised Cypriot and Greek traditional songs with the school choir and plays handclapping elimination games with his closest friends in a remote part of the neighbourhood park.

This complex situation of *in-betweenness* is common in societies situated on the periphery of Europe in the Mediterranean region, and in its postcolonial societies. Cultural identities are contested between the spatial, cultural and ideological 'east' and 'west', traditional and modern, Christians and non-Christians, Orthodox and Catholic Christians, and immigrants and locals. Braudel's work affirms that the Mediterranean is:

> *a thousand things at once: a cross-road and a boiler of economic, political and cultural systems with four religious cosmo-visions, about 22 languages, around 17 specific forms of social organization, a complex interlaced with forces and tendencies grappling between tradition and modernity. (Braudel, 1977, quoted in Plastino, 2003, p. 75)*

This Mediterranean in-betweenness is magnified by the opposing processes of globalisation and localisation. The latter is comprised of cultural and personal identifications and the opposing phenomena of diversification and syncretism. Mediterranean in-betweenness is characterised by heterogeneous, polyglossic, multicultural modes and contexts of practice. Such contexts and modes of communicating, creating and being are characterised by musical and cultural inequalities. These inequalities are dominated by social hierarchies and strategies of social class differentiation, by the negotiation of ideological power and the contextual formulation of values. Therefore they engender stress, tension, discontinuity and contradictions for both groups and individuals, and their consequent actions in social and temporal contexts.

The European Project

It was the first time that such a large scale project for early childhood music education funded by the European Union had taken place across the Euro-Mediterranean region, embracing the countries of Cyprus, Greece, Italy and Spain. As well as their

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[2] *Laïkó* song appeared in the 1950s and 1960s as a gritty and tough style that expressed the values of the urban lower classes. The word *laikó* comes from the word 'λαός' which means the people. The term was used for urban Greek popular music. These songs were particularly popular due to the role of the recording industry and the fact that in breaking with their identification as 'working class music', they became fashionable.

individual histories, these four countries, share an interconnected and influential Mediterranean history. However due to many of the issues explained in the previous sections, scholars have yet to make comparative studies of musical cultures across the Mediterranean countries. We, as Mediterranean people, do not know each other well enough for intercultural understanding to take place. We are unaware of the rich diversity of our countries and our neighbouring countries' popular, folk and traditional musical traditions and the availability of rich cultural and musical values of being and creating. In addition there are gaps between the processes of musical enculturation and formal music education. As a result, there are also serious deficiencies in understanding young children's musical worlds and practices and in updating early childhood music education practices with international findings and methodologies, and with local characteristics.

This project developed effective learning and teaching methodologies, evaluation tools, curricula and teaching materials for children aged 3- to 6.5-years-old. It attempted to raise early childhood music education to the status of a professional specialised subject in early childhood education and care. The project suggested that Mediterranean cultural and musical events provide examples of the synthesis of different cultural values—and that localised practices (including music learning and teaching) are rooted in particular social and temporal contexts and carry deep meaning for the sociocultural identity of each spatial, temporal and social context (Magrini, 2003).[3] The project was designed and executed during a most critical period for the four countries, as the rich north of the Mediterranean basin with the glorious ancient past was becoming the poor and financially troublesome south of Europe. This 'humiliating' situation created confusion; the disintegration of living standards in these countries; a perceptible societal regression, and a rise in unemployment. Now, as these countries and their people become more 'new European' (Bohlman, 2011), they are simultaneously becoming more local, more ethnic, thus more syncretic and hybrid.

For the second piece of my research within the project, rich qualitative data was collected; at first during a week of 30 h intensive training for professional musicians, music educators and early childhood educators, and then during the implementation phase in these educators' practice in 18 different school locations in Greece, Cyprus, Italy and Spain. The implementation period involved more than 400 children and families from September 2015 to February 2016. Individual and group interviews, videotaped lessons, unobtrusive and participant observations of the training course, and observations of music lessons and children's play in school settings, and collections of the educators' diaries and essays ensured the reliability, credibility and generalisability of this study. The methodology of both pieces of research was influenced by interpretive anthropology. I adopted an interpretive and hermeneutic phenomenological stance and focused on the complex interactions and intersections between the subjective and the objective in culture, society, and school settings in which children, educators and families were placed.

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[3] For examples from Greek Cypriot children's musical worlds see Pieridou Skoutella (2015) p. 254–256.

During the pre-course interviews, the project trainees talked about musical tradition as an exotic discourse that oscillates 'between the rhetorical opposition of "concealment" and "discovery"' (Cassia, 2000, p. 289). They all lacked knowledge concerning the different traditions of their own countries. They seemed to have a strong sense of the distant past placing traditional elements at a time, long ago. During these discussions they were self-reflective and flexible in adopting a different, safer position in relation to traditional elements. They talked about traditions as something that belonged to the past or were found in contemporary tourist folklore; distant from their daily lives and thus in a safe position from their contemporary modernity. Other project trainees—very few of them—still considered it to be 'their' music. Their knowledge of their musical or cultural Mediterranean neighbours was limited to globalised stereotypes and generalised labels, revealing a lack of sufficient factual knowledge. Their identities appeared to be multicultural, being consumers of world musical styles such as blues, jazz, Celtic music, Irish music, Latin dances, Spanish flamenco, Anglo-American pop, and R&B. Nevertheless, a closer look reveals that such musical worlds are the result of globalisation, through media and music technologies.

The Strategic Importance of Identities in Intercultural Communication

A Cypriot couple with their two young children were standing in the line for the check-in counter in a Spanish airport. They were on their way with an Italian airline to continue their holidays in Italy. Their 5-year-old daughter attended a private kindergarten in Nicosia, in which the classroom educator had applied the Mediterranean project's intercultural methodology and sound materials during the previous school year. An old lady who was standing in front of them made repetitive, unsuccessful efforts to communicate with the child. The mother explained to the child that the lady was Italian and encouraged her to sing the Italian song *La bella lavanderina* she had learnt at school. As soon as the lady heard the title, she immediately began singing the song while the child joined in, performing the body movements. Gradually, the entire row began singing and performing the song (mother's report to the kindergarten educator, September 2017).

Identity is an individual's or a social group's source of meaning and human communication (Castells, 2010). As this example demonstrates, understanding of 'self' and 'other' helps people to define themselves, provides a strong sense of cultural belongingness and equips them with the confidence to communicate with the other. A sense of belonging to a particular culture allows for a dialectical relationship with the different 'other'. Huntington (1993) writes that 'identity at any level … can only be defined in relation to an "other", a different person, tribe, race or civilization' (p. 129), with reference to 'kinship, occupational, cultural, institutional, territorial, educational, partisan, ideological and others' (ibid., p. 128). Identity formation

requires differences that define the content and processes of a culture and the boundaries at which a different culture begins and another ends (Hall, 1996). Such boundaries, as discussed earlier, can be also fluid, often contextually formulated as a result of multiple cultural consciousnesses (Pieridou Skoutella, 2015, p. 255) and tensions between tradition and modernity, and social class differentiation. During a school excursion to a rural restaurant, a girl of upper-middle-class status with dominant contemporary identity was seen dancing a Greek-oriental dance on a table. On the one hand this kind of musical behaviour points to a different cultural identity connected with ideologies of lower social class, while on the other hand it demonstrates musical competence and enjoyment. Multiple cultural 'consciousnesses' allow musical hybridisations, syncretism and interculturality to evolve. They can lead to a broadening of children's and adults' musical and cultural experiences, thus promoting dialogues between the diversity of their musical and cultural worlds, and taking account of different needs.

Identity is of great importance for human self-esteem, self-knowledge, self-presentation and efficient human communication, as the episode at the beginning of this section demonstrated. My use of the term 'identity' is in alignment with the exercise of human agency (Bandura, 2006), the whole person's 'being-in-the-world' (Lave & Wenger, 1991), and the human need to express oneself in order to (a) realise one's potential to the fullest and (b) place oneself socially, locally, ethnically, historically and culturally, exercising this agency in shaping one's life path. Identity formation includes the two mutually constituted processes of negotiated differentiation and integration, where elements from the global and the local stand in a dialectical relationship that negotiates, constructs, reconstructs, formulates and articulates a musical identity in a particular context, time, and place. Such relationships allow the local to be dislocated, relocated or modified while serving as an active ingredient and determining factor in its existence and transformation. As the example with the Italians and the child revealed, deep factual knowledge promotes cross-cultural and intercultural communication. Eventually, by singing the Italian song, the Cypriot child did not 'lose' her Cypriot identity. Rather she reinforced it by reaching out to joyfully perform a song that belonged to the cultural identity of the 'other', the Italian woman at the airport check-in line. At the same time, being Italian was not reaffirmed in a rigid way, but in a sharing manner of positive emotions initiated by the Italian lady and supported by the young child's intercultural skills and knowledge of the 'other'.

Young children shift with ease from one musical identity to another. They also creatively break the generic distinctions between composers, listeners, and performers in fluid, interchangeable and combined ways. They do so according to the musical, contextual, social and structural meanings of each particular sound and musical performance which are then combined with their personal choice, potential, preference—and with their envisioned musical self and relationships with peers and significant adults. Such observations suggest, with some certainty, that the gap between educators' and educational policy makers' pre-determined music lessons and fixed educational 'recipes' and young children and their contextual forms of music learning is even bigger and deeper—and the need to take action is more demanding—

than generally assumed. In addition, my research showed that adult-educators' professional and musical identity and young children's musical learning and communication are interrelated and interconnected, since they are the two most important participants during the music lesson. Therefore, the proposed framework includes a shared theoretical and methodological framework for both children's learning and educators' training.

An Anthropological Perspective and Principles of Interculturalism

This anthropological, intercultural framework goes beyond the narrow definitions of interculturality based on ethnic and national divisions, geographical boundaries, discontinuities and ideological dichotomies and rigid conceptions of imagined purity and authenticity. It goes deeper in order to connect the self to heterogeneity and creativity; recontextualisation and repositioning; continuities and transformations. This intercultural proposal is about the process of historical human struggles between authenticity and mixing—and of continuously testing and exploring the self and 'other', identity and difference, and personal and collective local musical identities. Interculturalism in this chapter refers to interethnic, interreligious and intergenerational/cross-age relations, inter-lingual relations, and time–space relations. An important principle of interculturalism is that of difference, including differences between people and generations, between children and adults, between each person's personal, idiosyncratic, social, cultural and unique biography, their environment and history (Burnard, Mackinlay, & Powell, 2016; Dietz, 2009).

In both my research studies children demonstrated great flexibility and adaptability that facilitated their emergence as multicultural and intercultural musical individuals. Each individual embodies different, overlapping, conflicting or dislocated musical discourses, and negotiates, produces, reproduces and articulates them according to collective and personal decisions. Children's capacities to 'indigenise' 'the other' assisted them in selecting the musical sounds and identities that their present musical enculturation, larger social structures and historical moments suggest. They articulated them in unique and idiosyncratic ways in various contexts according to personal musical narratives and the ideal self that they wanted to formulate. Children in Galicia Spain, having learnt the handclapping game *Simario* which I located in certain regions of Cyprus and Greece (Pieridou Skoutella, 2015), modified its movements and added new ones.[4] At the same time they tried to refine their rhythmic execution. Their repeated performances led to higher levels of musical competence and to a distinguished sense of personal and collective achievement.

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[4]This game, which Greek Cypriot children call 'Simario' is the Cypriot version of the ring and handclapping elimination game Marsh (2008) named 'Sar Macka Dora'. This game resembles those which Marsh recorded in Springfield Primary School, and which Minks (2013) found on the east coast of Nicaragua. See Pieridou Skoutella (2015) p. 232–233 for more information.

Cypriot children would often share their singing of Italian or Spanish songs with their parents in order to provoke feelings of appreciation and pride, thus raising their social status among their families and peers. Different ideologies and values are foundational for the construction of different musical worlds. Ideologies of modernity, preservation of tradition, religion and nationalism affect children's choices for their musical behaviours and the context-bound formation of their identities. Thus, interculturalism in early childhood music education should offer possibilities to untangle and successfully deal with the 'micropolitics of emplaced, embodied and voiced identity in particular life worlds' (Feld, Fox, Porcello, & Samuels, 2004, p. 340). What I propose also points to the intercultural principles of fluidity, hybridity, syncretism, repositioning and recontextualising, with particular emphasis on the equality of all factors, parameters, actions and choices in intercultural musical experience. Emotions and positive relationships are foundational for this kind of work. Musical products and learning processes gain value from such emotions, which then provide motivation for using them and the 'conviction that one is learning effective steps towards a tangible future and is developing into a defined self within a social reality' (Erikson, 1950/1995, p. 212).

The intercultural framework explored and developed in this project, is genuinely anthropological because it embraces the plurality of 'life worlds' (Schütz, 1967) on a continuum where the past (heritage, tradition, history, belief), the present (knowledge in action and in context) and the future (the sought after ideal self) exist in the temporal landscape of each individual, group, community, region and state, in each present moment of their lives. As intercultural communication and mimetic processes suggest (the latter are explained later in this chapter), all participants seek to 'translate' between human existentials (Merleau-Ponty, 1962), and develop 'reflexive dialogues' with the self and with the 'other's' horizon of comprehension (Dietz, 2009) of the 'infinite immensity of the moment' (Cixous, 1994). Thus, the concept of lived musical experience (Geertz, 1973; Pieridou Skoutella, 2019), which embraces this immensity in each lived moment and points to the principle of difference in the same performance and same musical material in different times and contexts, should also be acknowledged. The lived experience of the music lesson and children's musical enculturation refers to a particular place, time and situation, and includes actions, materials, words, intentions, beliefs and values, tradition and modernity, past and future, the self and other. These are relayed, recontextualised and reconstructed by all the people in embodied actions, expressed words, musical practices, use of space, creation and performance, along with the complex web of contextual details that are organically linked with musical meaning and learning goals.

The Importance of Reflexivity

Throughout the entire process of the project's training and implementation phase, the trainees found themselves in unfamiliar territory, as they worked among different cultural elements that were sometimes familiar and at other times unfamiliar and

strange. Unfamiliarity is often accompanied by a degree of fear; of guilt at doing the wrong thing and being blamed and rejected. Such fear is not necessarily a bad thing, although it might be a reason for withdrawal and negativity. However these emotions encourage and require thoughtfulness, reflexivity and evoke profound cultural learning experiences.

During the 1st days of the course, each trainee remained within their comfort zone and with fixed positioning(s) of their ethnicity, language, and adult/professional identity. Such fixed positionings would often elicit boundaries and verbal disputes, which were dissolved as soon as intercultural, osmotic musical activities began. However, discord leads to intercultural collaboration and is a source of learning. Since intercultural collaboration produces tension, efforts to handle it will elicit learning (Karlsen, Westernlund, & Meittinen, 2016). Deep reflection—including identity deconstruction and reconstruction—and close mentorship helped the trainees to increase their awareness of 'what was going on', and to accept and deal with 'identity shakiness' (Wulf, 1996 cited in Dietz, 2009) and fluidity. Indeed, if the modern 'problem of identity' was how to construct an identity and keep it solid and stable, the postmodern 'problem of identity' is primarily how to avoid fixation and keep the options open (Bauman, 1996, p.18).

The challenge of reflexivity, according to Bourdieu (1990) focuses on principles of difference and equality, as sources of creativity and deeper forms of understanding. The risky border work that we advocate in the contact zones where human subjects collide does not elide differences, nor does it reify them. It does not seek to flatten out or homogenise our specificities. Rather, through reflexivity and careful listening, and through a willingness to suspend meaning, it opens up possibilities for deep engagement across difference and for transformation into the future. This is pedagogy of ethnical uncertainty entailing mutual responsibilities and unpredictability within pedagogical relationships (Sommerville, Davies, Power, Gannon, & de Carteret, 2011).

The educators' concluding comments point clearly to how they personalised the process along with the essence of negotiating relationships:

B: It was difficult but also interesting—the fact that I was acting as an adult musician while thinking what to do in the classroom, how to connect with the children. Then all the things I had to do with the other people, and I don't know who they are, what they are thinking. In the first part of the week I was checking what to do in relation to the other people. The most difficult part, the most interesting thing for me. I had to mature because of all these and stop only comparing 'I am Italian and you are Greek or Spanish'.

A: And how did you deal with it?

B: So…first I was seeing. I was observing the relationships, the way to do the activities. Then, there was a playful atmosphere, so I thought, 'Okay, I can...I can speak with them'. I know something more and I have to share with the others. Then I thought what's my way of thinking, my way of doing things in music.. That I…that we were not so different at all (laughter), so I felt comfortable after 2 days' time (laughter).

C: I focused on how you and I find a common way of working together, so I found that we were not so different. You give me something new and you get something new and let's meet…… with singing, dancing, I was more comfortable with the other, and without speaking a word (laughter), I was in communication. And in music I make social relationships and with others in the educational way.

> *D: I don't feel different; it is not about being Italian anymore or about being older, but different in terms of personality, of a different way that is mine. There were different ways of thinking, ways of teaching music, ways of interacting; differences.*
> *(The interview took place in Italian language with the help of a translator. Occasionally the interviewees would use English language instead.)*

Such personalised interculturalism involves multiple belongings and issues that are not only choice, since we are all connected in one way or another and our identity acquires meaning by being accountable to the 'other' meaning.[5] Musical learning is about becoming a kind of person musically. All the participants/learners act and react, adding personal meanings and new skills, by simultaneously attending to feedback. During such processes there is a 'vitalising sense of actuality from the awareness that his (sic) individual way of mastering experience (his ego synthesis) is a successful variant of a group identity and is in accord with its space-time and life span' (Erikson, 1950/1995, p. 212).

'In-between' cultural selves do not constitute ahistorical social actors, who float above those who are socially and historically located; rather, they are formed in the context of customs, traditions, memories, prejudices and perceptions. Singing a Basque or Cypriot lullaby or carols for different seasons of the year, the distinctiveness of cultural tradition is documented in the labelling of the lullaby or the carol, its language and its culture of origin. Commonality is acknowledged by the joint enterprise of sharing lullaby or carol singing and their performance.[6] Sounds, rhythms and dance movements have been traveling around the Mediterranean region for centuries. There is the Italian song *Alla fiera del' Est* sung by the Italian singer Brandouardi in 1976 which was translated into Greek and performed in Greek by the male singer Lavrenti Macheritsa a few years ago. The song is based on the cumulative Hebrew Passover song *Chad Gadya*, also found in an Israeli movie back in 1947. The song is based on a German melody from the sixteenth century. Eventually, educator-trainees realised how easy it is to challenge notions of 'your' versus 'my' music and 'authentic' versus 'syncretic', because music travels around the Mediterranean and beyond, taking different musical meanings and performances.

Aristotelian Mimesis and Children's Pretend Play

Mediterranean in-betweenness unfolds in its people's hierarchies of values, beliefs and expressive practices. Young children embrace this fluidity, difference and multiplicity of identities and recontextualisation with confidence, excitement, artistic

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[5] Although a rich and complex interanimation of voices and identities was documented, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to go into further detail and discussion.

[6] See Marsh and Dieckmann's (2016) discussion on creating a shared intercultural space and intercultural identity through lullaby sharing.

interpretation, and skilful action, leading the way, in their classrooms and beyond, on a 'musical journey between and among identities' (Bohlman, 2011, p. 14). The application of mimesis—integral to the relationships between art and nature and art and humans, and to the interrelations between signs within works of art—was deemed most successful in dealing with these complexities and allowing other imaginative, mindful and embodied realities to flourish.

> *The instinct of imitation is implanted in men from childhood, one difference between him and other animals being that he is the most imitative of living creatures, and through imitation learns his earliest lessons; and no less universal is the pleasure felt in things imitated.* (Aristotle, *Poetics,* 1448 5–10)

The ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle, considered music to be the most mimetic and most expressive form of art, as it expresses *emotion* in the most authentic way (Leontsini, 2009, p. 146). 'That which we call today creative imagination, embodies the formulation of a truly imaginative act which requires knowledgeable actor(s) and skilful imitator(s)' (*Poetics*, 1455, p.38). European art music provides an example of a musical culture of diverse hybridity and syncretism, whose composers mastered multicultural and intercultural compositional/improvisational strategies in representing and articulating subtle human emotions, intimate thoughts and high ideals in a constant dialogue between the local, the national, the distant, the past and the present. Beethoven's work, which is emotionally intense, utilises such multiple consciousnesses in ways that show how to embrace them and master them in order to represent and articulate central European consciousness.

For Aristotle, mimesis is not only related to the representation or re-creation of objects but also to the possibility of changing them in order to beautify them, and to improve and universalise individual qualities. Regarding mimesis in dance Aristotle wrote that the imitations of dancers imitate through rhythm itself without harmony, for they, too, through their figured rhythms, imitate both characters, and emotions and actions as well[7] (*Poetics,* 1447a 26–28). According to Davis (1999):

> *At first glance, mimesis seems to be a stylizing of reality in which the ordinary features of our world are brought into focus by a certain exaggeration, …. Imitation always involves selecting something from the continuum of experience, thus giving boundaries to what has really no beginning or end. The more 'real' the imitation the more fraudulent it becomes.*

I have elsewhere written about the relationship between identity, Aristotelian mimesis and pretend play, analysing Greek Cypriot school children's pretend play (2015).[8] I discussed how the temporal character and imaginative features of mimesis creatively break the generic distinctions between composers, listeners, and performers, learners and teachers, offering multiple overlapping, contextual, shifting and workable identities. Mimesis facilitates emerging 'authenticities' by accessing

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[7] 'In dancing rhythm alone is used without 'harmony'; for even dancing imitates character, emotion and action by rhythmical movement' (*Poetics,* 1447a 26–28, direct translation)

[8] Also see Minks (2013) for mimesis and intertextuality in speech and songs in Miskitu children's expressive practices in Nicaragua.

the 'feeling-full' part of people. Young children are capable not only of recognising similarities (reception) but also of producing similarities (spontaneity):

> *In a classroom with 2.5 to 3-year-old children the educator wanted to teach the binary form of the Italian song Alla fiera del' Est. She asked them to form a circle and move for the first phrase to the left and the second phrase to the right. The children were stepping on each other, gazing in space without concentration, motivation and understanding of the activity. I saw a couple of children moving their hands like waves. I invited the children to sit on their chairs, which were placed in a circle. I asked them to imagine that they are in the sea (the previous lesson was about the sea and being in a boat) and that they could use their arms to show how they feel with the music and the sea. Several children started to move their arms like waves. Gradually, all the children entered into the activity, while their arm movements clearly reflected the song's dynamics, phrasing and melodic contour. One boy sat still throughout the activity with his arms above his head, as if covering his head in an arch shape. When the activity was over, we asked him how he felt and what he was representing. His answer was that he was the rock which the sea waves hit on and he had to stay still all the time, just like the rock (Pieridou Skoutella, field notes).*

They can also draw from different voices that reflect the history of the Mediterranean region. In Corfu, during free play in their classroom, 5-year-old children sang the Cypriot song *Ntili Ntili* in Cypriot dialect. Boys danced to its Greek variant with their arms upon each other's shoulders and kicked their feet inside the circle; a movement which recalls a type of Serbian male dance, demonstrating their awareness of a sound signifier of masculinity. Their movement improvisations of the Italian song *Alla fiera del' Est* signified an Italian Renaissance dance (due to Italian colonial history of the island) with similarities to the *Kerkiraïkos* (Corfu) folk dance.

Mimesis in the arts implies a deep knowledge of particular experiences, thereby allowing a new representation of nature, values, ideas, artworks, forms and knowledge. As Socrates points out, it is a prerequisite for someone 'to have knowledge and skills' [technikon] (425d4–426b1). Children's pretend play and mimesis in music show how they can master such intercultural artistic musical behaviours along with deep, imaginative skills, while at the same time revealing a need to acquire musical skills in order to engage in more highly imaginative activities. For children, crossing and mixing musical languages and elements, dance movements and linguistic codes was not a problem. This is the result of living in an environment of such diverse, heteroglossic societies in postcolonial settings on the margins of Europe; observing, playing and pretend-playing and then repeating and reflecting as they acquire the skills for living with those contradictions (Minks, 2013, p. 135).

Observation of each class (in both pieces of research) in which class members select roles, workable identities, and socio-musical relations with each other, while embarking on a musical journey, is imperative for a deep understanding of mimetic processes. Children's collaborations are highly self-regulatory, incorporating interpersonal strategies of relating and expressing, leading and following, and in the process, selecting and rejecting musical ideas. Thus, the physical space of the classroom is transformed into a multiple articulated context with numerous possibilities.

Mimesis is an activity in the present (Aristotle: *Poetics*), just like music, and its embodiment and representation in a continuous present incorporate direct experience of existing musical identities, identity-in-process and a final transformed identity. Mimesis allows people to 'place themselves in imaginative cultural narratives' (Frith, 1996, p.122), a process that appears natural to young children because for them the creation and performance happen simultaneously. Participants in mimetic processes improve their knowledge insofar as they become a part of the object/event/action; namely, they experience a real mimesis of the particular object/event/action.

For Aristotle and children, mimesis is related not only to the representation or re-creation of objects but also to the possibility of changing them in order to beautify them and improve and universalise their unique qualities. Representation refers to the process and outcome of something (i.e. object, person, event, action, ideological voice, etc.) that is intended to signify something else and, as such, is recognised by the actors and the audience. Imitation and representation coexist; in fact, imitation is a subcategory of presentation.

Teaching plans and videotaped lessons from the project offered syntheses of different cultural values, elements and processes from the Mediterranean; from near and far, from history, mythology, modernity and tradition. Young children represented actions, feelings and characters through bodily gestures, incorporating and performing musical elements as well as movements that were rhythmical, melodically expressive, formally defined, and idiosyncratically improved. Children adopted roles through play, which Schwartzman (1982) terms 'identity metaphors' according to their perceived ability to successfully match this role. They chose who was going to be the butterfly and the swallow that travel across the Mediterranean to find the moon and ask the sun for marriage. Different songs and melodic patterns reflected these characters that were performed by the children who 'feel' that they have the potential and then envision these sought-after identities. They chose who was suited to dance the Cypriot traditional song *Dili Dili*, or perform the actions of the Italian song *La bella lavanderina* and who would be the train driver who invites the passengers with a specific rhythmic pattern to come on board from a Spanish children's song. Prerequisites for this 'metaphoric fit' (Schwartzman, 1982) in this dramatic art included socio-ideological understanding of adults and of structures, and what they mean to children, their taste, potential and imagined social relationships, and identities. They chose which musical games to play in order to demonstrate their rhythmic, movement and linguistic competence. Spanish and Italian children were repeatedly executing the hand-clapping game *Simario*, while the Italian game *La Bella lavanderina* and the Spanish song *Corre en trencito* became popular in Greece and Cyprus.

Bateson (1973) notes that play requires the meta-communicative exchange of signals between those taking part that carry the message 'this is play', rather than 'this is real'. The signal is provided by a 'frame', a meaningful action through which one player organises the perception of another to 'attend to what is within [the play] and … not attend to what is outside' (p.160). Socrates' discussion of *technē* (189)

proposed that going through the playful way is legitimised, since even 'the Gods love play' (406b10–13). Playfulness is authorised by the belief in 'love of play' as a distinguishing characteristic of the Gods. Young children's actions and musical behaviours are in complete alignment with Socrates' proposition, since playfulness is also their characteristic. Mimesis is a strategy in their musical play performances, since they incorporate, adopt, reproduce and recreate those elements from the wider cultural and musical worlds that are possible within their personal and collective limitations. Children's pretend play—such as staging and restaging the Eurovision Song Contest within the physical space of the afternoon club in Nicosia (Pieridou Skoutella, 2015, pp. 204–211)—shows how they use and reuse cultural voices as a way to fit their taste, needs, potential, and understanding of success and pleasure. Their representation is both similar to and different from the original, professional performances, thereby showing the essence of their musical worlds, in the sense of what is commonly believed to be the ideal (οία αν γένοιτο = exactly as it could have been) (Aristotle, *Poetics* 9). No one performance is the same—social, cultural and musical roles each evolve, develop, interchange and reach higher standards of musical performance, creativity, and artistic representation, while pretend play allows time for open-ended plots (Schwartzman, 1982, p. 237).

With mimesis, children and educators embark on improvisational drama. The object of the drama is staged and communicates certain, clear messages to its audience (including an imaginative audience). Mimesis requires and offers complete totality of experience, reconnecting with past events, rearranging them into something new and different, and also manipulating symbols originating in varying cultural conventions and situations so as to acquire new, often sophisticated meanings. Pretend play, in particular, requires exaggerated staging of this recontextualisation. The representation of powerful images communicates the musical narrative. It creates an imaginary world, representations of the symbolic space, and a final metaphor. Such images certainly have a material, corporeal existence, often incorporating scenes of parody of daily, embedded social interactions (Minks, 2013) in which, eventually, a complex, fluid and overlapping assemblage of identities emerges. Children were well able to use past events, orchestrating them into something new, different and better by applying illusion, fiction and deception. With their imaginative work, they were able to deal with negative emotions of tension, fear and anxiety, to release them and transform them into positive emotions. Their pretend-play themes in the teaching units shared these characteristics:

1. Courage to meet something *familiar* (music education practices) *in an unfamiliar form*, or vice versa, through a kind of adventurous journey for a common cause in the Mediterranean;
2. Independence and assertiveness to make the decision to take this journey and to find the solution collaboratively, arranging and rearranging musical identities, the tools and resources in order to succeed;
3. Compassionate love, solidarity and friendship. In one teaching unit, departing from the Italian song *Il mio capelo*, in which an elf loses his hat, children were

searching for it, employing serious, imaginative work which incorporated cultural, physical and musical elements from the classroom and the Mediterranean;

4. The presence of a facilitative agent—a magical or supernatural figure—such as a mermaid, a boat or a train with magical and musical qualities, or a magician/witch who assisted the children in their endeavours.

