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Collaborative Knowledge Building of Ethnic Musical Communities in an Urban High School: An Ethnographic Case Study

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ABSTRACT

Collaborative Knowledge Building of Ethnic Musical Communities in an Urban High School: An Ethnographic Case Study

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This study investigates the nature of the face-to-face interactions and collaborations between secondary school students and community members in the nested contexts of the classroom and a local Italian community, both situated in a large city in Canada. Students used the tools of inquiry of cultural ethnographers, interviewing members of a local community, transcribing their interviews, and documenting their representations and interpretations in a communal database. Students were able to read each others' database entries, share information, and interact with each other in a collaborative learning environment. Two research questions were posed: (1) What is the nature of teaching and learning in a collaborative knowledge-building secondary music classroom focusing on a local music culture? (2) How does a selected group of secondary students represent their understanding of a local music culture, including concepts, beliefs, and values embedded in cultural practices?

In this study I employ a qualitative interpretive research paradigm in order to create a rich, contextualized, multi-voiced account of students using the tools of inquiry of cultural ethnographers. A purposeful sample of thirteen students, ages 15-17, was selected from a larger, upper-level music performance class. Five different data sets were analyzed for this study: (a) pilot study fieldnotes, (b) main study fieldnotes, (c) audio transcriptions, (d) video transcriptions, and (e) database.

Three overarching categories emerged from my recursive reading and coding of the data: Preservation, the function of music, and identity. The data reveal the value of traditional music for a local Italian community of practice. The students describe how music functions to preserve culture and to build and maintain ethnic identity. In addition, students describe how they position themselves as insiders and outsiders in relation to a local Italian community. Students struggled with different issues related to their own ethnic identity. The nature of interactions in the collaborative learning environment of the classroom, the database, and the community are discussed. Students were able to infer concepts, beliefs and values embedded in a local Italian community's musical and cultural practices.

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I am indebted to the students and to the members of the Italian community who participated in this study. They have provided such important insights about this rich music culture.

I want to thank my parents for instilling in me a curiosity about life and a love for learning. Thank-you for ALWAYS loving me, believing in me, and giving me wings! Alain, how can I find the words to thank you for your patience and for always supporting my dreams? I could never have done this without you!

Glossary

Constructivism
This Epistemological stance or paradigm of inquiry asserts that the mind is active in the construction of knowledge, not a passive receiver of ideas. "Human beings do not find or discover knowledge so much as construct or make it. We invent concepts, models, and schemes to make sense of experience, and we continually test and modify these constructions in the light of new experience" (Schwandt, 2001, p. 30). We do not construct our knowledge in a vacuum but rather against a backdrop of shared understandings, practices and in linguistic, social, and historical contexts (Schwandt, 2001).

Culture
The integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon man's capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations; the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group (Merriam-Webster's,1999).

> Culture cannot be objectified. It is inferred through observation and documentation, inscribed in acts (i.e. written text, painting, folk song) of representation. In ethnography, the world culture is used as an analytic term referring to forms and patterns that can be found in observed behaviors. Culture can also be defined as an ideational system, encompassing the understanding and knowledge that members of a group share. (Schwandt, 2001)

Emic/Etic
The words emic and etic originate in the field of linguistics with the words phonemic and phonetic. These words were also popular in cognitive anthropology, with emic referring to terms that were indigenous to the specific culture such as local language, concepts, and expressions used by group members to name their experiences. Geertz (1983) describes an emic term as one used by people naturally to define how they think, feel, and imagine. The word etic refers the efforts of people outside a particular sociocultural system to categorize concepts by using scientific languages. Geertz describes this as the specialist's way of forwarding scientific, philosophical, and practical aims. This distinction between emic and etic is often viewed as artificial in that pure etic categories do not exist outside the contexts where they originate. Geertz uses the terms *experience-near* and *experience-distant* to refer to emic and etic perspectives. He describes participant observation as a dialectic of experience (emic perspective, getting in and close to the setting and members) and interpretation (etic perspective, getting out and distancing from the setting and members) (Geertz, 1983; Schwandt, 2001).

Ethnicity
Ethnic quality or affiliation; Ethnic: Of or relating to large groups of people classed according to common racial, national, tribal, religious, linguistic, or cultural origin or background (being a member of an ethnic group, ethnic food, ethnic neighborhoods) (Merriam-Webster's, 1999).

Insider/Outsider Perspective
To have an insider perspective is to understand the subjective meanings of the behaviors and actions of members of a particular community. An outsider uses objectivity, and a degree of detachment from the situation to develop explanations about human behaviors observed in the empirical world (Schwandt, 2001).

Nested Contexts
More than one context at a given time influences individuals' engagement with an activity in a particular situation (e.g. personal contexts of students, context of the classroom, contexts of ethnic communities) (Maguire, 1994).

Reflexivity
A researcher engages reflexivity as an integral part of the research process. Working recursively and reflexively in the research setting means that the researcher is aware of the interactions between the knower and what can be known. An effort is made to establish reciprocal relationships with participants, acknowledging them as co-researchers and collaborators.

"Reflexivity is absolutely required to understand one's psychological and emotional states before, during, and after the research experience. Such reflexivity or subjectivity enables the researcher to begin to uncover dialectic relationships, array and discuss contradictions within the stories being recorded, and move with research participants toward action. The words *transformative* and *critical* not only embody the action aspects of research, but also recognize the ability of meaningful research experiences to heighten self-awareness in the research process and create personal and social transformation" (Lincoln, 1995, p. 283).

Social constructivism (social constructivist view)
Social constructivism is a strand of constructivism that focuses on social process and interaction. The theory of symbolic interactionalism is closely related to social constructivism in part due to its emphasis on peoples' recognition, production, and reproduction of social actions and their shared intersubjective understandings of specific circumstances. Ideas, conceptions, beliefs, theories, and attitudes are some of the things that can be socially constructed (Schwandt, 2001).

Symbolic interactionalism
Symbolic interactionalists believe that the world must be interpreted rather than viewing the world as a place where people simply react to stimuli.

Three premises of symbolic interactionalism:

1. Humans act towards objects/people based on the meanings these objects/people have for them.
2. These meanings are the result of social interaction (communication) between and among people.
3. Meanings are established/modified through an individual's interpretive process.

Symbolic interactionalists have a great respect for the empirical world and therefore they enter a setting where interaction is taking place and carefully attend to the circumstances present, including behaviors and speech (Schwandt, 2001).

Voice
Refers to a concern with the question of "who speaks" in modern texts. In other words, the goal of a qualitative/interpretive monograph is a concern with multivoiced, dialogic, polyphonic texts, ones that represent a multitude of voices that were present in the research. These voices might be ones of students, members of a cultural community, or the researcher. The goal is to decenter the voice, to move away from a tradition of monological authority where the researcher/narrator voice is the only one heard in the text (Lincoln & Guba, 2000).

Dedication and Journey

Vignette: My Story

I have always been "doing" music – all my life. It is something as natural to me as brushing my teeth, riding a bike, or tying my shoes. I do not remember a time when I did not sing, play an instrument, or listen to recordings. We had a small "LP" collection in my house – just the basics – a Chitty-Chitty Bang Bang record, a colorful flying car gracing the outer jacket like an object in space - Tchaikovsky's Swan Lake – I remember the beautiful ballerina on the cover with the white tutu swirling as she elongated herself to her full height on the point of her ballet slippers. Maybe that is why I pretended that I was taking ballet lessons during my elementary school years. There was also the most important record, Eine Kleine Nacht Music. Without the assistance of Mozart, my brother would not have been able to fall asleep every evening. Of course, the music that I performed was much less sparse, furnishing the top of the upright piano with multiple stacks of a variety of books. I began to play at the age of four because my mother did not know what to do with me while my brother had his group piano lessons in a Yamaha lab. I remember wanting individual attention, longing for a "teacher of my own," even at that young age. In church, we sang in four part harmony. Learning to read choir music was a process of enculturation. I stood beside an older lady singing the alto part with solid assurance, and magically, I was able to interpret almost any hymn in the book without much of an effort. Mom would sit on the brown leather rocking chair as I hurriedly practiced all the "technical stuff" in order to move on to the pieces and finally, my own choice of music for "dessert." My father sang for a local television program when I was younger and was always part of a choir, filling out the baritone section with the richness of his velvet voice. My "second

instrument" (of course, everyone had a second one!) was the flute and my enthusiasm for this new "voice" in junior high school took me all the way to university to complete a bachelor degree in performance and also a music education degree.

"Doing music" has always been integral to my life and I could never have imagined it being otherwise for anyone until I began my first job as a high school music teacher in an urban area. All of a sudden, I was confronted with the reality that not everyone "does" music (plays an instrument) and that my "musically rich" environment was a product of the cultural beliefs and values embedded in the ethnic/religious group that my family belonged to. My parents had appropriated theses beliefs and values and had transmitted them to their children. All of a sudden, the "other," the "different," the student coming from a place that I did not know and could not presume to understand began a journey in me that culminated in this study. As I reflected on the place that music and music learning occupied as part of my ethnic identity or cultural self, I began to ask myself how students could engage in an inquiry process that would allow them to document and think about the place of music in the culture of their local community and how music embodies cultural beliefs and values of that same community. In addition, I began to view local music cultures as a rich repository of information to be documented, analyzed and shared. As a "cultural outsider" in the school where I taught, I began to feel challenged to gain a better understanding of the cognitive development of my students as well as their sociocultural contexts. I wanted to develop a program of study that put the students at the center, a way for them to discover a greater awareness of themselves, their ethnic heritage, and a recognition of their place within a larger social unit. My journey has taken me to a place where I must think critically about multicultural music education pedagogy and how to make it

"culturally relevant" to students in addition to helping them to develop their sense of self, their sense of place, and their understanding of the "other" in a global society.

Why is this autobiographical vignette important for you, the reader? In qualitative research, the researcher must know herself and make that self known to her participants and readers of the research. The types of relationships established with participants and the lens through which data is collected and analyzed are both influenced by the personhood of the researcher. Personhood includes the personal knowledge that a researcher garners throughout her personal life. Self-knowledge is essential to good qualitative research (Maguire, 2005).

Lincoln and Guba (2000) encourage us to reflect critically on the self as researcher. "It is a conscious experiencing self as both inquirer and respondent, as teacher and learner, as the one coming to know the self within the processes of research itself" (p. 183). Reflexivity means that we must come to terms with our choice of research problem, the choice of research participants, and ourselves. Reinharz (1997) argues that we *bring* ourselves to the field and *create* ourselves in the field. She also suggests that we draw on three selves in the research setting: (a) research-based selves; (b) brought selves, ones that historically, socially and personally create our standpoints; and (c) situationally-created selves. Why are these autobiographical vignettes important? They are important because they give you insight into the different selves that were brought to the research setting.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

> Why do I think music is important to the Italian culture and to the people? Well, I think one reason is that it gives the Italians a sense of belonging, its something that belongs to all of them, yet it is different to every person individually. In a time where they had very few possessions music was something they can proudly relate to, it gave them a sense of identity, and it still does. The music is part of the past, who makes them who they are. A sense of belonging and identity is also an important value that music represents in other cultures. (Victor[1], Database, Virtual Discussions, Answer to question #3, June 29, 2003)[2]

Imagine the scene: High school music students writing in a virtual database, interacting with the teacher/researcher. The preceding quote is a response to questions posed to facilitate reflection on their experience of becoming researchers, studying a local music culture in a large city in Canada. I asked the students to think about their many interactions with members of a local Italian community and to comment on the importance and value of music for a particular group of people. In addition, the students were asked to consider how music reflects the cultural beliefs and values of a people. Victor describes the important values that music embodies for the Italian people, such as identity, pride. Students began to understand music as a symbol system, a type of mirror that reflects the character of a local community.

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[1] Pseudonyms will be used throughout the study to protect the identity of the participants.

[2] Contributions to the database will be cited in the following format: Pseudonym, source, view, title of note, date of contribution. See Table 9 in chapter 3 for a complete list of the views in the database. Citations from the database are quoted verbatim (including misspellings, grammatical errors, etc.). Out of respect for the students who contributed these important data and to retain their authentic "voice," such mistakes have not been corrected nor identified. In some cases, I have edited the students' writing (square brackets) to assure that the meaning is clear.

Research Focus

The goal of the present study was to investigate to what extent collaborative knowledge building based on experiences in a local Italian community could be used to facilitate learning in a music classroom. In this study I employ a qualitative interpretive paradigm in order to create a rich, contextualized, multi-voiced account of students using the tools of inquiry of cultural ethnographers[3] in order to reveal the particularity, specificity, and circumstantiality of a local Italian music culture. Secondary school students inferred meaning about music and culture through observation and semi-structured interviews, and they inscribed culture through textual representations that they contributed to a communal database. I encouraged the students to adopt a **symbolic interactionalist**[4] approach that views the world as an interpretation of human actions based on meanings people attach to those same actions. These meanings arise as a result of social interactions between individuals and groups. Students established and modified meanings through the interpretive process that took place in class discussions and in the online database. In an effort to enter into the role of researchers, students explored with the concept of empathy, seeking the **emic** perspectives of members of a local culture and positioning themselves on a continuum between insider and outsider in their relationship to the community. Researchers that seek to represent emic perspectives focus on the concepts, expressions, and the way members of a particular group feel, think, imagine, and describe their experiences. The **etic** approach is to subsequently describe and compare these situated, local perspectives in connection with more general sociocultural systems (Schwandt, 2001).

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[3] Ethnography, according to Wolcott (1999) is concerned with social behavior and interaction through observation. Students focused specifically on aspects of music culture (e.g. singing, dance), why people do what they do and the underlying belief and value system represented by the musical and cultural behaviors.

[4] More detailed explanations for some technical and key terms can be found in the glossary.

Background and Rationale for the Study

I was privileged to assist the individuals participating in the Northwestern University Music Education Leadership Seminar (NUMELS) entitled *Issues of Multiculturalism in Music Education* during the summer of 1998. This seminar brought together music education professionals and ethnomusicologists to discuss the inclusion of world musics in the music curriculum. As a graduate student finishing my course work at Northwestern University, I had already decided to focus my dissertation on multicultural music education in the classroom. Therefore, many of the questions/topics raised were relevant to my own study. The ensuing publication (Reimer, 2002) brought to light the many pressing issues related to current multicultural music education practices and supporting theoretical frameworks.

Music programs in Canadian secondary schools[5] are particular cultural sites in their own right. They are based on long traditions of music education, often inspired by a particular music educator, a person, or a group of people who have "built" the program over a number of years. "Good" secondary music programs have solid reputations, most often related to their excellence in performance. While I worked hard with our students to achieve performance excellence, I found myself questioning what music education should really be about. Frankly, the few minutes on the podium during a concert or festival when it "all came together" seemed few and far between when considered as a basis for sustaining a philosophical reason for spending so many hours rehearsing performance materials in the classroom.

Of course, there were many other "learnings" that accompanied performance preparation. But still, I had to ask myself why my administrators, who were always present and supportive at

[5] In the province of Quebec, secondary schools refer to grades 7 – 11 (secondary I – V). In other Canadian provinces, students finish high school in grade 12.

concerts, could not find the time to “stop by” and see what was going on in the classroom (composition activities, African percussion with a visiting artist, innovative evaluation strategies, etc.), when I invited them. The political agenda of the music program at the secondary level and the image it is asked to maintain as a highly visible community service for the school seems to overshadow any interest in classroom pedagogy. Despite the constraints of the secondary music world, I was able to involve my students in numerous activities related to world musics. The culmination of these activities was their participation in a research project, the focus of this dissertation.

My experiences as a secondary music teacher in an urban school in a large Canadian city and my participation in the NUMELS conference were both instrumental in guiding my reflections about why I should conduct a study focusing on multicultural music education. Both contexts will be used to frame the background and rationale for the present study.

Reimer (2002) enumerates a list of issues that preoccupied seminar participants during the multicultural music education conference. The following four issues resonate with my own questioning about multicultural music education practices: (a) the value of including world musics in the curriculum, (b) the relationship between music and culture, (c) the choice of teaching methods, and (d) the creation of partnerships between schools and communities (pp. 5-6).

In order to understand what happens when we apply particular curricular approaches or innovations, we must find a way to describe and understand how these new approaches affect our students and how they view the experience. Qualitative studies that are rich with the multi-voiced perspectives of students in relation to the study of music cultures from around the world are needed to validate the many claims being made by the educational community.

Music and culture are fundamentally linked. In fact, this is a foundational principle of ethnomusicology, the study of the world's musics. Musical learning and understanding cannot be separated from cultural learning and understanding. While music is a manifestation of culture, it also embodies cultural beliefs, values, and attitudes, connecting the life of a particular group of people to its art. McCullough-Brabson (2002) explains: "The premise is that the more you know about the culture of other people and how music connects to that culture, the more your understanding and appreciation for that culture increases" (p. 120).

The third issue that Reimer (2002) discusses in relation to multicultural music education is the choice of teaching methods. According to York (1995), pedagogical approaches in the arts must be relevant and appropriate for students. For example, when students are involved in compositional activities, I favor a classroom where control is decentralized. In other words, there are many activities taking place at the same time and I become a coach, mentor, or guide and interact with the students on an "as needed" basis. However, when I am conducting fifty middle-school students in the Intermediate Wind Ensemble, I favor a highly centralized approach, where the control is focused on the podium, student questions and interjections taking place in a highly structured fashion.

It seems that in the field of multicultural music education, teaching of the world's musics requires sensitivity to the way these musics are shared, learned, and transmitted in their original contexts. The challenge in multicultural music education is no longer the availability of quality materials. In fact, Fung (2002) states that there exists a "storm of materials" and Robinson (2002) insists that the important issue now "is not *what* is taught but *how*—the teacher's perspectives and instructional strategies" (p. 228). The challenge is how to structure the learning

and how to get deeply into the culture, given the organizational structure of school music programs.

In addition, many of the lessons that have been created to teach world musics in the classroom incorporate a "Western lens," a conceptual approach to learning about music that focuses on sound and the analysis of what is heard. Cultures outside of the Western European musical tradition teach and learn music very differently (Rice, 1985). People learn *through* music, not just *about* it. As Elliott (1995) states: "*Fundamentally, music is something that people do*" (p. 39). If messages about music and its meanings are embodied in instructional strategies, these strategies must reflect music making in other contexts outside of the classroom. Palmer (2002) suggests two approaches:

> Music from other cultures can be learned from our own points of view. That is, we can apply our criteria of what music should be like to the other music. The second choice is to experience other music from the inside, as the cultural members experience it. This latter view requires becoming *other*, a path less easily traveled and taking much more time. (p. 34)

I believe that training students as anthropologists of music is an effective way for them to learn about other music cultures. These students learn about a music culture from members of the local community in authentic contexts. Deanna, an outsider to the Italian culture agrees: "It is when learning about other people and their culture that you gain knowledge about why they do certain things and why they may act a certain way" (Deanna, Database, Virtual Discussions, June 27, 2003). We cannot know everything about all musics. However, we can structure our students' learning so that they can be involved in the inquiry process alongside their teacher.

Fung (2002) describes the importance of verbalization as a way of structuring learning in the classroom:

> Learners may describe, discuss, compare, and contrast the essences of the music and the influences of diverse cultures on various musics. Learners can also express their feelings about world musics through words. Certain types of musical understanding may be available only through verbal modes, and teachers must utilize this mode of instruction. In conjunction with mental actions (e.g., think, imagine, and analyze), verbalization allows a complex but valuable web of communications among learners and between teachers and learners. (p. 202)

The activity of verbalization is an important aspect of learning, especially in the secondary classroom. Students need to express themselves and their words can provide us with important insights into how they view different musics and how this process changes over time. Students also benefit from activities that involve them in reflection, formulation, and expression of their own ideas. They appreciated the fact that the project encouraged them to critically think and viewed this as a benefit for their future: "We are actually learning by ourselves, we read everything and if there's questions, we ask the teacher. I find this is good because that's how it sometimes is in college and it'll give us a little view of things" (Aidan, Database, Virtual Discussions, June 27, 2003).

Another approach to teaching world musics is the formation of partnerships between schools and communities. There is a need for teacher-conducted research in this area in order to explore the viability of this pedagogical approach. The teacher is on the front lines of educating students about world musics and research is needed that will encourage other teachers to say

"Yes, I can do this in my community!" This study may serve as a model for other researchers wishing to explore partnerships between communities and schools.

As a music education community of practice, we have been very busy "doing" multicultural music education. According to Reimer (2002), the profession has been active in offering clinics and courses, writing books and articles, and creating teaching materials. However, Reimer stresses the importance of "building a firmer theoretical foundation" (p. 4) for continuing use of world musics in the curriculum.

> Practice, when it has too far outstripped its supporting base of principles, is likely to become rudderless, the doing separated from a clear grasp of why and how it should be done. Inevitably, teaching begins to lose its point, and energy and interest begin to slacken. (Reimer, 2002, p. 4)

There are many excellent materials available for teachers wishing to integrate world musics into their classrooms. However, while materials are fine "starters" according to Robinson (2002), the challenge is to move deeper musically into culture. This requires additional experiences for students, allowing them to connect with communities outside of the classroom. The present study contributes to a growing body of research for multicultural music education. It probes, examines, and describes the complexities of a curricular approach to world musics that connects students with a local community outside of the classroom.

Connecting with local communities and including the music of different ethnic and cultural groups are concrete ways to affirm student and global diversity. Whether a classroom is homogeneous in its representation of culture or heterogeneous (multicultural and multiethnic), the local community that surrounds a school can often be a rich resource for world musics.

Palmer (2002) suggests that the ethnic makeup of the school community should play a major role in the curricular choices of teachers. In this study, I focused on the Italian ethnic community that was well represented by the school population where I was working.

In this study, a local Italian community was an important influence on school life in general. Seeger (2002) proposes the following in relation to introducing music from various cultures into the curriculum:

> Part of the solution might lie with the community in which one is teaching. One of the great failures of curricula, it seems to me, is that they all too often leave the rest of the world at the gate to the school, rather than bringing it in as an object of reflection. If one were teaching in a school with strong representation of African-American and South-Asian traditions, one could work with the resources at hand—as long as one used the musics to address general musical issues that fit into the curricular goals of the subject. (p. 112)

By relying on local community resources, the teacher affirms the value of all students, including ethnic minorities. In a series of interviews with ethnomusicologists, Campbell (1996c) asks Anthony Seeger and Terry Miller to give advice about introducing a culture's music to the classroom. Seeger suggests that parents of students can often be repositories of music culture and Miller encourages teachers and students to learn about music cultures by attending festivals and celebrations sponsored by temples, community centers, state and local arts groups, and folklore agencies. In this study, students interviewed their family members and members of the local community. They also attended festivals that celebrated the Italian cultural heritage. In the case of immigrant communities, music often acts as a preservation mechanism for the cultures. It also provides a way for students to connect to the community, often resulting in a newfound respect

and enjoyment of traditions that students had previously taken for granted. According to Reimer (2002),

> Cultivating a ubiquitous expression such as music among a particular culture's members is a healthy way to preserve the sense of community that music engenders. Sharing the music with others is also healthy in that it connects communities in mutual respect and enjoyment. (p. 4)

School music is often at odds with real life, isolated, out-of-context, and not related to the world of students (Robinson, 2002). While presenting world musics in the classroom will always remain decontextualized to some extent, moving the students into the cultural context may be the solution to giving them authentic, situated experiences.

In general, the lack of contextualization in teaching leads to the presentation of subject matter in isolation, as if it exists in a vacuum. Belief and value systems of a culture are embodied by musical manifestations and, therefore, musical meaning must be considered within the contexts of culture. Experiencing music of another culture is to experience a culture's beliefs and values. Therefore, no music can be presented simply as sound. Rather, "in musical acts…the sounds, as well as the actions needed to produce them, are inextricably involved with cultural beliefs" (Walker, 1990b, xv). Palmer (2002) concurs that sound structures and musical choices embed cultural meaning and that "music without context is isolated from human values and the life of the culture" (p. 35).

Titon (1996) proposes that students examine ideas about music that occur in different cultures. Particularly worthy of consideration are belief systems, context, and history, as well as social organization and repertoire (styles, genres, texts) of the music. Music as a form of

communication embodies the shared memories of a group of people, their values, attitudes, and ways of knowing about a culture (Stephens, 2002). In the present study, students examined the cultural beliefs and values embedded in the musical practices of a local Italian community.

Qualitative, multi-voiced studies are needed in order to reflect student processes, ideas, and verbalizations relating to the teaching of world musics in the curriculum. This study describes in detail what happens when students take on the role of researcher, using the tools of inquiry of cultural ethnographers, studying culture from the "inside out" (Palmer, 2002; Seeger, 2002; Burton, 2002) and trying to represent the emic perspectives of community members. In addition, the study depicts students' efforts to identify and represent cultural beliefs and values embedded in the musical practices found in the "real world" of the local community.

One approach to teaching music of another culture is to "make a cultural connection with a 'cultural insider,' someone who is willing to share the music of his or her culture with you. The questions 'what is your culture?' and 'what is your musical culture?' are directed to someone other than one's self, offering the perspective of looking outward, rather than inward. These two questions are standard queries in ethnomusicological research and serve as a solid framework for exploring multicultural music" (McCullough-Brabson, 2002, p. 134). Connecting with cultural insiders is cited by McCullough-Brabson (2002) as one of the most enriching and personally fulfilling ways to learn about the music of another culture. Students participating in the study commented on the difference they experienced in learning about a music culture from people who were part of the culture as opposed to learning from books. Here is an excerpt from the database.

Ms. Peters: Do you think books and the Internet would have given you the same type of information you got through the interviews? How are books and the Internet different from "real people" sources?

Deanna : I think when you do an interview you learn more than you would if you read a book. (Database, Virtual Discussions, Response to question 2, June 27, 2003)

McCullough-Brabson (2002) affirms: “Nothing that I have read about in a book comes close to participating in the actual experience” (p. 136). The process of connecting with cultural insiders encouraged the students to examine their own musical and cultural heritage. “To explore, examine and understand these musics is to explore, examine, and, hopefully, begin to understand ourselves as humans engaged in the diverse human practice known as music” (Burton, 2002, p. 167).

In summary, we need a stronger theoretical base in order to validate the many claims about the benefits of doing multicultural music education with students. In addition, we need research that examines the nature of the teaching and learning environment when classrooms connect to local communities outside of the school walls. Student **voices** and representations (student entries in the database and student communications in the classroom) of their experiences in learning about world musics are needed to provide music educators with insights into the real benefits of their pedagogical practices.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to describe the nature of the face-to-face interactions and collaborations between secondary school students and community members in the nested

contexts (Maguire, 1994) of the classroom and a local ethnic community, both situated in a large city in Canada. Students used the tools of inquiry of cultural ethnographers, interviewing members of a local ethnic community and documenting their representations and interpretations in a communal database. Students transcribed their interviews and described their participant observation in a communal database. They were able to read each others' entries, share information, and interact with each other in this collaborative environment.

Research Questions

Since, as supported in previous pages, knowledge building about a local music culture is relational, active, dialogic, and collaborative, the nature of the multiple relationships that students experienced and how these relationships contributed to their learning must be examined.

1. What is the nature of teaching and learning in a collaborative knowledge-building secondary music classroom focusing on a local music culture?

    a) What is the nature of students' face-to-face interactions with each other and the teacher/researcher?

    b) What is the nature of their collaboration in the classroom and in database entries?

    c) What is the nature of students' interactions with community members?

    d) What is the nature of students' interactions with the technology?

2. How does a selected group of secondary students represent[6] their understanding of a local music culture, including concepts, beliefs, and values embedded in cultural practices?

Theoretical Frameworks

Knowledge about anything, including a local music culture, is constructed in sociocultural contexts through participation that is situated, relational, and identity-focused. Situated learning takes place in the authentic contexts of communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The goal of such learning is to understand more deeply the collective life of a particular group of people and the emic perspectives of its members, as reflected in the cultural system of their art (including musical practices).

Therefore, I adopt a socio-cultural, social constructivist framework (Vygotsky, 1986; Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Schwandt 2001) for this study, focusing on the social, participatory learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991) of students as they adopt an anthropological perspective to studying traditional Italian music in a local cultural context (Geertz, 1983).

Convergence of Four Theoretical Perspectives

Social Constructivist Perspectives

A **constructivist** perspective views the mind as active in the construction of knowledge The constructivist does not objectify knowledge in isolation as something to be discovered or found, reflecting what is "out there." Rather, people invent models and schemes to make sense of

[6] Students' utterances (class discussions) and their writings (contributions to the communal database).

human experiences and they test these constructions in the light of new experiences. **Social constructivism** adds a historical and sociocultural dimension to constructivism. Knowledge construction (deriving concepts, models, and schemas) takes place against a backdrop of shared understandings in a community of practice with the goal of describing and explaining experiences in a particular society or sub-group of society. Therefore, a constructivist perspective focuses on social knowledge that is actively constructed and co-created by human beings (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, pp. 176-177).

Both knowledge about a local music culture and the inquiry process through which students engage to construct knowledge are equally important to this study. The process of learning is inextricably linked to its multiple contexts, including a local Italian community, the classroom, and the communal database. Knowledge construction about the music and culture of a local ethnic community is negotiated through the eyes of the students and informed by their experiences and interactions with members of the community in local contexts.

> But if knowledge of the social (as opposed to the physical) world resides in meaning-making mechanisms of the social, mental, and linguistic worlds that individuals inhabit, then knowledge cannot be separate from the knower, but rather is rooted in his or her mental or linguistic designations of that world. (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p.176)

Sociocultural Perspectives

Theories of situated learning provide the theoretical basis for my inquiry. Vygotsky (1986) viewed learning as human action taking place in social, cultural, and historical contexts mediated by cultural artifacts and resources (e.g., language, technology, people, etc.). According to Rogoff and Lave (1984), learning takes place “out in the world” in everyday, informal settings

of community life. It is also a process of negotiation and re-negotiation of meanings found through observations of patterns in a culture. By involving students in socially meaningful activities such as interviewing, sharing ideas, and representing their ideas as contributions to a database, this study asks the students to construct meanings about music culture from the authentic, everyday contexts in the empirical world of community-based artistic practices. In the mind of one of the students, "We had to go out and actually "see" the people of the Italian culture. This gave us real life experiences" (Aidan, Database, Virtual Discussions, June 27, 2003).

Knowledge construction according to Vygotsky and neo-Vygotskian theorists is a collaborative, cooperative, interactive, intra-active, interdependent, and dialogic process. Interactions between people (peers, researchers, community members) in different contexts of the project in combination with shared concepts form the basis for knowledge construction. Viewed in this way, knowledge is always collaborative and negotiated. The activities of interviewing, discussing, and representing in the database allowed students to grapple with conceptual relationships that underpinned a particular phenomenon they were observing in the community. In knowledge-building communities in schools, a shared classroom culture is developed as students view themselves and other students as fellow learners, engaging in relevant, authentic learning activities. The teacher/researcher takes on the role of guide or coach, coordinating the tasks and the participatory structure of the learning.

I modeled particular inquiry strategies for the students and mediated between students, technology, and community members. Students began to view themselves as part of a learning community, within which they could count on one another for help in understanding concepts and in completing different tasks. Melissa, one of the participating students, describes how

collaborative knowledge building and authentic experiences in the community are different from what she has traditionally experienced in the classroom. She highlights the more democratic approach to learning that lets each student have a say. She also is candid about her feelings regarding a teacher in the role of guide or coach, someone who does not always "know it all."

> I think it is better to learn in this type of environment, than in a [regular] classroom. Here, we teach ourself and each other whereas in a classroom, what the teacher says, goes. With the database, we all have a say, and we go out to learn. We experience things first hand. I think more classes should be taught that way, eve[n] though it might be more difficult for mathematics. This seems to be a better way of learning, when the teacher is learning with you, though it is frustrating when neither you nor the teacher understand something. (Melissa, Database, Virtual Discussions, First Question, June 27, 2003)

Thought communities, communities of learners (Brown & Campione, 1990), knowledge society, and researcher teams (Scardamalia & Bereiter, 1991, 1996) are all terms used to describe the context of a classroom based on knowledge production. These communities define knowledge production as an intentional activity among members of a community to produce representation collaboratively in order to better understand shared worlds (Daniels, 2001). Lave and Wenger (1991) do not believe that knowing is the result of intentional instruction but rather the result of participation in the social world. Scardamalia and Bereiter (1991, 1996) define knowledge as an object, product, or resource that is non-situated and, therefore, it can be transferred and used in multiple situations.

Sociocultural perspectives view learning as situated in authentic, everyday contexts where knowledge is constructed collaboratively. In this type of learning community, the roles change for the students and the teacher. While some researchers view knowledge as an object or

product (Scardamalia & Bereiter, 1991, 1996), others view it as the result of participation in the social world (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Anthropological Perspectives

The goal of an anthropological perspective is to grasp concepts that are *experience-near* for members of a community, ideas that make sense to people within their world as opposed to *experience-distant* concepts that capture the general features of social life. According to Geertz (1983), experience-near concepts are ones that members of a local community naturally and effortlessly use to define what people feel, think, or imagine.

> People use experience-near concepts spontaneously, un-self-consciously, as it were colloquially; they do not, except fleetingly and on occasion, recognize that there are any "concepts" involved at all. That is what experience-near means—that ideas and the realities they inform are naturally and indissolubly bound up together. (Geertz, 1983, p. 58)

Therefore, cultural ethnographers employing a Geertzian type of anthropological perspective seek to identify and understand the experience-near concepts that underpin a local ethnic community's cultural practices (including their musical practices). Geertz (1983) insists that the art systems of a culture "inscribe a communal sensibility, present locally to locals a local turn of mind" (p. 12). One important aspect of coming to understand the mind of a local community is interacting in settings where members share meanings through "signifiers" such as art systems.

Geertz (1983) views knowledge as situated in local contexts where it originates. “The shapes of knowledge are always ineluctably local, indivisible from their instruments and their encasements” (p. 4). In the project, the students perceived the music they were studying as reflecting a particular cultural context, pre-war Italy, where life was “simpler” and “happier.” The encasement of the music is described by one of the participants: “The songs we are studying are sort of like a time capsule for the pre-war times in Italy, when Italian people had simple happy lives, which is reflected in the music very much” (Jimmy, Virtual Discussions, Database, June 23, 2003). While this statement may seem like an oversimplification, it does reflect the nostalgic perception of the past of many of the older Italian people who were interviewed. Learning, according to the anthropological perspective put forward by Geertz (1983) means interpreting culture, bringing to light the diversity of perspectives represented by different groups of people. Local cultures are repositories for accumulated cognitive resources, collective products that capture the emic perspectives of a local community.

Geertz (1983) believes that art is a cultural system connected to collective life, and, therefore, it reflects a distinctive, local perspective and brings to light the role of a particular community within a larger society. The local contexts of art embody implicit meanings that arise from their use. For example, one of the students, Melissa, recounted her grandmother’s perspective regarding the context and purpose associated with music and how the meanings arising from its use can be lost when music is separated from its original purposes.

> I was just gonna say that, um, both my grandmother and my grandfather, they used to tell me about how, in Italy, they didn’t have radios. They didn’t have the, you know, the recorder, tape machines, CD players. They had nothing, record players, nothing. So when they hear the song it was from the neighbor singing it from, you know, the kid down the

> street. And now, my grandmother keeps saying that on the radio, she listens to the Italian radio, she goes "On the radio I'm hearing all these new songs but, you know, I don't know what it means. Its just like some girl singing it. When I was little, there was whoever is singing to the daughter of so and so to get them to fall asleep because it was the song that the mother sang to them." Like, it had, it has a specific meaning. You don't know it anymore. (Melissa, Transcription, June 16, 2003)

"The arts reflect the culture 'out of which they come' and they embody ideas in cultural processes and products, reflecting the ways of thinking of a local community" (Geertz, 1983, p. 119). The arts, including music, communicate these ideas visibly, audibly, and tangibly. By analyzing symbolic art forms, a communicative system, we can interpret how a community thinks and uncover the cultural beliefs and values that are important to its members (Geertz, 1983).

Social Learning Perspectives

Lave and Wenger (1991) shift the focus of learning from individual cognition to social practice. *Legitimate peripheral participation* (LPP) refers to the relational character of learning, a person participating in an activity that relates to the world of experience. In other words, learning, thinking, and knowing arise from the nature of interactions among people and, therefore, "learning is an integral and inseparable aspect of social practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 31). Knowledge does not exist in isolation but rather in a community of practice, defined as a set of relations among people, activity, and the world.

> A community of practice is an intrinsic condition for the existence of knowledge, not least because it provides the interpretive support necessary for making sense of its

> heritage. Thus, participation in the cultural practice in which any knowledge exists is an epistemological principle of learning. (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 98)

Knowledge about a local music culture exists, not only in the local community through cultural practices, but also in the community of learners formed by the students in the classroom.

Lave and Wenger (1991) propose that learning takes place as the decentralized activity of social practice without formal instruction. According to this perspective, a learning curriculum is one that offers participants situated opportunities for development, making available to them the learning resources that are found in the ambient community, everyday practices that are present all around us. This learning curriculum, based on the apprenticeship model, moves a newcomer from the outside of a circle of communal practice towards the center of core knowledge within a defined society or group. Therefore, learning takes place through centripetal participation, moving towards the center of a community of practice (see Figure 1). I have related this movement of students during the duration of the project to the continuum from outsider (etic) to insider (emic). An outsider is distanced from the setting and members of the community while the insider is close to the setting and its members. Student explanations of their perceived position in relation to the community of practice are indicative of how the project illuminated these relationships. One student, Tina, states: “I might have been an insider because I’m part of the Italian heritage but I felt like an outsider because I didn’t know much on my own Italian culture” (Database, Virtual Discussions, June 27, 2003).

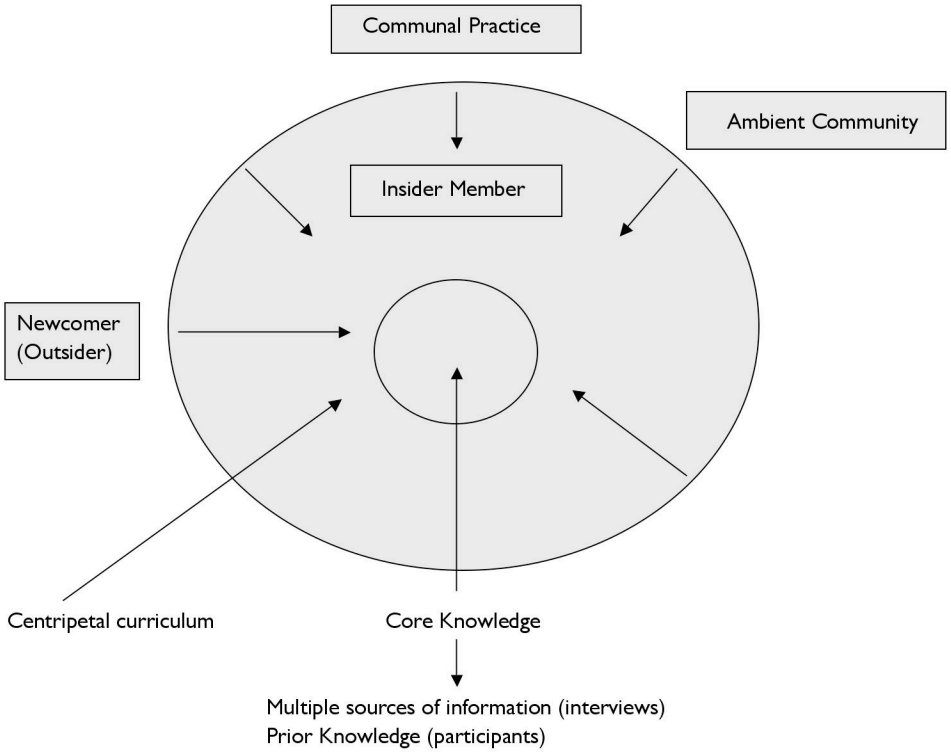

Figure 1. Learning in a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

According to Vygotsky (1986) and Lave and Wenger (1991), identity construction is the goal of learning. It takes place in relation to the community, through involvement in tasks and activities. Identity was an important theme of student discussions in class and throughout the database. Here is an example from one of the database entries.

> Well I learned that Italians are very proud of their culture and that it is a very important part of whi [who] they are. I[t] made me think about mine and made me want to know more, not just about the italian culture but also about my own culture. When they would bring up folk songs or tradition song, I would think what are my traditional song. (Christina, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 2, June 27, 2003)

Knowledge construction of a local music culture caused students to reflect on their own ethnicity and their personal identity. Dixon-Krauss (1996) explains that identity formation is the goal of learning according to Vygotsky. "[Vygotsky] found his explanation of consciousness in socially meaningful activity that is, we know ourselves because of our interactions with others" (Dixon-Krauss, 1996, p. 9). Learning, for Vygotsky, takes place in relationships with others in a dialogical process that assumes collaboration and cooperation. Student constructions of meaning are a result of social interactions. The belief systems of members of the local culture acted as a resource for students as they grappled, at times, with their own personal and ethnic identities.

The blending of the external with the internal, mentioned by Lave and Wenger (1991), and experience-near and experience-distant concepts (Geertz, 1983) created a dynamic tension in the group of participants. Student representations provided evidence for the coming together of individual and socially shared knowledge, mutual internalization, the idea of another's knowledge becoming one's own. "Complementarity implies mutual internalization, a making into one's own some aspect of one's partner's knowledge" (John-Steiner & Meehan, 2000, p. 45). In the following example, one of the students expresses how he experienced the exchange and appropriation of ideas while involved in the research project.

> What also contributed to my higher learning is the group work and discussions. Why does it help? Well, when you're thinking about building up your theory, you have all your ideas in mind, but to make your theory stronger you must take into consideration other people's ideas to help shape your own. (Victor, Database, Virtual Discussions, June 29, 2003)

Knowing, learning, and thinking are the result of human actions that are situated in local contexts within which people engage in social practice. Learning is a relational, active, dialogic,

collaborative, and cooperative process (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Learning takes place as a result of active collaboration and dialogue among people. Knowledge, learning, and meaning are negotiated between people in a community of social practice. Therefore, students in this study interacted with members of a local Italian community and collaborated with the researcher and each other in order to learn about a traditional music culture.

> What does look promising are inventive ways of engaging students in meaningful practices, of providing access to resources that enhance their participation, of opening their horizons so they can put themselves on learning trajectories that they can identify with, and of involving them in actions, discussions, and reflections that make a difference to the communities that they value. (Wenger, 1998, p. 10)

Terminology

A wide variety of terms are used in the literature related to studying the music and culture of different peoples. Words have semantic meanings, based on their usage in particular contexts and their historical associations. I will describe the different terms that are currently in use and explain my choice of terminology for this study. Volk (2002) describes the word *multicultural* as a loaded term, defined in a variety of ways that range from the literal meaning (many cultures), to a definition that includes ethnicity, gender, age, ecological concerns, and political connotations. For instance, the word multicultural was associated with the apartheid regime in South Africa, where cultural difference was a reason to keep people separate. Therefore, music educators in South Africa have chosen to use the word *intercultural* instead, to reflect a vision of building bridges between the different racial groups.

> Until very recently, the term "intercultural," rather than "multicultural," music education was more appropriate for South Africa, because the concept of multicultural education formed the basis for the separate development of apartheid. During the forty-eight years of apartheid, cultural differences were used to keep people apart. Today, however, we aim to develop respect for cultural differences. Previous negative connotations attached to the term "multicultural" are beginning to fall away; thus, the use of "multicultural" is becoming more acceptable. (Oehrle, 2002, p. 73)

I believe that intercultural education can be the result of multicultural education practices. A narrow definition of the word multicultural pervades the music education profession. According to Dunbar-Hall (2002) "most music education literature on the topic of multiculturalism refers to the problems of including non-Western music in music curricula derived from Western-based models" (p. 58).

Recent research into the ethnicity of "whiteness" exposes the widespread, erroneous notion that white people are a homogeneous group, almost invisible in their blandness and normalcy, undifferentiated in their origins (Jackson, 1998). Do people with white skin consider themselves as "cultureless" or "non-ethnic?" The following citation is the reaction of a white university student when asked to create a "cultural collage" as a representation of her culture.

> When she saw me [the professor] on campus one afternoon before the project was due, she exclaimed, 'What am I going to do? How can I ever complete this assignment? I do not have a culture! If I were a Native American student in the class, like my Navajo friend is, I could do the project! Then I would have the Navajo language and traditional Navajo customs, regalia, and artifacts to share! I am only an Anglo-American! I wish that I had a culture, too!'" (McCullough-Brabson, 2002, p. 121)

White immigrants that came to the Americas from Europe brought with them their folk, traditional, and ethnic musics and other cultural practices. Therefore, we must apply a more broadly conceived definition to the word multicultural as it applies to music education and education in general.

The terms *multicultural music education* and *world musics* will be used throughout the study. I will use the term *multicultural music education*, a phrase derived from *multicultural education* and historically associated with teaching and learning strategies that acknowledge diversity in the classroom. The "multi" in multicultural refers to the idea of many cultures. For the purposes of this study, I will use a definition of the word culture proposed by ethnomusicologist Jeff Titon (1996):

> Our field, *ethnomusicology*, is usually defined as the study of music in culture. Some ethnomusicologists define the field as the study of music as culture, underlining the fact that music is a way of organizing human activity. By the term *culture* we do *not* mean "the elite arts," as it is sometimes used. Rather, we use the term as anthropologists do: culture is a people's way of life, learned and transmitted through the centuries of adapting to the natural and human world. *Ethnomusicology is the study of music in the context of human life*. (p. xii)

Therefore, the phrase multicultural music education suggests that students will begin to learn and understand about "humans engaged in the diverse human practice known as music" (Burton, 2002, p. 167). While music is a universal phenomenon in the sense that every society has music, its meaning is not universal. According to Titon (1996), music "gets its meaning from culture" (p. 1).

I will also use the term *world musics* and its derivatives (*musics of the world* or *music of the world's peoples*) to refer the many musical practices found all over the world, from exotic Indian classical music to the many European folk music traditions. The plural form of music emphasizes the reality of the many varieties of music that exist, as well as the beliefs, values, and practices that are associated with each type of music practice. The term world musics includes the infinite variety of musics "out there" (out in the world) and musics "in here" (right next door).

I will make an important distinction in my use of the word **culture**, referring more globally to "the way of life of a people, learned and transmitted from one generation to the next" (Titon, 1996, p. 1) and the word **ethnicity**, which is a central concern for anthropologists. Wolcott (1999) describes culture as the ways various groups of people go about their lives and the belief system that is associated with behavior. Geertz (1983) provides a greater level of specificity, defining culture as a general system of symbolic forms. The researcher must infer cultural themes from the words, actions, and artifacts of the members of a group. "The interpretive study of culture represents an attempt to come to terms with the diversity of the ways human beings construct their lives in the act of leading them" (Geertz, 1983, p. 16).

I am aware that these terms (culture and ethnicity) are often used interchangeably, and there is, of course, much overlap. In the context of the present study, I will use *ethnicity* to refer to the cultural origin or background that classifies a person according to their racial, national, religious, and linguistic affiliations. For example, students who participated in the study created profiles categorizing themselves in terms of ethnicity/background and languages spoken and understood. Students of Italian background with parents or grandparents who immigrated from different regions of southern Italy, considered themselves Catholic, and spoke, in some cases, the

dialect of their "native" village. Ethnic identity including self-concept, self-identification, feelings of belonging, and commitment were important issues that emerged from this study and will be explored further in chapter six.

Following Titon's example, I use the word *music culture* to refer to everything that surrounds the act of music making in a particular culture.

> Musical situations, and also the concept "music," mean different things and involve different activities among people in various societies. Because music and all the beliefs and activities associated with it are a part of culture, we use the term *music-culture* to mean a group of people's total involvement with music: ideas, actions, institutions, artifacts—everything that has to do with music. (Titon, 1996, pp. 1-2)

In this study, I use the phrase *local Italian music culture* to refer to sites where the students conducted interviews and observed cultural practices such as music and dancing. Based on their observations and interviews, students described the local culture, including its cultural values and beliefs expressed through music.

Relationship of the Study to CSEME

The Center for the Study of Education and the Musical Experience, established in 1984, is a collaborative think-tank that allows doctoral students and faculty in the Music Education program at Northwestern University to pursue research, focusing on different aspects of the musical experience. The related nature of the doctoral dissertations and collaborative research by CSEME scholars is intended to increase the research knowledge base and inform music education practices.

The research reported here builds on the work of four other CSEME dissertations. Berg (1997) conducted two case studies focusing on the processes of student chamber music group ensembles. Berg describes a socially situated cognitive apprenticeship model, much like Geertz's (1983) concept of cognitive relativism. This model describes cognition as a product of a particular time and existing circumstances. According to the model, cognition is distributed or shared among a group of people. Berg focuses on student processes and interactions in the social setting of a community of learners and she examines how communal knowledge about chamber music is constructed. The social structure of the chamber music rehearsal and peer interactions helped individual students to think at a higher conceptual level. Students challenged each other to use the problem solving strategies of a coach or peer, reasoning or suggesting solutions to a problem. Also, they engaged in dialogue that resulted in the clarification, elaboration, and justification of a problem situation. Berg remarks that knowledge scaffolds musical ideas, using sociocultural and sociolinguistic theories as a basis for observation. I employ the idea of knowledge building as transforming students' discourse by scaffolding musical ideas in writing.

Fodor (1998) uses the same conceptual foundation as Berg to frame his study of communities of jazz learning in combo rehearsals. The jazz community resembles a knowledge-building community in that self motivation, active learning that is shared in an interactive environment, and the sense of community are all highly valued by its members. Fodor uses the technique of "researcher as instrument," approaching research subjectively from his own frame of reference, given his ongoing participation in the jazz learning community. In the research setting for the present study, like Fodor, I was also a full participant as the students' music teacher for over four years.

Both Tahir (1996) and Armetta (1994) examine musical practices in cultural communities removed from mainstream North American culture. Tahir focuses on how knowledge of the cultural communities that make up classrooms should influence teaching and learning practices in those same classrooms. Using the Muslim culture as an example, she probes the function of music and the embedded values and beliefs within this culture. She concludes that it is important to teach music that is appropriate within the given cultural context and to be sensitive to how music functions in a particular ethnic community or nation. Music is value laden and conceptions of musical experience are quite diverse from culture to culture. In Tahir's case, Muslim cultural and religious values guided decisions about music curricula in the schools. Students who conduct research in a local music culture will be constantly confronted with embedded values and belief systems that exist in that culture and that may or may not reflect their own values and beliefs.

Armetta (1994) observed rehearsal practices of African American and Mexican American community choirs. She emphasizes that the musical values of these ethnic groups are often in conflict with formalized music education values in schools. Local communities offer music educators an opportunity to study how musical learning takes place in non-formalized settings such as community choirs, dance groups, festivals, and family celebrations. Armetta suggests that teaching and learning must take into account the intrinsic values represented by different ethnic groups that exist within a majority school culture. Sensitivity to cultural differences can help the teacher to connect with the local community and create a cohesive pedagogical atmosphere in a pluralistic environment.

The present study focuses on a community of learners that works together through peer interaction, dialogue, and clarification to build a knowledge base about a local Italian music culture. It also brings to light the importance of the intrinsic values associated with a cultural

community's music practices. These communities are a source of important cultural information for music curricula in schools. This study contributes to a growing theoretical body of knowledge that emphasizes the importance of student voices and representations to the development of multicultural music education research and pedagogical practices.

Overview of the Study

Chapter two is a review of the literature relevant to the study. I have organized this review in three sections: Learning about self and other, learning in context, and learning together. The first section reviews literature related to multicultural education and multicultural music education and, based on this foundation, examines how curricula might be structured more effectively for learning. The second section focuses on literature that views local communities as repositories for cultural resources and sites for authentic learning. The final section explores the implementation of innovative classroom structures and designs. Some of the studies reviewed focus on knowledge building using a communal database.

Chapter three begins with a description of the research design and its roots in traditional anthropology and ethnography. I discuss my dual role as a researcher/teacher. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to research participants and contexts, the chronology and phases of the research, and data inventory, generation, and verification.

Chapter four is organized around the emergent themes resulting from the data generation phase of the research. I constructed thematic narratives from researcher fieldnotes, student interviews with artists, classroom discussions, and database entries. By presenting the data this way, I hope to allow the reader to feel and experience what it was like to "be there," immersed in the actual setting.

Chapter five presents the analysis and interpretation of data as organized by the original research questions. I discuss the nature of the learning environment and examine how students represent their understanding of a local music culture by identifying concepts and values embedded in cultural practices.

In chapter six, I summarize the study, make theoretical links to the literature and propose implications for further research. I discuss how and to what extent the study addresses the research questions and how the research evolved over time, generating new questions.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

> "Authentic" musical experience occurs when individuals make and take music as meaningful or relevant for them. (Swanwick, 1994, p. 219)

This study explores an innovative approach to multicultural curricula in a music classroom. Therefore, the literature addresses questions related to what, where, and how to structure the teaching/learning environment. Both the general education and the music education literature cited focus on models and approaches that use experience-near content as a point of departure for the student curricula. The classroom content is connected to the students' ethnic identity and the local community context, resulting in a culturally relevant and appropriate curriculum for each specific classroom context. The literature that focuses on changing the paradigm of teaching and learning proposes a curricular design that involves students as active agents of their own learning. Other studies reviewed examine the effects of collaborative knowledge-building environments supported by technology. Some studies were chosen for their qualitative and/or ethnographic approach to inquiry. These studies include student representations and interpretations of the local musical and cultural practices and the concepts and values embedded in these same practices.

The literature was organized into three sections: (a) learning about self and other, (b) learning differently, and (c) learning together. "Learning about self and other" is comprised of general education literature and music education literature relating to multiculturalism, music, and education. The second section of the literature, "Learning Differently," describes the shift

from the teaching to the learning paradigm and the resulting role changes for students and teachers. The last section, “Learning Together,” describes different models, tools and pedagogical strategies that facilitate the construction of a knowledge-building community in the classroom.

A representation of the literature review is shown in Figure 2. Students used the tools of inquiry and the perspectives of anthropology and ethnography to study a local music culture. Their inquiry process took place in a collaborative knowledge-building classroom and in the multiple contexts of the research study. These contexts will be explained in detail in chapter three. Students learned about themselves and others by interacting with members in a local Italian community. Students learned together in a collaborative environment via the mediating resources of the database and of language. Students also learned differently, as the paradigm of teaching and learning changed to allow them to become active agents of their own learning. Therefore, learning in the context of the present study is situated and meaningful participation in specific communities of practice (the classroom, the database, and a local Italian community) mediated by cultural artifacts and resources.

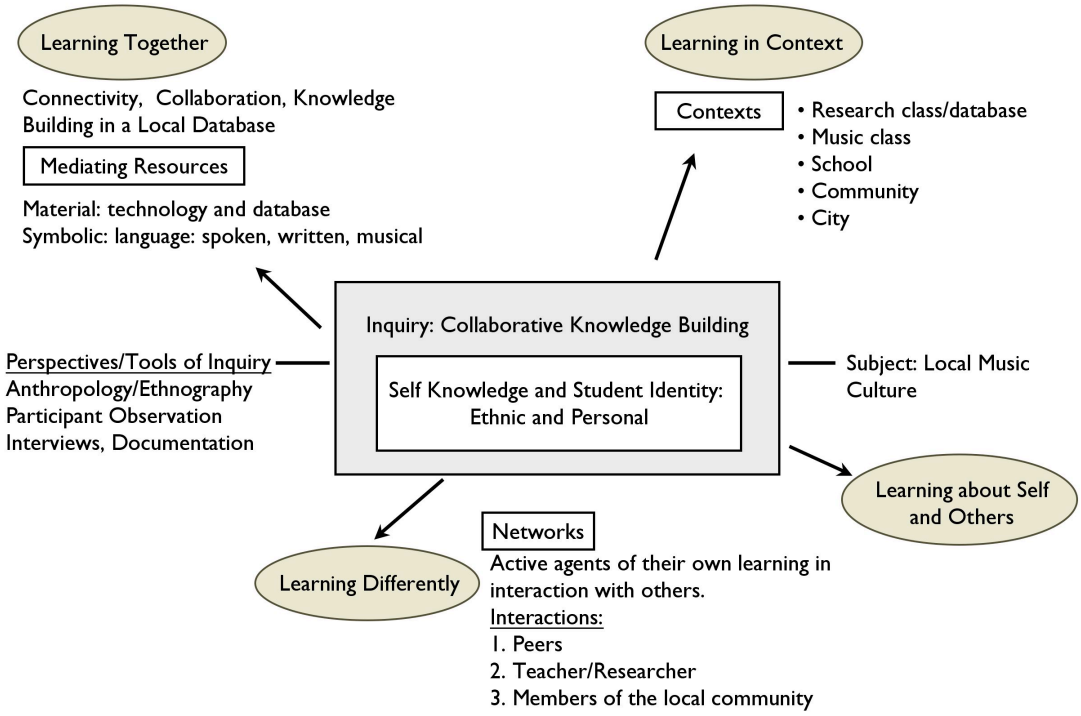

Figure 2. .Review of literature.

Learning Together: Self and Other

General Education Literature

Introduction

Much has been written about multicultural education in recent years. Underlying the theoretical and research literature is a basic concern for the values of democracy, equity, and justice for all students in a pluralistic society (Manning & Baruth, 1996). In this section, I will review literature that falls into three broad topic areas: (a) theoretical models and perspectives

that influence how teachers structure multicultural curricula; (b) ethnicity, ethnic identity and curricula; and (c) culturally inclusive classrooms.

Structuring Multicultural Curricula: Theoretical Models and Perspectives

Banks is one of the most prolific writers focusing on multicultural education and schools. Banks (1994) deplores the fact that many schools are characterized by an assimilation approach to culture (melting pot) rather than an acculturation approach, where cultures modify one another through dynamic interaction. Bank's (1997) premise is that ethnic diversity is enriching, an opportunity to see things from a different point of view.

> When people view their culture from the point of view of another culture, they are able to understand their own culture more fully, to see how it is unique and distinct from other cultures and to understand better how it relates to and interacts with other cultures. (Banks & McGee Banks, 2003, p. 243)

The goal of multicultural education for Banks is cross-cultural competency, the ability for all students to become better citizens, to function in a pluralistic society, and to be able to be upwardly mobile in the mainstream culture as well as being integrated into their ethnic community. In other words, "multicultural education is largely a way of viewing reality and a way of thinking, and not just content about various ethnic and cultural groups" (Banks, 1994, p. 8).

Banks (1994, 1997, 2001) presents a detailed approach to multicultural curricular reform. He believes that curriculum must be transformed in order to view culture from many different points of view. He explains and critiques five current approaches to multicultural education: (a)

the contribution approach, (b) the additive approach, (c) the transformative approach, (d) the social action approach, and (e) the conceptual approach. The *contribution approach* includes ethnic heroes, myths, holidays and other discrete cultural elements as an appendage to the "main story" of the curriculum. This is a seemingly effortless way to add multicultural content to the curriculum but unfortunately, it often results in the characterization of a culture as exotic, or stereotyping its members, a type of museum approach that trivializes and marginalizes culture. In addition, heroes are often studied apart from the social and political context that contributed to their development, further trivializing the subject matter and often glossing over concepts of victimization and oppression.

The *additive approach* is the inclusion of a unit, book, content, concepts, themes, and perspectives as supplemental to the main curriculum. This can often be problematic because the materiel is included from time to time without any direct connection to the curricular content. Segmenting multicultural content from the main curriculum can also result in pedagogical problems as well as confusion for students. The material presented may require a level of emotional maturity or results in a controversy because the teacher has not adequately prepared the context of the materials presented. Multicultural content cannot simply be added on to the main curriculum. It must be integrated into the teacher's curricular planning for the entire school year.

The *transformative approach* views concepts, issues from various perspectives and ethnic frames of reference. For example, ethnic art is viewed as an integrated part and influence on the nation rather than being compartmentalized and studied in isolation. In other words, society is the result of the interaction between many different cultural elements resulting in a shared

culture. The *social action approach* to curricular reform involves students in decision making with teachers, encouraging students to become agents of social change.

Banks also encourages a *conceptual approach* to multicultural education. Culture, ethnicity, and related concepts such as cultural assimilation, community culture, socialization, ethnocentrism, values, and self-concept can all be viewed from different perspectives. One example is the concept of social protest and how it plays itself out in society, including expression through music. The arts are well suited to such an approach as they often embody and/or express particular concepts or themes. "Music and art also have themes or convey central messages to the perceiver: So do a play, a dance, and many examples of human behavior" (Banks, 1997, p. 60).

In addition to these various approaches to multicultural educational reform, Banks (1994) also details five dimensions of multicultural education: (a) content integration from a variety of cultures; (b) knowledge construction processes such as higher level thinking skills, empathy, inquiry oriented activities, developing the ability to hear multiple voices; (c) equity pedagogy; (d) prejudice reduction; and (e) empowerment of school culture and social structure.

The present study combines the transformative approach, looking at concepts and perspectives from an Italian community's ethnic perspective. In addition, to examining musical practices, I also encouraged students to adopt a conceptual approach that focused on the specific beliefs and values of a local culture, cultural assimilation, and ethnicity. I incorporated two dimensions taken from Bank's (1994) recommendations for multicultural education reform. I integrated content from another culture into the music curriculum and I encouraged knowledge construction about this culture and its musical practices.

The present study also embraced Manning and Baruth's (1996) democratic goals of justice and equity and supports ethnic pluralism in the curriculum. The focus of their writing is "to promote effective and reciprocal relationships between schools and families" (Manning & Baruth, 1996, p. 5). These cross-cultural encounters help students to develop their identity and to take part in the total experience of an ethnic group, including its values, attitudes, and behaviors. Multicultural education "involves an orientation which treats knowledge as the common property of all peoples, and which encourages sensitivity to the valued ways of life of other people" (Manning & Baruth, 1996, p. 84).

Erickson (2003) warns against an essentialist view of culture, treating cultural practices as static sets of facts that do not change. Cultural variability, change, and continuity characterize all groups of people and the within-group and between-group diversity that exists can be exploited as part of the curriculum. "Yet in every classroom there is a resource for the study of within-group cultural diversity as well as between-group diversity. That resource is the everyday experience and cultural practices of the students and teachers themselves" (Erickson, 2003, p. 46). Erickson proposes three approaches to multicultural curricula. The first is entitled *critical autobiography as curriculum and as action research*. This approach privileges the cultural knowledge inherent in the students, their lives, family, local community, and history. In order to develop non-stereotypical understandings of students, teachers must spend time in the school community. The goal of this exercise is to move from an essentialist to a socially constructivist understanding of culture as something that is continually changing. The second approach, *reframing borders as boundaries in the classroom*, combines reflective self-study of the student's own cultural heritage with an understanding of the mainstream culture. Delpit (1995) advocates this approach in order to help minority students achieve success in the wider society.

Multicultural pedagogy as emancipatory approaches multicultural education as critical pedagogy, a way to critique the establishment. "In such classrooms the price of school success is not that one give up one's own self and voice to adopt a new and alien one" (Erickson, 2003, p. 50). I adopted Erickson's first approach, focusing on the cultural knowledge of the students, their families, and the local community. The second approach was also incorporated as students were involved in reflective self-study of their own cultural heritage.

Grant and Sleeter (2003) describe five approaches to multicultural education. *Teaching the exceptional and the culturally different* begins with the student. The goal of this approach is to equip students to function like an average person in society by harnessing the particular learning strategies of sociocultural groups. This approach assumes that there is a particular body of knowledge that all students should learn but that particular students need culturally responsive teaching, a connecting to communities, using cultural backgrounds as a resource, and "building bridges" in order to ensure academic success for all students. The *human relations approach* is based on ideals of harmony, tolerance and unity between individuals. The contributions of groups outside the scope of the school context are valued. The *single-group studies approach* raises the status of a particular group that has been historically oppressed. This approach views school knowledge as political and therefore, an alternative to a Eurocentric[7] approach to education is often proposed. Units or courses of study that examine the history and culture of a particular group are often the result of this approach. Feminist pedagogy, the hope to empower a group and change the paradigm of learning, provides a foundation for the single-study curriculum. The *multicultural education approach* is education for pluralism, providing an equal

[7] A Eurocentric approach is the tendency to interpret the world in terms of European or Western experiences and values.

opportunity for all students in addition to the goal of prejudice reduction. The premise is that all learners are capable of succeeding, given that schools and teachers make an effort to discover the conceptual schemes and the learning styles of their students. Bilingual education is often part of this approach that can entail a total school reform. The final approach is *education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist*. This approach confronts issues of oppression and social structural inequity based on race, social class, gender, and disability. Students actively practice democracy, learn to analyze institutional inequality, learn to use social action skills, and learn how to build bridges in order to reconstruct a society that better serves its people.

The present study was concerned with connecting communities, building bridges, and using the cultural backgrounds of the students as a resource. The *single-group studies approach* raised the status of the Italian students, even though this group has not been historically oppressed. I felt it was important to examine the history and the culture of this group that made up a large part of the school population.

Due to the geographical location of the study, it is important to understand different aspects of multiculturalism in Canada. According to Moodley (2001), Canada is a heterogeneous society that values the cultural mosaic. Moodley describes two approaches to multicultural education. The deficit model views the cultural background and lifestyle as a problem and seeks to integrate the outsider. Minorities are viewed as a "problem" because their home experiences do not transmit "appropriate" cultural patterns in order to learn effectively in schools. The relativist model, on the other hand, is based on an anthropological approach that treats the outsider with respect and encourages a pluralist view where different ethnic groups live meaningful lives within the context of the mainstream culture. The most commonly cited themes that cut across the multicultural education literature are "education for cultural pluralism,

education about cultural difference, education of the culturally different, education for cultural preservation, and education for multicultural adaptation" (Moodley, 2001, p. 808). One of the characteristic approaches to multicultural education in Canada is the ethnic-specific model that focuses on the preservation and development of particular groups. "Their aims are to counteract assimilation and to increase knowledge and understanding of the individual's ethnocultural heritage. Ethnic-specific programs aim at promoting positive self-definition" (Moodley, 2001, p. 809).

The goal of many minority parents in Canada is bicultural competency, the ability of students to function concurrently in their home culture and in the mainstream culture. The parents of the students in my school were concerned that their children preserve their Italian culture while at the same time being educated in the mainstream culture. In fact, according the Moodley (2001), most minority parents view their children as educationally, not culturally deprived. Self-concept is not only about a person's ethnic heritage. "We overlook the fact that self-concept emerges not only from cultural recognition but also from being able to have greater mastery over one's life" (Moodley, 2001, p. 817). The ethnic-specific model employed in this study focused on the preservation of the Italian cultural community. In line with Moodley's (2001) recommendations, I became an ethnographer of the cultural traditions of my own students. The students also became researchers, using the tools of ethnography to study a particular cultural tradition in the local community.

Ogbu (1992) would agree that mastery over one's life is an important aspect of learning for culturally diverse students. Ogbu critiques the multicultural models put forward in the literature by such writers as Banks (1994, 1997) and Grant and Sleeter (2003). He believes that these models do not adequately reflect the complex learning problems of minority students.

> What the children bring to school—their communities' cultural models or understandings of "social realities" and the educational strategies that they, their families, and their communities use or do not use in seeking education are as important as within-school factors. (Ogbu, 1992, p. 5)

Based on his anthropological research, Ogbu concludes that it is these out-of-school factors as well as the relationship between the minority group and the majority culture that contribute to students' success or failure in school. He states that there does not seem to be a clear definition of multicultural education and that the models are rarely based on ethnographic or empirical studies. This encouraged me to conduct a study that incorporated different aspects of the theoretical models proposed in the literature. Ogbu believes that multicultural education is not an adequate strategy because it changes teacher, not student attitudes and it ignores students' responsibility for their own academic performance. Many theories of multicultural education and multicultural programs in schools are not based on actual studies of minority cultures and languages and no distinction is made between minority groups that successfully cross boundaries and function well in school and those that do not.

As an anthropologist, Ogbu highlights the importance of meaning and values about school learning and achievement that are socially transmitted by ethnic communities. Therefore, he feels that it is most important to examine the relationship between the minority culture and the mainstream. He distinguishes between "voluntary minorities", (i.e., groups coming to a new country for better economic well-being and opportunities) and "involuntary minorities" (i.e., people brought to a new country against their will or colonized in their own country). "Voluntary minorities seem to bring to the United States a sense of who they are from their homeland and seem to retain this different but non-oppositional social identity at least during the first

generation" (Ogbu, 1992, p. 9). He explains that primary cultural differences exist between groups before they come into contact with one another and secondary cultural differences develop in response to contact, specifically domination of one group over another. Therefore, voluntary minorities often wish to integrate into the mainstream while preserving their cultural and ethnic identity. On the other hand, involuntary minorities may develop ways to distinguish themselves from the mainstream as a way of coping with historical subordination[8]. Ogbu's work helps to situate the minority groups with which teachers work in schools. He also suggests that an approach to any type of curricular reform should take into account the type of minority student, especially if a teacher chooses a particular ethnic/cultural group as the focus of a particular unit of study.

Obgu asserts that primary cultural differences of voluntary minorities are usually a question of style, not content. Learning about the students' cultures can be accomplished through observation of behavior, asking questions about the culture, ethnographic research focusing on ethnic groups with children in schools, and studying public works on children's ethnic groups. Ladson-Billings (1995) has criticized Ogbu's *cultural ecological paradigm*[9] as ahistorical and limited in its ability to explain the successes of involuntary minority students. On the other hand, Ogbu places the onus on involuntary minority communities and the students themselves to make the necessary changes in order for students of these groups to succeed in schools. Rather than focusing on in-school solutions, he proposes that teachers work towards understanding the nature of the communities with which teachers work, their history, and their interactions with the

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[8] African Americans may equate school learning with the culture and language of White Americans. Not "acting White" is a way for them to assert their ethnic identity in the majority culture.

[9] Attention to larger social structures such as community values in studies of minority students' academic success

mainstream culture, in order to design culturally appropriate and relevant curricula. Ladson-Billings does not agree.

In light of the recent research related to academic successes of African American students in schools, she proposes that schools examine what they can and should do to promote success for all students. Ogbu would define the Italian local community as a voluntary minority that has brought a sense of who they are from their homeland, Italy, and are trying to preserve this different but non-oppositional social identity. I felt it was important to better understand the nature of this particular local Italian community and their history in order to plan more appropriate and relevant curricula for the music students

A multitude of theoretical models and approaches to multicultural education are proposed in the educational literature. Multicultural education theorists agree that curricula must be structured to allow students to have access to a depth of experience that will impact students' views of themselves and others. These aspects are further developed in the following section.

Ethnicity, Ethnic Identity and Curricula.

An influential branch of the literature has its roots in minority studies, particularly African American studies. Several researchers have adopted a combined approach of *Afrocentricity* and black feminist thought, seeking to move the experiences of Afro-Americans, a minority group that has experienced difficulties in a mainstream schooling environment, to the center of the educational discourse and actual classroom activities (Delpit, 1995; hooks, 1993; Ladson-Billings 1989, 1995). In so doing, these writers and researchers highlight the importance of knowing the culture and ethnicity of the students we teach and harnessing this knowledge to transform classroom learning.

Ladson-Billings (1989, 1995) proposes a model of culturally relevant pedagogy that has its foundations in black feminist thought. Her detailed case study of two exemplary teachers of black students details some of the important characteristics of teachers who are able to successfully draw on and value the richness of the students' home culture while at the same time helping them to interact effectively in the dominant culture (Ladson-Billings, 1989). These teachers viewed the African-American culture as healthy and resilient and relied on the community as an important resource for curricular ideas. In addition to being good teachers, "the lives and experiences of their students help shape what (as well as how) they teach" (Ladson-Billings, 1989, p. 31). These teachers established student-centered curricula that often deviated from the main focus of study in the classroom in order to establish a real purpose for learning by engaging students in active participation.

Ladson-Billings (1995) also puts forward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy based on the practices of eight exemplary teachers of African American students. She enumerates three terms used in studies on cultural mismatch between school and home: (a) culturally congruent, (b) culturally compatible, and (c) culturally appropriate. She prefers a fourth term, *culturally responsive* because it reflects "a more dynamic or synergistic relationship between home/community culture and school culture" (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 467). According to Ladson-Billings, culturally relevant teaching must meet the following three criteria: (a) develop the student academically, (b) support and nurture cultural competence, and (c) develop a sociopolitical or critical consciousness.

Ladson-Billings (1995) proposes a definition of culturally relevant pedagogy based on her investigation of eight exemplary teachers of African-American students. "Culturally relevant pedagogy is designed to problematize teaching and encourage teachers to ask about the nature of

the student-teacher relationship, the curriculum, schooling and society" (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 483). In other words, teachers must examine their pedagogical strategies, their curricular content, and the context of instruction. Ladson-Billings summarizes her approach as follows:

> A theoretical model that not only addresses student achievement but also helps students to accept and affirm their cultural identity while developing critical perspectives that challenge inequities that schools (and other institutions) perpetuate. I term this pedagogy, *culturally relevant pedagogy*. (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 469)

Culturally relevant pedagogy is distinguished by three broad propositions in the research literature. The first is teacher conceptions of self and others. Teachers that participated in Ladson-Billing's study believed that all students could be successful academically and viewed teacher pedagogy as an art. They saw themselves as members of a community that is worthwhile and regarded teaching as a way to give back to the community. The second broad proposition concerns social relations in the classroom. These fluid student-teacher relations are characterized by connectedness, equity, reciprocity, and based on the expertise of students. Teachers used collaborative learning and the development of a community of learners as pedagogical strategies to reinforce the importance of social relations to the learning process. Culturally relevant teachers did not view knowledge as static but rather as shared, recycled, constructed and as something to be examined critically. They were passionate about knowledge and learning, built bridges to facilitate student learning, and incorporated multifaceted assessment.

Delpit (1995) advocates for curricula that move ethnic groups from the margins to the center. In her book *Other People's Children*, a series of case studies details the educational practices in the diverse communities of New Guinea and Alaska. Members of these communities

want to prepare their children to live and function in two cultures, the mainstream and the traditional. The advocates of a bicultural curriculum want school curricula to value students' culture, their learning processes, and their sense of identity in their efforts to prepare young people to function successfully in the mainstream. Many minority students experience cultural dissonance in school as they encounter values and norms that are not in accord with those of their home and community. Traditional school learning encourages student autonomy and book learning. In her case study of students in Alaska, Delpit found that white students preferred learning on their own from computers and books while the native Alaskan students preferred learning from a teacher. The human connection was very important for the Alaskan students. Interviews with minority teachers reveal that these teachers often experienced negative attitudes in school and felt that their own ethnic and cultural experiences were not valued by teachers. Delpit proposes a dialogical model of the relationship between teacher, student, and content. This approach incorporates continuous interaction between what is learned, the content, how it is taught, the pedagogical strategy, and the people involved in the learning context. She insists that education needs to be structured to encourage the active participation of all students through connectedness in the context of direct, personal experiences in the world.

> That, I believe is what we need to bring to our schools: experiences that are so full of the wonder of life, so full of connectedness, so embedded in the context of our communities, so brilliant in the insights that we develop and the analyses that we devise, that all of us, teachers and students alike, can learn to live lives that leave us truly satisfied. (Delpit, 1995, p. 104)

As a final point, the teacher voices in Delpit's book iterate the most important principle of teaching "other people's children" which is to know and to be known. "In order to teach you, I

must know you" (Native Alaskan educator, in Delpit, 1995, p. 183). "You have to know the kids. They teach me how to teach them. They may be from all kinds of background and cultures, but if you really listen to them, they'll tell you how to teach them" (African-American teacher of 7 years, in Delpit, 1995, p. 120).

The present study offered me an opportunity to "know" my students in a more profound way by becoming connected to their home and community culture. The student-centered curricula of the study encouraged the students to participate actively in the local community. The students were encouraged to accept and affirm their cultural identity. In addition, the relationship between the teacher/researcher and students was based on equity and reciprocity and we studied a local music culture together. The students constructed knowledge about something and examined it critically in a collaborative learning environment. While the previously discussed case studies were conducted with minority groups that have historically been oppressed, I consider that Delpit's (1995) recommendations can be applied to all ethnic or cultural groups that make up the classroom. I believe that students' educational experiences must be embedded in the contexts of the school's local communities.

Banks (1997, 1994) has explored the idea of ethnic identity and a curriculum based on students' own ethnic cultures to some extent in his writings. He believes that a teacher should be in touch with her own self and ethnic heritage in order to be sensitive to the attitudes and ethnicity of students. Curriculum context should be related to the ethnicity of the community in which the students live as well as proposing activities that are significant and meaningful to them. The study of a student's own ethnic culture as well as the study of other ethnic cultures contributes to an understanding of self. Banks (1997) proposes that ethnicity is developmental, moving from the stages of ethnic captivity, to ethnic encapsulations (new discovery of ethnicity),

to ethnic identity clarification, biethnicity, and finally to global competency (p.70). Banks (1994) explains:

> I hypothesize that ethnic, national, and global identifications are developmental in nature and that an individual can attain a healthy and reflective national identification only when he or she has acquired a healthy and reflective ethnic identification; and that individuals can develop a reflective and positive global identification only after they have a realistic, reflective, and positive national identification. (p. 58)

The development of a better sense of self is an important curricular guideline for multicultural education (Banks, 2001). Accurate self-identities can be explored by asking such questions as "who am I?" and "what am I?" In addition, student self-concept should also be built upon a positive ethnic and cultural identity in order to develop a high regard for home languages and cultures. Teachers need to take into account students ethnicity and cultural heritage, incorporating these important aspects of students' lives as an integral part of curricular planning. Students need to understand, appreciate, and take pride in their own family and personal heritages. This study provided an opportunity to examine the development of students' ethnicity as proposed by Banks.

Culturally Inclusive Classrooms

A literature review of ethnographic studies of multicultural education in classrooms and schools must include studies that have made a conscious effort to be culturally inclusive by modifying classroom organization, discourse patterns, or the curriculum. The studies reviewed by Mehan, Lintz, Okamoto, and Wills (2001) examine the education and social consequences of

modifying classroom participation and discourse structures and also the results of changing the content of instructional curriculum in order to understand the experiences of different groups and value ethnoracial identity.

One of the important conclusions of the literature review conducted by Mehan et al. (2001) is that students who have historically not done well in schools operate best when there is congruence between home and school, between the cultural style of the teacher and the students. For example, structures of cooperation, non-competition, and the valuing of the group over the individual help Native students to succeed in school. Studies that focus on the academic discourse patterns in African American classrooms found that the congruence between the *interactional style*[10] of the teacher and the children's cultural experience account for the success of some teachers. Researchers have used ethnographic techniques to study social and cultural practices of the community in the classroom. Parents and community members are pleased that their knowledge about culture is respected and validated in the classroom. In other words, educators who are looking for a way to transform curriculum by connecting their classroom to the world have a logical answer: "Even the poorest neighborhood is rich in cultural resources that can connect the classroom to the world" (Mehan et al., 2001, p. 131).

The goals of modifying curricula for cultural inclusion are to include unrepresented minority groups and women and to build ethnoracial identity. Unfortunately, there is virtually no literature on these topics at the time of publication of this review. Mehan et al. (2001) propose five generalizations from the studies reviewed about ways to organize classroom practices in order to benefit different cultural groups: (a) academic rigor with social supports, (b) student-centered classroom and discourse organization, (c) teacher as ethnographer, (d) students'

[10] Familiar language and participation structures (rhythmic language, call and response, repetition, body motions).

knowledge as resource, and (e) adaptation of general principles to local circumstances. Academic rigor should be accompanied by social supports and classroom discourse should be student-centered. Teachers should act as ethnographers, learning about the details of student lives, specifically students' knowledge/experiences and the context-specific nature of cultural knowledge. Students' knowledge should be viewed as a resource. In doing so, teachers encourage the coherence of the home language and culture in addition to developing ethnic pride and self-esteem. Any organization of classroom practices for the inclusion of cultural groups should adapt general principles to local circumstances, using successful global strategies such as small-group work, voluntary turn allocation, and funds of knowledge in the local context of instruction. "Each 'artful implementation' will have to be sensitive to the features of the children's experience in local circumstances" (Mehan et al. 2001, p. 142).

Richards (1993), a teacher practitioner, puts forward a curriculum entitled "A Sense of Place." The goal of the curriculum is to encourage congruence between real life and the school curriculum by choosing a piece of the world to study. Richards believes in process-based multicultural education and encourages students and adults to be "active weavers" of their own knowledge. This is similar to Banks' (1994) idea of acculturation, Manning and Baruth's (1996) conception of multicultural education as a cross-cultural encounter and Delpit's (1995) dialogical model. These writers agree that knowledge about other cultures begins with reciprocal relationships between students and teachers.

Transforming pedagogy in the multicultural classroom requires the shifting of paradigms, according to hooks (1993). Speaking from the position of feminist critical pedagogy, she describes teachers' fear of losing control in the absence of universal norms in diverse classrooms. In her approach to educating for critical consciousness, every voice in the classroom

is valued and the teacher must constantly reexamine who speaks, who listens, and why. She describes how she conceptualizes the learning space:

> I enter the classroom with the assumption that we must build "community" in order to create a climate of openness and intellectual rigor. Rather than focusing on issues of safety, I think that a feeling of community creates a sense that there is shared commitment and a common good that binds us. (hooks, 1993, p. 94)

Conceptualizing a culturally inclusive classroom in a multiethnic school is not an easy task. I believe that a teacher must begin by modifying classroom participation and discourse structures in order to hear the many voices of our students (Mehan, 2001; hooks, 1993). I also believe that we must begin with ethnographic tools of inquiry in order to study the social and cultural practices of the communities that are represented in the classroom. The present study modified classroom participation and discourse structures and employed these research techniques in order to connect the classroom to the richness of the cultural resources of a local Italian community (Mehan et al., 2001).

Summary: General Education Literature

The premise of most of the multicultural educational discourse is that ethnic and cultural diversity is healthy and enriching and can be a resource for classroom teachers as they seek to transform their pedagogical practices (Banks, 1997; 2003). Therefore, the canon that is traditionally taught in mainstream-centric curricula[11] becomes one of many lenses through which

[11] A mainstream-centric curriculum is "a curriculum that focuses on the experiences of mainstream Americans and largely ignores the experiences, cultures, and histories of other ethnic, racial, cultural, language, and religious groups…A mainstream-centric curriculum is one major way in which racism and ethnocentrism are reinforced and perpetuated in the schools, in colleges and universities, and in society at large" (Banks, 2003, p. 242).

the world might be viewed. Issues, concepts, and ideas are viewed from the perspectives of different cultural and ethnic groups (Banks, 1997; Elliott, 1989). Identity, including students' cultural, ethnic, national, personal, collective, and social identities, is worth investigating, as a starting point from which to view other cultures (Banks 1994, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 1989). Some writers insist that academic achievement is related to ethnic identity, culture and language, and to conceptions of self and other (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Ogbu, 1992). Therefore, Ladson-Billings (1989) advocates that curricula should be related to ethnic groups represented in the classroom.

Bridging the gap between school and community cultures has always been a challenge for educators. The academic failure of some minority students has been attributed to the fact that school learning does not reflect the values and norms of their home and community culture (Delpit, 1995). The literature proposes a dialectical relationship between teachers and students, a relationship based on reciprocity and culture sharing (Ladson-Billings, 1995). Issues of cultural preservation, valuing of ethnic cultures, culture crossing, and academic success for all students are discussed at length in the literature (Banks, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1989). The models and perspectives proposed take into account the contexts of student and community culture in their structuring of a curriculum that validates the cultural and ethnic differences of the classroom.

Much of the literature reviewed in this section focuses on the academic success and cultural inclusion of minority groups (Delpit, 1995; Grant & Sleeter, 2003). However, Banks (2002) affirms: "Multicultural education is concerned not only with students of color and linguistically diverse students but also with White mainstream students…it is important for multicultural education to be conceptualized as a strategy for all students" (p. 24). Therefore, I designed a study that focused on the ethnic makeup of the music classroom, where many of the

students labeled themselves as Italians as well as feeling that they were part of the White mainstream culture.

The general educational literature reviewed proposes a focus on the lives and experiences of students. A student-centered curriculum values the ethnic and cultural experiences of students and draws upon, validates, and respects students' knowledge. In the present study, students brought specific resources to the classroom and they acted as content experts for the teacher. This implies the establishment of a fluid relationship between the students and the teacher, a relationship based on equity and reciprocity. In addition, a student-centered classroom implies the development of a community of learners that includes the teacher. The literature also advocates for a greater congruence between real life and school. Schools need to link to home cultures and understand the values and norms of their students. In conclusion, the what, the how, and the where of teaching are central issues in the multicultural education literature. I chose a local Italian community as the focus of the curricular content in order to value the cultural and ethnic makeup of the classroom. The literature proposes culturally relevant or culturally responsive teaching models. These models focus on inclusive curricular content as well as pedagogical strategies that have been proven effective with diverse groups of students. These global strategies must always be applied taking into account local circumstances and the context of instruction.

Music Education Literature

Introduction

The discussion of the music education literature has been divided into seven different sections: (a) philosophical and theoretical writings, (b) ethnomusicological perspectives, (c) cross-fertilization: music education and ethnomusicology, (d) world music education and the local community: descriptions and models, (e) classroom practices: issues of curriculum implementation, (f) research studies: multicultural music education and world music education, and (g) current practices in multicultural music education.

Philosophical and Theoretical Perspectives

Music as Culture

Elliott (1989, 1990) has proposed a multicultural conception of arts education and several models of multicultural music education. He begins by exploring the concept of music *as* culture rather than music as an isolated activity *in* culture. Music as culture defines music as a form of human activity that requires active doing, a doer, something done, and a context. "Music is, in essence, something that *people make* or *do*, a people's music is something that they *are*, both during and after the making of music and the experiencing of music…. The essential values of a culture are often reflected in the *way* music is learned and taught" (Elliott, 1989, p. 12-13). Therefore, he contends that music is embedded in context, and that sounds are part of a web of socially defined meaning. Music is a human activity mediated by concepts and expectations that

are determined socially and historically. In contrast, music in culture defines music as an 'object' to be contemplated rather than something that people make and do.

Music is a form of social practice, akin to Lave & Wenger's (1991) theory described in chapter one. "Music (conceived as a dynamic system), regardless of the form or level it takes, is an ongoing social practice into which new members (potential makers, audiences, critics, teachers, etc.) are constantly being inducted" (Elliott, 1990, p. 155). Elliott insists that we must understand music as a human reality embedded in the social practices of art and not exclusively a work of art. "In music (as in culture), the fruits ("works") produced by a particular musical practice are inseparable from their roots (an underlying network of beliefs)" (Elliott, 1990, p. 154).

Elliott (1990) conceptualizes culture as both local and contextualized.

> Culture, therefore, is not something that people *have*, it is something that people *do*. Culture is generated by the *interplay* between a group's beliefs about their physical, social, and metaphysical circumstances and the linked bodies of skills and knowledge they develop, standardize, preserve, and modify to meet the intrinsic and extrinsic needs of the group." (p. 149)

Music exists as a multidimensional phenomenon in a particular culture as well as *constituting* a web of human activity, a music culture. It is import to underscore the relationship between music and culture.

> If the nature of music lies in its multidimensionality "as culture," then encouraging insight into the *meaning* and *use* of one's own or another person's "music culture" requires us to engage students in the *interplay* of concepts, actions, and outcomes that comprise the essence of a given music culture. (Elliott, 1990, pp. 157-158)

In other words, a multicultural approach to studying a music culture should encourage students to interact with the concepts that represent that culture in order to understand the essence and core values of the culture. Students were able to gain insight into the meaning and use of traditional Italian music as an essential aspect of a local community culture. Subsequently, they were engaged in discussions about the concepts and values that are embedded in the community's cultural practices.

Elliott (1990), in forming a multicultural concept of arts education, asks how one can develop a disposition for understanding and insight into one's own art or another person's art. According to Elliott, the goal of multicultural education is to develop insight into one's own self, explore the relationship between one's self and one's culture, subsequently "moving out", trying to understand other music cultures.

> Because in venturing forth and "living in" the inherent and delineated meanings of an unfamiliar musical context, all students gain what only such "moving out" can provide: insight into one's "self" (musical and otherwise) and the relationship of one's self to one's own and other music cultures. Accompanying all such risk taking, disorientation, and eventual musical "acculturation" is self-examination and the personal reconstruction of one's relationships, assumptions, and preferences. (Elliott, 1990, pp. 160-161)

Elliott (1989) proposes six models of multicultural education based on the writings of Pratte (as cited in Volk, 1998): (a) assimilation, (b) amalgamation, (c) open society, (d) insular multiculturalism, (e) modified multiculturalism, and (f) dynamic multiculturalism. Pratte defines multiculturalism as a social ideal, the coexistence of unlike groups involving an exchange based on the respect and integrity of each group with the goal of enrichment for all. The goal of the assimilation, amalgamation, and the open society models is the elimination of "cultural

diversity" toward a unification of culture and the inculcation of majority values. The assimilation model is based on the Western European classic tradition. This model emphasizes the elevation of "good taste" and disdains the "lesser" musics of the pop/subculture. The amalgamation model includes limited subcultures that have become acceptable in fine art music because they have been successfully incorporated to create new hybrids (e.g. jazz). The open society model is concerned with musical fashion. Music is viewed as personal expression and, therefore, cultural and musical traditions are scorned.

The last three models are concerned with the preservation of cultural diversity. *Insular multiculturalism* is a curriculum based on one or two minority cultures that are represented in the school community. Each musical tradition is highlighted, but there is little musical sharing between communities. *Modified multiculturalism* selects musics based on regional or national boundaries and compares and contrasts different approaches to musical elements or roles of music in society. The accepted teaching method for a particular culture is used when presenting its music. While this approach presents culturally divers repertoire, with a concern for equality, authenticity, breadth, and values of different musical expressions, Elliott feels that its weakness is the reliance on a conceptual approach to music learning. *Dynamic multiculturalism*, which Elliott considers to be conceptually superior to the other models, is based on a "pan-human" perspective. This model asks students to interact with topics and concepts that are original to a particular culture's music. Ideas about music are developed inductively, from the bottom up.

> Thus, in addition to developing students' abilities to discriminate and appreciate the differences and similarities among musical cultures, a dynamic curriculum has the potential to achieve two fundamental 'expressive objectives' or ways of *being* musical: 'bimusicality' at least, and 'multimusicality' at most. (Elliott, 1989, p. 18)

The current study incorporates aspects of the insular and the dynamic models. The students focused on one minority culture represented in the school community. They also interacted with topics and concepts original to the culture such as music and the other arts and the function and value of music in culture. The next step, according to Elliott, would be to discuss these ideas as they relate to many different music cultures (Elliott, 1989).

Dynamic multiculturalism illustrates Elliott's concern that students develop a world perspective that can be applied to a variety of music. Quesada and Volk (1997) also emphasize the need to understand a variety of musical cultures and perspectives. They advocate for research to examine bimusicality if it is to be considered a goal of a world music curriculum. Studies should focus on how bimusicality influences attitudes, the process by which it can be achieved, and its relationship to bilingual studies. According to Walker (1990b), the danger of studying many different musical cultures, is that no music culture is learned in a profound way. Understanding and experiencing one music culture in depth is a challenge. It is questionable whether students can become proficient in several musical cultures during their time in school. Is it realistic to expect that students will truly become *bimusical* or *multimusical?*[12] I believe that immersion in a local music culture might be a place to start before engaging students in discourse between and among other musical traditions.

Elliott's (1989, 1990) description of music as a local and contextualized social practice encouraged me to design a study where students could observe musical practices in an authentic cultural context. I wanted the students to think about music as culture and how the musical practices they were observing or asking about in interviews embodied concepts that represented that same culture. I wanted to see how the students would perceive the music in relation to its

[12] Able to function in two different music cultures or in multiple music cultures

roots. Elliot proposes that students understand themselves and their own culture as a first step before subsequently moving out to study other cultures. This study focused on a music culture that many of the students could relate to as part of their own ethnic identity.

Elliot proposes six curriculum models of multicultural music education, advocating for dynamic multiculturalism. I used this model as a conceptual basis for the present study that encouraged the students to develop ideas inductively and interact with concepts that were particular to a local music culture. My goal was not for my students to become bimusical or multimusical. Rather, I wanted the study to be a starting point, a way for the students to focus on a particular music culture and learn to value it. I wanted them to observe music situated and practiced in a local culture context and to experience the "depth and breadth of human expression through music" (Campbell, 1992, p. 38).

Music is Culture

Swanwick (1994) asserts that music *is* culture, a direct way in. "It is nonsense to say that we cannot understand music without understanding the culture from which it came. The music *is* the culture. We enter the minds of others through their products – the things they make, do and say" (p. 222). Therefore, he advocates for direct experiences with symbolic forms that articulate the history and elements of a culture as well as the perceived feelings and actions of people as a way of experiencing music of other cultures. Learning about the music of others involves meaningful discourse, consisting of knowledge construction by students. This is very different than reading a book or hearing the teacher talk about a music culture. "Understanding music is more like knowing a person than knowing a fact, it is knowledge by direct acquaintance; knowledge *of* rather than knowledge *about*" (p. 225). Swanwick encourages teachers to take

advantage of the richness outside of school walls as well as bringing this richness to the students in the classroom.

Campbell (1992) asks some important questions concerning which cultures and values should be included in the teaching of world music traditions. She believes that rather than focusing on non-musical goals such as prejudice reduction, the development of intercultural understanding, and the enhancement of self-esteem, which are often offshoots of teaching music from other cultures, teachers should concentrate on the musical sounds and their contexts. These contexts include information about the music-makers such as where they live, how they dress and their thoughts about the music they perform. The goal of multicultural curricula in music education, according to Campbell, is to understand musical expression more fully.

> Teaching music with a multiethnic consciousness directs us to selecting the music of more than one ethnic group in delivering a fuller understanding of 'what makes music tick' to our students, and in helping them to realize the depth and breadth of human expression through music. (Campbell, 1992, p. 38)

Walker (1990b) advocates a pancultural approach to music education "treating the study of a single musical culture as a special unit within a broader definition of music education" (p. 220). This offers the students the advantage of knowing their own music culture as well as other music cultures. Walker insists that society offers students a variety of cultural influences from a wide variety of sources. Therefore, he suggests two approaches upon which the pancultural approach is based. The first approach proposes that students experience a wide variety of culture-free sounds, auditory gestalts as he defines them. These are sounds that have hints and elements of many cultures rather than sounds from one single music culture. The second approach is for

students to experience cultural sounds as music in the context of their belief systems. Walker offers an example:

> Hearing the different musical sounds that different cultures use to express similar events (such as tragic ones) can highlight the uniqueness of each musical culture as well as indicate the significance of cultural uses of music and the role of theory in helping our understanding, as well as determining the nature, of musical expression. (Walker, 1990b, p. 226)

Walker states that all cultures believe that their respective musical practices reflect and embody value systems.

> A new understanding of the role and function of music within society is emerging. Music is seen less and less as something hierarchical in terms of its adherence to qualitative values, and more and more as possessing unique information about the culture which nurtured it. For education this trend is particularly important. For music to be understood, in these terms, implies knowledge of the ways in which music can embody, signify, and represent cultural values, belief systems, traditions, and deeply felt emotions which are peculiar to each cultural system. (Walker, 1990a, p. 78)

I find it difficult to imagine what Walker refers to as auditory gestalts. He describes these as the autonomous qualities of sound. I believe that it is much more important and relevant to present cultural sounds in the context of their belief systems. I do think it is very important for students to understand the role and function of music in society and how music is able to communicate unique information about the society where it was created. Therefore, the present study engaged students in critical discussions about how traditional music represents cultural beliefs and values of a local community culture.

Ethnomusicological Perspectives

Ethnomusicologists have contributed significantly to the conceptualization of multicultural music education. In addition to their detailed studies of different music cultures, they have also enlightened the music education community by their research methods for finding out about different musical and cultural practices as well as illuminating the differences in teaching, learning and cultural transmission from one practice to another. Nettl (1998) clarifies the inclusive nature of ethnomusicology in the study of world musics:

> Ethnomusicology is <u>not</u> the study of ethnic musics…. Ethnomusicology is <u>not</u> the study of exotic musics, folk and tribal musics; or rather, not exclusively of such musics. It is not indeed, the study of any one group of musics but, ideally, the study of all of the world's music from particular perspectives. (p. 24)

One of the most important contributions of ethnomusicology to multicultural music education is the affirmation that all musics reflect the culture and the values of a particular group of people.

The scope of this paper does not allow an exhaustive discussion of the related work of ethnomusicologists. Instead, significant literature that contributes to the conceptualization of world music education and multicultural music education has been chosen.

Rice (1985) is one example of an ethnomusicologist who has significantly contributed to pedagogical approaches to multicultural music education. His study in Bulgaria revealed that music was integrated into everyday life, rather than existing as a separate entity. Music was a past time in a preliterate and pre-Walkman society and the person-to-person interaction, especially with older people, was an important part of preserving the music culture. These older

people often act as bearers of culture and tradition and, therefore, they are often good informants for younger people who may not know about a particular musical practice. In Bulgaria, music was learned informally rather than being taught as part of a sequential curriculum. This observation has led Rice to question the common teaching practices of music educators in schools. "We teach our own version of musical knowledge and pretend that young people come in as blank slates" (Rice, 1985, p. 118). The tradition of the conductor/teacher makes it difficult for some music educators to break with tradition and become facilitators of student learning, taking into account their prior knowledge. Students examined music in the everyday lives of community members and their prior knowledge was an important aspect of the present study.

According to Nettl (1985), "ethnomusicology teaches that music reflects culture" (p. 75). "It has long been a basic assumption that the music of a society in some way reflects its values" (Nettl, 1985, p. 69). Nettl cites the work of David McAllester with the Navaho as pioneering an anthropological approach, connecting the values and characteristics of a culture with the uses and conceptions of music. Nettl's work in Iran focuses on the study of music as a system of sound in addition to identifying central social values and behaviors of the Iranian people. His findings associate the values of hierarchy, individualism, surprise, and framing of events with the classical music system in Iran. This connection between musical practices and cultural values is an important aspect of Nettl's work. The symbolic nature of music means that learning music allows a person to understand what is important in a particular culture. Nettl illustrates how this is possible.

> The radif is a repertory of music in which the values of Iranian culture are particularly well reflected. But it is also the main teaching tool of classical music. In some ways it functions as professor and etude, exercises and theory text. And if Persian classical music

> is a reflection of cultural values, the radif must be a device for teaching not only the music but also these cultural values it symbolizes. Our ways of teaching our musical system inevitably are also ways in which we teach the values of our culture: and the more central the music, the more central their values to our culture. It is believed that some societies even more than the rest use music as a way of teaching their own culture. Thus we say that music is thought in some cultures to have primarily an enculturative function. It is possible that some societies actually make this explicit, saying, as it were, that the purpose of learning music is to learn what is really important about culture. But I would suggest that to some extent many or all societies use music for this purpose. And why music? I can speculate upon reasons. Perhaps because it is totally capable of being arbitrarily symbolic, because it is not really necessary for subsistence, shelter, reproduction, but is available to serve as humans wish it. It does not directly represent nature or culture, as does visual art; it does not have the physical function of design or the lexical meaning of literature. It can be used to distill and abstract. And so, I believe, music is used more widely than we suspect to transmit important if not easily verbalized values of society. (pp. 69-70)

Music reinforces values as well as representing and teaching the values and guiding principles of a culture. The students focused on the cultural beliefs and values embedded in the musical practices of a local Italian community's music culture.

In the publication *Musics of the World's Cultures*, Nettl (1998) describes the contribution of ethnomusicology to the teaching of the music of the world's peoples. "It is ethnomusicologists who have grappled most with the difficulties inherent in looking at and listening to musics outside one's own background, with the problems of studying music both in its own cultural context and also from a comparative perspective, and with ways of seeing what it is that music

does in culture" (p. 23). Nettl believes that one of the principle marker's of a groups' ethnicity is its music. "All musics are "ethnic" in the sense that for each music, each style, repertory, or genre, there is a group of people who identify themselves with it and consider it their own" (p. 24). According to Nettl, in order to understand something about a world culture, it is necessary to understand something about its music because of the important connection of music to self-esteem and cultural integration. Music cannot be understood without knowledge of the social and cultural context of a people. I believe that understanding a world music culture means studying the music from a particular perspective, focusing on what the music does in the culture, its use and function.

Nettl (1998) describes the different beliefs and approaches of ethnomusicologists. A "comparative perspective" views each musical culture as one of many and no music as superior to another. A person's existing knowledge is used as a point of departure to gaining new knowledge. "Relativism" is related to the comparative perspective in that each musical system is studied in its own context, revealing its own unique perspective. Anthropologists and ethnomusicologists employ insider and outsider perspectives[13] in their descriptions of musical phenomena. The goal of ethnomusicology is to understand the structure of the music, what the society thinks music is, what music can do, how music is used, and the kinds of events where music is performed. Therefore, the roles of cultural identity, family units, social organization as well as political and economic life are equally important to the understanding of music in culture. Nettl (1998) makes the following suggestion as a way to understand music in culture:

> Some ethnomusicologists have suggested a three-part model of music as a guide for study: a) music sound (or the "music itself"); b) behavior (e.g., events, lessons, audience

[13] Emic or etic perspectives.

> behavior, relationship of musicians to each other); and c) concept (i.e. the ideas and beliefs about music). This model has helped researchers; it is also sufficiently simple to be helpful even to young students. (p. 25)

The students focused on behaviors and concepts about music during the present study. They were able to pursue their understanding of traditional Italian music through participant observation and ethnographic interviewing in the local community.

Fieldwork is the privileged way to understand how members of a society learn music and, subsequently, to reflect member perspectives in writing. Musical change and cultural change are related, and music should be understood as a process rather than simply a work or product. "It certainly seems desirable for the music teachers of the world's nations to present music everywhere as a constantly changing, constantly adjusting and evolving phenomenon" (Nettl, 1998, p. 27). Fieldwork allows the researcher to experience aural forms of transmission and to explain them to readers, allowing a window into the deeper understanding of music. "Music cultures transmit sets of concepts, values, and attitudes that are essential to producing and understanding the music….In all societies, we venture to say, cultural values and guiding principles are to some extent transmitted through the music" (p. 28).

Ethnomusicological perspectives framed how the students researched a local music culture. Students were involved in fieldwork and representing the emic perspectives of the local community. They followed Nettl's (1998) suggestion of how to understand music culture by reflecting on how music is able to transmit concepts, values, and attitudes of a particular culture. The students experienced music in everyday life and in many cases, they interviewed older people who acted as tradition bearers and who were good informants for the students. The students experienced music as a principle marker of a group's ethnicity and focused on what

music does in culture. They used their existing knowledge as a point of departure for new knowledge and studied music in the framework of a local Italian culture.

Cross-Fertilization: Music Education and Ethnomusicology.

Dunbar-Hall (1999) discusses issues of cross-fertilization between ethnomusicology and music education. He is preoccupied with the relationship between music, culture, and social contexts. "Music does not exist and should not be studied outside of its cultural setting" (Dunbar-Hall, 1999, p. 49). He describes an assignment he gives to pre-service music education students that involves them in fieldwork within a musical/cultural community to understand how music is learned and taught outside the classroom. This assignment focuses on the local, extra-canonical knowledge that exists in the world and requires that students produce their own information, focusing on the insider/outsider dichotomy of their work, specifically "issues inherent in trying to understand and represent the culture of another person or group. This is a major philosophical and pedagogical challenge confronting music educators, and occupying a significant place in the literature of multicultural music education" (Dunbar-Hall, 1999, p. 51). Dunbar-Hall agrees with Nettl that field experience, including urban contexts away from the formalized setting of the music classroom, helps students to contextualize musical practices. "Experience in the research methods of ethnomusicology may assist music educators in conceptualising how people think about music, in understanding the roles of music in society, and in analysing how music teaching and learning takes place" (Dunbar-Hall, 1999, p. 48).

In another publication, Dunbar-Hall (1992) tackles the difficult task of describing the ambiguous nature of multicultural music education. He distinguishes between *multiculturalism*, an ideology or philosophical stance and *ethnomusicology*, the study of the music of a group of

people. He describes the *conceptual approach* to music education that presents music as atomized into its constituent parts and studied from a Western cultural perspective. This approach is also referred to as the *elemental* or the *common elements approach*, described by Robinson (2002) as an approach that "isolates musical qualities but views them through a Western lens, placing a high value on analysis and structure and little value on context" (p. 226). Dunbar-Hall advocates for a balance between the conceptual approach to multicultural music education and an approach that privileges culturally specific ways of thinking. He advances an approach to studying the music of groups of people that allows students to take on the role of ethnomusicologist.

Brennan (1992) also advocates the cross-fertilization of music-education principles and ethnomusicological issues in the design and implementation of curricular experiences in world music. If ethnomusicology is the study of music in the context of human life, then the precepts of ethnomusicology should be important for people designing curriculum to include world musics in the schools. Brennan advocates the following three principles for world music curricula: (a) musical sounds should never be thought of as being subordinate to other aspects of music making, (b) music and dance are interrelated, and (c) music takes place in the context of human life. Music making is a human behavior that must be viewed through a cultural and social perspective. Brennan does not believe that an elemental approach is the best way to teach world musics because it is based on Western curricula models that have their foundations in Western theories of musical structure. The teaching approaches of other music cultures are not necessarily congruent with Western models.

As Dunbar-Hall (1999) and Brennan (1992) advocate, this present study focused on music in its cultural context. The students did fieldwork and dealt with insider-outsider issues

throughout the study. Research was carried out in the urban context of a large, multicultural city rather than exclusively in the formalized setting of the classroom. I wanted to design an experience for the students that let them view music through the cultural and social perspective of a local community rather than using an elemental approach.

World Music Curricula and the Local Community

Much of the literature that encourages the connection between community and institutional musical practices is situated in the experiences of groups of people outside of Western society. Lines (2000) studied how children relate to music and describe their music worlds. In their responses, children described profound differences in their perceptions of music at home and music in the community. Music at home, including dancing and singing with parents and close friends, was viewed as fun and having a good time. School music, on the other hand, was described as boring. Lines encourages music educators to connect to musical practices in the local community music and integrate these practices in the classroom in order to bridge the gap between community and institutional music.

Davies (1992) developed a community-based music education curriculum utilizing the resources available in the culturally diverse communities of Vancouver, British Columbia. Canada's pluralistic society encourages the preservation of diverse cultural practices of particular ethnic communities. "These ethnic communities maintain their cultural identity in a variety of ways, and many of these encourage interaction among all people within the community. Especially in the cities, Canadians experience world cultures without leaving home" (Davies, 1992, pp. 228-229).

Campbell (1996b) advocates for a multicultural music education curriculum that highlights ethnic-cultural groups in the local community. This approach can often lessen the cultural dissonance between teachers and students, but there is little research on the effects of ethnic-cultural unit studies on students' musical preferences and attitudes. The inclusion of ethnic cultures in the curriculum provides students with a new perspective on the life of local communities that exist beyond the confines of schools. Lessons taught by folk artists in schools are another way to connect with the local community by including *knowledge bearers of tradition* in the curriculum. In conclusion, Campbell proposes a *Concentric Circles Music Model* that focuses on the teacher as a transmitter of musical knowledge. The teacher's musical self is at the center followed by the teacher's musical training, and lastly, musical outreach into the local and regional communities. The teacher's musical self includes the personal and family music that is the foundation of the teacher's musical person[14]. For example, I learned Western classical music in my childhood and it is part of my musical core repertoire. This repertoire is a part of my musical heritage and it is the music that I recall and transmit most easily in the classroom. Moving outward, the second concentric circle is a teacher's formal and ongoing musical training including secondary school, undergraduate studies in music, and the further study and experience of music teaching. According to Campbell (1996b), the repertoire may include "classic gems of secondary school bands, choirs, and orchestras...along with Balkan choral pieces, transcriptions of Turkish janissary music for wind ensembles, symphonic works by Mozart and string arrangements of Chinese folk songs" (p. 28). The third concentric circle represents the musical culture of local and regional communities surrounding the school. Campbell encourages teachers to connect to performing musicians in the local community. She believes that "the impact of a

[14] Examples: Lullabies, church music, media music, etc.

face-to-face, three-dimensional and multisensory experience of students with performers is a powerful means of reinforcing previously acquired knowledge while also motivating the acquisition of new knowledge" (p. 28). Campbell believes that music educators must make the link between music curricula and the real world.

> Further, when one brings "real musicians" from the community into the classroom, the association between curricular studies in music and the real world of music beyond the school is fortified. However, this musical outreach, or community music circle, is at the outer end of the model. This "circle" of musical knowledge comes into play—a musician is invited in—when the match is right for the music curriculum, and when there is sufficient knowledge by the teacher as to how she can enhance the experience, through instruction and active engagement in the musical experience." (pp. 28-29)

Rather than bringing "real musicians" into the classroom, I asked students to meet them in the community. I believe that this was an important way of reaching out to the community and actively engaging the students in a musical/cultural experience. Campbell's (1996b) model "is attentive to the musicianship of the teacher, to the dynamic and evolving nature of her own musical self, and to her growing relationship with the musical life of the community of her school" (p. 27).

Bowman (1996) responds to Campbell's (1996b) propositions by advocating for field research as an important component of teacher training in order to more clearly define the teacher self, the community, and to prepare future teachers for musical outreach activities. She believes that this would be an effective strategy to incorporate global, regional, local, and student music and culture into the music curriculum. Bowman would add the concentric circle of students' musical cultures to Campbell's Concentric Circles Music Model. Music educators need

to be sensitive to the influences of society and the informal curriculum on students in order to address how the curriculum fits with students' musical backgrounds. Bowman (1996) concludes by discussing the importance of building bridges between schools and communities.

> Collaborating with students, parents, community scholars, and tradition bearers to explore these issues and others is time consuming but rewarding. Collaboration deepens our understanding of students' musical universes and of community life, lessens the cultural dissonance between teacher and student, and builds a bridge between academic and societal curricula….The goal should not be merely to boost cultural groups' esteem but to educate ourselves and all our students more richly. (p. 68)

McCarthy (1996) responds to Campbell's concentric circle model by commenting on each circle. The musical self is an opportunity for teachers to share their own musical and cultural heritage in the classroom and subsequently to encourage the students' exploration of their own identity and musical universes.

> Sharing this type of musical knowledge [musical heritage and self] in the classroom has the potential to establish the musical roots of the school community, to explore commonalities and differences, and to experience in microcosm the musical and cultural diversity that is typical of community life in this nation. As one participant [in the colloquium in music education] put it: "we start where they [the students] are *and* where we are." (McCarthy, 1996, pp. 73- 74)

McCarthy asks what type of knowledge is worthy to pass on in relation to musical training and draws attention to the fact that the traditional canon is no longer static, as evident in its ever broadening repertoire. Moving from a monocultural to a multicultural model of music education means adopting an approach that presents diverse musical practices. In conclusion,

McCarthy believes that musical outreach should act as a means of representing the musical cultures of the community in the school. Therefore, teachers must be competent in making connections between the local community and the school, using cross-cultural communication skills and fieldwork techniques.

In summary, a world music curriculum must reflect home and community music practices, focus on the concepts and philosophies embedded in these practices, and draw on the diversity of world cultures that can often be experienced without leaving home (Lines, 2000; Davies, 1992). Campbell (1996b) also encourages a curriculum that highlights the ethnic-cultural groups in local communities. However, I agree with Bowman (1996) that the music educator must be sensitive to the influences of society and focus on student music cultures as an important component of a music curriculum. Collaboration between students, parents, the community, and tradition bearers helps to bridge the gap between society and the school and lesson the cultural dissonance that can occur between students and the teacher (Bowman, 1996).

Multicultural music education can be difficult for teachers who do not know where to begin and I agree with McCarthy (1996) and Campbell that teachers should begin with their own musical self and then begin to move outwards from the center of the concentric circles model. This requires the teacher to put herself in a situation where she is less secure with the musical materials. However, the learning benefits can be substantial for the teacher and the students. Musical outreach into the community is one way that teachers can connect to groups outside the school and at the same time encourage students to explore their own ethnic identity (McCarthy, 1996).

Classroom Practices: Issues of Curriculum Implementation

Changing classroom practices is never an easy task and most of the recent literature that addresses this issue is based on practitioner experiences. Hookey (1994) cautions: "Because many of us are only now constructing images of possible classroom practice, stories of authentic engagement in multicultural or bicultural classrooms help to sensitise us to different world views and practices" (p. 85). Culturally responsive music education, according to Hookey, is not just about content, but rather, it focuses on teachers, students, and the school milieu. Hookey also advocates for the cooperation of ethnomusicologists who can provide access to a variety of music practices, and teachers who focus on the design and implementation of curricula. In addition, there should be active negotiation between teachers and students in the design of curricula and the students can serve as culture-bearers in a classroom that takes into account their own prior knowledge. World music should be presented as integral to a transformative music education curriculum, not as "other," separated from the "main story."

> Curriculum materials need to be designed and programmes need to be developed which take into account both the potential knowledge and cultural background of those in the classroom and the classroom itself as a music-making community. David Elliot (1990) has taken up this issue by arguing that we must refocus our concept of music as a human practice that embodies all the opportunities and constraints of being human….we cannot replicate an external cultural tradition in the classroom setting. Even attempting this is a mimetic not a transformative act. Instead, we might take a constructivist perspective, aiming to help students enlarge their understanding of a range of musics and their ability to explore this understanding within the music-making community of the classroom. (Hookey, 1994, p. 87)

Therefore culturally responsive education goes beyond simply preparing lesson plans that include ethnic content. "What is often missing in these plans are alternative approaches to teaching within bicultural or multicultural settings. My argument is that we should recast our approach to multicultural music education as teaching *within* diverse cultures, not teaching *about* them (Hookey, 1994, p. 87). One way that Hookey proposes to address this issue is to consider that students "may already be culture-bearers who have learned what it means to be musically bicultural (p. 87). Therefore, music teachers must learn to work in multi- and bicultural settings, reflecting the conflicting understandings of the role of music in different cultures. The present study acknowledges students as bearers of the Italian culture and explores the role of this music in a local community culture.

York and Choksy (1994) developed *A Culturally Appropriate Developmental Music Curriculum* for Torres Strait Island Schools, where the population of students represents one of the indigenous peoples of Australia. This comprehensive developmental music curriculum was based on an extensive body of traditional Torres Strait songs. The concept of 'culturally appropriate' is a problematic one for curricula development. Some community members were opposed to such a curriculum, worrying that it might result in the portrayal of a mythical islander, exacerbating the stereotype of the "other" and begging the question: "Who decides whether a music culture should be preserved?" In response to this question about restoration and preservation, the islanders expressed their desire to control their own destiny. They did not want their destiny dictated by government bureaucracy and they did not want cultural maintenance "at the expense of information which leads to an empowering knowledge of political and social processes and the skills to manipulate that knowledge – in effect, preserving the past at the expense of the future" (York & Choksy, 1994, p. 113).