Processes of bricolage existed in abundance and musical styles acquired a meaning that was far removed from its creation, incorporating elements of social and musical hierarchies. Interestingly, media and television heroes were not brought into play. According to Minks (2013), this kind of recombination creates *intertextuality*, which becomes a resource for intercultural practice (p. 108). Intertextuality refers to the recontextualisation or repositioning from one signifying system to another and is a communicative process of creating relationships between different forms of discourse (Minks, 2013, pp. 121–122).

There are different and overlapping kinds, and levels, of intertextuality and mimesis. The classroom work and children's play focused on the structural level of social structures, local and historical customs, and religious festivities. In Majorca, children drew connections with the celebrations of St. Anthony, creating connections between the Italian song *O che bel castelo* and St. Anthony's fight against the demons, invoking such discourses during play. The findings from the project also pointed to the level of musical culture and linguistic systems and their overlapping levels of discourse, transported from one system/culture to the other. The findings also point to the levels of musical genres, cultural symbols and signifiers and the more emergent and context-defined interactional switching and mixing of codes. Such techniques have been central to facilitating the crossing of musical culture-specific and ethnically cultural linguistic competences. Therefore these techniques allow the emergence of bi-musical and poly-musical competences. A class of children in Rome transformed the character of *Mastra Antre* from the Italian song *Alla fiera di Mastr' Antre* into a magician with Mediterranean magical spells. These spells corresponded to melodic and linguistic phrases or rhythmic ostinati such as *Marti Marti mou kale* (= March, March, my dear, which is a phrase from an ancient Greek carol). In the Madrid school the magician of friendship *Ela mazi mou* (= come with me) came alive. This melodic and linguistic phrase is found in the Greek Cypriot children's handclapping game *Sto Zappeio*. Children embraced the game and the emerging magician and recontextualised the game in their own handclapping way. Thus, children were able to access singing in Greek more easily. There were also linkages and extensions with contemporary situations. A class in Corfu, having learnt the Italian song *La bella lavanderina* (= the beautiful washerwoman), recontextualised it and created a songbook about Valentina, the Greek washerwoman who was washing the clothes of the poor immigrants in Greece.

This discussion suggests that children's intercultural music learning is not about sameness, but rather about *solidarity for a common cause,* negotiating and presenting multiple ways through truly being *with* the other. A Cypriot class designed a journey to help the Italian elf find its hat. They transformed the classroom into a Mediterranean context made up of synergies between musical and cultural actions

that were working towards a shared goal. In the teaching unit *Babá Elephante*, inspired by the Spanish children song *El Elephante* the elephant *Babá* is facing a problem. He has lost the treasure box and its ring, and he needs children's help to find his way home to Spain. A series of children's games from the four countries were employed leading to a final intercultural performance that signified *Babá's* success in reaching home. During the training course the trainees collaborated in producing one common song and an open air interactive performance with the children and parents from the town of Corfu in Greece. All the differences that they had encountered in their collaborative work brought disputes and disagreements, trials and errors but were at the same time sources of strength because a prerequisite for success was the combination of differences—and not similarities—that complement and strengthen each other. The focus on a higher purpose, on a shared need/problem, and the context of solidarity was greater than their individuality. Thus children and trainees became highly motivated on this journey. All of them narrated their own yet other story of travelling and empathising through and within Mediterranean music, culture and people in producing artistic results greater than the sum of each part.

Conclusion

On the one hand, Mediterranean interculturalism is this in-betweenness which lays bare the possibility for power and privilege to be manipulated/used/represented so as to perpetuate and reproduce dominance, power inequality, and ideological high versus low distinctions of the self in relation to the 'other'. On the other hand, children and adults in this study showed the way in which musical preferences and music-making and learning are personalised and negotiated through context, and musical becoming. Their mimetic music-making and pretend play, words and actions demonstrated the skills for living, creating, communicating and relating, masterfully dealing with and within these circumstances and creating their own narratives with their own rules. Sameness and difference, dispute and coexistence, going beyond the borders of oneself (Cixous, 1994), and acting from one's own cultural position (Turino, 2000) represent both sides of the same coin, thus being key characteristics of interculturalism.

Interculturalism is driven by and cultivates positive emotions and feelings. The need to go to the source, which is the self (and its lived, embodied actions), the purpose and look for the 'why' and the motivation, for these are all important signs in evaluating whether, and to what extent, the focus is giving the self for the good of the 'other'. The implementation of an intercultural framework in early childhood and in educators' training, together with more research, will further illuminate this new perspective. It will provide the necessary knowledge to design effective learning/teaching practices for all those involved and to plant the seeds for efficacious, intercultural, cosmopolitan musical identities, behaviours and actions. This will

assist children (and adults) as they mature in resisting ideological dilemmas, increasing their awareness of their creativity and living more joyful musical lives. Then they might be able, each in his/her own particular special way, to positively contribute to social change, cultural production and transformation within the possibilities of the microcosm of their daily lives.

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Chapter 11
Self-Initiated Musicking in Kindergarten as Instances of Emancipation: The Case of Arabic Speaking Young Children in Israel

Claudia Gluschankof

Introduction

Three- to six-year-old Palestinian children growing up in Israel belong simultaneously to a variety of groups and communities. They share the same status as young children from other religions and ethno-nationalities, and all attend kindergarten, since it is compulsory. They belong to the Palestinian minority in Israel, the largest one in the country, whose first language is Arabic, and their society is in transition from a traditional to a modern one. They do not belong to the religious majority (Judaism): the majority are Muslims and the minority are Christians belonging to a variety of denominations. They also differ in the degree of religiosity in their families. In the recent past the majority used to live in villages, but nowadays a large number live in cities and towns. Those who live in villages are exposed only to Arabic in everyday life, while those who live in mixed cities and towns, are also exposed to Hebrew. In addition to those differences, the socioeconomic status of these children's families is also varied. Summarizing, these young children belong to a variety of groups, depending on their socioeconomic status, their religion and religiosity, and have in common their first language (Arabic) and their ethnicity. Most of those groups share the status of being non-hegemonic, and as such are in some way marginalized. In this Palestinian-Israeli society young children are viewed as "becoming", and as such are also marginalized (Lee, 1998). Adopting a postcolonial perspective can help to analyze and interpret their reality. This chapter explores from a postcolonial critical perspective, the ways in which these young children express themselves in and through music, exercising agency, and ultimately—emancipation.

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Early Childhood Education from a Postcolonial Perspective

Originally, the term colonialism denoted the arrival of settlers and this meaning of colonialism included the appropriation of territories, together with their resources, and forcefully imposing upon the cultural practices of the indigenous populations (Patel, 2014). This colonial domination "has been sustained by modernist ideas of linear progress and development, certainty and objectivity, universality and totalization, and the reduction of diversity and complexity" (Dahlberg, Moss, & Pence, 2007, p. 160). This view of the world had been developed during the European Enlightenment and served Western imperialists and colonialists in their actions. This view comprises definitions considered to be absolute truths; of what it is to be a human being and what is considered to be knowledge, language and literacy (Cannella & Viruru, 2004). Even when the colonized countries are formally independent, these values and culture of the colonizer continue to be prevalent (Nettl, 2016).

Through these universals, the colonized are studied, considered and understood, and in so doing, the colonizers view and construct them as the 'other' (Viruru, 2001). Consequently, colonialism "imposes 'distinction' as an 'ideological yardstick' against which others are measured and found wanting" (Macedo, 1999 in Viruru, 2005, p. 10). However, Cannella and Viruru argue that the 'others' consist not only of the indigenous inhabitants of the colonized lands, but also those in the society that are measured against the construction of the Westernized adult male (2002, 2004). Children, that is younger human beings, "are the largest group of people who have been othered, marginalized, and colonized" (Cannella, 2002, p. 9).

The contemporary, still dominant, Western discourse regarding children, sees them as a universal phenomenon sharing identical characteristics, based predominantly on white middle class models of development and merely acknowledging some differences in other cultures, mainly related to childrearing and educational strategies (Burman, 2008a). This discourse "has resonances with economic developmental policies whose global direction via multinational organisations and corporations . . . are shaping and constraining the contexts for individual and national development" (Burman, 2008b, p. 2). Children are studied, described, analyzed, and measured through pre-established parameters against the end product: an adult (male) human being. Testing and observing are one means of doing so. This treatment leads to labelling children, to representing them in specific forms, and to imposing upon them positions that "can be categorized as oppressive, controlling, and even colonizing" (Cannella & Viruru, 2004, p. 83).

Western modernist thought established language as the only form of communication, since it is the most effective way to convey valued knowledge. Colonization was maintained through language (Tiffin & Lawson, 1994 in Cannella & Viruru, 2004). Language was, and by many is still considered to be, the medium that separates civilization and barbarism (Seed, 1991 in Cannella & Viruru, 2004). Those who use written language are considered the more civilized. In this sense, babies, toddlers and children, fall into the category of "barbarians", since they have not

mastered spoken and written language. But babies are able to communicate with their caretakers, and this is a phenomenon that has been observed worldwide: they do it through "discrete behavioral events—coos, syllables, utterances and gestures, phrases, and longer elements" (Trevarthen & Malloch, 2012, p. 251), conveying emotional information, in what they have termed communicative musicality. However, emotional information is not an objective, absolute truth, therefore not important for the Western modernist. This is another instance of a controlling and oppressive position towards children, even an expression of 'childism', that is, prejudice against children (Young-Bruhel, 2013), that can be challenged through a postcolonial critique.

In educational settings for 3- to 6-year-olds (preschool or kindergarten, depending on the country), much time is allocated to language literacy skills, and much research is carried out on this topic (e.g. Shanahan & Lonigan, 2010 identified over 8000 published articles). Statements such as "high quality preschool experiences are known to foster language and early learning, and early reading skill heavily determines children's later success" (Dickinson & Porche, 2011, p. 870) and "literacy instruction is viewed by many as a foundation for education reform" (Xue & Meisels, 2004, p. 191) represent the dominance of the spoken and written language in the Western modernist education model. Within this model, the place and value of non-linguistic modes of meaning-making and representation are not valued, and consequently, less time is spent on them during the school day.

Nevertheless, babies, toddlers and young children make meaning and represent their constructed knowledge of the world through a variety of ways, and not only through language, as illustrated by Nyland (2019, this volume). "When making signs people bring together and connect the available form that is most apt to express the meaning they want to express at a given moment" (Jewitt, 2006, p. 21). For young children the available forms include kinaesthetic, visual and sounding modes, and it is not unusual for them to combine modalities; young children are essentially multimodal (Flewitt, 2006). While dominant systems marginalize those modalities, early childhood education approaches have typically placed emphasis on multimodal approaches. Notable among these is the Reggio Emilia approach that recognizes and fosters these types of meaning-making and representations of knowledge. Written and spoken language thus becomes just one among the "hundred languages" the children think in and through (Edwards, Gandini, & Forman, 1998). Positioning and equalising other modalities and literacies, can therefore be considered a decolonizing early childhood education approach.

Decolonizing Early Childhood: The Kindergarten

The kindergarten, that is the educational setting and pedagogy for 3- to 5/6-year-olds, was created and developed by Friedrich Froebel during the second quarter of the nineteenth century in Thuringia, Prussia. This model that included specific learning materials and environments for young children, was adopted in other

countries from the nineteenth century (Read, 2006). This was made possible through the kindergarten teachers who studied in Berlin at the Pestalozzi-Froebel Haus, a teachers' seminar established in 1873 by Henrietta Scharder-Breymann, Froebel's niece (Snapir, Sitton, & Russo-Zimet, 2012). Kindergarten teachers who graduated from this institution, or from institutions founded by its graduates in other countries, such as the USA and England, set up this type of institution in their countries at the beginning of the twentieth century (e.g. Shon, 2002 in Korea; Snapir et al., 2012 among the Hebrew speaking population in Ottoman Palestine; Boullata, 2009 among the Arabic speaking population in British Mandate Palestine). These types of institutions colonized children as such, but doubly colonized children in colonized countries, since these institutions were, and still mostly are, what Wyatt calls "context-blind" (Wyatt, 2014). They viewed children through the lens of the universal child, regardless of their indigenous background.

Just as colonizers aimed at "civilizing" the indigeneous population, so children have likewise to be civilized in kindergartens (Cannella & Viruru, 2004). Civilization implies liberating the children from their bodies, teaching them how to control them, and how "to recreate their bodies in the image of the 'controlled' adult male" (Cannella, 2002, p. 206). In educational settings, the use of time and space is controlled by the adults, and is used as a tool to teach children to regulate themselves. Most of the preschools and kindergartens that adopted the European-American model, based on the Froebelian one, are designed in such a way that include areas where children are expected to engage in specific themes (dramatic play, music, construction, for example), at specific time slots (outdoor playtime as opposite to indoor activities time), alone, in small groups or in the large group (Hatch, 2005; Plotnik & Eshel, 2007).

There are, though, approaches that are designed on democratic principles, recognizing the children as agents of their own learning and with the capacity to act as decolonizers, in the sense that these approaches value non-dominant and non-Western epistemologies and constructions of childhood, language and multiple interpretations of literacy (Swadener & Mutua, 2007). One of them is the Norwegian Framework Plan for the Content and Tasks of Kindergartens (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2006 in Aasen, Grindheim, & Waters, 2009). It is based on and aims at democratic values: tolerance, respect for life, justice, equality between sexes, honesty, truth. These values can best be experienced and internalised in informal situations in outdoor play, where children can choose what, how, when, with whom and with what to engage, and adults are there to mediate, when needed. Another approach that can be considered to be a decolonizer is the one developed at the kibutz movement by Levin (1989), and is based on the "flow of activity", meaning that each child chooses the activity that she or he prefers, and continues for as long as they wish, controlling the use of time, although less the use of space.

Although there are some approaches in early childhood education that acknowledge the agency of children, and do not aim at controlling—colonizing—them, these are not the dominant ones. Non-Western children are then, twice colonized: both as children within the education system and as members of the indigeneous populations, as is the case of Israeli Palestinian young children.

Early Childhood (Music) Education of Israeli Palestinians: A Colonizing Project

The following description is from Issa Boullata, a Palestinian scholar who was born in Jerusalem during the British Mandate of Palestine.

> *This was serious learning in kindergarten but it was absorbed by us children in play and was conveyed to us by pleasant methods. But there was also fun for fun's sake, like drawing with crayons, and playing with plastic dough to make invented figures, and singing rhymes and ditties, acting some of the latter with movements of the hands, fingers, and arms to represent—for example—the swimming of fish, the flying of birds, the turning of the wheel, and the clapping of children at play, in one particular song. Unconsciously this fun was also a learning process and an acculturation to school discipline and common social living. There was also time for complete silence and rest when we children laid our heads on the little table at which each of us sat, pillowing our heads on our folded arms, and closing our eyes for a nap, which was especially blissful on hot afternoons. (Boullata, 2009, p. 30)*

Boullatta's memories from the 1930s could match descriptions of young children attending kindergarten 50 years ago, or last year in many countries, and demonstrates that those kindergartens were, and are, context-blind. This model was brought to Palestine during the British Mandate, and it is very similar to the present one found in Israel in State-funded institutions, both amongst the Hebrew and Arabic speaking populations.

Israel is a small country, situated in the East of the Mediterranean basin, with a majority Jewish population and a minority Arab population (Muslim and Christian Palestinians, Bedouins, Druze). "It is a nation influenced by Western culture existing together with a Middle-Eastern heritage, including values and practices ranging from highly orthodox religious perspectives to secular ways of life" (Lavee & Katz, 2003, p. 194). The Israeli system of education is streamed by language (Hebrew or Arabic), as well as by degree of religiosity. This system, which stemmed from the millet one (a separate court of law for each confessional community) installed in the Ottoman empire could be regarded as a decolonizing space, but considering the complexity of the singing repertoire found in Arabic speaking kindergartens in Israel it is hardly so (Schneider, 2014). This repertoire includes mainly songs for children from Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine and folk songs (not aimed specifically for children), but also includes songs for children translated from English, French and Hebrew, and songs learnt from TV programs (Gluschankof, 2017). Translated songs impose non-indigenous models on the Arabic speaking children, both in the content and the musical style (tonality, rhythms, harmonic accompaniment and style of arrangement in the recorded versions). New initiatives have tried to offer culturally sensitive songs for this population. One, through the program "Boustan el alhan" (The garden of sounds), set up by The Karev Program for Educational Involvement in 2003 aimed "to create and develop high quality musical materials: songs, poems, and tuneful stories in Arabic" (Badmor-Yaron, 2010, p. 40). Its repertoire is culturally sensitive, but the lyrics are essentially educational, if not didactical; that is, they serve as a means to teach the children the correct ways to behave, as well as conveying information that is valued by society. This type of repertoire is

an expression of the developmental model, that sees childhood as a stage towards adulthood: the end product.

A very recent initiative, "Charaz Mghana", developed by Beit Almusica, a Palestinian non-governmental organisation (NGO) based in Shefa-Amr (Israel), published a new collection "suitable for children and true to the Palestinian present music culture in Israel" (Gluschankof, 2017, p. 256). The texts are not didactic, and include subjects relevant to children as such. The collection's authors invited composers to create the texts according to the singing characteristics of Western young children. This decision was made because no research into the singing skills of Arabic-speaking young children has been carried out. As the academic advisor of the team, I was aware that we were adopting a Western model, both because we were looking for developmentally appropriate melodies, and those that are appropriate for Western children. The singing abilities of Arabic-speaking children, and specifically those of Palestinian children who live in two musical systems—the Western tonal and the Middle-Eastern 'maqam' (modes that include three quarters of tones)—have not been studied. Aware of those limitations, we intend to study this issue, recording children singing those songs and conducting a culture-sensitive study. The team hope that this new collection will not only enrich the singing repertoire in kindergartens, but also facilitate an open-ended and dialogical engagement with the teaching community. Ball (2010) suggests that this type of engagement "can illuminate how to bring knowledge and tools from research together with local knowledge and approaches to address culturally defined goals for children's early learning and development" (p. 26).

Music has a special place in the kindergarten curriculum, since it is the only subject that is usually taught by music specialists once a week (ordinarily), to the whole group. Music classes can be a mechanism for controlling children, both in their use of space and time. While in about 90% of the Hebrew-speaking non-orthodox kindergartens, music specialists are hired by the local authority or by a public foundation, in the Arab sector there are few kindergartens where music is taught by specialists. Local authorities find it difficult to provide for and in addition, there is a shortage of Arabic-speaking music specialists (Gluschankof, 2008). The "Boustan El Alhan" program was created by a Hebrew-speaking music teacher together with Palestinian musicians to make it possible for Arabic-speaking children to learn music (Badmor-Yaron, 2010). This program replicates Western views of music, that is, an 'art form', that only those musically educated are able to appreciate. According to these views, there are categories—art music, ethnic music, popular music—all of them stemming from an ethnocentric perspective. Music pieces are considered artifacts to appreciate (Mac Naughton, 2005; Nettl, 2016; Shifres & Gonnet, 2015). Western beliefs prevail as to who can teach music, that is, only music specialists, (although not specialized in early childhood education) and to what a music class should entail, such as teacher led group singing, guided listening to recorded versions of valued music pieces and preparing the children to listen to them within the context of a live concert. It is, however, culturally responsive regarding the music pieces chosen for listening (it includes Arab music); the instruments the children are exposed to (some of the teachers accompany themselves with Arab

instruments such as derbakeh and 'ud); and the singing repertoire. It nevertheless, does not include musical expressions that children experience in their families, such as playing and dancing at engagement celebrations and weddings. Maybe this is a way of "seeking ways to ensure the survival, or revival, of their cultural beliefs, values and practices while at the same time in many cases wanting to ensure that their members have access to and competence in the dominant society" (Dahlberg, Moss, & Pence, 2007, pp. 166–7).

Formal music education, both to the dominant society and the minority one, may marginalize and repress children instead of empowering and emancipating them, since it perpetuates inequities of privilege and opportunity (Bates, 2017). These issues, related to social justice, are present more and more in contemporary discourses in mainstream music education (e.g. Benedict, Schmidt, Spruce, & Woodford, 2015; Frankenberg et al., 2016; Vaugeois, 2007), but absent in early childhood music education literature. This literature, mainly the literature related to practice, but not only, continues to view musical activities as ways to develop not only musical skills (e.g. Howard, Morford, & Campbell, 2013), but also others such as social (e.g. Kirschner & Ilari, 2014), and language skills (Bolduc, 2009). Interestingly, contemporary early childhood scholars are studying and discussing wider issues such as colonialism and postcolonialism (e.g. Viruru, 2001, 2005), emancipation (e.g. Singer, 2005), social justice (Diversi & Moreira, 2012), and power (Mac Naughton, 2005). Following Mac Naughton's suggestion to seek "alternative perspectives on a situation, especially from groups and individuals who experience discrimination and/or marginalisation in a specific regime of truth, (idem, p. 47)", I interpret those alternative perspectives as a mechanism for moving towards emancipation. The following section shows situations where Israeli-Palestinian kindergarten children include musicking (Small, 1998) in times, spaces and ways that escape the control of their teachers.

Emancipation Through Music: Stories from Kindergarten

In Israeli kindergartens, musical activities—mainly song-singing and moving to recorded music—are familiar. They are included in whole class gatherings, celebrations and music lessons. All of them are initiated and controlled by the adults. There are, though, other situations where children may initiate musical activities, and have some control over them, such as during free play, transitions, and small group activities (Gluschankof, 2011). Even when children initiate their musicking (Small, 1998), it is done within the limits established by the adults, of time and space, as already explained.

This section presents episodes featuring Arabic speaking children in one of the few bilingual (Arabic and Hebrew), multicultural state funded kindergartens (Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish-Arab Education in Israel, 2017), and the only one located in an Arab village, attended by Muslim and Jewish 3- to 6-year-old children. Two teachers work with them: an Arabic and a Jewish one. Each teacher is expected

to speak in her first language and teach her culture to the whole group, thus facilitating the learning of the "other" language and culture to all children. For a period of 4 years (2007–2011) I taught music to the whole group once a week on a voluntary basis, staying the whole day looking for self-initiated musical expressions of children, documenting them through fieldnotes and video-recording. The staff and parents gave consent, the children were aware and welcomed me and my camera as part of their weekly routine. The following vignettes describe children musicking in times and spaces that were not designed for such experiences by the teachers; performing repertoire learnt both in kindergarten and out of it, and navigating the cultures they are exposed to in public spaces, at home and at school.

Appropriating Songs Learnt in Kindergarten

Yasmin, Layalee and Zeena (pseudonyms) play, during free play time, outdoors in the sand-box. Zeena sits, holding a doll, while Layalee and Yasmin talk in Arabic. Layalee begins marching and singing "Mamash yom tov" ('A really good day', in Hebrew, written and composed by Z. Kahanovich, a recognized early childhood music educator and composer). Yasmin stops her, talks to her, and begins marching and singing the same song to herself. Layalee joins in, singing louder. Yasmin stops. They chat. Yasmin begins marching and singing with more resolution. Layalee joins her. They sing the whole song, very clearly, reproducing some of the gestures that were decided upon during the whole class gathering.

Tables are set for group activities. At a table, where the teacher has spread out a big white cloth with the word "peace" in English, Hebrew and Arabic. Layalee, Yasmin and another five girls and one boy, all of them Arabic, sit, and draw with felt-tipped markers. They are concentrated on their drawing, mostly of human figures, and chat from time to time. While concentrating on her drawing, Layalee begins singing "Yad achat ve'od achat" ('One hand and other hand rise up slowly', in Hebrew, written and composed by Z. Kahanovich). She sings in a slower tempo than the tempo we adopt in music class. Suha, who sits opposite her, picks up the song and continues singing the next phrase. Yasmin follows, but pauses in her drawing, raising her hands, in the way that we play this singing game in class.

The singing repertoire that the Hebrew-speaking kindergarten teacher and myself taught included mainly songs for children in Hebrew, not only because Hebrew is our first language, but also because the available repertoire includes original songs in a rich language, the lyrics are related to the children's lived experience, the melodies are not simplistic, and children can reproduce them quite accurately (Gluschankof, 2008, 2017). The children sung more songs in Hebrew, of their own initiative on various occasions, than songs in Arabic. Maybe they did so because the songs were more appealing due to the way that they were taught, and/or the content was relevant to their lives, and/or more suited to their singing skills. Another explanation could be that Hebrew is the hegemonic language in the country, and the children are learning to overcome the disadvantages of being a national minority. From this perspective then, they have not freed themselves linguistically, but were able to escape the adults' control, by singing those songs on their own initiative in non-learning contexts, choosing what, how and where to sing them.

Dancing Like Children, Dancing Like Adults

Bissan loves to dance, and she can be seen in three different episodes, recorded during free play time.

> In the first episode Reem joins her, moving freely to the song "Kool elbanath betchebak" (all the girls love you, an Arabic song performed by the Kuwaiti-born singer Hosam Hosny). This song is well known, and is not aimed at children. They walk forwards and backwards, turn around, Reem does some cartwheels, while Bissan dances mainly "al-raqs al-balad" (village dance, in Arabic), the style known in the West as the belly dance style.
>
> In the second episode, Bissan, together with three other girls—Reemas, Thaleen, and Manal—dance to the song "Shater, shater" ("skillful, skillful", a song for children performed by Nancy Ajram, a Lebanese-born singer, who began her career as a young child). They dance in front of seven boys and girls sitting in chairs arranged in a half-circle, who watch them, and join in singing and clapping. The girls then invite some of these spectators to join in, and later watch the boys dancing. This episode reproduced a hafla, an Arab party, where usually young and old participate, males and females dancing separately.
>
> In the last episode, Bissan, Reemas, Thaleen and Lama, dance to the song "Ghassil wejjak ya amar" ("Wash your face", a famous song for children, performed in the 1980s by the well known Lebanese child star Reem Bandaly). They dance in the belly dance style during the instrumental parts, and join in singing the chorus, imitating the gestures they learnt from the video clip still broadcast on the TV.

In all three episodes the children chose the songs and the type of movements. They are acquainted with this repertoire from home, and it is also present in kindergarten, as their Arabic-speaking teacher uses it mainly as background music. All three songs are in the same style: Arab pop commercial music. This style embodies the westernization and modernization (Nettl, 1986) of Arab music, since it adopts Western tonalities and instrumentation. The children danced to these songs, in the same style: *al-raqs al-balad.* They are able to dance in other styles, but they always dance like this to any type of Arab music. They learnt this type of dancing watching TV programs, but mainly learnt in their families' gatherings. In this transitional society, children are active participants in celebrations, such as engagement celebrations and weddings and are acculturated not only in the ways of dancing but also in the role and place of each gender. Although choosing the type of activity and the repertoire, they reenact the already internalized gendered roles. They dance their lives as young Palestinians.

Experiences from Public Spaces Go to Kindergarten

> Some children are drawing, others are building with the big wooden blocks and a group is working with one of the teachers. A girl sees me and asks to sing me a song she has invented about the finger puppet she is holding. Amer, a 5-year-old boy sees it, and asks me to video record him singing a song he has invented. He sings clearly, swinging from side to side. Amin, his friend joins in, leaning his left arm and hand on Amer's left shoulder. Amer sings about soccer, in colloquial Arabic:
>
> > There was a soccer ball and there was a goal
> > But this goal, they said it was one—nil, against us, and not against them

> *When you'll strike one goal, and we another, we'll score two to one, two goals Only two goals.*

The melody he sings has a range of a fourth, including half and whole tones. The setting of the melody is syllabic. The last syllable of each phrase is longer and the dynamic is mezzo-piano.

All the children are indoors, busy in small group activities. Manal walks, playing on the derbakeh, chanting "Arusal falafel, arusal shwarma" ['falafel in flat bread, shwarma in flat bread', in colloquial Arabic] walking. Sometimes she holds the derbakeh in front of her mouth, using it as an amplifier, continuing chanting. Sometimes she walks, sometimes she skips around the room. Amin picks up the chant and improvises on it.

In each episode the children represented aspects of their lives that usually have no place in the kindergarten routine. Amer loves soccer. He plays in the neighbourhood with his siblings and relatives and he watches matches on TV with his male relatives. Manal used the calls of the vendors in the village. The children used their singing voices to represent those life experiences. As children they have opportunities to engage in the life of their families and communities, observe, absorb what others, adults included, do, and then include it in their free play. In this way, they exercise personal agency, integrating the elaboration of their lives in public spaces into their free play in kindergarten.