Therefore, York and Choksy (1994) proposed a curriculum that links to the local music culture without negating the importance of the mainstream culture. The result is that students become bicultural, situating themselves in the ethnic and the mainstream culture. A culturally appropriate music curriculum seeks to reinforce cultural identity rather than suppress it, to enrich, protect, and acknowledge the history and the heritage of a particular ethnic group. The goal of this curriculum, developed in collaboration with people in the community and music educators, was the cultural restoration, maintenance, and preservation of the music of an ethnic group.

Lundquist (1998) takes the position that curricular approaches should be culturally congruent with a particular music tradition. In other words, the values of each tradition, the emic perspectives of a particular culture's people and the intrinsic qualities of the music should be the focus of the teaching and learning of world musics. "We can observe how music both reveals and marks people's cultural identity; how it facilitates efforts to cross cultural boundaries. We can also try to understand ways in which music making in a specific culture relates to other aspects of that culture" (Lundquist, 1998, p. 39). Lundquist is hopeful as she looks towards future implementations of music curricula that include world musics because teachers are first and foremost learners, and instruction takes place in the spirit of interaction between students and teachers.

> To understand the music of a specific culture is a result of having experience with it. Musical experience increases our understanding of human music-making and our interest in respectful, mutually confirming musical interaction with people representing musical traditions of the world's cultures. (Lundquist, 1998, p. 44)

Given that this body of literature is emerging, I thought it appropriate to conduct a study that focused on the potential knowledge and cultural background of the students in the classroom, following the work of Hookey (1994). Also influenced by Hookey's research, I wanted to go beyond simply including content of an ethnic-cultural group in the curriculum and involve the students in an alternate approach to learning about a music culture. A culturally appropriate curriculum as proposed by York and Choksy (1994) was the basis for the present study that focused on the restoration, maintenance, and preservation of the music of a local Italian community. The values of this music, its intrinsic qualities, and the emic perspectives of community members were issues that were discussed by the students throughout the research project. As proposed by Lundquist (1998), I asked students to focus on the perspectives of a particular culture's people and to interact with musicians within that culture.

Multicultural Music Education Research Studies

In the following section, I examine several reviews of research and research studies focusing on multicultural music education. Quesada and Volk (1997) reviewed dissertation research on world musics and music education and Lundquist (2002) reviewed the literature on music, culture, curriculum, and instruction. Klinger (1996a, 1996b) studied the implementation of multicultural music curricula based on Native American music and music from Africa. Skyllstad (1993) conducted a study that incorporated the musical traditions from Asia, Africa, and Latin America in Norwegian schools. The research studies were chosen for their emphasis on the local community as an important aspect of curricular planning for multicultural music education.

Quesada and Volk (1997) reviewed dissertation research on world musics and music education from 1973-1993. They used Lundquist's (as cited in Quesada & Volk, 1997) recommendations for further research in her dissertation as a mechanism for organizing the literature into three categories: (a) philosophical and historical issues, (b) students' attitudes and achievement, and (c) instructional materials. The authors commented that there is little application of research on music cultures to classroom teaching and there are few research studies conducted with secondary students. Most methodological studies focus on elementary teaching contexts and usually involve one world music practice presented using a variety of teaching methods. In addition to these studies, there is a large body of research that focuses on classroom materials for music educators, analytical evaluations of school music texts and materials, and music teacher preparation.

Several studies that Quesada and Volk (1997) reviewed incorporated African-American music aesthetics and musical values with African American students. These studies suggest: "When the musical culture and the social culture match, there is greater ease of musical communication than when they do not" (Quesada & Volk, 1997, p. 59). It is important to validate this claim about the connection between music curricula offered in schools and pedagogical approaches that take into account the students' social culture. In addition, the present study is one contribution to the body of research studies that focuses on classroom teaching and secondary students' learning about music cultures.

Lundquist (2002) reviews the literature to date on music, culture, curriculum, and instruction and she identifies several emergent themes. The music classroom is often a place that encourages the reestablishment of cultural identity, especially in areas where that identity is threatened through contact (immigration) or conflict (war). Research in this area has been

concerned with the connections between schools and communities as well as acknowledging the culture of the students in classroom. Lundquist also cites a variety of curricular models for multicultural music education, including Elliott (1989) and Pratte (as cited in Volk, 1998). In addition, she cites two approaches to curriculum proposed by Jordon (1992): (a) a "Western/elemental approach" comparing music cultures and (b) a "performance approach" that involves active participation in music-making. The latter approach to curriculum involves choosing a representation of different world musics and studying characteristic features in their contexts (Palmer as cited in Lundquist, 2002).

Lundquist (2002) also reviews studies that advocate for curricular decisions based on focused student understanding rather than on a "supermarket approach" (Volk, 1998, p. 194) that only provides a cursory introduction to many different types of music. These studies reflect the demographics of the school context and honor the relevancy of the child's world as an important aspect of the learning process. An important motivation to include the music of local and regional cultural groups in the curriculum is echoed in the following quote by a Siçangu elder of the Lakota Sioux: "Music is my history. It tells me who I am. If I do not look at songs and say 'This is *me*,' I have lost myself" (in Lundquist, 2002, p. 628). This powerful reminder of how music contributes to identity construction is echoed by McCarthy (as cited in Lundquist, 2002): "As cultural practice, music functions in highly complex and powerful ways to advance ideologies and to form and transform the identity of communities" (p. 628). McCarthy continues by stating that musical transmission is no neutral process, that it is underpinned by the motivation to "define the parameters of human identity for an individual or group of individuals within a community" (as cited in Lundquist, 2002, p. 628). Therefore, it was important that students in the present study observe music in their community context, as complete musical

experiences embedded in cultural practices. As a result of these experiences, they were able to observe how traditional music advances the cultural beliefs and values of a local Italian community and how it defines and constructs ethnic and cultural identity for members.

Ethnomusicological studies reviewed by Lundquist (2002) suggest that music educators make use of culturally sensitive instructional strategies, strategies that mirror the way students of different ethnic backgrounds learn. Research on instruction and achievement suggests that culturally sensitive instructional strategies lead to high levels of achievement (Gay, 1995) and that increased student interest can be the result of cultural familiarity, using experience-near connections (Geertz 1983). More research is needed to identify strategies that are effective with particular ethnic groups in schools.

Lundquist (2002) reviewed studies claiming that multicultural music education has a positive impact on student attitudes. However, according to Jordon (1992), more research is needed that focuses on the emotional-attitudinal mind-set of students. Some contextual issues that have received little attention in the music education literature include ethnicity and ethnic identity, bimusicality and multimusicality, authenticity, cultural boundary crossing, and ethnic representation in music class enrollment.

Klinger's (1996b) dissertation describes a school district's plan for a multicultural music program in an elementary school through the implementation of an artist-in-residence program. She examines the partnerships between the district, the elementary teachers, the grant team, and the Native American culture-bearers. The purpose of the study was to examine the intent and goals of a multicultural music program and the issues of authenticity and cultural contextualization that accompany efforts to implement such a program. The issue of authenticity is very important to music educators that want to include world musics in their classrooms.

Klinger believes that there are always issues of translation, compromise, and adaptation from one cultural context to another. There is never a truly authentic version of any culture as different members of a culture often express different interpretations of the same music. One of the teachers involved in the project commented: "You can't be too much of a purist or you'll never do anything" (p. 158). This teacher was expressing the fact that a teacher can feel intimidated because of her lack of knowledge about a particular music culture and not even attempt to introduce her students to world musics. The project coordinator was constantly reminding the teachers to be sensitive, seek permission, and seek the true stories of the culture-bearers. This had a negative effect on teachers as the project progressed, leaving them less empowered. It is important that teachers take the first steps in implementing a multicultural curriculum even if they feel they do not have a "complete" knowledge of a cultural tradition.

Regarding the issue of contextualization, Klinger (1996b) explains that music can be used as a way to approach context, creating a bridge between music cultures. Some musics are closely tied to culture and understanding their function in society is essential to accessing musical meaning. Native American music, with its emphasis on song ownership and lineage is one of these musics. The teachers in this study felt that they lacked materials and would need the help of culture-bearers in order to teach the music of Native Americans authentically.

Klinger (1996b) concluded that the grant program was constrained by issues of compromise.

> During a discussion with Phil, the program director of the organization responsible for coordinating this grant project, the term "compromise" surfaced repeatedly. Phil believed that schools need to compromise to accommodate the culture from which artists-in-

residence come. But he also believed that artists need to compromise in order to be effective in the school culture. (pp. 171-172)

When teachers implement multicultural curricula, they need to be aware of the context of the music and its function in society. This is important for the students to be able to understand the meaning of musical works. However, teachers must not be so intimidated by the task of authentically representing a music culture that they do not at least try to engage their students in world music activities in the classroom. With any form of music that we bring to the classroom, there are always issues of compromise. There is no such thing are completely authentic representations of music cultures because these cultures are constantly shifting and changing.

Klinger's (1996a) ethnographic study describes one elementary music teacher's efforts to include the music of Africa in her curriculum. The students created a multifaceted, interdisciplinary evening program, entitled the "Africa Experience", comprised of song, dance, folk tales, stories, games, masks, and food. Based on her ten week period as an ethnographer in the school, Klinger observed that the music specialist tended to select and teach music first and foremost for its intrinsic, musical value while contextual concerns played a minor role. The transmission of music, often many times removed from its original context, and the authenticity of materials were issues that were problematic for this teacher.

Skyllstad (1993) conducted a study conducted in Norway that used music: (a) to foster interracial understanding, (b) to counteract racism, (c) to change attitudes towards immigrants, (d) to ease the integration of immigrants, and (e) to encourage a cooperative society. The study implemented a music curriculum based on the community music and dance resources of immigrant children. Eighteen schools participated in the study involving 720 pupils between the ages of 10-13 from 1989-1992. The study used musical traditions from Asia, Africa, and Latin

America. Three conditions existed: (a) model A schools received continuous cultural stimulation, (b) model B schools were exposed to concerts only, and (c) model C schools served as a control group. Two questionnaire surveys were administered, pre- and post treatment, and participant responses were used as a basis for the statistical evaluation of the project. In addition, participant observation during concerts, interviews, transcriptions of meetings with teachers, and student essays provided qualitative data. The author concluded that Norwegians and immigrants modified their perceptions of the immigrant population resulting in prejudice-reduction in many schools. For example, the study indicated a clear connection between the project and improved social relationships, especially in the model A schools. There were less ethnic conflicts as confirmed by continuous evaluation and reports from teachers. The following quote is taken from the reports of teachers in the model A schools:

> During the Asia-year, the Pakistani pupils felt that they were valued higher than before. In particular, this affected the relationship between these pupils and pupils in the other two Norwegian fifth grade classes. The Norwegian pupils came asking about various things and wanted to learn some words in Urdu. The Pakistani pupils were clearly proud of their culture. (Skyllstad, 1993, p. 14)

The researchers concluded that the project accomplished its main goal, to work against prejudice and encourage understanding and tolerance through the arts. The model A schools showed the best results in terms of attitude changes, indicating the importance of continuous cultural stimulation as an integral part of any effective multicultural music curriculum. The study encourages a revision of music education teaching materials in order to remove the monocultural bias and branch out to include the expressions of many different musical traditions.

In summary, the research studies propose some very important issues related to multicultural music education implementation and research. In Klinger's (1996a, 1996b) studies, teachers worried about issues of authenticity and contexts of musical traditions that were unfamiliar to them. In Skyllstad's (1993) study, implementation of multicultural music curricula resulted in attitude changes for Norwegian students. The students were more tolerant of immigrants, encouraging understanding and reducing prejudice. Lundquist (2002) proposes the music classroom as a place to reestablish cultural identity, especially for immigrant students. Again, much of this literature focuses on connections between schools and community, honoring demographics, and developing curricula based on students' cultural heritage and background. However, there is a need to verify and validate claims put forward in the literature by conducting research studies in the classroom environment with secondary students (Quesada & Volk, 1997).

Current Practices in Multicultural Music Education

In this section I will describe six approaches to the practice of multicultural music education in the classroom: (a) culture bearers, (b) conceptual, (c) additive, (d) holidays, heroes, and celebrations, (e) exotic other, and (f) ethnic neighborhoods and school communities.

One of the most widely used strategies is to elicit the help of culture bearers, also known as tradition bearers (Klinger, 1996b; Hookey, 1994; Campbell, 1996b). One example of this approach is the Culture in Education partnership program sponsored by the Quebec Government.[15] Professional artists who are Canadian citizens or recent immigrants are chosen for the project based on professionalism, artistic merit, and educational approach. These artists provide students and teachers the opportunity to learn about and have hands-on experience with a

[15] http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/DGFJ/projets/culture/cultureindex.htm

music culture or practice that is unfamiliar to them. Another example of the tradition of culture bearers is a member of the First Nations community that shares some tribal songs with students in the classroom. These culture bearers are viewed as uniquely qualified by virtue of their membership in a cultural/ethnic group or their close affiliation with this same group. They also must demonstrate an in-depth knowledge of the musical and cultural practices of the group. It is often a challenge to translate cultural and musical practices to a classroom that is far removed from original contexts. Students may view the culture bearers as being "different" resulting in a "them versus us" attitude that does not encourage open exchange between different cultural traditions. As a final point, culture bearers may further stereotype a group of people as "different from the norm" in the eyes of the students.

Some current approaches use a Western view of music and teaching in their presentation of music of the worlds' peoples. Brennan (1992) questions the use of Western theories of musical structure and Western curricula models and encourages an approach that integrates the socio-cultural context of the music in order to minimize Western frames of reference. In contrast, Dunbar-Hall (1992) describes the "conceptual approach"[16] to multicultural music education. This approach uses a comparative perspective to study musical elements and concepts across different music cultures. This analytical, Western approach focuses primarily on musical sounds, providing little context for students. The translation of particular concepts such as melody, rhythm, or texture from one music culture to another can be challenging, especially in music cultures where these concepts do not exist.

The additive approach (Banks, 2001) is a way for teachers to include units and lesson plans based on multicultural content. Many quality materials exist today that are highly

[16] The term elemental approach is also used.

accessible to teachers. These materials have been created by music educators who have researched a music culture, spent significant time in the cultural context, and have interviewed culture bearers. The danger of teaching these lessons and units of study is that they become isolated sections of the curriculum that do not necessarily relate to the rest of the work in class. Also, the how and why of musical traditions, including their histories, are often overlooked. Another example of an add-on is the curricular inclusion of holidays, heroes, and celebrations of different cultural traditions. Some schools have even structured their entire year around different festivals (Goodkin, 1998). There is always a danger of superficiality in this type of approach. The music and culture of a group of people cannot be understood and experienced simply by including festivals and celebrations in the curriculum.

Another approach to teaching world musics is to study the music of "exotic" lands (Robinson, 1992). These traditions have an exotic flavor but they are also "culturally far" from the student's experience, and therefore, often more difficult to understand. Musical content can also be derived from different minority group cultures. A survey of some materials for multicultural music educators (Campbell, 1996a; Anderson & Campbell, 1996; Anderson & Moore, 1998) reveals the emphasis on such groups as African Americans, Native Americans, and regions of Asia, Mexico, the Middle East, South America, Africa, the Caribbean, and others. The only "white" ethnic musics represented in these materials were Polish, Anglo American Appalachian, and Cowboy traditions. There is a tendency to focus on Western European Art music in the curriculum and to ignore many of the folk traditions of "white" immigrants from such places as the Ukraine, Greece, and Italy. It is often their "invisible" status as a minority group that results in white students being branded "unethnic" or "cultureless" and associating them only with the mainstream culture. Some writers encourage teachers to use cultural

practices, festivals, parents and relatives of ethnic neighborhoods in school communities as resources and as a basis for curricular design (York & Choksy, 1994; Goodkin, 1998). "When a classroom includes African-, Hispanic-, Asian-, Native and Anglo-American children, many of them recent arrivals, we must find ways to reach them through an understanding of, and relationship to, their cultural backgrounds" (Goodkin, 1998, p. 57).

In the previous pages I have described some of the current approaches to multicultural music education. Multicultural music education practices need to be connected to the real life of the students, using "culturally-near" concepts to which they can relate. When possible, musical practices should be presented in authentic, original contexts. If this is not possible, the teacher must try to translate the original contexts of music making into the classroom. Therefore, practitioners and researchers need to ask themselves the following three questions: (a) Who transmits knowledge about multicultural music? (b) How is the curriculum structured? and (c) Which cultures are chosen to be included in the curriculum and how are these choices made? These questions will be discussed in the following two sections describing the focus on the student at the center of any learning enterprise, the shifting paradigms that result in changes to teaching and learning, and collaborative, knowledge-building contexts that can facilitate student-constructed understanding about the musics of other cultures.

Summary: Music Education Literature

The music education literature reviewed defines music as culture, a human activity that takes place in context. Music and culture are closely related and studying a music culture allows students to identify the cultural influences and the core beliefs and values of a local community. Music can be studied as a unique phenomenon in a particular culture and can also be studied

comparatively, across cultures. Students can take on the role of ethnomusicologist, studying music from a cultural and social perspective. Teachers are encouraged to make connections and collaborate with the local community in order to value and preserve music cultures and to allow students to experience how music marks the cultural identity of people. Teachers teach in the context of diverse cultures and therefore, they should consider their students to be culture bearers of different musical traditions. Several music education literature reviews and research studies were described, focusing on the challenge of connecting to local communities outside of schools and grappling with curricular choices for multicultural music education. I conclude the preceding section with a discussion of current multicultural music education practices.

Learning Differently

Shifting Paradigms: Teaching versus Learning Paradigm

Truly innovative learning environments must make fundamental changes in learning, creating new possibilities for thinking about knowledge. Papert (1993) describes an important epistemological shift from the instructional paradigm to the learning paradigm, defining learning as a process rather than a product (knowledge telling). “These processes of identifying areas where one needs help, and finding ways to work on them, are extremely important for lifelong learning” (Lamon, Secules, Petrosino, Hackett, Bransford, and Goldman, 1996, p. 255). Epistemological shifts, given the culture of schools and the history of education, are fraught with conflict. Moreover, one of the most difficult shifts for teachers and schools is the idea that students learn through involvement in different activities, not simply by listening to the teacher talk. The teacher’s role becomes one of guiding the discovery-learning process rather than

delivering instruction to students. These changes suggest a shift in thinking about the nature of knowledge itself.

Tardif and Presseau (1998) have compared the differences between the teaching and the learning paradigms in presenting a pedagogical framework for integrating new information technologies into classrooms.[17] The teaching paradigm is the traditional view of schooling, where the teacher transmits knowledge to students who receive or acquire it passively and memorize it. The amount of knowledge accumulated and retained indicates successful learning. Classroom activities consist of numerous exercises set up by the teacher and carried out through interactions based on didactic, hierarchical relationships. Learning is individualistic, characterized by a competitive atmosphere and the acquisition of automatisms, automatic actions that do not require conscious control.

The learning paradigm, on the other hand, focuses on the student as the starting point and the focus of the learning. Students consolidate knowledge into cognitive schemes, transform knowledge, and create relationships between different bodies of knowledge. The traditional roles of teachers and students are changed dramatically in this paradigm. The teacher scaffolds students' learning by acting as a guide or mentor and often the teacher is also a learner. The student actively constructs knowledge and sometimes serves as an expert. Evaluation is based on competencies that are developed and tools such as portfolios are used to reflect the complexity and richness of the learning outcomes. Indicators of success include the qualities of comprehension, competencies developed, knowledge construction, and the quality of learning transfer. Classroom activities are initiated by students and are based on research problems or

[17] See Table 1, p. 35 in Tardif and Presseau (1998) for a summary.

situational problems. Students help each other and form interdependent relationships as they develop competencies and respond to complex questions.

Other researchers have also underscored the importance of designing learning environments around the inner potential of students and their natural thirst for knowledge. Papert (1993) believes that wanting to learn is a basic human desire. Students can take charge in a classroom where learning and personal responsibility co-exist. Dewey (1938) was interested in the intuitive ways students learn in non-school settings. He believed that a student's personal impulse should be intelligently guided by teachers. This recognition of student potential and intrinsic motivation is manifest in a defining change in the balance of power in the classroom. The relationship between students and teacher becomes more reciprocal, as opposed to the traditional top-down, teacher-directed approach. Many educational researchers have embraced Dewey's ideas, focusing on students constructing their own knowledge, resulting in shifting paradigms of teaching and learning (Kafai & Resnick, 1996; Resnick ,1995; Lehrer, 1993; Papert, 1980).

Learning is authentic, situated in everyday experiences and real-world problems that connect in some relevant way to the students lives. "Education in order to accomplish its ends both for the individual learner and for society must be based upon experience--which is always the actual life-experience of some individual" (Dewey, 1938, p. 89). An engaging learning environment links what happens in school with the everyday life outside the institution. As shown in Figure 3, the walls of the school are expanding to include curricular ideas from the community, city, country, and world. Classroom content is not limited to what is found within the bordered walls of schools and classrooms. Papert (1980) encourages the use of relevant, authentic tasks that empower students to perform meaningful projects. Students must have an

incentive for knowledge construction and develop a sense of ownership vis-à-vis their own learning. Self-regulated learning contributes to the community and this in turn creates a sentiment of agency for the student, a feeling that she can exert the power and act to change something in the local community or the world beyond (Papert, 1980). Students experience a high level of agency when they are responsible for of their own learning.

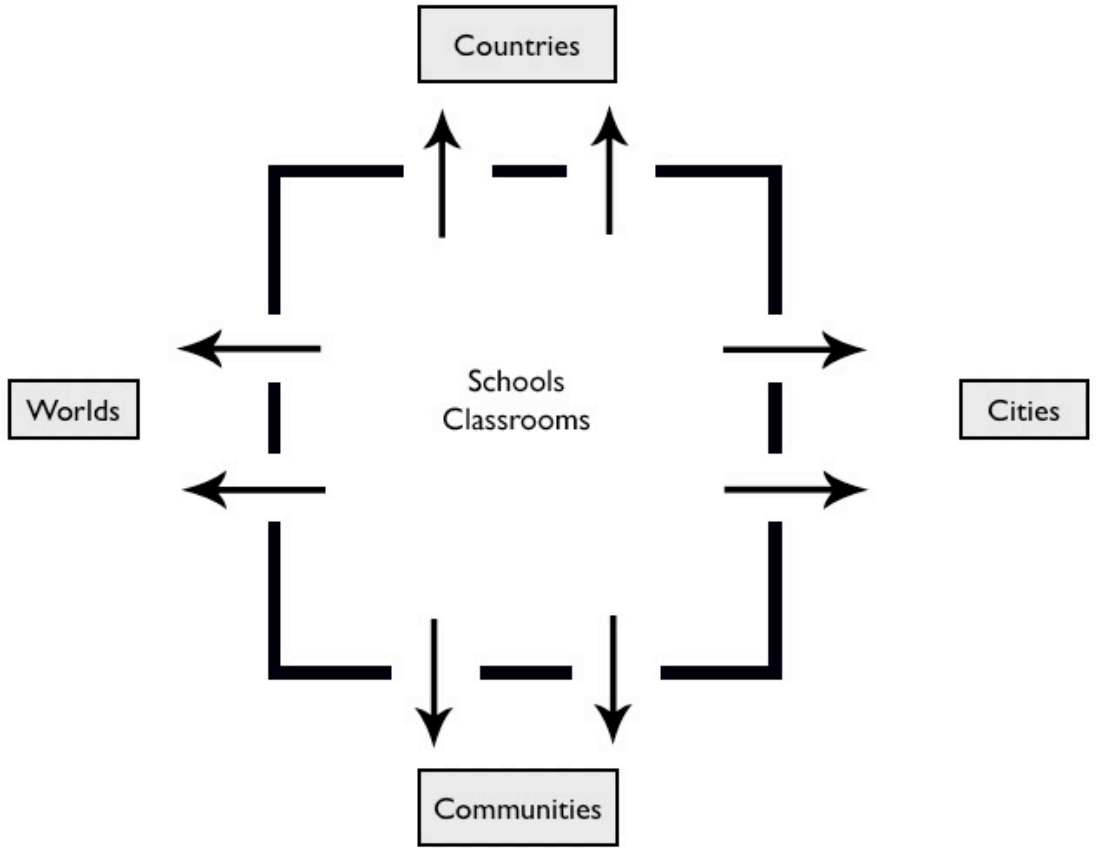

Figure 3. Authentic learning situated in the "real world."

Changing Roles for Students and Teachers

Lampert (1995) discusses some of the important problems associated with changing the paradigms of teaching and learning in an inquiry-based classroom. Students have difficulty changing their own assumptions about the roles of teachers and students. The following passage illustrates a student's perspective of an inquiry-based mathematics classroom.

> This student believed it was the teacher's job to figure out what he needed to know, and that he would learn most efficiently if the teacher told him what was important to know. He did not want to "waste time" exploring problems to figure out for himself what facts were important….If their students are going to learn what they need to know through engaging in guided inquiry, teachers must challenge such traditional assumptions about how knowledge is acquired. (Lampert, 1995, pp. 218-219)

Inquiry contests the idea that instruction must be sequenced in linear, linked relationships and promotes instead a knowledge organization that results from a web of related ideas. "Instruction should be related to what students already know and the idea that their knowledge is structured in an idiosyncratic web of relationships" (Lampert, 1995, p. 224).

Lehrer (1993) notes the difficulty that many teachers and students have in moving from a knowledge transmission environment to a learner-centered classroom atmosphere that encourages knowledge construction. It is not easy for teachers to change how they view their role in the classroom. Fung (2002) insists that the qualities of good teachers include open-mindedness, the ability to admit one's limitations, and the ability to be a learner. A teacher should act as a mentor, guide, counselor, tutor, model, and leader for the students. As already mentioned, hooks (1993) believes that teachers find it difficult to change paradigms because of

their fear of losing control. Creating an atmosphere in the classroom that allows different voices to be heard requires that teachers reevaluate their pedagogical practices.

Learning Together

A Knowledge-Building Community

Based on advances in cognitive research and grounded in social-cultural theory, Scardamalia and Bereiter's (1999) work focuses on knowledge-building foundations and principles in classrooms and corporate research learning communities. Cognitive researchers have been examining neo-Vygotskian research in order to explain the interactions between context, culture, and cognition in specific contexts (Jacob, 1992). These researchers believe that mind and culture are strongly linked and that social aspects of the learning environment are central to the development of the mind (Hewitt, Scardamalia, & Webb, 1997). Therefore, an individual's cognitive development is situated in the learning environment and is, consequently, largely influenced by social and cultural interactions that take place in this same environment. Knowledge construction is a social activity that involves cooperative learning in the classroom community with the collective goal of understanding.

It is not the knowledge or tasks that are at the core of the learning, but rather, the ideas that take center stage in this learning paradigm. The dialectical model of knowledge building invites the student to move back and forth between idea creation and modification. Opposing ideas are welcomed in an intellectual environment where all contribute to the knowledge-building process and product.

Communities of Learners are research communities that engage individuals in discourse in order to advance the knowledge of the collective (Scardamalia & Bereiter, 1999; Brown & Campione, 1990). It is the construction of collective knowledge rather than individual advancement that propels societies and communities forward. Authentic, real-world problems and phenomena that are in need of description, explanation, and documentation for understanding comprise the tasks that move the students and the community toward a common goal. The following quote illustrates how students engage in real-world practices in ways similar to professionals in a particular field.

> They can begin functioning as real scientists as soon as they are able to engage in a form of social practice that is authentically scientific-that is concerned with the solution of recognizably scientific problems in recognizably scientific ways. Analogous arguments can be made about authentic functioning in history, literature, and other disciplines that students may venture into as part of their knowledge building efforts. (Scardamalia & Bereiter, 1999, ¶11)

The goal is to create a culture of schooling practice where there is a refining of student ideas in relation to authoritative sources, a back and forth movement where student perceptions are modified through their constant interactions with primary and secondary source materials.

Community of Learners Model

Brown and Campione's (1994) Community of Learners model, based on constructivist theories of learning, was used as a basis for organizing classroom activities in the present study. This model is a balance between self-directed, guided discovery and didactic teaching. Teachers

are learning experts who guide students engaged in different forms of inquiry. Dewey describes the social process of learning in a community group.

> The principle that development of experience comes about through interaction means that education is essentially a social process. This quality is realized in the degree in which individuals form a community group. It is absurd to exclude the teacher from membership in the group. As the most mature member of the group he has a peculiar responsibility for the conduct of the interactions and intercommunications which are the very life of the group as a community. (Dewey, 1963, p. 59)

In a community of learners, the students do have a degree of independence in their research but they must link their discoveries to key concepts established by the teacher (Hewitt, Brett, Scardamalia, Frecker, & Webb, 1995). All learners contribute ideas and knowledge to the classroom environment through small-group activities, face-to-face discussion, and electronic exchanges. "Over time, the community of learners adopts a common voice and common knowledge base, a shared system of meaning, beliefs, and activity that is as often implicit as it is explicit" (Brown & Campione, 1994, p. 267). *Distributed Expertise Learning* (Brown & Campione, 1994) allows each person in the community to be an expert at some point during the learning process. This provides students an opportunity to perform different roles, develop their own identities, and to create a community with a shared sense of values, volunteerism, and a feeling of ownership in the pursuit of individual and collective knowledge advancement. The teacher and the students work together to form this community of learners. In the present study, each student contributed to the knowledge about Italian music culture by being involved in participant observation and interviewing members of a local community.

In a community of learners model, *Guided Discovery* (Brown, 1992; Brown & Campione, 1990) is an approach in which teachers play the role of learning experts, guiding students as they engage in disciplined forms of inquiry. In this approach, students take responsibility for their knowledge pursuits and the teacher gives expert guidance when needed. This learning model is a balance between teacher direction and self-directed study. The students have some independence in their research but they must tie their discoveries to key concepts articulated by the teacher. In the following section, I will describe four components of the community of learners model: (a) reciprocal teaching, (b) jigsaw, (c) crosstalk, and (d) benchmark lesson.

Reciprocal Teaching (Brown & Campione, 1994) is a strategy that was originally designed to improve reading in underachieving students. Each student takes a turn leading the class discussion, asking questions about a book's content and summarizing the main points of the story. The key activities of reciprocal teaching, questioning, summarizing, clarifying, and predicting, have been applied to many different disciplinary domains in knowledge-construction classrooms. *Jigsaw* is a method of cooperative learning where students form research groups to examine different subtopics of a central theme and return to the group to teach the materials. In this way, each group of individual students can gain expertise in an area and share their expertise with the class. Each group provides a piece of the puzzle, a part of the whole understanding. *Crosstalk* is a group discussion among the students. Each group of students reports back periodically to the class about their progress and other students can ask questions for clarification. This talking "across groups" facilitates comprehension checks that ensure that all students understand the new material. The *benchmark lesson* focuses on a topic in order to highlight deep principles associated with an authentic task (e.g. principles of ethnographic

research). The teacher can explore the deep disciplinary principles of a task in advance, deciding upon which ones the students will focus. On the other hand, students may discover many of these deep principles while in the process of researching a subject. Therefore, deep disciplinary principles may be integrated into the task structure, be the object of discovery by the students, or both.

The community of learners model can be better understood by illustrating the sequence of learning activities (the components described previously) and the changes to class structure that take place. Hewitt et al. (1995) states that the objective of this model is for everyone to have a strong understanding of a large body of knowledge and to encourage constructive discourse in the classroom. He describes how a typical unit might look. It begins with a benchmark lesson that introduces the topic and highlights deep principles of the discipline and/or inquiry. Students generate dozens of questions from these principles and subtopics are created. The class divides into groups and begins research using CD ROMS, libraries, newspapers, and outside experts as resources. Reciprocal teaching takes place as groups summarize, clarify, predict, and students ask questions of each other. Students write up their discoveries and engage in crosstalk. Groups disseminate their findings to others groups using the jigsaw method and subsequently groups are shuffled to distribute experience among group members. Each student becomes an expert on a significant portion of the material and this results in a classroom based on mutual interdependence. Students have a heightened awareness of their individual responsibility in obtaining relevant material and explaining it to others, an act of communal sharing.

> Students and teachers each have “ownership” of certain forms of expertise, but no one has it all. Responsible members of the community share the expertise they have or take responsibility for finding out about needed knowledge. Through a variety of interactive

> formats, the groups uncover and delineate aspects of knowledge "possessed" by no one individual. Expertise is distributed deliberately through the jigsaw and reciprocal teaching collaborative learning activities that ensure students learn complementary material and can thus teach from strength. (Brown & Campione, 1994, p. 234)

I used these activities and class structures throughout the present study. Students were routinely involved in a benchmark lesson as a starting point to guide their work. They would go out into the community to collect their data and come back to the classroom to share their experiences. Students would engage in crosstalk and add their perspectives and understandings to the database. This was our procedure for building knowledge about a local music culture in the community.

Tools and Structures for Community Building

A Communal Database: A Tool for Knowledge Building

A communal database is a collaborative space where students can share ideas and data, analyze research results, and discuss issues. Contributing content to a database allows students to create a knowledge-building community, enabling them to use their own thinking skills to advance knowledge about a particular phenomenon. Scardamalia and Bereiter (1999) describe the database Knowledge Forum[18] as an asynchronous discourse medium that allows for decentralized forms of discourse rather than approaching knowledge building from a teacher-directed perspective. Students contribute to a public communal database that is located on a server. The knowledge is preserved in the database and is always available to all students.

[18] See http://www.knowledgeforum.com/K-12/products.htm for a longer description.

Students can search, retrieve, comment on, or revise entries that other students have contributed. This database served as a repository for the advancing knowledge of the students about a local music culture. The resulting database content was the collective responsibility of the students and was based on situated experiences in the community.

The focus of a research classroom is the advancing of the classroom community's knowledge through discourse. Discourse allows students to form, criticize, and amend knowledge. In addition, the database allows students to asses what they need to know, synthesize information, ask pertinent questions, and form hypotheses. Students write notes about their projects and read notes other students have created. They can create text notes, graphic notes, and participate in group discussions.

Students and the teacher have a collective responsibility for the content in the database. They must find a solution to a particular problem such as the lack of knowledge about a local music culture. The public nature of the database means that students can read contributions made by others and refine their ideas or comment on another person's opinions. They are involved in the process of construction and reconstruction of knowledge, based on the new information entered in the database. The multiple perspectives of student entries in the database often result in a rich and layered description of a particular phenomenon such as a local music culture.

Classroom Structures for Knowledge Building

In addition to the database described previously, three models of community building using technological tools provided an additional foundation for restructuring the learning environment of this study. Songer (1996) used the model of distributed expertise learning. The students worked in groups to become experts in one particular area of weather patterns (winds,

precipitation). In Songer's project, students in different geographical locations acted as "global scientists", collecting and recording their observations of weather patterns and sharing their findings with each other via an Internet telecommunications network. Lamon et al. (1996) also applied distributed expertise and expert learning to the structure of schools. Scardamalia, Bereiter, Brett, Burtis, Calhoun, and Lea (1992) examined the use and effects of a communal database on four elementary school classrooms.

Songer (1996) describes students that studied weather patterns in different parts of the world. In this case, the concept of distributed expertise learning is implemented; each group of students became experts in their own community with respect to the weather they observed and experienced around them. Students studied weather patterns in their own localities, basing their knowledge on their everyday experiences in the world. Using local observation as a point of departure, Songer sought to determine whether rich content understanding would occur as a result of students' own experiences in combination with data from other localities. Students felt empowered, perceiving themselves as experts with unique knowledge to offer to other students. In addition, the students felt that the anonymity of the Internet provided a platform to express themselves for those not often heard in the classroom, allowing them to share in a non-threatening environment. The students became a source of "living data" for other students, an audience to exchange information with.

Songer's (1996) research highlights the importance of mindfully implementing tools for connectivity as well as providing support systems and pedagogical resources for teachers. She combines technological, cognitive and social resources to create an electronic community that improves science learning. While using the Internet for learning, Songer's study stresses the importance of scaffolding navigation and searches in order to help students make informed and

discerning decisions. Working on the Internet can be an extremely isolating activity and, therefore, development of an environment must seek to imbue experiences with social meaning. In addition to scaffolding knowledge integration, Songer's study encouraged students to come to the realization that there is no single model in the sciences that captures the "absolute truth." Similarly, students constantly need to be able to revise and rethink their own conceptual models as they come in contact with new information or information that is presented differently.

The Lamon et al. (1996) Schools For Thought (SFT) project is dedicated to structuring schools in such a way that they will help students develop the ability to reason, think, and develop life-long learning skills. Distributed expertise and principles of expert learning constitute the learning premises of schools based on knowledge-building principles. This model strikes a balance between expert knowledge and student-generated questions and perspectives.

> SFT environments are not discovery environments. A great deal of structure is necessary in order to make them work optimally. For example, teachers and other community experts maintain their focus on deep principles of the domains being studied (e.g., science, mathematics). They constantly work to help reframe student-generated questions from the perspective of these principles. In this way they guide the direction of the inquiry such that students discover the deep principles of the domain. Nevertheless, within a domain such as science or mathematics, the exact issues defined by the students in the community are allowed and expected to vary from year to year. This provides an advantage of ownership and distributed expertise while also ensuring that the students learn the deep principles experts in the domain use to organize their thoughts. (Lamon et al., 1996, pp. 253-254)

The students in the SFT project enjoyed finding out what other students, the "non-talkers" in the classroom, really thought. As in the Songer (1996) study, the collaborative Internet environment allowed students to express themselves freely. The development of expertise in selected areas and the sharing of this expertise in the classroom and with others by means of technology are important features of the SFT model.

Scardamalia et al. (1992) studied the processes involved in a student-generated communal database, one component of the Computer Supported Intentional Learning Environments (CSILE). The database provides an opportunity for students to create intelligent discourse in an inquiry environment, constructing an emerging body of knowledge that serves as a rich repository for the students. If education is a social process, then contributing to a communal database embraces Dewey's ideas regarding the development of experience through the interactions of individuals forming a community group. The communal database is a place for students to contribute ideas and work collaboratively as a research team rather than being isolated as lone investigators. "Even in a class where the focus is on individual work, students are curious about what others are doing. It is certainly the case that students in both classes show off the work of their peers when visitors are present" (Scardamalia et al., 1992, p. 56).

Students in Scardamalia's study were able to "borrow" and "copy" each other's work, building on what other students had found and contributed to the database. This is a clear example of extending peer knowledge, integrating it with an individual's own ideas. Whereas learning is normally thought of as being "out there," the classroom database means that knowledge is being constructed "in here" among peers. The result is an important epistemological shift as well as a methodological one, moving from an emphasis on individual cognition towards public construction of knowledge. Rather than focusing on acquiring a

predetermined body of subject knowledge or learning prescribed activities, students focus on the emerging knowledge represented by student contributions to the database.

The models I have described in the preceding pages integrate technological tools into the classroom environment. They describe how knowledge can integrate student perspectives of local phenomena. They empower students as experts who work with living data and contribute their ideas to a public forum. These models embrace a holistic approach to an electronic learning community, combining pedagogical, social, and technological resources. Students interact with each other in these communities and build on one another's knowledge. The learning context of the database that encourages data entry and sharing allows a secure place for "non-talkers" in the classroom to share their ideas with others and for all students to engage in intelligent discourse. Students share responsibility for knowledge construction through distributed experience. They learn that both expert and novice knowledge are important in order to understand any phenomenon. The previous studies influenced my thinking about how I would design a study focusing on classroom inquiry that used a communal database as the basis for knowledge exchange, construction, and reconstruction.

Summary: Learning Differently and Learning Together

In the preceding sections, I have described a paradigm shift that implies many changes for both students and teachers. In these new paradigms, relationships in the classroom are transformed. The balance of power changes and relationships between the teacher and the students become more reciprocal. Students interact in a more cooperative way as they are engaged in projects that have meaning for them (Dewey, 1938). Both teachers and students bring their own assumptions about learning to the classroom and, therefore, it can be difficult to affect

this paradigm change in schools (Lampert, 1995). One way for the teacher to realize this paradigm shift is to respect and value the knowledge of students that are in the classroom. Including student knowledge as a legitimate part of the curriculum sends a strong message to students about the importance of their contribution to classroom learning.

The classroom described by Hewitt et al. (1995) in the section focusing on knowledge-building communities was used as a model for the present study. I wanted to organize a cooperative class community that encouraged the students to engage in meaningful discourse and advance their own knowledge and understanding about a local Italian music culture (Brown & Campione, 1990; Scardamalia & Bereiter, 1999). I wanted the students to study Italian traditional music in context and to compare their ideas with the authoritative sources of the members of a local community. I used Brown and Campione's (1994) Community of Learners model, a cooperative learning approach, as a basis for the organization of classroom activities. However, I focused more globally on collaborative learning, asking students to think together and construct knowledge together. This knowledge was created and re-created between the students in the classroom as they brought their personal experiences and information from other sources to bear on solving a particular problem. In the present study, the problem was an enhanced understanding of a local music culture and a representation of that understanding through class discussions and database entries.

The three preceding studies illustrate the different tools and varying structures used for community building. Distributed expertise learning, expert learning, and the student-generated communal database were the approaches that inspired my structuring of the learning environment for the present study (Lamon et al., 1996; Scardamalia et al., 1992; Songer, 1996).

The communal database provided the students with an environment where they could document, discuss, and create meaning together as a community of learners.

Chapter Summary

I will summarize the important ideas in the literature reviewed that influenced my thinking throughout my engagement with the study. An important premise in the multicultural literature is that ethnic and cultural diversity are healthy and enriching and can be used as a resource for transforming pedagogical practice (Banks, 1997, Banks & McGee Banks, 2003). Teachers are encouraged to focus on issues and concepts viewed from the diverse perspectives of different cultural and ethnic groups (Banks, 1997; Elliott, 1989). The literature advocates for democracy, equity, justice, and success for all students (Manning & Baruth, 1996). Minority studies highlight the importance of knowing the culture and ethnicity of the students in the classroom and harnessing this knowledge to transform classroom teaching (Delpit, 1995; hooks, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 1989, 1995). Music education studies also focus on the cultural background of the students in the classroom and encourage alternate approaches to teaching and learning that are congruent with students' home cultures. In addition, this literature encourages teachers to focus on the restoration, maintenance, and preservation of local music cultures and offer students opportunities to understand and value the intrinsic qualities of the music, interact with musicians in culture, and appreciate the emic perspectives of local community members (Hookey, 1994; Lundquist, 1998; York & Choksy, 1994).

Identity is a central issue that surfaces often in both the education and music education literature. The development of ethnic identity, including a person's culture, language, and

conceptions of self and others, is one of the goals of multicultural education and multicultural music education (Banks, 1994, 1997).

The general education and the music education literatures encourages schools to reflect the values and norms of homes and communities and to value reciprocity, culture sharing, cultural preservation, and ethnic cultures in the classroom (Banks & McGee Banks, 2003; Delpit, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1989, 1995; Lundquist, 2002). The different pedagogical approaches proposed in the literature take into account the contexts of student and community culture in the organization of curricula that values the cultural and ethnic differences in the classroom (Delpit, 1995; Hookey, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Lundquist, 1998; York & Choksy, 1994). Music educators have written specifically about world music and the local community and they encourage teachers to implement a world music curriculum that reflects home and community practices, concepts, and philosophies and one that highlights ethnic-cultural groups in the local community by inviting culture bearers to represent musical communities in the classroom (Bowman, 1996; Campbell, 1996b; Davies, 1992; Lines, 2000; McCarthy, 1996).

The music education literature offers different conceptions of music and culture (Campbell, 1992; Bell Yung in Campbell, 1996c; Elliott, 1989, 1990; Hookey, 1994; Walker, 1990a). However, many writers emphasize the importance of the sociocultural context in order for students to have an authentic musical experience (Brennan, 1992; Klinger, 1996a, 1996b). According to Nettl (1985, 1998), musical and cultural values, norms, concepts, and ideas are embedded in the music itself and, therefore, students in this study were asked to infer concepts and values from traditional musical practices in a local Italian community.

The music education literature describes different models and approaches to teaching multicultural music education (Dunbar-Hall, 1992; Elliott, 1989; Lundquist, 2002; Nettl, 1998;

Walker, 1990b; York & Choksy, 1994). In addition, the convergence of ethnomusicology and music education offers ideas for students researching local music cultures. Students are encouraged to focus on concepts, values and attitudes within culture and to infer the uses and functions of music in culture. In addition, the literature proposes particular methodological tools and perspectives associated with ethnomusicology such as using fieldwork, being sensitive to insider-outsider issues, using the urban context as a site for research, relying on culture bearers as informants, and focusing on the cultural and social perspective (Brennan, 1992; Dunbar-Hall, 1999).

Much of the current education literature describes the shift from the teaching paradigm to the learning paradigm (Papert, 1993; Tardif & Presseau, 1998). This shift implies changing roles for students and teachers, changing relationships between students and teachers, and a new classroom organization (Dewey, 1938; Lampert, 1995). Some of the literature reviewed proposes a knowledge-building class community using the Community of Learners model (Brown & Campione, 1990; Scardamalia & Bereiter, 1999). The studies reviewed propose a distributed expertise learning model or an expert learning model as ways to engage students in a knowledge-building classroom (Lamon et al., 1996; Scardamalia et al., 1992; Songer, 1996). Scardamalia and Bereiter (1999) propose the use of a student-generated communal database to encourage discourse and knowledge building among students.

The literature offers a conceptual base upon which to design a multicultural music curriculum that focuses on the nature of teaching and learning in a collaborative knowledge-building classroom and student representation of concepts and values embedded in local musical and cultural practices.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

> And we won't understand anything fully here. This is very crucial what we're doing, right? And even if you are of Italian culture, you're never going to understand yours because there are many people who look at a culture differently. But what I want you to understand is that, don't expect me to come and tell you the *right* way to do this. I don't know the right way! I'm finding it out as you are. So we're finding something out together and that's what this research is about. It's about finding out about stuff. (Ms. Peters, Transcription, May 28, 2003)

> Melissa says her parents were wondering if I was "just using [the students] to do [my] research." She asks: "Are you doing your research on Italian culture or on us researching Italian culture?" (Fieldnote, June 9, 2003)

Introduction

This research is a collaborative effort between researcher and students, a lens focused upon the research process, and a testimony to the messiness and complexity of "finding out" about another music culture. The previous citations evoke a change in the paradigm of learning in the classroom where the teacher and the students work together to discover new information (Tardif & Presseau, 1998). Melissa's comments illustrate the misconceptions students had about their role as researchers in a local community.

I open this chapter with a discussion of the research traditions of anthropology, ethnography, and ethnomusicology. Their history, perspectives, and techniques lay the

foundation for the present study. I detail my research stance and how I dealt with different issues in my dual role as researcher/teacher. I describe the research design and the tools of inquiry. I also discuss how I prepared the students to become researchers in a local community. I illustrate research participants and contexts and I outline the chronology of the study. To conclude, I explain my process of data generation and verification.

Research Traditions

Anthropology and Educational Ethnography

LeCompte and Preissle (1993) describe the influence of anthropological traditions on ethnography and qualitative design in educational research. Traditional anthropology is the study of cultures, originally conducted through rigorous, on-site fieldwork in remote locations around the world over an extended period of time. The result was often a detailed ethnographic account of the beliefs and practices of a particular people in their natural setting. Therefore, anthropology has traditionally been implicitly cross-cultural, the unique perspectives of a particular bounded society viewed through the eyes of the "Western" researcher. Using meta analysis techniques, sociologists would analyze studies of specific, contextualized cultural groups in an attempt to discover universal patterns of human behavior. Sociologists no longer conduct exclusively "armchair research" while anthropologists are not necessarily required to isolate themselves in remote setting with tribal peoples.

While anthropology continued to evolve "from afar," American anthropologists were becoming interested in studying groups at home, such as the American Indians or the Inuit in Canada. The Chicago school of sociology spearheaded yet another change in anthropological

traditions, focusing on doing participant observation in familiar contexts in urban, industrialized societies. They realized that many of the cross-cultural questions that sociologists sought to answer through large-scale studies could only be solved by conducting research on different cultural groups in their own country.

The field of educational research has been significantly influenced by anthropology, offering researchers a lens to examine education from a cultural perspective. Solon Kimball (1974) and George Spindler (1982) were both influential in the formalization of educational anthropology. Kimball was influenced by the methods used in natural history and he believed in objectively recording human behavior in order to create accurate and complete presentations for cross-cultural analyzes. Spindler used ethnography as an alternate approach to the study of schooling. He was interested in the cultural perspective of what happens in schools through the discovery and documentation of patterns of behavior. Ethnography in education sought to represent naturally occurring educational processes and used bounded classrooms as sites for micro-ethnographies. Educational ethnographers examine processes of teaching and learning, consequences of observed interaction patterns, and relationships among educational actors. They are interested in the sociocultural contexts in which teaching and learning occur (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993).

Ethnography and Ethnomusicology

Ethnography is often described as “deep hanging out” (Wolcott, 1999, p. 39), a way of being in the moment with research participants. I base my approach to ethnography in the classroom on the work of Harry Wolcott who asserts: “Ethnography is still about groups of

people engaging in customary forms of social interaction" (Wolcott, 1999, p. 36). His definition of ethnography is well suited to the purposes of this study.

> Traditional ethnography, presenting highly detailed accounts of how (other) people live, organized and presented in terms of a set of generally agreed upon categories for describing cultural behavior, will remain, as it always has been, at the center of things. (p. 131)

Ethnography begins with intent. It is a way of seeing and a way of looking. Ethnographies are stories of people or particular subgroups of society told through members' eyes. Therefore, this study engages the perspectives and methods that are associated with ethnography to closely examine a customary form of collective human behavior, the music culture of a local urban community.

The essence of ethnography is the interaction of the social organization and the ideational systems (world view, ethos) of a particular group of people. The former can be observed directly while the latter must be inferred from observed interactions and interviews. Therefore, students were involved in the three important aspects of ethnographic research: (a) fieldwork in natural settings, (b) representing members' points of view and stories told through their eyes (emic perspectives), and (c) cultural interpretation, the discovery of cultural themes, patterns and belief systems associated with cultural behavior (music). I wanted the students to discover the cultural beliefs and values shared within a music culture system and the importance of these beliefs and values to the people who enact them in their everyday lives through music. Wolcott explains how beliefs and values are embedded in a society's cultural systems.

> Beliefs are embedded in the values attached to them: notions of good and bad, right and wrong, better or worse; as well as beautiful or ugly, graceful or awkward, tragic or comic. Thus a society's projective systems—its art, music, literature, and so forth—are important in what is subsumed under cultural beliefs. (Wolcott, 1999, p. 97)

The students needed to ask themselves the following questions during the research study: Why is traditional music, one aspect of culture, so important for the Italian immigrants of Montreal and how do they experience traditional music culturally and emotionally? To answer this question, students selected aspects of human behavior and subsequently constructed explanations about cultural beliefs and values embedded in these behaviors.

Further, this study embraces the traditions of ethnomusicology, a music-specific application of ethnography. Ethnomusicology emphasizes fieldwork, analysis, reflection, and theorizing about music making in cultural context. Dunbar-Hall (1999) encourages studies in music education that focus on broader settings including urban contexts and non-formalized contexts outside of the classroom. He suggests: "Experience in the research methods of ethnomusicology may assist music educators in conceptualizing how people think about music, in understanding the roles of music in society, and in analyzing how music teaching and learning takes place" (p. 48).

Researcher Role and Stance

Lincoln (1995) encourages researchers to position themselves in their texts, to be honest and "come clean" about their stance and position. As a full participant in the research, I have chosen to include my voice as one of the many that will be heard in this account. My white,

middle-class upbringing and my position as a female music teacher in an urban high school in North America are both factors that influence the research endeavor.

My ontological position is rooted in notions of local realities constructed by different people, filtered through multiple perspectives that describe the plurality of human beings' lived world. Kvale (1996) describes the idea of a specific, local persona and community forms of truth that can be examined by focusing on the daily lives of people. Altheide & Johnson (1994) explain this approach to reality and interpretive validity: "Few [ethnographers] doubted that there was a reality that could be known. Most ethnographers focus on the processes that members used in constructing or creating their activities, and how they found or established order in their activities" (p. 487). In order to construct a perspective of a local reality, I needed to engage the multiple perspectives of the different participants, including the students and the members of a local Italian community. I encouraged the students to see the world through the lenses of the community and engage the contradictions and ambiguity that come with the diverse ways people see and construct their lives. In the following quote, researchers are encouraged to listen to plural voices rather than trying to construct a collective "they" to describe a particular community.

> Like bell hooks and Joan Scott, Spivak asks that researchers stop trying to *know* the Other or *give voice to* the Other (Scott, 1991) and listen, instead, to the plural voices of those Othered, as constructors and agents of knowledge. (Fine, 1994, p. 75)

Geertz (1983) explains that decentering perception allows multiple perspectives to be seen and heard, creating heterogeneous material that reinforces our understanding of "thought in the world."

I acknowledge the interacting effects of the four Rs: researcher, research, researching, and results (Spindler, 1982). The researcher shapes and is shaped by the research contexts and the research participants. Anthropology was one of the first domains to readily accept the idea of interacting effects involved in research where groups of people are engaged with each other in multiple ways. Geertz (1983) explains that anthropological research can shed light on the local situation because individuals are directly involved in each other's lives. I believe that the context of the research shapes knowledge and provides a distinct, local perspective. I worked together with the students to establish constructive and interpretive power that is rooted in what Geertz (1983) describes as the "collective resources of culture" (p. 215).

In other words, I was working in the "hyphen" with my students, the zone that separates and merges the researcher self with the other (Fine, 1994). The relationship of the researcher with contexts and participants is one that has been explored extensively in qualitative research. As researchers and teachers, we have multiple roles in the research context. In my case, I was the students' teacher for almost five years and I had a special rapport with many of them, thinking of them as friends as well as students. My new role of researcher in a context with which I was familiar (the classroom) and with participants I knew (my students) constituted a challenge. Doing ethnography in my own community invites the critique that I am only making the "obvious" obvious. However, the tradition of doing ethnography and anthropology "next door" is well established and while I was an insider to the context and had rapport with the participants, the new vocation of doing research with the students in a local ethnic community to which I remain an outsider provided the opportunity to explore new roles and relationships with students.

In some cases, the students found these new roles frustrating. During the pilot project, I asked students to brainstorm about ideas for future research. The following entry in the database

illustrates Angelica's frustration with the open-ended activities in the classroom. She wanted me to give the students more guidance.

> Spurting out bits of ideas is good when it's required, but I think that what we need is a good, solid topic to begin with…Try to think of some topics that can then be used to help us give general ideas about our topic. So why don't we think about certain key words that this project is directly about? I'm sure that this would be very helpful!!! (Angelica, Database, Welcome, How de we get a solid start? May 16, 2002)

> If we give general ideas FOREVER then no work would ever get done. Brainstorming is good, but when it's been done for awhile we can tan take one idea at a time and work on that concisely!!! Did that help any? ~ * ^ - * ~ (Angelica, Database, Welcome, Response to Response! May 30, 2002)

In terms of my epistemological orientation, I view knowledge as constructed by participants and the researcher in a dialogical exchange. The students acted as co-researchers in a collaborative partnership with the researcher and their interpretations played an important part in the findings of this account. The students were encouraged to construct their findings in interaction with the members of a local community through participant observation and interviewing.

> Indeed, the notion that findings are created through the interaction of inquirer and phenomenon (which, in the social sciences, is usually people) is often a more plausible description of the inquiry process than is the notion that findings are discovered through objective observation "as they *really* are, and as they *really* work." (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 107)

I worked recursively and reflexively in the research context, aware of the interactions that exist between the knower and what can be known. "It is a conscious experiencing of the self as both inquirer and respondent, as teacher and learner, as one coming to know the self within the processes of research itself" (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 183).

An important value for me is reciprocity. Students were involved in the phases of data generation, analysis, interpretation and verification. They negotiated the story being told and were able to contribute to the findings of the study. I valued and respected the students and, therefore, I wanted the research in some way to give back to them. I was well aware that the students might view the research project as them doing me a favor. However, during the years I taught music in the schools, one of my educational goals was to establish reciprocal relationships with all my students, based on respect and give and take. Therefore, the students had experienced this giving and receiving during their years in the music department, and I believed that this idea of serving each other would be formative for them and contribute to their success in their future endeavors. The exploration of ethnic identity and the understanding of others were some of the significant gains for many of the students. These themes will be explored in depth in chapters four and six. In addition, the study provided them with an opportunity to explore different strategies of information finding and documenting and the use of a database technology.

The "personhood of researcher" (Maguire, 2005) embraces the many dimensions of stance and style as well as the insider-outsider relations that influence and guide the researcher. Reflecting critically on the "self as researcher"[19] is known as the process of reflexivity. I believe that the ethnical, political, and epistemological dimensions were important in terms of my decision to choose orientations regarding theory/practice, research paradigm, and tools of

[19] The expression "human as instrument" (Guba & Lincoln, 1981) is also used in the literature.

inquiry. I respected my students and did not take for granted their willingness to participate in this research project.

I also believe that there is an important link between theory and practice and that the students were able to experience this first-hand through their contributions to the database. The guiding epistemological principle that knowledge can be understood in the context of a local community influenced the decision to use the research methods of observation, interviewing, and documentation. The data were primarily filtered through my eyes, engaging the professional, practical, and life experience knowledge of who I am as a *person* and researcher.