Conclusion

This chapter explored through postcolonial critical lenses, the ways in which young Israeli-Palestinian children express themselves in and through music, exercising agency, and ultimately emancipation both as young children and as members of a minority ethno-national group (see also 'possibilities for resistance', Kanellopoulos, 2019, this volume). These children are raised in a Middle-Eastern modern country, influenced by Western culture. Raised in this transitional society they internalize the values and roles, and they represent them in their free-play in kindergarten. For example, gender roles are very central to this society, and children reenact those during their free play, as clearly shown in the dancing episodes described. Only girls danced, and if boys were present, they only observed, thus reenacting the gender roles of the adults. This raises further questions that we need to ponder (see also Vestad, 2019, this volume). Why do children not exploit the opportunities, when they are not controlled, to free themselves from those gendered roles? Can children challenge these values or do they not feel the need to do so? Am I or am I not, imposing my own Westernized feminist perspective?

In their musicking, they express both cultures they live in separately, as the adults do. It seems that their self-initiated musicking is not subversive in relation to their ethno-national minority colonized status. Can young children really become emancipated within early childhood educational settings? As already stated, kindergarten, as an institution, was conceived and acts as a tool to teach children to control themselves. Some approaches allow them to exercise some forms of agency more

than others, and this is possible during free play time, regardless of the approach. Children find other times and places, especially during transition times, to act in ways that can be considered subversive, and as such, emancipating. The children's musicking is one of their ways of representing their knowledge and understanding of the world, which can be thought of as "indigenous epistemologies that are performative in style" (Swadener & Mutua, 2007, p. 189). Children's musicking in the scenarios described in this chapter challenges the colonialistic view of music, since they integrate it in their play, without complying to the categories of music and accepted ways and situations of musicking. Maybe the low status of music, as a discipline in education, serves the possibilities of emancipation. Teachers control the children's musicking less, because it is not considered to be central for the children's expected learning. Teachers who adopt a critical theory perspective, and aspire to construct a decolonizing practice, can look at the musicking of children as instances of empowerment.

Observing, without evaluating and judging, trying to understand the self-initiated musicking of children within their rich context, may contribute to our knowledge of the complex worlds of young children, as valuable and legitimate ones. Acknowledging their ways of knowing, incorporating them in our practice, creating spaces and opportunities to perform their knowledge and understandings through and in music, have the potential of decolonizing early childhood music education practice.

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Chapter 12
World Music Pedagogy in Early Schooling: Issues of Implementation

J. Christopher Roberts

As a music educator who has worked with children for 20 years, I observed the increasing attention paid by both practitioners and scholars to issues of diversity. For children in the early years of schooling in the United States (usually ages 5–7, referred to as the "kindergarten" and "first grade" years of "elementary school"), one principal aspect of greater focus on diversity has been attention to repertoire, with scholars and teachers working to expand the canon beyond music from the European American and African American predominant in the United States curricula. The rationales for repertoire diversification are many. At times, teachers select repertoire from the world's musical cultures in order to represent the backgrounds of the students in their classrooms, with an aim that all children see the musical experiences from their lives represented in the curriculum (Robinson, 2006). As the cultural make-up of populations becomes increasingly diverse in many countries (Schippers & Campbell, 2012), this call for diversification is essential to ensure that music education remains relevant for all students. At other times, repertoire from the world's musical cultures is selected to represent music that is far from the experiences of students, in order to open their ears to the wonder and wide variety of musical expression across the globe (Campbell, 2018). When music educators incorporate music from genres unfamiliar to children, the experiences can astonish and inspire students, providing them with a vision of a whole new sonic world that they never knew existed. It is this second approach to diversifying musical traditions with which this chapter is concerned.

The emphasis on incorporating diverse repertoire into curricula is not new. Early examples of "multicultural music" for lower elementary can be found in the series textbooks of the United States, which in the mid-twentieth century commonly

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presented songs that were intended to be "Indian," (Native American) but were often penned by the European American authors of the book series. Later in the century, there was a turn towards "authenticity," with an emphasis on searching out songs that came from musicians who held deep ties to the musical culture, typically because they lived in the country of origin. Often referred to as culture-bearers (Campbell, 2018; Schippers, 2010), such musicians are able to provide musical experiences more representative of the culture. At times, recordings accompanied the songs, but in the music education textbooks, those recordings often featured child singers performing with a clear, bell-like vocal quality, regardless of the prevalence of such vocal tone in the cultures of origin (Klinger, 2002).

Over time, a growing concern about the content of recordings and their impact on quality of learning, emerged. If one of the major purposes of presenting diverse musics to children was to broaden their sound bases and provide them with recordings that took them into unfamiliar and distinctive sonic worlds, the quality of the recordings became seen as a crucial factor (Campbell, 2003; Klinger, 2002). This was particularly important for world music experiences at the elementary class level, as teachers began moving beyond the song-based lessons that characterized most early lessons of world music to include instrumental genres. They did this in order to provide children with a vaster array of the world's varied musical traditions. The unique timbre of instruments from around the world can most easily be illustrated through listening to recordings when the instruments themselves are not readily available. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, this shift towards emphasizing the use of recordings of culture-bearers became more normalized and routine with a groundswell of publications by companies such as World Music Press, which published culture-specific books and recordings for use in schools (e.g. Campbell, McCullough-Brabson, & Tucker, 1994). Additionally, online resources such as Smithsonian Folkways Recordings and the Association for Cultural Equity began offering lesson plans created in order to highlight a diverse set of music available through their websites.

While the initial push towards diversifying music education addressed repertoire, questions about the best pedagogical practices for bringing music of the world's cultures to children and youth also arose. Patricia Shehan Campbell (2004, 2016) created the pedagogical approach labeled World Music Pedagogy (WMP). This series of five dimensions of teaching practice seeks to ground the teaching of diverse musics in the sounds of culture-bearers through recordings, and doing so in a way that ensures children are actively engaged in music-making and that cultural context is addressed.

The supply of curricular materials for listening lessons incorporating world music has grown substantially over the last three decades. However, the majority of materials have been created for students above the age of 8 years. For educators working with young children, fewer options for materials exist. For example, the "Tools for Teaching" page on the Smithsonian Folkways website, features lesson plans designed for students in formal schooling from kindergarten through 12th grade (ages 5–18). Of the 134 lesson plans on the site, only 16 of them are intended for use with students in kindergarten to second grade. Furthermore, of those 16

plans, only 7 of them feature music of a non-English-speaking culture, with the remainder of the music lessons addressing topics such as African American singing games or the music of Pete Seeger. Moreover, in research on teaching world music to children, the majority of studies have relied on children aged 8 years and above (e.g. Abril, 2006a, 2006b; Pembrook & Robinson, 1997; McKoy, 2004; Chen-Hafteck, 2007; Fung & Gromko, 2001). Exceptions can be found. Carper (2001), for example, found that repeated experiences with traditional Japanese music enhanced the musical preference for children between 3.4 and 7.2 years old. However, these examples are few and far between, and typically address student preference rather than processes of learning.

Currently, then, there is a lack of literature regarding the implementation of teaching music of the world's cultures through listening to young children. This chapter addresses this void by exploring issues of implementation as they relate to the teaching of world music to young children. The chapter relies on a subset of fieldwork that addressed the nature of situational interest in world music listening experiences for children in elementary school (ages 5–12), in a series of units that used the approach of World Music Pedagogy (Campbell, 2004; Roberts & Beegle, 2018). Attention is given to the 5- to 7-year-olds who were in kindergarten and first grade during the 2 years of the project, with a focus on the affordances and challenges of the WMP pedagogical model.

World Music Pedagogy

Campbell (2004, 2016) conceived of World Music Pedagogy (WMP) as a way to ensure that music of the world's cultures was taught in such a way that although "listening is key…teaching musically calls for interactive experiences with the music itself" (Campbell, 2004, p. xvii). WMP comprises five distinct but interrelated dimensions of teaching and learning. *Attentive Listening* refers to the process of listening to a recording with specific questions and ideas in mind. During this dimension, students do not participate in the music-making themselves but rather are surrounded by the sounds of the music. They consider various aspects they have listened to, by engaging in discussions that follow the listening excerpts. During this dimension, then, the children are mostly silent, an important factor if the children are to truly allow the nuances of the music to enter their beings.

In *Engaged Listening,* the children begin to engage in musical expression that is introductory, partial, and occurs while the music is sounding. Thus, they are musically participatory, but minimally so—performing activities such as patting the beat on their laps, singing a short repetitive refrain, or playing a repetitive ostinato on unpitched percussion. The sound source still continues, so that as much as possible, children can move towards the internalization of musical nuance that can only occur through listening repeatedly to the sounds of culture-bearers.

Enactive Listening takes the participatory activities of Engaged Listening into more advanced territory. In this dimension, the children move towards a fuller

depiction of a piece, with the ultimate goal being to turn off the recorded music and replicate the sounds of the recording. Enactive listening is a process; one that involves moving back and forth between listening to the recording, making music along with the recording, and then turning the recording off in an effort to recreate the music. Explicit attention is paid during this recursive process to the details of the students' performance, with students working to answer the question: How can we make ourselves sound most like the recording?

The dimension of *Creating World Music* involves extending a piece, improvising within the context of the musical tradition or composing a new piece in the style of the novel musical genre. For example, if children learned a simple call-and-response piece from Ghana on percussion, they would be fulfilling the dimension of Creating World Music by generating their own percussion piece using the same form.

Integrating World Music refers to the inclusion of cultural context about the music and culture under study. It may include information about the music or performers, such as distinctive performance practices or the way in which the music is taught and learned. It may also consist of broader information about the culture, such as the inclusion of folk tales, geographical information, or discussions about wider issues of social justice that may emerge. Integrating World Music can also involve cross-curricular connections with teachers collaborating across subject areas.

The five dimensions of World Music Pedagogy are sometimes referred to as phases, stages, or steps, but in many ways the term dimensions most aptly describes them, because it does not suggest a hierarchy of activities that must occur in a particular order. Many lessons that incorporate World Music Pedagogy will include more than one dimension within the lesson itself. For example, a lesson may start with an Attentive Listening experience in which the children listen to a recording from China, attempting to identify whether or not the instrument they hear is played by plucking a string or pounding a membrane. After identifying the instrument, the teacher might then show pictures of the *erhu* and describe its importance in Chinese culture (Integrating World Music), then ask the children to lightly hum along with a repetitive melodic pattern when they hear it (Engaged Listening).

Setting the Scene

As a music educator, I always believed that including a diverse set of musics was important for the elementary-aged children I taught (ages 5–12). For the most part, I had done this in what I considered to be a "drive-by" approach, in which I selected isolated songs from a variety of cultures without any larger goal in mind. Although I generally insisted that the children sing the lyrics in the language of origin, I typically provided minimal cultural context beyond the meaning of the words. Rarely did I employ the use of a recording to teach the song or to work on the nuance of their performance. This pedagogical approach shifted in the latter part of my career. Increasingly, recordings were incorporated into lessons of music with which I was

unfamiliar, and those recordings often featured instruments, partly due to the immense array of timbres that a range of the world's musics can provide. However, as the number of lessons available for Smithsonian Folkways Tools for Teaching site intended for lower elementary students would suggest, most of the units I taught were for students aged 8–12. For the children aged 5–7, I continued to rely mostly on my direct teaching of song-based experiences when working with music of other cultures.

During the year that they were 5 and 6 years old ("kindergarten" in the school's context), I taught a unit of music from Japan, modifying a set of lessons found on the Smithsonian Folkways website (Casey-Nelson, n.d.). The unit extended over five classes, with 10–16 min of each 30-min class period dedicated to Japanese music. Two musical recordings served as the principal pieces of the unit: A slow-tempo recording of the well-known song "Sakura" played on the *koto*, and a work song of fishermen that featured voices, the *fue* (a flute) and the *shamisen* (a stringed instrument). Additionally, an additional work song of stonemasons was included as a short extension during one class period.

In their second year at the school, when the students were mostly 6 and 7 years old ("first grade"), the children's homeroom class included a social studies unit on Australia. In order to align with their curriculum, I adapted a unit on Aboriginal music from Australia (Nasman, n.d.). The lessons spanned seven class periods, ranging in time from 8 to 15 min. Two major pieces were used for the unit, both of which featured the *didjeridoo*, *clapsticks*, and adult voices. In addition, I showed the students videos of *didjeridoo* players found online, and at the request of the classroom teachers, I taught the song "Waltzing Matilda," using a recording and a picture book. Both units had been created for older children, so I modified them to fit my perception of my students' skills and interests.

Directly following each class period, I wrote jottings that documented my immediate reaction to the events of the class (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). All classes were videotaped, and I later watched all recordings, making more extensive fieldnotes as to the issues that arose concerning the children's learning. Through open coding and focused coding (Emerson et al., 2011), I searched for emergent rather than prefigured themes. Four themes emerged from the fieldwork: the musical skills of the children, the attention and memory of the children, the effect of the visual stimuli, and the way in which discussions concerning social justice unfolded.

The Five Dimensions and the Children's Musical Skills

Two of the foundational principles of World Music Pedagogy hold that learning experiences must be grounded in recordings of culture-bearers and that children must engage in participatory music-making that is based on the recordings (Campbell, 2004). For the young children in the current project, their musical skills played a large role in the prevalence (and success) of the five dimensions, and in decisions made during the lesson design. The recordings in both units almost

exclusively featured adult musicians, performers who had musical skills that were much more developed than the 5- to- 7-year-olds in my classes. Conceivably, I could have used recordings of children's musical genres such as singing games. But without the instrumentation or the differing vocal timbres that the adult performers could create, the units would have felt much less like the students were transported into another musical culture.

Thus, each dimension of WMP was not incorporated to the same extent, with Attentive Listening and Integrating World Music making the most frequent appearance in the lessons. In the unit of Japanese music, children engaged in Attentive Listening experiences such as "air-playing" the stringed *koto* while the recording played and listening for musical aspects about the nature of the instruments, melodies, rhythms, and tempi. Similar activities transpired during the unit of Aboriginal Australian music in their second year, with the additional experience of comparing and contrasting two videos of *didjeridoo* players.

Integrating World Music occurred in the unit of music from Japan by discussing work songs (particularly fishing songs), briefly discussing the role of fishing in the lives of the performers, observing pictures of the instruments and of famous sites in the country, and learning about the importance of the song "Sakura" for many people in Japan. The unit on Australia similarly included visual depictions and dialogue about both the instruments on the recordings and various famous places in the country, and also incorporated discussions about issues such as cultural diversity in Australia (comparing it to the United States), the concept of "ownership of music" as it relates to the *didjeridoo* in Aboriginal culture, and the gendered nature of the instrumental performers.

Engaged Listening was less common than the first two dimensions listed but transpired during the Japanese unit through experiences such as keeping the beat with the recording of a fishing work song and attempting to sing with the words of "Sakura" along with the recording of the *koto*. In the Australian unit, the students' Engaged Listening experiences consisted of activities such as performing a *clapstick* pattern, first clapping it and then playing it on rhythm sticks, all while the recording sounded.

It was during the attempts of students to participate in Enactive Listening that the discrepancy between the children's skills and those of the performers led to challenges with the incorporation of the dimension. Generally, the objective of Enactive Listening is to recreate a piece of music, with attention to the specific styling of the performers on the recording. During their first year, they participated in Enactive Listening when they worked to learn the words of the song "Sakura"—albeit to a limited extent. During this dimension, listeners typically refer back to the recording in order to identify the ways in which their performance is different and name some specific ways that they can render it more like the culture-bearers. In this case, the recording consisted of the tune performed on a *koto*, in order to provide the children with a novel instrumental timbre. While learning the words of the song, the children listened to the recording to identify ways that their performance differed, but they had a difficult time generating ideas, with the few comments restricted to simple observations such as "he was playing the *koto*" and "we were singing a little bit

faster." At one point, I played a recording of an adult singing the song in Japanese, asking the children to identify any words they thought we should work on pronouncing correctly. Across the three classes, only two answers emerged. During their second year, they never performed without the recording.

This principal activity of Enactive Listening to hear a recording and compare it to one's recreation of that recording, essentially involves being able to recall one's own performance in order to identify differences. I was unable to determine a way to do this successfully. To be sure, this was partially the result of my repertoire selection and lesson planning process. For example, with additional searching, I might have found a piece of music that was easier to replicate. Additionally, I did not consider recording the children singing the song and playing it back for them, which might have made them more aware of the ways in which their performance differed from the recording of culture-bearers. Nonetheless, the musical memory that such tasks require may be beyond the developmental level of many children in this age group.

Creating World Music did not occur during either unit. The activity that most closely approximated the dimension took place during an Aboriginal piece which featured songmen, *clapsticks*, and *didjeridoo*. The children created a game to accompany a song about sharks, fish, and rocks. The song was not a children's singing game, so the act of creating and then playing a game becomes more representative of Attentive Listening, in which the children "did something else" while the music played. In retrospect, the lessons could have more successfully incorporated the dimension by capitalizing on the students' discovery of the rhythmic form of the *clapsticks* during one piece. After determining that the performers played the *clapsticks* in the same pattern each time and then performed along with the recording, they could have created their own pattern to accompany a different song.

Schippers (2010) noted that for music educators, "the challenge is to develop an understanding that is sensitive to culturally diverse realities but workable within specific educational environments" (p. 41). The degree to which the children in the current project substantively participated in all dimensions of World Music Pedagogy was limited by the nature of the chosen recordings and the skills of the students.

Issues of Attention and Memory

In studies on the listening practices of kindergarten students, it has been found that when children are provided with the opportunity to listen to recordings, they choose to listen for widely varying durations of time (Sims & Nolker, 2002). Whether it is due to ability or interest is not always clear, but some young children listen to music for long periods of time, while others turn to other activities immediately. In the current project, the lessons did not provide children the opportunity to decide the duration of their listening, but rather took them through teacher-led listening experiences with the entire class. Clear differences in listening interest and ability emerged among the children, an issue that was particularly apparent during the Attentive

Listening experiences. The typical pedagogical process during Attentive Listening consisted of posing a question related to the recording ("What instruments do you recognize on this piece of music from Australia?"), playing the track, then fielding answers from the children. Some children participated with zeal, but others appeared much less engaged. This became more of an issue when the questions became somewhat more complicated. For example, after identifying that the first two patterns of clapsticks on an Aboriginal song consisted of five claps in a row and then two claps, many children had difficulty identifying that the next pattern had six claps. In some cases, it appeared that they had forgotten the question, and in others that they did not maintain attention through the span of the recording.

Because of this, the musical excerpts were generally very brief, at times as short as 15 s. Although this allowed more children to answer the questions effectively, the short-lived listening duration had the unintended side effect of contributing to a less musical experience in the short term, as the students were not surrounded by the sounds of the culture-bearers for a more extended period of time. At times, this would frustrate them, with one student querying, "Can't we just listen longer?" In the long run, however, the children learned the pattern of the clapsticks well enough that they were able to participate in Engaged Listening, replicating the pattern for the entire piece that lasted 2.5 min. This appeared to be a source of great pride for the students; after they completed the activity for the first time on the 6th day of the unit, they returned to class on the 7th day and two students came up to me immediately, asking "Can we do that whole Australian song again? With the sticks?"

In retrospect, it may have been more effective to move more quickly through the counting activity. Searching for patterns was a frequent endeavor in their all-purposes classroom and a common objective in music class, so I believed it to be an activity that would connect with their current level of ability. In this case, I asked the children to derive the pattern of the entire piece, checking their findings with the recording each time. At times, it felt to me that it devolved into a mere counting activity in which they were so focused on counting that they were unable to experience the music as music. The activity may have warranted less discovery learning, in which I could have informed the students that the first pattern lasted five counts, and then challenged them to determine the more consistent pattern that followed.

However, the repeated Attentive Listening experiences undoubtedly contributed to the ultimate success of the children performing the stick pattern along with the recording. Although some children in the class did not consistently participate in the counting process (or had challenges doing so successfully), they were nonetheless surrounded by the music multiple times, allowing the music to seep into their consciousness. Further, teachers have been found to perceive students to be unengaged when they are moving excessively (as was the case here), when the children are in fact attending to instruction (Swarat, Ortony, & Revelle, 2012). Perhaps they were more engaged than I realized. Once the class moved out of the more passive Attentive Listening and into the more active Engaged Listening in which they performed along with the recording, virtually all children were motivated and engaged by the more physically participatory experience. The preceding experiences in which some children identified the patterns set it up for success.

The Importance of Visual Stimuli

The aspects of the units most consistently successful were those that included visual stimuli. The children regularly viewed PowerPoint slides containing material ranging from simple images related to integrative factors, to the specific pattern of the *clapsticks* in the final performance. Research has suggested that young children are drawn to music-based iPad apps that hold a high degree of visual stimulation (Burton & Pearsall, 2016), and the 5- to 7-year-olds in the present project appeared to have greater focus when faced with visual representation of musical and non-musical ideas. Most commonly, the visuals were presented as a part of Integrating World Music, with student engagement heightened by images of maps, instruments, performers, and famous sites in each of the regions. For example, simple compare-and-contrast activities between similar instruments such as the stringed *koto* and the guitar elicited many student comments about issues that could be visually assessed.

By comparison, aural compare-and-contrast experiences were often more difficult for the children. They did not appear to have developed the ability to mentally recall factors of one recording after listening to another. With visual comparison, images were presented side-by-side on the same slide, making comparisons easier. One experience with a compare-contrast activity highlights the difference between the visual and aural modalities. Towards the end of the unit on Australia, the students watched and listened to two videos of *didjeridoo* players, each approximately 30–45 s. When asked to note any differences between the two performers, the initial responses were all visual in nature, referring to each performer's gender, ethnicity, and the location in which they were performing. Following these responses, I gave focusing questions about the tempo, range, and dynamics. After observing both videos again, less than half of the children offered answers to the questions posed.

Visual cues were also essential to the success of Engaged Listening experiences. For example, when the children performed the repetitive *clapstick* pattern for an entire song, they were much more successful when the numbers within the pattern were displayed on the board. Were I to create the unit again, I would include more visual stimuli, particularly in the form of listening maps for the students to follow. Visuals have been found to elicit engagement, and it was simply a flaw of the lessons I had created.

Issues of Social Justice

An implicit goal of World Music Pedagogy is to raise issues of social justice (Campbell, 2018), to use music as a means by which to address matters such as race, ethnicity, gender, and social class (Reilly Carlisle, Jackson, & George, 2006). Although WMP is rooted in the specific musical example, it is suggested that teachers incorporate broader issues of diversity when possible. In the two units that were a part of this project, the opportunity to address issues of gender and musical

appropriation occurred in the unit on Aboriginal music of Australia. In Aboriginal culture, the *didjeridoo* has historically been the province of males. Additionally, Aboriginal culture at large has been faced with the prospect of cultural genocide that began when Europeans first set foot in Australia, an ongoing phenomenon in which musical exploitation is viewed as an issue. These topics warranted discussion, but for the young children involved in the current project, I had concerns as to the degree with which they could engage in dialogue.

As part of the learning unit, the children viewed two videos of *didjeridoo* players that were procured online, one of an Aboriginal man performing in a rural setting in Australia and another of a woman who appeared to be Caucasian performing in the streets of an unnamed city. In the conversations that ensued in the three classes, some children displayed thoughtfulness about the issues with insightfulness that surprised me. Other students were less robust in their attentiveness, either because they did not comprehend the issue that was being raised or they were uninterested in participating in the conversation. The following exchange about gender highlights the thoughtful, sober thinking of some children. It also highlights the connections that some children made to their own lives and experiences, some of which were relevant to the topic at hand and some of which were less so. Additionally, the conversation illustrates the ways in which some children appeared to be disengaged from the discussion.

Margaret (after the video): *I know the rules about didjeridoos. Only the Abo- Aboriginal or Australian boys or mans [sic] can like play them, but if you're from a different country and you have one, it's ok if you're a girl.*

Danielle: *It's woman, not girl.*

Mariana: *I have one (i.e. a didjeridoo) because one of my cousin's friends lives in Australia.*

Danielle: *No you don't! I've been to your house.*

CR: *What do you think about females not being able to play didjeridoos?*

Liam: *The girls would feel like angry at the boys, that the boys just get to play. But in the other countries, like, girls can play, like Charlotte's cousin, she got a didjeridoo and she can play it.*

CR (separating two children): *Will, come sit next to Mary.*

Addison: *It's not that fair.*

John: *In some cultures, that's what they do.*

CR: *Yes, in some cultures, there are things that girls can do and boys can do. In our culture it used to be like that too, that there weren't many different jobs that women could have. And for men, it used to be that they couldn't usually be nurses, for example, so our culture has changed too.*

Nate: *Like a long time ago, this was a boys' school, and girls couldn't come here.*

Penny: *Like St. Paul's.*

Wyatt: *My brother, on his basketball team, he has a friend that goes to St. Paul's.*

Margaret: *When MLK (Martin Luther King, an important civil rights figure in the United States) was alive, there was schools for white-skinned people and schools for brown-skinned people*

Will: *Can I get a drink? (CR shakes his head)*

Liam: *Did you know Jimmy (another student) is in Vietnam? He's visiting his grandparents I think.*

Nate: *Like a long time ago, brown-black people weren't allowed to kiss brown people.*

CR: *Hmm. (Quietly, managing behavior:) Mary, if you're talking, you're not going to hear.*

Calder: *That's weird.*

The earnestness of the children was notable, despite the fact that they appeared to be at different points in terms of development and interest in the topic. As a music specialist teacher, my primary focus was to lead the children in active music-making during the 1-h weekly meeting times we had. This limited the extent to which the students and I had experience with discussion protocols overall, as well as the general topic of social justice. A teacher with a different teaching approach or more time with the class (such as an all-purposes classroom teacher) might have led multiple conversations on the topic that could have led to deeper understandings on the part of more of the children.

World Music Pedagogy for Early Elementary Students Reconsidered

At the time, my feeling as a teacher was that these units were mostly successful. As I embarked on the project, I expected that the group listening experiences would pose more teaching challenges for these young children than for their older peers, and that the shift away from consistently active musicking might prove challenging. Whilst there were aspects of the units that were less successful in terms of their learning progress, the fact that they were able listen repeatedly to the sounds of the *koto* from Japan with (for the most part) engagement was beneficial for the evolution of their soundscapes. Performing the *clapstick* pattern was enjoyable for the children and allowed them to feel as if they were musically capable, performing the same music as adults. The conversations about gender and cultural appropriation with the first graders led to substantive discourse about important topics. Improvements could have been made to the lesson design, with more movement and more visuals, as a way to address the needs of a wider range of learners.

A principal goal of World Music Pedagogy is to work towards replicating culturally unfamiliar music as accurately as possible, and it relies primarily on teacher-directed learning in which the children have very little say about how long to engage in particular musical activities. In another teaching context, children might be provided with free time to listen to music from a novel culture on headphones, making decisions about the length of time they wished to listen. Autonomy-supportive teaching behaviors such as this have been found to lead to increased creativity and self-efficacy (Reeve & Jang, 2006), and would allow children to direct their listening to the areas that were most interesting to them. However, it is difficult to envision that such an approach would lead to successful group music-making experiences in replicating the music.

With World Music Pedagogy and lower elementary students, it is perhaps appropriate to think of lessons along a continuum. In my particular case, I first taught the students when they entered elementary school at age 5 and continued to work with them until they grew to 12 or 13. Over the years of elementary school, the experiences of World Music Pedagogy are able to become more in-depth, incorporating all dimensions of WMP to a more substantial degree. To be sure, there are instructional modifications and repertoire selection in the units that could have led to more expe-

riences with Enactive Listening and Creating World Music. However, the developmental level of the children necessarily influences the prevalence of these dimensions in a way that is not as impactful for their older peers.

Further, in some ways, their age allowed for different opportunities than might be possible for older students. As children age, their "open-earedness" (Hargreaves, 1982) has been found to shrink, as they become more critical and less accepting of novel types of music. In the current project, there were musical aspects of the recordings that are not often viewed favorably by children and youth, such as the slower tempo of the *koto* (LeBlanc, Colman, McCrary, Sherrill, & Malin, 1988) and the nasal, wavering tone quality of one of the performers on a work song of Japan. While their older siblings may have responded negatively upon hearing these examples, these children indeed met the novel sounds with a sense of wonder and amazement. If we consider the arc of an elementary music education program, these sonic experiences in children's early years of school can combine with the more advanced musickings possible in their older years to provide a well-rounded curriculum that can broaden their musical minds.

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Part IV
Constructed and Mediated Musical Childhoods

Chapter 13
Re-thinking Systems of Meaning-Making: A Possible Theoretical Framework for Exploring Children's Engagement in Music and the Subject Positions of 'Rock-Boys' and 'Pop-Girls'

Ingeborg Lunde Vestad

Introduction

Theories are tools with which to think, and no theory is neutral; each guides us towards certain aspects of the world and marginalises others. Therefore, handling theoretical foundations for characterising and evaluating children's musical engagement is an important responsibility. The urgency of this topic is stressed by Nordin-Hultman's (2004) assertion that children's subjectivities are created in educational settings. Her assertion means that the theories we accept and think with when we interact with children in settings which involve music, open up possibilities and impose constraints on children's own understandings of their musical selves. Often, the theoretical frameworks we draw on in our everyday lives, as well as in our professional lives as researchers and educators, are so deeply embedded in our thinking about the world that they seem like the only and 'natural' way, and one does not even think to question whether there are other—and perhaps better—alternatives. Sometimes, however, when the world changes, habitual ways of thinking become visible by their inadequacy, and this creates the need to search for alternatives by which one can capture and scrutinise new phenomena. In this chapter, I will follow up on Young's (2009a, 2009b) explicit encouragement to challenge the well-established theoretical frameworks of music education by exploring and combining theories based in research on children's culture. I argue here that the term *musick-ingship*—a term derived from Christopher Small's (1998) concept *musicking*—is fruitful as a starting point for exploring, characterising and evaluating children's musical engagement. Small (1998, 1999) argues that music should be thought of as

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a verb, not a noun: *to music*. Music is something one *does*. Furthermore, Small stretches the way of thinking about what constitutes participation in a musical performance. It is not only about traditional modes of participation, such as composing and performing music with a voice or musical instrument, he argues:

> To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing. We might at times even extend its meaning to what the person is doing who takes the tickets at the door or the hefty men who shift the piano and the drums or the roadies who set up the instruments and carry out the sound checks or the cleaners who clean up after everyone else has gone. They, too, are all contributing to the nature of the event that is a musical performance. (Small, 1998, p. 9)

From the perspective of children's culture, the principle of musicking paves the way towards expanding our view to include yet other ways of taking part in a musical performance, so that recognising the as-yet-unrecognised becomes possible. For instance, from a media and technology perspective, a musical performance may be what happens in a daycare facility when music is played from a CD or a smartphone and the children gather around, participating by jumping, laughing and talking about the music. Even bringing the CD to daycare may be considered a way of participating in the performance.

One of the main aims of this chapter is to stress teachers' and researchers' responsibility for children's musical engagement and musical selves (cf. Nordin-Hultman, 2004). Biesta (2012, p. 36) asserts that '[t]eachers always need to make judgements about what is desirable in relation to the different purposes that frame their practice'. In order to make such judgements teachers and researchers may need to reveal and challenge well-established discursive systems of meaning-making. With this chapter, I offer a theoretical framework which can help to achieve the aim of educating for children's lifelong and flourishing musickingships. I frame musickingship here as 'a person's capacity to participate in a musical performance in a broad sense in ways which are experienced as meaningful to her or him'. In my description of musickingship later in the chapter I stress the multimodal character of children's participation, their experience of meaning and the relationships which form during the musical performances. Then, in order to elaborate on the relationships between music and child, intrinsic to their musickingship, I introduce the notion of *affordance*, and underscore music's role in the construction of the self. Lastly, I expand on the outer boundaries of the theoretical framework by introducing the concept of *performativity*, which in turn leads the focus towards the very moments in everyday life in which the musical child's culture and music's meaning are constituted, and *interpretative repertoires*, a concept which stresses the social and discursive system of meaning-making. By introducing these two last terms, I wish to underline the complex interconnectedness between experiences in the moment and people's available interpretative resources; resources which are shared in a culture and become visible as social patterns of meaning-making. In the final sections of the text, I apply this theoretical framework to two short empirical examples in order to demonstrate how taken-for-granted assumptions about boys and girls, respectively, may regulate evaluations of children's musickingships and, in

turn, confirm and re-constitute stereotypical gendered behaviour in music. The framework presented here is developed to explore children's uses of music technology, more specifically recorded music, such as music played from CDs, Mp3 files, smartphones and even music on television, but may be relevant also in the exploration of other aspects of children's musical cultures. With this example of a theoretical framework, I aim to inspire others to question established ways of thinking and develop alternative fruitful approaches.

Empirically, the chapter's discussion is based on two sets of data from two different research projects. The first project explored how young children use recorded music in their everyday lives (Vestad, 2013), and the second is an ongoing study of the history of children's music in Norway. In this study, qualitative observations and interviews were conducted in two kindergartens and in nine family homes, and children, kindergarten teachers and parents all participated. This was a combined ethnographic and discourse analysis study, and the aim was to investigate how children use recorded music (phonograms) in their everyday lives, as well as the meanings ascribed to these uses by the children, their teachers and their parents. The second project was a case study of the music from children's programmes broadcast on radio and television during the period from World War II to the present (see also Dyndahl & Vestad, 2017; Vestad, 2015a, 2016; Vestad & Dyndahl, 2017). This study is based on document analysis of selected radio and television programmes, written documents regarding broadcasting for children (available in the broadcaster's and the national archives) and interviews with key persons.

Children's Music as Children's Culture: Setting Up a Watchtower

Positioning a research project—or taking a certain position from which to view the realities of music in a kindergarten setting—can be compared to setting up a watchtower in a landscape.[1] From the watchtower, one looks out upon the scenery. What one is in fact able to see depends on where in the landscape the tower is set up, in which directions the view is clear and what is left in the shadows. Establishing a fruitful (theoretical) position for exploring young children's uses of recorded music (phonograms) involved choosing a spot in the landscape where several 'countries' meet, that is, a shared position from music education, musicology, discourse theory, aesthetics and cultural theory. Such mixed positions are challenging, because the ground might be uneven between the different pieces of land and, consequently, the watchtower might be unstable. It may also be that the gatekeepers of some of the countries think one does not belong there. Nevertheless, a carefully thought-out transdisciplinary theoretical position, may contribute to the further development of fields of research and practice.

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[1] This metaphor was developed in an earlier publication (see Vestad, 2015b).

My first step in finding an adequate theoretical position for the research project on children's uses of recorded music was to relate it to the Nordic field of research on children's culture. It was about finding a home in the landscape from which I could look in the desired direction, and where theoretical perspectives had already been pieced together, so that I could benefit from both the actual theoretical negotiations that had taken place and the habit of constantly and carefully developing new combinations and approaches. The threefold definition of children's culture was helpful, whereby children's music as children's culture may be understood in three separate, yet mutually constitutive ways: as culture *for*, *with* and *by* children (Mouritsen, 1996, 2002; Rasmussen, 2001). Researching children's music as music *for* children may involve processes such as studying the recorded music produced and marketed to a child audience, the concerts and music broadcast on television and the radio aimed at children. Research on children's music as culture *with* children will focus on how adults and children jointly make use of music. An example in a media perspective is the children's television programme *Julemorgen* [Christmas Morning], in which the child audience is encouraged to submit their own home-made lyrics for songs. The hosts (who are musicians) make melodies for selected lyrics, they perform the songs live on television, and the child author is interviewed by telephone. The last part of the definition—culture *by* children—invites researchers and practitioners to take a closer look at how children use recorded music on their own, either alone or with their peers or siblings. Here the Nordic field of research into children's culture and the sociology of childhood overlap, most importantly in the view that children are worthy of study in their own right. This means that children's own meaning-making is regarded as a valuable focus of study, and, thus, one approaches children in these studies as *what children already are* (as *beings*) and not only in terms of what they may become later in life (as *becomings* or *adults in the making*) (see James & Prout, 2007). Children and childhood are—as are all other physical and social things—preconditioned always to be both 'being' and 'becoming' (Uprichard, 2008). Therefore, ethnographic approaches focussing on children's lived life in the here-and-now should be combined with studies of social and cultural structures, in order to understand better the complex relationship of the future with the present in the here-and-now.

From a music education perspective, both Sundin (1977) and Young (2009b) have criticised how the standards and hallmarks of the Western classical music tradition have, for too long, served as the unquestioned foundation for music education. In addition Sundin has criticised how *the music* has been allowed to set the standard and *the child* has been expected to change, to reach the standards of the music set by adults. A focus on the child-as-becoming is evident, one might add. Moreover, Sundin argues that '[t]he quality of the music should to a much greater extent be defined by those who do the music' (Sundin, 1977, p. 12), that is, by the children. His argument involves a shift towards a focus on the child-as-being, and towards seeing the child's doings with music as worthy in their own right. From her position as a researcher into children's cultures, Sörenson (2001) supports Sundin's stance when she notices how the music education method of listening to and

evaluating children's music-making differs from, for instance, approaches within children's literature:

> While in children's literature, it is widely accepted to play with the language, to say things 'wrong' or speak in nonsensical ways (*dinkeli dunkeli doja*), there is within the musical domain a 'right' and a 'wrong' that will not accept any other categories. (2001, pp. 97–98, *author's translation*)
>
> [Medan det i småbarnsboken är helt på sin plats att leka med språket och säga 'fel' eller prata nonsens (dinkeli dunkeli doja…) finns det inom musiken ett 'rätt' och ett 'fel' som helst inte vill acceptera några andra kategorier]. (2001, pp. 97–98)

To demonstrate more closely how this works in music, she cites the well-renowned Swedish music educator Bertil Sundin's descriptions and evaluation of a 2.5-year-old child's music-making:

> Imitates tones ascending and descending very well. More tones may however become any number of tones […] pitch is relatively good, but cannot do the middle section without becoming too low or too high. (Sundin in Sörenson, 2001, p. 98)
>
> [Imiterar två toner, både stigande och fallande, rätt bra. Fler kan däremot bli hur många som helst […] relativt rent men klarar inte mellanpartiet utan att sjunka eller stiga]. (Sundin in Sörenson, 2001, p. 98)

Although such descriptions may inarguably be valuable in some musical settings with children, the analytical tools described in these excerpts seemed inappropriate for the task of analysing most of children's uses of recorded music (Vestad, 2013). Along these same lines of argumentation, Young (2009b) writes that musicology and developmental psychology, however useful and valuable, also place constraints on evaluations of children's musical engagement. She advocates for combined approaches, in which theoretical perspectives from music sociology, and research into popular music and media research, are combined with insider perspectives obtained through ethnographic approaches. For such child-led research, the researcher must approach his or her research subject with a wide-angled view of what music may be considered to be, and avoid predefinitions of its meaning and standards. Recorded music is a technology that frees up space (cf. Young, 2009a) in the sense that children need not make the music themselves. Then obvious questions to raise are what children's participation in recorded music played from a technological device *looks* like and *sounds* like, and why children find their participation meaningful. Ethnographic approaches to children's culture may capture children's engagement with recorded music in a broad sense and, moreover, make their engagement visible and legitimate as research results.

Children's Musickingships: Multimodality, Meaning, and Relations

As explained earlier, derived from Small's (1998, 1998) coining of musicking, I introduce musickingship as a starting point. The concept of musickingship is helpful in exploring and describing children's musical engagement, that is, for exploring

children as always already being-and-becoming *musickers*. The term musicker has already been applied to describe children engaged in music in settings outside the music classroom. Based on Small's notion of musicking, Campbell (2010) explores how children participate in music through musicking behaviours in everyday life. Campbell describes several ways that children participate in music: doing, integrating, singing, moving, playing, listening and playing with (music) (Campbell, 2010, pp. 239–242). Moreover, she stresses that children's ways of participating in music often occur simultaneously: '[T]hey move as they sing, or they sing as they play', she writes (2010, p. 239) and she goes on to describe what they do with music as '*Gesamtkunstwerke*' (Campbell, 2010). In other words, she applies Small's way of thinking about what constitutes participation in a musical performance and stretches it so that it fits with her observations of how children use music in their everyday lives. Along with the hallmark of multimodality, to which I will return in later paragraphs, the experienced meaning is crucial to children's musickingship. Campbell highlights the deep relationship between musical meaning and music's function, by stating that music's function is its meaning. She emphasises music's social functions. In addition one might highlight how music engages the children so that they choose to participate, and the experience of being engaged in a mode of participation is also part of the totality of the experienced meaning (Vestad, 2013). I will return to this idea in later paragraphs. A third element in children's musickingships is relationships. According to Small (1998), a major point of being involved with music is the relationships that develop between people, between the music and the people and even with the supernatural. 'The act of musicking establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships, and it is in those relationships that the meaning of the act lies', he writes (1998, p. 13). My data revealed that real and ideal relationships between parents and children are experienced and described by the participants, as well as real and ideal relationships between children and family of other generations. Moreover, the participants aim to 'fuel' these relationships with music (Vestad, 2013, 2015a) as a catalyst (Ruud, 2013).

So, the modes of participation (singing, jumping, skipping, rolling, bouncing, listening, talking, playing air guitar, playing role play, bringing a music CD to kindergarten etc.), the experienced meaning of engagement in music as well as the relationships established are important to the concept of children's musickingship. Thus, the concept of musickingship involves knowledge, skills and sensitivity in a broader sense than the well-established concept of 'musicianship'. 'Musicianship' is defined by the Cambridge Dictionary as 'a person's skill in playing a musical instrument or singing'.[2] At Dictionary.com, musicianship is defined as 'knowledge, skill, and artistic sensitivity in performing music'.[3] Finally, Collin's English Dictionary defines musicianship as 'the skill involved in performing music'.[4] To sum up, picking up on Small's expanded notion of participation in a musical performance, skills in playing a musical instrument or singing are not the only skills

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[2] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/musicianship

[3] http://www.dictionary.com/browse/musicianship

[4] https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/musicianship

relevant to musickingship. Instead, any mode can be a mode of participation, because '[t]o music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance', as long as it is 'contributing to the nature of the event that is a musical performance' (Small, 1998, p. 9: see full quote early in the chapter). To participate in a children's cultural Gesamtkunstwerke (cf. Campbell, 2010), knowledge, skill and artistic sensitivity are needed, but also creativity, sensitivity towards other participants, and a whole range of other capacities. Moreover, children's musickingship involves aspects that differ from those involved in adults' musickingship. For instance, it may be important for children to know the music and narratives from recent children's television programmes,[5] or they may be unable to take part in the unfolding Gesamtkunstwerk (Vestad, 2010, 2013, 2014a). This means that exploring musical children's cultures in this way does not let us escape from pre-set standards; children's spontaneous engagement in music is *not* necessarily a matter of 'anything goes'. On the contrary, the approach brings out how even quite young children may construct standards of legitimate ways to participate in music, and exclude children who do not conform to these standards from joint playing (see also Niland, 2019, this volume).

Making Space for New Thoughts: Music as a Verb and the Child as *Musicker*

New concepts and ways of thinking may be challenging, because they may destabilise well-known and beloved truths within a domain, for instance within the discourse of music education. However, it seems important to remember that things inevitably do change over time—the world is perhaps not as stable as we would like it to be—and making the familiar unfamiliar may be an important strategy for gaining new knowledge which in turn can be applied to influence further development of research and education in positive ways. For music education the discourse of children's music is important. The discourse of 'children's music' is spun around two nodal points: 'children' and 'music'. A nodal point of a discourse is a privileged sign, but any discursive system is unstable, and any nodal point may become a floating signifier, that is, a sign whose meaning is not agreed upon (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2007). At different times and in different places, the meaning and connotations of 'child', as well as the meaning and connotations of 'music' have changed. Moreover, as these two concepts are part of articulations of

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[5] Technology is changing rapidly, and we are now experiencing audiences' increasing use of non-linear television. When the data were collected for the first study mentioned in this chapter, linear television was the main mode of watching programmes on screen. Although the participants also watched music on YouTube, such as the Norwegian version of the Junior European Song Contest, and families watched movies on DVD, the children's television programmes broadcast by the state broadcaster NRK (Norsk Rikskringkasting) had a strong position; they were the common ground of children's media.

varying discourses, their meanings shift according to the discourse they are part of. Anders Rønningen (2010) compares the concept of 'music' to an aeroplane's black box, arguing that its content may be taken for granted, as being 'natural' and self-evident, but it is much more complex than that. Examples of what the word 'music' used to mean in a historical radio setting can be found in the Norwegian radio magazine *Programbladet* in the late 1940s. The printed schedule shows there were many music broadcasts. However, the schedule also reveals that 'music' meant 'classical music of the Western tradition'. A contrast was the heading 'Music from Other Countries' [*Musikk fra andre land*]. This seems odd today, as classical music is far from the most prominent genre of radio broadcastings in general, and globalisation processes have progressed much further, so that the heading Music from Other Countries does not seem legitimate anymore. The meaning of 'children's music' is also constantly changing. The music produced and broadcast to a child audience in the late 1940s and 1950s included mostly older, traditional children's songs; pedagogical songs performed by radio aunts and uncles and modelled by the assembly hours of kindergartens; classical music of the Western tradition; and new children's songs, written and performed by prominent children's radio hosts of the 1950s, such as Alf Prøysen and Thorbjørn Egner. The repertoire changed, not surprisingly, through the decades (see Bickford, 2019, this volume). In the early 1990s, the Norwegian co-production of *Sesame Street* was launched. The idea of edutainment highlighted the combination of learning and fun, and although the music continued to include a repertoire of older children's songs, it was also highly influenced by American jazz and pop/rock genres, and even hip-hop. Thus, a child growing up in the 1990s then would associate quite different things with 'music' than a child growing up in the 1950s.

Through its travel through history and across cultures, 'music' has been ascribed and re-ascribed meanings, and as Rønningen (2010) argues, its current naturalisation involves the presupposition of something that is never brought out into the light and that leaves us unaware of its various possible meanings. Its presupposed meanings may even stand in the way of the researcher or teacher's view of their research subject, because the taken-for-granted meaning overshadows the alternative meanings. Small (1998, 1999) does not only contest the repertoire, but also the accepted understandings of the very concept 'music'. As mentioned earlier, he presents an analysis of what the concept of music is generally held to mean in a Western tradition—a noun—and he suggests an alternative: to understand music as a verb (although he does not describe his work as discourse analysis). An important point from a discourse analytical perspective is that such shifts in meaning have consequences for other signs. As previously explained, what it means to take part in a musical performance changes, when 'music' is turned into a verb. The musicking 'child' (a privileged sign in the discourse of children's music) is best described as a *musicker*. And this description has consequences for evaluations of children's musical engagement, because one may expect other things from a *musicker* than from a *musician*, parallel to the difference between *musickingship* and *musicianship*.

Affordance: Music Offers Participation and Works as a Resource for the Self

In addition to the concept of musicking, I have argued elsewhere that affordance is a concept and framework that is able to capture the meaning of music in child-led research, largely overarching the boundaries between genres (Vestad, 2013). The concept of affordance provides a helpful expansion of the relationship between the music and the child because an affordance is about what an artefact—an object or a 'thing'—offers or 'does for' an individual. Eric Clarke (2005) describes the multitude of affordances of a piece of music in the following way:

> Music affords dancing, singing (and singing along), playing (and playing along), working, persuading, drinking and eating, doing aerobics, taking drugs, playing air guitar, traveling, protesting, seducing, waiting on the telephone, sleeping…the list is endless. These, as well as writing and speaking are what music affords, and what they demonstrate is the enacted character of musical meaning. (Clarke, 2005, p. 204)

This description resembles, to a certain extent, Campbell's list of participatory modes (2010), and the fact that Clarke (2005) opens up the possibility for an endless list of affordances makes the concept applicable for exploring music's affordances from the perspective of children's culture. When Tia DeNora explains the concept of affordance she uses a ball as an example: 'Objects "afford" actors certain things; a ball, for example affords rolling, bouncing and kicking in a way that a cube of the same size, texture and weight would not', she writes (2000, p. 39). Using this concept, DeNora (2000) focuses on the interaction between people and things by not only addressing what the things—here, the musics—offer or 'do for' the person, but also stressing that musical affordances are dependent upon how the individual appropriates the music. Thus, what children do with music, who the children are and what their situation is, regulate what a certain piece of music affords, in addition to how the music sounds. This resembles, as do Clarke's writings (2005), Campbell's claims about music's function being its meaning (2010), but DeNora (2000) takes these claims further into the realm of music sociology by applying other theoretical and analytical frameworks. My data consisted of several observations of children listening to music played from technological devices (CD player, computer etc.) in play situations organised by the children themselves. Two examples which illustrate the constitution of musical affordances by children's appropriation of the music, are the following: a particular song played from a CD player was initially observed to invite children to sing along, thus, singing along was their mode of participation. The song was then re-constituted and confirmed as a 'singing-song' by the children's repeated engagement in singing along to it over time. Simultaneously, they started to refer to the song verbally as 'the singing-song'.[6] Other songs invited the children to dance along, and such songs were constituted as 'dancing-songs' by similar constituent practices (Vestad, 2013).

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[6] 'Singing-song' ['synge-sang'] is not a regular Norwegian expression, but was made up by the children.

Furthermore, DeNora describes music as 'arguably the cultural material *par excellence* of emotion and the personal' (2000, p. 46), and she calls for further research into music and the constitution of the self. Seen in the light of writings by Nordin-Hultman (2004), stating that children are created in educational settings, DeNora's (2000) call is important. In music classrooms as well as in other settings which involve music and children, music educators and parents are indeed handling children's musical identities and selves. These issues are not only important when bringing up the elite musicians of the next generation, but also when educating *musickers*, that is, individuals who are able to participate in musical performance as described by Small and use music as a resource for the self in their everyday lives in a broad sense. DeNora asserts that 'music is not "about" anything but is rather a material that happens over time and in particular ways' (2000, p. 158); its meaning is constituted *in action*. She goes on to stress that '[o]ne can find oneself in music's ways of happening, draw parallels between it and oneself such that one may say to self and others, "as this music happens, so do I"' (DeNora, 2000, p. 158). This serves as a fruitful foundation for exploring how and why music is meaningful to children, as described by themselves across modes and as described by their parents and teachers. It is about what happens in the moments of musical interactions, what the particular music offers the particular child in the particular situation (cf. DeNora, 2000). The concept of 'music' here is flexible; it is not about the standards of one particular or a particular set of genres, nor is it about re-finding a particular set of ascribed meanings, affordances or ideal relations (cf. Small, 1998). Instead, it is about envisioning the analytical concept of 'music' as a moon buggy that can stretch and adapt its wheeled legs to fit the landscape into which the children lead you. The moon buggy metaphor is inspired by the writings of Dewilde (2013) and García (2007).

Performativity: Moments of Musical Meaning

I have now reached what I described in the beginning of this chapter as the outer boundaries of the theoretical framework. Here I will bring attention to the complex relationship between individuals' experiences of meaningful musical moments and the shared interpretative resources which become visible as patterns of evaluation and ascriptions of meaning across the data. 'Music creates moments', one of the interviewed mothers described, putting into few words what several of the participants had expressed. They stressed the intensity and extreme sense of presence they felt when they let themselves notice and get involved in such moments, the relationships they experienced with their children, and the joy, contentment and focused interest the music brought about. Many such moments were described as short, but extremely valuable. Indeed, some effort was required to notice them, participants claimed. One such moment described was when one of the kindergarten teachers started moving her body to the music playing from the CD player and the children came running to join in. 'It is a very joyful moment,' the teacher described, 'even if

it doesn't last very long, only a few minutes [...] I think it creates a lot of joy'. In the families, relationships between siblings or between parents and children were often put forward in the narratives of musical moments. One example is Marthe and her mother, who listened to a CD with older, traditional songs and riddles. The strength of the moment was revealed in the mother's touched voice and the child's wide-open eyes and enthusiastic response when the mother suddenly exclaimed, 'This one your Mummy had too, when she was a child. Exactly this one'! A few seconds later, she followed up, saying, 'This one Grandma knew too. Exactly this one'! In these moments, family bonds are constituted and sustained through music (see also Vestad, 2013).

In these moments, children's musical cultures are performed and both the culture as a whole and the individual children's musical subjectivities are created and sustained (cf. Nordin-Hultman, 2004). As quoted earlier, DeNora describes in an almost poetic way how music and the self are deeply connected: '[A]s this music happens, so do I' (2000, p. 158). These moments are *when it happens* on all three of the individual, social and cultural levels, and in these moments the individual, social and cultural are woven together. My approach to children's musical culture as a whole draws on Judith Butler's (2006, p. xv) assertion that it [here: children's musical culture] is not about 'a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effect through its naturalization'. A performative approach means that children's culture is not a fixed and ready-made object, a determined set of songs and rituals merely transferred from one generation to the next. Instead, children's culture is viewed as a continuous process in which songs, music and the practices they are a part of are confirmed and sustained through the repeated acts of people, while the culture is continuously renewed by the contributions of older and newer voices (Bakhtin, 1984; Dyndahl, 2003). Thus, from a performative perspective, children's culture is 'manufactured through a sustained set of acts' (Butler, 2006, p. xv), and this set of acts is repeated so many times that it seems to be the 'natural' or 'just the way things are' (which is the same logic as the naturalisation which occurs when theoretical frameworks are repeated until they become invisible and unquestioned, as explained in the beginning of this chapter). Across the data, a repeated set of 'singular acts' was confirmed, constituting what is recognised as contemporary children's culture. Moreover, patterns of ascribed meaning to these experienced moments were also confirmed. In order to explore these patterns further, I turn to the concept of interpretative repertoires.

Interpretative Repertoires: Systems of Musical Meaning

The theoretical/analytical approach presented thus far allows the researcher to take a close look at how children engage with music in their everyday lives, what music may mean to them and to bring out the importance of each experienced musical moment. However, as the title of this chapter suggests, our ways of ascribing meaning to children's musical engagement can be looked at as discursive systems—that

is, there is a structure which regulates both the sustained set of acts and the ascriptions of meanings to these acts. Systems like these can be explored by looking for available *interpretative repertoires*. An interpretative repertoire is 'a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterise and evaluate actions and events' (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 138). In discourse theoretical terms, then, when characterising and evaluating the musical performances of everyday life, we draw upon registers of terms and metaphors made available through history and in the social realms of our lives. Such interpretative repertoires are 'relatively coherent ways of talking about objects and events in the world' (Edley, 2001, p. 198). Moreover, discourse theory provides a way of talking about how discursive structures create and sustain legitimate *subject positions* in music. Subject positions are '"locations" within a conversation … They are the identities made relevant by specific ways of talking' (Edley, 2001, p. 210). As already explained, the way music educators traditionally make sense of a child's singing (cf. Sörenson, 2001) differs from what is relevant when characterising children's engagement within the framework of musickingship. The advocacy for musickingship as part of a relevant theoretical framework builds upon the narrow subject positions made available by the participants' talk in the ethnographic study. The study showed that dichotomies of subject positions of either 'musical' or 'unmusical', either 'talented' and 'not talented' haunted the professional thinking of daycare staff as well as parents' talk about the children's musical lives. Moreover, 'musical' and 'talented' were often talked about as the capacity to play an instrument to a very high level. Following these discursive paths, engagement in music could only be truly legitimised if it involved successful performances (in a narrow sense) in a professional or semi-professional scene (Vestad, 2013, 2014b). In other words, this discourse of children's musical engagement provided extremely limited categories for children's construction of their musical selves. Again, in discourse theoretical terms, the advocacy for a discourse of musickingship aims to frame children's musical engagement more broadly, by providing a theoretical framework which clearly legitimises other ways of being in music. The subject position of musicker is promising, because thinking with this subject position as a theoretical and analytical tool may provide an alternative which operates beyond the narrow understandings of 'musical' and 'unmusical', 'talented' and 'not talented' found in the data.

Interpretative repertoires involve possibilities and constraints for action as well as emotion (Edley, 2001). However, the discourse analytical framework involving interpretative repertoires was developed for analysing verbal expressions, and the multimodal nature of children's participation in music (cf. Campbell, 2010, as explained earlier), and requires an adapted discourse analytical framework for analysing musical meaning expressed across a variety of modes. Campbell's (2010) description of what children do with music as 'Gesamtkunstwerke' resembles to a certain extent Sigrid Norris' (2004, 2009) discourse analytical description of the multimodal ensembles people use to express meaning in conversation. Norris writes:

> All interactions are multimodal. Imagine, for example, a simple two-person interaction, a conversation with a friend. During this interaction, you are aware of your friend's spoken language, so that you can hear the verbal choices, the content, the prosody, and the pitch. You are also aware of the way that your friend is standing or sitting, the way that your friend is nodding or leaning back or forward; you are aware of your friend's facial expression, and clothing, just as you are aware of the environment in which this interaction takes place. If there is music playing in the background, even though you are not focusing on the music, you are aware of it. All of these elements play part in this conversation. (Norris, 2004, p. 1)

Much of the same can be said about situations in which children use recorded music. Although the music is foregrounded in the interactions that were the focus of my data and Norris handles conversations, her inclusion of the multimodal offers legitimacy to the inclusion of children's various modes in the discourse analysis of their musickingships; they communicate constitutions of musical affordances not only through the verbal, but also in other modes. These other modes are also part of a discursive system of possibilities and constraints. An aim in the setting of my research project was to be as open-minded as possible about modes in children's musical culture. Norris' description brings attention once again to the question of what may count as a mode in ascribing meaning to music? The list now seems even more endless than in Clarke's (2005) writings quoted earlier. Does such a vast expansion of possible modes threaten to deflate the concept of musickingship? A modality is a heuristic unity, Norris emphasises, and anything can be a mode (for instance, furniture), as long as it is used to express meaning. The units of modes should be chosen in such a way that they are useful to the analysis (Norris, 2004, 2009). This allows for categories of modes, such as listening, movement, singing, timbres, conversation, drawing, writing, playing and more, as long as they are used as ways to express meaning in a musical performance, that is, in the extended view of a musical performance (cf. Small, 1998).