> The researcher, like the teacher, must know herself, and must make that self, or the essence of that self, known to both her research participants and to the readers of her research. The personhood of the researcher is pivotal to the research, from the type of relationship established with participants to the lens through which the data is collected and analyzed. Personhood involves not only the professional and practical knowledge brought to the research context, but also the personal knowledge acquired through a lived life. (Maguire, 2005, p. 2)

Therefore, my personhood and my presence were integral aspects of the entire research process. “The inquiry process requires the immediate presence of the ethnographer, as a person constantly absorbs a wider variety of data than any mechanical device can record” (Wilcox, 1982, p. 461).

As a final point, I embrace the idea of subjectivity in social research. It is true that we often find ourselves where our interests take us and where we want to be. I believe that in this case, the site selected me as I seized the opportunity to explore a problem in a particular setting. I agree with Peshkin (1982) that our past and our personality are connected to what we want to

study and to our research approaches. I embrace subjectivity in this study. My role as a researcher is not one that demands that I become a mere "fly on the wall", observing objectively all that is happening, making an extraordinary effort not to bat a wing for fear of being noticed. I am an important ingredient in this study, not a contaminant.

> That is a lesson ethnographers want to share with researchers of all orientations, many of whom regard their presence at a research site as a potential source of data contamination. In a sense, perhaps they are right. There is always the possibility that they might learn something that would screw up otherwise nice clean results, or that they might discover anew that things are hopelessly more complex that their studies are designed to reveal! (Wolcott, 1999, p. 210)

Embracing critical subjectivity opens doors to a researcher. "The more you function as a member of the everyday world of the researched, the more you risk losing the eye of the uninvolved outsider; yet, the more you participate, the greater your opportunity to learn" (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 40). I made an effort to keep subjectivity in check by making myself known to my readers, becoming aware of my own voice, inner processes and biases by taping several class sessions and setting aside preconceptions. To the extent that researchers are open and honest about their own subjectivity, it is a welcome ingredient of qualitative work.

Research Design and Tools of Inquiry

I designed this case study based on qualitative ethnographic research paradigms, focusing on "meaning-making" by students through class discussions and writing in a communal database. Exemplar qualitative studies in music education must be grounded in particular research traditions and be driven by rigorous fieldwork and documentation resulting in extensive

description, analysis, and interpretation. I posed the following research questions for the present study:

1. What is the nature of teaching and learning in a collaborative knowledge-building secondary music classroom focusing on a local music culture?

    a. What is the nature of students' face-to-face interactions with each other and the teacher/researcher?

    b. What is the nature of their collaboration in the classroom and in database entries?

    c. What is the nature of students' interactions with community members?

    d. What is the nature of students' interactions with the technology?

2. How does a selected group of secondary students represent their understanding of a local music culture, including concepts, beliefs, and values embedded in cultural practices?

My multiple roles in this study and the collaborative efforts of students to make meaning from their experiences resulted in a rich data set, including fieldnotes, transcriptions, and entries in a communal database. Students were considered co-researchers and partners, not simply participants or informants. Therefore, the research embraced the dialogical exchange and partnership that developed between the researcher/teacher and the student participants in a socio-interactional context. "The *way* in which we know is most assuredly tied up with both *what* we know and our *relationships with our research participants*" (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 182). I

designed a study that focused on the nature of the interactions, collaborations, and representations of students using the tools of inquiry of cultural ethnographers. As a researcher/teacher, I investigated the nature of teaching and learning in a knowledge-building classroom focusing on a local music culture. I examined how students used the tools of inquiry of cultural ethnographers to study a music culture. I probed whether students would create and interact with knowledge and if they would be able to identify concepts and values of a local culture by studying its musical practices. I studied students' collaboration and their interactions with different people involved in the present research study. As a last point, I examined how students represented their understandings of a local music culture, self, and other in their classroom discussions and in their contributions to the database. (see Figure 4).

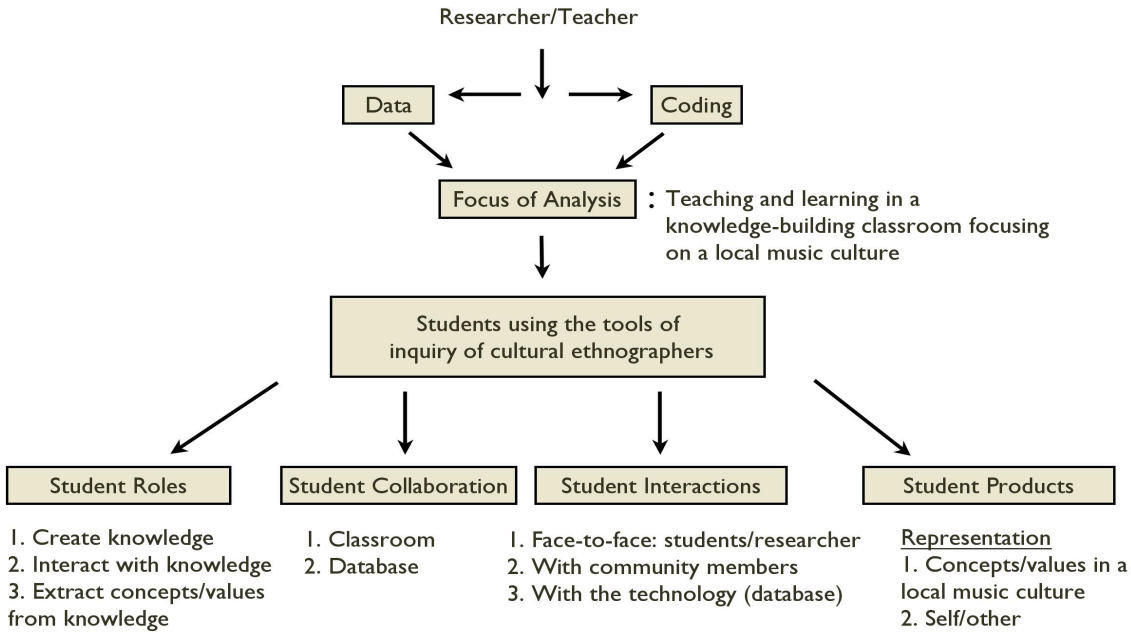

Figure 4. The multiple roles of researcher/teacher and students.

Students acting as researchers were informed by the tools of inquiry associated with the research traditions of anthropology and ethnography. They were subsequently encouraged to theorize about music, culture, and society based on their fieldwork in a local music culture. This process of theorizing took place during classroom discussions and in students' contributions to the database. In addition to recording data, the students analyzed their own contributions and organized their knowledge, proposing categories that reflected important emergent themes in the data. Students and the researcher/teacher reflected on their processes of inquiry and these reflections informed the continuing research efforts (see Figure 5). Student insights shared

during classroom discussions contributed to the interpretive process of the researcher, as the study unfolded and during subsequent phases of data analysis and interpretation.

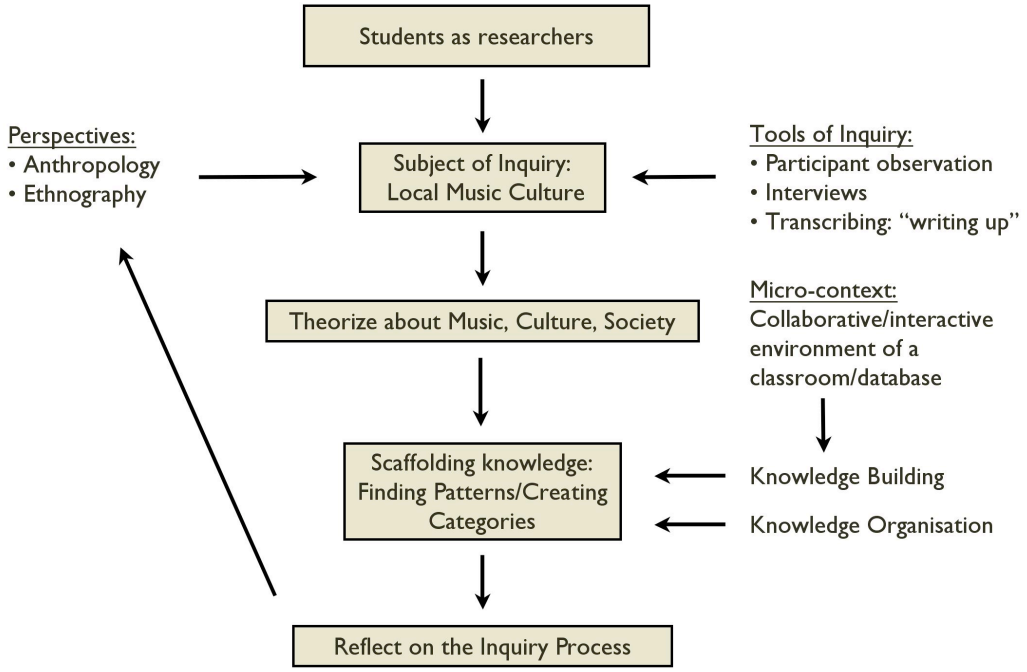

Figure 5. Structuring student research about a local music culture.

Training Students as Researchers

I needed to develop strategies that would prepare the students to use the approaches and techniques that are customarily associated with ethnography. The following research techniques suggested by Wolcott (1999) were employed during the present study: (a) experiencing (participant observation), (b) enquiring (intensive interviewing), and (c) examining (archival

techniques). These techniques allowed the students and the researcher to create an account of human social activity, a local music culture, and discern cultural patterns from the data. I encouraged the students to adopt Wolcott's approach to this research:

> Ethnography as presented here finds its orienting and overarching purpose in an underlying concern with cultural interpretation….that to be ethnographic, a study must provide the kind of account of human social activity out of which cultural patterning can be discerned. (Wolcott, 1999, pp. 67-68)

The students engaged in participant observation in the field at naturally occurring events such as a fiftieth wedding celebration or the "Festa Della Repubblica Italiana," the celebration of the Republic of Italy. Wilcox (1982) explains that "one must be in a position both to observe behavior in its natural setting and to elicit from the people observed the structures of meaning which inform and texture behavior" (p. 458).

Before each event, we discussed what the students should be looking for as participant observers, how to arrange an interview with a local community member, and how to document their findings in the database. Here is an example of my instructions to students before the celebration of the Italian Republic.

> As many of the students are going to the gathering on Sunday [Festa], I reminded them to look for people's meanings, local concerns and also to observe social interactions, behaviors, "what is going on." The reader should be able to taste the food and see the place with the description on paper. (Fieldnote, May 30, 2003)

During the outing to the Italian festival, I was surprised as I watched the students roving around, looking for people to talk to, and enthusiastically seizing opportunities to speak to local

artists. The urgent comment made by a student in the midst of the crowd during the festival, "Musician behind me, musician behind me" (Tina, Fieldnote, June 1, 2003), reflects the serious effort made by many of the students to make initial contacts with artists in order to secure a subsequent interview.

The students conducted intensive interviews in the field with artists in a local Italian community. They prepared for these interviews in several ways. They participated in classroom activities and discussions and responded to example questions in the database. I wanted the students to discover the deep and abiding principles of a local music culture for themselves, confront them in their interviews, and start to see the patterns emerging in the data. On the other hand, there needed to be some preparation in advance, before the students went out into the field, in order to understand how to conduct themselves as ethnographic researchers. The delicate balance between preparing the students for the research and trying not to bias them in advance is evident in the ambiguity the students sometimes felt about interviewing. Here is an excerpt of a class discussion about the mock ethnographic interviews students practiced in class in preparation for interviewing in the field.

> They [the students] talked about how simple conversation can lead into interviewing. Melissa brought up the point that this did not feel like an interview – rather, it was "just talking". It didn't feel like a practice to her [I had explained that this was a practice run for when they go out in the field]….Again the idea of just talking vs. interviewing came up – Angelina said that you can be quite casual in an interview and it is possible to do an interview without pen and paper. (Fieldnote, April 23, 2003)

I based my approach to some extent on a paper presentation by Hewitt et al. (1995), describing how a teacher, Jim Webb, designed a learning unit focusing on prehistory, using the

same database technology as the present study. Webb constructed a list of "Deep and Abiding Principles" inferred from texts and from his own extensive knowledge of anthropology. I also drew on anthropological themes proposed by Wolcott (1999) as ways for students to think about some of the data they would be entering in the database (see Appendix A). In general, I tried to balance what I gave the students up front as an initial organizing structure, providing them with guidance and direction, with the work of discovering, generating or "seeing" these principles/categories after the initial interviews, transcribing, and writing up.

In general, students in the school system seem to have difficulty negotiating the "messiness" of this type of approach. They want to know the "right way" to perform related tasks (e.g. conduct an interview) from the very beginning. I tried to have them experiment with the same type of back and forth movement that qualitative researchers deal with in coding their data.

> Ms. Peters: Remember, interviewing is a process everybody. I think this is the hardest thing for school people to understand. When I was at University, my professors said: "You're acting like school kids." In other words you're supposed to act a certain way in school, say the right things, do the right things, and you're doing it for marks, right? What you need to do here is try to get out of your school thing…we don't know what we're doing…I don't know perfectly what I'm doing when I go out on an interview. It's not because I'm stupid. I've read all about how to interview. It's that we're going to see how things go. So after I did this [the interview] with Victor and Nadine, I went back and looked at all the research I had done with the experience we had and I created this interview [structure]. And we're going to modify it. It's not perfect. Do you understand what I'm saying? Learning is a process. It's not an end point. (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

I did see evidence that students were able to negotiate meaning from their experiences, as they began to identify patterns across the data (participant observation, interviews, database). In the following fieldnote, Angelina asks how she would document a similar concept or idea that she sees emerging from two different interview transcriptions.

> Angelina: Um, I just wanted to know, let's say we're looking over the interview and we feel that we have something. We're looking over the interview and we read something similar in another one and we're just looking it over. Where would you put that note?
>
> Ms. Peters: You're seeing a pattern, right? (Angelina: Yeah). And where are those patterns going to have to go?
>
> Angelina: They would go on a [new note, the view]. (Transcription, June 2, 2003)

The students did some archival research, examining secondary sources that related to Italian music and culture. However, in general, the students found that the face-to-face contact with the artists was more enlightening to them. They expressed an affinity for the special connection and interaction that took place during the interview process. Some students felt that they learned more from the interviews than they could have learned from books, especially regarding how certain Italians feel about their own music.

> Ms Peters: Do you think books and the Internet would have given you the same type of information you got through the interviews? How are books and the Internet different from "real people" sources?
>
> Deanna: I think when you do an interview you learn more than you would if you read a book.

> Tina: I agree with Deanna, a book you read it but interviewing a person your there at that moment sitting with them making eye contact and noticing their facial expressions, hand gestures, the way they interact with you. There is more of a connection with a person than a book. (Database, Virtual Discussions, Response to question 2, June 27, 2003)

I wanted the study to reflect the multiple vantage points of the participants, students, local community members and myself, the teacher-researcher. "Every view is *a* way of seeing, not *the* way" (Wolcott, 1999, p. 137). Participation in cultural activities and interviews allowed students to experience the unique perspectives of local community members. Class discussions and database contributions reflect the unique voices of the students, as they engage in the process of cultural interpretation.

Research Participants and Contexts

"A Chosen Few": The Sample

I used purposeful sampling for this study. A small sample size was used with the goal of facilitating in-depth understanding of a local music culture. Population validity is not the aim of this sampling method. Therefore, this sample in no way accurately represents a defined population.

The group of thirteen students, ages 15-17, was selected from a larger, upper level music performance class (secondary IV, V; grades 10, 11). There were nine girls and four boys (three girls and three boys from secondary IV and six girls and one boy from secondary V). The students in the class were registered in a music concentration program (nine 50-minute classes during a cycle of seven days) for four or five years. Performing in the *Symphonic Winds* is the

primary musical activity for these students during the last two years of the program. However, throughout their five years, they participate in choral activities, learn to improvise in the jazz medium, learn both historical and theoretical concepts related to music, take part in creative musical activities such as composition, and are often involved in special projects. The program's goal is to encourage well-rounded people and musicians, capable of thinking critically and creatively and open to the diverse world of music.

The students were selected on the basis of their grade averages, their communication skills (written and verbal), their ethnicity, and their interest to be involved in the project. The specific selection criteria will be delineated in the following fieldnote excerpt. The project was integrated into the student's class work for the semester. The students were asked to prepare, conduct, and transcribe at least one interview, participate in at least one outing in the local ethnic community, participate in class discussions, and read, interact, and make connections using the local database. All the students did the minimum that was required of them but several students conducted two interviews and attended two outings.

> This project replaces the concert reports that the students would normally be required to do as part of their course work. The quantity and quality of the work/participation determines the mark. (Fieldnote, April 23, 2003)

In return, the students had fewer exercises to prepare for their final playing exam in music class.

> A student arrived with the final exam that I handed out to everyone. I reminded the group that they have seven less items on their exam: only scale cycles, three duets, and sight reading. (Fieldnote, May 21, 2003)

I felt that it was only ethically fair to demand less of the students in their regular course work given the demands of the project on their time, especially the time spent outside of regular class hours.

I wanted to make sure that I chose students who were not struggling in music class or in other academic subject areas because the research did demand extra time outside of class for the students. Therefore, I verified their academic records to be sure. All the students chosen were on the honor list (80% or higher average during 2002-2003) with the exception of two students, one in secondary IV and one in secondary V. I made an exception for these students because they were very strong in music and had excellent communication skills. It was important that the students communicate well because they were being asked to interview and also to write down their ideas. Another music teacher, able to evaluate students' written skills, helped me select the students. In addition, I wanted the group to represent a cross-section of the school's ethnicity, with a strong representation from the Italian community. In addition, it was important that some of the students speak the different Italian dialects in addition to French and English to facilitate the interview process (see Table 1). Lastly, I wanted students to participate of their own free will. This is often difficult in a high school environment where students have not been socialized to do extra work and often have a hard time seeing how their participation will serve them in the future. At times, I felt that I had to do some begging to get them to commit to the project. Some students viewed the project as a punishment for them.

> Again, I don't want students involved who view it [the project] this way. I am beginning to doubt my ability to get students to buy into this. I thought they might be more excited but I guess frankly, getting excited about learning deeply about something is not too

exciting to most high school students. Donuts are usually more attractive. (Fieldnote, April 25, 2002)

Table 1

Student participants

Names	M/F	Ethnicity/Background	Languages Spoken/Understood
Grade 10			
Amanda	F	Scottish/Irish?	E, F
Deanna	F	Polish/Ukrainian	E, F
Jimmy	M	Italian	E, F, Campobassàno
Samuel	M	Italian (Calabria, Sardegna)	E, Calabrése
Suzanne	F	Irish/British/Romanian	E, F
Victor	M	Italian	E, F, Marchigiàna, Siciliàno
Grade 11			
Aidan	M	French Canadian/British/Irish	E, F
Angelina	F	Italian/French/English (West Indies)	E, F
Christina	F	French Canadian/British	E, F
Dana	F	Italian (Sicilian)	E, F, Siciliàno
Melissa	F	Italian	E, F
Nadine	F	Tunisian/French/Irish	E, F
Tina	F	Italian (Calabria/Bari)	E, F, Calabrése, Barese

Note. E = English; F = French; Others refer to Italian dialects. Languages spoken and understood according to the students (Fieldnote, April 11, 2003). Data regarding ethnic backgrounds taken from views in the database: *Student Profiles* and *Representing Others*.

"Nested Contexts": Pedagogical, Cultural, and Social Contexts

In this chapter, I describe the contexts of the research, providing as many pertinent details as possible regarding the setting. As Wolcott (1999) explains, "context is something one can expect (and insist on) from ethnography" (p. 79). The research took place in the nested contexts (Maguire, 1994) of the music classroom, school, community, and city (see Figure 6). Students interacted within and across the contexts of their music classroom, the database, the school, a local Italian community, and a large North American city. Each of these contexts will be described in detail in this chapter. Ethnic identity and cultural membership were issues students experienced in relation to particular contexts of the research. These issues are discussed at length in chapter four.

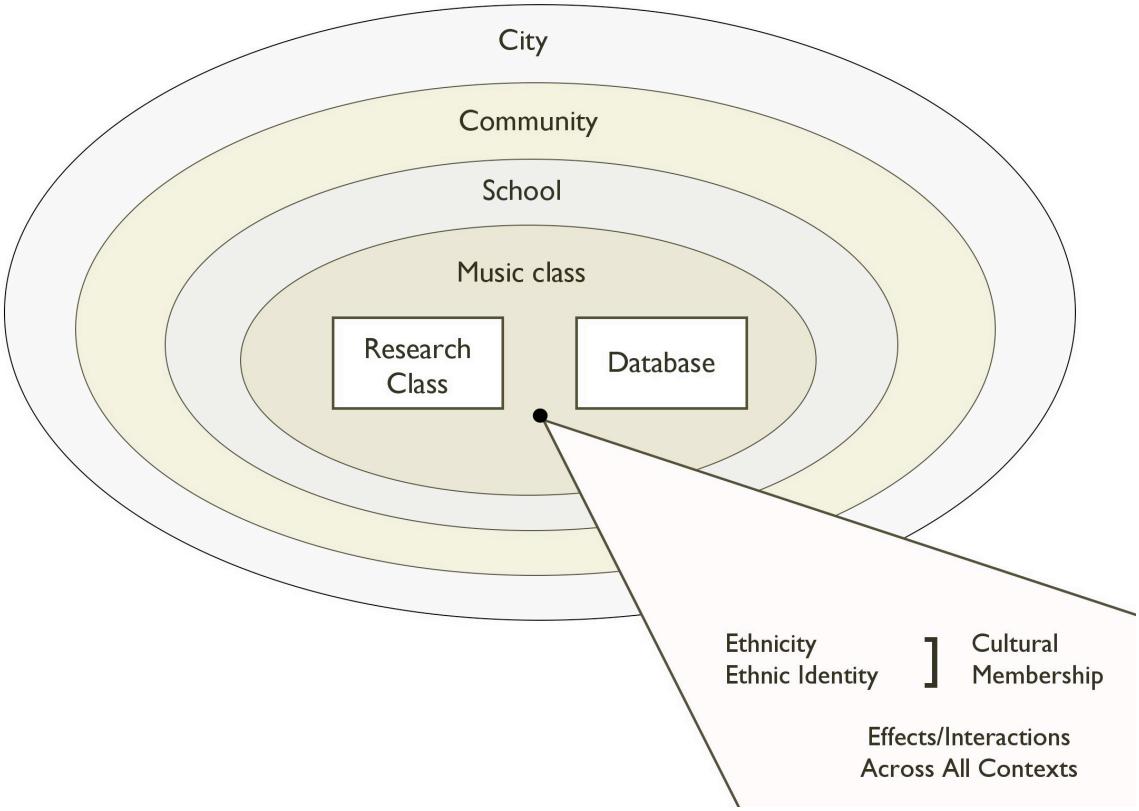

Figure 6. The pedagogical, cultural, and social contexts of learning.

Maguire (1994) describes context as something that goes beyond the physical setting to include the purpose behind student actions and what it means from their perspective (p.120). One of the student participants in the present study wonders about these issues and comes to a personal conclusion.

> As we started the project I was a little hesitant why I was picked to help because I knew I didn't know much about the Italian culture. But now, I've come to realize as the project is coming to an end that as I did my interviews and visited little Italy, I've learned a lot of things that I never knew before. I think that this is good because everyone should know a little about other peoples' cultures. It is when learning about other people and their

> culture that you gain knowledge about why they do certain things and why they may act a certain way. (Deanna, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 2, June 27, 2003)

This student's perspective is influenced by her cultural membership, "non-Italian," that positions her as an outsider in relation to a local ethnic community being studied. However, over the course of the research project, she comes to understand why she was chosen to participate as well as sharing what she learned from her perspective.

"Urban Mania": City and School Contexts

Montreal is a large, cosmopolitan North American city, home to many ethnic-cultural groups from around the world. Large urban centers are ideally suited for multicultural research projects because they offer a plethora of ethnic communities as well as the every present aspect of cultural preservation in these same communities. I feel that urban centers are exciting as well as challenging places to work and live and provide educators with unprecedented opportunities to capitalize on the diversity that exists in such contexts.

Riverdance High School is a sprawling construction, built in the 1950s and spanning an entire city block. It is situated in the east part of the Island of Montreal, a primarily French-speaking neighborhood. Riverdance High School was, during the history of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (PSBGM), the only English speaking high school in the eastern part of the city. The school now belongs to the English Montreal School Board (EMSB) as a result of the Supreme Court decision that allowed school boards in the province to be organized along linguistic rather than religious lines. Students attending the school may choose to be in the Bilingual Program, the French Immersion Program, or the English Program. Both English and

French are used as languages of instruction. The school's population is multi-ethnic. During the 2003-2004 school year, the enrollment was approximately 760 students. Students of Italian background made up the majority of the population. Students of French, Tamil, Portuguese, and Chinese also make up a large proportion of the school population (see Table 2). I chose to select a music culture – Italian – that represented a large ethnic/cultural group in the school. There was a strong Italian presence in the school during the time I conducted the present study, influencing behaviors and speech patterns of the entire school population. I viewed the great diversity of the student population as a positive aspect of the school context and an important contribution to the research.

Table 2

Ethnic Makeup of Riverdance High School, 2003-2004.

Ethnicity	Number of Students
Arabic	2
Chinese	27
Cambodian	5
Greek	9
Hindi	7
Hungarian	1
Italian	167
Portuguese	41
Spanish	24
Tamil	48
Vietnamese	16
French	88

Note. Statistics were obtained on October 2, 2003 during a phone conversation with one of the secretaries at Riverdance High School.

"Cultural Roots": Community Context

Given that this research study took place in the nested context of a local ethnic/cultural community, I will situate the context by giving a brief history and describing the community in which the students participated. The Italian community in Montreal is by no means a homogenous group of people and there are many Italian communities nested within the larger

Italian community. While I provide historical information about the community at large, it is important to note that students interacted with members of the Italian community in the north/east area of Montreal for most of the outings and the interviews. The Italian community in Quebec has existed since the founding of New France, when soldiers and immigrants from northern Italy joined their French compatriots in the New World. The end of the Nineteenth century was characterized by the immigration primarily of men, coming to do seasonal work on the railroad, in the mines, and in logging camps. The second wave of immigration (1924 – 1943) was a more permanent one with the arrival of families, men coming to work in construction, on the railroads, digging canals and tunnels, and paving roads. There was also the reunification of families, with men saving their money to buy passage for their wives and children. The population of the community at this time, concentrated primarily in Little Italy in Montreal, was approximately 30, 000 people. Seventy percent of the Italian-Quebecer community arrived during the third wave of immigration (1945-1976). These immigrants were more diversified, including craftspeople, artists, musicians, and teachers. The community at this time was well established in the mainstream culture while at the same time preserving its roots and traditions. Today, the Italian community is one of the largest ethnic-cultural groups in Quebec, its 250 000 members[20] concentrated mostly in Montreal.[21]

An article in *The Gazette*, an English language paper published in Montreal, describes some of the classic struggles of ethnic identity for Italian-Canadian artists. The immigrant experience forces people to "come to grips with the splintering effect of living with a dual, and

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[20] According to the document *La Piccola Italia De Montréal* created for the tour of Little Italy with the students conducted by Jean-Marc Descôteaux of *Amarrages sans frontières* June 2, 2003.

[21] According to a report by the National Congress of Italian Canadians, published in the Italian journal *La Comunità*, Primavera 2001, p. 16. Distribution according to statistics (see references, Quebec Government, 1995): Montreal 165, 735; Municipalities: Montreal 71, 960; Saint-Léonard 28, 825

often conflicting identity" (Calabrese, 2001, p. S6). This struggle is not unfamiliar to the student participants in the present study.

> Ms. Peters: If you're Italian, you're an insider (students respond to this). But not necessarily, because…
>
> Melissa: (responds strongly to this). I don't happen to be an insider. I don't speak the language. I barely understand it,. My cultures are very different, different from like Dana's, Tina's. I don't think I'm an insider.
>
> Ms. Peters: Okay, so that's good. Melissa is making a good point. So can an insider be a continuum of, you know, really, really, really insider to partly insider?
>
> Melissa: Oh that's like I understand the culture from what my parents tell me but the way I was brought up, it wasn't very, like, Italian per se.

The struggle with their roots has often become the subject of Italian-Canadian art, as is the case for playwright, Steve Galluccio, who portrays how he hated being part of the Italian community in the theatrical production and film, *Mambo Italiano*. Many Italian-Canadian novelists write about detaching from cultural roots and subsequently acknowledging and accepting these roots in order to finally become a whole person. The poet, Mary Di Michele, thought of English as an intellectual language. She chose the alternatives and the freedom that this other culture could offer, rejecting the values, traditional roles, and expectations of a working-class Italian family.

> As a result, Di Michele grew up feeling an emotional and intellectual divide between the outside culture and her home environment. "I had this kind of split, which is very

> common not only among immigrants but also ethnic minorities, where the family life is in a different language." (Calabrese, 2001, S6)

Despite their struggles with ethnic identity, Italian-Canadians often have a deep commitment to their roots and a desire to share this heritage with others. During this study, the students often remarked to me informally how the older generation was especially touched and proud to share their stories with younger people.

The following excerpt is one example of different contexts where students were involved in participant observation and interviewing members in a local Italian community. The setting of the following fieldnote is an Italian reception hall. I have tried to give the reader a sense of place in my description. I am meeting with two of the students to discuss the interview questions before we go into a fiftieth wedding anniversary celebration and interview one of the musicians.

> I rush to get to the hall on time. I find a parking spot squished between a large truck and a large car. The apartments are constructed in the same way: brick with the garages in the middle on a slant and a large horizontal balcony covering the length of the façade with two sets of staircases, one on the right and the other on the left side. We see the Italian architectural influence throughout Montreal but it is more concentrated in this area.
>
> I find my way to the hall and Nadine has already arrived and is waiting for me. I notice immediately the "ornateness" of everything is the huge front foyer. There is a large, turning staircase directly in front of me flowing down towards the ground (reminds me of the Scarlet O'Hara staircase from *Gone with the Wind*) and an artificial waterfall immediately beside it. The floors are a peach-colored marble and there is a gorgeous chandelier hanging above. There is a transparent round glass table held up by a white roman column. A vase with incredible exotic flowers sits on it. To the left is the espresso

bar, with one server tending it. There are several small tables. I notice they all have ashtrays on them and a box of "vertical-like" sugars. I greet Nadine and we go to sit down on one of the two leather couches to the right of the entrance. We begin to discuss the interview and Victor arrives just a few minutes later. We decide to go sit at the tables near the espresso bar.

They take out their questions. I note that Nadine has printed out stuff from the database (my question suggestions, etc.). She also has a list of her own questions typed up. It strikes me that she is very prepared. Victor pulls out a hand-written set of questions (looks like they were done quickly) but he seems to have a good grasp of things. Nadine has questions about the wedding ceremony in general. Victor makes an interesting comment about folk music being "simple," seemingly reflecting his sense of taking things for granted as an insider. He has clearly been to many celebrations like this. I'm wondering how hard it will be for him to make the "familiar strange." Nadine described how to get the interviewee to talk about something by restating "when you said such and such…" Other questions might focus on specific songs that the musicians sing and what they are about. We will have to decide this as we go. (Fieldnote, May 25, 2003)

"Amongst Peers": Music Class Context

The students met primarily in the music laboratory to work on the research project. The lab was equipped with seven iMac computers. The web version of the database program, *Knowledge Forum*, was installed on all the computers. The contents of the database were hosted by the software company, *Learning in Motion*[22], on a remote server in California. All student

[22] http://www.knowledgeforum.com/

discussions took place in this setting and students also worked in pairs in the database at the different computer stations.

> I seated the students in a semi-circle with me in front of them, unfortunately, due to the way the lab is set up and because I don't want to be behind a desk (proximity, accessibility and breaking of the student/teacher stereotype, becoming an advisor/coach). (Fieldnote, April 11, 2003)

The discussions concerned actual ethnographic tools of inquiry or the data that the students were gathering out in the field as well as the ideas and connections that started to emerge. The following discussion revolves around a questioning technique used in ethnographic interviewing.

> Ms. Peters: Rephrase, repeat, Okay, restate.
>
> Christina: Can you go to another question and come back?
>
> Ms. Peters: Yes, you can in your mind do a little circle and keep it to yourself, Okay? And never forget, what I said to Victor when I talked about branching. Can you explain what branching questions are?
>
> Victor: You go, uh…like you ask a question and [the question] can go many different ways. (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

The music class was a place where students could discuss their interviews and outings, search the Internet for web sites, read and summarize secondary sources, and learn how to use the database to transcribe their interviews, contribute their ideas, and debate their opinions with other students.

"Virtual Community": Database Context

The students interacted with the database content using different "views." A view regroups information around a particular topic. For example, there was a view entitled *Interview Transcriptions* where students contributed the transcription of the interview they had conducted in the local community. There was another view entitled *Virtual Discussions* where the participants and the researcher discussed different issues related to the research study. The view *Representing Others* regroups the writings of the students trying to represent their classmates in a mock interview conducted in the classroom. I asked the students to write up their representation of the "other" (their classmate) in the database. I also asked the students to describe, in two or three sentences, how it feels to be researched or observed or how it feels to be the researcher or observer. The following database entry is Angelina's response.

> While interviewing Victor, I felt a little uncomfortable. I didn't like being put on the spot like that. It was weird having to interview someone you would see everyday at school afterwards. I preferred being interviewed. The only thing I was a little worried about was how I would be perceived in the report. (Angelina, Database, Representing Others, Introducing Victor, May 3, 2003)

The database was a place where students entered their observations after an outing in the community, entered their transcriptions of interviews, contributed their personal profiles and profiles of their classmates, contributed ideas following class discussions, proposed questions for upcoming interviews, commented on other students' contributions, and participated in a lively virtual discussion at the end of the project.

Students were free to discuss anything related to the project in the database and ask for help from fellow classmates or myself. I encouraged the idea of a research community, where each person contributes something to the whole. Students could work from home or from the lab at school. At the beginning of the project, I verified that all the students were able to connect to the database from their home computer. We dealt with technical problems as they came up with support from the help desk of the software company. Connecting from home allowed the participants greater flexibility with the project with the possibility of communicating anytime, day or night. Here is one student's contribution and another student's response.

> This is a site I found, http://www.italcultur-qc.org/ The only problem is that it's in Italian. If someone who can read Italian gets the chance to look it up, please do. I could follow some parts of it and know there's stuff about music, I'm not completely sure. I hope it's useful at least. (Amanda, Database, Web Sites, Who can speak Italian? June 5, 2003)

> Hey Amanda. I took a look at your website…to tell you the truth the information is useless…Its basically saying that they can give Italian courses…its like an institution. When I went to the Italian cultural center the guy I spoke with gave me this number and this number of the website you found. It's a place where basically old Italian people go to ask information about pensions, insurance, Italian courses etc. But nice try in finding a website..you tried your best that's all that counts:) (Tina, Database, Web Sites, Reply to Amanda, June 16, 2003)

Students were part of a virtual community, contributing to knowledge building about a local music culture, using collaborative and cooperative methods. I asked the students to comment on the difference between working in the database and traditional methods of teaching

and learning. Also, the students commented on how the project has given something back to them, reinforcing the issue of reciprocity in this type of research.

> Aidan: I believe that the difference between data base stuff and having a teacher in front of us is that with this we are actually learning by ourselves. We read everything and if there's questions, we ask the teacher. I find this is good because that's how it sometimes is in college and it'll give us a little view of things.
>
> Ms. Peters: So Aidan, do you think this kind of learning makes you work more on your own without relying on the teacher to "tell" you everything? What is the difference between "telling" and "finding out" things for yourself? Could I have "told" you about the things we found out in this project?
>
> Angelina: I agree with him when he said that you can learn by ourselves when we use the database but I think there's more to it than that. *WE can also use the database to learn from each other*. By creating notes expressing our own opinions, it gives us a better understanding of each other and how we think. I agree with Aidan again. This will probably be a good experience to prepare us for college next year. (Angelina, Database, Virtual Discussions, Response to Aidan, June 27, 2003)

The context of the database provided a place where students could exchange ideas and opinions related to the research project. As is evident from the interactions between students and teacher/researcher, the database became a source of ideas and interpretations about a local music culture. It also revealed the thinking processes of student participants.

Research Chronology: Phases of Research

I provide an overview of the research chronology in Table 3 and Table 4. Table 3 describes the first seven phases of the research that took place from August 2001 until June 27, 2003 and Table 4 details event types and student tasks that took place during the research study.

Table 3

Phases of the research: August 2001-July 2005.

Phase	Date	Description
Phase 1	August 2001 – June 2003	Making Contacts in the Local Community
Phase 2	April – November 2002	Pilot Study: Ethnographic Reconnaissance
Phase 3	April 11, 2003	Project Explanations and Consent
Phase 4	April 15 – May 13, 2003	Training Students as Researchers/Database Users
Phase 5	May 25 – June 23, 2003	Participant Observation and Interviewing
Phase 6	May 28 – June 26, 2003	Transcription, Discussion, Categorizing
Phase 7	June 27, 2003	Reflecting on the Process
Phase 8	July 2003 – July 2005	Data Generation, Analysis, Verification

Table 4

Detailed chronology of phases 4-7.

Date	Event Type	Title of Fieldnote	Handouts/Tasks/ Students
April 11, 2003	Project Explanations	Introductory Class	Consent/Assent forms; Parent Letter
April 15, 2003	Class Activity	Representing Others Workshop	Representing Others Workshop
April 23, 2003	Class Discussion	Representing Others	All students
April 28, 2003	Class Activity	Getting to know the browser	Database View: What's New, Task 1
May 13, 2003	Class Activity	View: What's New: Task 1	Database View: What's New, Task 1
May 21, 2003	Class Activity	Task 1: What's New Browser Concepts	Database View: What's New, Task 1
May 25, 2003	Outing/Interview	50th Wedding Anniversary Interview: Eduardo (singer, accordion player)	Victor, Nadine
May 28, 2003	Class Discussion	Discussion about interviewing	Interview Structure
May 30, 2003	Class Discussion	Interviewing strategies and emergent issues	All students
June 1, 2003	Outing	Italian Festival	Aidan, Amanda, Melissa, Samuel, Suzanne, Tina
June 2, 2003	Class Discussion	Interview preparation and Italian Festival discussion	Quick Guide to Ethnographic Interviewing; Preparing for the Interview
June 3, 2003	Class Activity	Students enter work in the database	All students

June 5, 2003	Class Discussion	Organizational session	All students
June 6, 2003	Interview	Interview: Fred and Mrs. Marcone	Angelina, Tina
June 9, 2003	Outing	Italian Choir rehearsal	Christina, Dana, Melissa
June 15, 2003	Outing	St. Antoine Festival	Amanda, Deanna
June 16, 2003	Class Discussion	Discussion about scaffolds and interviews	All students
June 17, 2003	Interview	Interview, Sabrina	Nadine, Suzanne
June 18, 2003	Class Discussion	Discussion about outings and interviews	All students
June 21, 2003	Interview	Interview: Rita	Angelina, Deanna
June 21, 2003	Interview	Interview: Gary (accordion player)	Jimmy, Victor
June 22, 2003	Interview	Interview: Barry (accordion player, Italian Choir)	Christina, Melissa
June 23, 2003	Interview	Interview: Enrico (Artistic Director, Italian Choir)	Aidan, Dana
June 23, 2003	Class Discussion	Discussion about interviews	All students
June 23, 2003	Interview	Interview: Fatima	Samuel
June 25, 2003	Class Activity	Transcriptions with tape recorders	All students
June 26, 2003	Class Activity	Transcriptions with tape recorders	All students
June 27, 2003	On-line Discussion	On-line discussion in the database	All students

Note. Event types included Outings (Participant Observation), Interviews, Project Explanations, Class Activities, Class Discussions and on-line discussions in the database.

Phase 1: "Setting the Scene": Making Contacts in the Local Community

My efforts to make contacts began during the month of August, 2001. I bought a Montreal *Gazette* on August 11 and perused the community profile section that focused on Italian-Canadians in Montreal. The articles described the different activities planned for "La Settimana Italiana" (The Italian Week). The images that I confronted on the first page were evocative of the stereotypical way many people view the Italian community in Montreal: Lemons, tomatoes, grapes, gelati, images of Italy, soccer, and a Ferrari sports car. However, I have come to know the richness of the Italian culture in Montreal as so much more than the sum of these images. The Italian week is a time for people to celebrate the culture and heritage that is associated with this community and also acts as a tribute to the older generation of Italian-Canadians. A message from the co-presidents states: "The festival pays respect to their [the older generation's] hard work and steadfast effort to improve the quality of life for their families and communities" (Di Vincenzo & Cappadoro, 2002).

I spent an afternoon at the festival on August 18, 2001, scouting out the possibilities for interviews and making contacts for the research project. I watched a Calabrése folk group's tribute to the traditions of southern Italy and met with their director. He seemed very willing to be interviewed for the research study at this first meeting and explained that his mother, the inspiration for the group, is a "treasury of culture." I also listened to an accordion/singer duo and approached the group for a future interview. I made contact with people from the Italian National Congress as well as other singers. The spontaneous accordion playing and singing that attracted the older generation was very moving, encouraging me to want to find out more about this

culture that often expresses itself through communal music making, particularly singing and dancing.

As I tried to make contact with different artists in the community, I realized that access was not going to be easy. People do not understand what it is that researchers are trying to document, or they do not feel that they have anything important to contribute to a research study. It seems that ethnic communities are not aware of the unique richness of their culture or that many of the cultural and musical traditions that they take for granted may no longer be available to future generations if they are not documented in research. Another issue that surfaced was language. In many cases, I had to use students to translate or make sure that students spoke the correct dialect for the person being interviewed. In one instance, I received an e-mail "Ciao Valeria. I no god in Inglese" (Hello Valerie. I'm no good in English) from one of the musicians I had being trying to contact for some time.

In general, I believe that I underestimated the amount of effort required to complete this stage of the research, thinking that contacts would be made more easily and that I would have ready access to the community. In fact, I thought at some point I would hit the jackpot and a particular contact would give me access to an interlocking web of artists in the community. This was not my experience in general. Perhaps this was due to the scope of the study or the fact that the community itself may not be as connected as I naively assumed. However, in some instances, several minutes with someone was a good indication of their ability to provide important cultural information to students. During a short telephone conversation, one of our possible interviewees communicated a great deal of information about the beliefs and values of the Italian community in Montreal. The passionate way she expressed her conviction that a person cannot live without music and that music is joy, the soul of each person, were strong indicators of her emotional

attachment to the musical traditions of her cultural community. We were very privileged to be able to interview this person and learn from her rich experiences (Personal communication, Fatima, 2003).

Amateur artists in ethnic communities need proper clarification about the research project. They may often appear suspicious about the goals of the research or feel uncomfortable with someone documenting what is going on in a particular setting. The legitimate concerns of research participants need to be handled with respect, always keeping in mind the goal of the research in order to provide clear, unambiguous explanations to participating artists and other individuals.

Phase 2: "Ethnographic Reconnaissance": Pilot Study

Fourteen students (ten girls and four boys) took part in a pilot study from April 9, 2002 to November 14, 2002. I began by explaining the project to the students and asking them if they wanted to participate. I also presented them with several publications by student authors doing their own research.[23] The group felt that the realization of this type of work by high school students, especially the chapter on banjos and dulcimers written by the Foxfire students, was too difficult for them.

> I handed around two books: *Rainbow of Dreams* and the Foxfire article about making a banjo and a dulcimer to show the students what can be done by other students. Aaron mentioned that he thought this is "above us" – in other words, too difficult for them to do. (Fieldnote, April 9, 2002)

[23] See references: Emery (2000) and Wigginton (1975).

We discussed the difference between regurgitation and thinking more deeply about issues in the context of school learning. Unfortunately, students often do not feel that they are capable of pushing themselves to their limit intellectually. I certainly felt that these students were capable of participating in the research study.

Students participated in three different types of tasks. The first task was to reflect on how they could organize their writing, showing me - the - teacher how they were thinking about different ideas by using the scaffolds (themes) and scaffold supports (subthemes) included in the database software. In addition, they contributed their questions about the project as well as their prior knowledge about Italian music culture. The second task involved identifying resources about Italian music culture in Montreal. The students contributed stories, pictures, summaries of secondary sources as well as their reflections about the project on a web site created by one of the students. For the third task, students were asked to contribute their profiles describing their own individual ethnic backgrounds and how they saw themselves contributing to the project.

The summary of secondary sources was used as a pre-research activity, a way of laying the foundation and providing some historical and cultural background for the interviews that would take place in the local community during the main study. The students reviewed three articles by Malpezzi and Clements (1999), Keller (1994), and Ramirez and Del Balso (1980). Some students also watched excerpts of the film *Caffé Italia Montréal* (Maes, 1985). This documentary provides the viewer with an understanding of the Italian culture in Montreal via interviews with community members by filmmaker Paul Tana. Here is how one of the students described the difference between cultures based on her readings of secondary sources.

> To end my look into the symbolism of bread and wine, I will leave you with two Italian proverbs: “Un giorno senza vino e comme un giorno senza sole.” [Translation: A day

> without wine is like a day without sunshine.] "La biviri non misuratu fa l'uomo asinatu." [Translation: Drinking too much turns a man into an ass.] The last proverb gives a wonderful clarity to my explanations about the use of wine in Italy…Drinking too much in the Italian culture is considered foolhardiness, whereas drinking too much in America (or even Canada) is considered immoral. The difference of culture, I think, should not cause us to take sides; one culture is not right and one is not wrong. It's just a difference of opinion. (Angelica, Database, Secondary Sources, Book "The Italian American Heritage," June 5, 2002)

The student summarizing the article about Italian folk music by Keller (1994) mentions the many different song types found in Italy including ritual and religious songs (for christenings, weddings and burials), calendrical songs (for Christmas, Spring, carnivals and festivals), occupational songs (sung by shepherds, soldiers and street vendors), recreational songs (dance songs), and family songs (lullabies, children's songs). She also makes note of the variety of vocal repertoire as well as the different influences, including climate, on the music. She concludes her database entry by describing singing in Sicily, the embellished character of the melodies and the nasal quality of voice production closely resembling Arabic music. In conclusion, she mentions the strong differences between folk song styles in the south of Italy versus the north (Database, Secondary Sources, Italian Folk Music, June 5, 2002). It is interesting that some of the ideas cited in the secondary sources came up later in class discussions. For example, the following excerpt is from a discussion about the different themes that students started to see emerging from their work during the main study.

> Angelina: Miss [Peters], I noticed there's a very big difference between the north and the south.

Ms. Peters: Okay, so those differences are what, again? I'm trying to think where to put them in the scaffolds.

Angelina: Well it could also be influences too because the north and south have two different influences. Like, ah, Mrs. Marcone [an interviewee] was telling me that in the south, their influence is um…what was it, do you remember what it was Tina, the Greeks? (leaning forward to look across at Tina)

Tina: Hold on (consulting her notes). Yeah. (Nodding) I think it was the Greeks. Yeah.

Victor: Its more Mediterranean, the south.

Angelina: It was the Greeks. The…oh, I forget…(smiling, touches her cheek)

Ms. Peters: Think about what we heard (aside to Deanna and Amanda who were in Little Italy – how the discussion relates to what he [the interviewee] was saying yesterday. Okay? Yeah, Amanda's looking at her notes too.

Angelina: And even the Arab countries. That's it. The Greeks and the Arab countries. (Transcription, June 16, 2003)

During another class discussion, the students remarked on the importance of geographical influences on the music of a particular place.

Ms. Peters: Okay These are important points. What else in Italy? There are other things besides climate and people and isolated island…what are…

Jimmy: Close to the water…

Ms. Peters: Well, there are geographical things.

Victor: That affects [the people, things] a lot.

Ms. Peters: Aha, yeah, and also probably affects music in some way (Melissa: Yeah), don't you think? (Victor: Yeah)

Melissa: Yeah, like, there's the traditional…my father's village is based near a fishery and my father…like the fish is called [testa]. The whole village is, "Yeah, like that's what we live on."

Ms. Peters: Right, so the fact that there's a lot…

Melissa: Everything that revolves around his culture has to do with fish. (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

The pilot study allowed me to confront different issues that might be problematic during the main study and also make links between the resulting data from the interviews (main study) and some of the secondary sources consulted during the pilot study. It is always a challenge to structure a decentralized classroom that incorporates different types of tasks for different students. The pilot study forced me to think about how I would structure a multi-task environment during the main study. In addition, troubleshooting technical problems that students confronted (difficulty connecting to the database, difficulty understanding how to use the database) allowed me to be aware of what might come up during the research. In conclusion, the pilot study permitted me to see differences in students' understanding of the cultural ideas central to the study. For example, one of the Italian students was describing a party that her grandmother attended with people from "her village." Another student, not of Italian background, did not understand the expression "my village." He did not understand how a person could trace back to the exact village were she had been born. This idea of "belonging" was one that came up often

during the main study. This exchange between two students during the pilot study alerted me to the importance of belonging for a local Italian community in Montreal.

Phase 3: "Getting Permission": Project Explanations and Consent

During the first meeting with students during the main study on April 11, 2003, I handed out the Parent/Guardian Consent Form (see Appendix B), the Student Assent Form (see Appendix C) as well as a parent letter that enumerated the criteria used in the selection of students and described the research study activities (see Appendix D). I read through the forms with the students and asked them and their parents to sign and return them as soon as possible. A student who had missed the first session asked a few questions regarding who had access to students' records and what this means. I explained that the researcher, my dissertation committee, and the Institutional Review Board[24] at Northwestern University have access to student records and research materials. The students initialed the assent forms and gave them back to me. No attrition occurred over the course of the study. All the students who began in April continued through to the end of the study.

Phase 4: "Trainees": Becoming Student Researchers and Database Users

I tried to prepare the students for ethnographic interviewing in several ways. They were asked to interview each other during the *Representing Others Workshop* in class (see Appendix E). I wanted to sensitize them to important ideas about ethnographic interviewing such as building rapport, learning to listen, and developing sensitivity concerning how it feels to be

[24] The IRB approved this research study on January 2, 2003.

observed or researched I created a handout based on Spradley (1979) that described the different types of ethnographic questions that make up a typical interview (see Appendix F). I created a condensed version of this same handout as a more accessible reference for students (see Appendix G).

I used the information from the handout *How to Interview an Informant* (see Appendix F) and modified it in light of our experience at the first interview (see Appendix H). The first section of *Preparing for the Interview* outlines what the students must do before they actually get to the interview, including the acquisition of background information about the individual and their contribution to a local music culture in order to create a series of questions to be used as a basis for the interview. The second section describes what the students should do at the interview site, such as making small talk, building rapport with interviewees, and taking short hand notes. The third section details the interview structure and the last section describes exactly what should take place during and following the interview.

My strategy in preparing the students was to integrate theoretical concepts with their actual experiences out in the field. Therefore, there was a constant back and forth between the handouts, discussions in class, and in the database, and experiences in the field.

Using Spradley's (1979) principles of ethnographic interviewing as a starting point, some students interviewed members of their families during the pilot study. I received electronic mail from one of my students with an introduction and a set of questions that she had created to interview her grandmother and grandfather. The following is an excerpt.

> We are doing this project at school and this project is about finding out about the Italian culture and the Italian music in Montreal. I would like to interview you since you've

immigrated here from Italy and you must have lots of interesting stories that you can tell me so that you can help me learn and understand about your past…

When you lived in Italy with your family, can you describe to me as far back as you can remember your life in Italy? Can you speak to me about your childhood? How was it growing up? Did you go to school? If so until what grade? Growing up, did you help around the house, farm?

Did you have any musical experiences as a young child or even as an adult? Do you remember if your mother ever sang any songs or lullabies to you? (Tina, personal communication, June 25, 2002)

Of course, one of the challenges of using technology is preparing the students to understand how the database features work. One of the ways we approached this was to have groups of students create information for others in the database and present this information to the class. The following passage is the peer-teaching task that I presented to the students in the database.

Problem: Learning about the Browser

Type the following address in your web browser:

http://kforum.motion.com:27320/

You will see the entry page for the Knowledge Forum demo database. You can type guest 1 (guest 2, guest 3 etc.) as your username and password. Click on the view Browser Features.

You should read through all the notes in the view up to and including Published Notes and be familiar with them.

I have divided up the notes between duos (and one trio). I expect you to try out the procedures outlined in the notes assigned to you and then to prepare to teach the class how to do these procedures on Tuesday, May 13, period 4. I will give you 10 minutes at the beginning of the class to get together with others in your group.

You should prepare individually at home and have some notes ready. I think the database procedures are quite simple but it is important that we all feel very comfortable with the software so we can use it well.

Each group will have 5 minutes to present their material. Of course, it would be even better if you can get together before Tuesday and decide who will do what for the presentation. But, I know this will not be possible for everyone.

If you have any questions, just write me a note in this view and I will try to answer them. See you next week!

1. Creating a New Note (Tina, Samuel)

- More about Notes

2. Editing a Note (Nadine, Amanda, Dana)

- Quoting other Authors

3. What are Build-ons (Angelina, Victor)

- Creating a Build-on

- More about build-ons

4. About Annotations (Aidan, Deanna)

- Creating an Annotation

5. About Rise-above (Jimmy, Melissa)

6. Published Notes (Suzanne, Christina) (Task 1, What's New, May 8, 2003)

Here is a student entry in response to the preceding task. Tina and Samuel describe the procedure to follow in order to create a new note in the database.

NEW INFORMATION*:* To create a new note: Click on the "NEW NOTE" button on the toolbar. A new note will open in order for you to start writting. When you open the new note you will have to type in your problem ex: Creating a new note or representing others.

ADDING A SCAFFOLD: select a scaffold support by pulling down to the theory building ex: "I need to understand" Basically a scaffold is like the main idea of the culture ex: traditional music and then find the themes like love, hate, food etc...

ADDING YOUR IDEAS: place your cursor in between the less than and greater than signs in the html. Type in text in the note contents (the text will be placed in between the beginning of the scaffold and the end point.

SELECTING KEYWORDS: type in your key words with commas in between. Ex: note, view, my reader.

TITLE YOUR NOTE: in the end you are supposed to type a title for your note ex: Introducing Samuel. Then once that is done you click on the contribute button "close and contribute". Congratulations your new note has been created. When you see your note appear on the view, click the note title so that you can read it. If you started writing

> something then you can go back to it by opening your note and clicking on the edit button. (Creatin a new note, What's New, May 27, 2003)

In general, the students found the browser version of the software fairly simple and intuitive to use. As they used the technology, they became more comfortable with it and they became more masterful in manipulating the tools.

In addition to the ethnographic and database preparation, students searched the Internet for related web sites and added their personal reflections about local music and culture. Students spent some time searching for web sites related to local Italian music culture. The following citation is a note I created in the database with instructions about how to find an interesting web site.

> Write a note in this view giving the address of the web site you found with a short description of why the contents could be useful for our project. We are looking for sites that focus on local (Montreal, Canadian) Italian culture, particularly traditional music, instruments, and the customs/values that accompany the music/ceremonies. This should be done for Friday, May 30. (Ms. Peters, Database, Web Sites, Describe your site(s), May 27, 2003)

The students found this task difficult, especially identifying sites that were pertinent to our project. Often the site would look interesting on the surface but, after sustained research, turn out to be void of content or not at all related to the project. There were a few web sites that offered some important information (http://www.italianfolkmusic.com and http://www.littleitalymontreal.com). Here is a typical entry by Tina describing a web site she found.

> This web site consists of immigrants who came from Italy to Canada to find a job in construction and in mining. These men worked hard in order to send money to their families or to get consent for their families to immigrate to where their husbands were working. These men often lived in dirty shacks with other Italian men. There was never any privacy. There is also a time line about the living conditions, food, acquired money, how they dressed etc…I think this web site has some useful information for the project we are doing. (Tina, Database, Web Sites, Website, June 13, 2003)

I used this activity as a way of laying a foundation for the context of the present study and asked the students to reflect on how conditions of immigration and new life in a country are connected to and influence a local music culture.

Phase 5: "Out in the Field": Participant Observation and Interviewing

The students were involved in two different types of activities in the field: Outings and interviews (see Table 5). The outings normally involved a group (2 – 13) of students while student pairs conducted the interviews. I asked students to choose their partners at the beginning of the project but found as time went on that, in general, it was better to pair an older, more experienced student with a younger student. When pairing students at this later time, I also took into account their personalities to create complementary dyads.[25]

[25] A shy student paired with an outgoing student; a student with good second language skills with a student good at taking notes; a student who spoke French with a student who spoke an Italian dialect.

Table 5

Interview chronology

Date	Interviewee	Place	Interviewer(s)
May 25, 2003	Eduardo (singer, accordion player) and band	Italian reception hall	Victor, Nadine
June 6, 2003	Fred and Mrs. Marcone (folk dance group)	Fred's home	Angelina, Tina
June 17, 2003	Sabrina (Italian choir member)	Restaurant	Suzanne, Nadine
June 18, 2003	Eduardo (singer, accordion player)	Place of work	Jimmy, Victor
June 21, 2003	Rita (folk dance group)	Her home	Angelina, Deanna
June 21, 2003	Gary (accordion player)	Italian restaurant	Jimmy, Victor
June 22, 2003	Barry (accordion player, Italian choir)	Coffee shop, Italian cultural center	Christina, Melissa
June 23, 2003	Enrico (artistic director, Italian choir)	Coffee shop, Italian cultural center	Aidan, Dana
June 23, 2003	Fatima	Coffee shop	Samuel

I was present at all of the outings and interviews with the exception of the second interview with Eduardo. In general, I let the students conduct the interviews. But in some instances, I would ask a question based on a theme that seemed to be emerging from the many interviews. For example, there seemed to be a strong connection between singing and the Italian culture, especially for older men. I tried to verify this link with one of the interviewees.