'Interactions' are, in this chapter, understood to be interactions between people (children, parents and/or teachers) around or in music, as well as between the music and the child. A crucial idea is that moments of musical interactions are discursive systems that follow certain patterns and that are based in available ways of thinking about children and music. The focus of my ethnographically oriented research project was to explore musical interactions by means of observations and to investigate participants' talk about these interactions by conducting interviews with children, their daycare staff and parents. The overall aim was to arrive at a gallery of interpretative repertoires of musical affordances that the participants drew on to legitimise children's musical engagement. In itself, the description of such a gallery contributes to a music educational discourse by bringing out knowledge that is easily missed within music education. In qualitative research in general and in discourse analysis approaches in particular, a central aim is, furthermore, to tease out what is not mentioned, but nevertheless operate as truths. These are the things which are taken for granted. In one chapter it is not possible to bring out and discuss all the discursive patterns that can be found in the data. In the following I will instead concentrate on two examples which represent patterns of gendered musical engagement. These examples can serve to raise critical questions about how we, the music

educators and researchers belonging to a certain culture at a certain point in time, inadvertently support children's musical selves in particular and constraining ways within the discursive system.

Gender and Music in the Early Years

To illustrate the usefulness of the theoretical framework, I will in the following paragraphs put it into practice. I will discuss two ethnographic events of children's musical engagement, organised by the children themselves. The focus will be on gendered music-making in the early years. The first event took place in the large sandbox of the kindergarten and is described by an assistant and the head of staff:

> Assistant: They are about 4 years old, those boys.
> Head of staff: Yes […] There were two boys standing down by the swings, and they had some sticks [from a tree] or something…
> A: Yes, there were two [large and thick] sticks, which were...one of them was split, so that it had kind of a guitar-balance [*he demonstrates the feeling of the guitar balance by holding his hands out as though he was holding a guitar, moving his hands up and down as though he was feeling its weight*] and then they had…
> *The head teacher asks something, [inaudible].*
> A: When they started? Ehm...it just started somehow, it just started rolling in a way…and there it was. One of them started singing and standing like this [*shows the posture of a guitar player*], and then the other one came with a microphone on a kind of stand, and then they had a guitar and a microphone and they sang. They had lyrics and stuff, and they sang that they...'Now we are playing in a rock band and we have quit kindergarten'.
> *Head teacher laughs*
> [Assistent: (D)e er vel fire år de gutta.
> Styrer: Ja. (…) Da er det to gutter som står nede ved huskene, da, og hadde noe pinner eller noe sånt (*ser spørrende på assistenten*)
> A: Det var to kjepper, som var… Den ene var litt sånn delt, så den fikk litt sånn gitar… eh … balanse i seg, liksom, og så hadde de …
> *Styrer spør om noe.*
> Assistent: Når de begynte det? Det bare begynte helt sånn, det bare rulla i gang, liksom. Han ene begynte å synge og stå sånn (*viser gitaristpositur*) og så kom han andre med mikrofon, da, på sånt stativ, og så hadde de gitar, da, og mikrofon og så sang de. De hadde tekster og sånn, og de sang at de…'Nå spiller vi bare i rockeband og vi har slutta i barnehagen'.
> S: (*ler*)]

Starting with the modes that express meaning in the event observed by the assistant teacher, the sandbox and the swing artefacts designate the leisure time and play mode of the event. The next artefact that serves to express meaning to the assistant teacher and me is the stick, which resembles and represents a guitar. The shape, as well as the weight and balance, are important in this respect, and the assistant teacher's behaviour in the interview points to his embodied knowledge of how a guitar—and the stick—really feels to hold. Clearly, how the boy guitarist stands, his posture, adds to the assistant teacher's ascription of meaning, and this guides his interpretation

of the event as a rock band experience. Then, the microphone is introduced as a crucial artefact in his narrative, along with the boys' singing. The lyrics are emphasised, which in turn describes their intentions, as well as confirms and adds to the assistant's interpretation by revealing the rebel attitude of quitting kindergarten, but which might also be interpreted as a longing for and celebration of their ever-increasing independence.

The two main participants in this event were the boys. However, the relationship with the assistant teacher is also highly significant to the event and the narrative told in the interview. The assistant teacher is a rock musician himself, and the kindergarten owns his recent CD. The two boys often ask him about being a rock star and about making music, strongly supported by their parents, who thereby occupy positions as indirect participants in this musical performance. Supported by the knowledge they have drawn from the assistant teacher, who obviously serves as a role model, they are able to set up the rock music event themselves. One of the main arguments of this chapter is that people's available interpretative repertoires regulate how objects and events are characterised and evaluated. In this particular event, the assistant teacher's background—where his watchtower was set up and, consequently, the landscape of the children's musical engagement that was visible to him—was of importance. The head teacher explained that she would probably not have noticed the boys' play had the assistant teacher not alerted her. She interpreted the boys' play against a different theoretical backdrop, and noticed that the boys were happily occupied with playing [children's play] together in the sandbox, but missed the music of it. Moreover, because of his competence in music, the assistant teacher was able to view the children's play from the position of a credible member of the audience. From this position in the sandbox, he confirmed and reinforced the particularities of the boys' musical engagement.

Next, I will contrast this example with one of a girl's similar play from a video sequence recorded by one of the participating mothers of her 5-year-old child, and I will discuss the two examples' similarities and differences focussing on gender perspectives.

> Jennifer is standing on a pillow box in the garden […] the mother comments while she is videotaping that the daughter uses the box as a stage, while she sings like she would if she was in a pop band. Jennifer sings and dances a little, a song I do not recognise […] it has a pop-like tune and the following lyrics: *The one who makes me happy is me…come on and see, just come on and come on and laugh…*
>
> You're gonna be a real pop singer, Jennifer, the mother bursts out.
>
> The child smiles and the two of them continue talking about songs Jennifer has made herself.
>
> [Jennifer står på en putekasse ute i hagen (…) Moren kommenterer mens hun filmer at datteren bruker kassen som en slags scene, mens hun synger som i et popband. Jennifer synger og danser litt, en sang jeg ikke kjenner fra før (…) Den har pop-aktig melodi, og har følgende tekst: *Den som gjør noen glad, er meg, tralala* (…) *Kom igjen og se, bare kom igjen og kom igjen og le…*
>
> – Du kommer til å bli en ordentlig popsanger, du, Jennifer, sier moren.
>
> Barnet smiler og de to fortsetter å snakke om sanger barnet har laget selv].

In short, the pillow box serves as a stage, and it points to the relaxed afternoon setting of a weekend at home. The girl has thought of the lyrics herself, and her musical engagement is supported and confirmed by the mother. Moreover, her modes of participating in the musical performance are slightly different from those of the boys: she is singing and dancing, while the boys were singing and playing the guitar. A first and crucial question is the following: if there were two girls on the sandbox, is it likely that one of them would have participated by pretending to play a guitar? If not, is the stick of the previous event so extraordinary that it, itself, prompts the boy's action of playing an instrument? Other questions are equally important: is it a coincidence that the boys' engagement is interpreted as a rock-style performance, while the girl's engagement comes across more strongly as a singer-songwriter event, possibly in pop music style? From the totality of the data, it becomes evident that the everyday musical engagements of young children appear to be a gendered system of singular acts. Based on the theoretical framework explained here, the question remains, however, of whether this children's cultural system is mainly regulated by the musical role models offered to boys and girls in general or whether it is more about the local cultures, interests and competences of the people in the child's proximity. An important and challenging point of speculation is whether people (here, the assistant, the mother and myself as a researcher) unconsciously draw on gendered repertoires of musical engagement when characterising and evaluating seemingly innocent events. Do we allow gendered categories of musical subject positions to reflect on children's musical performances? We may all respond negatively to the suggested subject positions of boys and girls expressed in the children's poem 'What are little boys made of'?:

What are Little Boys Made of?
What are little boys made of?
Frogs and snails
And puppy-dogs' tails
That's what little boys are made of

What are little girls made of?
What are little girls made of?
Sugar and spice
And all that's nice
That's what little girls are made of[7]

The question is whether we reproduce other, but equally, stigmatising categories and patterns of behaviour for boys and girls respectively in music, inadvertently causing unnecessary constraints on their musickingships.

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[7] Cited from The Baby's Opera: A Book of Old Rhymes with New Dresses by Walter Crane; The Music by the Earliest Masters. London & New York: George Rutledge & Sons.

Conclusion

> …when people talk, they do so using a lexicon or repertoire of terms which has been pro-
> vided for them by history. A language culture may supply a whole range of ways of talking
> about or constructing an object or event, and speakers are therefore bound to make choices.
> However, the options aren't always equal. Some constructions or formulations may be more
> '"available" than others; they are easier to say. This is because some ways of understanding
> the world can be culturally dominant [...]. That is, they can assume the status of facts, taken
> for granted as true or accurate descriptions of the world. (Edley, 2001, p. 190)

In this chapter, I have provided an alternative theoretical framework for analys-
ing children's engagement with music in contrast to the dominant frameworks in
music education and music education research. I have demonstrated how this frame-
work may be applied to ethnographic events, particularly as a starting point for
discussing gendered musical engagement in the early years. However, I have merely
scratched the surface and further efforts are needed for a better and deeper under-
standing of the gendered systems of meaning-making in children's culture.

Choosing how to construct objects and events (i.e. musical moments) involves
great responsibilities for researchers, teachers and others who work with children
and music. By our characterisations and evaluations, we create children's musical
subjectivities (cf. Nordin-Hultman, 2004). We put up our watchtower and from this
spot in the landscape we characterise, evaluate and confirm children's musical
engagement. For children our talk and confirmations contribute to making some
ways of understanding their musical selves more available than others, including a
particular gallery of subject positions and a certain repertoire of legitimate modes of
participation and ways of being in music. In short, we are setting up *their* watch-
tower from which they observe and construct their musical selves. In these pro-
cesses children are socialised into being 'boys' and 'girls' in music. I argue here that
what the music seemingly innocently invites children to do—what it affords and
how the children appropriate it—conforms to and re-constitutes other already estab-
lished social norms. Children's participation in musical performances is not only
about the subject positions of 'musical' and 'non-musical', or about traditional and
newer ways of characterising and evaluating children's musical performances, but
also about discursively embedded gender expectations (as well as expectations of
class and race/ethnicity), which we inadvertently confirm and support by our ways
of seeing and talking about children's musicking. It seems important to be able to
analyse children's music-making and musical engagement from many aspects to
confirm and support a whole range of their musicking behaviours and to put them
on a path towards lifelong and flourishing musickingships. The wide purpose of
supporting children's musickingships, as sketched out in this chapter, involves sup-
porting children in their musical thinking, aesthetic exploration and creativity, as
well as in trusting and stating their own opinions. It involves becoming aware of
systems of meaning making, as well as 'thinking again' about things that might
seem self-evident. To challenge the taken-for-granted is one way of teaching for
action and responsibility (Biesta, 2014).

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Chapter 14
The Kindie Movement: Independent Children's Music in the United States Since 2000

Tyler Bickford

Introduction

Scholarly studies of children's music-making have emerged as a growing field of study in recent years, establishing that children around the world are important participants in musical production and consumption (Bickford, 2017; Campbell, 2010; Emberly & Davhula, 2016; Marsh, 2008; Minks, 2013; Young, 2012). But in many large-scale societies with commercial culture industries, and certainly in the United States, music made by adults is a dominant form of children's music. While research in music education and ethnomusicology has established that children are important social and musical agents, it is equally important to understand how adults actively define and circumscribe that agency in their interactions with and ideologies about children—a problem that has received significant attention in children's literature studies (e.g., Nodelman, 2008; Rose, 1984). To better understand the ideologies that inform adult music-making for children, this chapter examines the growth of independent children's music in the United States over the last two decades, in a movement widely referred to as "kindie." I focus especially on the aesthetic values advocated by kindie musicians and others involved in the kindie movement, which reveal interesting and at times contradictory conceptions of the relationships between children, adults, and musical quality. Specifically, kindie music practitioners widely share a strong explicit commitment to making "good" music for children, while musical quality is ultimately defined in terms of adult tastes and preferences. In kindie music, then, the pursuit of musical value continually appears as a movement away from child listeners, while adults are established as the legitimate arbiters of taste, and children's preferences are repeatedly marginalized from

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music nominally created for them. This is interesting not just for what it says about the historical development of a highly visible and influential form of contemporary children's music in the United States, but also for what it reveals about the underlying tension between musical values and ideological conceptions of childhood.

My goal in this chapter is to identify some of the fault-lines that emerge when adult US children's musicians talk about their music and their audience. In particular I am focused on music that falls under the umbrella term "kindie," a portmanteau of "kid" and "indie" (or "kinder" and "indie"). People involved in kids music often describe kindie as a "movement" rather than a scene or genre, and I'll follow that usage for the most part here. The "kid" of kindie highlights pre-school and elementary aged children, generally younger than 7 or 8 years old. "Indie" highlights both the kindie movements' investment in "independent" production and distribution, and in musical values that emphasize rock authenticity and sophisticated musical taste (e.g. Hesmondhalgh, 1999).

The accepted history of kindie music starts in the late 1990s, when New York artists Laurie Berkner, Dan Zanes, and David Weinstone all independently started making music for young children. But the developments in children's music that preceded them are important for understanding the context into which they emerged. These artists started making kids music at the tail end of a tumultuous decade for children's music. Following the dramatic success of independent children's singer-songwriter Raffi in the 1980s (who followed a long tradition of folk-revivalists who recorded children's music, including Pete Seeger, Peter, Paul, and Mary, and Woody Guthrie), in 1990 several major record labels, including Sony Wonder, Warner Bros' Kid Rhino, and Walt Disney Records, began to make significant new investments in original children's music, signing independent artists and developing original new acts internally (McCormick, LaFollette, & Stasi, 1991). But by 1994 these companies had largely given up on selling children's records, as home video emerged as the dominant format for children's media—helped along by the new dominance of big box retail stores that heavily favored video sales over traditional music recordings (McCormick, 1994). The dominant figures in this new period of mass market home video dominance were Disney's reinvigorated animated musicals and the ubiquitous purple dinosaur Barney, whose saccharine performances of public-domain nursery rhymes inspired widespread adult antipathy.[1] The independent children's musicians, such as Bill Harley, Trout Fishing in America, or Cathy Fink and Marcy Marxer, who had thrived in the 1980s, continued to make music independently, but it was harder to escape the shadow of these mass media juggernauts.

By the end of the 1990s, then, children's music was widely understood to mean highly corporatized multimedia mass market productions, and the once-vibrant and highly visible independent children's music movement had been largely overshadowed. This is the environment in which Berkner, Zanes, and Weinstone developed

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[1] I'm grateful to David Pierce, who was Executive Vice President and General Manager of Sony Music Distribution in the 1900s and later headed Sony Wonder, for explaining the centrality of retail home video to the children's music market during that period, in an interview conducted by phone in May 2014.

their new children's acts. Zanes and Weinstone were both former rock musicians who were inspired to create music for kids after becoming parents. Berkner had been teaching music at a preschool and developed material for her classes, and then began recording and performing her songs more widely. A local music scene developed quickly, with parents circulating recordings and bringing their kids from show to show. Berkner says about that period that "there was a joke for a long time about people who would come to my shows like they were Dead Heads, or sleep outside before a concert or get there hours before to get their tickets" (interview August 15, 2012). At the same time the internet was providing new opportunities for exposure and retail websites like Amazon were making it easier for independent artists to distribute their recordings nationally without having to sign with major labels, which Berkner describes as a key development (interview August 15, 2012). All three artists got a lot of attention, first from the New York press and then nationally. Berkner appeared on the *Today Show* in 2001, and by 2004 all three had music videos running as interstitials on Nickelodeon's morning preschool block, Nick Jr. Throughout the 1990s the Grammy for Best Musical Album for Children had been awarded to video-based recordings like Disney film soundtracks or TV spinoffs (*Elmopalooza!*), with occasional wins for mainstream artists like Linda Rondstadt making one-off kids records, but in the 2000s the nominees and winners began to consistently include kids-first recording artists like Cathy Fink and Marcy Marxer, Bill Harley, Dan Zanes, and the Okee Dokee Brothers. In 2005 the Lollapallooza music festival spun off Kidzapalooza, which has run continuously since, and 2007 saw the first of a series of annual showcases and conventions that would become Kindiefest and KindieComm. By this point many more acts had emerged, and bands like Ralph's World and Recess Monkey reflected a dominant indie-rock sound and culture. After 2009 Nickelodeon had shifted to investing in its own music acts and using interstitial time for ads and promotions rather than music videos, removing a significant source of visibility for independent children's musicians, but the number of new acts continued to increase, encompassing a growing range of styles and genres.

Since 2012 I have interviewed several dozen children's musicians, producers, radio hosts, and public relations professionals, and attended and spoken at the national children's music conventions, Kindiefest and the Children's Music Network. There is a lot that is interesting about this world, especially in its similarities and differences from conventional/adult music scenes and genres. In this chapter I primarily focus on evaluative discourses among kindie practitioners, especially those that emphasize adult listeners as the arbiters of musical taste.

Discourses around kindie, position it as a solution to widespread adult dislike of kids music, focused especially on Raffi and Barney—two of the most highly visible children's music acts from the 1980s to 1990s. Magazine and newspaper profiles of kindie acts from the 2000s frequently opened with a ritual disavowal of Raffi or Barney, who were then contrasted with kindie music, which was seen to be more tolerable to adults, and perhaps even enjoyable. For example, in 2000 the *New York Times* profiled David Weinstone's Music for Aardvarks and Other Mammals with the jokey headline "Songs for Children That Won't Make the Adults Fwow Up"

(Kelly, 2000). The story quoted Weinstone joking about specifically trying not to sound like Raffi: "I would say, 'I'm thinking of putting a kazoo in that part.' And [my producer] says, 'Raffi would put a kazoo on there.' And I say, 'Whew, thanks.'" The same article quoted parents and teachers emphasizing adult enjoyment: "I love that David pulls from so many different musical influences from the Beatles, to reggae to 70's and 80's hits … Instead of going down in the music he's going up. The true secret to Aardvarks' popularity is that adults like it," and "Parents need to be not bored and not insulted" (Kelly, 2000, p. CY3). The same themes were repeated over the next decade. In 2006 the web magazine *Salon* profiled "kindie rock"—focusing on Zanes, Berkner, Justin Roberts, and They Might Be Giants (kid-friendly grown-up indie musicians who had recently begun releasing records explicitly for kids)—with the kicker, "Roll over, Raffi! A new wave of kids artists, most of them former grown-up rockers, are making music for 5-year-olds that the rest of us can listen to without wanting to die" (Lamb, 2006). As late as 2010, *Time Magazine* headed an article about kindie music with, "Parents! Are You Ready for Kindie Rock? Desperate for a break from Barney? Need a Raffi respite? Try the new crop of parent-friendly kindie bands" (Barovick, 2010).

While in 2000 Weinstone himself was putting forward the anti-Raffi line, by 2010 this framing primarily elicited groans of embarrassment from insiders, who often express the desire to normalize their work and move past this need to constantly justify performing for kids. But nonetheless, many continued to position themselves in contrast to particular traditions in children's music, and identifying and disavowing bad kids music is a central discursive move. The most common characterization of bad kids music is that it is patronizing. In a common refrain, Keith Grimwood of Trout Fishing in America said, "we try to never talk down to kids, play down to kids" (interview May 7, 2014). Overly cute or childish lyrics are also disapproved of, in favor of claims to lyrical realism and sophistication. In interviews, Sandra Velasquez of Moona Loona dismissed "river duckies and rainbows" (interview February 24, 2014), Dan Zanes mentioned "adults singing about riding a school bus or … learning to use a fork" (interview September 4, 2012), and Grimwood described the "sickeningly sweet stuff" that dominated kids music when he and Ezra Idlet started Trout Fishing in America in the later 1970s (interview May 7, 2014). When David Weinstone described his own motivation to make music for his kids while living in New York he said, "there were no bunnies or ponies hopping down in front of my kid's apartment, and if most of the world was satisfied with farm animal songs and things that they really had no physical exposure to, then people that didn't live in urban areas could suffer through my songs about subways, taxis, skyscrapers, and bagels" (interview February 21, 2014). Kindie music also shares a general disposition against didacticism: Mindy Thomas, who hosted Sirius XM's Kids Place Live said about that show's programming decisions, "We stay away from the songs that are teachable, like the educational songs or the songs that tell kids what to do or teach them a lesson" (interview August 20, 2014).

In kindie discourse, "don't talk down to kids" suggests that the default for most music and media for kids, especially older children's music and corporate children's media, is to be patronizing. Notably, though, similar sentiments are common even

in the corporate, highly commercialized contexts to which kindie musicians commonly oppose themselves. For example, Rynda Laurel, who did A&R at Sony Wonder while that label was still making original kids recordings, spent much of her time trying to convince mainstream artists to make novelty one-off kids albums, chasing the successes of Kenny Loggins and Linda Rondstadt, in a model that is largely anathema in the kindie movement. But in describing her own approach, her language strongly echoed the "don't talk down to kids" ethos of kindie: "I approach it from a different way of treating the kids and the children as already smart and already intelligent and just bringing out that intelligence, no dumbing down" (interview May 23, 2014).

If "don't talk down to kids" is a negative mandate, the positive content of good kids music is mostly left unstated. Instead, artists are admonished to make "quality," "good," or "real" music. But ultimately the test of musical quality emphasizes adult listeners. When Grimwood said, "we try to never talk down to kids, play down the kids," he immediately paired that idea with, "we tried to get kids real music, so parents could hear it and go hey, that's real music" (interview May 7, 2014). There is a double movement here, in which not playing *down* to kids often means playing *up* to their parents. That theme is explicit in the many journalistic accounts, which highlight "parent-friendly" music (Barovick, 2010) that "won't make the adults fwow up" (Kelly, 2000), and it is also emphasized by kindie music insiders. For example Robert Drake, the longtime producer of Philadelphia NPR affiliate WXPN's daily children's show Kids Corner, said onstage at Kindiefest 2013 that, "the point is to make quality music for kids," and, "you know the success of a CD by how many times you hear from parents that they listen even when their kids are not in the car with them." The line about parents listening even when the kids are not in the car is so common as to be almost a cliché in the kindie world. This prioritization of adult evaluation in the kindie movement is widespread, to the point that it can be difficult to express the possibility that music that kids like and adults do not can also be good music. The influential blogger Jeff Bogle, who runs the website *Out With the Kids* and is a forceful advocate for the aesthetic value of children's recordings, used an ecstatic review of the Okee Dokee Brothers' excellent Grammy-winning 2012 album *Can You Canoe?* to argue that there "doesn't need to be a 'kids music' moniker any longer." He proposed "kids music—not just for kids anymore" as a slogan for the kindie movement (2012). So while "don't talk down to children" expresses a laudable aspiration of respect toward children's critical abilities, in practice this discourse shifts quickly to a focus on adult tastes. Not talking down to children often means talking to adults instead.

In fact, many artists have already moved away from the "'kids music' moniker" as Bogle suggests, in favor of the increasingly common "family music." For many artists and publicists, "family music" crystalizes the common emphasis on parents' musical enjoyment and implies distance from lower quality kids-only music. For some artists, like Dan Zanes, terms like "family music" and "all ages music" reflect a more sophisticated worldview that is less focused on adult tastes than the traditional folk-revival value of community participation in music making and listening. As Zanes puts it, "there were always people doing children's music … But I didn't

find a lot of all-ages music, [where] it would be as important that music had meaning to an adult as it was there were meaning to a child, because the shared experience is really the thing" (interview September 4, 2012). Weinstone makes a similar point about shared experience in describing his early concerns about mainstream children's music: "I always felt like they had to have these inside jokes for parents in order to make it valuable and I always thought that was kind of rip off for the kids that they should have to listen to music that kind of had these inside jokes so the parents could be like, 'isn't that witty.' I was like, why can't the parents go one level and the kids appreciate it on another level and then there also be a middle ground where they both appreciate on the same level, without having to have these kind of clunkers over the head for the kids" (interview February 21, 2014). Zanes's project is conscientiously political: he uses the term "segregation" to describe the separation of children from adults, which takes on more pointed meaning in light of his longstanding commitment to using his music in service of anti-racist politics. Nonetheless, an important upshot of this emphasis on family or all-ages music is to shift the emphasis from child listeners to adults who had not previously been addressed by "children's music." And while Zanes himself has a strong commitment to valuing communities as important social units, in its wider use the moniker "family music" strongly prioritizes parents and the nuclear family. Despite claims to respect children and break down barriers with adults, in important ways this language of "family music" is a literally domesticating move that encloses children within the family and works against alternative conceptions of children as members of communities that extend beyond the home. By contrast, highly commercial "tween" music—to which kindie music more recently is frequently contrasted (e.g. Bream, 2015)—is heavily invested in envisioning children as members of public group beyond their households (Bickford, 2012).

To some extent these discourses create impossible and contradictory demands, and they lead to escalating standards and criticism for acts that are seen to fall short. Josh Shriber of the Boston-based ska-punk band Josh and the Jamtones said, "I think my main beef with kindie is everybody says they're doing it for the parents and the whole family, everybody says they're not dumbing it down. But, you know, if you listen to some of the music it's not necessarily true" (interview February 25, 2014). Zanes, who is a bit more reflective, said "I still don't think that many are doing family music or all-ages music. But everybody says they are doing it, though they aren't." Laughing, he adds, "Maybe we're *all* doing children's music, and we're just deluding ourselves" (interview September 4, 2012). Truly all-ages music is a continually receding target.

These escalating standards lead to a dynamic of close attention to inclusion and exclusion that may be similar to authenticity discourses in adult indie scenes (which also became much more visible during the 2000s), in which too much success can be viewed skeptically as selling out, while at the same time new entrants can be criticized for jumping on a bandwagon (Hesmondhalgh, 1999). Just as a fully independent, ideologically committed, and explicitly anti-commercial artist like Raffi could be later rejected by anti-commercial independent artists as exactly what they aspired to move past, more recently the emphasis on adult taste has made it possible to cre-

ate rhetorical distance even from foundational kindie figures such as Laurie Berkner. Berkner is easily the most successful independent children's artist of the 2000s, and along with Zanes she is one of the two most prominent figures in every discussion of kindie. But, ironically, her music is seen by many as excessively oriented toward children. For example, Stephanie Mayer, who runs Zanes's label and organized the Kindiefest convention for several years, mentioned Berkner in the same disavowing breath as Raffi: "I think Dan's style is a little bit more for everybody than Raffi was. Sure a lot of parents probably love Raffi just like a lot of parents really love Laurie Berkner, but some other parents probably feel that Laurie Berkner is for the kids and they don't enjoy it as much. I think someone like Dan is a little more all-friendly maybe because Dan was a grown-up musician … Laurie was never really a grown-up musician" (interview January 9, 2013). Similarly, Tor Hyams, a prominent producer and long-time organizer of the Kidzapalooza festival, said about Berkner: "I'm not even sure I would say she's a kindie artist. I would say she's a kids artist … She is the least kindie of any artist, I would say. I love her, she's great and she is a good person too but she doesn't have a lyric that needs to make you think. She talks about you get up in the morning and she has something for breakfast, etc. etc. I'm putting a hat on my head, I have a dog on my head, what do you have on your head, you know, it's mindless but the kids love it" (interview July 5, 2013).

There is a distinct irony in repudiating one of the widely acknowledged founders of the kindie movement for not living up to its adult-centered values. The kindie movement seems to have left itself with no room for manoeuvre due to evaluative standards based on an underlying contradiction, in which the child audiences who make this music possible must be disavowed in favor of the discernment and taste of adults (who would not be listening to this music at all, were it not for the children in their lives). At some extreme this standard would suggest simply not making music for children at all. There is also a sense in which the "indie" aspects of kindie music lead to skepticism about commercial success and visibility like that achieved by Raffi and Berkner, both of whom blazed new trails for children's music while over decades maintaining their commercial and creative independence.

But there is also some truth to the suggestion that Berkner is especially focused on children. Unlike many of her peers, Berkner is a rare kindie musician who admits to not focusing very much on parents' tastes. She acknowledges that parents' desire to participate in activities like music listening with their kids is part of the reason for her success. But in my conversation with her the closest she came to addressing adult listeners was to say, "I wouldn't want to write something that I would hate to listen to, and I just always hoped that that would be in line with other parents" (interview August 15, 2012). But otherwise she consistently centered young children's taste and experience. She said, "I like the idea that as a four-year-old you can feel ownership around your music too." When describing her composition process she focused almost entirely on children, and their pleasures, their needs, and their desires: "When I am thinking about topics, there's really only two or three things that I do. One is that I listen to what kids say or talk about … noticing what kids find interesting and funny at that age. That's part of what I think also helps to make it feel like it's theirs" (interview August 15, 2012). She related in some detail a story about

watching two toddlers on a subway platform laugh at each other making nonsense sounds, and thinking about how to turn that into a song that they'd feel excitement and ownership of.

Then she talked about the particular demands placed on preschool kids, and explained that she would try to remember her own feelings as a child. She described the origins of the song "We Are the Dinosaurs" this way:

> *I was in this setting where I am working with kids in a preschool. They are not allowed to, they can't hit each other—and have it be okay. They can, and they wished that could and they want to and they try to. And they can't have a tantrums but I mean again of course they do. You are not supposed to scratch or scream or be really loud or get really mad or hit each other. They're supposed to use their words. They are supposed to talk about it with a teacher and keep their bodies to themselves. And all these things are completely the opposite of what you want to do when you're two-three-four-five. So, when I asked the kids one day what do you want to sing about. And one boy said dinosaurs. And then we got up and started stomping around, and I was like, oh this is it. They can roar when the music tells him to and its okay. They can put out their claws. They can stomp and show their teeth. They can do all these things that isn't usually okay. And I wanted to able to do that when I was a kid but I felt like it was bad … The music gives them a chance to have those feelings. (Interview August 15, 2012)*

If most kindie discourses prioritize adult listeners, Berkner is unapologetic about foregrounding children's unique experiences. "We Are the Dinosaurs" is not the sort of kids song that parents are likely to play in the car without their kids. In some sense Berkner *is* talking down to kids—at least she's treating them as though they have different experiences than adults, different emotions, different senses of humor. And she's basing a lot of those ideas on half-formed intuition and uncertain memories of her own childhood, as well, of course, as trial and error and a lot experience playing music for and with kids.

From all of this, we can see that childhood and musical taste seem to exist as concepts in a deep-seated opposition. It is quite remarkable that even artists and professionals who dedicate their careers to making high quality music for children find it very difficult to discuss children's musical preferences as valid expressions of aesthetic tastes. This is apparent primarily in the repeated shift to adult listeners when the question of high quality music for children is raised.[2] In a cynical moment, Hyams went further than most of his colleagues and stated plainly: "Children don't care about smart lyrics. They don't care about cool guitar sounds or that the band is playing live. They don't care. They don't care if the music is done on a synthesizer from one person and to tell you the truth they love the purple dinosaur [Barney]" (interview July 5, 2013). Most kindie practitioners would not express such a stark

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[2] I think it is interesting and important that kindie practitioners so frequently turn to adult preferences, but I don't intend this point as an especially strong criticism. I think the alternative is legitimately difficult, as I'll discuss. And there are many perfectly good reasons to center adults: they are the primary purchasers of music recordings for young children; musicians are clearly rewarded by journalists who publicize their work for foregrounding adults; there is a widespread and readily available discourse about children's music being unpleasant for adults, which may be the biggest barrier to attracting new audiences; and adult preferences are readily available and easy to talk about with other adults.

sentiment. But their repeated move to foreground adults when questions of musical quality and taste arise suggests that it is, at least, very difficult conceptually to understand children's musical pleasures or interests as legitimate aesthetic preferences or discerning evaluations. Hyams connection back to Barney brings the kindie conversation full-circle. In the late 1990s musicians and parents were reacting against the dominance of Barney, and the kindie movement emerged as an alternative—one that was supposed to be more parent-friendly and would not talk down to kids. But Hyams is suggesting that perhaps kids *want* to be talked down to, and that Barney really does represent the epitome of their musical preferences, and it turns out that kids just do not have good taste. In that view (certainly not one shared explicitly by most kindie practitioners, but which may represent an extreme reduction of more common perspectives), the desire to make good music for kids really is *just* a deferral to adult tastes. Commentary about children's television often produces similar confusion of age and quality. Ellen Seiter (1993) argues that most adult criticisms of commercial children's television, including shows like *Ghostbusters* and *My Little Pony* that were the subjects of widespread opprobrium especially for their emphasis on consumer merchandising, conflate bourgeois aesthetic norms and paternalist efforts to protect vulnerable children from corporate manipulation (see also Davies, Buckingham, & Kelley, 2000). Seiter suggests that more generous and engaged readings can find much more substance in such shows that, while perhaps displeasing to adults, nonetheless express valid and meaningful aesthetic values. If Hyams is right that making "sophisticated" music for children is futile, this may be a matter of differing taste rather than a single measure of quality, but adults struggle not to see differences as deficits. Perhaps Barney is not talking down, but simply talking *to* children rather than to their parents. A more engaged reading of Barney (along with Raffi, The Wiggles, and others who come in for so much criticism) might productively identify some interesting musical values.

Perhaps more fundamentally, cultural production for children raises thorny questions about the challenges of intersubjective communication between children and adults. In a related field, critical theorist Jacqueline Rose influentially argued that children's literature is "impossible," at least insofar as it claims "that it represents the child, speaks to and for children, addresses them as a group which is knowable" (1984, p. 1). Cultural production made by adults for children is always already based on a highly ideological adult imagination of childhood. Rose argued that, "if children's fiction builds an image of the child inside the book, it does so in order to secure the child who is outside the book, the one who does not come so easily within its grasp" (1984, p. 2). Certainly the same issues are relevant to music made by adults for child listeners. Neither Berkner nor her critics have escaped the problem Rose lays out so clearly, in which the unending compulsion to produce material *for* children may ultimately be nothing more than an expression of adult ideologies about children. It is interesting that, at least in their discourse about their work, a substantial coterie of children's music professionals are declining to grapple explicitly with the challenges of engaging with children's potentially very different desires and values regarding music. Adult standards are much more knowable. What Perry Nodelman (2008) calls the "hidden adult" in children's literature is here not so

much hidden as explicitly foregrounded. Berkner's approach, on the other hand, is to try to engage with children as we find them, even if their aesthetic values are profoundly different from what adults view as "good." But meeting kids where they are, if where they are is in subordinate positions in institutions like school and the family that actively infantilize them (Bickford, 2017), is not easily disentangled from reproducing that subordination and infantilization (Gubar, 2013). Still, if not talking *down* to kids means talking *over* them to their parents, then in some important ways kindie musicians may be missing the chance to talk *to* children. And that means that independent children's musicians end up ceding a whole arena of intersubjective engagement between adults and children, however fraught or even impossible that engagement may be, to commercial and educational professionals and institutions, rather than musicians and artists.

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Chapter 15
Music at Their Finger-Tips: Musical Experiences via Touchscreen Technologies in the Everyday Home Lives of Young Children

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Introduction

In recent years the arrival of portable touchscreen devices (the smartphone, the tablet) with the digitised media that they enable, has resulted in important developments in how young children living in affluent, post-industrial countries are able to use and access technologically mediated musical activities in everyday life at home. Touchscreens represent a marked and very recent change from the fixed technology equipment such as television (henceforth TV), music system and mouse controlled computer in their portability, ease of use and quick access to internet-linked content. While digitised music has infiltrated many aspects of young children's everyday home lives, being embedded in toys, sleep aids, computer games, even in picture books with sounding buttons, we focus this chapter on touchscreen devices and their media content. Our decision to focus on touchscreens is for two reasons; first because they are the newest arrivals and herald developments to come and second because, as we will illustrate through three case studies presented later in the chapter, they considerably expand the possibilities for varied musical engagements.

In preparation for writing this chapter in Spring 2018 we gathered together the most recent surveys and studies of children's use of new technologies and digital media that were available. Because the technology landscape is rapidly shifting and survey findings quickly go out of date, we do not quote specific numbers from the surveys. The major survey in the UK, published by Ofcom, occurs annually (e.g. 2017) and in other countries large-scale surveys, such as the Common-Sense Media in the USA (e.g. 2017) take place every few years. These surveys can, therefore, be

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accessed online quickly to discover the most up-to-date statistics. Instead we draw out the general and important trends identified by these surveys in order to set the scene for the case studies that follow. Furthermore, by drawing some links with those trends, we can propose that these individual cases are suggestive of activity taking place among young children more widely. The majority of studies apply quantitative methods, often with a focus on parents' beliefs and attitudes regarding their children's engagements with technologies (Chaudron et al., 2015; Cristia & Seidl, 2015; CWLF, 2015; Kabali et al., 2015; Livingstone, Mascheroni, Dreier, Chaudron, & Lagae, 2015; Marsh et al., 2015; National Taiwan Normal University, 2017; Schlembach & Johnson, 2014; Suoninen, 2014; Vaala & Hornick, 2014; Wei & Chuang, 2016). Some studies, particularly from East Asian countries are comparatively small-scale and focus more on the educational benefit of tablets, as well as the potential harm of new technologies to children's health (e.g. Cheng, Hu, & Ip, 2013; Lee, 2016; Lee & Huang, 2017).

From surveys of digital technology use in everyday family life carried out in various countries—the surveys we cite emanate from affluent, post-industrial countries of Europe, North America and East Asia—a consistent picture is emerging of widespread use and at younger ages. Nearly all young children live in a home with some kind of touchscreen portable device, typically a smartphone, but increasingly also a tablet. The smartphone is usually owned by the parent and loaned to children for their play, but tablets are increasingly purchased for children in child-adapted versions with tough casings. Touchscreen facilities are accessible and relatively intuitive even to infants and toddlers who can manipulate the devices for themselves with simple touch and swipe finger movements (Holloway, Green, & Stevenson, 2015; Hourcade, Mascher, Wu, & Pantoja, 2015). The equipment, particularly smartphones, is small, light and portable. Furthermore, although comparatively expensive, the cost of devices is declining and desire for them is high, and so contrary to what might be expected, the surveys reveal that families, even those living on quite low incomes, are purchasing technological devices for communication and entertainment (Livingstone et al., 2015). Therefore all these features; accessibility, portability, affordability, explain the widespread use, across social groups, and at younger ages.

Delving into the surveys we cited earlier for detail about the types of activities enabled by touchscreen devices, they reveal that children use them for a wide range of activities including watching films, videos and TV programmes via streaming, on-demand and catch-up services. Playing games is a primary activity and although the media environment may offer endless choice, children tend to stick to a few favourite games that are played repetitively. The other important change brought about by internet-linked touchscreen devices is the shift in content consumption, in particular children's access to YouTube.

Several studies point out that young children's technology use and access to media content should be understood in context and set in proportion to other types of activity. There can be a tendency for research and discussion to focus on 'the new' without recognising that traditional media and play activities still often dominate children's lives. Television remains the most used media access device for

young children but TV viewing times are reducing and being replaced by other screen activities. So, contrary to many fears, there appears to be no overall increase in screen-based activities, except the small overall increase in usage among the under 3-year-olds brought about by the arrival of the touchscreen facilities. For the main, young children continue to engage in a rich variety of activities including outdoor play and play with non-digital toys (Könitzer, Jeker, & Waller, 2017; Livingstone, Marsh, Plowman, Ottovordemgentschenfelde, & Fletcher-Watson, 2014). The fears circulating in newspaper and other popular media sources that often characterise young children as being over-absorbed by playing with digital technologies and the consequent detrimental effects seem to be unsubstantiated by the research findings (see for example, Plowman, 2015).

Music plays an important part in media content, and yet research into children's activities with technology and its media content typically ignores music as an independent element. Occasionally the surveys have identified listening to music as a discrete activity, usually with low scores in comparison to other activities (e.g. Common Sense Media, 2017; Marsh et al., 2015). Music is, however, interwoven into many multi-media items such as games, cartoons and applications (henceforth apps for short) and while these generic forms of media were included in surveys, one mode such as music was unlikely to be extricated from the whole multi-media experience. There is, therefore, a particular challenge in studying technology use from a music perspective because media forms are multi-modal and sounds, visuals, animations and forms of text are highly integrated. Music *per se* is one embedded element and children are engaged in the media forms in multi-sensory ways (e.g. Roskos, Burstein, Shang, & Gray, 2014). The question this raises is whether to extract the musical dimensions and elements according to conventional conceptions, or shift our understandings of music and musicality in a digital technology environment to be multi-modal, integrated and embedded in mixed media.

Our view in this chapter is to adopt the latter, multi-modal approach. It is here that theoretical perspectives that emphasise music as arising in the relationships between all the contributing elements; bodies, sound, technology, spaces, other material items, visuals, emotions may offer a fruitful theoretical perspective for understanding touchscreen technologies. Accordingly music, or perhaps it is more accurate to talk of multi-modal activity that has music interwoven within it, is not defined, *per se*, but arises, performatively, in the moment of its making. The idea of music as an auditory medium alone, isolated from other media and sensory modes of experiencing, derives from the academic traditions of Western classical music and its emphasis on the decontextualized sonic layer. There have been challenges to this conventional view of music from the fields of new musicology, ethnomusicology, popular music studies and sociology of music, all of which draw attention with varying theoretical insights and emphases to the embedded and embodied nature of musical activity (e.g. Way & McKerrell, 2017). Yet music education in preschool and the earliest years of schooling conventionally seeks to reduce music to its isolated elements rather than focus on the intersections between musical dimensions or on the interactions between different media and modes of engagement such as movement, imagery and sound. What is meaningful emerges from the mutual

interaction of vocals, words, visuals and movements both within the media itself and in the children's multi-modal engagements. The case studies that we will present here show that multi-modal activity with multi-media items in which music—and musicking, to use the term that threads through several chapters in this volume—is one interwoven, embedded element is the norm within the experiences afforded by digital media (see also, Brooks, 2015). Nevertheless we have selected activities from our case study children that have a stronger musical dimension to them in order to be illustrative of multi-modal activities in which the music plays a dominant role.

As Thompson and colleagues point out there is a shortage of both qualitative research into young children's use of technologies (Thompson, Berriman, & Bragg, 2018), and of studies that focus on family life in the home environment (also, Plowman, 2015). This research is needed because quite obviously young children, particularly infants and toddlers, spend much of their lives at home and with members of their immediate or extended family. It is within the home environment that children most often engage with an extensive range of digital technologies, experience the purposes associated with these technologies and how their uses are framed within everyday family practices and parenting expectations. A small number of qualitative studies are starting to provide some real-world detail about how young children are using touchscreen devices in their everyday home lives (e.g. Chaudron et al., 2015).

Research into young children's technology use from a musical perspective is extremely limited, has mainly taken place in educational settings and has tended to adopt conservative theoretical perspectives dominant in educational research and practice (e.g. Brooks, 2015; Burton & Pearsall, 2016) or apps that assume educational practices based on Western art music. One study, for example, (reported in Tu, Cslovjecsek, Pérez, Blakey, & Shappard, 2014) has explored young children's use of a specially designed app based on Saint-Saëns' 'Carnival of the Animals'. There has been very little research that has explored the home context from a digital music point of view nor research that has considered how contemporary technology enables musical activities that may challenge conventional conceptions of music and learning in education. Two studies have captured aspects of digital technologies incorporated into home musical lives among children who are 7 years (Ilari & Young, 2016); and 6 years old (Gingras, 2012). However, the data collection for both studies took place before the influx of touchscreen technologies into the home and here we are suggesting that touchscreens have brought about a distinct change in young children's everyday musical experiences. Notwithstanding this limitation, Gingras's study in particular (ibid), provides some valuable insights into how technologies and media afford musical experiences in family life that has assisted us in identifying similar experiences in the lives of our case study children, whom we now introduce in the next sections.

Introducing the Case Studies

There are methodological challenges in conducting research that focuses on young children in the home (see Ilari & Young, 2016) and the case studies presented here were dependent on the children's mothers as active participants. The mothers maintained a regular diary in which they reported the musical experiences and behaviours of their child (or children in the case of siblings) for the duration of 6 months (Wu, 2018). The diary was supplemented by optional video/audio recordings and photographs. Three interviews were conducted with the mothers at the beginning, middle and end of their participation in order to gain further insights. The original, larger study from which we draw these selected examples was designed to document the whole range of children's musical activities in the home and to plot a developmental trajectory. So, interestingly, the study did not set out to explore technology-enabled musical experiences. Yet the technology and media musical experiences became an interesting strand of the larger study that emerged from the data. The case study children varied in the extent and quantity of their digital musical experiences and we have selected those children whose home musical lives can illustrate specific aspects of touchscreen technologies and music. Of course we do not make any claims to the generalisability of these illustrations, but the prevalence of touchscreen devices as confirmed by the survey data implies that these illustrations are suggestive of young children's musical activities in their home environments.

Although the original study did not set out to focus on girls, it was almost exclusively girls who were opted into the study via their parents. There is therefore, we suggest, an important gender division that warrants further exploration that we can only skirt by in this chapter. The study also focussed on the musical lives of young children from the Chinese diaspora who are currently resident in London. There may be some specific influences on the nature of their musical engagements with digital technologies that derive from their parents' Chinese backgrounds and parenting ethnotheories, but again, within this chapter we do not delve into these, preferring to present the case studies as illustrations of exemplar activities.

Ellen and Her Family

Ellen and her family joined the study when Ellen was 4 years, 3 months old and her younger sister, Betty, was 10 months old. Her mother, Vicky, referred to herself as 'overseas Chinese in Malaysia'. She first came to the UK in 1997 to study at university and has stayed ever since. Prior to the start of the study Ellen had had extensive musical experiences. Her mother used to take her to Rhyme Time in the local public library,[1] which enabled her to sing a repertoire of English nursery rhymes before she

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[1] English libraries typically offer no-cost, short sessions of song, rhyme and story for parents and their young children to attend, with the aim of supporting language development and encouraging an interest in reading.

entered school. Ellen started to learn the cello when she turned 4 years old, following the Suzuki method. In addition to the weekly private cello lesson, Ellen also needed to practise the cello at home every day, supervised by Vicky.

In their home there was a range of devices for music, such as TV, radio, electronic musical toys, and tablets. For instance, Ellen sang along with her phonics CD or the English popular music playing from the radio throughout the day. Furthermore, the whole family always watched 'Strictly Come Dancing'[2] together, during which Ellen played the role of a dancer while her parents acted as the judges. Overall, Ellen experienced a variety of music ranging from watching and/or dancing to recorded music to playing a musical instrument.

Among all the available technology and media in the home, an iPad app called 'Frozen Karaoke', based on the well-known Disney film of the same name, held Ellen's constant interest. Bought and downloaded by her father, the karaoke app showed the lyrics on the screen as the songs were played, although Ellen mostly learnt the songs by repetitive listening and singing along. In the diary entries provided by the mother there were many reported instances of Ellen playing and singing to the 'Frozen' songs at home throughout the day, sometimes joined by her sister Betty. With the iPad's portable nature, Ellen also used the app in different places, such as in the car, or during a playdate at another house. However, most of the reported instances occurred in early diary entries because in the latter period of the 6 month study her parents consciously limited her time using the iPad.

The following two examples from the mother's diary entries illustrate Ellen's and Betty's use of the app:

> *Betty sang with her sister who's listening to Frozen karaoke on iPad.*
> *Ellen and a girl she met at a BBQ went to sing to Frozen on her iPad. It's a very bonding song.*

The songs were played repetitively on the iPad, and so the app seemed to be a tool for Ellen to rehearse and master the songs. In particular, in one of the interviews with the mother, Vicky described Ellen's frustration at not being able to sing the songs well without the app:

> *Once we went out with our friends. Ellen has not listened [to the app] for a while, because the app has been [accidentally] deleted for a long time. Her friend was able to sing the whole song, and Ellen couldn't catch her singing. Therefore, she felt very unhappy. She would say, 'How come she could sing?' She wouldn't say she is unhappy, but I can tell her disappointment on her face, her disappointment with herself. I might need to tell her dad to download the app again as soon as possible, by the way.*

This description illustrates Ellen's strategies of mastering the songs through repetitive singing with the app, and how she relied on it to develop her singing skills. The role of the apps available on tablets may not fully replace other forms of music learning, such as peer imitation or coaching by adults, but these apps indeed broaden the opportunities for young children to rehearse and master their singing. It

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[2] Strictly Come Dancing is a popular family entertainment programme on British television.

is worth noting that, in Ellen's case, the unavailability of the app seemed to affect her familiarity with the song and indirectly had an impact on her self-esteem. This perhaps highlights the importance of constant exposure to songs in developing fluent singing. It also points to the role of Disney media items within friendship relationships. As Wohlwend argues (2015) performances of popular media characters allow children to try on pretend identities and mediate imagined worlds and she adds that it is important to recognise that such activities have real effects on participation in peer cultures and friendship.

Ellen's enthusiasm with the 'Frozen' app was further incorporated into her daily cello practice. The following quotes taken from the mother's diary accounts of three separate occasions, demonstrated the various ways in which the app could contribute to her practice:

> Cello practice … and to encourage her … we pretend that we were playing the music from Frozen i.e. she watches Frozen karaoke whilst practising her bowing.
>
> Practised cello with Ellen in the morning. She's very reluctant to practise bowing. Encouraged her to pretend that she's playing the tunes from Frozen when we practised 'jumping' on the string with her cello hand. She quite enjoyed that and was willing to practise.
>
> We started with cello practice. Pretty much the same routine. Ellen will sneak in Frozen karaoke when she thinks we're not looking.

In the first two examples the app was used as a strategy to encourage Ellen's cello practice, which might suggest that the audio-visual feature of the app, along with her enthusiasm for the Disney film, helped to make the dull technical practice more appealing. However, in the last example, the karaoke app became a distraction to Ellen's practice routine. These examples illustrate how a musical app available from a tablet might facilitate young children's formal music learning, but could also become a hindrance. They also suggest that the mother's role in scaffolding her daughter's use of the iPad app within a music learning context is important (see also Neumann & Neumann, 2017, for a similar discussion in relation to the role of apps in literacy learning).

Doris and Her Family

Doris was 3 years and 10 months old at the start of the study and her older brother William was 10 years old. Their mother Beth was Taiwanese and came to the UK to study and had then settled in London since 2006. She worked part-time for a local supermarket and also taught Chinese in a community school. Their father was English. Doris's musical experiences at home consisted largely of her imitation of William's improvised singing, which was evident in the video recordings and observations made during the home visit. Doris and William also enjoyed playing the game 'musical statues', in which they moved to music but stayed as still as a statue when the music stopped. There were various media available at home. Their mother,

for example, always listened to the radio when she was doing housework in the kitchen, and she often turned to BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) Channel Two or to Absolute stations: both mainly play Anglo-American pop music. The family also had a collection of Chinese cartoon DVDs for Doris to watch and learn Mandarin, and the repetitive watching had enabled Doris to sing the theme song of some of the cartoons, such as 'Candy Candy'. The family also had English cartoon DVDs that were dubbed into Chinese, such as '64 Zoo Lane'. In addition, Doris would occasionally play an electronic keyboard toy book, which also contained a repertoire of recorded Chinese children's songs. In general, Doris was immersed in a musical environment with a combination of live singing and musical games with her brother and recorded music playing from a range of audio or audio-visual media.

In addition to these musical experiences the family owned an iPad which Doris used almost every day. She would ask for the iPad if she got bored when Beth was cooking dinner. Beth described the types of clips that were favoured by Doris:

> She often watches YouTube clips. Besides 'My Little Pony', she likes watching someone introducing toys, playing toys, or making playdough. These don't come with music, just someone demonstrating, for example, what they found when opening a capsule toy. She likes watching it a lot.

During a visit to Doris's home, Doris was observed using the iPad to browse and watch various video clips for about 40 min after lunch (see Fig. 15.1). The clips she chose to watch on that day included 'Pokémon', 'Super Mario' (a cartoon and puppet performance made by a YouTube user) and 'Angry Bird' clips. These cartoon clips contained constant sound effects or background music according to the story scenes. This easy access to video clips allowed Doris to experience various forms of audio-visual presentation. The clips Doris watched on YouTube ranged from famous cartoon productions that represented children's popular culture to home-made clips that were uploaded by individual YouTube users.

In another video recording provided by the mother, Doris was playing with a music app that featured a keyboard on the screen (see Fig. 15.2). Beth explained that Doris selected the icon and entered the app because the icon looked like the keyboard

Fig. 15.1 Doris browsing videoclips

Fig. 15.2 Doris playing
Amazing Grace on the
piano keyboard app
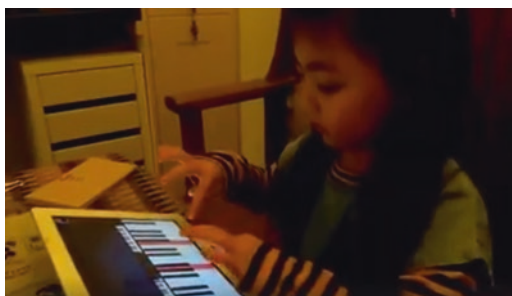
of a piano. Prompted by the colour lighting up on different keys, Doris was able to use her index fingers of both hands to play a version of the Christian hymn, 'Amazing Grace', her one-finger melody automatically harmonised by the app. This music app represents an introduction to the piano, which enabled Doris to experience this musical instrument in a digital way. The colour prompts on different keys also made the musical pieces easier to play, in comparison with traditional ways of practising a musical piece on the piano, and the chordal version was more musically interesting and rewarding. However, the small, flat-screen version of a keyboard clearly constrained the possible texture and volume of each note and the fluency of playing—if compared with playing on a real keyboard. Nevertheless, this music app integrated the experience of playing a musical instrument within the familiar features of the tablet and it certainly held her interest and engagement.

In addition to the music apps, Doris played with other apps that featured background music on the iPad. For instance, Beth described in an interview the game app that Doris liked to play, which also had a connection to popular culture and characters favoured by young children: Disney's 'Frozen' yet again.

Also, we would play some apps that are installed on iPad. The game we often play recently is Frozen Free Fall. It is very similar to Candy Crush, but it has some background music, the Frozen music. Yes, it is related to Frozen.

Doris's musical experience through the use of iPad was indirectly related to Beth's parenting practices and the routines of home life. Beth admitted that providing the iPad for Doris to play with, enabled her to complete other housework:

When she comes home from school, I am usually busy with cooking dinner, or busy with William's homework. I also need to read books with William. If I don't want her to make a noise, I will let her use iPad. Because she can freely select what she wants to watch.

Yes, it is a way for adults to be lazy, because you don't have to entertain her all the time. If she wants to do something, she usually asks us to do together. For example, when she is playing playdough, she would want me to accompany her. Even for colouring, drawing, or DIY, she would also need my participation. Therefore, when I don't have time and cannot do these things with her, the quickest way to send her away is to give her iPad.

Her mother's interview comments on the use of iPad reflected her busy family life and the role of the iPad as a child-minding tool for Beth. Therefore, in Doris's case, there was less social interaction with others when she was occupied with the iPad. Beth expressed her worries about the passive nature of using the iPad, such as

watching video clips, although she also found positive aspects that might broaden Doris's knowledge and experiences.

> *I would say that I hope she can use less. Yes, sometimes we rely too much on iPad. I don't like her using it too much. I don't think it has much inspiration to the brain. I mean she is simply watching, like receiving information passively. It is less fun. I don't think it is good. I think she needs time control. However, I find it pretty good that she is used to touchscreen. She can easily find the things she wants. The design of iPad itself is very easy to use. She can receive a lot of information. It would be even better if we have facetime with our family in Taiwan on iPad.*

Overall, these examples of how Doris used the iPad in everyday home life illustrate how music might be experienced on a tablet in a variety of ways, ranging from sound effects and the background music of cartoon and game apps to the musical apps that required active participation in playing the keyboard. The physical feature of tablets might support or constrain the development of specific musical skills. The potential effect of different social contexts (using the tablet alone or with others) on young children's musical learning is an aspect that deserves further investigation.

Lucy and Her Family

Four-year-old Lucy and her family had been living in London for just over 1 year at the start of the study and planned to stay in London for one more year before moving back to the parents' home city of Taiwan. Lucy's home musical experiences included a range of media and technology that enabled her and the family members to watch and dance to music. After lunch, for example, Lucy would watch her favourite programmes such as 'Peppa Pig' and 'Charlie and Lola' from the UK children's TV channel CBeebies. The TV in the living room was linked to YouTube, which allowed the family to watch various YouTube videos together on a bigger screen. The family also had a collection of the Taiwanese children's DVD/CD series 'Yoyo Roll Call', which Lucy and her older sister Julie, 11 years old, liked to watch and dance to. In addition to musical experiences from media and recorded music, Lucy also experienced live piano music when Julie had her weekly piano lessons with her mother Clare. Overall, Lucy experienced music of various types and forms in the home environment, with technology and media playing an important role.

In Lucy's case, her musical experiences with touchscreen technologies were mainly via her mother's smartphone and in particular when she used the audio- or video-recording functions. In one instance, Julie intended to send an audio-recording to their father who was visiting Taiwan. As described in the diary account, Julie assigned Lucy to do the easier part of a chant that they learnt from the TV programme 'Charlie and Lola' (Fig. 15.3), and directed Lucy to read out her part, 'not too fast and not too slow'. After a few rehearsals, they audio-recorded their chanting performance and sent it to their father through the phone app LINE. This example illustrates how the multiple functions of instant messenger apps, such as LINE and

Fig. 15.3 The chant from the TV programme *Charlie and Lola*

Whatsapp, can encourage young children to produce musical or rhythmic performances for the purpose of sharing them with family and friends.

In another incident which was captured on a video recording, Lucy filmed herself using a smartphone while performing the rhythmic chant, 'One, Two, Buckle my Shoe'. The transcription of Lucy's chanting performance is as follows,

> *[Lucy speaking] Hello, welcome to my show, and this one is a final. But this is a different one, because we are talking, to hear, what's your beautiful voice. Ok, this, we're learning Buckle my Shoe, and you need to say the word like this, one, two, buckle my shoe. Ok? Are you ready, to our final show? Ok. Are you ready, ready, ready go. [She chants: One, Two, Buckle my Shoe, twice] say that beautiful word is, um, um, Princess Milly, I mean, Emily. Bye bye!*

This performance was also commented on by her mother in the diary account:

> *This video was freshly made yesterday. The producer and the director is Lucy. This is her first time to film herself, so you can see me wearing pyjamas in the back. She made the opening, sang by herself, and made an ending by herself. Though rough, it was funny.*

This example suggests that the filming function of smartphones can encourage young children to rehearse and perform small creative acts. Furthermore, the self-filming function also provided a platform for Lucy to produce a 'talk-show' style performance, integrating musical elements into the presentation. Thus the easy-access design of the touchscreen devices, within a supportive environment, provides young children with more independence in creating and recording mini-musical performances.