> He says the language is easy to sing so it makes the music. Italy is live ambiance. It is a beautiful country, artistic, where people express themselves and have close friendships as well as being close to their neighbors. People enjoy singing because the ambiance is warm. (Fieldnote, June 23, 2003)

One of the outings that six of the students attended was the *Festa Della Repubblica Italiana* (Festival of the Italian Republic) at the new Italian cultural center in the east part of Montreal. Students were asked to write a description of the context of the festival and also make contacts with musicians for future interviews. One of the students took to heart my comments about letting the reader see, smell, and hear what was going on and wrote an impressive description that evokes the feeling of "being there." I include a short excerpt of his long and descriptive piece.

> The date is May 31st 2003. From afar we can see seagulls flying up above the Italian cultural center which seems to be a vision of the sea and the first impression we get is how Italy is a peninsula country. The scent that rises above the city's usual stench is that of cold pizza, Saputo's strange cheeses, and homemade sandwiches. As I get closer to the center, where speeches have already begun to be said, I realize quite quickly that I can't understand Italian as well as I wish. Uniformed men can be seen with berets (Éppeni) of a regiment unknown to me. Men wearing hats with feathers on them, some with the word Firenze on those feathers representing the city of their birth. Some with medals and other tidbits which I am not sure what they are. Of course, the place is filled with flags of Italy and some even with soccer balls in the middle of these Italian flags. (Aidan, Database, Festa Della Reppubblica Italiana, Italian Fest, June 13, 2003)

When we returned to the classroom after an outing, the students entered their impressions and descriptions in the database and we discussed the different issues. We discussed the students' experiences and their efforts to make contacts during the festival with musicians for future interviews. Melissa reflects on her experience.

> Well, I thoroughly enjoyed myself yesterday. Like it was a little cold but whatever, I didn't care. I was having a good time. When they were all singing all together, I was trying to talk to the accordionist, the accordion guy and he was telling me, "Okay, you know, follow me. We're almost done." Except, people kept stopping them, and one guy stopped them, when they stopped at the table, the guy had stopped them and asked them to sing a song for his wife. So they did that, and then this other guy, who I think the guitarist was getting really annoyed with, kept adding on to the song and going on and on and on, with all the verses and…the guy's like "Okay, okay. Be quiet. The other guy's just singing all over. I finally did get to talk to the guy. He seems pretty nice. (Melissa, Transcription, June 2, 2003)

I asked the students to propose a set of questions for a specific interview based on their knowledge of ethnographic interviewing and the background of the person to whom they would be talking. Normally, the students would propose a set of questions in the database before the interview and I would respond to them with suggestions or recommend that they go back and look over some of the documents that I had given them. The following excerpt illustrates this process.

> I came up with some possible questions to ask. Here they are: 1. Do you do wedding anniversaries often? (if yes) 2. Are they slightly similar? By this I mean, do they often wish for you to play the same music? 3. Do peoples ask for specific songs? 4. Do you

> believe that depending where you come from in Italy, you may have very different style in Italian music? 5. Not being an Italian, I really didn't understand what your songs meant. Can you explain to me their significance? 6. How long have you been playing Italian music? 7. Has the music itself changed over the years, or do people stick with traditional music? I don't know if any of those are any good, but at least it is a start. If I come up with any more I will write them up. (Nadine, Database, Interviews, Questions for Interviews, May 22, 2003)

Here is an excerpt from my reply to Nadine's suggestions.

> Good set of questions – I think you should look at the Interview guide to structure these questions a little. Your first 2 questions could be "Grand Tour" questions. See note 1 [I put a copy of the handout "Interview Sample Script" in the view for the students as a reference]. Try to get the interviewee to describe in detail everything that goes on at a typical 50th wedding anniversary, especially as it relates to music – aspects of space, time, sequence of events, people, activities, objects – try to construct a couple of descriptive questions – get him to describe things in great detail – the more detail, the better. It is so people reading your write up can get an idea of what it was like "being there" just by reading your detailed account. (Database, Interviews, Modifications for questions, May 24, 2003)

In one instance, Victor expressed how difficult it was for him to think of questions for the interview. He expressed the problems associated with being an insider to the Italian culture and taking something like a wedding anniversary for granted.

> I've been trying to come up with some good questions for the upcoming interview but I've been having some trouble. I guess its due to my Italian backround and the fact that I have many experiences at gatherings such as wedding anniversaries. Due to these

> experiences, I'm pretty knowledgable when it comes to the basics, so I'm trying to think of a little more complex questions. Any suggestions? I'll keep thinking. (Victor, Database, Interviews, Interview Questions, May 22, 2003)

The students interviewed members and participated in cultural events in the context of a local Italian community. Students returned to the classroom to transcribe their interviews, write up descriptions of cultural events, and discuss important issues that emerged during their time in the field.

Phase 6: "Writing Up": Transcription, Discussion, Categorizing

Phases five and six took place to some extent simultaneously, with students out in the field doing participant observation and interviews, and then subsequently back in the classroom, transcribing and discussing their findings. Students worked with tape recorders and transcribed "word for word" in combination with summarizing/paraphrasing important ideas. After an outing or interview, a class session followed during which students could share their experiences and the group could begin to make connections between the different outings and interviews and start to see patterns across the data.

The first outing to a fiftieth wedding anniversary was an opportunity for the students to experiment with some of the theoretical ideas that we had discussed previously regarding participant observation and ethnographic interviewing. I often met with students to discuss the process before the interview or to participate in a discussion using the database prior to the interview. Here is an excerpt from my fieldnote that illustrates what transpired before the first interview.

> They [the students] take out their questions. I note that Nadine has printed out stuff from the database. She also has a list of her own questions typed up. It strikes me that she is very prepared. Victor pulls out a hand-written set of questions (looks like they were done quickly) but he seems to have a good grasp of things. Nadine has questions about the wedding ceremony in general. Victor makes an interesting comment about folk music being "simple," seemingly reflecting his sense of taking things for granted as an insider. He has clearly been to many celebrations like this. I'm wondering how hard it will be for him to make the "familiar strange." (Fieldnote, May 25, 2003)

I used this first experience and subsequent experiences in the field as a starting place for a discussion about interviewing. I tried to make connections for the students between the literature (handouts I had prepared for them about ethnographic research) and the emergent data collected during their interviews and outings. I applied this principle of qualitative research, working back and forth from data to theory, in the context of students doing research.

During discussions, students would often describe deep cultural principles that seemed to be recurring across the data. In the following excerpt, a student describes the importance of belonging to a local Italian community.

> Angelina talks about a culture within their [the Italian] culture. It seems important to say where you are from in this culture. Melissa says it is perhaps because the same group of people that immigrated from the same village would stay in touch with each other. They came from the same place and then lived together. Apparently everyone is connected in this culture, everyone is your "paesàno" [neighbor]. (Fieldnote, May 28, 2003)

Part way through the research, I introduced the students to the idea of *scaffolds* (themes) and *scaffold supports* (subthemes), a way of organizing their writing in the database and a way of

flagging important themes that they saw recurring in the data (transcriptions of interviews and outings). The database, Knowledge Forum, provides a set of built-in scaffolds for the students (see Table 6). Scaffolds are designed to help the students think about what they are writing. The students can use scaffolds such as "Theory Building" or "I need to understand" to identify the content of their notes.

Table 6

Built-in scaffolds and scaffold supports for the database.

Scaffold	Theory Building	Opinion
Scaffold Supports	My Theory	Different opinion
	I need to understand	Reason
	New information	Elaboration
	This theory cannot explain	Evidence
	A better theory	Example
	Putting our knowledge together	Conclusion

I extended the idea of scaffolding to include other actions that help students think about and structure their writing. I explained to students that they could use scaffolds to flag emergent themes related to musical practices in the local Italian culture. I began by proposing different themes related to art and cultural systems taken from different anthropological texts (see Appendix A). The following excerpt is from a class discussion where students are proposing different themes emerging from their experiences in the local community. Following this class discussion, the students contributed their themes as scaffolds in the database. See the section *Examples of Themes* in chapter five for a further discussion of student scaffolds. Following this

operation, the students could use a scaffold such as *Roots* to flag an important theme that they were seeing across the data.

Ms. Peters: What other kind of themes are you seeing?

Christina: Love. (laughs in response to love themes)

Melissa: But like not only falling in love because at the Italian choir, what's her name (pointing with paper to Dana), Dana was translating one [song] for us about just making love. No, but it goes through every stage of love: falling in love, making love, getting married, breaking up, loved one dying…

Angelina: Even love for your neighbors. That came up a lot.

Melissa: Love for you neighbors, love for your family. Love for everybody.

Nadine: Love for your country.

Ms. Peters: Love for food.

Melissa: Yeah!

Ms. Peters: What else?

Victor: Where you live, ah…

Ms. Peters: How could we say that in…if you were going to make that a scaffold or support…Yeah, these are different things. Well, they're related…

Victor: Also, where you belong to, like…

Ms. Peters: Belonging. (Victor: Yeah) Could we say belonging?

Victor: It's something like that you have when they [Italians] come here [Canada]. Being there [in Italy], like being an Italian is like all that they not only have, but…

Ms. Peters: So, where you're from, the idea of belonging, the idea of patriotism. Could all of these be regrouped somehow?

Melissa: Yeah, roots. (Transcription, June 16, 2003)

The students were able to identify many of the themes that emerged from the present research study and they entered them as scaffolds in the database.

Phase 7: "Looking Back": Reflecting on the Process

One of the most interesting phases of the research study was the on-line discussion that took place on June 27, 2003 between 9 and 11 a.m. I decided to chat on-line with the students rather than getting together in the classroom. The results of this discussion provided some very interesting data. The students were able to express their points of view, debate these points with each other, and reflect on the research process. Here is the note I posted in the database view to initiate the discussion.

Problem: WHWL

WHWL - What Have We Learned

This discussion should tie together and conclude the project. Please be honest and respond to each other. Remember, nothing in life is perfect so if you have suggestions, feel free to put them in here. A discussion is interactive, so annotate, build on other ideas, reference, etc. There are 3 questions. Please answer each question with a separate note.

1. How is the collaborative database different from other types of learning (e.g. a teacher teaching from the front of the classroom)? What are the advantages of working/learning this way? What are the disadvantages? Can you see this being a useful way to learn about something in the future? Please include any comments about how it was to work in the database.

2. What have you learned personally from this project? Would it have been different if you had worked on your own? How? How is working on a project alone different from working "collaboratively" in a group?

3. Having read all the interview transcriptions and other notes in the database, what do you think are the most important common features of Italian traditional music? Why do you think this music is important to the culture? What is the value of music for a particular cultural group? What are the important cultural values and beliefs that are reflected in the interviews (please give examples - don't talk about your interview only - I would like you to show me what you have learned from other interviews). Do you think the music reflects the cultural beliefs and values of a people? How? (give examples) (Ms. Peters, Database, Virtual Discussions, Discussion – June 27 – 9-11 a.m., June 27, 2003)

These questions are closely linked to my research questions and provided a way for me to explore the answers via student responses and discussion in a virtual community.

Phase 8: "Looking Forward": Data Generation, Analysis, Interpretation and Verification

Data were generated during the study in the form of fieldnotes, a database, transcriptions of interviews, audio recordings, and video recordings. I coded the fieldnotes, transcriptions, and database, creating a list of initial and focused codes and wrote initial and integrative memos as a

way to think about the data and connect related themes. I sorted the data into the themes and issues upon which I wished to expand in the narrative account. Throughout the analysis process, I tried to represent members' perspectives and let the reader hear the different voices of the research participants. Lincoln and Guba (2000) expand on the concept of voice in qualitative research.

> Today voice can mean, especially in more participatory forms of research, not only having a real researcher—and a researcher's voice—in the text, but also letting research participants speak for themselves, either in text form or through plays, forums, "town meetings," or other oral and performance-oriented media or communication forms designed by research participants themselves. (p. 183)

Interpretation of the data took place in collaboration with the students in a knowledge-sharing environment that encouraged the learning of both the researcher and the research participants. Following the research process, I undertook the task of interpretive decision-making in light of the research questions that I had chosen to pursue as well as the theoretical perspectives that were advanced in chapter one.

I used multiple data collection tools in order to provide a more complete, contextual picture of the research as well as minimizing the potential for bias that might result from one single data collection method. Also, I relied on member checking, asking one research participant to verify the narrative account and findings. This participant contributed particularly rich and insightful commentaries to the database and during class discussions. This review of the findings provided me with one participant's perspective concerning how the account portrayed the students and the community and whether the written account accurately represented what actually went on during the research process.

Data Generation

Data Inventory

Five different data sets were analyzed for this study: (a) pilot study fieldnotes, (b) main study fieldnotes, (c) audio transcriptions, (d) video transcriptions, and (e) database. fieldnotes were kept during the pilot study (see Table 7). There are nine fieldnotes that document this phase of the study. These data present ideas for the modification of the main study by raising issues such as the delimitation of the study, the students' need for specific key words for their Internet searches, and the need to structure multiple tasks in the classroom. The following personal note[26] was taken from one of the fieldnotes during the pilot study and illustrates my struggle with one of these issues.

> I find this is the biggest challenge teaching in a classroom where multiple tasks are happening simultaneously. It sure requires that you be on top of things. Also, being able to say "I don't know the answer to that but I can find out." Students have trouble accepting that the teacher does not "know it all." (Fieldnote, May 16, 2002)

[26] Note to myself. Many ethnographers make mental notes or "personal notes" to document how they are feeling at a specific moment in the research process or how they are thinking about what is going on.

Table 7

Data inventory for the pilot study.

Date	Data Type	Title/Description
April 9, 2002	Fieldnote	First Meeting/Class Discussion
April 25, 2002	Fieldnote	Consent: Student Participation
April 26, 2002	Fieldnote	Thinking through writing/Prior Knowledge
May 16, 2002	Fieldnote	Locating Local Resources
May 18, 2002	Fieldnote	Community Artist Phone Contact
May 22, 2002	Fieldnote	Community Artist Phone Contact
May 28, 2002	Fieldnote	Interview: Community Artist
November 7, 2002	Fieldnote	Discussion: My Village
November 14, 2002	Fieldnote	Student Profiles, Contributions, Questions

These fieldnotes also reflect some of the concerns of the community participants who were contacted. As a researcher, I often felt that I was imposing on people. In one case, the person contacted had a young family and was very busy. In another case, I sensed the vulnerability of a particular artist during our telephone conversation. He had specific concerns about being scrutinized by a group of student researchers. These experiences provided insight that was helpful in preparing the students for their contacts with artists during the main study. I myself conducted an interview with one of the community members in order to pilot different types of questions and themes that might be useful for the student interviewers.

The second data set is the fieldnotes that were taken during the main study from April 11 to June 25, 2003 (see Table 8). These fieldnotes document all the different class sessions, work in the database, student outings to different events, and interviews with different members in a

local community. During the study, I realized that while the fieldnotes effectively portrayed what students were saying in general, they did not always capture detailed class discussions and often omitted the voice of the researcher. For this reason, I decided to audiotape two class sessions[27] in order to document in more detail the exact exchange between students and researcher. I chose two sessions where students would be involved in significant class discussions about important issues related to the research.

[27] Fieldnote audiotape transcriptions, May 28, 2003 and May 30, 2003.

Table 8

Data inventory: Main study fieldnotes and transcriptions.

Date	Data Type	Title/Description
April 11, 2003	Fieldnote	Introductory Class
April 15, 2003	Fieldnote	Representing Others Workshop
April 23, 2003	Fieldnote	Representing Others Discussion
April 28, 2003	Fieldnote	Class Session
May 13, 2003	Fieldnote	Task 1: Database
May 21, 2003	Fieldnote	Task 1: Database
May 25, 2003	Fieldnote	Outing/Interview: 50th Wedding Anniversary
May 28, 2003	Fieldnote	Class Session
May 28, 2003	Audio transcription	Class Session
May 30, 2003	Fieldnote	Class Session
May 30, 2003	Audio transcription	Class Session
June 1, 2003	Fieldnote	Outing: Italian Festival
June 2, 2003	Fieldnote	Class Session
June 2, 2003	Fieldnote	Outing: Tour of Little Italy
June 3, 2003	Fieldnote	Class Session
June 5, 2003	Fieldnote	Class Session
June 6, 2003	Fieldnote	Interview: Fred and Mrs. Marcone
June 9, 2003	Fieldnote	Outing: Italian Choir Rehearsal
June 15, 2003	Fieldnote	Outing: St. Anthony's Festival
June 16, 2003	Fieldnote	Class Session
June 16, 2003	Video Transcription	Class Session

June 17, 2003	Fieldnote	Interview: Sandra
June 18, 2003	Fieldnote	Class Session
June 21, 2003	Fieldnote	Interview: Rita
June 21, 2003	Fieldnote	Interview: Gary
June 22, 2003	Fieldnote	Interview: Barry
June 22, 2003	Audio Transcription	Interview: Barry
June 23, 2003	Fieldnote	Interview: Enrico
June 23, 2003	Audio Transcription	Interview: Enrico
June 23, 2003	Fieldnote	Student Session
June 23, 2003	Fieldnote	Interview: Fatima
June 25, 2003	Fieldnote	Student Session

I also decided to videotape a session in order to capture some of the non-verbal data present during the class discussion. In the following citation, I am trying to explain the idea of scaffolding to students. It is apparent from their nonverbal reactions to my explanations whether they do or do not understand.

> Then there's also the way you structure what you are learning. So that's what we're doing. We're saying "Here's how we organize these kinds of things under a theme" for example. So you're actually creating an exterior scaffold of your learning (I make a face and roll my eyes saying, "This is hard to understand! Do you get it?") Does that make sense? (students respond negatively) No! (regrouping my thoughts; trying to find another way to explain so they understand; Dana and Samuel smile) When you think about something, you categorize. You put things in categories in a certain way depending on how you think. What you're telling us with the scaffold is, "Hey everybody, this is how

> I'm thinking." (some of the students affirm they now understand) "This is my opinion or this is the reason for my opinion." (Transcription, June 16, 2003)

The final data set is the database content made up of seventeen views that can be grouped into seven category types: (a) information and tasks (Welcome, What's New, Contacts), (b) thematic (Italian Cultural Practices, Italian Music, Song Texts), (c) class task contributions (Student Profiles, Representing Others, Web Sites), (d) secondary sources, (e) interviews (Our Stories; Interviews; Interview Transcriptions), (f) outings (Tour: Little Italy, Italian Cultural Center, Italian Choir), and (g) discussions (Virtual Discussions) (see Tables 9 and Table 10).

Table 9

Views in the database.

Database Views: Date Created	Number of Notes
Contacts: June 6, 2003	15
Italian Choir: June 10, 2003	3
Italian Festival: June 3, 2003	7
Interview Transcriptions: May 27, 2003	12
Interviews: May 21, 2003	25
Italian Cultural Practices: May 28, 2002	7
Italian Music: June 5, 2002	2
Our Stories: June 5, 2002	1
Representing Others: April 15, 2003	15
Secondary Sources: May 29, 2002	2
Song Texts: June 23, 2003	6
Student Profiles: November 14, 2002	11
Tour: Little Italy: June 3, 2003	7
Virtual Discussions: June 6, 2003	29
Web Sites: May 27, 2003	20
Welcome: November 4, 2001	50
What's New: April 15, 2003	44

Table 10

Database views in chronological order.

Pilot Study	
View	Date Created
Welcome	November 14, 2001
Italian Cultural Practices	May 28, 2002
Secondary Sources	May 29, 2002
Italian Music	June 5, 2002
Our Stories	June 5, 2002
Student Profiles	November 12, 2002

Main Study	
View	Date Created
What's New	April 15, 2003
Representing Others	April 15, 2003
Interviews	May 21, 2003
Interview Transcriptions	May 27, 2003
Web Sites	May 27, 2003
Tour: Little Italy	June 3, 2003
Italian Festival	June 3, 2003
Contacts	June 6, 2003
Virtual Discussions	June 6, 2003
Italian Choir	June 10, 2003
Song Texts	June 23, 2003

I created the Welcome view before I began the research and all the other views were added as the research evolved and specific needs arose. The database served as a place to discuss ideas and ask questions, a way to keep students up to date on interview contacts and outings in the community, and a place where students could document their interviews and experiences in the community. I felt that student contributions to the database were quite different from their contributions to in-class discussions. The database entries provided me with a window into the students' thought processes as well as helping me to understand their perceptions of the research process and the cultural and musical practices they had observed in the community. In the following excerpt, one student discusses her own learning experiences and how the database influenced her way of working during the research study.

> While doing this project I learnt about myself as well as the Italian music culture. By this I mean, I was able to do things and organize my thought in a way I hadn't done before, on a database. (Nadine, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 2, June 27, 2003)

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Value Orientation

The producing and originating of knowledge is at the core of generative research. I will discuss several aspects of my value orientation in relation to the research process. During this stage of the research, I always tried to represent what the local community members and my students found to be meaningful. Local meanings and interpretation of data were a result of listening to the actual voices and/or reading the words contributed by participants. Of course, pursuing such members' meanings is a complex process and "the ethnographer always writes her

interpretation of what she feels is meaningful and important to them" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 147). The ethnographer is not invisible in the setting, and therefore, the meanings represented in this paper are my interpretive constructions of what occurred.

I also tried to focus on meaning in context during the interpretive process. In other words, I was attentive to the indigenous words, phrases, categories, or theories provided by members in the different settings. For example, the students proposed the term "First Generation Italian" which they used to describe the more traditional Italian immigrant versus a more "evolved" person that grew up in Canada (Transcription, Fieldnote, May 28, 2003). Students also proposed theories about music and cultural evolution in relation to a local Italian community. Students adopted the expression "stuck in a bubble" to describe people who are not able to evolve within a culture (Fieldnote, 30/05/03). My account is an effort to be true to how the students characterized and described particular events and interviews and how they perceived their own world. Therefore, I used specific strategies (e.g. How members describe and categorize people and events) in writing my fieldnotes in order to represent members' meanings in a rigorous manner. As stated eloquently by Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995),

> These strategies require the ethnographer to bracket preconceptions about what is important in order to attend to people's indigenous ways of ordering and interpreting their worlds. In so doing ethnographers assume that members' meanings are *consequential*, that how people act is based on their understanding of their local social worlds. (p. 139)

I was also concerned about representing the multiple perspectives of the many different participants. I did not want the account to be homogenous but to be a testimony to the diversity as well as the dissention that can exist within any cultural community and among the student

participants. The contributions to the virtual discussions often provided excellent examples of the dissenting voices of students as they debated different topics in an online community. The following discussion[28] grew out of questions about how learning in the database is different from traditional learning in school.

> Deanna : I don't think school teaches you to have social skills. I think it's something you learn as you grow up. You don't necessarily have to go to school to gain social skills either.
>
> Tina : I would have to disagree with you Deanna. If your home all the time and your communicating through the Internet there are not people around you, so you gain no social skills. By going to school there are always people around, even by just asking a teacher a question your social skills become more progressive. Social skills are something really important to have. What if your mother sends you to a store to buy some milk and you can't have the courage to ask the person where the milk is then what happens. Everyone is going to be shy the first time. School is easier because there are so many people around. Just by saying hi, how are you to a fried [friend] your social skills progress. (Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 1 = annotation response, June 27, 2003)

The students that participated in the research often identified themselves with the Italian community by calling themselves "insiders" or positioned themselves outside the community, calling themselves "outsiders." They also placed themselves along a continuum from insider to outsider and began to use the term "insider-outsider" to describe their simultaneous participation and non-participation in a local Italian community. They used such criteria as being able to speak

[28] In the database, these are called *Annotations* (e.g. By Deanna). They represent sticky notes, a back and forth kind of bantering between the participants. It is a quick way to comment on what another person has just written.

the language, appearance, and knowledge of the culture to situate themselves along this continuum. Therefore, the present research represents the multiple frameworks of a variety of participants. As Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) suggest, contradictory explanations often exist in these types of research settings: "Particularly in multicultural and multilingual communities, people frequently shift between languages, cultural expectations, and differing frameworks for perceiving and assessing behavior" (p. 126).

Students often had to infer meaning from the manner in which people spoke with them during the interview process, during an outing or at an event in a local community. The participation of the students in the naturally occurring settings of a community gave them the opportunity to experience first hand the music and culture and subsequently to infer meaning. Students were involved from the very start in the process of "sense making," the interpretation of the data they were generating.

Analysis and Interpretation

I followed the coding and memoing procedures described by Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995) in their book *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. The analysis process involves sorting and linking in order to render the data meaningful. I began by reading all the fieldnotes and the database as a complete corpus. I did not code during this step but rather reflected and interacted with earlier hunches, questions, and insights that had occurred to me during the research process. I read the fieldnotes chronologically in order to re-experience the situations in the order they had occurred.

Subsequently, I began the process of open coding, generating as many codes as possible without thinking too much about their significance at this point in time (see Appendix I). I also

tried not to impose an a priori theoretical framework on the coding process in order to be open to the emergent themes in the data. I read the entire corpus of notes again and began the process of line-by-line coding in the margins of the printed document. I tried to remain open to any and all possibilities that seemed to emerge from the data. I created multiple themes, ideas, issues and categories that were suggestive in the data. I also tried to link specific events to analytic categories. Rather than simply sorting and labeling bits of data, the qualitative coding process involves naming and identifying the significance of observations.

During this period I also began constructing initial theoretical memos (see Appendix J) as I reengaged with the different events of the fieldnotes. These memos focused on analytic issues that cut across several incidents, ideas, and themes that were recurrent in the data. One of my memos focuses on the critical stance of students regarding their own culture, an issue that emerged numerous times in different conversations with the students. The following passage is an excerpt from this memo:

> The students seem to be highly critical of a culture that they term as "inward looking," one that is more conservative and "slower" to evolve (isolated places like the islands of Sicily and Sardegna). Preservation seems to be a pejorative word for the students (negative connotation). Students talk about how things that have always been done a certain way because it is tradition and nobody knows why things are done this way (e.g. cutting the sides off the cake). Melissa explains her theory of why people are "so Italian, so isolated, so perfectly in their culture" with disdain in her voice. There seems to be an admiration for "global mindedness," not being in the "bubble" as Melissa puts it. The students do not see the positive aspects of the preservation of this culture. (Initial Memo, Critical Stance Culture, May 28, 2003)

The second type of initial memo explores the theoretical implications of a specific, rich fieldnote. These fieldnotes often contained revealing incidents that offered insight into the research process and the participants. In the present research study, revealing incidents were often in the form of a story told by participants in order to illustrate their point. The following excerpt is from a memo that describes students asking questions about traditions and speculating about why people do things the way they do in different cultures.

> People often don't seem to know why they do things in a culture (e.g. cake story related by Tina). And, Melissa describes her mother's tomato sauce. Her mother does not know why she does things a certain way. She tells Melissa to go ask her grandmother. The students need to trace things [traditions] back. Deanna describes the clarinet player's (Italian band) reactions to some of our questions during the St. Antoine Festival in Little Italy. He would say "I never asked" [why] or "Nobody ever told me." Again, there is a "taking for granted" within a culture. People go through the motions without knowing why. When I asked "why questions" during the Marcone interview (Angelina reminded me that I was not supposed to ask why as an ethnographer), Mrs. Marcone was never able to answer them. (Initial Memo, Why Traditions, June 18, 2003)

The next step in my analytical process was to select core themes that would be the basis of the narrative account. I chose themes that were supported by a substantial amount of data, themes that reflected underlying patterns, or themes that were significant to members (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 157). During this process I also considered how themes might be related one to another.

> In fieldwork, then, events and actions become meaningful in light of an emerging meaningful whole. The analysis of fieldnotes is not just a matter of finding what the data

> contain. Rather, the ethnographer selects out some incidents and events, gives them priority, and comes to understand them in relationship to others. (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 168)

The ethnographer creates and discovers meaning during the entire process of writing and organizing fieldnotes. This step allowed me to physically sort the data, grouping it in segments according to emergent issues/themes.

The focused coding step is a line-by-line analysis of all the notes that were physically sorted into core themes. I did a line-by-line analysis of these notes in preparation for the final writing stage. This step allowed me to connect different themes in the data and to recognize patterns and subthemes. I was able to compare different incidents in the data and explain the similarities and differences as well as the conditions under which variations occurred. This step in the analysis process allowed me to discover patterns in the data and to begin to entertain different possibilities for the narrative account. My goal at this point in the process was not "representativeness"[29] (many examples of one theme) at all costs. According to Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995), the goal of the analytical process is to "identify patterns and variations in relationships and in the ways that members understand and respond to conditions and contingencies in the social setting" (p. 162).

The writing of integrative memos focused on what was found in the data during the open coding process already described. These notes are more polished than the initial memos and writing them allowed me to explore different relationships between the coded fieldnotes in addition to examining various emergent themes in depth. I began to think about how I would present the information to a future audience and what type of contextual information would be

[29] The goal of ethnography is not representativeness. A single case can be important.

necessary to include for someone unfamiliar with the research site. These memos link and frame analytic themes and discrete observations within the data and explain the conditions under which one or another scenario would occur. The following integrative memo discusses how enacting traditions preserves culture.

> Doing as remembering : "The way things used to be done"
>
> Note: Suzanne, Database, Virtual Discussions, Questioning traditions.
>
> This is really a rich note, with a lot of complexity. Suzanne talks about the fact that people do not question their own traditions or ask questions because they take for granted or trust that the method they are using is the best one and it seems to be working well for them. She says: "The way things used to be done seems to be an important part of Italian culture." They [members] will keep a tradition, for example, how they cook the spaghetti sauce (Fatima) or cutting the sides off the cake (Tina's example) because that is the way things have always been done. Suzanne states : "A culture with a past is a culture with a future." I'm thinking that every culture has a past so maybe the student means that a culture with a past that is carefully preserved and passed down from generation to generation is a culture with a future. The preservation of traditions (keeping them alive) means doing the things that the person did during their lifetime. In other words remembering is doing (actions). In performing the actions of grandparents and parents, their memory is preserved for future generations. (Integrative Memo, February 19, 2007)

My analysis process was a dialectical interplay between theory and the data. Theory and data are not two separate entities. Rather, theory was present at every stage of the research process, influencing my decisions from selecting events to attend with the students to emphasizing one participant's perspective over another. The analysis process is "less a matter of

something emerging from the data, of simply finding what is there; it is more fundamentally a process of creating what is there by constantly thinking about the import of previously recorded events and meanings" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 168).

In terms of interpreting the data, I was interested in the collective nature of a knowledge-building environment and was well aware that my presence and interactions with the students shaped the research outcomes. I viewed the students as collaborators, not only in the research process, but also in the interpretation of data they had gathered through interviewing and participating in different outings. Qualitative research must embrace open knowledge sharing and construction between the participants and the researcher.

> Critical theorists, constructivists, and participatory/cooperative inquirers take their primary field of interest to be precisely the subjective and intersubjective social knowledge and the active construction and cocreation of such knowledge by human agents that is produced by human consciousness. (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, pp. 176-177)

The social process of interpretation often played itself out during class discussions, following our experiences in a local community, or as part of an exchange in the database.

Based on their many experiences, students proposed core themes for consideration by other students in their database entries.

> *Opinion*: Italians seem to have a song for everything; food, war, flowers, love-every step of it! From falling in love, to making love, to ending love. Songs have meaning, a purpose, to help ease pain or spread joy. Or just simply tell a story. Most take pride in singing at every chance they get, whether they have a nice voice or not. It seems to be an integral part of keeping the culture, preserving the roots. (Melissa, Database, Virtual Discussions, My Theory, June 17, 2003)

The preceding note was a reaction to a class discussion about the different themes[30] that seemed to be emerging from the research and how we should try to categorize or organize them. Therefore, the selection of core themes and the meanings behind them was a process that involved the students directly. The types of interactions, the multiple viewpoints that were expressed, and the dynamic tension that took place in the different sessions with students as we collaboratively tried to make sense of data exemplified what has been referred to as "the interpretive zone" (Wasser & Bresler, 1996). When a student asked me: "Are you doing your research on Italian culture or on us researching Italian culture?" (Fieldnote, June 9, 2003), I responded that we are doing research *together*, in a collaborative way, in order to better understand the role of music and culture in a local Italian community. The individual fieldwork of each student became a part of the collective whole as they brought back their stories and ideas for discussion in the classroom and in the database.

When I use the word interpretation, I draw on the constructivist philosophical tradition. Guba and Lincoln (1994) explain how constructivists perceive the nature of knowledge:

> Knowledge consists of those constructions about which there is relative consensus (or at least some movement toward consensus) among those competent (and in the case of more arcane material, trusted) to interpret the substance of the construction. Multiple "knowledges" can coexist when equally competent (or trusted) interpreters disagree….These constructions are subject to continuous revision, with changes most likely to occur when relatively different constructions are brought into juxtaposition in a dialectical context. (p. 113)

[30] Core themes and subthemes are called scaffolds and scaffold supports in the database.

The students were asked to interpret the data, or make constructions of meanings underlying community members' actions and words. I, in turn, focused on how the students made these constructions and under what conditions. Therefore, I was involved in a type of two-tiered interpretive process: collaborative "sense-making" of the data with students and stepping back from the research to analyze the data as more of an outsider looking in. This process of distancing myself from the research process and the data helped me to verify my hunches about what I thought was going on initially with what the coded data actually presented. It also allowed me to view the data from the various theoretical perspectives presented in chapter one.[31]

Data Verification

Qualitative researchers are challenging the traditional views of validity and reliability and often prefer to "apply such criteria as plausibility, authenticity, credibility, and relevance" (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996, p. 572). Constructivists prefer to use the terms "trustworthiness" and "authenticity" (Lincoln & Guba, 2000), reflecting the extent to which the researcher accepts to be transparent and offers the reader a detailed account of the research process. In other words, is the account accurate, credible, compelling, and truthful? Did I do what I said I would do? Was I rigorous is my techniques, ways of working, ethics, and data analysis?

I was directly involved in the research process and this allowed me to come to know my participants and their views. Ethnography seeks this close relationship to context in order to reflect the way participants actually experience their reality. It was important for me to be open to the emergent nature of this type of research in order to describe and analyze the participants'

[31] Social constructivist perspectives, sociocultural perspectives, social learning perspectives, and anthropological perspectives (Vygotsky, 1986; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Geertz, 1983).

culture rather than my own. Whenever possible, I try to provide the reader with "fieldnote evidence" to support my findings and allow "fieldnote voices" to be heard throughout the account.

I used a variety of data collection methods in order to eliminate the bias that may have resulted from any single method. The fieldnotes documenting classroom discussions were an important source of data but I also found that the database expanded on the classroom interactions and often offered a different type of information. I was often able to compare a fieldnote, database entries, and an audio transcription concerning the same incident in the field. This allowed me to be aware of the multiple perspectives regarding an identical event.

Students who found it difficult to express themselves in a group setting had the opportunity to do so in the database. The following database entry is a very honest contribution from one of the students who rarely spoke during class discussions. In the following citation, Samuel uses scaffolds (opinion, reason) in the database to structure his writing. For a full discussion of the built-in scaffolds (see Table 6) in the database, see phase six of the research chronology in this chapter.

> *Opinion*: In my opinion music's function is used as an escapism from the real world, used for something to get away from everyday life. Music for our grandparents was used in a totally different way as to how us newer generations use it today. *Reason*: In the time of our grandparents, when they immigrated here to Canada, they used music as a gateway to their past, when they lived in Italy, and they still do as to this day. In the newer generation, us kids, we also use music to get away from our everyday life but not in the same way as our grandparents. We use music to get away from everything in our life [in the present]. I listen to music when I'm mad at my parents, when I'm bored, or when I

> have nothing else to do. We don't care what the song means as long as we get away. (Samuel, Database, Virtual Discussions, The functions of music, June 26, 2003)

The addition of video and audio transcripts also allowed me to hear and see aspects of the data that would not have been available to me simply through analysis of the fieldnotes. These multiple lenses allowed me to construct a more comprehensive picture of what was going on and to verify issues that emerged from the data in a more complete, contextual way.

In addition to using multiple data-collection methods, I also asked one student participant to read the emergent findings in chapter four. Member checking is an important part of ethnographic research, an opportunity to "report back" and share with the participants the results of the research and to ask whether the account accurately represents their emic perspectives. In addition to sharing, I also asked my participant to see if he recognized himself in the research interpretations and whether the account reflected what actually went on during the research process. The student communicated to me that he really enjoyed reading the account and felt that it reflected very precisely what went on during the research study. Also, he explained that reading the account brought back vivid images of class discussions that took place. This step in the research process was necessary for me as a way of valuing the connectedness between the researcher and the research participants. I wanted the research process to be reciprocal rather than hierarchical (Lincoln & Guba, 2000).

I believe that it is important for research participants to have a say in how they are characterized in the literature and to confirm the account as reflective of their experiences. Lincoln (1995) reminds us that we, as researchers, often write exclusively for ourselves and for our own research world consumption. However, if science constitutes a sacred enterprise as

Reason (1993) proposes, the concerns of human dignity, justice, and interpersonal respect should also be present from the beginning to the end of our research processes.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I described a research design informed by the traditions of anthropology, ethnography, and ethnomusicology. I also portrayed my struggles in the dual role of a teacher/researcher in my own classroom. I detailed the process of putting students at the center of ethnographic research using the tools of inquiry of participant observation, interviewing, and transcribing. I illustrated how I went about training students as researchers and database users. I described the different contexts within which the research occurred and presented the phases of the research chronology. I discussed how data generation, analysis, and interpretation took place from the beginning to the end of the research and enumerated my different approaches to data verification.

CHAPTER FOUR

EMERGENT THEMES

Introduction

Chapters four and five present the data in two very different ways. Chapter four presents emergent categories that resulted from my recursive reading and coding of the data. These categories emerged separately from the a priori questions set out at the beginning of the study. My process of coding the data took place when I was no longer in the setting, allowing me to establish some distance between myself and the research context. Chapter five presents the data organized in a manner that clearly addresses the original research questions. In this case, I was looking for specific instances in the data that corresponded the research questions elaborated at the outset of the present research study.

Chapter four reveals significant aspects of the data generation phase. Fieldnotes, transcriptions, and database entries were coded and interpreted. During the analysis process, I tried to stay close to the data in order to select themes that were significant to members and where there was a substantial amount of data to warrant their inclusion. I selected particular events based on this information, gave them priority, and tried to understand them in relationship to other events in order to provide the reader with my interpretation of what was meaningful to students and members of a local Italian community.

Four overarching categories emerged: preservation, the function of music, identity, and insider-outsider perspectives. The data revealed a portrait of a local Italian community where

music functions to preserve culture and maintain identity. In addition, students discussed their position in relation to this community as insiders and/or outsiders.

In the following sections, each category and subcategory will be described in detail. I chose exemplary data to illustrate each category and to provide a richness of detail for the reader. In some cases, I chose to include a longer fieldnote example in order to provide the reader with a detailed description of the everyday interactions that took place during the study. I construct this chapter in an emergent fashion, providing evidence for a representation of the data that I present in the "conclusions" section.

Preservation: Isolation, Transmission, Memory

Preservation is a significant theme that emerged and references related to this theme can be found throughout the data. The preservation act is of utmost importance to the Italian community. I describe how members of a community go about preserving their collective "memory" by isolating themselves from the mainstream culture, by controlling their environment, by reinforcing their sense of belonging, by idealizing the Italy of the past, and by transmitting cultural practices to the next generation.

Isolation

Controlling the Environment

One way that members of this particular local Italian community preserve their culture is by voluntarily isolating themselves. By keeping themselves together but separate, they are able to create a new "homeland" away from Italy. In this isolated state, they carefully control their

environment in order to protect it, as much as possible, from the outside influences of the mainstream society. The category of isolation was the result of many interviews and also student perspectives. I do not propose this category as a negative reflection on the community we were studying. I believe that many immigrants try to keep themselves separate from the mainstream culture in order to preserve their traditions, beliefs, and values.

By isolating themselves, the Italian community is able to carefully preserve many of their cultural traditions from the past. In the next fieldnote, an interviewee describes the astonishment of the Italians in Italy in reaction to a traditional Italian dance group from Canada.

> "We don't see this in Italy anymore." When the folk group his children danced and toured in Italy, they were booked all over the place. It reminded the Italians in Italy of another time way back. Italy has evolved and they could not believe that it was a group of Canadians dancing these dances. (Fieldnote, June 6, 2003)

Cultural preservation is so important to this local community that it tends to focus exclusively on keeping alive the traditions from the past. In Italy, however, things have evolved and changed and the people have forgotten these traditional dances. It is ironic that the traditional music and dancing of a segment of the Italian culture is preserved within an immigrant community in Canada.

The following citation is another example of how the local community has preserved its culture by controlling its music within a particular context. Suzanne is interviewing Sandra, a community member.

Suzanne: What kind of songs would you normally here [hear] at a wedding?

> Sandra: Songs from the 60's and 70's, we're kind f [of] stuck in that time instead of evolving with Italy. Immagrents kept a lot of the songs they hered in Italy. I guess it's our way of preserving our Italion culture. (Suzanne, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interviewing Sandra, June 23, 2003)

Traditional music from the past is used during a wedding ceremony to control the environment, to keep traditions frozen in time and to preserve them for the future.

During one of the interviews a student asks whether the music in Canada is different from the music in Italy. The interviewee explains that people brought their music and their traditions with them and that the music you hear today is exactly the same music that was in Italy when the immigrants left. The community member explains that the music does not change because the older generation will never forget the songs that they sung in Italy. They brought their traditions to Montreal and they hold their music "close to their hearts" because they do not want to lose it. Again, this is a way the older generation creates a static environment that is frozen in time (Samuel, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interviewing Mrs. Fatima, June 26, 2003).

Students used the term "state of mind" to refer to the older generation and how they have Italy "in their heart" even though they live here. According to the students, the older generation will always "be" in Italy. There is a sense of belonging, patriotism, and the need to preserve the Italy of the past, even though Italy is evolving and changing. Also, the students use the term "security blanket" to refer to how the older generation holds on tightly to their idea of what Italy is for them. For example, one of the interviewees stated: "I might be here but I'll always be in Italy" (Mrs. Marcone, Transcription, June 16, 2003).

In the following excerpt, Victor describes the Italian state of mind.

> The kids, I don't know. I think they are patriotic but I don't think they're as patriotic as the parents because the parents might live here but they're still Italian at heart. I mean, they grew up there. I mean, your home is your home. I mean, if we would now go move to, I don't know, another country and live there, we'd still be probably Canadian, all right? But ah, yeah, the kids are patriotic but I don't think they have the same Italian "state of mind" as their parents do. (Victor, Transcription, June 16, 2003)

"Living Italy" in a new country involves a "state of mind" that is perpetuated through traditions. It is this earnestness to preserve culture, including traditional music, that motivates the community to control its environment. Here is an excerpt of an interview with an older Italian woman and her son. They both conduct rehearsals with a traditional Italian dance group in Montreal. I asks Mrs. Marcone why she holds on so strongly to her Italian traditions from the past.

> Why? Because we left Italy and we still live Italy today. But in Italy, it is not the same thing. We still practice the traditions, the family…Things have changed a lot. Even our language…Me, I still speak to my husband [in Italian]…I am Calabrése. This is my language. Italian is my language. At our house, we still practice the [Italian] traditions. This is very important to me. This is normal. Even in terms of food. Me, I cannot eat cakes [made in stores]. I don't mean to offend anyone. Me, I cannot eat at McDonalds. It is very important for me to prepare homemade food. I make my own noodles. It is these traditions that remain alive within me. The people who stayed in Italy experienced the changes but we did not see the changes. Because even here, things have changed. So, we still live with an older mentality. Even though things change, I am still Italian. When you go to Italy, it has changed but you do not see the change. In your head it is always [the way it used to be]. Even friends, you no longer see your friends in Italy. Before, the

> village was full [of people] and now there is nothing. Me, I suffer because of this. I do not see the people because they are dead or things have evolved, and because I am here, I think that everything stays the same. Even though things have changed in Italy, I cannot change. Do you understand me? I cannot change! There is a girl who said to me that I am more Italian than the others, than the people in Italy. Me, when I am in Montreal, I am more Italian than the Italians [in Italy]. (Translation, Angelina, Tina, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with Fred and Mrs. Marcone, June 26, 2003)

Mrs. Marcone explains that she "lives" Italy here, that she still "lives" the traditions of the family. She still speaks her language with her husband. She explains that it is very important to follow the traditions, that this is the normal way things should be done. She talks about the tradition of preparing food and that she cannot eat a bought cake or go to McDonalds. She makes her own noodles. In this way, she gives bodily form and substance to past traditions by enacting them. She realizes that things have changed but she affirms that she cannot change.

Giving form to traditions such as preparing food, speaking the language and recreating music and dances are ways that members control their environment and offer models to the younger generation of the way "things used to be," a homeland away from "home".

This particular Italian community isolates itself by carefully controlling its environment. This isolation allows members to "live Italy" in their country of adoption. They transport their traditions from the past and hold these traditions close to themselves in order to preserve them for the future. The traditions do not evolve or change over time, according to members. They are static reminders of an Italy of the past.

Belonging

Another way that this particular community isolates itself is by staying connected to their "village" and the "paesànos," people who came from the same village in Italy. The students commented on the importance for community members to say where they are from. This closely-knit group of people that immigrated together continues to exert an isolating influence on the community.

Here is an excerpt from a class discussion that illustrates the importance of belonging for members of this particular local Italian community.

> Ms. Peters: I'm going to restate what Angelina said because I think it's important so if I was interviewing her I would take that and restate: "So it seems important to say where you are from…. And this goes back to the discussion about "my village," remember this? [referring to the discussion earlier between Melissa and Aidan where Aidan says "I don't know where my village is?"]
>
> Aidan: It's not a village.
>
> Ms. Peters: Right, but, you know, what Aidan was communicating by saying that was something really important. For some of us, the village we come from or, you know, the actual little place is not important. Maybe the culture is…maybe the fact that people came from all those little places [villages in Italy] very, very close [together] and very attached and they came here and they actually were isolated here in a sense because of the way the immigration happened, maybe that created something. (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

This excerpt refers back to an earlier conversation that took place between two of the students. One was Italian and the other was not. The Italian student tried to explain to the other student what the phrase "this is my village" means to an Italian. This phrase did not make any sense to the non-Italian student because he could not trace his own immigration story back to a particular village. Most Italians in this study, including third and fourth generation Italians, know which village they or their ancestors immigrated from. The students continue the conversation during the class and Angelina adds that it seems important to say where you're from because it means that different areas of Italy have different traditions. One of the students explains that the same group of people that immigrated together would later stay in touch with each other in Canada. Their identification with their village and traditions is a way of reinforcing feelings of belonging for the Italians in the local community. There is a sense that everyone is connected in this culture, that everyone is "paesan."

During a class discussion, students note the importance of stating where you are from in the Italian community.

> Angelina: Its not only just the Italian culture but it's the cultures within the Italian culture. Because if you notice some times you ask, "What are you?" If an Italian asks another Italian, "What are you?" they'll usually say like, "Calabrése." Like you'll never, you'll never hear another Italian say "I'm Italian" to somebody else. They'll say where they're from. And it could be that…
>
> Victor: Like, two Canadians talking and finding out they're both Canadian.
>
> Angelina: Yeah! They'll always ask (student: where you're from)…It seems important to say where you're from because it means that different areas of Italy have different traditions. (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

Melissa expands on how the community perpetuates a sense of belonging in the Italian local community in Canada.

> It's just the way they were brought up to be *so* Italian, *so* perfectly within their culture, *so* isolated, 'cause you know all the grandparents speak Italian and go to church every Sunday and "Let's have class after church" and nun nun nah. Everybody is so within their culture. (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

The Italians in the local community are brought up to be "so Italian" according to this student. The cultural traditions such as speaking Italian and going to church further "isolate" the community, keeping members separate from the mainstream culture. Members of this particular Italian community associate themselves with their Italian heritage first and foremost by stating where they are from. A sense of belonging to a particular region of Italy encourages members to preserve their cultural traditions.

Idealized Italy, Nostalgia

Another way that members of the community isolate themselves is by holding fast to a romanticized notion of Italy. Many people interviewed wish they could go back to an Italy that existed when they left. It is as if they have idealized the Italy of the past and they are nostalgic about the fact that they had to leave. Many had a hard time adapting to their new life and some wish they had never come. If it hadn't been for the poverty and the promise of "gold" in the new land, many would not have immigrated to Canada. Although they realize that Italy has changed, members of this community continue to hold up the Italy of the past as the way to live in the present.

In the following excerpt, Deanna describes a community member's perception of her homeland.

> She said she doesn't know Italy anymore. "My past is in a dream" and "It's not for me anymore" is what she said. When speaking about how Italy has changed, she also mentioned how even her family has changed leaving her glad that she's kept the Italian traditions. (Deanna, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Untitled, June 24, 2003)

The past is like a dream, romanticized by members of the community. The community furthers its isolation by distinguishing itself from the Italy of today. Members hold on to the Italy of the past, an Italy that is perceived as simpler and more beautiful than life in the present. There is a longing for the past, a nostalgia for the life they have left behind.

Here is an example of how a community member contrasts the Italy of the past with the Italy of the present.

> "Italy is not the same." "Not even Italian." "I remember my past. Its in a dream"…."Its like I went to a strange village." Mrs. Marcone talks about the quieter life over there [in Italy]. She keeps the traditions, cooking and festivities. "It's a good way." (Fieldnote, June 21, 2003)

It is as if the older generation is not able to come to terms with the changes that have taken place in their villages in Italy. For them, time must stand still. To achieve this, this woman romanticized about her past and kept it alive by enacting the traditions. The student interviewer, Angelina, asked Mrs. Marcone how things were in Italy before she immigrated. She described the culture as being very strict and yet hospitable. Both the older woman and her son described the natural beauty of the region where they immigrated from in Italy. We asked why she came to

Canada and she responded that she did not know why. She was twenty-two when she came and found the temperature here very difficult, especially the cold winters. There is an undercurrent to her words that seems to say that the Italy of the past is to be held up and cherished. "The way things were before was good – now things are more liberated, opposite of what they were like – not good." There seems to be a feeling of nostalgia that is almost palpable – you can feel it – a longing for the Italy that used to be, a simpler, more loving existence…"L'Italie pour rester toujours, c'est mon pays" [Italy will always be my country] (Fieldnote, June 6, 2003).

Again, this woman invokes the warmth and beauty of Italy and contrasts this with her arrival in Canada. She says that Italy will always be her country, forever. There is an undercurrent of longing, a state of being perpetually homesick. This excessively sentimental yearning to return to the past was a recurrent pattern in the interviews with the older generation.

The following excerpt further illustrates this yearning for the past and the feelings and emotions associated with it. I attended the *Festa Della Repubblica Italiana*, a celebration of the Italian Republic at the Italian cultural center in Montreal. I was roaming around with my note pad and pen, looking for people to talk to about Italian music and culture.

> There were two guitars, a mandolin, and an accordion player, all older men, singing traditional Italian songs and serenading the crowd. They would move from one place to another and had a hard time leaving because people would keep asking for requests by beginning to sing songs. Obviously, among these people (mostly older men but some older women in their fifties and sixties), there was certainly a shared "just knowing" about the music and "shared meanings." There was certainly an "inner circle of men." I was helping students, encouraging them to identify "who to talk to," looking at faces and wondering who is friendly and open. I was surprised by their [the students'] audacity. This is difficult to do. [going up to a stranger and talking to her]. People seem to be

> giving me looks as if, "What are you writing about?" Perhaps they are suspicious. This also seems to set me apart from the others, making me feel even more like an "outsider."
>
> A woman smiles and asks me what I am doing. I explain to her about the project. Her name is Christa and she comes from Puglia [Apulia in English] in southern Italy. She said she left Italy when she was five years old, thirty years ago. I asked her about how the music makes her feel, what type of emotions come to the surface when she hears this music. We spoke in French. She talks about feelings of nostalgia and memories. She describes how music is able to touch her at the core of her being, in her "guts." She says that music evokes feelings of sadness, nostalgia, and so much love. It seems as if folk music of Italy is love, not only between a man and a woman (in the traditional love songs), but also love for the country. I asked her why she has not come together with her Italian community in Montreal since she immigrated. She spoke about the North American mentality versus the European mentality. It seems that here there is a much more isolating mentality. People do things on their own. She finds the music very touching. There seems to be deep down emotions brewing. The "feelings are very deep." She is planning a trip to Italy for three weeks, the first time she will be back in her country as a "visitor." She says "An Italian that does not know Italy [has not traveled to Italy], this is not good." (Fieldnote, June 1, 2003)

Christa insists that the traditional folk music touches a person at the core of their being, in their heart, and that it creates feelings of sadness, nostalgia, and love. This type of festival brings together the community and sets them apart, in isolation from the rest of society. It encourages the strong emotions that are linked to a romanticized past.

The Italy of the past evokes many deep emotions for members of the local community. They continue to keep alive a romanticized, idealized conception of Italy. This nostalgic view of

Italy constitutes how many of the members of this particular community perceive their country of origin.

Critical Stance

In contrast to how the older generation describes their life and traditions, the students are highly critical of a culture that they term "inward looking," one that is more conservative and "slower" to evolve. They illustrate their point with the example of the people on the islands of Sicily and Sardegna. These islands are in fact isolated from the mainland and therefore, they evolve differently from the mainland culture of Italy. Some of the Italian students see the continuation of these isolating influences in the lives of their parents here in Canada. The following passage is an excerpt of a class discussion about isolation and the evolution of culture.

> Ms. Peters: The fact that it is an island makes...Why does this make a difference in music or culture?
>
> Students: When you're isolated…
>
> Ms. Peters: Aha! Yes, yes, island, isolation.
>
> Melissa: When you talk to most Italians, most Italians from actual Italy, they don't consider Sicily a part of Italy anymore.
>
> Ms. Peters: So that's an issue too, whether you feel…(students talk). We're not judging anything here. We're just throwing things out.
>
> Victor: Even Sardegna…even further [away from the mainland?]
>
> Melissa: Yeah. (confirming)

Ms. Peters: Which is another island.

Victor: Yeah, yeah. You're from there. (speaking to one of the students) You're from there…

Ms. Peters: So it's isolated. So how does that affect how things evolve? What happens?

Angelina: [something about language]

Ms. Peters: Language, food, culture, everything (Angelina: Yeah) How does that affect it, the fact that you're isolated? What happens Melissa?

Melissa: If you're isolated, lets say they're evolving at a different rate than, like, the mainland. The mainland goes one way and then like Sicily goes… [another way?]

Ms. Peters: Is it [evolution] slower? (student: yeah) Is it slower? Is it different?

Student responses

Ms. Peters: Different and slow. (Melissa: yeah) (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

In the following selection, Melissa talks with disdain in her voice when she says that people are brought up to be "so Italian, so perfectly within their culture, so isolated." She uses the expression "the bubble" to illustrate how the community keeps itself isolated from the rest of society. She wants Italians that are isolated within their culture to "open their eyes" to see that there is something outside of the traditional culture.

Preservation seems to be a pejorative word for the students. They criticize what they perceive as being "blind tradition," doing things because they have always been done a certain way and never questioning why. Tina illustrates this point in the following excerpt.

> This little girl was watching her mom make a cake, you know…and she was putting the cake on the tray and she cut the sides. And the little girl asked her mom, "Why, mom, do you cut the sides off the cake?" She goes, "Well, because my mother did that." She goes, "Well ask your grandmother." And she goes to her grandmother and she says…and she keeps going all the way up to the great grandmother and it's just to tell you like, you don't always have to do the things the same way as other generations. You don't always have to do that. If you stay isolated, you're not going to open your horizons. You're not going to learn as much as if you're really out there, talking to different people and learning about different things. (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

Again, Tina criticizes the isolated stance of the Italian community and their inability to see beyond their own culture. Even though I was aware of the critical stance of students, I encouraged them to ask questions about culture without being judgmental. I wanted them to reflect critically and objectively about the influence of isolation on the evolution of music in culture.

> Ms. Peters: Okay, so, you guys are talking about isolation as being a very negative thing. Did you notice that? [the students protest] That's Okay. No, I'm not… it's not necessarily a negative thing but some of you do see it as negative. But, in a positive vein, what does isolation do to music? What happens to that music? There's something positive about it.
>
> Victor: Well, like you said before, you're not influenced, right?
>
> Ms. Peters: You have a "pure culture" that has never been influenced, right? People in the culture don't become a part of that global culture, whether that's good or bad. But, it's different, right? Differences are (pause) okay, right? Um, somebody, Christina?

> Christina: For example…you're not going to repeat something someone else did. Like to me, all musics sound alike but actually they have their own little type, their own thing [uniqueness]. (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

During this dialogue, I was trying to get the students to put aside some of their personal opinions and see how isolation functions as a way to preserve traditional music in culture. Christina realizes that the uniqueness of different musics can be attributed to isolating influences in culture. During another class discussion, students take a critical stance regarding a culture that isolates itself to preserve its traditions. Christina believes that people need to find a balance between being in their ethnic bubble and expanding their horizons, growing in the world (Transcription, May 30, 2003). In the following citation, Christina expands on this point in the database, weighing the pros and cons of the preservation of culture and traditions versus the openness and acceptance of others.