Parenting Mediation and Family Life

As our case studies illustrate, young children experience these touchscreen-enabled musical experiences through the immediate social, cultural, spatial and material/technological environment of their family homes. The descriptions reveal multifaceted pictures of the interactions between family practices, technology and the

children's everyday routines and reinforce the importance of understanding children's musical activities within a holistic view of family life. We can turn again to the surveys to be informed about how parents' values, expectations and attitudes towards digital devices largely determine how children have access to them, gain familiarity through everyday use in family life and the kinds of activities that are either encouraged or discouraged (Chiong & Shuler, 2010; Nikken & Schols, 2015; Schlembach & Johnson, 2014; Stephen & Edwards, 2018, p. 121).

As is typical of contemporary domestic life in the UK, technologies were interwoven into the fabric of home life for our case study children so that they do not so much live *with* technologies as live *in* a technologised environment. For example, the large screen TV in Lucy's home was linked to the internet to play Youtube clips and the ever-present communication apps and smartphones enabled her to perform, record and send mini performances to her distant father. Young children's lives, particularly in urban environments are largely confined; to their homes, to cars and to their daycare and preschool settings. At home parents provide for safe, indoor play and entertainment and in the compact housing of contemporary cities screen-based activities provide an obvious, easy and engaging option. Parents' reasons for agreeing to or suggesting tablet use were often a pragmatic response, for example, to free up a mother who was busy with domestic tasks or to add motivation to cello practice (also, Marsh et al., 2015). We also saw in the case studies, small instances of how the girls' relationships with siblings (see also Koops & Kuebel, this volume), distant family members and peers influenced their music experiences. Thus children's musical experiences via digital devices are mediated by parenting practices, mundane family routines, domestic spaces and the web of family and peer relationships.

Although survey findings reveal the widespread presence of touchscreen technologies in children's homes, they also suggest there may be important differences in both durations of use and types of use according to the social class and educational background of the parents, combined with and further differentiated by, the parents' individual views and attitudes (e.g. Livingstone et al., 2015). The parents of the case study girls were all middle class and educated to degree level, some to postgraduate level. Among parents of lower socio-economic status there may be more lenience of duration and variation in the types of use in comparison with middle class parents. These mothers' views about their children's technology use were conflicted, and as a result, they imposed certain restrictions, but not always consistently. As an illustration, Ellen's use of the 'Frozen' karaoke app was limited by her mother later in the 6-month study due to concerns about over-use; concerns that were echoed by Doris's mother. The parents' comments also revealed the tensions between what they saw as potential benefits and risks of media and technology use; questions that also abound in social commentary and media reporting. Doris's mother, for example, could see advantages in her daughter developing facility with the technology and the value of communication apps in allowing her to connect with distant family members: maintaining the family contact that is very important in diasporic families. Yet later, Ellen's mother, having restricted her use of the 'Frozen'

app, noticed how she was disappointed at not being able to play with her friend through shared singing and so then decided to re-load the app. Thus the parents' views and values interweave and both produce and transform the everyday lives in ways which are constantly evolving. Even across the 6 months of the study, Ellen's 'Frozen' app played shifting roles. We also see how the sing-along app provided a medium that enhanced belonging and friendship between Ellen and her friend. Technology use among children is often claimed to increase social isolation, yet our illustrations clearly show how technology-enabled sing-along and performance activities can provide a medium for social connection. This feature of enhancing connectedness through sociable music activities enabled by portable devices was also revealed by Gingras's study of music in family lives (2012). Overall, the parents seemed to view digital technologies as items that offered both opportunities and challenges for entertainment and learning and therefore presented them with dilemmas that required continual 'in the moment' decision-making.

Commodified Girlhoods

This discussion of the three young girls' engagement with popular culture, particularly the Disney media, brings to the fore the commodification of childhood, and in particular the construction of girlhoods (Wohlwend, 2015). As Blaise (2005) has emphasised, the films based on princess characters in particular, circulate identity texts of 'girly-girls' in a princess culture that is distributed and amplified across film scripts and conveyed through the songs that are combined with animated fairy tales and princess images (Haas, Bell, & Sells, 1995). These gendered identity texts also include expectations for consumer behaviours that circulate through international marketing strategies into large financial flows of goods that can permeate all aspects of children's lives, particularly targeting girls in the age phase of the case study girls, around 3–5 years. Thus children's everyday popular music culture is interwoven into these commercialised media. The media connect narratives from TV programmes with video games, apps, websites and also to material objects such as dolls, toys, dressing up clothes, food and many types of home and school equipment (Wohlwend, 2015).

However, as Buckingham argues, it is important to recognise that children exercise agency and imaginative engagement in relation to popular culture (2007). The case studies showed how the media items provided sources of pleasure and motivation. In the children's peer relations media forms can be a source for shared understandings and social status, and in family relations, can provide a medium for interactions, particularly with family members separated by geographical distance. Commodified and standardised they may be, but they are nevertheless a resource for children's music-play worlds, their peer cultures and family sociability, as these case studies have shown.

Implications for Education and Understandings
of Development

The case studies combined with survey findings show that children under 5 years, including infants, are engaging with digital technologies in playing and learning musically at home, and this cannot be overlooked by early childhood music education. We suggest, in line with Palaiologou (2014), that this calls for a reconceptualisation of young children's learning in early years music pedagogy and that educators should re-examine the ways that children learn and how learning opportunities are provided for.

A number of literacy researchers have argued that the theoretical and analytical tools used to understand practices involving traditional print literacies are insufficient for understanding digital and multimedia literacy practices (e.g. Lankshear & Knobel, 2003). Likewise if music education's understandings about what 'counts' as music learning are based on understandings of music and musical learning that predate the digital age, then music education researchers will struggle to analyse digital music learning experiences and educators will struggle to incorporate digital musical practices into their pedagogical models and practices. As we have already mentioned in an earlier section of this chapter, new technologies provoke consideration of multi-modal and media integrated forms of musical engagement. We need ways to understand what children are gaining musically from their immersion in visually and aurally rich mixed media culture. The case study descriptions also reveal the opportunities the technological devices created for self-initiated and playful music activities. The girls engaged in self-guided, self-motivated learning through, for example, the karaoke and piano keyboard apps. Digitised technologies provide instant, exact repetitions to support imitation, practising and rehearsing. They may also incorporate supportive learning features such as visual prompts, record and instant playback with feedback and scoring. While there is currently a small number of games and apps available for touchscreen use that focus on aspects of music learning, typically they replicate existing, conventional forms of knowledge, such as learning notation. Rather, we argue that we need to understand how digital technologies transform musical experience, and the skills and knowledge that accompany those transformations.

Among some educators there can be the view that children are experiencing technology devices at home and so they do not need additional experience in their care and educational settings, particularly in early childhood. These views are likely to be coloured by the educators' concerns about detrimental influences on children's learning. As a result, all too often children's everyday home and peer music play worlds do not connect comfortably with school music cultures (as we argued in Ilari & Young, 2016) and popular and everyday musical experiences are either discounted or devalued. However, if schools are to both capitalise on and extend children's digital-music experiences, and also embrace their play and peer cultures, educators need to understand how digital technologies afford learning and then find productive points of connection.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented illustrations from three girls in order to suggest how the everyday, home musical environment for children is changing with the arrival of touchscreen technologies. The survey findings helped to tether our discussion to some of the factual realities, albeit on a very general level. In adopting a focus and in attempting to capture and frame the interconnections between all the many factors inevitably we distort how all this is experienced from the child's point of view. It is the mothers who reported on their children in the case studies and we, as researchers and authors, who have selected and interpreted from those reports. As a consequence, the children themselves do not have a strong voice. Despite these obvious limitations, of which we are aware, we suggest the case examples extend our understanding of young children's—at least, young girls' to be more precise—digitised musical experiences at home. They highlight general similarities and also important differences between children with apparently quite similar backgrounds. The large-sample surveys may provide a picture of general patterns and trends, but qualitative studies reveal the detail and diversity of activities.

As we have seen in this chapter, the different dimensions—the touchscreen affordances of technology, the media economy coupled with children's popular culture, changes in parenting culture and contemporary everyday life at home for young children—all intersect and interact, enabling and constraining. No one factor is responsible and they are mutually constituting. The overall proposal we present in this chapter is that the home musical environment is being reshaped with the arrival of very accessible, easy-to-use touchscreen technologies and the visually, aurally rich multi-modal media content they bring right into the lap of family life. We have also proposed that this presents particular challenges to our understanding of children's musical learning and development and to the design of educational practice. Children, even very young children, are able to engage in self-initiated and self-guided forms of musical play from which they are learning, but what exactly are they learning and how? These are questions that remain and are pressing. And then, how do we incorporate these revised understandings of musical experience and learning within educational designs for children? This chapter has touched on these issues, but they call for further detailed research and theorising.

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Chapter 16
Improvisation ~~and/or~~ Music Education: A Child's Upsetting Clarity

Panagiotis A. Kanellopoulos

Introduction

> *Between February and June 1996, a small group of 8-year-old children created an open context for improvisation as part of a research project that sought to investigate children's emergent conceptualisations of their creative musical practices (*Kanellopoulos, 2000*). That was the first systematic research study of children's reflections on their self-made music and its making. Two years later, I received a letter from the teacher of that class. In that letter, Sofia described how Manos, one of the most dedicated children in our project, had gone to her saying, 'I, who loved music, … now I hate it'. On her asking why, he had added: 'I want to listen to music with my ears, and not to see it with my eyes. To make it myself, not to be told how it is made.' (ibid, p. 364). In the meantime, a music teacher had been appointed to the school and Manos was awarded a C, the lowest grade in his class.*
>
> *Heading towards the conservatory, Yanis (who, later in his life, became a renowned double-bassist in both popular and avant-garde music circles) enters Piraeus Street. He had walked down this ancient road—that connects Athens to the port of Piraeus—so many times that it had become thoroughly individualised. He chooses to walk on the left side, for it is there that he knows he can find a sequence of old buildings with rugged walls. He walks with his left hand persistently pushing against the walls' harsh surface. By the time he arrives to his piano lesson, his fingers will be bleeding; not much, but enough to give him a perfect, much needed excuse for not playing for his teacher. (Personal testimony, July 2017)*

Educational endeavours that have sought to bring the aura of creativity in music education are often characterised by an intimacy and a fragility that render them utterly powerless in the face of unexamined convictions, prejudices, impositions, exclusionary practices, and acts of intimidation that prevail in music education—acts of oppression and exertion of symbolic violence whose story is yet to be written, despite recent developments in that direction (Benedict, Schmidt, Spruce, & Woodford, 2015; Wiggins, 2011). Of course 'violence in music education is […]

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subtler, slower, and more covert [than, say, acts of overt violence], though not necessarily less devastating' (Matthews, 2015, p. 238). In this chapter I will try to ponder over the notion of symbolic violence as a central feature of beginning to learn a musical instrument—symbolic violence in this context is seen as distinct from both overt violence and structural or systemic violence, although different forms of violence may of course co-exist. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu introduced the notion of symbolic violence with the aim to uncover the complex and subtle processes through which arbitrary relationships are reproduced while being misrecognised as natural. Bourdieu defined symbolic violence as 'the power to impose (or even inculcate) the arbitrary instruments of knowledge and expression (taxonomies) of social reality' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 168). Elaborating a Bourdieusian perspective on music education Ruth Wright (2015) has emphasised that pedagogy exerts symbolic violence in its attempt 'to convey meanings and convey them as fact, while divorcing them from the social power base that had first given them their legitimacy' (p. 344). As Keith Topper (2001) has argued, '[b]y extending the concept of violence to the symbolic domain, Bourdieu spotlights an often unnoticed mechanism for instituting or reproducing relations of domination' (p. 47).

Acknowledging its Bourdieusian origins (Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), and the emphasis in relation to education on arbitrary impositions of dominant forms of cultural capital, here I want to offer a more 'topical' notion of symbolic violence, denoting the ways in which teachers impose particular musical practices through induction into learning practices that reproduce musical values that are misrecognised as 'self-evident' and 'natural', while refusing to engage with their students' meaning-making processes, thus closing the door to alternative readings of their students' creativity. Most importantly, symbolic violence may be seen as no less real than other forms of violence (Gould, 2008). The notion of symbolic violence as used here refers less to invisibly reproducing 'social class hierarchies in the way relations to academic knowledge […] [imply] levels of convergence and divergence between individual learners (their habitus) and the orthodoxy of the education field' (Grenfell, Hood, Barrett, & Schubert, 2017, p. 196), and more to acts of enunciation of the seemingly flawless 'battle for mastery' (Cixous, 1986, p. 78, in Singh, 2018, p. 1)—for the 'mastery' of knowledge, for the 'mastery' of a musical instrument. In fact this chapter may be seen as nothing more than an act of problematising the idea that to learn an instrument is to 'master' it—in many ways, a scandalous claim.

Of the different approaches that have been pursued in relation to the study of children's creative music-making practices in the field of music education, reductionist psychological approaches seem to have prevailed (Kanellopoulos, 2010). Their universalistic assumptions have largely led to normalising accounts of children's approach to the making of music. Often these are characterised by one-sided conceptions of development as the journey from a generalised state of incompetence to already framed forms of competence, adopting rather restrictive views on music and its practice. Such approaches should be seen as maintaining close links with a broader music education context that adopts monumental approaches to the study of music and its history (Kanellopoulos & Stefanou, 2015, after Tomlinson,

2007). It seems that a why-a-5-year-old-could-not-have-done-this (after Hodge, 2012) kind of approach still dominates how children's relationships with the making of music are perceived. And I want to argue that this approach is part and parcel of canonic perspectives on music history that operate on the basis of a sharp composer/performer division, adopt reified views of (male) composers-as-geniuses, and approach musical works through the lenses of *werktreue* ideals (Goehr, 1992). They also favour literacy over inventiveness, skill development over personal meaning, uniform notions of expertise over the pursuit of personal pathways, and the certainty of linear development over ambivalence. Seen in a broader perspective, this can be read as a kind of celebrating-*mastery*-over-*vulnerability* approach (after Singh, 2018).

Taken together, normalising psychological accounts and monumental approaches to music lead to a situation where the wealth of children's approaches to making music becomes music on 'deaf ears' (after Green, 1988). Music educators' 'selective deafness' often results in practices characterised by symbolic violence, and it is this violence that the two vignettes used at the beginning of this chapter wish to point towards. Yanis' act of hurting his own hand can be seen as a response to the power of symbolic violence exerted on him by a system of domination and hierarchization that regularly leads to acts of intimidation. Yanis performs a violent act on his own body reacting to a feeling of suffocation that is the result of symbolic violence. Manos' declaration may be read as a response to teaching acts that have turned music, from a context for exploration, expression, production of actual sonic utterances and of creative commentary on their meaning and value, to a 'school subject' where music has been conquered (and exiled) by its representation (through the dominant role of teaching notation) and where imposed forms of talk about music have outweighed free musical action. Here 'music' has become the locus of an agonising struggle between teacher and student: the teacher insists on what s/he thinks of as 'music-proper', and Manos reacts to what he sees as meaningless. I invite the reader to consider these pictures as concrete outcomes of the exertion of symbolic violence that imposes 'the misrecognition of the actual arbitrariness of values in symbolic fields' (Moore, 2008, p. 108).

There is no doubt that in recent years researchers have turned their attention to a variety of ways in which children experience music in their own lives (e.g. Bickford, 2012; Emberly & Davhula, 2016; Young & Gillen, 2007). They have also focused on and have led to the development of more open and diverse teaching practices (e.g. Kanellopoulos & Nakou, 2015; Kooistra, 2016; Muhonen, 2016; Seddon & Biasutti, 2010), through the employment of more diverse research methodologies and theoretical frameworks. The resultant changes amount almost to a paradigm shift (Young, 2016). Talking about early childhood (music) education, Young rightly notes that '[t]he formerly 'incompetent' infant of behaviourism, the infant as 'blank slate', has been eclipsed by the 'competent' infant who is capable and skilful and is attuned and responsive to her environment' (ibid., p. 11). She also adds that there 'has been a move away from attempting to identify and define normative models of musical development that can be applied universally to all children, to a view that recognises that children develop in individually nuanced ways' (ibid., p. 12).

One should also note, however, that developments emphasising creative agency, and non-universalist, flexible patterns of development have not emerged in a socio-political vacuum. Competence, flexibility, interactivity are not just positive buzzwords but have, for quite some time now, become instrumental in the shaping of entrepreneurship-oriented notions of 'the learner' (Biesta, 2011; Darras, 2011; Jones, 2011; Kanellopoulos, 2015; also Burman, 2011) in a world that is tormented by extreme inequalities and with many children facing unsurpassable symbolic and overt violence: 'Not all children are 'our' future because not all children are 'ours' and because not all children promise or portend a desired future' (Cook, 2015, p. 3). Thus, the celebration of children's agentic powers is not something that one should accept uncritically: 'In this historical relation, the education of flexible souls does not necessarily constitute an instance of emancipation, release, or empowerment' (Fendler, 2001, p. 137, in Dahlberg & Moss, 2005, p. 34; Olsson, 2009). The currently persistent demand to 'be creative' (Raunig, 2013, p. 114) takes the form of a survival tactic and marks a significant shift away from the ideals that have underpinned (music) educators' original intentions in their celebratory accounts of creative powers of children. In the face of these developments, there emerges an urgent need to rethink how teachers and researchers approach children's musical creativity, initiating a dialogue with perspectives advanced in related fields (see for example Egan, 2017; Thompson, 2015; Wilson, 2007). This can be possible only when music teachers and researchers carefully cultivate an ear to listen to children and an eye to see them as they exist musically in the world, aware of the ambiguities and contradictions that inevitably accompany any attempt on the part of adults-researchers-music educators to talk about children's creative music-making.

With this in mind, this chapter turns its attention on how Leoni, a 6-year-old girl, comes into improvisation and how her practice of improvisation is re-appropriated on the basis of her experience with formal instrumental tuition. In what follows I will try to experiment with the possibility of offering a quasi-literary representation of a spontaneous piano improvisation created by Leoni in a home setting, and of the discussion on her music that followed. I then use a long discussion on improvisation I had with Leoni 5 months later. It is between those two meetings that she had begun taking piano lessons, lessons that are seen as materialising a process of symbolic violence. Lastly, I comment on two short improvisations recorded a few days after this last discussion. Resisting oversimplification and reductionist/cognitivist perspectives I try to suggest a poetic, reflective and untidy approach to how we listen to children's subaltern practice of improvising. I will also try to show how children's creative agency forges a trajectory that is always mediated by culturally framed constraints, yet opens up possibilities for re-appropriation and hence of resistance.

Leoni

'When the wave pulls back from the shore, its marks on the sand look like moving shadows', Leoni tells me as we walk on the beach of a Cycladic island. Seeing things as patterns that refer to something else is a quite common approach in her

perception of the world. Leoni lives in Athens, Greece. At the time when the impro-
visations and the discussion that form the backbone of this chapter were recorded
she attended a private kindergarten, a school where one would say that artistic cre-
ativity is largely consigned to a subsidiary existence. Yet Leoni likes school; and has
a lot of fun with her friends there. When she was attending nursery, her only art-
related activity was colouring given figures on A4 sheets of paper. Until the age of
4, I had never seen her drawing anything freely. One day, I suggested that we just
begin doodling, fiercely and with loads of colours, on a large sheet of paper; what
mattered was the power of leaving marks, not their shape. At the beginning she was
reluctant, but soon she loved it. A few days later, she began to draw freely on her
own initiative; since then she has developed a care for genuinely free-floating draw-
ing. At home, her favourite activity is creating junk models using virtually anything
that fits her (evolving) purpose. Her positive general outlook does not prevent her
from uttering sharp, perceptive, and often disquieting aphorisms. 'You are free
when you just get rid of those things that make you feel pressed' she said once when
she was four. I instantly took a note of this—hence I am able to bring it up here.
Leoni has a sister, almost 7 years older; her sister takes piano lessons. Leoni admires
her and just loves to be in her company, although this is not something that her sister
would always love doing—after all, a teenage girl needs quite a bit of autonomous
time. Their home is quite musical; she sings a lot and knows by heart quite demand-
ing songs from known kids' movies and cartoons. Twice, both girls have been
involved in quite exceptional informal performances of free improvisation together
with adult musicians from the Athens scene of improvised music.

The Complexity of 'Innocence'

You don't have to look much further than a plain living room of a child's home to
discover how little ephemeral musical heterotopias are being created. To probe their
meaning, we, adult and teachers, need to suspend our 'teacherly assumptions'
(MacRae, 2011, p. 103) about children's playful approaches to music. Foucault's
notion of heterotopia, that literally means an other(ed) space, a space of difference,
has been used in significant arts education and museum education research studies
(Atkinson, 2002; Lord, 2006; MacRae) in order to describe logics of practice that
defy assumed modes of representation. Heterotopias belong neither to institution-
alised aspects of everyday life, nor to the realm of the imaginary; they are places
that are porous to a number of aspects of more general contexts that interweave in
complex ways to create a dynamic space that constitutes the child's life world. Such
heterotopic sonic creations seem at first meaning-*less* or irrelevant to anything
beyond themselves, yet, on closer consideration are proven to be filled with rich
layers of meaning that relate to issues that are important to the children's life.
Ironically, it is not that children's spontaneous musical doings have no sense of his-
tory, as members of the institutionalised music establishment would have it, main-
taining that young children's improvisations cannot be seen as creatively operating
within inherited stylistic parameters. On the contrary, children have been thinking

historically all along—but in a way not acknowledged by the caretakers of music (education) cultures (see Allsup, 2013).

Leoni enters the living room together with her grandmother. She goes to the piano and begins playing a series of calm but scattered notes followed by loud clusters: a quite spacious arrangement of sounds. Sounds are left to resonate. As they fade away, they mix with grandmother's quasi-theatrical reaction. An impromptu narrative is devised; 'where are the little mice?' grandmother asks. Running, hiding, being hunted; piano keys are held down, as Leoni waits for grandmother's response. Those responses are always vocal but more often they are nonverbal. The rhythmic sense that is created relates more to a durational approach to time values rather than metrical. This is a playful interchange, seemingly loose in structure and certainly joyful. The frequent use of *sforzando* clusters seems to function as a sonic invitation for grandmother's response. In this 'game' grandmother should not be 'allowed to know' when a sudden cluster will come. When it does come, grandmother acknowledges this sense of being taken by surprise by an appropriate response; Leoni smiles; they both know they have been working on certain emergent 'rules' that bind them together. As Young (1995) has argued '[i]f there is a process of input on both sides from active maker to active receiver it raises important questions as to how musical relationships can mediate the construction of children's music-making as musical' (p. 51).

As the improvisation continues, one can sense that there emerge moments where the sounds of the piano are being more openly directed towards the player's 'theatrical' partner; sounds are there to be responded to. There are also moments when larger phrases are being created. At those moments Leoni adopts a more 'inward-looking' stance. Here, her relationship to the piano and the way sounds sound are what matters most. There are moments when these two are merging. About 3 min into the piece: Leoni 'attacks' with a sudden high cluster; the moment she plays it she turns to her partner. 'They got scared; the little ones got scared', grandmother says. We are now led into a larger section where contrast between single soft sounds and loud outbursts of massive sounds is the 'key'. Each sound is decisively uttered, and the distinctness of the two different components is carefully maintained. Each sonic gesture is part and parcel of Leoni's body movements and facial expressions that connect her playing to grandmother's response (see score, Fig. 16.1). The interchange between melody and sound outbursts is followed by a gracious upward melody (Fig. 16.1) that is, in turn, followed by a tranquil series of thirds that begin from the middle register and dive into the lowest keys (Fig. 16.1). What began as a direct address to the partner-listener, has led to an exploration of the sounding of the interval of the third in the different registers of the piano.

Five minutes and 39 s into the piece: a sudden change of focus, from a series of clusters that are meant to scare grandmother, attention shifts towards sound pattern creation. A call and response structure is played, with three pairs of melodies alternating between high and low registers each heading towards a direction opposite to its 'partner' (Fig. 16.1). Suddenly, we are driven to its very 'opposite', an almost isorhythmic two-part counterpoint in the middle register. In retrospect, I feel that here we have a two-step transformation: the call and response section might be seen as deriving from the repetitive and playful interaction between player and

Fig. 16.1 Leoni's 'grandma piece' – excerpt

grandmother. The extreme registers of the piano are used to create patterns 'in' conversation. This is further transformed into two simple melodies that co-exist. Thus, the relationship between two persons via sound-acts and playful responses is transformed to an 'intra-musical' dialogue which begins as a dialogue between opposing voices at remote registers and ends up with a dialogue between two closely linked voices that explore a strictly observed range of tones in a way that shows care for unity.

For us, as listeners, this whole improvisation seems to be a single performance. For Leoni, however, it was not: 'I was playing the piano, and did different (i.e. distinct) pieces. I did ten pieces: in the first I was saying that there was a cat that got into the house of a mouse; the second one described a little girl that did not know how to play the piano; the other was about a cat going after a mouse; the next was about a dog trying to catch the sun; and the next was about how the moon wanted to catch people. The one I just played (the last) was saying that a little girl has (finally?) learned to play the piano'. This is what Leoni said right after the end of the improvisation. In this performative outpouring of thoughts about the piece, the explicit communication with grandmother that has been an integral part of the performance has disappeared—even though little fragments of the narrative that grandmother brought into the piece have found a place in Leoni's account. This was not one, but ten little pieces. Accuracy in a strict sense is not important here. What is important is that the piece is seen as an endeavour where sections have a distinct character. These sections somehow allow Leoni to think through a number of issues that seem to be of concern to her, even if, we as adults, could have never thought that a piece made by a 5-year-old who has not yet began taking piano lessons might be about what it means to be someone who does not know how to play the piano, and what it means to be someone who does.

But as adults, we should change lenses, and begin to think that children are indeed thinking. And they think in personal ways, not easily pigeonholed. The clusters (clusters like those György Kurtág must have had in mind in 1973 when he wrote the first little pieces that initiated his *Játékok* project (Kurtág, n.d.), that I have interpreted as sonic gestures containing an explicit communicative element (confirmed by grandmother's responses in the course of the piece), were also something more: an exploration of what 'I do not know' might sound like. And they were placed side by side with an explicit effort to play 'pianistically', to explore, in other words, what 'I know how to play' might mean, and to do so through the invention of a structure that affords the possibility of being read as such. I believe that this must have been an ongoing concern of Leoni as she lives with her 13-year-old sister who does take piano lessons (see also Koops & Kuebel, 2019, this volume). Thus, this musical enterprise should be seen as belonging to a socio-musical context where issues of what 'knowing' and 'not knowing' mean, have acquired special importance.

Further into our discussion, Leoni brought in the image of the pigeon to describe her playing in the high register. I am telling her, 'I noticed that this was played in the high notes'. 'Yes, because I had to make the sound of the pigeon,' she tells me. 'Would it not be possible to make this sound of the pigeon with the low notes?', I ask. 'No, because the pigeon does not have such a low voice,' she replies. But, once again, that is not all. 'You mean that it does not fit. And why do you decide to do things that fit with other things?' I've decided to provoke her. She incisively says, 'because I want one thing to fit together with the other. Just like it is in the rest of the songs where things fit; just like it is with mine [my piece], so it is with everyone else's'. Her reply shows that she explicitly wishes to see her improvisation as linking naturally to a wider musical context.

In this improvisation I see Leoni as treating the piano as a heterotopic 'junk play-ground' (after Sørensen, see Sheridan, 2011; also Kozlovsky, 2006) that creates a loose but powerful framework that explores concrete questions that concern her and her relationship to the world. There is care for structuring sounds; particular attention is paid to taming the material and to playing with limits. But there is also care for freedom, something that materialises through musical gestures that open up sonic possibilities whose 'results' have not been foreseen. Lapses are part of the game; but this is the inevitable price paid for freedom.

This heterotopic junk playground creates musical time 'from inside-out', allowing for different takes on how musical gestures are to be formed: technique-centred, space-centred, body-centred, sonic-centred, dialogic. There is care for flow; a sense that what is created belongs to a special time-world (after Dissanayake, 1988). This care for flow is secured by a durational sense of rhythmicity and by using metrical rhythmic patterns in ways that do not impede this sense of relaxed continuity. This care for flow might be seen as care for musicality.