> I've been reading what the other people have been writing and I agree with all of them. There is an interesting point that Tina brought up. She said that we are being influence by the americains, we are starting to all think a like. Overall, we are loosing our individuality, our uniqueness. I back her up an 100% but there is an other side to being different. It is the reasons why there is all those war, fights, arguments, and conflicts. It is all because of our differences. (Christina, Database, Virtual Discussions, What came up a lot, June 27, 2003)

Students see the importance of preserving culture and traditions and worry that we are losing our "individuality, our uniqueness." However, they also see how isolation and differences between cultures can lead to conflict. In this sense, the students that participated in the research study found themselves betwixt and between. They wanted to preserve the uniqueness of a local

music culture and at the same time develop a “global mindedness,” an openness and acceptance of others’ differences. This tension between preservation and evolution was present throughout the study.

As a final point, Christiana discusses how isolation seems to contribute to the preservation of culture in the following database entry.

> *Different opinion*: I have to disagre with the last point that Deanna brought up in her note called young vs old in the rise aboe [above] for theme:preservation under the virtual discussion. She said that if you are from Italy and live there you will be more attracted more interested to learn about their family then the ones who are here in Montreal. *My theory*: If you don't live in Italy then you don't know everything about your roots, your backround etc so you will be curious about it and want to know more. If you live in Italy then everything is around you, your family, your roots etc. As said many times we don't really question what is around us because it is "normal." I belive that the further you are away from something the more you will want to know about it. (Christina, Database, Virtual Discussions, Last Point, June 26, 2003)

Christina points out that immigrant communities are often curious about their roots and their background whereas people in the home country may take their own culture for granted. Therefore, the isolation of culture in local immigrant communities contributes to its preservation.

The Italian community in Montreal controls its environment by creating a “homeland,” a romanticized, idealized Italy that members “live” everyday by enacting the traditions of the past. Their sense of belonging, attachment and loyalty to one another further encourages a tight-knit community that is set apart, isolated from the rest of society. The younger generation views this

isolation critically, questioning whether it is possible to simultaneously preserve culture in a "bubble" while at the same time encouraging "global mindedness."

Transmission

Older Generation to Younger Generation

As described in the previous section, the older generation isolates itself in order to preserve its culture. This isolation allows members of this Italian community to conserve their cultural traditions in order to convey to the younger generation an understanding of culture, history and music. It is as if the older generation wishes to "pass on" cultural knowledge as a type of inheritance or heredity for their children and their grandchildren.

The following excerpt is an interview between a student and her grandfather. It illustrates how the grandfather preserves a cultural legacy in order to pass it on to the future generations.

> Tina: Is it important to keep the music alive?
>
> Grandfather: The music from my generation mostly consists of italian music, classical and contemporary. Its really important that i keep the music from italy next to my heart so that i can pass it down to my children, and my grandchildren. People need to understand that the history of music will always remain. I want my children to understand the culture and the history of music. (Tina, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with my grandfather, June 23, 200)

In the following passage from the same interview, the grandfather raises issues about the transmission process.

> The reason why its so hard today to preserve the music is because not many people care. Lots of us try to preserve the same traditions and cultural beliefs but the thing is once we die who else is going to continue to follow with these traditions not many people. That is why we try our best to pass down the knowledge we have to our children so that they can pass it down to their children. (Tina, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with my grandfather, June 23, 2003)

Again, the grandfather invokes the process of passing down knowledge from one generation to the next in order to preserve it for the future. He worries that the traditions will die with the older generation, despite their many efforts to preserve the culture.

Dana and Samuel describe the transmission process in this particular local Italian community.

> We see that the older generation of Italians want to keep there [their] music living they don't want it to dissapear and so they try to pass it on from generation to generation the real music not the music we here [hear] everday but the more traditional music. (Dana, Database, Virtual Discussions, Italians Love for there music, June 15, 2003)

> Music is another big Italian Tradition. If you dont have music then its like missing a piece of your heart, Italian music has been passed down from generation to generation, and it doesnt seem to have lost its effect on the newer generation of italians, it still lives on even if it is fifty years old. (Samuel, Database, Virtual Discussions, Themes of the Italian culture, June 16, 2003)

Transmission of music is an essential part of the preservation process. In the second excerpt, Samuel reiterates the importance of music for the Italians. Not having music is like “missing a piece of your heart.” He also believes that music has the same impact on the younger

generations as it did on the older generations. The following excerpt from the database proposes a contrary opinion about transmission.

> "Italion music has been passed down from generation to generation, and it dosen't seem to have lost it's effect on the newer generation of Italions." I have to dissagre with this statement. Music can't have the same effect on the younger Italions as it does on the ones that have actully lived through the events discribed in the songs. When Sandra (the woman Nadine and I intervued last week) was asked if the younger generations are as attached to there roots as their elders, she said no. She belives the generations she knows don't understand the fealings behind the music like their grandperrents do. Shure, there songs [are] still being played at weddings that are from the 60's but if the meanings are lost, so are the songs. As Sandra said "I can see it being lost and there's a lot of songs they can't understand and not just in Italion but in the dilect too, they are going to be lost." (Suzanne, Database, Virtual Discussions, What about the younger Italions, June 23, 2003)

Suzanne felt comfortable taking a contrary position to the one put forward by the other two students. Given that this student was quite shy in general in the regular classroom setting, it may suggest that the database format was a secure space for her to contradict her other classmates. In addition, she raises several important issues that relate to the transmission process. For example, she talks about the importance of the context of musical events. Living through events and experiencing things that are described in songs provides a way for members of the community to understand and be moved by the music in a particular way. The feelings that are behind the music cannot simply be transmitted to the younger generation. Effective transmission of musical practices is a social interaction involving representation, dialogue, exchange and the production of meaning (Hall, 1997). This process will be discussed in detail in chapter six.

Suzanne uses the evidence from one of her interviews to back up her statements. Meaning is tied to understanding the language and the dialect of songs and when the younger generation no longer understands the language, meanings will be lost. Therefore, the transmission of a music culture is much more than simply enacting musical practices. In order for the younger generation to "receive" this cultural and musical inheritance, they must be immersed in the context in which the music was created originally to experience the feelings and the meanings behind the music. There will always be a missing link in interpretation during the transmission process. In order to interpret meaning in similar ways, people need similar contexts to experience the feelings, attachments and emotions that imbued the music with meaning. Perhaps through the many efforts to isolate themselves, the older generation is able to create a space where the giving and taking (transmission and reception) of meaning is possible between the older and the younger generation (Hall, 1997, p. 2).

Nadine expands upon her understanding of the transmission process in a local community culture.

> *Opinion*: Music is going to be preserved in several different fashions. For as long as the older generation can they will try to get the younger generation involved in the culture such as through the music. *Elaboration*: What I mean about this statement is the fact that the older generation is so involved in their culture that they try to give their love of it to their children and grandchildren in hopes that they too will love their culture. The problem is that the younger generation is evolving and going with the times. Therefore they aren't as intererested in the culture and it's traditions as their grandparents. *Example*: In the interview with Eduardo he spoke alot about how the wedding ceremonies are mainly very traditional but as the times go on that will change and the music will become the style of the age that the people grew up [for people of his generation]. As Eduardo

> stated for example that for his year, the wedding anniversaires will consist of 70s music like disco and not the traditional music that the his parents grew up with. Therefore the music will not be preserved. That is the big difference, the fact that people evolve and don't try to preserve the culture that is already slipping away. *Conclusion*: Music, much like the culture in general, is slowly becoming less important to this generation. Unfortunetly, it seems as if as the time goes by, the culture will change completly, traditions will be lost and everything will have less meaning then what it used to. (Nadine, Database, Virtual Discussions, Preservation, June 23, 2003)

In the previous citation, Nadine asserts that music acts as a way into culture. She also underscores the importance of context to the preservation of traditional music. She illustrates with an example from one of the interviews where the interviewee, an accordion player and singer, describes how the music at fiftieth wedding ceremonies is changing. He believes that music goes with the way people live. In other words, if you are born and raised in Montreal, you remember the way you grew up and the music that was important to you at the time. People want to join with everyone who went through the same experience. They want to hear the music that they “grew up with” (Fieldnote, May 25, 2003). Nadine claims that culture and traditions will eventually be lost, not because people no longer know the songs, but because the traditional music is no longer important to the younger generation. The traditions will eventually lose their meaning because they do not occupy a significant place in people’s lives.

In summary, the older generation tries to preserve musical traditions in order to transmit them to the younger generation. However, the students wonder whether these traditions will continue to be important to the younger Italians in the local community. Some students believe that traditional music continues to be a powerful influence for the younger generation. Others

raise the issue of the context of musical practices as an important aspect of meaning formation. Therefore, the transmission process must take into account the receiver. It remains to be seen whether the younger generation will embrace traditional music as a part of their cultural heritage and identity or whether they will simply enact cultural traditions void of meaning.

Evolution

As mentioned previously, the younger generation is evolving and changing and this influences the transmission process. Many of the students and interviewees agree that the evolution of culture is an unavoidable process. Some things may be passed on from one generation to the next while some things will be forgotten and left behind. As Tina's grandfather puts it, "Nothing ever stays the same, things change, people change and the world changes" (Database, Interview transcriptions, Interview with my grandfather, June 23, 2003).

The following is an excerpt from an interview with an accordion player/singer who performs at many Italian festivals and wedding ceremonies. The theme of evolution comes up continually during the course of the interview.

> Eduardo: With time the generation that came from Italy and that got off the boat, slowly slowly are retiring they're getting old, some are going to be dying, some of them have died already. And the newer generation, which is the first generation of kids that were born here from those parents that came from Italy. We are now the ones that are caught in between the generation were we were grown up, which was the old mentality, but at the same time we have children of our own, they're growing up with the new modern mentality of living in a North American type of city, so thats going to be interesting to see what happens in the next 10 to 15/20 years and how weddings are going to go. I think

> its going to be a big change. You wont see wedings 4/500 people, already today you don't see it, and on top of that even the music is going to change, because my son did not grow up with tarantellas, or waltzes…. I want to hear the traditional music, I still do but not as much as my parents like to hear it today. So there's going to be a big change happening.
>
> Victor: Ya it does, because if you go now, or when you go to a weding theres all the paysans [paesànos, people from the same village in Italy] are invited, now I wouldn't invite my paysans to a wedding and I don't think he (Jimmy) would either. (Database, Interview Transcriptions, Follow up interview of Eduardo, June 29, 2003)

In a previous interview, Eduardo described himself as a "First generation Canadian," the son of immigrants growing up in Canada. We see here the tension that exists for the younger generation, having grown up with the "old mentality," encouraged by an isolated Italian culture, and the "modern mentality" of a North American city. The younger generation finds itself "caught in between" the two different perspectives. It is as if they are living with a foot in both worlds. Eduardo illustrates the evolution process with a musical example. Tarantellas and waltzes are important to the older generation because they grew up with them but Eduardo is not as attached as his parents are to this traditional music. His son will be even further removed from it. Victor, one of the students, describes how the tradition of inviting all the people from your village in Italy to your wedding is evolving.

Some of the interviewees blame technology for the changes they are seeing in musical practices. Here is how Tina's grandfather describes the transformation that has taken place:

> In the olden days people were more into the content of the music. Music was written for all kinds of different reason like for instance about love, money, jealousy, hate, passion etc... These days people seem to turn the radio on and if they hear a good beat they dance

> and sing to it. They don't care about why the song was written or its content. (Tina, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with my grandfather, June 23, 2003)

Tina restates some of her grandfather's ideas and expands on them in the database.

> These days with the technology we have music culture is slowly fading away because its not the same anymore. My grandfather said to me that technology was taking over their music culture by taking a song and changing it to different rythms and beats. He said a song should stay as it is for the older generation to remember a specific memory they used to have. By changing it the memory slowly changes also. (Tina, Database, Virtual Discussions, Technology, June 26, 2003)

The following selection elaborates on another perspective of one of the interviewees regarding the influences of technology and the evolution of music.

> The tradition that remains as important is "the family" and family values. He [Eduardo] talks about how this has changed. There is "not much" appreciation for each other today. Before, people would dance together until 4 a.m. Now, money, cars, etc. are important. [According to Eduardo], this is reflected in the fact that the word [lyrics] tells a story in the music [of the past]. Now it is simply technology and nobody cares about the word [lyrics, the story] at all. (Fieldnote, May 25, 2003)

There seems to be an implicit valuing of music that is based on content, the words and music's storytelling function. Also, it seems important to be able to know why a song is written. This information is tied to the "specific memory" of a song. If you change the music, you change the memory. In order to preserve culture, the memory must be kept intact.

In the following database entry, one of the students describes the evolution process in terms of the changing function of music in society.

> The use of Italian cultural music has definately changed over the years through the evolution of society. When our music was first brought here it was used to show our patriotism, and celebrate our roots. The songs were sung everywhere! Now it is more used to preserve our roots, and to keep them from dying. Notice how the songs are now only heard in more [anymore] in ceremonious events like weddings. When all the original immigrant die, will we still be singing them at weddings? Only time will tell. (Jimmy, Database, Virtual Discussions, My response for the 26th, June 27, 2003)

Jimmy believes that music was used originally to show patriotism and celebrate cultural heritage. Now music is used as a preservation agent of cultural heritage. He describes the context of musical practices in the past and in the present. Originally, music was an important part of everyday life with songs being sung everywhere. Now, traditional music is only heard as a part of special ceremonies. This illustrates the restricted use of traditional music for special occasions only. This student wonders whether this change in music's function and use signals the end of traditional music for a local Italian community.

Amanda and Angelina characterize the inevitability of cultural change as they perceive it.

> Were [we are] all like a bunch of dominoes put in a row, when one falls we all do, or at leats [least] most do. Our worlds are only as big as our circle of family and friends. When something happens which causes them to fall so do the peolpe around the person because you affect them. *Conclusion*: to sum it up everyone goes with the flow. If the circle around you were to change so would you in a sense. That's why it's hard to keep track of

> the culture that once existed. (Amanda, Database, Virtual Discussions, Response for June 23, June 26, 2003)

> They [the older generation] don't want to lose their culture or their traditions but sadly, most of them are accepting the fact that some of it is being lost because of evolution. Here they tried to preserve what they had when they left Italy. Back home however, things changed. Things are alos [also] being lost here as you pass down the traditons from generation to generation. Change was often brought up in the interviews. Whether it be the fact that the older peole can't change their ways or the fact that Italy itself has changed which has added to the loss in traditions. (Angelina, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 3, June 27, 2003)

Change is inevitable according to these students. It is an important part of our ability to adapt to our surroundings and survive in a new cultural setting. Perhaps the difference between the rates of change among people depends on the influences of the concentric circles of family and friends. These influences can certainly insure a degree of continuity within a sea of change. However, as traditions are passed down from generation to generation, change will certainly affect the resulting practices for a local community.

The evolution of society and culture is a recurrent theme for local community members and students. Participants in the study often felt that they were caught between two different generations, trying to function simultaneously in the old mentality of the cultural group and in the modern mentality of a North American city. In the same vein, participants describe the changing function of musical practices and contexts. Preservation and change constitute a dynamic tension for the local community.

Culture Loss

Students perceive the evolution of culture as resulting in culture loss for the community at large and for themselves personally. They believe that assimilation will result in the mixing of cultures and a loss of cultural traditions. They wonder about mechanisms by which cultures are "lost." Students believe that the older generation and the community are responsible for keeping culture alive. On a more personal level, several students describe how they live this loss of culture in their own lives.

During a class discussion the students talk about how it is harder to find people that are "all Italian all the way down." They talk about seeing more and more of a mix of cultures and perceive the changes as negative, resulting in a loss of culture for the Italian community (Transcription, May 30, 2003).

One of the interviews further explores why cultural traditions are lost instead of being preserved. Deanna is speaking to a member of an Italian marching band on the street during a festival in Little Italy. Some of the band members were looking at us (two students and the researcher) suspiciously, probably wondering who we were. Others did not seem interested in talking to us. The band member that agreed to speak to us was a clarinet player. He stated that music is important because it reminds him of Italy and that he keeps the "Italian tradition" by playing his instrument. In the following excerpt, he explains why the Italian culture is being lost.

> When asked what the meaning of some songs and traditions were, the man explained to us how he himself did not know. He talked about how people don't ask questions and stories are left behind and forgotten as the years go by. (Deanna, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Our interview with David, June 19, 2003)

In a discussion session about the interviews, Deanna brings up this interview as an example of people not asking questions regarding cultural traditions. “I never asked” or “Nobody ever told me” are examples of the responses from the band members. To some extent, these people are going through the motions of culture without knowing the ideas or meanings behind their actions. This reflects community members’ implicit knowledge about cultural practices versus the explicit knowledge that is often experienced in schools. In the previous excerpt, the student concludes that meanings and stories are left behind and parts of tradition and culture are lost when people don’t ask questions about particular songs or traditions (Fieldnote, June 6, 2003).

Students insist that the older generation and the Italian community are responsible to keep culture alive and pass it down to the younger generation. Here is an excerpt from a visit to a choir that performs traditional Italian music and dramas. Deanna wanted to understand the motivation of people to be part of the choir.

> When I asked the question " why are u a part of this choir", the same answer use[d] to come up alot. They would say so that they don't loose there culture so that they stay united as a Italian community. That they do it for them selcves becuase they like to sing. Becuase there scared that everyone will forget the traditional Italian music the music that are [our] parents and grandparents use[d] to sing or listen to the kind of music were all u need is a guitar or a accoridian and everyone will be dancing. (Dana, Database, Choir, Choir, June 22, 2003)

The members insist on the importance of solidifying the community through a communal music-making practice such as a choir. They wish to preserve for themselves the Italian traditional music of their parents and grandparents and they fear that this music will be forgotten.

Another student remarks on the responsibility of the parents and grandparents to “implant a cultural understanding” in the younger generation.

> *Opinion*: If your not taught about your culture you don't lose it because you never knew it. It is a loss of culture but one you can't do anything about. It's up to our parents and grandparents to keep us informed, and to implant a cultural understanding within us. Just like the expression what you don't know can't hurt you. It's not your loss but one to a community so vast with culture. Of coarse if you never learn much about your culture you will have a longing for discovery and maybe even identity, but what can you do. This research has surely proven that not every question can be answered because not every question was asked. (Amanda, Database, Virtual Discussions, Response for june 25, June 26, 2003)

The loss of culture is not just a loss to the individual but to the community at large. It is interesting that Amanda links culture loss with a longing for discovery and identity. This seems to reinforce the link between culture and identity that will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The following examples illustrate how some of the students experience culture loss in a very personal way. Angelina is the daughter of a father from Trinidad and Tobago and an Italian mother. She describes how “some people are strong in their cultural roots” while she herself is “lacking culture” because it was not passed down. She uses the term “rootless” and regrets not having been brought up in the Italian culture. “I didn’t really have it,” she says. She believes that you need to keep your roots in order to be whole. You need “to know who you are, know where you’re going, know where you came from [and] know what went on.” According to this student, knowing about the past is an important part of a person’s identity and offers guidance for the

future. It is interesting that students' participation in the study stimulated them to reflect on their own culture and identity (Fieldnote, May 30, 2003).

The following excerpt is from the Festival of the Italian Republic. Melissa is Italian and she describes the scene and her personal emotions.

> The older people were the life of the party, singing along with the band, quite emotionally and loudly. Every one seemed so into the singing, I couldn't believe everyone knew all the words to everything. They played the National Anthem, and everyone sang loudly and proudly. Every time the band tried moving, they were stopped and requests were made. At one point, the lead guitarrist tried to tell a man the song was over, but he just kept singing. It was a real experience. Seeing as how I went last year, I didn't expect to be touched, but I was moved when I heard all the older people singing along in the Center. I also felt saddened that I never learnt the songs, since it is, after all, part of my culture. (Melissa, Database, Festa Della Repubblica Italiana, Italian Festival, June 15, 2003)

I found this to be a very moving entry. Melissa identifies with the songs that she never learned growing up as being an important part of who she is fundamentally. She experiences this loss of culture in part as a loss of identity.

Culture is lost through the processes of evolution, change and assimilation. The younger generation does not ask questions about culture and traditions and, therefore, there is an additional layer of meaning and context that is no longer understood. The community works to unite itself and continues to enact traditions so they will not be forgotten. Both the community and individual students are experiencing "culture loss," a sense that a vital part of themselves no

longer exists. The students reiterate the importance of their cultural past to their identity construction in the present and the future.

Memory

The third component of preservation is memory, the power and act of remembering. This particular local Italian community isolates itself in order to transmit to the younger generation their collective memory based on the way they grew up, experiencing similar experiences in similar contexts. I will begin by illustrating what memory is according to members, how it was transported to Canada, and how the local community enacts memory in order to keep it alive.

Collective Memory

During one of the interviews, a community member illustrates the transportation of "memory" in a suitcase.

> Samuel: Do you think that the Italians in Canada are more Italian than the people in Italy?
>
> Fatima: Yes, because the Italians that came to Canada preserved their past. They arrived here with only one suitcase and all their valuables that they kept because the suitcase contained their memories, their language, and their traditions. It was a connection to their life in Italy. I swear to you that if you ask your grandparents where their suitcase is that they had when they arrived here, they will have it in their closet. (Translation, Samuel, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interviewing Mrs. Fatima, June 26, 2003)

Fatima agrees with the student that the Italians in Canada are more Italian than the Italians in Italy and she attributes this to the fact that they have preserved their past. When they

arrived in Canada, they had only one suitcase with all their material possessions. Fatima expands on this illustration and speaks metaphorically about the "three suitcases" that illustrate the values of the community. Each suitcase represents something distinct for this member of the community: memories, language, and traditions. These three "suitcases" connect and bind the local community in Montreal to their life in Italy. They symbolize the memory of the past that must be kept alive. The grandparents keep the suitcase they arrived with in their closets. This symbolic act of "preserving" the suitcase represents the importance of preserving the cultural traditions and memories that were brought over from Italy.

The memory brought over remains static for the community. Cultural traditions, including music, do not change. The traditional music performed today is the same music that members experienced in Italy before immigrating to Canada. Members of the local community transported the "memory" or "tradition" intact and it remains this way today. One of the community members explains:

> The Italians that immigrated to Canada brought with them their music and their traditions. The music that you hear today is the same music that was played back in Italy when they left. The music never changes because the older generation like your grandfather will never forget the songs he sung in Italy. He transported his traditions here to Montreal. I think that the older generation keeps the traditional music close to them so they will not lose it. (Translation, Samuel, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interviewing Mrs. Fatima, June 26, 2003)

According to this woman, the music cannot change because the older generation will never forget the songs that they brought with them from Italy. The older generation holds these

songs close to themselves so they will not “lose” them. Based on one of the interviews, a student explains why the older generation does not let music evolve.

> As Fernando said, music seems to change so quickly. One can never keep track of how it changes. Since Italians who immagrated here want to keep a memory of their home country, they haven't really let the music evolve. When I interviewed an accordion player, he said that when he went back to Italy to perform with a folkdance group, the people were amaized that they came from Canada, beacuse you don't see that kind of dance anymore [in Italy]. (Melissa, Database, Virtual Discussions, Preservation, June 26, 2003)

We see that the community has succeeded in keeping the memory of their home country alive and intact. The Italians in Italy are surprised by how the Italian community in Montreal has been able to conserve the memories of the past through dance and music. Within an evolving society, the community has succeeded in preserving its collective memory in order to preserve its connection to the past.

Enacting Culture: “Remembering as Doing”

Members of the Italian community enact culture in order to keep the “memory” of Italy alive. Singing a song or playing an instrument is a way of reminiscing about and remembering significant people in members’ lives.

In the following excerpt, Tina describes how members enact memory through dance.

> Miss, what you were saying about traditions and that, ah, like we can’t keep the same tradition…Ah, Miss Marcone was saying that, um, it symbolizes two different things. Like, for example, back then we used to do La Tarantella, there used to be a meaning to

> it, why they used to do it. Now we do it just because we don't want to forget the memory of the dance or whatever. (Transcription, June 16, 2003)

The meaning and purpose of the traditional Italian dance changes with time. Tina explains that *La Tarantella* had a specific "meaning" at one time, perhaps a rivalry between two men in competition for one woman. Or perhaps the function of this rigorous dance was to eliminate tarantula venom from the victim's blood. However, now the dance is preserved as a cultural practice, objectified and taken out of its original context. It now functions as a symbol of Italian folk culture. The original meanings embedded in the cultural practice have been lost. In fact, when asked about the original use and function of the *Tarantella*, many members did not know.

Memory is static according to some members of a local community. However, it does seem to be evolving. Without knowledge of the original context, there seems to be a loss of the meaning and purpose attached to a particular memory. One of the students explains the importance of context to the musical memory of her grandmother.

> When I was little, there was whoever is singing to the daughter of so and so to get them to fall asleep because it was the song that the mother sang to them. Like, it had, it has a specific meaning. You don't know it any more. [shrugs her shoulders as if to say it is a shame to have lost this] (Melissa, Transcription, June 16, 2003)

Melissa describes a specific context of musical practice where the who, to whom, and the why of the performance are known to the listener. While it is possible to enact this tradition today, the distancing from the original context results in a loss of meaning. It is as if preserving cultural traditions today implies "acting out" the tradition to preserve a memory void of meaning.

Several participants explain that acting out cultural traditions is often taken for granted and that it is a way of keeping the memory of a person alive.

> I think pepole don't ask many questions [about a cultural tradition] because they trust that a method of doing something is the best way because they see a friend or family member doing it that way and it seams to be working out well. Mabey they see it as tradition and they don't have to know why as long as it continues The way things used to be done semes to be an Important part of Italion culture. Can the saying "a culture with a past is a culture with a future" be applied here? The little things like cooking spagetty sause a sertain way or cutting the edges off a cake just because they saw someone eles doing it might be their way of remembering the person who did it first, to keep a part of this person alive in their heart. Mabey remembering and doing the uneak [unique?] things from someone who has tuched your life lead to the bases of a tradishion. Thain these memeries are passed down from generation to generation through these actions to keep a little part of them (the one who started it) alive. Thain it might be said that the culture will never die because the pepole, or at least their actions, will be remembered. (Suzanne, Database, Virtual Discussions, Asking questions and Tradishions, June 23, 2003)

Acting out traditions is important to members, even if they do not know why they are doing something. The “way things used to be done” is a way of preserving the memory of the culture. The acting out of traditions that a member first experienced with a person that has passed away keeps the memory of that person alive. It is a way of commemorating someone through actions.

The next passage demonstrates how a local accordion player and folk singer keeps the memory of his uncle alive.

> Italian music was always predominant whether it was on the radio, CFMB, or if it wasn't a party that we used to go to it was mostly always Italian music. I started playing, I had an uncle of mine who came over every Sunday who was my father's uncle, who played the accordeon. So he was, and he was retired, he would come over to play accordeon and my dad would offer him homemade wine and we'd spend the whole afternoon that way and when he passed away I was about 8 years old, my uncle passed away so my aunt gave his accordeon, she gave it to my dad as a souvenir, you know, after he passed away as a memento to remember him by. And my father at the time was in his forties and he said, "I'm not going to learn to start the accordeon at my age" so I was young at that time so he said, "I'm going to have my son learn how to play the accordeon" so he started making me go to music school and I hated it…. Look, buddy, if you don't play the accordeon or you stop accordeon, you stop hockey, you stop everything." I didn't want to stop hockey so I kept on the accordeon to make him happy, you know…. That's the reason why I'm playing today and it's because of the upbringing I've learned to enjoy that type of music [Italian traditional music] as well. (Nadine, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview 1, June 1, 2003)

This excerpt highlights the importance and influence of family on the transmission of cultural practices. Playing the accordion is a way that the memory of a family member is kept alive, enacted, and reenacted.

The next excerpt is another example of keeping the memory of a loved one alive. Two students are interviewing an accordion player who accompanies the Italian traditional choir. One of the students asks a question about how he feels when he is playing for the choir. The conversation moves to the interviewee's relationship with his father-in-law, who used to sing in the choir.

> Barry: Father-in-law was in the choir. Well, he passed away last year. I was really close to him. It was something…we actually bonded with the choir. Yeah, my wife asked me "Why do you keep doing it?" And I go [I feel close to Dad] (he got emotional here and it was a little awkward – the students didn't quite know how to respond – I tried to keep conversation going, accepting the fact that tears are a part of life and not to be avoided).
>
> Student comments.
>
> Barry: No, he just enjoyed singing. You know, he'd sing all the time.
>
> Student comments.
>
> Barry: My Dad always, whenever we'd go over, he was always practicing his part, you know, he's singing his part. "Did I do it right?" Every time I hear that song it reminds me of him. (Christina, Melissa, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with Barry, June 26, 2003)

This was an extremely emotional moment for this member of the Italian community, the students, and for me. The music is the way for this person to keep in touch with the memory of his father-in-law. The power of music to reach beyond and to connect with memory is an important aspect of its preservation function. The following quote is another example from Eduardo, on of the interviewees.

> It's just that the power of music, I mean, they use that today in healing in the hospitals and people that are mentally ill, they use a lot of that music. Music is very powerful. I would go play sometimes for old folks homes and there are old Italian folks home in the east end in St. Leonard and these people, some of them are in wheel chairs and they don't even understand any more if you talk to them. They're just basically there but they're not even there. And when you play those songs, the old songs with the accordeon and they

> hear that melody, they turn their head and they look at you with these eyes that say, "Hey." It hit something in there, it's like it made them remember something, it's powerful. (Nadine, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview 1, June 1, 2003)

Music is a powerful link to memories of the past for many older members of the culture. It takes them back to a specific moment in the context of an Italy of the past.

Traditional music preserves a collective memory and reenacts the memory of individual members of the community that have passed away. It is as if their souls are revived through musical practices that are associated with them. Traditional music took place in a particular context and had a specific function in the Italy of the past. Members of the community continue to enact these traditions in the present as a way of "remembering" the past. However, these traditions are often taken for granted or have lost some of their meaning for the younger generation. It is as if the musical practices that are enacted "embody" a memory that is an essential aspect of the preservation and maintenance of culture.

The preservation act is fundamental to the survival of this particular local Italian community. Preservation is a way for members to build and maintain their cultural identity. Music plays an important role as a cultural preservation agent and as a way for members to express ethnic and cultural identity. In the next section, I examine in more detail how traditional music functions in a local community culture.

Function of Traditional Music

Transports

One of the important functions of music, according to the students and members of a local Italian community, is to transport people to the past. Music is a link between the present and the past, especially for the older generation. The "older people are attached to certain songs because they 'went through it [experiences in the past]'" relates one of the students (Fieldnote, June 18, 2006). Angelina describes an interviewee's perception of the past.

> And she told me a story of um, how her husband, like, the things he used to do when, um, they were younger and it was a lot more loving, like the whole atmosphere. Like that's one of the things she missed that everybody knew each other. And she lived at the top of the hill and he lived at the bottom and she told me that he played the guitar. (Angelina, Transcription, June 16, 2003)

The music is able to take these people back to a particular moment in time in the past where they experienced things as a collective community in the context of their home village. As already discussed previously, this past is "idealized" by members. They refer to it as "the good old days," even though they experienced many hard times. For some reason, the older generation does not view the past in terms of their sacrifices or hard times. The following database entry provides one explanation.

> The main reason though, is the fact that music brings back a lot of memories. Back then during tough times, music was a souce of hapiness and fun, they also were young at heart and living in the place where they call home. Today, they might have aged, but the music

> is still alive, and revives the youth in all their hearts. (Victor, Database, Virtual Discussions, Answer to question # 3, June 29, 2003)

Perhaps music is able to transport members to positive memories of the past, a way to relive the joy and happiness they once knew rather than reliving the hard times.

Traditional music seems to link people to their past lives, to the way they used to live, to where they were born and raised, to the way they grew up, and to their collective experiences with others. These collective experiences are relived and re-experienced when all actors from the past are present at a festival or ceremony. Music is able to transport people back to the original setting where it was first experienced collectively (Fieldnote, May 25, 2003; Initial memo, November 11, 2003).

Music has the power to reproduce vividly the original context and emotions that are associated with a song or other musical practice. While other tools can be used to transport people to their past, music seems to be an easier way for people to stay in touch with their roots. One of the interviewees explains:

> Suzanne: So, these songs have had a very big impact on your life?
>
> Sandra: Yes, yes cause it helps me connect with my roots. It's something that I guess…If it wasen't for the music, thain I guess there…There are other ways to connect, like through pictures, ya know, through memeries, but music just makes it all easier to connect. When I play some of these songs, I feel like I'm back in the square [in Italy] with some friends. (Suzanne, Interview Transcriptions, Interviewing Sandra, June 23, 2003)

The following excerpt describes how members feel when they hear or play traditional Italian songs.

> Suzanne: How do some of these songs make you feal when you hear them or when you play?
>
> Sandra: Happy, like I'm on vacation again in Italy. Sad too because I'm not in Italy. It takes me back. (Suzanne, Interview Transcriptions, Interviewing Sandra, June 23, 2003)

During another interview, Samuel asks Fatima what she feels when she listens to an Italian song. Fatima responds that she feels like she is in Italy. It is a pleasure and a joy for her to listen to the music from her country. She remembers events that happened in Italy long ago. "When you listen to a song that describes something close to you that happened, you remember" (Translation, Samuel, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interviewing Mrs. Fatima, June 26, 2003).

Both women in the preceding interviews were transported back to Italy, one to the Italy of her vacations as a young girl and the other to the Italy of the past where she grew up. In the first excerpt, the young woman talks about feeling both happiness and sadness, two conflicting emotions. In the second excerpt, the woman says that she forgets the songs that speak about sadness. She remembers events that happened in her past, especially when a song describes events that you experienced personally. The music makes you remember. These women describe the vivid and moving experience of being transported into the past via the power of music

Another student describes the function of music as "escapism," a way of being transported away from the real world. He describes how the music functions differently for the older generation and for the younger generation.

> *Opinion*: In my opinion music's function is used as an escapism from the real world, used for something to get away from everyday life. Music for our grandparents was used in a totally different way as to how us newer generations use it today. *Reason*: In the time of our grandparents, when they immigrated here to Canada, they used music as a gateway to their passed [past], when they lived in Italy, and they still do as to this day. In the newer genereation, us kids, we also use music to get away from our everyday life but not in the same way as our grandparents. We use music to get away from evreything in our life I [k]now I do, I listen to music when i'm mad at my parents, when I'm bored, or when I have nothing else to do. We don't care what the song means as long as we get away. *Conclusion*: In conclusion music to the immigrants meant more to them than it did to us because as I have said before it was a gateway to their passed life in their native country. (Samuel, Database, Virtual Discussions, The functions of music, June 26, 2003)

This student believes that music has more meaning for the older generation because it is the gateway to their past life. In contrast, the student states that the younger generation does not care about the meaning of music as long as they "get away," escaping from their everyday life. While the older generation idealizes their everyday life of the past, the younger generation wants to get away from their everyday life in the present. In both cases, music functions as a way to transport people, either toward a past memory or away from a present situation.

Music functions as a way to transport members to specific places or past events in Italy. More often than not, these memories are associated with feelings of happiness and joy. Music is a powerful way to connect to the past and/or to escape from the present.

Connects and Unites

In addition to transporting people, music functions as a way to connect and unite people through collective experiences. The following selection is taken from a fieldnote recorded following the rehearsal of an Italian traditional choir.

> At the end of the rehearsal, I speak to two other older men. The first one (don't know his title; 60s, graying hair, glasses), but he talks about the importance of music and culture passionately. He talks about patriotism (this seems to be evident in all the music events we have been to). He says we must never forget our roots. He says that music makes you feel better. Singing is the philosophy of life. It contributes to our relationships with others. He speaks about culture crossing saying that culture is the open door to understanding across cultures. I ask about the link between values and music and he talks about friendship, rapport between people, and warmth. These are the values that the music encourages: Rapport and friendship in the group/choir and also across to others. He talks about giving and receiving. He talks about the music being a spiritual experience that forms character. (Fieldnote, June 9, 2003)

During my discussion with the two older men from the Italian choir, they explained the two-fold purpose of singing traditional music in the choir: relationship building and unity between choir members and cross-cultural connections between the choir and others. The act of singing for choir members is linked to different facets of connection: relationships, warmth, rapport, giving and receiving, forming of character, and spirituality. The ultimate purpose for some members is culture crossing, understanding, and strangers becoming friends through the music. There seems to be a relational aspect that is highlighted by participation in the choir. The communal act of music-making forms an emotional and relational bond between choir members.

They extrapolate this connection and want to bond with others from various cultures by sharing of themselves through the performance of traditional music.

The accordion player that accompanies the choir explains what he most enjoys about the experience to one of the students during an interview.

> What he enjoys most about the choir is the fact that the music brings people together. He especially likes the old war songs, because they remind him of his grandfather. His favorite song is Steluti Alpenis, which is about a soldier who is writing his wife, saying that he is injured and going to die, and he is telling his wife how much he loves her. (Melissa, Database, Choir, The Choir, June 17, 2003)

Music's power to unify a group of people and create emotional connections between members of a group is highlighted by another choir member as she describes an Italian traditional song.

> Also there's this really funny song about this mule. It's about the owner greving the loss of his mule and he says "when my wife died, it was no big deal", ya know, "I berried her and it was all cool but now that you have died, my poor little mule"... He wont stop crying and he's all upset. When he used to go "eee aw", ya know, "it was so nice and how I missed you. "It was a very funny song. I got a lot of the words in Italy from my father and it was kind of a bonding thing with him too because we had some kind of common ground. (Suzanne, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interviewing Sandra, June 23, 2003)

It is evident that the bonding can be very strong among members of the same family. One of the choir members would look up during a performance and focus on the place where his father-in-law (who had passed away) used to stand in the choir. He says that this special

"emotional bond" that he had with his father-in-law "keeps you there" [keeps you involved with the choir] (Fieldnote, June 22, 2003). The family bond and emotional connection seems to be strengthened through the music. Music and family are two important values that were mentioned by most of the community members during the interviews.

During one of the interviews, a member of the community describes a typical Italian festival and influences on Italian traditional music.

> Samuel: Can you describe a typical Italian festival?
>
> Mrs. Fatima : The most important part of the festival is meeting family and friends and having fun. It is obvious that if there is not music, it is not worth going to the festival. Italian need music when they eat or while they are doing just about anything. (Translation, Samuel, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interviewing Mrs. Fatima, June 26, 2003)

Again, the importance of the human connection emerges as a theme. The most important thing for this person, during a festival, is the family, meeting friends, and having a good time. Music is not a mere accessory to life in this community. It is essential!

In addition to unifying the community, music also connects members of the culture to the community of the past. As mentioned in the section on memory, music acts as a catalyst, a powerful tool that facilitates the connection with loved ones who have passed away. It is a way to keep the meaning and importance of a person alive, a way to regenerate the soul (Fieldnote, June 23, 2003). Music enacts culture. People "do" culture in order to remember the person "who did it first, to keep a part of this person alive in their heart….these memeries are passed down from generation to generation through these actions to keep a little part of them (the one who

started it) alive" (Suzanne, Database, Virtual Discussions, Asking questions and Tradishions, June 23, 2003).

Music unites and connects the community. It encourages relationships with others and contributes to the emotional bond between people. It also facilitates cross-cultural communication between different cultural groups. Music fosters a type of giving and receiving that strengthens the bonds between family members, friends, and strangers.

Accompanies Everyday Life

Music accompanies the everyday tasks of people in the Italian community. The older generation views music as a natural extension of themselves. Music is perceived as an essential part of life and it imbues life with meaning. If you do not have music, you will not experience life to the fullest. "Music is part of life. It is what gives life meaning" (Fatima, Translation, Fieldnote, June 23, 2003).

According to this community member, music is part of everyday life. It is the meaning of life. In the following citation, a student describes the importance of music's role in everyday life based on her interview with a community member.

> Angelina: When I was talking to Miss Marcone, um, a lot of the things she was saying, like it was very interesting. Like a lot of the music, she was saying, was improv [improvisation] and like, music was a very big part. If we were to put this under music culture [theme in the database], I would put music in the role of everyday lives because, like, it was such a big part. Like people would be walking, the women would be walking to go to pick grapes in the field and, like, they'd pick up a grape and they'd start singing

> about grapes and go "These grapes are ripe. They're tasty," and things like that. (Transcription, June 16, 2003)

Music is characterized by the older generation as being improvisatory. This student has the impression that songs were made up in a spontaneous way to refer to any everyday action that members would be performing in the past. Music accompanied these actions in the past and brings them to life for the present generation. Mrs. Marcone would choreograph scenes from everyday life accompanied by music for a traditional Italian dance group.

In the following excerpt, Angelina further expands on the spontaneous, improvisatory character of music in everyday life.

> Mrs Marcone said that growing up, music was everywhere. It was a part of their everyday lives. They didn't need instruments to make music. They would use their hands and feet to creat a rythm or beat. It was very spontaneous and improvisational. (Angelina, Tina, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with Fred and Mrs. Marcone, June 26, 2003)

Many of the interviewees describe how the older generation sings much of the time while making wine, cooking, or doing many other tasks in their everyday lives (Fieldnote, June 6, 2003). One of the interviewees asks a student if he knows "why his grandfather sings all the time when he is making wine or doing anything else" (Fieldnote, June 23, 2006). A student's grandfather responds to this question.

> Tina: Nonno, i realized when i come to work with you, that you have the tendancy of singing a lot, how come?

> Grandfather: In my life i have always wanted to sing. When i went to school we learned theory of music and also how to sing. That is how i got an interest in singing. I really enjoy singing napolian songs because there [they are] full of love and tenderness. But also because Italy is the garden of the music and of singing. (Tina, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with my grandather, June 23, 2003)

The grandfather's interest in singing was sparked by his musical education in school. He likes to sing because of the associations of love and tenderness in the songs from the Naples area of Italy. It only seems natural for him to sing all the time.

As described above, one of the functions of singing is to accompany everyday tasks. In the following fieldnote, I explore the functions of traditional music and dance.

> We [the students and the researcher] tried to explore the reasons that the Italian traditional dance group exists. They perform for "many reasons." They seem to exist as "symbols" in memory of something from long ago. They exist perhaps as a "cultural preservation agent" [while music and dance used to be part of "everyday life," now everyday life is transported to the stage as symbolic of how things used to be. Everyday life becomes performance art]. (Fieldnote, June 6, 2003)

The function of traditional music and dance seems to be changing. In the past, music accompanied everyday tasks and was an integral part of everyday life. People sang all the time to accompany their lives. In an effort to preserve traditional music, culture, and values, scenes from everyday lives of the past such as picking oranges or berries in the country are now choreographed, put on a stage, and performed for an audience accompanied by traditional music. "It is as if they are creating an art object, something that will stand in time to be able to remember an event that happened so long ago" (Initial memo, November 26, 2003). This

objectifying of everyday lives of the past is in opposition to music's original function that was to accompany and enrich everyday life.

The following two database entries illustrate how music continues to permeate the lives of people in the Italian community.

> Music Has Always been Important to Italians just like food They tend to sing about eveything instead of just writing a story they write music or they use[d] to at least know [now] things have changed. (Dana, Database, Virtual Discussions, Italians Love for there music, June 15, 2003)

> *Opinion*: Italians seem to have a song for everything; food, war, flowers, love - every step of it! From falling in love, to making love, to ebding [ending] love. Songs have meaning, a purpose, to help ease pain or spread joy. Or just simply tell a story. Most take pride in singing at every chance they get, whether they have a nice voice or not. It seems to be an integeral part of keeping the culture, preserving the roots. (Melissa, Database, Virtual Discussions, My Theory, June 17, 2003)

According to one of these students, Italians have a song for every moment of the life cycle. They sing about everything to ease pain, spread joy, and to show their patriotism. Songs are a way for people to tell a story. Singing is an essential part of the Italian culture. The act of singing accompanies everyday life and it is a way for community members to enact and preserve their culture.

Members characterize music as spontaneous and improvisatory in nature. It accompanies everyday actions, giving life meaning. Many of the members sing all the time as a way to enrich their lives and enact the culture of the past in the present. Music permeates the lives of the community with songs that accompany every moment of the life cycle.

Tells a Story

As mentioned previously, music is a way for people to tell a story. In the following excerpt, one of the musicians that we interviewed translates the speeches that are being made by older men at a fiftieth wedding anniversary celebration. These speeches provide important contextual information about the past that highlights the importance of the ceremony, including music and dancing, as perceived by the older generation.

> When the men came over from Italy, they had to have a trade. They would marry by telegram and often the wife would arrive six months after the marriage. It was a "virtual wedding." So that is why he [the husband celebrating his wedding anniversary] considers that this is his "real wedding" because he never had a real wedding ceremony with food, music, and dances. These "oral stories" [told by men at the ceremony] seemed to be characterized by the theme of hard times. Another man explained how he left his two children and his wife behind in 1951. He could only speak the Italian dialect of his little village. He worked on the railroad. They were seven men in one room for three years. He only had one pair of pants. He was going to a baptism and his pants were wrinkled so he was ironing them when the doorbell rang. He left the iron on the pants and burnt them. Unfortunately, he had no extra pants and neither did any of the other men in the house so he could not go to the baptism. Now, he says he has many pairs of pants but no more energy to party. Another man talked about seeing his wife for the first time when she got off the boat. Another man talked about having fun, being united with family, and the door always being open at his place (hospitality). (Fieldnote, May 25, 2003)

Members of a local Italian community use speeches, dance, and music as ways to tell stories. These stories are an expression of their experiences and present their worldview. These men use speeches to thank friends and find empathy and understanding in others who went

through similar experiences. Their stories often contrast the past with the present. Storytelling is used as a way to pass on knowledge about the past to the younger generation. The stories often describe real life incidents. Music is one way to communicate these stories to others. Angelina writes: “Music, for them [the Italian community] is storytelling.” (Angelina, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 3, June 27, 2003). A member of the community comments that stories are often being told through songs (Fieldnote, May 25, 2003).

Eduardo, an accordion player, describes how the storytelling function of music is changing.

> If you look into the words of a lot of the songs, a lot of the songs have meanings like the older songs whether it was English music or French music but the older generation’s music it wasn't about the beat, it wasn't about that techno sonic sound that you get, like you know, it was really a story that was being told in the song whether it's a love story or a story about two people breaking up whether it's about children growing up and seeing them growing up or family or husbands or what, it was always stories that were being told through songs. That was [what] made it so popular, that was what made it so beautiful. In today’s world, you listen to songs that you hear and all the songs, it’s like three or four lines and they repeat the same words and the beat is great, you can dance to it but the people don’t really care what the words mean, they just want a good beat so you kind of, like just shy away and start, like you don’t listen to the words of the song as much as just listen to the music, you can dance, you know, so that’s the difference I find for Italian [music]. (Nadine, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview 1, June 1, 2003)

The function of music was to tell a story in a particular context. Now, the function of music is for people to dance, according to this accordion player. Therefore, the words and story

of the song seem to have become less important to the younger generation. It seems that the Italian community can take any incident in everyday life and incorporate it into a story through music or dance. Music and dance allow the older generation to preserve “stories” and “events” as they were in the past. The retelling of these “stories” through music and dance is a way of transmitting cultural values and a worldview to the younger generation as well as a way to relive these events as a united community.

Transforms

According to both community members and students, music has a transformative power. It can change your mood by cheering you up, soothing you, or “pumping you up.” It also helps you celebrate when good things happen. In addition, music is a vehicle to release and express emotions. Lastly and most importantly, music is joy, happiness, and love for a local Italian community. It helps people get away from tough times by recalling the memory of better days.

The next excerpt provides one musician’s description of the effect of music on mood.

> Barry: I've always enjoyed music; I feel music is [a] very important part of life.
>
> Christina: What makes it so important?
>
> Barry: What makes it important...Well it keeps you- I find it keeps you young, I don't know, it's, it keeps you young, it's lively, it's- I don't know, sometimes when you're- there's just certain types of music you like to listen [to] when you're not feeling so good, you know, to make you feel better. Sometimes when you're feeling down or- there's other types of music you like to listen to, depend [depending on] the mood you're in. There's

always certain music that goes with your mood. (Christian, Melissa, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with Barry, June 27, 2003)

Christina further expands on these ideas, providing her own perspective.

Barry said that the reason music was so important is that it kept you young. There is different music for your different moods, when you need to be cheered up you listen to a certain type of music. [Music has a great affect on people; it touches them in many ways. It is there to sooth your soul, to pump you up when you need energy, to cheer you up when you are down, to help you celebrate when something good has happen etc.] As said before, Barry grew up with a lot of music around him and he tried to do the same to [for] his children. [Music had a great impact on his life and he wanted to past down that joy to his children.] (Christina, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with Barry, June 27, 2003)

Christina insists on music's power to transform a person's mood. It is interesting how she integrates her own thoughts by using the fieldnote writing convention of "personal notes" (when the researcher inserts her own thoughts into a fieldnote using square brackets) with the ideas put forward by the member of the community. The powerful impact of music on this member's life encourages him to pass on the joy experienced through music to his children.

In addition to transforming mood, music also allows people to release or demonstrate their emotions (Fieldnote, June 6, 2003). The following two selections illustrate this point.

Mrs. Marcone: They would sing to release emotions be it anger, jealousy, happiness, etc. Happinness would equal song, they would sing when they were happy. (Angelina, Tina, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with Fred and Mrs. Marcone, June 26, 2003)

> The most important transformative power of music is its ability to bring joy to human beings. “La musica e il canto e la gioia de essere umani.” [Music is the song and joy of being human] (Tina, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with my grandfather, June 23, 2003)

The grandfather of one of the students states that music is the joy of being human. Therefore, traditional music is associated with love, happiness, and joy. The following passage illustrates how music transforms sadness to happiness.

Samuel asks how Fatima, a community member, feels when she listens to traditional music. “Joy, happiness” are the answers. She says that if you are sad, you forget your sadness. There is a type of transposition that takes place [the happy music replaces the sadness] (Fieldnote, June 23, 2003).

In contrast, music cannot be associated with grief in the Italian culture. Music must be joy. It is associated with good times. Victor elaborates on these points.

> *Love*: Love is the topic of most of the traditional songs, wether its about making love or just expressing love we hear about love often. It can express love for something (religion) or someone. These songs were also represented a fantasy. Why? Well, back then (this is a very important theme) TIMES WERE TOUGH (in most cases).These songs permited people to fly away from their troubles. Songs can also represent good times and other sometimes varied meanings (picking fruit). In other cultures (for example in the states [United States] or any other cultures, people sing in times of sadness (the blues, etc.). I'm not saying that this isn't done in the Italian culture, because it is, but the Italian traditional music seems to represent joy, love and hapiness more than it does sadness. Music is sung during tough times, but I think that the music is represeting better days, instead if [of]

> expressing grief. (Victor, Database, Virtual Discussions, Answer to question #3, June 29, 2003)

This comparison between the blues and Italian traditional music is interesting. It is the emotions joy, love, and happiness that are most strongly associated with Italian traditional music according to this Victor. Another student expands on this contrast between joy and sadness as it relates to an Italian funeral.

> Misic [Music] is seen as a joyas [joyous] thing and to play music after someone dies is an insult. No music [not performing or listening to music during the grieving period] is "inflicting pain to morn." (Suzanne, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interviewing Sandra, June 23, 2003)

These vivid illustrations by students and community members stress that music functions as “joy” in the context of a local Italian community. Its purpose is to uplift people and allow them to express their emotions. “Songs have meaning, a purpose, to help ease pain or spread joy” (Melissa, Database, Virtual Discussions, My Theory, June 17, 2003). In the following quotation, a student uses the words of a choir member to back up her theory about why music is important to culture.

> He explained that music is important to the culture, it was a way of expressing happiness and joy. *Artistic Expression*: I think that this has alot to do with music. Not only in the Italian culture, there are alot of songs expressing happiness and joy and just about every other emotion. I have heard this alot during other interviews. (Melissa, Database, Choir, The Choir, June 17, 2003)

Melissa perceives the expression of happiness and joy through music as a recurrent pattern across different interviews. Joy is the emotion that seems to permeate all aspects of this local Italian music culture.

Music has a powerful impact on people's lives. It has the power to change moods, to release and express emotions, and to spread joy. Italian traditional music is clearly associated with the expression of happiness and joy for members of the local community.

Communicates

In addition to its transformative functions, music is described as the language of the soul, a way to communicate emotions that go beyond words. One of the students describes how music communicates in the following database excerpt.

> I believe music is important to the culture becuase it is a way of communication. You can communicate your feelings by telling someone to listen to a certain song. I used this example before, but just in case someone hasn't read it, I'll re-say it. I have often told my boyfriend, or friends, how I feel by telling them to listen to a specific song. On MSN, I change my screen name to song lyrics, to portray (is that how you spell it?) how I feel. Music is the language of the soul... without it, there would be a great void in my life. (Melissa, Database, Virtual Discussions, Third Question, June 27, 2003)

In another database entry, a student illustrates the communicative function of music in people's lives.

> When I did my interview at the wedding reception when a certain song played, you could see very vividly in the peoples expressions that that song meant something to them. That it reminded them of what they had or have and what they have been through. I think this

> is common in a lot of people…. Music is a way of communication through the soul and that is what these people are showing in their expressions when they hear one of those special songs. (Nadine, Database, Virtual Discussions, Communication through the soul, June 15, 2003)

"Communication through the soul" often takes place in this united community, where people have shared similar past experiences. The sharing of these memories through music is a means of communication, a process of sharing information between two people. Musical communication in this local music culture is rich with the emotions of love, joy and happiness.

In summary, according to participants, music has six important functions in a local Italian music culture. It transports people to the past, it connects and unites the community, it accompanies and enriches everyday life, it tells a story, it transforms moods and expresses emotions, and it is a vehicle for communication. Meaningful musical practice is linked to the past. Memories of the past are an important part of members' identity construction. Music functions as a way to preserve culture and as a tool to cultivate, maintain, and reinforce identity for members. The link between music and identity will be discussed at length in chapter six.

Insider – Outsider

As mentioned in chapter three, students were initiated into their role as researchers using the tools of inquiry of cultural ethnographers. As a class, we discussed the distinction between outsider and insider as defined by Geertz (1983) and Schwandt (2001). This tension between outsider perspectives and insider perspectives is very evident in the data (see Figure 7). Some students labeled themselves as insiders, understanding the subjective meanings of the behaviors and actions of the community. Others labeled themselves as outsiders, detached and more

objective in relationship to the community. Some students felt that they were caught in between insider and outsider perspectives. In addition, there was an evolution in the way both insiders and outsiders perceived themselves in relation to the community and in their understandings of local Italian music and culture. The concept of insider and outsider was present in the study from start to finish. I used these terms often in order to sensitize students to their own particular perspectives in relationship to the study.

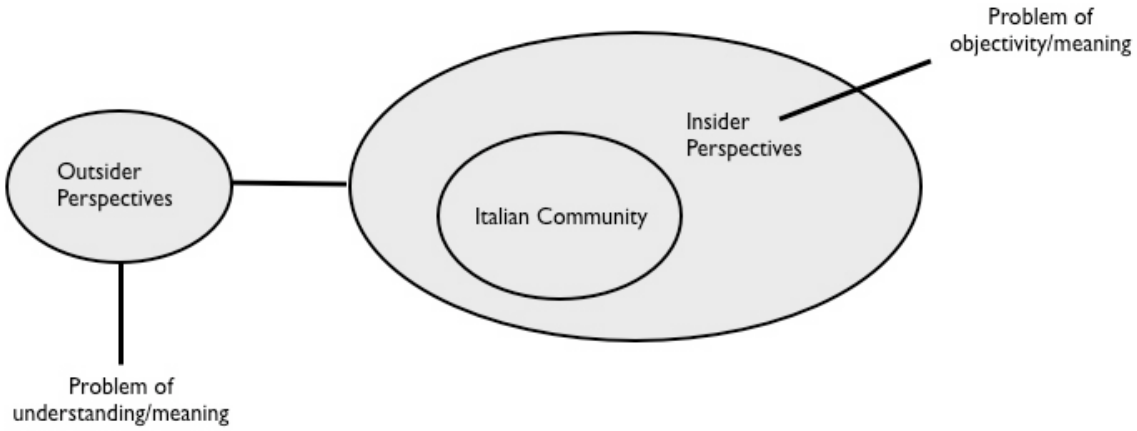

Figure 7. Insider versus outsider perspectives.

The following excerpt reflects my concern that both insider and outsider perspectives be represented in the process of the research.

> I asked a group [of students] to interview on Sunday. Melissa, Nadine and Victor volunteered. This is a good representation. Nadine is an "outsider," Melissa and Victor are "insiders," and Victor understands several dialects. (Fieldnote, May 21, 2003)

I wanted students to understand that both insider and outsider perspectives were important and should be represented in the study.

> Ms. Peters: So the idea is that he caught on right away because he's what we call an insider. Like he knows all about that….So if you're the outsider like me and you're going, huh [I don't understand], that's okay because you have a different perspective. Your perspective is really important and the insider [perspective] is really important too. (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

I wanted students to be aware that part of their role was to ask ethnographic questions in order to find out things that "everybody knows" in a community. These things are often considered mundane and taken for granted by community members. I asked the students to focus on what these things might be for someone in this particular local Italian community. I emphasized the importance of grasping concepts that are used naturally and effortlessly in the local community. This evidently had an impact on how students perceived themselves in relation to the local comunity. This section is important because it demonstrates how students' positioning in relation to the Italian community influences their understanding of music, culture, and themselves.

Perspectives

Insider Perspectives

In this section, I will illustrate how the students who considered themselves insiders viewed their participation in the research study. These were students who labeled themselves as Italian. That is, they viewed their cultural origin and background as being Italian. In general, these students began the research by "taking things for granted." An example is a contribution by

one of the students who explains that he already knows a lot about the Italian culture and that he does not expect to learn much from the research project.

> When I started this project, I did not expect to learn this much. I expected to cover the typical things that I already knew about the Italian culture. I also didn't think that there was much more to know, but there was. I learned an entire variety of things, from places to new meanings of songs and dances. We also went into detail and started examining different issues in ares [areas] where I never bothered to look. I also started thinking about topics that I never really thought about. (Victor, Database, Virtual Discussions, Answer to question #2, June 29, 2003)

This insider perspective represents how many of the students of Italian background viewed the research from the outset. It is interesting that this student took his culture for granted saying that he “never bother[ed] to look,” “never really thought about” the topics that we discussed in class.

The students were taken on a tour of Little Italy. They were presented some of the history of the Italian community in Montreal as well as visiting many of the different sites in the area. For many of the Italian students, this is a place they have visited often and they feel that they know it very well. However, the following database contributions from two different students indicate that insiders often take for granted many aspects of their own culture.

> Yesterday, we went on a tour of little Italy. Its funny, I've been around there so many times and thought I knew everything there was to know. I always figured, what is there to know? There's restaurants, and soccer stores. I guess I was wrong, there was much more than I expected, a lot of history, stories. etc….This tour was first of all very informative and usefull. The guide was very nice and was very interesting, he spoke well and was

> able to catch our attention. This was very usefull because we now have a lot of knowledge concerning the history of the Italian community. We can now make links to the music and be more co[m]petent during interviews. (Victor, Database, Tour: Little Italy, The Tour, June 3, 2003)

> I think the thing that intrigued me the most was the church. It was so beautiful i could not believe we had such a beautiful church here in Montreal. Its funny how we think we know so many things when in reality we don't know much about Montreal. (Tina, Database, Tour: Little Italy, The Tour, June13, 2003)

On the other hand, one of the insiders did not feel that the tour was either interesting or helpful, even though she admits that she learned many new things.

> In all honesty, the tour of Little Italy, in my opinion, was quite boring. I've been there so many times (every sunday when I was younger) that even though I learnt alot of new things (like the history of Milano, the fresco in the Church, about the Casa D'Italia, etc...) I wasn't motivated to take notes. I'm sorry, but it really didn't interest me. (Melissa, Database, Tour: Little Italy, Tour of Little Italy, June 15, 2003)

This student remained blasé about a place that she frequented every Sunday when she was younger, whereas the previously quoted student was surprised by how much he learned about a place that he thought he knew so well. It is important to point out that insiders did not have a homogeneous voice. Perhaps each student's perspective is based on a multiplicity of factors that frame how he or she views the experiences in the local community. Therefore, being an insider did not guarantee that a student was interested in "finding out" more about the culture just as being an outsider did not necessarily mean that students were not interested in finding out about the Italian culture.

In the following excerpt, an insider student is trying to come up with some interview questions for an Italian fiftieth wedding anniversary.

> I've been tryng to come up with some good questions for the upcoming interview but I've been having some trouble. I guess its due to my Italian backround and the fact that I have many experiences at gatherings such as wedding anniversaries. Due to these experinces, I'm pretty knowledgable when it comes to the basics, so I'm tryng to think of a little more complex questions. Any suggestions? I'll keep thinking. (Victor, Database, Interviews, Interview Questions, May 22, 2003)

I respond to Victor's positioning himself as a "cultural insider" and encourage him to take an "ethnographic stance" and make the familiar strange.

> This is an excellent note because it reflects something very important about this research. You are what we call a "cultural insider." You know and understand the culture. You are part of it. Therefore, it is harder for you to come up with questions because you understand "how things go." But, you need to try to pretend to be a "cultural outsider." In other words, how would someone outside the culture view what is going on at a wedding anniversary? These are what we call "insider meanings." In other words, you understand what things mean at a ceremony because you are inside the culture but I may not understand these things the same way. There are things that will go on that to you are second nature and to me, it will be the first time I see these things. Check this quote out from the interview guide. It talks about the things that "everybody knows." This is what I want you to describe to other people who don't know. "Ethnographic Questions : Both questions and answers must be discovered from informants. Things that 'everybody knows; without thinking (what are these things in Italian culture – prior knowledge). Discover questions when studying another culture: questions people ask in everyday life,

> questions used by participants in a cultural scene." So, try to play "ignorant" - in other words, put yourself in the shoes of the "outsider" and think about questions that would bring to light important things about the ceremony and the music. Perhaps you can think of questions about the music and why it is important to this kind of ceremony. Also, listen carefully to the lyrics of the songs when we are there. You will want to ask questions about particular traditional songs: Where do they come from? What is the context in which they are sung? (ceremonies, dances, etc.), How are they passed down from one generation to the next? etc. Even if you know the answers to these questions, not everyone else does, especially if they are not Italian. These things may be very "foreign" to them. Read the documents over again. Remember, you want to bring to light the Italian musical traditions in Montreal for others that do not live here. Also, we want to "discover" meanings that are hidden in the music/traditions/ceremonies and in the words of the interviewees. (Ms. Peters, Database, Interviews, Asking Questions, October 26, 2003)

Making the familiar strange involves feigning ignorance and putting yourself in the shoes of the outsider in order to discover meanings that are often taken for granted by a community. This is very difficult to do as an insider.

Even though some insiders had trouble objectifying their experiences, they often felt a special bond or connection with the Italian community during the outings and interviews. An Italian student describes her experiences at the Festival of the Italian Republic that took place at the Italian cultural center.

> It was quite interesting to see everyone gathered in a group together just talking and laughing and having a great time….Italians make you feel so welcomed and so at home…There was a guitar, an accordian player and they seemed to really enjoy the

> music they were playing. As we were watching the people were getting so excited and began pushing everyone in order to get into the middle of the circle they had formed. They were all singing all together in unison. They seemed to really enjoy singing together....it made me happy because its as if they were forming one big family. They were singing songs like " Marina, Marina", "Reginella Campagnola," "Italian national anthem," "Volare" etc….I think what we experienced at the Italian cultural center was quite interesting and yet very informative. The outsiders got a real look at how the italians interact with one another and how they talk, and relate things. There is something i find quite interesting, when i interviewed Mrs.Marcone who was from Calabria (Reggio Calabria) and i told her i was from Calabria (Consenza) she had a greater bond with me. When people come from the same region we are known as "paesan". Its quite interesting we don't know each other but because we come from the same region we have a greater bond. I think that this was a great experience for everyone both insiders and outsiders. We got to learn between the connection that people have with each other, with the music and with their culture. (Tina, Database, Festa Della Repubblica Italiana, Observations, June 13, 2003)

In the preceding citation, Tina describes the bond she felt with a woman whom she interviewed. Even though they had never met, they felt a special connection because they are from the same region in Italy. She emphasizes how music functions in the context of an Italian celebration to connect people as if they were “one family.” The Italians are described here as very welcoming. This can also be a little disconcerting for an outsider who is not familiar with this aspect of the culture. The following passage is an example of one outsider’s experience at the Italian festival.

> Everyone was as close as they could get. There was a lot of unrestraned movement and hand gesteurs. The atmosphere was festive and lively. It seamed that everyone there is part of a large family…. [A man] came up to me as if I was un [an] old friend he hasent seen in a long time. He put his arm around me and told me in italion how it was a happy day for everyone there. When I told him I can't speak Italion, he just said that the best way to learn Italion is to marry an Italion. I was nat able to ask anything eles. Going to the festival was an interesting experiance even though at first, there was'nt mutch going on at first. I felt welcomed by almost everyone in a way I was never welcomed before. I felt akward and emberised [embarrassed] at first but pepole came up to me as if they already knew me evean though I'm not Italion. This is still strange to me. (Suzanne, Database, Festa Della Repubblica Italiana, Observations, June 4, 2003)

Suzanne felt a little out of her comfort zone being welcomed and treated so warmly by people she did not even know. The community welcomed the students warmly during the interviews and the outings. The Italian students, the insiders, experienced a special connection to their "cultural family" and the outsiders experienced the warmth and hospitality of the welcoming community.

Insiders generally took their cultural heritage for granted at the beginning of the study. As "cultural insiders," they had difficulty objectifying their own culture and making the familiar strange. Not all insiders were interested in finding out more about the Italian culture.

Outsider Perspectives

While the insider tries to make the familiar strange, the outsider must make the strange familiar. In this section I will illustrate outsider perspectives by presenting profiles of four non-Italian student participants. I begin each profile with a description by another student in the class.

I will then discuss particular issues that were raised for each of these outsiders to the Italian culture.

> The person I will be introducing to you is Aidan. To begin with, he is french, british and Irish. His parents were born in Canada and so was he. He was brought up in Saint Leonard and he can speek french and english and a bit of italianas well. He enjoys music and being with kids….In the future he'd like to become a musician however if he doesn't he'd gladly become a history teacher. (Deanna, Database, Representing Others, Representing Aidan, May 13, 2003)

Aidan's perspective changed dramatically from the beginning to the end of the project. During the pilot study, he thought that he would not get anything out of the project. However, near the end of the study he expresses the fact that he has learned something about culture and has found it interesting (Transcription, June 2, 2007).

> Nadine's nationalities are quite interesting. She is Tunisian, French and Irish. Besides Christmas and New years etc..Nadine and her family have no special traditions that they follow. Her father being Tunisian, doesn't really follow in special traditions because of his nationality and his religious background….Nadine's strengths are listening to people. She says "that by listening to people you learn a lot of different things. Some people don't get the chance to speak out and they have great things to say and someone should be there to listen to them." (Tina, Database, Representing Others, Introducing Nadine, April 23, 2003)

Nadine expresses another outsider perspective, following her interview with a musician at a fiftieth anniversary celebration. Nadine felt awkward because she had not been invited by the couple. However, she remarks: "Yeah, it's like once we were there, they entirely made us feel

welcome by insisting that we have something and it was fine that we were there" (Transcription, May 30, 2003). The people who had organized the celebration insisted that we have something to drink and made us feel that we were welcome to be there, even though we were outsiders to the group. I also experienced a very strong outsider sensation and a feeling of intrusion being present at a very important and intimate moment in other people's lives. However, my detachment from the community as an outsider also offered me possibilities to observe and develop explanations from the researcher point of view.

Deanna comes from a Polish/Ukrainian background and was a very shy student. Deanna questioned why she was chosen for the study because she had "no knowledge of Italian tradition" (Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 2, June 27, 2003). However, at the end of the study she reflects on what she has learned as an outsider. "It is when learning about other people and their culture that you gain knowlege about why they do certain things and why they may act a certain way" (Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 2, June 27, 2003). This student gained insight into the Italian culture by observing their traditional music and asking questions during interviews. She expresses a type of empathy, a new understanding about how culture influences people's actions.

> Angelina is born of parents of mixed backgrounds; her mother is Italian, while her father comes from an island right near Trinidad & Tobago. She finds her mixed background an advantage because she has the opportunity of meeting many different people. She does not however follow any specific traditions and isn't really religious….Angelina enjoys listening to hip hop music very much, she's loud, says she gets annoyed fast and considers herself a person without self-discipline. (Victor, Database, Representing Others, Introducing Angelina, April 22, 2003)

Even though Angelina has some Italian background, she felt like an outsider during the research study. Amanda describes her experience as an outsider touring Little Italy.

> Taking this tour was an eye opener to a culture i had little knowledge of. For some reason i didn't even feel like i was in montreal, the whole place was so unfamiliar to me. There are so many modern restaurants down in that area, not only that but there's tons of bakeries and sport equipment stores. Our guide was able to tell us the family that each place belonged to. It's hard to imagine some places being passed down through so many generations, but i guess it can happen. Each building had a history, and that's what's so great about little communities….Even though the older italian people who live arond there, visit there or own a business there aren't actually at home in italy anymore, they can feel a bit closer to that culture spending time there….It makes you open your eyes for once to a lifestyle and heritage you might have no links to, but can learn about. I think this will help us a lot for future interviews because we understand the past a bit better. (Angelina, Database, Tour: Little Italy, the tour, June 5, 2003)

It is interesting to contrast Amanda's unfamiliarity with the context of Little Italy with how the Italian students thought they knew everything about this area of Montreal. For example, Melissa says that she has "been there so many times" and that she was not motivated to take notes during the tour. On the other hand, Amanda was surprised that the different restaurants and stores continue to function as family businesses. She realizes that Little Italy is a significant place for insiders to connect to their culture. The Italians have recreated a sense of place, a way of belonging together in their country of adoption. She comments on how this experience made her more open to a culture to which she had no previous link, and she believes that a better understanding of the lifestyle and history of this culture will better equip her for her interviews with people in the community.

A student's position as an insider or outsider does not automatically determine their motivation to learn about a culture. Certain individual insiders and outsiders viewed the tour as not necessarily helpful to their understanding of the Italian culture and experience in Montreal. However, there were other insiders and outsiders who felt that the experience was pertinent and helpful for them, and that it opened their eyes to many aspects of culture they had not necessarily considered before. The motivation to learn about one's own or another community's culture does not seem to be exclusively based on one's position in relationship to the culture.

In the preceding section, I have presented both insider and outsider perspectives as described by the students who participated in the research. While some insiders took culture for granted, others thought deeply about different issues. A student's position in relationship to the local music culture influenced their ability to make the familiar strange or make the strange familiar. Both insiders and outsiders experienced a particular bond and connection with the local community. Some of the outsiders modified their perspectives and understandings significantly as a result of the study. They were able to move themselves closer to the community by understanding more deeply why people do things the way they do in a particular culture.

Member Typologies

During the study, the students themselves created a continuum of insider-outsider types. These terms or categories were created, defined, and employed by the students during the research study. Students used five distinct types describing a continuum from being a true insider to someone who wants to become an insider: "complete insider," "isolated insider," "insider-outsider," "automatic insider," and "becoming insider" (see Figure 8).

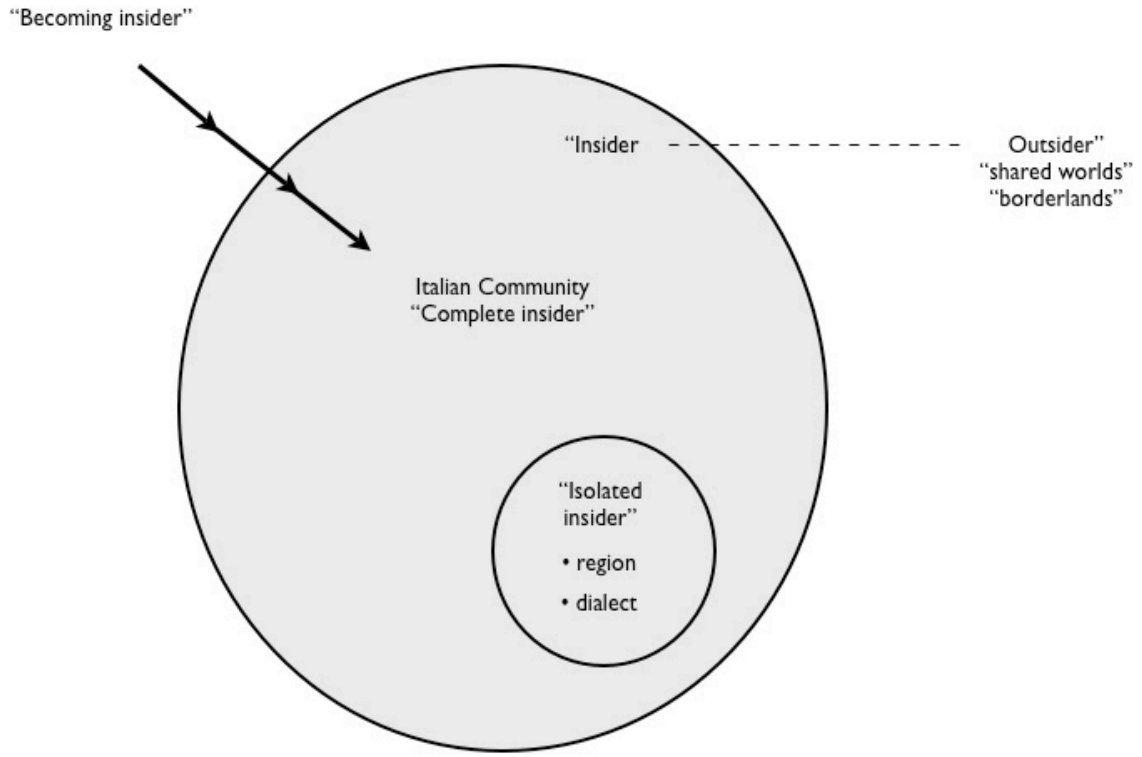

Figure 8. Member typologies.

The students define a "complete insider" as an Italian person who knows the cultural traditions such as food preparation, traditional music, religion, and is someone who speaks the language fluently. One of the students describes why it is difficult to be a "complete insider."

> Its kindda hard to become a complete insider of the culture because we haven't lived through what the older generation went through. They went through much more suffering, poverty, sacrifices etc..to understand...They suffered as one family. They understood their songs because it was written in their generation. (Tina, Database, Virtual Discussions, The insiders, June 27, 2003)

Tina believes that it is necessary to go through certain experiences in order to relate fully as a "complete insider" in a community of local practice. She implies that there is a shared

meaning and unity in a community as the result of a shared context. Another student comments that the fact that she does not speak Italian “disallows” her as a “complete insider,” even if she is of Italian background (Melissa, Database, Virtual Discussions, Insider versus Outsider, June 27, 2003).

One of the students describes himself as an “isolated insider” because he has a limited knowledge of Italian culture.

> I would rate myself as an insider for this project because I am from an Italian backround, but with both pearents from the same province I didn't know that much about some of the other portions of Italy. I gues you can say I'm a isolated insider. (To a point) (Jimmy, Database, Virtual Discussions, My response for the 26th, June 27, 2003)

The term “insider-outsider” was used to describe the position of many of the students. One of the students explains her dual position in relation to the Italian culture.

> If you do not know alot about your own culture then you are an insider outsider. Just because your background tells you what you are, if you do not know anything about it, you can't claim to be only an insider. (Nadine, Database, Virtual Discussions, Insider versus Outsider, June 27, 2003)

I respond by clarifying this new member type proposed by the students.

> So, we have a new category, insider/outsider. An insider biologically, born into a particular cultural heritage but an outsider because you do not know your own cultural traditions: How to prepare food, traditional music, language, festivals, religion, etc. (Ms. Peters, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question #2, June 27, 2003)

Students explain that you cannot be an “complete insider” just because you are born into an Italian family. According to the students, an insider is much more than simply being of Italian background. One of the students explains her positioning as an insider and as an outsider. “I might of been an insider because I’m part of the Italian heritage but I felt like an outsider because I didn’t know much on [about] my own Italian culture” (Tina, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question #2, June 27, 2003).

Many of the Italian students felt like they were living in two different worlds. This is expressed by the designation of the type “insider-outsider” to describe their dual positioning.

One student discussion focused on whether it is possible for someone outside the culture to become an insider. Here is one student’s explanation.

> You can become an insider of a culture different from you'r own, yes, but it takes many years of living within this culture….As Nadine said, just beacuse you are fromt he [the] same backround, it doesn't make you an insider. Look at me... I call myself an inside outsider. I know certain things, but the fact that I do not speak or understand Italian, didallowes [disallows] me to be a complete insider. (Melissa, Database, Virutual Discussions, Insider versus Outsider, June 27, 2003)

Aidan expands on this comment saying that, to become an insider, you “need to relate to the people of that culture, know the stories, the dialect, the life” (Aidan, Database, Virtual Discussions, The insiders, June 27, 2003). Deanna believes that it is possible to be an insider, even if you are not from the culture. “To be an insider you have to know a lot about the culture so that you can relate to the people. I also believe that you can become an insider even though you're not from the culture” (Deanna, Database, Virtual Discussions, The insiders, June 27, 2003).

The following excerpt is a rich example of the discussions that took place around the topic of insider and outsider during the course of the study. This excerpt illustrates the way students perceive and describe insider-outsider types. It also suggests that ethnic identity plays an important role in the way students position themselves in relation to a cultural community. This important point will be discussed in the next section of the present chapter. The discussion takes place in the classroom. I begin by talking about an incident that occurred during an interview. The interviewee was talking about the Sanremo Festival, a song festival that takes place in Italy every year. The Italian student knew immediately what the interviewee was talking about, but I had never heard of this festival before. I use this incident to bring up the different perspectives of outsiders and insiders.

> Ms. Peters: If you're Italian, you're an insider (students respond to this). But not necessarily, because…
>
> Melissa: (responds strongly to this). I don't happen to be an insider. I don't speak the language. I barely understand it,. My cultures are very different, different from like Dana's, Tina's. I don't think I'm an insider.
>
> Ms. Peters: Okay, so that's good. Melissa is making a good point. So can an insider be a continuum of, you know, really, really, really insider to partly insider?
>
> Melissa: Oh that's like I understand the culture from what my parents tell me but the way I was brought up, it wasn't very, like, Italian per se.
>
> Ms. Peters: Okay. So, that's good that you specify that. You may be…I may be born German…I was born German but we didn't speak German at home because of the World War, because there was discrimination. So I never learned to speak German. So I don't

have that part of the culture although I do understand and I can pronounce anything you give me but that's not part of my culture. Am I still German? Do I consider myself German? Yes! So, it's on a continuum, maybe. Who's an outsider? I'm an outsider. Who else feels like an outsider? (students indicate that they feel like outsiders) So, people who are outsiders, this is what you need to do. You make the strange familiar. Remember this. Is it strange to you when you go out…maybe the music is strange. You've never heard it before or you don't know about it. You want to get to know everything you can about it. People who are insiders, what is your challenge? You are inside. You're already there!

Students: talking all at once

Jimmy: What if you're an insider but you look like an outsider? (Because he has blond hair, people don't think he is Italian)

Ms. Peters: It doesn't matter in terms of what you look like. Being an insider is…

Jimmy: Nobody, nobody thinks I'm Italian. They look at me and they think I'm Polish (laughter). I'm not Italian.

Ms. Peters: Okay, so you haven't, you maybe have an advantage because when you ask questions, if you're an insider, you take some things for granted, don't you? (Jimmy: Yeah) Okay, So?

Angelina: So when you're an insider you want to look at it more objectively, like you're trying to learn more about…

Ms. Peters: Good, so, if you're an outsider what do you do? You make the… (trying to get students to complete the phase) make the strange familiar. If you're an insider, you make the… (students complete the phrase: the familiar strange). Yes, Bingo, in other words, if it's familiar to you, you know, you take things for granted don't you then? So

what you want to do is distance yourself from your culture and look at it in a different way and say, "What is it about my culture that I don't really know?" Or what are the things, there are underlying things that I've never thought about, about my culture and the values and beliefs and about what people think. So, you have an advantage, uh, Jimmy, because you don't look Italian. So when you act ignorant about something that you know about, you know? Yeah. So even if you're Italian, don't go "Yeah, I know everything about this already." Don't walk into a wedding anniversary saying, "I've been to a hundred of these." Even though you have, right? You need to walk in and say "Something today is going to hit me that's going to be important about this research and that I, that's going to make me understand this culture a bit better." You're trying to distance yourself. It's harder, by the way, for those of you who are insiders to distance yourself from this, whereas those of us who are outsiders, everything is going to hit us as being, you know, different or important. So it's almost harder to do it that way.

Melissa: [If I'm an outsider]…Don't they [people being interviewed] get annoyed with that? I don't get this. Wait, what?

Ms. Peters: No, that's… If they've agreed to the interview, they understand that you're an outsider.

Christina: Yeah, but wouldn't they be more comfortable with an insider 'cause then if they understand them…

Ms. Peters: So Nadine, respond to this because we had… I kind of grouped you insider/outsider for this one [interview] so um…

Nadine: Yeah, I know but I felt like, at the interview he was connecting a lot more with Victor and when he spoke, he only looked at Victor. Like I was asking the question and … [only looking at Victor] (laughter)

Victor: I noticed that. (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

Students created insider-outsider typologies during the course of the study. These member types reflect the multiple positioning of students in relation to the Italian community. Both insider and outsider perspectives are essential to an ethnographic study. The multiple perspectives of students resulted in rich, multilayered data that reflect the complexity of studying culture through the eyes of students.

Identity

The insider-outsider discussion exemplifies how students struggled with issues of identity. By questioning their position in relation to the local community, students also asked questions about their own identity. They struggled with the importance of their past in relation to who they are in the present. They raised issues about their national identity versus their cultural and ethnic identity. It is clear that music plays a vital role in cultivating a sense of identity for the students and members of a local Italian community.

Cultural Roots

According to Fatima, one of the interviewees, if you do not have culture, you do not have an identity. This means that you have "no roots." According to this community member, music connects us to the spirit of our soul, and to the spirit of the memory of others such as grandparents. These people leave us things that we remember them by such as traditions, a song, a memory, or things done together (Initial memo, June 6, 2003). We have already discussed the important role of music as a connection to memory. It is interesting that Fatima insists on the link

between culture and identity. Music is a means by which members connect to their identity, which is rooted in their collective memories of the past.

In the following excerpt, Fatima, an older member of the local community instructs Samuel, a student, about the many things he should know about his own cultural roots. She urges the student to reconnect with his culture, language, and with his grandfather because these things are part of his identity. "You do not have an identity if you do not have culture" (Translation, Fieldnote, June 23, 2003). It is as if you are uprooted, displaced from where you belong. Here is an excerpt from the interview with Fatima.

> We began the interview and the tables were turned. It was Fatima asking Samuel questions. It seems that many of the older people we interview take on a "teaching" stance with the younger generation. She began with "teaching questions." Knowing that he was Italian, she asked him about his culture and practices. She asked if he had ever asked himself this question: "Why does your grandfather sing all the time when he is making wine or doing anything?" She asked him about his relationship with his grandfather. "What do you do with your grandfather?" Samuel: "We talk about soccer." Fatima: "Do you place bocce [an Italian game of lawn bowling] with him? He would be in heaven if you did that." (Fieldnote, June 23, 2003)

After "interviewing" the student, Fatima tells him what he needs to do to stay connected to his cultural roots.

> She says he must learn Italian, that he is connected to the language. She encourages him to connect to his grandfather and do different activities with him. It is as if she wants him to build his ethnic identity through contact with members of the cultural group. She goes on to say that "when you lose your culture, you lose your identity." She wants Samuel to

hold on tightly to his culture. “If not, you are nothing. You do not belong to anything.” (Fieldnote, June 23, 2003)

During the interview, Fatima discusses the importance of music to life.

> “Music is part of life. It is the meaning of life.” She accords great importance to music as part and parcel of everything in life. She says that music functions as a link for the grandparents, taking them back to their village in their minds. She talks about music linking the past, present, and future and giving life meaning….She says we are cut off, if we do not have music [I imagine it is the idea of losing one of our senses, like touch, so we cannot experience life to the fullest]. (Fieldnote, June 23, 2003)

According to Fatima, music gives life meaning. Without music, we are not connected and we lose a part of ourselves, our identity. The preceding excerpts demonstrate how cultural practices give a community of practice meaning, a way of cultivating and maintaining identity. This point will be elaborated in more detail in chapter six. In addition, we see how a group member tries to initiate a student into a community of local practice by encouraging him to connect to his cultural heritage. In conclusion, Fatima says that Italians must be proud of who they are and show this pride to others. It is a way of perpetuating the spirit of those immigrants who came over on the boat from Italy. Therefore, she encourages the younger generation to build and maintain their cultural identity (Fieldnote, June 23, 2003).

The students do perceive the past as being important to their identity. However, they also believe that the past must be reconciled with their present identity. “Don’t let your past dictate your future but let it be a part of who you are” (Aidan, Transcription, May 30, 2003). According to the preceding quote by Aidan, the past is connected to his present and future identity. It is important to note the identity struggles of students that find themselves positioned in two

different cultural worlds. Their ability to reconcile these two realities is important to their own identity construction.

Christina explains the importance of culture to a person's identity.

> Well I learned that Italians are very proud of their culture and that it is a very important part of whi [who] they are. I[t] made me think about mine and made me want to know more, not just about the italian culture but also about my own culture. When they would bring up folk songs or tradition song, I would think what are my traditional song. (Christina, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 2, June 27, 2003)

By examining another music culture, this student began to ask herself questions about her own cultural heritage. She became curious to find out more about traditional music in her own culture. It is interesting that she perceives her cultural traditions as "belonging" to her. It is as if they are part of her identity.

In the previous section, members of a local Italian community insist on the link between cultural roots and identity. Culture is viewed as the traditions of the past that should be "remembered" or "reenacted" in the present. Cultural traditions such as music give members' lives meaning and orient their identity by reestablishing "who they are" as Italians in a local community. Students are caught between the past and the present and must come to terms with both in negotiating their own cultural and ethnic identity. The present study encouraged some students to explore their own cultural traditions in order to understand more fully their identity in relationship to their past.

Ethnicity and National Identity

Another important student discussion revealed a distinction between cultural background (ethnicity) and identity. As noted previously, students do not always regard identity the same way members of a culture do. Students talk about cultural background versus who they are. Students seem to feel that people expect a particular answer when they ask: "What is your ethnicity?" They react against the idea that a person who has lived in Canada all their life continues to identify herself as being Italian (Initial memo, November 28, 2003).

> Angelina: If an Italian asks another Italian, "What are you?" they'll usually say like, "Calabrése." Like you'll never, you'll never hear another Italian say "I'm Italian" to somebody else. They'll say where they're from. And it could be that…
>
> Victor: Like, two Canadians talking and finding out they're both Canadian. (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

We see here the distinction between ethnic and national identity. The students are aware that identity for members of this particular local Italian community is constructed in terms of where they come from. Therefore, the issue of belonging that has already been discussed in terms of preservation is important to members. Their construction of who they are is often in terms of where they came from. In fact, there appears to be a hierarchy in terms of the way members consider the importance of their attachment to their village, their region, the country of Italy, and their country of adoption, Canada. Therefore, an individual member's identity depends on where they immigrated from in Italy.

A member who was born to Italian immigrant parents used the term "First Generation Canadian." This member term sparked discussion among the students about the importance of

ethnicity for Italian Canadians. "Eduardo describes himself as a first generation Canadian and his family comes from an area near Naples" (Ms. Peters, Database, Interview transcriptions, Interview: Eduardo, October 26, 2003).

> Angelina said she had never heard the expression "First Generation Italian" (used by Eduardo in his interview). This started a very interesting discussion about being Italian Canadian and what that means. Some of the students said the Italians just forget about Canada. Other said that other nationalities say the same thing: "I'm Chinese Canadian" (ethnicity first). No one just says they are Canadian. (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

The members of the community put their ethnic identity first and their national identity second. It is a way for them to identify with their group of origin and at the same time acknowledge their participation in the larger national community. This dual membership is an important part of members' identity construction.

Belonging

As already mentioned, stating where you are from is intimately linked with identity for members. Who they are is constructed in terms of where they are from and where they belong in terms of ethnic group association. The following excerpt has already been cited. However, its importance in terms of clarifying the link between music and identity warrants a second look.

> Why do I think music is important to the Italian culuture and to the people? Well, I think one reason is that it gives the Italians a sense of belonging, its something that belongs to all of them, yet it is different to every person individually. In a time where they had very few possesions music was something they can proudly relate to, it gave them a sense of identity, and it still does. The music is part of the past, who makes them who they are. A

> sense of belonging and identity is also an important value that music represents in other cultures. (Victor, Database, Virtual Discussions, Answer to question #3, June 29, 2003)

In the preceding database entry, the student evokes the importance of a sense of belonging to the Italian community's collective identity. Members of the community view Italian culture as something that belongs to them personally and collectively. Because the community was very poor at the outset, music became a way for Italian immigrants to maintain and cultivate their sense of identity and it continues to function similarly in the present. The music of the past constitutes an integrated component of the "Italian" identity they express as a community today. Victor concludes that music functions in all cultures as a way to reinforce a sense of belonging and identity for group members. Therefore, traditional music in a local Italian community is essential to building and maintaining identity among members.

Cultural roots, ethnic and national identity, and a sense of belonging are crucial components of identity construction for this particular local Italian community in Montreal. Cultural traditions, and most importantly music, contribute to the maintaining of the community's link to past memories and traditions. Re-enacting these traditions is a meaning-making act, reconnecting the community to its ethnic and cultural identity. The meaning that traditions have for people depends on how they see themselves, their identity. These practices are meaningful for members of the community because they connect them to past memories and to their cultural identity. For an outsider, these traditions have less meaning as they are not a part of who the person is, their past and their identity. Students struggled with issues of ethnic and national identity. Cultural traditions are a way for members to "belong" together and to connect with a part of themselves from the past in order to cultivate and maintain their identity in the present (see Figure 9).

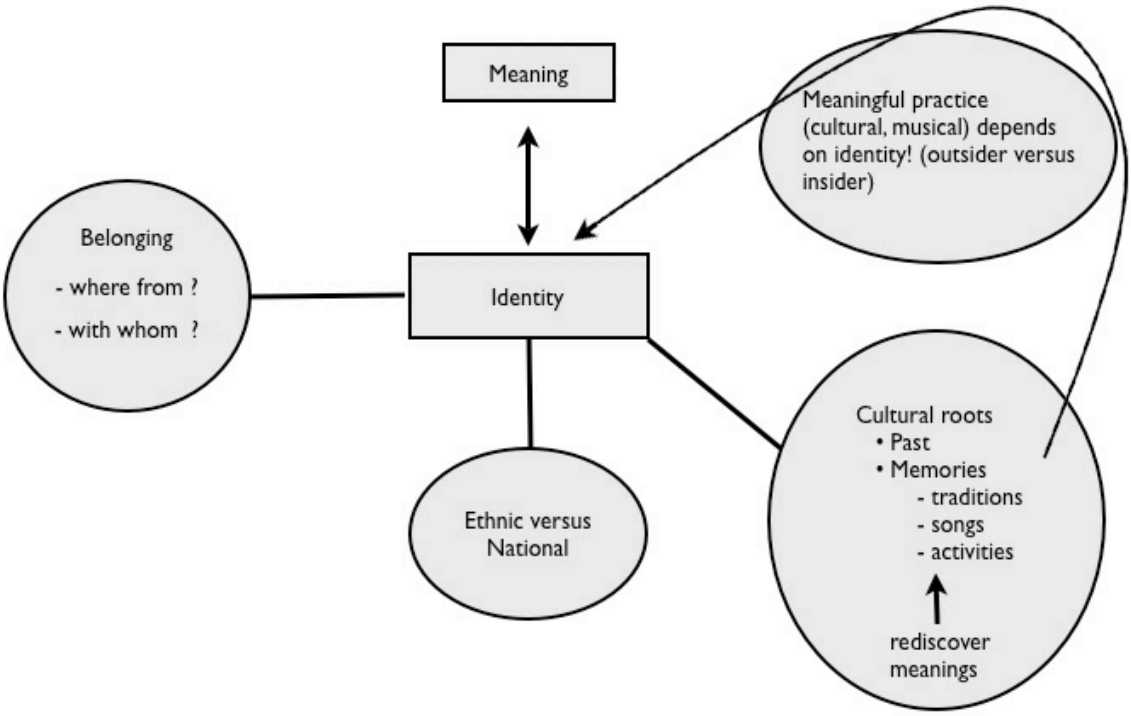

Figure 9. Emergent themes for identity.

Chapter summary

The Italian community enacts traditions in order to preserve culture, providing continuity and stability for members. Music is a way for members to connect to their memories of the past in order to preserve these same memories for future generations. Music also allows members to build and maintain their ethnic and cultural identity. Music is a way of "remembering," a way to enact memory in order to preserve culture and maintain identity. Music provides a way for members to express themselves through meaningful practice, enriching their everyday lives. Musical practice unites and connects members and allows them to initiate newcomers into a rich cultural community.

Figure 10 represents the emergent categories detailed in chapter four. This figure represents how music functions in a local Italian community to preserve culture and identity. This particular community isolates itself to preserve its cultural traditions such as music in order to transmit these traditions and cultural values to the next generation. Community members want to transmit a memory of the past, a sense of who they are as individuals and as a community. Music is a meaningful practice, a way of enacting culture and "remembering" the past. Students find themselves on a continuum from outsider to insider in relation to their representation of this music culture. Therefore, traditional Italian music is a meaningful practice for members because it preserves the memory and the identity of a local Italian community in Montreal.

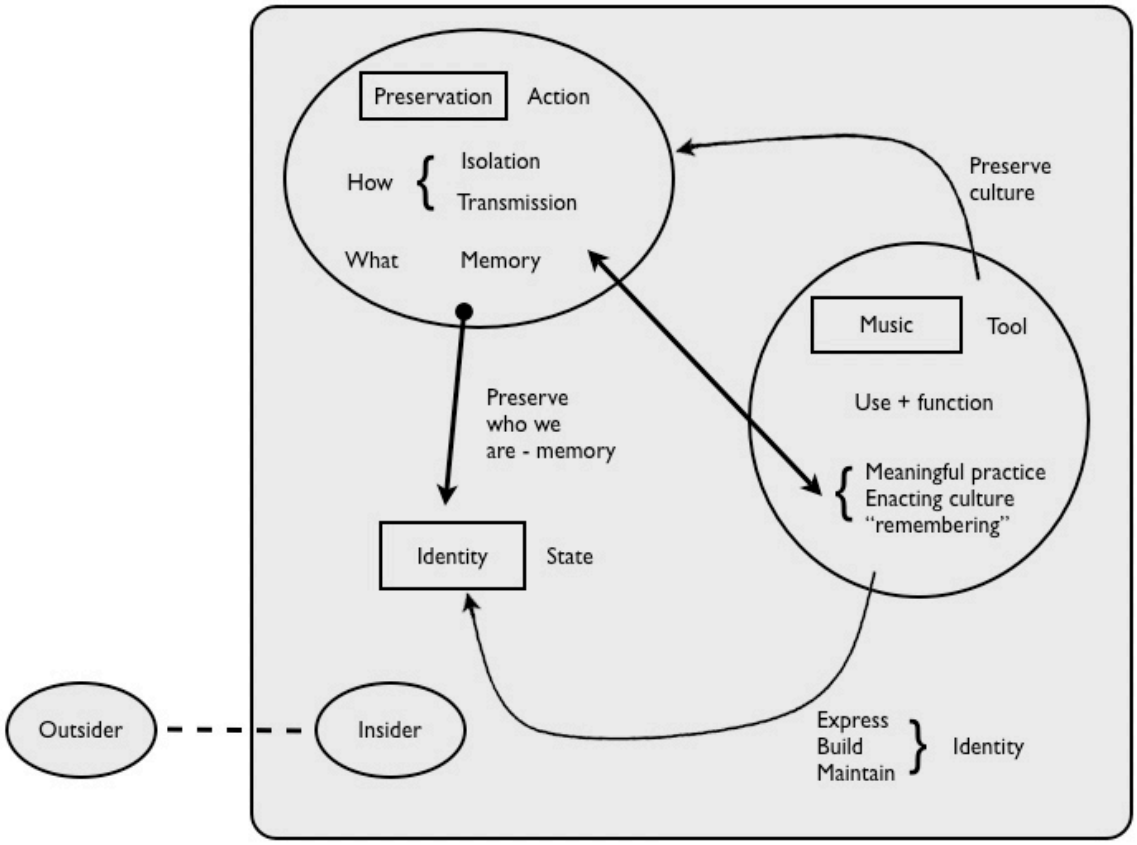

Figure 10. Representation of emergent data.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

Introduction

Chapter five continues the data analysis process described in chapter four. This chapter focuses on the nature of the learning environment including interactions and student processes that took place in the classroom, the database, and the community. Contrary to the nature of the emergent data in chapter four, chapter five is my analysis and interpretation of the data as organized by the original research questions.

1. What is the nature of teaching and learning in a collaborative knowledge-building secondary music classroom focusing on a local music culture?

    a. What is the nature of students' face-to-face interactions with each other and the teacher/researcher?

    b. What is the nature of their collaboration in the classroom and in database entries?

    c. What is the nature of students' interactions with community members?

    d. What is the nature of students' interactions with the technology?

2. How does a selected group of secondary students represent their understanding of a local music culture, including concepts, beliefs, and values embedded in cultural practices?

In the first section I discuss student-researcher interactions, collaboration in the classroom and in the database, student-community interactions, and student interactions with the technology. I also describe the role of students as ethnographic researchers, an emergent category that is related to the original research questions. In the second section I explore how students represent their understanding of the cultural beliefs and values of a local culture. I examine the student process of categorizing and reflecting on themes that emerged during the study. I also elaborate on the important cultural themes and values of a local culture as identified by the students. In the final section, I examine students' understanding of how music reflects the beliefs and values of culture.

Nature of the Learning Environment

During an online discussion that took place on June 27, 2003, I asked the students a series of questions about the nature of the learning environment.

(1) How is the collaborative database different from other types of learning (e.g., a teacher teaching from the front of the classroom)? What are the advantages of working/learning this way? What are the disadvantages? Can you see this being a useful way to learn about something in the future? Please include any comments about how it was to work in the database.

(2) What have you learned personally from this project? Would it have been different if you had worked on your own? How? How is working on a project alone different from working "collaboratively" in a group?

The following sections categorize student responses to the preceding questions. They are organized to reflect the manner in which these responses relate to the original research questions.

Student-Researcher Interactions

Students discussed the level of interaction between class members and the teacher in an environment that is supported by technology. Here is one student's perspective:

> The one major disadvantage is you do not have the same lavel [level] of interaction between teacher and student, and some people need that interacton in order to learn properly, because that is what they were used to. (Jimmy, Response to question 1, Virtual Discussions, June 27, 2003)

This student underscores the importance of context and delivery method in the learning environment. Students become used to a particular way of learning and it is often difficult to try to change a learning paradigm that is so strongly engrained in our society. Another issue for students is the sharing of power in a learning-centered classroom. I tried to encourage students to think about the study as a collaborative endeavor between themselves and the researcher.

> Ms. Peters: Remember, interviewing is a process everybody…. Learning is a process. It's not an end point….And we won't understand anything fully here. This is very crucial to what we're doing, right? And even if you are of Italian culture, you're never going to understand yours [your culture] because there are many people who look at a culture

> differently. But what I want you to understand is that, don't expect me to come and tell you the right way to do this. I don't know the right way! I'm finding it out as you are. Okay? So we're finding something out together and that's what this research is about. (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

The idea that the teacher is not the all-knowing expert is a little destabilizing for students. Also, asking students to focus on the process of learning rather than searching for the "right answer" can also be a little unsettling for them. I encouraged the students to conceptualize the classroom as a learning community where everyone contributes to finding out about music in a local community culture. I hoped to change perceptions about the interactions between the teacher/researcher and the students by focusing on learning together with the students rather than simply "teaching them" about something.

Collaboration in the Classroom and in the Database

One of the important aspects of the study was the collaboration of students in the classroom and in the database. As a researcher trying to establish a community of learners (Brown & Campione, 1990), I encouraged the students to learn from each other by sharing interview experiences and reading what other students were writing in the database. In the following passage, I communicate to the students the importance of reading what others have contributed in the database if we are truly going to function as a collaborative group.

> If there are only five out of thirteen [students reading others work in the database], we're not collaborating as a group. Some really good things are going on in the database but *you've got to look at them* [emphasis in my voice] so that when you go out for your interviews, you'll already have some of these things in your mind. And it's really coming

> up close [to the time when] where we're going to have to start generalizing about things and we can't generalize if you guys don't have the knowledge of what other people are doing. (Transcription, May 30, 2003)

I wanted the students to build a type of communal knowledge base that would inform them as they interacted in the local community. It was important that students share their knowledge with each other in order to be able to generalize about what they were seeing in the interviews and start seeing patterns across the information that they were entering in the database.

Students felt that the collaborative database was a positive learning environment. They appreciated the fact that they could read, catch up on what they had missed, ask questions, and discuss issues in the database. One of the students describes the advantages and disadvantages of this collaborative environment.

> The advantages of working/learning with the database is I find easier to express ourself. It is almost like beeing in a class but instead you are siting at home in ur [your] pyjas in front of your computer :). It is easier to express ourself because there is no one around to judge you on what you say, okay someone might add a little annotate but that is easier to ignore that if someone tells you face to face. If you missed something, you can always come back and check out what you missed. It's better than asking a friend (which might tell you, "oh no we didn't do anything" which is not true) or ask the teacher (which most likely will get mad because you missed the class and you are asking them extra work to look for whatever you missed). This way everything is posted up. The disadvantages are you are missing out on the human bond. Imagine we are all at home on a database like this, learning about a certain subject, there is no humain contact. I would miss that! How would you make friends? What happens to the bond that you make with the teacher? I

> found sometimes its complicated to understand how the data base work there is still somethings I dont know how to do. (Christina, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 1, June 27, 2003)

Christina felt that she could express herself more freely in this type of environment. She did not have the sense of being judged in the same way that she might feel judged by her peers in a regular classroom. She appreciated that everything was documented and she could go back and verify things that she missed in class. This student also mentions that it was difficult at times for her to understand how to use the database. In conclusions, she talks about the importance of the human connection in the learning process and she believes that database learning changes the relationship between students and between teacher and students.

Nadine elaborates on the importance of the human connection to the learning environment.

> You cannot learn everything over the internet. People need connections with other people with teachers to have people to look up to. As we grow up we need to interact with different people and get different experiences, it would not be a good idea to have everything over the internet..then people wouldn't have any social skills which they will need once they are out of school. (Nadine, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 1 add on, June 27, 2003)

This student believes that learning is primarily a social process. According to this student, not all learning can take place in the context of a collaborative database. There are things that must be learned in interaction with others. It is in part for this reason that I designed a learning environment that combined collaboration in the classroom and in the communal database with participant observation and interviews in the community.

Learning by Ourselves and with Others

The students felt that the learning environment allowed them to learn by themselves and in collaboration with others. In other words, the environment allowed the students to self regulate and to problem solve with each other. In the following passage, one of the students describes the difference between a traditional classroom and the collaborative environment of the study. She comments on how the database teaches you to learn by yourself.

> *Opinion:* That is quite a good question because i really don't know what to answer. I guess that when you have a teacher teaching you things there is eye contact, you cannot fool around and if you don't understand anything she will answer your questions right away. Sometimes being in a classroom is harder to concentrate because not everyone is in school for the right reasons. Some people like to fool around where as others want an education. *Elaboration:* What i mean of this is that the database helps us to learn by ourselves. *Opinion:* Sometimes in life we shouldn't have someone always saying do your homework, or do this, people these days should be able to do things by themselves without anyone always repeating to them what they have to do. People should learn how to be responsible and this database has teached me to be more responsible. (Tina, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question #1, June 27, 2003)

The database allowed students to have a certain degree of autonomy in the learning environment. One of the students suggests that this is a better, more democratic way to learn. Here is this student's perspective and the ensuing discussion in the database.

> Melissa: I think it is better to learn in this type of enviroment, than in a classroom. Here, we teach ourself and each other, whereas in a classroom, what the teacher says, goes. With the database, we we all have a say, and we go out to learn. We experiance things

first hand. I think more classes should be taught that way, even tho it might be more difficult for mathematics. This seems tyo [to] be a better way of learning, when the teacher is learnign with you.. though it is frustrating when neither you nor the teacher understand something.

Ms. Peters: Excellent observations. And you know of course that teachers do not understand or know everything even though people think we should! Imagine knowing everything about every music ever written or performed in every country in the world! Impossible! Is it okay for a teacher to show that they do not know something? Does this make them less of a teacher?

Tina: Not everyone is perfect in life and not everyone might know every single thing about every single topic. Its called learning. It does not make a teacher less of a teacher because they don't know something. Everyone is put on earth for a reason. In this project for example many people asked me questions about the italian culture i might not know everything but i did know some stuff..and just because they didn't know something doesnt make them stupid it makes them more intelligent because their asking questions and it shows they want to learn about other things. No one is stupid in life and no one will know everything about life, its all about learning, communicatng and expressing your ideas, opinions, emotions etc...

Aidan: Like they say... " the day you know everything, is the day you die " (some french dude)

Ms. Peters: So, learning is process. It is continuous, throughout life. I think someone who is intelligent knows that they can never know everything but tries to learn as much as they can to be able to understand as much as they can.

> Melissa: As Aidan said, one ca never know everything. You are righ, Ms Peters, it is quite impossible to know absolutely everything about a certain subejct, not even yourself. You are constantly disscovering new things, and, as I say, (excuse the bad grammar, that's an inside joke) "You go to bed less stupider." (Melissa, Database, Virtual Discussions, First Question, June 27, 2003)

This selection illustrates how the students experienced a change in the teaching-learning paradigm in a collaborative classroom and in the database. Melissa describes a classroom that is more egalitarian, a sharing of power between the teacher/researcher and the students. She contrasts this with a traditional classroom where “what the teacher says goes.” In a collaborative learning environment, students teach themselves and each other and the teacher learns with the students. There is a certain frustration expressed because the teacher is no longer considered the all-knowing content expert. However, the students explain that it is normal and acceptable for a teacher not to know everything about a particular subject area. Learning is a process that involves asking questions in order to find answers. It is evident that the students’ perceptions of teaching and learning were transformed as a result of their participation in a collaborative learning environment.

The following contribution by Angelina elaborates on the advantages of working in this type of environment.

> I agree with him when he said that you can learn by ourselves when we use the database but I think there's more not[to] it than that. We can also use the database to learn from each other. By creating notes expressing our own opinions, it gives us a better undertsanding of each other and how we think. (Angelina, Database, Virtual Discussions, Response to Aidan – 1st Question, June 27, 2003)

Angelina reiterates that the database encourages students to work by themselves. However, she also states that the database lets students learn from each other by letting them see how others in the class think. The following citation illustrates how student understanding is deepened by the collaborative activity in the database.

> I like working in a group much better than alone, bacuase if I don't understand something, or I don't know how to do something, in a group, the other people can help me….Since there is a group of people not understanding, we worked through it together, understood together. (Melissa, Database, Virtual Discussions, Second question, June 27, 2003)

The phrase "we worked through it together, understood together" typifies the collaborative spirit of the learning environment throughout the study.

Theory, Reliability, Perspectives

In addition to allowing students to learn by themselves and with others, participants felt that a collaborative learning environment allowed them to strengthen their own theories. The students believed that multiple perspectives were important in order to validate their own process of theory building. Of course, this is a student perspective and the number of opinions is not a guarantee of reliability. However, it is interesting that the students felt it was important to consider different member and student views about a particular topic. In the following excerpt, Victor explains how the collaborative work and discussions contributed to his learning and helped shape theory.

> What also contributed to my higher learning is the group work and discussions. Why does it help? Well, When you're thinking about building up your theory, you have all

your're Ideas in mind, but to make your theory stronger you must take into consideration other people's ideas to help shape your own. (Victor, Database, Virtual Discussions, Answer to question #2, June 29, 2003)

The following passage elaborates on the importance of group work as a way to strengthen the reliability of information.

Angelina: I feel that when you work in a group you get many different perspectives, not just one. So the information you get is much more reliable.

Ms. Peters : Ah, reliability! So, because there are more people involved, the information we put together is more reliable than if one person had done the project alone.

Tina : Yes the information we get is more reliable because everyone has different opinions and perspectives on the culture. What i learned from one person might not be the same as the other person learning from that same person. One person can say a sentence and two people can get two different understandings of that sentence which is good because we have more opinions and more information circulating.

Ms Peters : Important point Tina. You are talking about perspective - that everyone sees the world through their particular "lens" - like colored glasses - it makes us look at things differently!

Tina : If everyone had the same kinds of views as everyon else then this project would not progress. By everyone having different opinions and perspectives on life, culture, traditions etc we become more interested on why they think this way and we try to have a better understanding about certain opinions. (Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 2, June 27, 2003)

The students believe that different opinions and perspectives about a local music culture provide them with more reliable information. These different perspectives of reality encourage the students to question why people think the way they do and this, in turn, leads them to a more complete understanding of a local culture.

Victor comments on how the study allowed participants to share different ideas and theories.

> The thing that was the most different about this research group was the fact that we could be ourselves a little more while working on the project. We did not have to worry about the regular discipline we face in a classroom. This group was also based around the sharing of Ideas and theories, where in a typical classroom you're learning things without needing your creative side. Not only did we expand our knowledge on another (or our own) culture, but with the sharing of Ideas and theories we really learned a lot about each other. (Victor, Database, Virtual Discussions, Answer to Question #1, June 29, 2003)

"Being ourselves" and being able to be "creative" were important aspects of the collaborative learning environment for this student. Victor describes a classroom environment that is based on learning together. By sharing ideas and theories with other students, he was able to expand his knowledge about culture and about the other students in the classroom.

Students reacted positively to a classroom environment that permitted them to work in a group to discuss and share ideas, opinions, and theories. They felt that the multiple perspectives that were represented by the different participants in the study were a source of richness and allowed them to understand more deeply why people think the way they do. Students considered that the multiplicity of opinions and perspectives contributed to the reliability of the information collected during the study.

Student-Community Interactions

Authentic Learning in the Community

In addition to the advantages enumerated previously, students evoked the advantages of a teaching and learning environment that allowed them to be involved in a local community. Students described their experiences in the community as authentic learning that brought them closer to “real life.”

> We had to go out and actually "see" the people of the italian culture. This gave us real life expirences which also wouldn't have taken place with your planning miss, had I been doing this on my own I never would've gotten up so early to go interview someone. PS. Yes ... this does bring us closer to the real thing. (Aidan, Database, Virtual Discussions, To miss manager, June 27, 2003)

In the last part of the citation, this student is responding to a question I asked him earlier in the database. “Is the information richer, more interesting because you work in a group, even if it is at times more difficult? Is this more like real life?” (Ms. Peters, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question twoey, June 27, 2003). He acknowledges that being able to “see” people in the local culture brought him closer to the “real thing.” In the following quote, another student elaborates upon her beliefs about the advantages of interviewing people in the community as a way of learning about culture. This entry in the database prompted an important discussion on this topic.

> I think that when you interview someone you can learn more than if you actually research something. If your interviewing someone they most likely experienced what they're telling you so you know what they're saying is true and you can tell by their facial

> expressions how it makes then [them] feel thinking about that subject. I think interviewing people is a great way to learn about a culture and about people. (Deanna, Database, Virtual Discussions, Response, June 27, 2003)

This student believes that she learns more in a face-to-face interview with someone who has gone through the real experience than if she were to read the information in a book. She insists on the added richness of facial expressions and emotional responses to her interactions with community members. In the following passage, the students respond to the preceding statements, discussing different communication methods.

> Tina: I agree with you Deanna. Facial expressions is something really important. You can tell how a person will react to a certain situation or topic by their facial expressions. Like when i interviewed Mrs.Marcone you can tell that whenever she said the word family "la famille" she became more emotional about the topic.
>
> Aidan: And that is why communicating via the internet is easier in expressing yourself... you cannot see facial expressions so you don't hold back what you want to say...
>
> Ms. Peters: Aidan, is communicating via Internet less rich because you do not see the facial expressions or the gestures of the person? Are we missing an important part of communication?
>
> Aidan: yes and no... it's less personnal but you open up alot more.
>
> Ms. Peters: So, because you are not face to face with someone, you can say things you would never say face to face. Do you think this will change our communication skills in the future? Will we lose our ability to communicate face to face?

Deanna: I dont think we'll lose our skills. No matter where we go we will still have to interact with people wether we go to the store or just simply out with our friends.

Aidan: possibly... times must and always do change but I can't see how things will turn out. But there's no personal connection when communicating on the net... there is no actual person... you seem to be talking to a machine yet that person at the other end still is let's say Tina Dana Angelina etc. but I feel that connection is lost through the net... the bond is weaker.

Tina: Aidan, your right about that the bond between two people or more becomes much weaker because we are communication our emotions, opinions, our facial expressions and hand gestures through a machine. Sometimes a person might say something on the net and you might take it wrong only because you can't really see their facial expressions, and how exactly they were saying a sentence.

Aidan: That is true... the perfect example is lol (laugh out loud)... most of the time the person isn't really "laughing out loud" but they put that... when even a simple grin can be the real expression

Ms. Peters: Aidan, I "laugh out loud" (lol) at many of your notes - thanks! Very entertaining!

Aidan: But it's true miss... many of the internet "slang" doesn't truely express what we feel but we use them for lack of better words, but seeing our face with cover all those words [if you see my face, you would know what I am feeling] ...

Tina: Aidan is right, when i'm sad i'm not always going to tell or show people especially on the net. If they say so how are you, i'll answer good, but if they would see my facial

expression you would have a sense that something might be wrong with me or someone else.

Ms. Peters: Yes, Tina, sometimes we can read someone like a book by just looking at them. (Database, Virtual Discussions, Response, June 27, 2003)

The students believe that facial expressions and human contact are very important to interactions among people. They discuss the contradictions of communicating via the Internet. Communication can be less personal and yet a person can be more open. A person can also hide their emotions more easily behind a computer interface. In general the students agree that the bond is weaker and that there is a lack of human connection that is generally present in face-to-face interactions.

The following selection is another discussion comparing the advantages of learning from books to interviewing people in the community.

Jimmy: I learned quite a bit, because eaven if I was an insider, I didn't know that much about the other regions of Italy, and how people felt about north versus south. I learned a lot about how other Italian feel about music.

Ms. Peters : Jimmy, do you think books and the Internet would have given you the same type of information you got through the interviews? How are books and the Internet different from "real people" sources?

Deanna : I think when you do an interview you learn more than you would if you read a book.

Tina : I agree with Deanna, a book you read it but interviewing a person your there at that moment sitting with them making eye contact and noticing their facial expressions, hand

> gestures, the way they interact with you. There is more of a connection with a person than a book. (Database, Virtual Discussions, Response to question 2, June 27, 2003)

Again, these students point to the importance of facial expressions, hand gestures, and emotional responses during their interactions with people in the community. They see these interactions as an important way of learning from and about the local community.