In turn, this care for musicality retains a strong communicative dimension. At times communication has been explicit, through the creation of performative structures that directly involve a 'partner' in the work. There is also an effort to create sonic structures that resemble communication, in the form of interaction between sounds that respond to other sounds. And more, there exists a clear effort to situate this improvisation in the context of larger issues and concerns that are relevant to specific aspects of Leoni's life. This performance operates beyond success/failure dichotomies, and cultivates an openness that requires us to develop a new way of listening, a way that is deeply musico-pedagogical exactly because it does not care to be seen as such. It is in this sense that it can be regarded as an ephemeral music heterotopia, as understood by Michel Foucault:

> *There also exist, and this is probably true for all cultures and all civilizations, real and effective spaces which are outlined in the very institution of society, but which constitute a sort of counter-arrangement, of effectively realized utopia, in which all the real arrangements, all the other real arrangements that can be found within society, are at one and the same time represented, challenged and overturned: a sort of place that lies outside all places and yet is actually localizable.* (1997, p. 354)

Erecting Walls

A month after this improvisation, Leoni enters the world of learning; of learning a musical instrument. The lesson begins. No sound is heard—only talking. This goes on. Teacher and student sit in front of the piano. Fingers, hand, arm, spine 'are all marked, positioned, according to separate functions' (Bergeron, 1992, p. 2). This is the core of it all: disjunction. Everything has its way, its place, its role, its meaning and value. The teacher knows this; and she knows how these are to be put together. But the child doesn't. This does not mean that the child is passive; children, as agents of their own learning trajectories, always construct meanings. This casts

them as co-producers of learning contexts and processes, even in those cases where one might argue that learning creates closure. I had detected a change in Leoni's approach to the piano right from the start of her beginning to have lessons. She now goes to the piano to do what the teacher 'said'. Improvisation flights, 'for fun', for 'no reason', have ceased. She is now playing in order to learn the little melody set for next lesson. Leoni seems to like the whole thing. After all, she has begun to learn music just like her sister. Successful adherence to modes of conduct that shape the identity of a 'pupil' is, when it works, an immensely rewarding process. These early pieces use no more than three to four notes; and the pupil must learn to read those right from the start. What matters is the proper adjustment of the hand, the exercise of the fingers, and of course rhythmic precision. Placing the hand. Exercising fingers. Playing the piece rightly. Learning a few pieces. Knowing how to play them, so that in the end of the school year one is able to play a couple of those pieces in a little concert, together with other students but with no interaction between them, in front of the teacher and her/his proud parents. These are all basic prerequisites for beginning to master an instrument. Who would find anything wrong in that? Yet the question remains: what *else* does this dramatic change of focus produce?

In late June 2017, 5 months later (the improvisation we just wondered about was recorded in January) I asked Leoni whether there was a reason for not playing on the piano except for 'homework'. 'I have not heard you playing on your own [your own thing] for quite some time' I said. 'Yes, me too,' Leoni, says poignantly. 'Why is that?' I continue. 'Because I began taking piano lessons,' she said without hesitation, leaving me speechless. Leoni explains, 'we first learn to play the piano on our own and then we play all together'. It is worth noting that the core difference between learning the piano and improvisation is here cast in terms of a polarity between solitary learning and communicative-collective musical contexts: 'on our own' vs. 'all together'. This I did not realise at the moment of the discussion, hence my question was: 'What do you mean when you say 'when we play all together'?'. Leoni replies with an explosive statement, '*One plays improvisation on her own when she does not know how to play the piano*'. I am stuck, able only to repeat what I just heard: 'When one does not know. I see'.

Leoni elaborates: '*When one has learned the piano, one [then] does it properly, without improvisation*'. Here improvisation is cast as a process that operates on a pre-educational level. It is clearly something that has nothing to do with learning, knowledge, and knowing. 'Is there any chance that you might play an improvisation with a teacher?' I ask. Leoni: 'No'. 'No. I see. Why is that so?' Leoni: 'That is why it is called improvisation, because one does it on one's own.' This points towards a rather literary understanding of the Greek word for improvisation – *autoschedias-mos* (αυτοσχεδιασμός) – a term that emphasises the power of shaping something of one's own accord (see Stefanou, 2007). Improvisation is something that cannot be done with the teacher, because, by definition, so to speak, improvisation is shaped by one's own will. Which might be taken to mean that in a learning situation little is shaped by the pupil's own will. I notice the ambiguous meaning of Leoni's use of 'on your own'. Earlier, this seemed to point towards solitary learning. Here it means 'on one's own initiative'. This ambiguity, for me, is a sign that Leoni is trying to

really grapple with the issue of why improvisation and learning the piano seem to belong to separate worlds.

In the discussion I am having with her, I have not hidden that I value improvisation. Leoni knows this quite well. And I feel that she tries to rationalise the 'gap' that separates the two. She tries to explain to me why something she knows I value very much does not fit with her vision of learning to play the piano. I am telling her: 'it surprises me to hear you say that now that you've begun leaning the piano you stopped improvising'. She responds through taking on the identity of a learner, and the notion of time management that this inevitably entails. 'When one does not have enough time to play her own pieces, she plays only the pieces that have been set by the teacher.' I insist, 'would it not be possible to play some improvisations as well?' Leoni answers 'no'; and emphatically adds: 'because I have to learn the piece'. Towards the end of our discussion, I tried to ask for a more precise clarification of what Leoni means when she says that improvisation and learning to play the piano are two irreconcilable worlds. 'Do you mean to say that one has to learn the piano first, and then to improvise, or that one improvises when one does not know how to play the piano, and that when one begins learning, s/he stops improvising?' 'What you said last' was the answer.

In beginning to learn the piano, Leoni has certainly learnt something more. Learning is always 'productive', though the direction it takes might not be the result of planned action on the part of the teacher. Learning always occurs in a constructed framework of participation that 'teaches' through what is done and said, that is, through the co-creation of participation structures, specific activities and the attribution of specific meanings to these structures and activities. In the context of a piano lesson, it is the teacher who brings knowledge; knowledge regarding the 'how' and knowledge regarding the 'what'. The former is the reason why the teacher gives directions. The latter is the reason why s/he brings in books and pieces. The child already knows this all too well. The first piano book is placed carefully in front of her. Begin. Read. Play. 'Could you not use books?' I asked Leoni. 'No, because otherwise it would not be a lesson'. 'I see'. 'Otherwise it would simply be an improvisation', she adds.

It is not of course that the teacher has explicitly rejected improvisation. The perceived irreducible gap between learning and improvisation has been a firm conclusion that Leoni has arrived at on the basis of her reading below the surface of the new learning situation she has been thrown in. The teacher does not have to say, 'don't improvise, just stick to the work at hand'. Silence works just as well—as well as a reluctance to incorporate into the music lesson anything that comes from the student herself. 'Have you ever talked about your own pieces with your teacher?' 'No, but I have played two pieces to my piano teacher'. 'And what did she say?' 'Very nice'. 'Nothing else?' 'No, that was all'. 'Did she play with you?' 'No'. Frameworks of participation produce learning through subtle processes of silencing, excluding, de-valuing. Brown, Collins, and Duguid (1989) have put the matter succinctly:

The perceptions resulting from actions are a central feature in both learning and activity. […] Different activities produce different indexicalized representations not equivalent, universal ones. And, thus, the activity that led to those representations plays a central role in learning (p. 36).

In beginning to learn the piano Leoni has begun learning much more. This 'more' relates to the nature and practice of music, to what is learning and how this is achieved. It also relates to what it means to be a learner and act as one. In learning the piano, Leoni has learned that music is always mediated by its written representation. She has also learned that bringing her ideas into the lesson is not something that fits with the way things are done. She has learned that learning the piano involves a process of preparing little pieces primarily through reading, pieces that are discussed only in so far as issues of correctness are involved. Placing the hand, exercising fingers, playing the melody right. This all too familiar approach to learning the piano induces a shift of attention from sound to skill and from expressive gesture to order. Each piece is seen as a complete whole that has to be broken into parts to be learned. Each piece, somehow places the child in the hands of her teacher, in the sense that each piece is seen as a little step in the course of a linear process whose overall course lies within the responsibility of the teacher. I argue that this learning has been the result of a teaching approach that is characterised by symbolic violence. Such an approach induces a gradual misrecognition of arbitrary relationships as well as of the larger web of values and meanings that are part and parcel of these relationships.

Taming/caring for structure and control has here colonised the whole learning and teaching process, whereas exploring/caring for freedom and communicating/caring for the sociality of musical acts have been pushed to the margins. The result is that flow/care for musicality has been postponed 'for later'. But in Leoni's eyes, this does not look like an imposition. On the contrary, it has become naturalised. In our discussion she appears to have entered a process of disciplining her own learning: inquiring over goals and expectations, thinking about time management, adopting a hierarchy of musical practices according to their perceived relation to 'learning', and organising her way of relating to the piano on the basis of this hierarchy. From a Foucauldian perspective—which complements the Bourdieusian perspective on symbolic violence that we have employed so far—the subtlest virtue of control is its invisibility; its capacity to 'infuse and shape the personal investments of individuals' (Rose, 1990, p. 129), defining the very ways in which people come to understand their identity, their potential, what counts as a worthwhile course of action, as well as their position in relation to particular hierarchies. The most effective way of transforming normalising judgement and examination into ever-present but invisible constituents of conduct is to attain a level where the individual uses these instruments on herself as a means of self-control. From the perspective of a teacher teaching a musical instrument, enabling a student to practise mindfully is a much-cherished end goal: 'Practice is most effective when it is deliberate and mindful. Acquiring meta-cognitive skills is central to effective and efficient practice' (Barry & Hallam, 2002, p. 160). However, in Foucauldian terms, cognitive reflexivity should not be regarded as a mere mental operation, as psychology would lead us

to believe. Thinking about one's thinking in the course of practising should be understood as the outcome of educational practices that place emphasis on particular conceptions of learners' autonomy and independence. However, from a Foucauldian angle development of meta-cognitive skills could be seen as a form of auto-surveillance. Through such processes, 'the objects of disciplinary control could themselves internalize the norms whereby they were controlled and so become monitors of their own behaviour' (Gutting, 2005, p. 96). Olssen (2006) argues that 'education via governmentality effects the production of a new form of subject—one who believes they are free' (2006, p. 58).

Appropriation: Enlivening Formalism

In my account of these two 'moments' in Leoni's engagement with the piano I wish to emphasise the problematic aspects of the passage from 'innocence' to 'formality'. Arguably, there has been a dissonance between the way in which the piano was introduced to her through her lessons and her previous experience of improvisation. Adhering to a Foucauldian perspective, it should be emphasised that we should not regard the web of power-knowledge relations that is at work in this situation as simply imposed from above, 'as the homogeneous domination over others by an individual or a group' (McHoul & Grace, 2002, p. 89). Power is not just a 'force' imposed from above. To borrow Lemke's phrasing, Leoni's experience within this piano lesson might be perceived as the result of 'a dynamic interplay between games of truth, forms of power and relations to the self' (Lemke, 2011, p. 27). This leads us towards a 'productive' view of learning; learning is entangled in the construction of a web of power-knowledge relations. It appropriates, re-appropriates, creates, re-positions what 'there is'. It is in this sense that Leoni's agentic power should be understood. As Foucault has emphasised 'relations of power are […] immanent' in knowledge relationships (1978, p. 94). Therefore 'power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production' (Foucault, 1977, p. 194). Power is always relational, and this is what opens up the possibility of multiple resistance strategies.

Power-knowledge relations that condition the possibilities that might be afforded mediate Leoni's approach to the piano. A month later Leoni goes to the piano to play a little piece she has learned in her lessons. I've noticed that since she began having lessons, each time she makes a mistake she starts from the beginning. An all too familiar picture indeed. This makes her quite nervous and she is quite resistant to anyone urging her to 'keep going'. On that day, I decided to ask her to improvise. She did not say anything; she played a 20 s improvisation with her hands positioned on the keyboard. Using only three notes, the one that falls under the first finger of her left hand, and two that fall under the first and fifth finger of the right, she is able to create two little phrases (the first of which is repeated twice) with a clear sense of direction (see score, Fig. 16.2). But her way of looking at me as she ends the piece

Fig. 16.2 Transcription of Leoni's improvisation – complete

shows she is not satisfied. Was she feeling trapped in her decision to have her hands placed on the keyboard 'properly'? How can we know? Could this be seen as a case of appropriation of skills acquired through modes of practice that stand at odds with improvisation?

She then 'frees' her hands; she uses one finger from each hand to try out an idea. She holds back; 'no' she says. She tries again. Clearly she tries to shape something.

She begins again, plays four notes, saying 'no' as if talking to herself once more, but without interruption she delves into improvisation-proper: a clear first phrase is offered. It has a very strong character and is repeated twice (see Fig. 16.2). This phrase somehow marks the 'territory' in which she has decided to navigate. She keeps the basic rhythmic sense of her earlier, slightly timid improvisation. But more prominent is her intention to explore many different combinations of neighbouring intervals that exist within a fourth. Thus, from the third phrase onwards she introduces a second voice and delves into an exploration of all possible intervallic combinations that can be found within a fourth (Fig. 16.2). Her quasi-formalist approach stems from a spatial approach to key arrangements on the piano, and this seems to be the starting point for exploring the different sonic possibilities that are discovered. The clear and simple rhythm of each phrase secures flow and integrity.

Reconciling inventiveness with skills-in-the-making, this 1.45 min long improvisation seems to be an answer to her concern to play 'on her own' at the piano in a way that is not in conflict with how things are done in the formal context of her lessons. It is in this sense that formalism becomes enlivened. It is not that she has not yet refined her newly acquired skill. Rather, what is most important is that she tries to make up things that are not at odds with the music played in the lesson—and the music played in the lesson is not just any kind of music. It is the music the teacher brings into her world. A music that represents music of the wider world—and remember that Leoni wanted her music to be 'like everybody else's'. This is not necessarily a sign of conformity. It might well point towards a fervent wish to belong; to belong to something larger; to find a way of doing something that is both personal *and* connected to aspects of the 'world of music' and the particular way in which this 'world', as mediated by the fragments of available representations, comes into her life. In this way she operates within power-knowledge relations that produce particular courses of (musical) action.

To elaborate this point further I would like to return to my interview with Leoni. As I have argued, a sense of *dis*continuity between improvising and learning the piano arose in this discussion. This was repeatedly stated in the course of our meeting: 'Improvisation stopped because I started learning the piano'. Responding to the sharpness of this assertion in a way that looks quite inappropriate from a methodological perspective that values impartiality, I replied: 'But I must say that I do not think that this is correct. I think that one should try things out and that learning the piano is improving when someone plays on her/his own'. I choose the phrasing 'playing on one's own' trying to avoid the term improvisation, to remain closer to Leoni's more open use of this expression earlier in the discussion. I do not think that I expected this response, though: 'Yes, but playing on your own is the same thing as playing improvisation. Because the (learned) pieces you play, you play them on your own'. Once again, I'm driven into uncharted territory. 'Then, what is the difference?' Leoni replies, 'None'. I decide to provoke her: 'Why are you not improvising then?' This question seems to force her to think this over: 'Oh, hold on a sec… the difference is… (she pauses to think)… that improvisation springs from my own mind'.

How should we understand this? For Leoni, improvisation has been something that cannot be related to the experience of learning the piano, and therefore, it has no place in this process. Yet, here she created a small window, which might lead to a small crack. This crack has been made possible because she has identified the common element that lies underneath both improvised and composed music. This is, of course, related to the performative dimension of music, to the idea that the performer is an agent of music that can either be invented by the performer herself, or by someone else. Music that springs from one's own mind and music played through one's own actions may be different, nevertheless, both are music. The distinct demand that improvisation makes upon the performer is to have ideas that are one's own 'springing from one's own mind'. Now, this can lead to 'notes [that we play] without knowing', but it can also lead to 'notes that we do not know'. That is, to invention. Listen:

Panagiotis:	So, we can make up pieces of music through improvisation.
Leoni:	Yes!
Panagiotis:	Can you explain this a bit more?
Leoni:	One can play on one's own, improvising, but [in this case] it is not nice to copy things from somewhere else.
Panagiotis:	Why is that?
Leoni:	Because it would be as if we copy from our book. And this [the piece] is going to be the same.
Panagiotis:	Yes, but what kind of pieces does improvisation create?
Leoni:	Creative.
Panagiotis:	Which means what?
Leoni:	Pieces with loads of notes.
Panagiotis:	I see.
Leoni:	Notes [that we play] without knowing.
Panagiotis:	I see.
Leoni:	And notes that we do not know.

Children's upsetting clarity is indeed a challenge.

Improvisation as a Means of Resistance to Symbolic Violence

My aim in this chapter has been threefold. First, I have tried to invoke the notion of symbolic violence in order to think through the unexamined ramifications of formal approaches to music education in general and instrumental music teaching in particular. Second, I have emphasised the complexity of children's spontaneous music-making, showing how children's complex musical thinking takes us beyond notions of unmediated spontaneity. By invoking the notion of children's musical heterotopias I wanted to show the complexity of their seeming innocence. Third, I wanted to ponder over the idea that improvisation might be seen as a way of resistance to the 'dark side' of formality. The guiding purpose of this threefold focus has been to

rethink the possible links between improvisation and music education, with particular emphasis on instrumental learning.

Perhaps unexpectedly, it is Leoni who has led us to address the possibility of a particular form of *resistance*. Resistance to the exertion of symbolic violence that is deeply ingrained in the formal teaching practices on which her beginning piano lessons are based. Recall for a moment the two vignettes with which this chapter began. Manos' declaration that 'I, who loved music, … now I hate it' may be seen as a form of *reactive* resistance against the overwhelming imposition of teaching practices that have exiled creative music-making from his class. Manos, by rejecting music and its teaching has been caught in a confrontational situation. Yanis' act of hurting his fingers on the way to his piano lesson points toward a different form of resistance that we might refer to as *self-destructive*. This can be seen as a survival tactic, enabling him to escape the obligation of playing during his lesson, but also as an active rejection of acts of intimidation experienced in that lesson. In that sense, it becomes an evidence of strength, a sign of resilience (see Wiggins, 2011). Leoni, on the other hand, re-appropriates the dry codes of action that the piano lesson has imposed on her. Through that re-appropriation, the possibility of rupture emerges. Locating the common foundation of performing both composed and improvised music, she is able to point towards the possibility of lifting the dualism that has been erected between formal and informal, between learning 'piano proper' and playing 'notes that we do not know'. This seems to point towards a *productive* form of resistance.

A major problem with formal approaches to teaching is that care for taming (technique-based teaching practices) often deprives the educational encounter of core ingredients of musical experience (see Gaunt, 2008; also Burwell, 2012; McPhee, 2011). Another is the insistence on following the progression of music textbooks, treating notated pieces as the sole means through which taming can be achieved. As McCarthy (2009) has pointedly stated, '[w]hen students come to view music as synonymous with the notated work, their relationship to music as human expression is reduced and misguided' (p. 32). The story that has been the basis for this chapter showed how teaching always 'teaches' more than what is intended. It teaches what 'knowing' means, how learning is achieved, what is worthwhile for a student to do and what it is not; it also 'teaches' certain hierarchies between musical practices and also initiates a process of internalisation of disciplinary controls embedded in a particular system of knowledge-power relations. This does not doom children to passivity. In the foregoing analysis I tried to highlight the productive aspects of power-knowledge relationships that induce the possibility of resistance. Leoni entered this new experience and actively moulded her perceptions of music and its making, and of herself as a learner. Significantly she actively tried to reposition her approach to improvisation and its possible relation with how music was experienced via her formal lessons. This was evident both in our discussion and in her improvisation recorded after a semester of having piano lessons. Despite and against all odds, a child is always able to create cracks.

Leoni's attempt to 'enliven formalism' by appropriating the forms of knowledge she had begun to master in her formal lessons, putting them in the service of impro-

visation, might allow us to envision a form of 'reconciliation' between improvisation and formal music education. One could provocatively suggest that music education might continue to focus on skill development, based, however, on a completely reconfigured, dynamic and political conception of skill. Based on Fraying (2017, p. 81) we could argue that attention to skill would in this sense be taken to mean development of control of every aspect of the music- making process: What to play? How to play it? What for? Allowing the *time* and the *right* to control every aspect of the work at hand might lead to a process of incorporating improvisation within every single music lesson. Ironically, music teachers who begin with skill narrowly conceived are doing the very opposite, depriving pupils of this very thing that has supposedly been their aim.

Improvisation creates a performative imaginary 'space' that achieves a sense of flow thus teaching everyone involved how to develop (a) *care for musicality*. Sounds and means of sound production are actively worked upon. Improvisation teaches us to develop (b) *care for taming*, both structures and techniques. Further, this is inextricably linked to care for the expressive structuring of sounds with an implicit or explicit communicative intent: this teaches us (c) *care for the sociality of sounds*. Lastly, through the demand it places upon the player to explore and actively shape sounds and structures, it teaches us how to develop (d) *care for freedom*. This points towards a holistic approach to the making of music, an approach that does not regard issues of technique and structure as disjointed from cultivating freedom and from creating music with a communicative intent. Often, particularly in instrumental lesson contexts but also in many adult-led models of early childhood music pedagogy, issues of structure and technique are introduced in a way that cuts them off from exploration, discovery, communication and flow. It is argued that particularly at the early stages of learning, it is essential that each teaching act shows that music is first and foremost *a relationship* based on a distinctive *experience of musical time*: a relationship between people, between sounds and people, between sounds made by people, and between people and their expressive needs. Remember Ian Cross's operational definition of music: '*music embodies, entrains and transposably intentionalises time in sound and action*' (2010, p. 79). Any approach we choose to pursue in teaching music should somehow enable children to experience music in ways that allow them to shape musical flow. The educational value of improvisation lies exactly in this holistic experience of musical flow, an experience that may not be a priori understood as antithetical or antagonistic to more formal aspects of music training (see also Parsonage, Frost-Fadnes, & Taylor, 2007).

Such an approach can take us beyond the formal-informal polarity that leads to a largely misguided polarisation between spontaneity and structure, as well as between personal preferences and systematic attention. The reconceptualization of improvisation in instrumental music learning requires the acknowledgement of the complexity of children's musical spontaneity, and the need on the part of adults/ teachers to counter their 'selective deafness' (an exemplary study in that direction is that of Kooistra, 2016). Further, it requires us to move beyond the modernist child-art logic that emphasises the need for 'uncontaminated' spontaneity and imposes on our practice a questionable duality between knowledge and imagination (Egan,

2017; Wilson, 2007). Crucially, it also requires that we forge a new understanding of what it means to pursue musical creation *together* with our students in the course of their education. Might there be a possibility for what art education scholar Brent Wilson refers to as 'Noncoercive Adult/Child Collaboration' (2007, p. 6)? Wilson has inquired into the forms of adult-children creative collaboration, reflecting on the possibility that teachers and students engage in collaborative creative endeavours that result in work that 'would be other than child visual culture and other than adult visual culture' (ibid. p. 9). In a similar vein, the pursuit of '*other than child/other than adult*' (ibid. p. 19) forms of musical culture in educational contexts might be proposed. Such an approach presupposes that adult/teachers forge a way of working together with the students in improvisational music-making on the basis of the supposition of equality (a thesis based on a framework based on French theorist Jacques R*ancière*, as espoused in Kanellopoulos, 2016).

Leoni's deep wish to forge an understanding of her way into music that does not contradict the teaching and learning logic that underpins the formal learning context in which she has found herself, is of particular significance. For it leads us to address the issue of the responsibility of the teacher. It is the teacher's pedagogical approach that will determine whether the potential of 'other-than' forms of music will be pursued, or (on the contrary) whether the music lesson will become a just a site for the exertion of symbolic violence. From this perspective, our task would be to enable children to participate in received forms of making and playing music without alienating them from the active process of shaping their own relationship to music.

It is suggested that 'other-than' forms of music lead to a creative music pedagogy that cultivates *vulnerability*. Permitting students but also teachers to be vulnerable might be regarded as a form of resistance to the exertion of symbolic violence. As Wiggins has emphasised:

> *While vulnerability can inhibit musical agency, if vulnerability as openness and sensitivity is essential to engaging in music at its highest levels, then it is also a component of musical agency. We are willing to be vulnerable when our vulnerability is embraced with acceptance.* (Wiggins, 2011, p. 364)

More often than not, music education does not feel at ease with this understanding of vulnerability. It cares only about what is polished, finished and 'presentable'; it privileges closed forms of knowledge and practices for coming to them that secure safe results. This is why music education feels alienated from practices of improvisation: 'the unpredictability of wandering and wondering is the enemy of imagined sovereignty' (Ferm-Almqvist, Benedict, & Kanellopoulos, 2017, p. 19). This chapter has tried to show that different routes are indeed possible.

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Afterword

Beatriz Ilari and Susan Young

Every book has a mission and this one is no different. A few years ago, when we started to plan this book, we talked about our hopes and dreams for the field of early childhood music. An immediate concern that emerged from our conversation was the relative isolation and marginalisation of the field. As one of our Australian colleagues always joked, 'when presenting at conferences outside the small circle of early childhood music, never expect an audience of more than three.' It is easy to understand why and early childhood music education as a sector must also take responsibility for tending to close ranks and talk mainly among ourselves. Any field which finds itself on the margins, will look for support and reassurance by clustering together. However, and as a result, the understandings of young children as musical are poorly integrated into mainstream educational practice, both in music and in early childhood. All too often the visual, the verbal, the literal, the objective aspects of learning for young children take precedence over the aural, the nonverbal, embodied, imaginative, processual/time-based nature of learning. Likewise, music becomes an object, something to be performed and conformed to, rather than a medium that is lived, used and played with as a meaningful mediator for so much else in a child's life. The result is that these vital, in every meaning of the word, aspects of children's engagement and learning in the world are overlooked and neglected.

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In examining the existing literature published under the guise of 'music and young children' we found innovative studies, pedagogical ideas and practical orientations, but very little integration between them. The many crossovers between these works were evident, as well as the need for more dialogue between their authors. So, in assembling this book we did our best to bring some of these authors together, with the aim of promoting conversations across the different disciplines, hoping to partly overcome the isolation and marginalisation of the field. In doing so, we also hoped that the book would offer a fertile ground for scholars and practitioners from different theoretical orientations to collaborate. In line with Georgina Born's (2010) thinking on relational musicology, we also held a similar ideal: that future research and practice in early childhood music would also be more relational, encompassing social, technological, temporal, and ontological issues (see Born, 2010), as well as psychological and biological ones. This is, of course, an ideal, but one that will likely help the field of early childhood music move from the margins to a more central position.

But with every choice comes a caveat. When we invited our authors to contribute to this volume, we gave them a free-hand to write about what they deemed important. Instead of deciding what would be most important to report, this decision emerged organically through the creative work produced by a group of scholars and practitioners from many parts of the world. What this means is that some themes were left out. No book can include every possible theme, of course, but we thought that it would be important to highlight some of the 'missing links', as a way to contribute to further thinking. For instance, although young children's musicking is often assumed to promote well-being, it is surprising that so little has been theorised about this theme—here and elsewhere—even more so when we consider the recent attention that wellbeing has received from scholars in psychology, music therapy, and musicology (e.g., Gouk, Kennaway, Prins, & Thormahlen, 2018).

Another theme that merits further investigation is the link between home and school musical experiences. Early childhood music researchers have recently turned to the home as a main research site, offering insightful accounts of young children's home musical experiences, as seen in some of the chapters in this book. But along with many important findings, these works also reveal gaps between home and school musical experiences (something that had been suggested by earlier works with school-aged children, e.g., Palheiros & Hargreaves, 2001), including where technology is concerned. Future research needs to address these issues, as these gaps have serious implications for pedagogy.

Another serious missing link, not only in this book, but in early childhood music research in general is knowledge about young children's musicking in the Majority world. Consistent with research in fields like psychology, what we know about musicking in the early years is still heavily grounded in the experiences of children from what Heinrich, Heine, and Norenzayan (2010) have termed WEIRD populations or **w**hite, from **E**nglish-Speaking countries, **i**ndustrialized, and from **r**ich and **d**emocratic societies. In this volume, although we strived for geographical representation, we were not successful in locating authors from some regions of the world, where conceptions of music, musicality, children, and childhood may be distinct

from the mainstream North American and European. In the future, we would like to have more participants in these conversations particularly from colleagues in Africa, Asia, South America—former Eastern bloc European countries, the majority population countries of China, and South Asia, to name a few. We recognize that this could be a linguistic issue, given the dominance of the English language in academia. But it would be important to seek out these voices, learn from them, and perhaps even challenge some of our longstanding assumptions about music in early childhood.

The aim of any book that has interests of education at its heart is to make possible some change, even if this change is, at first, at the level of conceptualisation alongside a commitment to attend closely to the experiences and perspectives of children and to reflect carefully on what is desirable to introduce and promote musically in their lives—whether we are talking about popular music, technologies to enable musical experiences, or educational activities. Thus, research has a central role to play, as it can be an important driving force of change. But as researchers and readers, we need to do due diligence, by being hyper-critical of the research that we read and conduct, and, at the same time, consider the relational issues that Born (2010) talked about. It is no secret that there are limitations to the research methods that are used to conduct research on young children's musical experiences, irrespective of their underlying epistemologies and orientating paradigms. Aside from young children's perspectives being difficult to grasp, music is a semantically ambiguous and complex object of study. Thus, collaborative efforts between researchers from varied fields, and researchers and practitioners may result in stronger theorising and practice in the future.

We end this book with the hope that readers—be they researchers or practitioners—will consider the many dilemmas that are inherent in their work and engage in reflexivity as they go about researching, teaching, listening and attending to, and/or creating opportunities for young children to engage with music. As Avra Pieridou Skoutella (this volume) expressed so eloquently, in reflexivity issues of difference and equality function as sources of creativity and deeper forms of understanding. Reflexivity, along with a willingness to hold back one's assumption and suspend meaning, offers possibilities for deep engagement across difference, and hence, for transformation, border crossing, and transcendence. In Paulo Freire's words (1970/2005):

> Education is thus constantly remade in the praxis. In order to be it must become. Its 'duration' (in the Bergsonian meaning of the word) is found in the interplay of opposites: permanence and change. (p. 84)

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