The students were able to learn about a local music culture in an authentic way. They went into the community and conducted interviews with members who had experienced traditional music first hand. Using the community as a resource, students were able to take advantage of direct contact with the real lives and experiences of the people whom they interviewed. They experienced first hand the advantages of face-to-face contact with community members and they reflected on the importance of the human connection to the learning experience.

Student Interactions with the Technology

The collaborative database technology provided another way for the students to learn differently. As already mentioned, students felt that the database encouraged them to take responsibility for their own learning and allowed them to learn with others. They viewed the database as a place to read, catch up on work, ask questions, and discuss issues. Students transcribed their interviews and contributed their ideas to the communal database. Students could revise, critique, reference, organize, or group ideas together. Therefore, ideas and theories became a collaborative effort of the students as they exchanged information in the database.

Organizing Writing

Students learned how to organize their writing by using scaffolds and scaffold supports in the database. This was a difficult concept to explain to the students at the outset. In the following excerpt, one of the students summarizes my explanation of scaffolds and I try to clarify the concept further.

> Angelina: You said that the scaffolds are like an idea and then like let's say if everybody's writing the same thing, you put all those into a scaffold which is the idea [to regroup everything...]
>
> Ms. Peters: We're saying "Here's how we organize these kinds of things under a theme" for example. So you're actually creating an exterior scaffold of your learning (I make a face and roll my eyes saying, "This is hard to understand! Do you get it?") Does that make sense? (students respond negatively) No! (regrouping my thoughts; trying to find another way to explain so they understand; Dana and Samuel smile) When you think about something, you categorize. You put things in categories in a certain way depending on how you think. What you're telling us with the scaffold is, "Hey everybody, this is how I'm thinking." (some of the students affirm they now understand) "This is my opinion or this is the reason for my opinion." (Transcription, June 16, 2003)

I realize that this was a difficult concept for the students to grasp. Scaffolds are simply categories of ideas and scaffold supports are subcategories. Eventually, some of the students did understand and began using the scaffolds and supports to organize their writing in the database. Nadine comments: "I as [was] able to do things and organize my thought in a way I hadn't done before, on a database" (Nadine, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 2, June 27, 2003). Here is an excellent example of a "scaffolded" note.

> I think the best way to preserve traditions is by practicing them. *Opinion :* I believe that traditions are being lost due to the fact that technology has evolved so much in such a short period of time. *Elaboration :* Ever since kids have beagan to watch television or stay on the computer they have become less interested in learning about their families past, traditions and so on. In the past when there was no tv or computers children were more interested to learn about their culture and traditions. *Evidence:* Just from the two interviews that I've done, both people have agreeded that children these days are much less interested to learn about their traditions which is due to the fact that technology has stepped in. (Deanna, Database, Virtual Discussions, Untitled, June 22, 2003)

Deanna makes a statement that she entitles “Opinion.” She proceeds to elaborate on her opinion giving examples of statements that were made by several community members. She backs up her opinion with evidence from different interviews. Whether or not we agree with her opinion, she does develop her argument in a logical way and shows us her reasoning by organizing her writing with the scaffolds opinion, elaboration and evidence.

One of the students concludes that in order for database learning to take place, a student needs to have time to learn and understand the technology. She believes that this takes longer than traditional methods of learning and the individual must accept more responsibility for her own learning in the database. In the eyes of this student, the technology does necessitate a paradigm shift in teaching and learning.

> This type of learning is quite different then teaching one on one. For students who don't work well in a group setting this would be appropriate because they can interact alot more and don't have to sit down and concentrate. However, for students who can learn in any setting either one, classroom or database, would be fine for them. Database learning is useful once students understand how to use it, and have the time. This seting is quite

long compared to other methods because it takes a long time to do one thing. However, we do depend more on ourselves, a need for the future. (Nadine, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 1, June 27, 2003)

I asked Nadine the following question in reaction to the previous entry:

If someone is shy in a group, how do you think they would find the database? Sometimes people have trouble talking in front of others but feel more comfortable expressing themselves in the database. Yes, it does take time to learn how to use it at the beginning but do you find it gets faster as you use it more? (Ms. Peters, Database, Virtual Discussions, Questions 1, June 27, 2003)

The following citation is the student's response.

For someone who is shy expressing themselves in the database is a positive side for them and yes it is easier and faster once you know hot [how] to use it. However, even if someone is shy they need to learn to open up, and that is something school must teach you. In the future, you need social skills you need to be able to communicate verbally as well as through your work. (Nadine, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question1=annotation response, June 27, 2003)

This response about learning social skills at school sparked a vigorous reaction from the other students. Some students did not agree that the role of school is to teach social skills. Others felt that social skills should be learned outside of school but that school can help students learn to interact and communicate with each other. One of the students insists that she learns more in a group where people express different opinions. Again, the idea of learning through group collaboration is something about which the students were quite passionate given the numerous

reactions to the preceding citation (Database, Virtual Discussions, Annotations for Question 1=annotation response, June 27, 2003).

The database technology encouraged students to be responsible for their own learning and also to collaborate with others, sharing ideas and theories. Students learned how to organize their writing by using database scaffolds. It took the students some time to understand the software. However, once they felt comfortable with the features of the database, they were able to use it to contribute their ideas, organize their writing, and collaborate with their classmates.

Students Doing Research

One of the interesting emergent issues in this study was how students took on their role as co-researchers. I was pleasantly taken aback when a particular student took her researcher role very seriously. During an Italian festival, Tina was determined to "get an interview" with one of the musicians, whispering intently to me "musician behind me, musician behind me" (Fieldnote, June 1, 2003). There was such urgency in her voice as she hoped to seize the opportunity to be able to interview one of the musicians. During a fiftieth wedding anniversary, I wondered whether one of the students felt as awkward and out of place as I did.

> The women are dressed "upscale" in fancy dresses, incredible shoes, and lots of makeup. I feel oddly out place in my black dress pants, my blue dress shirt, and my walking shoes. I'm wondering if I should have worn a dress. When I mention this to Nadine, she says she doesn't own a dress! Nadine: "No one claps." I notice this also. They clap for the speeches but not for the music. Clearly, this bothers Nadine. I feel like I want to be discreet and disappear at times. I feel like we are "in the way." (Fieldnote, May 25, 2003)

I was distinctly aware of bringing my researcher self into the setting and feeling awkwardly out of place. I wondered whether a student like Nadine, an outsider to the Italian culture, felt the same way. It was interesting to see students "in action" and evolving in their role as researchers, trying to find out about a local music culture.

Representing Others

One of the ways I tried to socialize the students into their new role as researchers was the Representing Others Workshop (see Appendix E). The handout was designed to help students think about different issues in relation to their interviewing in the community. I asked them to consider that the data they gathered would only be as good as the rapport they established with the interviewee. I also talked to them about the importance of learning to listen. During field experiences, I wanted them to ask themselves two questions: "What is going on?" and "What does it mean?" The goal of the workshop was to sensitize students to the issues surrounding interviewing and to the subsequent representation in writing.

> I went through the sheet 'Representing Others Workshop.' We discussed the quotes. I asked them if they knew what data means. They said yes, information they will gather. I told them my data is watching them gathering information and the database [entries]. We talked about the word rapport. I explained the idea of me as a teacher having taught them for 5 years. I have a relationship with them and therefore they will be involved in this project because of our relationship. We talked about how to develop rapport, even if there is little time – not just to jump into the interview but to do some small talk first. I used Jimmy as an example, asking him about his family – brothers or sisters? Putting him on the spot made him become quite red in the face. I explained to others that right away I

> knew something about Jimmy's personality in that he is shy in front of others. We discussed how to be sensitive to the person being interviewed. I described my exercise [representing others] at Northwestern University. Darryl, whom I interviewed said some things that were very personal and it created a tension in me as to whether to publish this information or keep it secret – whether the fact that he shared it with me meant he wanted it to become public information for the class (we shared our interviews with other class members). Melissa asked about what to do if someone says something that they don't want you to publish in the database and also, [what to do] if the information is similar to what another person says in another interview. We talked about the fact that it might be okay to share this information with the class but not write it down or just share it with me. Or, write about the idea in the database without identifying the person. Angelina suggested that we ask directly if the person minds if we publish this information. (Fieldnote, April 15, 2003)

As illustrated in the previous citation, students were introduced to issues related to their role in the study. Following the introduction, the students were asked to interview each other in pairs. They would describe the other person in the database and then comment on how it felt to be the interviewer or the interviewee. I asked one student, "the floater," to circulate around the classroom and describe what was going on. The following series of notes from the database illustrates how the students describe their first experience of representation. They talk about how it was to interview someone and how it felt to be interviewed.

> Most people began quite nervously, but as the interview went on they felt more comfortable and at ease. People who were sitting closer together and facing each other seemed to have more of a connection then those who were sitting apart and sideways. That is what I noticed in the interviews. As well, I was interviewed, and I can now see

how the other person would feel. (Nadine, Database, Representing Others, Introducing the Floater, April 19, 2003)

It was hard interviewing someone I will see again almost everyday of the remaining school year. It's hard because you're scared to ask a wrong question that could make the next time you and your interviewee meet awkward. I felt comfortable for the reason that I know Angelina a little and I know that she wouldn't nail me with any awkward or personal questions. As mrs. peters said in class today, people do like to talk about themselves. I personaly believe that it's a great opportunity to interview different kinds of nationalities and learn about people's hopes and dreams, about their past and their future. I think its really interesting. (Victor, Database, Representing Others, Introducing Angelina, April 22, 2003)

Tina is a nice young teenager who loves the company of her friends and family. Tina like many others in the school is a proud Italian. Her family came from different parts of Italy, her Grandmother came from the little town of Cosenza in Calabria, and on her dads side they are from Bari. Tina has one younger brother. (Samuel, Database, Representing Others, Representing Tina, April 23, 2003)

Samuel is a well brought up teenager, he is really nice and outgoing. Starting off interviewing Samuel, i was nervous, i didn't want to say anything that might offend him. As the interview progressed, i felt more comfortable and at ease. (Tina, Database, Representing Others, Introducing Samuel, April 23, 2003)

Nadine says "that by listening to people you learn a lot of different things. Some people don't get the chance to speak out and they have great things to say and someone should be there to listen to them". (Tina, Database, Representing Others, Introducing Nadine, April 23, 2003)

> Victor does pretty well in school and feels that hard work can be good for a person and their character. The only thing I was a little worried about was how I would be perceived in the report. (Angelina, Database, Representing Others, Introducing Victor, May 13, 2003)

Many of the students were very nervous during this process, even though they had been classmates for four or five years. They also felt that it was awkward to interview someone that they would see everyday and they were more worried about asking the wrong question that could potentially taint their future relationship with that person. Some of the students were worried about how they would be perceived by others. Many of the students alluded to the importance of listening to others, trying to understand, and showing empathy. These citations exemplify students' respect for different nationalities and their interest in finding out about other people's lives. One of the students explains that it is important to listen to people who do not always have a chance to speak out because they may have important things to say. Many of the previous citations reflect the cultural values of the local community by describing students as being "well brought up," "hard working," and patriotic about their Italian heritage.

In the following citation, I try to summarize the issues raised by the Representing Others Workshop, database entries, and the subsequent class discussion.

> Some of you felt uncomfortable being interviewed by people that you see everyday. You were worried about how the other person would portray you – worried about being misrepresented. When you saw certain things in writing, it seemed to make an impact on some of you. It is important to understand the difference between the written and the spoken word. What we write about a person can be very reductive (reduce someone's character to a couple of descriptive words), like a snapshot of their personality. Of

> course, we can never capture the complexity of a person in just a few words. This makes us realize the importance of respecting our interviewees and the words they will share with us. We need to try to represent them in the most complete way possible and be careful when we directly quote someone. Of course, we will always inform people about the project and explain that we are writing up the interviews in a database. Some of you talked about the difference between an interview and just talking. You will have a series of interview questions. Of course, it is also important to follow your instinct and make some small talk at the beginning of the interview. In some instances, you may be "just talking" but recording things in your head to be written down later in your memo pad, especially if you don't have time to get everything down. Try to write things quickly after the interview so you don't forget. (Ms. Peters, Database, Representing Others, Discussion Summary, October 24, 2003)

The students expressed their concerns about misrepresentation. I was pleased that students were able to voice the concerns that are typical of interviewees. This gave me an opportunity to encourage them to be respectful in the interview situations and to always inform people about the study prior to the interview.

Interviewing: Asking Ethnographic Questions

As described earlier, students experienced how it felt to represent and be represented by simulating the interview situation in the classroom. Following this experience, students were asked to compose ethnographic questions for each interview. Students were introduced to ethnographic interviewing procedures and were given handouts as references (see Appendices E, F). I tried to give students examples of the types of questions they might ask. The following selections illustrate how students created and modified their ethnographic questions.

Samuel contributed a set of questions to the database in French. His descriptive question asks the interviewee to describe her experience of immigration. He also asks his interviewee to describe a typical Italian festival. This is a grand tour descriptive question that asks the interviewee to describe large events or ceremonies by explaining aspects of space, time, sequence of events, people, activities or objects. The purpose of this question is to describe significant features of a cultural scene. Samuel also asks the interviewee to describe the difference between the music in Canada and the music in Italy. The aim of this question is to learn how the member distinguishes objects and events in their world. It is evident that this student is guided by the principles of ethnographic questioning in creating his script for an upcoming interview (Samuel, Database, Interviews, interview script, June 23, 2003).

The following citation exemplifies the process of a student proposing a set of questions to ask one of the musicians during a fiftieth wedding anniversary ceremony.

> I came up with some possible questions to ask. Here they are:
>
> 1. Do you do wedding anniversaries often?
>
> (if yes) 2. are they slightly similar? By this I mean, do they often wish for you to play the same music?
>
> 3. Do people ask for specific songs?
>
> 4. Do you believe that depending where you come from in Italy, you may have very different style in italian music?
>
> 5. Not being an Italian, I really didn't understand what your songs meant. Can you explain to me their significance?

6. How long have you been playing Italian music?

7. Has the music itself changed over the years, or do people stick with traditional music? (Nadine, Database, Interviews, Questions for interviews, May 22, 2003)

I respond by giving examples of how the student can structure the questions more ethnographically.

Good set of questions. I think you should look at the Interview guide to structure these questions a little. Your first 2 questions could be "Grand Tour" questions. Try to get the interviewee to describe in detail everything that goes on at a typical 50th wedding anniversary, especially as it relates to music: Aspects of space, time, sequence of events, people, activities, objects. Try to construct a couple of descriptive questions. Get him to describe things in great detail. The more detail, the better. It is so people reading your write up can get an idea of what it was like "being there" just by reading your detailed account. Typical grand tour questions describe things as they usually are. In other words, what are wedding anniversaries usually like? The specific questions describe the actual event. Specific grand tour questions: Interpret the song for us, translate the words of a song, write it down for us. There may be specific songs that create a particular ambiance in the crowd. They may be ones that you will ask more information about. Observe the people carefully during the afternoon. You can add these questions as you go. Use mini tour, example questions (example of a time when...), and experience questions (a particular experience while performing elsewhere). Victor also has a question about styles of music. You can decide between the two of you who will pose this question. You can ask a question about the songs in general and perhaps have him be specific about particular songs. Good question about music changing over time. Maybe expand this question. It is important. Why is traditional music important? Is it okay to change music

> or lyrics (modify) or is this not acceptable as a way to interpret traditional music? Nadine…could you do a short explanation where you tell him about the project we are doing? Hope this is helpful. (Ms. Peters, Database, Interviews, Modifications for questions, May 24, 2003)

This student begins by asking a question about wedding ceremonies. I want her to modify this question slightly and approach it as a grand tour question, asking the interviewee to describe in detail a typical fiftieth wedding anniversary. The student does express interest and ignorance when she states that she doesn't understand what the songs mean. She takes the position of the ethnographer considering that the community member has something to teach her. I ask her to be responsible for the project explanations at the interview. This back and forth between question generation by the students and proposed modifications by the researcher was typical of the preparation for interviewing in the community.

In the following selections, Tina's questions are structured in order to communicate to her grandfather that he has something to teach her, the researcher.

> These are the questions i came up with for now. I know that you have lots of knowledge about lots of things in the world, how is that? Did you read books, newspapers, encyclopedia's etc? What is your motivation for learning so much? Where did it come from? Were you a curious person growing up? Have you ever had any musical experiences? If so, what were your musical experiences in Italy? What were your musical experiences in Canada? What is the difference between the music in Italy and the music in Canada? Is there something similar/different? Do you still preserve the same musical and cultural beliefs/traditions? Is it important to keep the music alive? Have you ever played any instruments, if so which ones? How did you feel when you played? Did you enjoy the feeling? (Tina, Database, Interviews, My grandfather, June 19, 2003)

This student asks her grandfather to compare music in Italy to music in Canada. In addition to contrast questions, Tina also asks a descriptive question that focuses on the feelings associated with musical experiences. The following excerpts from the beginning and the end of the interview with Tina's grandfather illustrate the way in which she communicates her respect for the member's knowledge, his point of view, and how he sees life. She takes the ethnographer stance of expressing ignorance and interest.

> Tina: I know that you have lots of knowledge about lots of things in the world, how is that?….
>
> Tina: Well thank you so much for taking time in talking to me. I really appreciate it. You made me understand and learn quite a few things today. Thank you Nonno.
>
> Grandfather: Anytime...I'm glad that you young ones are taking the opportunity to get to know the older generation… (Tina, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with my grandfather, June 23, 2003)

The students composed questions based on Spradley's (1979) guidelines for ethnographic interviewing. I worked with the students, guiding them in their process and offering suggestions to improve their questions. Students took on the ethnographic stance, expressing their willingness to learn from members of the local community.

Writing as Ethnographers

In this final section, I illustrate how students took on the role of ethnographic writers. Throughout the study, I encouraged students to document their participant observation in the community by providing a descriptive account in the database. I talked about the concept of thick

description and how ethnographers write in order to give readers the feeling of “being there.” The next passage transports us to the setting of an Italian festival. We are able to smell the food, visualize the scene, and feel the Italian pride by way of the masterful description of this student.

> The date is May 31st 2003. From afar we can see seagulls flying up above the Italian cultural center which seems to be a vision of the sea and the first impression we get is how Italy is a penisula contry. The scent that rises above the city's usual stench is that of cold pizza, Saputo's strange cheeses, and home made sandwiches. As I get closer to the center, where speaches have already begun to be said, I realize quite quickly that I can't understand Italian as well as I wish. Uniformed men can be seen with berets (Éppeni) of a regiment unknown to me. Men whereing hats with feathers on them, some with the word Firenze on those feathers representing the city of their birth. Some with medals and other tibits which I am not sure what they are. Of course, the place is filled with flags of Italy and some even with soccer balls in the middle of these italian flags. Looking around we can see a rock formation which water is spurting from the top. Although there is no atual music playing yet, people are singing some cultural songs, including O Canada (in french) and the Italian national anthem. This is all happening under a tent to hide from the earlier rain…Many fans of the ferrari racing group have gathered in this festival (naturally) and show their appreciation for the italian car. As I look around some more, I cross some old friends of backgrounds other than italian but who say " This food is just so good " which I must say is very much true. I'm also noticing many very lovely young ladies and, according to the girls, very good looking guys as well. Hearing the person presently giving a speech, I can't help but notice how much it sounds like a scene from the french movie " Elvis Gratton,” also whenever the word "ITALIA" is said, immediatly the crowd begins to cheer which is quite amusing. Finally I recognize the smell of this place; it seems to smell like the outdoor work-shop at any music festival which is to me

an interesting connection. At almost every moment of my time here, I am offered food from the people working at the food stands (because I an taking notes down, they seem to figure out that I am doing research an make me cut to the front to quickly try something) and of course I cannot help but except it. Wine is also offered for free. We finally meet up with our teacher who is a little late but not enough to change much. We then move into the center itself where the party is raging on. People are yelling, cheering, dancing, pushing and shoving. These people seem really into the sing all together. They are sing with accoustic guitars, a small lute and an accordion playing. When the nation anthem is sung once again, most italians seem to want to get closer to these instruments... I wonder why? Many different songs are being sung like " Volare " and songs about Moussolini. We notice that Tina knows a few of these songs herself and sings along while dancing as well. Although it was quite cold outside, inside it's quite warm. Another change is that now the smell is that of many perfumes and colognes blending together. As a couple begins to dance around during what seems to be a waltz, a cameraman begins to film. This waltz makes a bit of contrast to the usually fast music being played today. On the other side of the center where chairs are set up for people who wish to sit and relax, the mood seems much calmer than the party side. One man tells me that the music being played is mostly about cities and places in Italy. And that the war promoted people to write about the mountains and things that inspired happiness in their lives. And they were also singing more popular songs like "Osolamio." I begin to interview a man and before I can even ask his name, he asks me if I speak italian. Tina comes up and I think " thank God, my savior " and she tells the man she speaks italian. He literally pushes me aside and goes to Tina (lol). As I listen I catch on to a few topics and sentences, for instance; The italian music now days is more about melodie than it is about lyrics as it used to be back when, music is less important than it used to be. I meet a politician of the italian community who seems to know very little about the culture," I'm not much older than

> you are, I work for the parlament and that's why they were cheering me on " is what he says to me. But he did know that the name of the big hats with very large feathers was known as a "Carabieri." (Aidan, Database, Festa Della Repubblica Italiana, Italian Fest, June 13, 2003)

In the following example, a student provides a vivid description of an incident during the Italian festival. In addition to transporting us to the scene, this incident demonstrates the urgency experienced by members to participate actively in communal music-making.

> The circle around the group got tighter and louder every moment. One woman almost pushed me over trying to get closer to the band! At first i was a little shocked by her, but she looked at me and said with her italian accent," Oh i'm sorry, but i have to sing." Nothing was going to stop this little woman from getting near that group and singing her heart out! I thought it was the sweetest thing. That is the italian culture, what i saw at the festival. A group of people who love their music and of course their food. All things are somehow linked with the pride they feel for their culture and their contry. (Amanda, Database, Festa Della Repubblica Italiana, my perspective, June 3, 2003)

The reader of these accounts can feel the proximity and closeness of the many people celebrating as one large family. The sense of liveliness and pride is palpable as we see the movement of hands and flags everywhere. We experience the earnestness of a people that needs to be close and sing together to celebrate and preserve their Italian culture. These accounts demonstrate students' sensitivity to ethnographic description as a way to characterize the contexts of a local music culture.

Conclusions: Students Doing Research

Students took on the role of ethnographic researchers. They were involved in participant observations and interviewing in the community. They were introduced to tools of inquiry by interviewing each other during the "Representing Others Workshop." They were able to experience first hand how it feels to represent someone else and to be represented by someone else. This sensitized them to the danger of misrepresentation and the importance of listening and developing rapport with interviewees. Students designed ethnographic questions in collaboration with each other and the researcher. Students experimented with ethnographic writing, creating scenes on a page to describe in detail the contexts of a local Italian community. Students became co-researchers and co-authors of this study.

Students' Understanding of a Local Music Culture

The previous discussion reflects how students perceived the nature of the learning environment and how they took on their new role as ethnographic researchers. In the following section I describe how students went about the collaborative process of identifying themes, concepts, beliefs, and values embedded in cultural practices such as traditional music. I have been careful to relate how students categorized and organized their ideas and how they represented their understanding of a local music culture. This section describes how students went about identifying important cultural themes, discusses the value of music, and illustrates how music reflects the cultural beliefs and values of a local music culture.

Students Finding Themes

As discussed earlier, students worked in a collaborative learning environment. Their collaboration in the classroom and in the database allowed them to share their experiences in the community with each other and to access many different ideas. As described in research question two, I asked the students to represent their understanding of a local music culture by identifying cultural concepts, beliefs, and values embedded in cultural practices. In the following two subsections, I will focus on student processes of working together to identify themes and I will give examples of how the different themes and subthemes were organized and understood by the students.

Collaborative Process

What follows is an example of students working together to find themes across the different interviews and events. I have already used a shorter excerpt from this longer passage to illustrate the concept of scaffolds in chapter three. This longer selection exemplifies the interactions that took place between the students. During this classroom discussion, students contributed from their own experiences in the community. They try to identify themes (scaffolds) and subthemes (scaffold supports) and discuss how they should be organized. I had already entered some themes into the database as a point of departure for the students.

> Angelina: And then, in the database, what it is, is putting like lets say an idea like, lets say you have politics as something that comes up very often. Do you put that, ah, scaffold as politics and what people [know] about each of their interviews?
>
> Ms. Peters: So that's a theme you're seeing coming across different interviews.

Angelina: Well, it was just, like as an example.

Ms. Peters: Yes. Okay, so where does that fit? Would you put it into something we already have here? Would you put it under music culture? I've created a scaffold called music culture. I've created a scaffold called cultural beliefs and values. Does it go anywhere in there or would you have to create a new scaffold?

Angelina: These are the scaffolds in there [in the database]? (referring to the list of scaffolds on the photocopy given out)

Ms. Peters: Right, so, scaffolds are on the left and the supports are in the middle.

Discussion about whether it would fit in the anthropology scaffold. [anthropology, politics]

Ms. Peters: Anthropology is the study of… (asking for an answer – students respond "of people") of people.

Melissa: I think it would be in the music culture because it's within the culture that politics is important in the music. I don't know.

Christina: Maybe value? (aside to Melissa)

Melissa: Value? (aside to Angelina)

Angelina: It might go in values

(its as if they are passing the question down the line for Angelina to voice out loud)

Melissa: Not necessarily 'cause...

Christina: Well, to be part of a political party, you have to believe in certain values and certain ideas.

Melissa: That's true.

Ms. Peters: So we have to decide and I'm not going to tell you what the answer is (little laughs from everyone). There's no answer. But you have to decide. Do you need a new scaffold for politics? Okay, so keep that flying around [keep discussing], Okay, Angelina? Politics. What else? What other kind of themes are you seeing?

Christina: Love (laughs in response to love themes).

Melissa: But like not only falling in love because at the Italian Choir, what's her name, Dana was translating one for us about just making love. No but it goes through every stage of love: falling in love, making love, getting married, breaking up, loved one dying…

Simultaneous conversation

Angelina: Even love for your neighbors. That came up a lot.

Melissa: Love for you neighbors, love for your family. Love for everybody.

Nadine: Love for your country.

Ms. Peters: Love for food.

Melissa: Yeah!

Ms. Peters: What else?

Victor: Where you live, ah…

Ms. Peters: How could we say that in…if you were going to make that a scaffold or support…Yeah, these are different things. Well, they're related…

Victor: Also, where you belong to, like…

Ms. Peters: Belonging. (Victor: Yeah) Could we say belonging?

Victor: It's something like that you have when they [Italians] come here [Canada]. Being there [in Italy], like being an Italian is like all that they not only have, but…

Ms. Peters: So, where you're from, the idea of belonging, the idea of patriotism. Could all of these be regrouped somehow?

Melissa: Yeah, roots.

Ms. Peters: (I make an ah-ha gesture with my face in response to Melissa's comment). Okay, so if we…Again, you guys can debate this in the database. You don't all have to agree. But if you create a scaffold called roots and what would you put in there? Some things we just said?

Jimmy: Background.

Student: Where you're from.

Angelina: And how patriotic some people are.

Melissa: But it's not like necessarily just to the country but also to a specific place (students speaking to other students - students nod in agreement, something about their roots).

Ms. Peters: So, belonging, where you're from, patriotism you'd fit in there?
(Transcription, June 16, 2003)

Angelina begins the conversation by noticing that the theme politics “comes up very often.” She is seeing this theme across the different interviews and in the database contributions. There is an ensuing discussion about how to organize and put the themes in the database. I had given the students some themes to begin their reflection process. Here are the anthropology themes that I entered as scaffolds in the database: (a) meaning: creativity and performance, (b) artistic expression, (c) ritual behavior, (d) art as symbol, (e) belief systems, and (f) value systems.

The students discuss whether politics should be placed under the “Anthropology” theme or whether it should be under “Value Systems.” I encourage the students to continue discussing and I emphasize that there is no right answer to the questions they are asking themselves. The students discuss the themes of love, everyday life, rivalry, belonging, patriotism and roots. They qualify the theme of belonging as where people are from and emphasize that this is an important part of being Italian, an important value for the community. I encourage the students to continue debating these ideas and to contribute their ideas of important themes to the database. This back-and-forth discussion about the major themes of the study demonstrates the collaborative efforts of a knowledge community of students to understand a local cultural system. Students build on each other’s ideas in order to articulate answers that represent their collective experiences in the local community.

The following entry appeared in the database the day following the discussion about themes and subthemes.

> *Opinion*: For my opinion on different scaffolds we could have a scaffold entitled "ROOTS" and some supports could be family, belonging, background etc. We could have another one called "INFLUENCES" and the supports could be the north vs. the south

> (rivalry) religiion everyday lives etc. The last one that I thought of was "LOVE" which could have supports like love for your family, your nieghbour, love for your wife or husband. (Samuel, Database, Virtual Discussions, Scaffolds and supports, June 17, 2003)

Samuel takes the initiative to suggest some themes based on classroom discussions. He proposes roots, influences, and love as the themes. He reflects the thinking of his other classmates in the organization of themes and subthemes. Another student proposes themes that she sees across the database and in classroom discussions.

> Most of the themes have been said, what we see repeating is love, family, food, where they're from and also evolution. They talk about how the music has change[d] from since they were young and what has been passed down from generatoin. I've been reading what the other people have been writing and I agree with all of them. There is an interesting point that Tina brought up. She said that we are being influence by the americains, we are starting to all think a like. Overall, we are loosing our individuality, our uniqueness. I back her up an 100% but there is an other side to being different. It is the reasons why there is all those war, fights, arguments, and conflicts. It is all because of our differences. Victor and Samuel brough[t] up the same point about evolution. How the music changed during the years but still some are passed down from generation to generation. *Example:* You can kind of relate them to relationships we made during highschool. When we graduate from highschool most of the friends we made, will be lost because we will be going to different school and you won't get to see them as much as you did. But there will be relationships that will go on, some contacts will stay intact and the friendship will go on for many years to come. It is the same thing as music. Some of the music, some of the ritual will be passed down (the ones that made a great impact on peoples life) and others will be forgoten and left behind. That is evolution. (Christina, Database, Virtual Discussions, What came up a lot, June 27, 2003)

Christina notes that she has been reading other entries in the database as part of her process of thinking about important themes. Also, she references the contributions of other students when she talks about losing individuality and evolving. She adds to these points that have already been made by other students and also provides an example from her own life to illustrate the process of evolution. This student is building on the collective information in the database to determine what she believes are the important themes of the study.

In the following quote, a student identifies a theme from her interview with a member of the local community.

> In the interview with Ms. Marcone, she spoke of music in the everday life. I think this is very important. Music was something that was always there, no matter what. It wasn't something only used for ceremonies. They connected to this music greatly. (Nadine, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 3, June 27, 2003)

Nadine relates how the interviewee talked about music in relation to everyday life. She expands on this theme, explaining why it is of importance to the study.

Students' understanding about a local music culture began with interviewing and participant observation and continued with the identifying of themes and patterns they were seeing across the data. The collaborative research community context of the classroom and the database provided an environment where students could build a knowledge base using evidence from interviews, outings, and the multiple perspectives of the other students. The students were able to debate and discuss different issues, moving their knowledge and understanding forward.

Examples of Themes

Students identified different themes based on their interviews in the local community. The identification of themes or patterns that students were seeing across the data helped students to begin the process of representing a local music culture by identifying its concepts, values, and beliefs. The function of music, roots, preservation, identity and evolution are some of the themes identified during a student discussion (Database, Virtual Discussions, Themes -16 discussion, June 17, 2003). Students organized themes and subthemes and contributed them to the database as scaffolds and scaffold supports (see Table 11).

Table 11

Student-identified themes and subthemes.

Scaffold	Music Culture	Cultural Beliefs/Values	Roots	Influences
Scaffold Supports	Love	Family	Background	Media
	Everyday Life	Religion	Belonging	Globalization
	Improvisation	Traditions	Patriotism	north versus south
	Meanings		Rivalry	Evolution
	Ceremonies			Preservation
	Festivals			Change

These themes were integrated into the categories of preservation and the function of music, already discussed in chapter four. The theme of music culture enumerates the different functions of music in society. The local community wants to preserve its roots by transmitting

cultural believes and values to the younger generation. However, students noted the societal influences that exert changing forces on musical practices. The following citation is from an interview with a member of an Italian traditional choir.

> The traditional songs are about love, mostly love between a man and a woman. She also spoke a lot about how she was connected to the music more then others. She also spoke of how here in motreal [Montreal], the music didnt evolve as much as it did in Italy. She spoke about meanings of songs, and how she is connected to them she feels because she wasnt raised in Italy so she always thought of it as a romantic place. (Nadine, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with Sandra, June 18, 2003)

The love theme is very important in traditional Italian music. The Italian community feels strongly connected to these traditional songs and their meanings. This young woman did not grow up in Italy but she idealizes the country and feels attached to the traditional music. The song themes that students identified were love, beauty of nature, patriotism, war, and hard times. In the following selection, Dana translates the meanings of songs sung in a traditional Italian choir.

> Also sang about the war and the men with the feathered hats. To peace and when they had to leave there beloved homes and come to the new land. To Love and a girl called "Rusinella", and a man declaring is [his] love for her how when he see's her his heart can't stop racing. And of course pizza the one with tamato and which restaurant had the best pizza and which pizza you want.... and one which I liked and the words were nice was " viva Italia IL MIO MONDO con Il bello sole di la mia casa. Italia una bella cansone, una parole di liberta." (Yes I know there spelling mistakes.) for those who aren't

> Italian means Itaky [Italy] my earth, the nice sun of my home, Italy what a nice song, such liberty. (Dana, Database, Choir, Choir, June 22, 2003)

The preceding quote indicates that there are different song types in Italian traditional music. There is the love story sung as a solo with response from the choir. The man declares his love and Rusinella's heart, represented by the choir, is racing like a horse. There are also funny songs. One is the tomato pizza story sung as a solo narrative with response from the choir. Two young people are getting married and the boy offers a fish but the girl says: "No, I want a pizza with tomatoes." When she is offered a three or a five-layer cake, she again refuses and asks for a tomato pizza. There are songs that render homage to Italy and its beauty such as "Viva Italia". There were also "black songs" that were originally sung in war times by men in the mountain regiment in northern Italy and songs about peace. These songs are ways of telling stories from the past and they communicate important cultural values, beliefs, and ideals.

The preceding section gives examples of the different themes identified, organized, and contributed to the database. These themes reflect the students' understanding and their representation of the local culture. The themes of traditional songs also incorporate important aspects of local culture that are embedded in musical practices.

Student Representations of Concepts and Values

In addition to finding themes, students were asked to identify cultural beliefs and values expressed by members of a local Italian community and observed in traditional musical practices. I asked the students a third question during the on-line discussion that took place on June 27, 2003.

> Having read all the interview transcriptions and other notes in the database, what do you think are the most important common features of Italian traditional music? Why do you think this music is important to the culture? What is the value of music for a particular cultural group? What are the important cultural values and beliefs that are reflected in the interviews (please give examples - don't talk about your interview only - I would like you to show me what you have learned from other interviews). Do you think the music reflects the cultural beliefs and values of a people? How? (give examples) (Ms. Peters, Database, Virtual Discussions, Discussion – June 27 – 9-11 a.m., June 27, 2003)

By asking this question, I wanted the students to start making connections across the database information that they had entered. I was asking students to identify the important cultural beliefs and values of a local community and to represent their understanding of the culture. This question is directly connected to my second research question: How does a selected group of secondary students represent their understanding of a local music culture, including concepts and values embedded in cultural practices?

Important Cultural Values

According to community members, the most important cultural values are family, education, religion, tradition, culture (music, art, architecture), and food. All the interviewees insisted on the value and importance of the family to the Italian culture. This value unites Italians and it is the focal point of their culture. The following citation illustrates how a student describes the central place of the family in Italian culture.

> The family life was very warm and tight. Family was very important and still is. The father would work to provide food and shelter for the family and the mother would stay at

> home to take care of the children. The father was the boss. Everything they ate was homemade. (Angelina, Tina, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with Fred and Mrs. Marcone, June 26, 2003)

The following two excerpts reiterate the importance of family. Some of the community members became very emotional when they spoke about their ties to their family in the past and in the present.

> Another theme that ive noticed is that *family is really important." Mrs.Marcone said "La famille est quelque chose tres important" [the family is something very important], she said that quite a few times. When she was talking about family, she became very emotional. For many people family was a big part of their life since living in Italy was very difficult. Lots and lots of people left their families behind because they needed to leave and find opportunity for work and also freedom. (Tina, Database, Virtual Discussions, Themes, June 15, 2003)

> The most important value I have come across while reading these interviews is family. While reading the interview with Tina's grandfather I noticed that people will sacrifice much for the well being of their family. I think that even if when they came over here they had nothing (no music, etc.) they would've been happy here if they were with family. Also, while i was doing both the interviews, I noticed that leaving the family behind was the hardest thing that both women (Mrs. Marcone and Rita) had to do. I think that people tend to miss Italy more if they leave their family behind also. (Angelina, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 3, June 27, 2003)

The connection to their roots in Italy is a deep connection to the family members the Italian immigrants left behind. Perhaps the hard times these people experienced during

immigration created a particular strong bond with their family. They viewed their sacrifices as a way to offer their families better lives. The family is one of the most important values for the local culture according to community members and the students.

How Music Reflects Cultural Beliefs and Values

In addition to general cultural values expressed by members, students were also asked to think about how music reflects the cultural beliefs and values of a local culture. In the following two citations, students describe how the lyrics and traditional Italian songs reflect the values of a local community.

> Music does reflect beliefs and values. Love in the songs reflects [reflects] the love of the people. The harships [hardships] in some of the songs represents what the people went through. The music represents the hope and the love and the faith and I think that is really important to realize. Most italian music is joyful and up lifting. (Nadine, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 3, June 27, 2003)

> Do I think the music reflects these beliefs? Yes, I most certainly do. Just by listening to the lyrics you can get an idea of the people's mentalities, the kind of people they are and how they act. (Victor, Database, Virtual Discussions, Answer to question #3, June 29, 2003)

The preceding citations reflect on how cultural beliefs and values can be deduced from song lyrics. Songs can talk about love or hardships but the traditional music is generally uplifting. The student quoted next believes that music allows people to understand the mentality

of a group of people and the way they act. In the following passage, a student describes in detail how music reflects the beliefs and values of a particular culture.

> Folk music defenetally reflects the values and beliefs of that culture. In the 'old days' in Italy, when the folk music was sung, it was about hard work, going to war, family, love... and as we've said in class, these are some of the values that Italians believe in. Just look at our society. We are very materialist and sexual. Our music relflects that! Shania Twain's Ka-Ching (she sings 'We live in a greedy little world), Christina Agulera's Dirrty ('I need that-uuhh- to get me off, sweating till my clothes come off'). If you notice, in the late [lately], the message in music has changed so much throught the years, as society's values change. From The Beatles' I Wanna Hold Your Hand, to Bryan Adams' Every Really Love A Woman, to the Bloodhound Gang's Bad Touch. These three songs are from three different eras and look at the love in three different ways. Same goes for Folk music; the songs from back the represent how they felt, their beliefs, their values... their culture! (Melissa, Database, Virtual Discussions, Third questions, June 27, 2003)

In the preceding quote, the student gives a chronological time-line of examples in order to illustrate changing beliefs and values of society as reflected in popular music. This student describes masterfully how music is a reflection of a time and place and is situated in a local culture.

Chapter summary

The present chapter has described students' processes and products during their participation in the research study. I demonstrated how students interacted in the learning environment and how they represent their understanding of the important beliefs and values of a

local music culture. In the first section, I discussed the paradigm shift that took place, resulting in a more decentralized and democratic learning environment that encouraged the students to become co-researchers, collaborating in the classroom and in the database. The technology encouraged them to take responsibility for their own learning and allowed them to share ideas and theories. In addition to the advantages of working autonomously, the students also appreciated the opportunity to learn collaboratively with others as a way of sharing ideas and advancing theory. The students appreciated the authentic learning context, allowing them to interact face-to-face with living members of a local Italian community. Students took on the researcher role, experiencing interviewing, constructing ethnographic questions, and practicing ethnographic writing. The second section of the chapter described how students worked collaboratively to identify themes across the data. They built on each other's ideas during classroom discussions and in the database in order to collectively understand a local culture. Students exemplify the important values of the community culture and illustrate how music represents the values and beliefs of a specific cultural context.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

The goal of the present study was to investigate to what extent collaborative knowledge building based on experiences in a local Italian community could be used to facilitate learning in a music classroom. The following two research questions were posed: (1) What is the nature of teaching and learning in a collaborative knowledge-building secondary music classroom focusing on a local music culture? (2) How does a selected group of secondary students represent their understanding of a local music culture, including concepts, beliefs, and values embedded in cultural practices? In this chapter, I revisit the findings in chapter five that describe the nature of the learning environment and make connections to the literature reviewed in chapter two. In the following section, I focus on how students represented music as culturally signifying practice in culture. I discuss the emergent categories detailed in chapter four in connection with new and emerging literature pertaining to culture, music, and identity.

Neo-Vygotskian scholars use the term “formative experiments" to describe studies that focus on how to influence the development and design of better instruction in educational settings (Jacob, 1992). “Thus, such studies are explicitly concerned with improving instruction. To achieve their goals, researchers combine qualitative methods of investigation with interventions in learning situations” (p. 321). In these “formative experiments,” researchers have a specific goal in mind and they modify materials and the organization of the setting to achieve their goal. They also use traditional ethnographic methods such as participant observation and videotaping to document the interaction process, identify problems, and propose solutions. The

present study could be termed a "formative experiment" in the sense that my goal as the researcher/teacher was to investigate how the materials used (authentic experiences and interviews in a local community) and the mode of instruction (collaborative knowledge building in the classroom and in the database) would facilitate the students' learning about a music culture.

As already discussed in chapter one, social learning theories emphasize the importance of the relationship between human action and the social or cultural system. Therefore, the present study focused on activities, social interactions and cultural processes that took place in the contexts of the classroom, the database, and the local community and viewed the students as active constructors of their knowledge about a music culture. Jacob (1992) explains this shift to research that focuses on cognition in social context.

> Most notably, neo-Vygotskian work has shifted the focus to understanding the processes that occur in local contexts and away from comparative studies focused on outcomes. The unit of analysis has also shifted from the isolated individual to units that focus on an individual or individuals acting in a specific setting. The new units support a view of humans as active constructors who act as whole persons in activities and a view of social interaction as a central contributor to cognitive change. (p. 324)

One of the interesting aspects of this study is that the database offers a view of both individual cognitive changes and social interactions of the community of learners.

The purpose of this study was to describe the nature of the face-to-face interactions and collaborations between secondary school students and community members in the contexts of the classroom and a local ethnic community. The following section will present implications of the findings presented in chapter five and of the emergent issues discussed in chapter four.

Major Findings and Interpretations

In this section, I take experience-near concepts of the students and discuss them from the perspective of experience-distant concepts in the literature. In this way, I will situate the specificity of this research study in the more general features of social life (Geertz, 1983). I will dialectically move back and forth between data from the present study and concepts and theoretical underpinnings in the broader literature. I have organized the following discussion into four topic areas: (a) the nature of the learning environment; (b) music as culturally signifying practice; (c) the uses and functions of music in culture; and (d) ethnicity, identity, and ethnic identity.

The Nature of the Learning Environment

During their participation in this study, I encouraged my students to become part of a community of practice where they would interact with each other, the community members, and the teacher/researcher to collectively advance knowledge about a local music culture (Brown & Campione, 1990). Wenger's (2007) definition of a community of practice presents a model for what took place during the course of the study.

> Communities of practice are formed by people who engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain of human endeavor: a tribe learning to survive, a band of artists seeking new forms of expression, a group of engineers working on similar problems, a clique of pupils defining their identity in the school, a network of surgeons exploring novel techniques, a gathering of first-time managers helping each other cope. In a nutshell: Communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a

passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly. (¶ 2)

According to Wenger (2007), communities of practice have three characteristics: (a) the domain, (b) the community, and (c) the practice. The domain is a shared domain of interest. The domain in the present study is a commitment to finding out about a local music culture. The community engages students in joint activities and discussions and builds relationships that enable students to learn from each other through interaction. The practice component establishes that members of a community are themselves practitioners. They develop a shared repertoire of resources such as experiences in the community, stories, and research tools. For example, the students shared with each other their techniques for using the database or ethnographic interview techniques. The topics discussed in the next section illustrate many aspects of the community of practice that emerged during the course of this study.

I will examine the findings from chapter five about the nature of the learning environment in relation to the literature reviewed in chapter two. The findings are grouped into six themes: (a) shared system of beliefs, (b) shared ideas and theories, (c) ownership and responsibility for learning, (d) changing paradigm of teaching and learning, (e) authentic learning in the community, and (f) students doing research.

Shared System of Beliefs

One of the important findings of this study, discussed at length in chapter five, is how students came to conclusions together about the beliefs and values of an Italian cultural community as exemplified by traditional music. The emphasis on communal knowledge in the

classroom allowed the students to share their ideas and come to conclusions as a group. “Over time, the community of learners adopts a common voice and common knowledge base, a shared system of meaning, beliefs, and activity that is as often implicit as it is explicit” (Brown & Campione, 1994, p. 267).

Sharing Ideas and Theories

The learning environment encouraged students to read each other’s contributions to the database and to share ideas and theories in the classroom. The communal database allowed the students to describe and generalize about the phenomenon of a local music culture (Scardamalia & Bereiter, 1999). As in the Songer (1996) study, students became a source of “living data,” exchanging with other students. Scardamalia et al. (1992) describe the database as a place for students to contribute ideas, analyze research results, and discuss issues. It is a place for peers to be involved in intelligent discourse in an inquiry environment. The following citation illustrates how the learning environment shifts from a focus on the individual to an emphasis on knowledge sharing.

> The thing that was the most different about this research group was the fact that we could be ourselves a little more while working on the project. We did not have to worry about the regular discipline we face in a classroom. This group was also based around the sharing of Ideas and theories, where in a typical classroom you're learning things without needing your creative side. Not only did we expand our knowledge on another (or our own) culture, but with the sharing of Ideas and theories we really learned a lot about each other (Victor, Database, Virtual Discussions, Answer to Question #1, June 29, 2003)

Ownership and Responsibility

Students expressed how the database was a place for them to work alone and with others. One student explained that it taught him to be more responsible. The students felt that they had more autonomy, that they could teach themselves and each other in this collaborative environment. Another student commented that it is easier to express oneself in the database. Songer's (1996) study concurs with this finding. One of the students in her study explains that the anonymity of the Internet allows students to express themselves in a non-threatening environment. In Songer's study, students felt empowered, perceiving themselves as experts on a local weather phenomenon.

It is important to remember that students and teachers each have "ownership" of certain forms of expertise in a collaborative learning environment, but no one has it all. "Responsible members of the community share the expertise they have or take responsibility for finding out about needed knowledge" (Brown & Campione, 1994, p. 234).

Changing the Paradigm of Teaching and Learning

In a community of practice where students act as researchers, there is a dramatic change in the teaching and learning paradigm as described in chapter two. I wanted to shift from a teaching paradigm to a learning paradigm where the students were the starting point of the learning (Tardif & Presseau, 1998). This implied a transformation of the roles of the teacher and students. The balance of power changed as we experienced more reciprocity and collaboration between teacher and students (Richards, 1993). I became a guide and a mentor and the students

actively constructed their knowledge and sometimes acted as experts about a local music culture. The following excerpt illustrates how I encouraged a collaborative relationship with the students.

> Don't expect me to come and tell you the right way to do this. I don't know the right way! I'm finding it out as you are. Okay? So we're finding something out together and that's what this research is about. It's about finding out about stuff. (Transcription, May 28, 2003)

Students felt that the human connection was very important to their learning process. Given that learning is fundamentally a social process, I felt it was important to combine interaction in the classroom and interaction in the database. Both the human and the technological component were essential elements of the collaborative learning environment.

The changes in classroom structure are not without their difficulties and students are socialized to perceive the teacher as "all knowing." One student expressed her frustration when the teacher did not always have the answers during the study. Discovering knowledge together can be destabilizing for some students. However, I have found that students often learn the most when they are out of their comfort zone.

Authentic Learning in the Community

Authentic learning is situated in everyday, real world experiences and relevant tasks (Dewey, 1938; Papert, 1980). The multicultural literature recommends that curricula focus on the ethnic makeup of the school and that students be engaged in reflective self-study of their own cultural heritage (Banks, 1994, 1997; Erickson, 2003). Student knowledge, family knowledge, and the cultural practices in the local community are considered resources for teachers in schools

(Ladson-Billings, 1995; Mehan et al., 2001). Therefore, schools are encouraged to engage in culturally responsive teaching that connects to home cultures and the local community (Delpit, 1995; Lines, 2000; Grant & Sleeter, 2003). The students in this study interacted with topics and concepts original to a particular culture's music (Elliott, 1989). This ethnic-specific curricular model increased the students knowledge and understanding of an ethnocultural heritage.

I chose to study the music of an Italian community with my students because the Italian population was a large part of the ethnic makeup of the school. The students commented on the relevance of their "real life" experiences in the community. They described the power of face-to-face interactions as an effective way to learn about culture. According to students, the interviews added a layer of richness to the learning process. The facial expressions, hand gestures, emotional responses, and the human contact were aspects of the learning experience that made the interview activities relevant and compelling for the students. The students underscore the importance of social interactions to the learning process. They were able to experience member views first hand, learning in the authentic contexts of the real world.

Students Doing Research

The students in this study experimented with the tools of inquiry of ethnographic researchers. I felt that this would be a culturally relevant pedagogical approach given the anthropological focus of the study. Students assumed the role of ethnographers through learning activities (participant observation, interviewing: Representing Others Workshop, asking ethnographic questions, writing as ethnographers). They were also able to experience some of the same challenges and emotions as other researchers. They sometimes felt awkward, wondered

how they would be represented, learned how to listen, tried to understand members, and learned how to use thick description to construct scenes on a page.

Summary: Nature of the Learning Environment

Students were involved in a community of practice that changed the paradigm of teaching and learning in the classroom. This community focused on knowledge about a local music culture. The student community was involved in authentic learning tasks and they also interacted with each other, sharing belief systems, ideas, and theories. As practitioners, they took ownership and responsibility for their own learning and shared the tools of inquiry and resources of ethnography in order to engage in student research in the local community.

Music as a Culturally Signifying Practice

Music as Culture

Students in this study were asked to examine the distinctive characteristics of a local music culture as well as describing the shared beliefs and values of members of a culture as exemplified by its musical practices. This section discusses findings related to researcher question two: How does a selected group of secondary students represent their understanding of a local music culture, including concepts, beliefs, and values embedded in cultural practices? Students represented music as culture, part of a larger context of the way of life of a group of people.

> The word 'culture' is used to refer to whatever is distinctive about the "'way of life' of a people, community, nation or social group. This has come to be known as the

> 'anthropological' definition. Alternatively, the word can be used to describe the 'shared values' of a group or of society – which is like the anthropological definition, only with a more sociological emphasis. (Hall, 1997, p. 2)

Music is a signifying practice. This means that music and all other cultural practices are inscribed with particular cultural meanings (Hall, 1997). According to Merriam (1964), one of the important functions of music is "symbolic representation of other things, ideas, and behaviors" (p. 223). Musical practices are inseparable from the underlying beliefs and values of a particular cultural group. "In music (as in culture), the fruits ("works") produced by a particular musical practice are inseparable from their roots (un underlying network of beliefs)" (Elliott, 1990, p. 154).

Therefore, songs and musical elements such as sounds represent concepts, ideas, and feelings of a culture. They objectify culture by operating as symbols to construct and transmit meaning. Meanings and worldviews are shared by members of the same cultural group. "Members of the same culture must share sets of concepts, images and ideas which enable them to think and feel about the world, and thus to interpret the world, in roughly similar ways" (Hall, 1997, p. 4). Therefore, cultural products such as music reflect the mental processes, the way a group thinks, and the context of a local community culture. This is what Geertz (1983) refers to as the "local turn of mind" (p. 12). Musical performances act and embody cultural values (Stokes, 1994). "Music cultures transmit sets of concepts, values, and attitudes that are essential to producing and understanding the music….In all societies, we venture to say, cultural values and guiding principles are to some extent transmitted through the music" (Nettl, 1998, p. 28). In a database entry, one of the students illustrates how music reflects these cultural values and guiding principles of a local community.

> Do I think the music reflects these beliefs? Yes, I most certainly do. Just by listening to the lyrics you can get an idea of the people's mentalities, the kind of people they are and how they act. (Victor, Database, Virtual Discussions, Answer to question #3, June 29, 2003)

Students clearly stated that the family was the most important value for this particular local Italian community. The family is an environment within which members can connect to their roots. It unifies and provides stability for the community. This in turn encourages the preservation of cultural practices such as religion, music, art, and food. All these cultural practices reinforce the identity of the group and therefore assure the preservation of the cultural community. Students commented on how folk music reflects important values of the Italian culture such as hard work, family, and love.

Transmission: Exchange and Sharing

Culture is about shared meanings and "sense making." In other words, meanings are constantly being produced and exchanged between members of a culture. The exchange of meaning, especially between the older and the younger generation, was an important aspect of the present study. Also, the importance of the preservation and transmission of culture (traditional music and cultural practices) emerged numerous times from the data.

Du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay, and Negus (1997) propose the "circuit of culture" model, a way of understanding how meanings are produced and how they circulate through different processes/practices. According to Du Gay et al., the five processes are: (a) representation, (b) identity, (c) production, (d) consumption, and (e) regulation.

Music is signifying practice. In the process of representation, meanings arise not from the object itself (e.g. cultural beliefs and values) but how it is represented by language, music, or some other cultural practice. Identity is the process by which a particular group identifies with an object or artifact such as music (Merriam, 1964; Stokes, 1994). Both individual and group identities in relation to music are important. In the following section on ethnic identity, I will explore this association further.

Music is made meaningful as a result of its production in the context of a local community culture. Consumption refers to the uses and functions of culture in everyday life. Meanings are actively constructed at this stage. An object (musical artifact) is associated with a particular group of people. In the present study, students discussed the specific uses and functions of traditional music and how they are associated with a local Italian community. Production and consumption refer to the ways people use objects or music in their everyday lives. "In thinking about the *production of culture*, then, we are also simultaneously thinking about the *culture of production* – the ways in which practices of production are inscribed with particular cultural meaning" (Du Gay et al., 1997, p. 4). Regulation refers to how music is used in society. For example, some music may be appropriate for enjoyment in a private space versus a public space.

As illustrated by Du Gay et al.'s (1997) "circuit of culture" model, culture is a process that involves people in the production and the exchange of meanings. This process results in a type of giving and taking of meaning between members of a society or group. "Thus, culture depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully what is happening around them, and 'making sense' of the world, in broadly similar ways" (Hall, 1997, p. 2).

In chapter four, I discussed how the collective memory of a local Italian community is based on the way they grew up, experiencing similar experiences in similar contexts. These original contexts where music was produced and shared help members to meaningfully interpret traditional music in the context of the contemporary Italian immigrant culture. Some of the students described the problems related to the reception of traditional music by the younger generation. The exchange of meaning is not a neutral process (Hall, 1997) and, therefore, the older and the younger generation may interpret traditional music in vastly different ways. One of the students explains: "Music can't have the same effect on the younger Italions as it does on the ones that have actually lived through the events described in the songs" (Suzanne, Database, Virtual Discussions, What about the younger Italions, June 23, 2003).

Knowledge and musical practices are connected to local contexts where they originate (Geertz, 1983) and therefore, transmission of a cultural practice is fraught with difficulties. Given that transmission is dependent on social interaction that involves representation, dialogue, exchange, and the production of meaning, the folk music from the village is lost in translation for some members of the younger generation.

During the present study, we observed the giving and taking of meaning (Hall, 1997) in the context of an Italian choir rehearsal. One of the members of the choir talks about communicating "our" culture to others, the ability to have a reciprocal impact on people inhabiting different cultural worlds through the performance of traditional Italian music. The choir members give and receive meaning among themselves and transmit meaning by moving out towards others of different cultural backgrounds. Members of a local Italian community try to transmit their musical practices through social interaction involving representation, dialogue, exchange, and the production of meaning (Hall, 1997). The community preserves its culture by

isolating itself and creating a space where the giving and taking of meaning can take place between the older and younger generations through musical practices.

The Uses and Functions of Music in Culture

> "It is by our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them – how we represent them – that we give them a meaning." (Hall, 1997, p. 3)

One of the important emergent themes of the present study is the function of music within a local Italian community. Members and students wrote and spoke extensively about how music functions in this local culture. In the context of a local Italian community, students experienced music as a total cultural event.

> If the nature of music lies in its multidimensionality "as culture," then encouraging insight into the *meaning* and *use* of one's own or another person's "music culture" requires us to engage students in the *interplay* of concepts, action, and outcomes that comprise the essence of a given culture (Elliott, 1990, pp. 157-158).

In the following sections, I make connections between the emergent category of function of music discussed in chapter four and the anthropological literature addressing the uses and functions of music in culture. The subcategories of the function of music identified in chapter four will be discussed in relation to the literature.

Theoretical Connections

The students' frame of reference for the present study was the phenomenon of music in context (participant observation and interviews) and how members talked about the way music is

used and functions within their culture. In the following section, I will present the perspectives of the members of the local community and student participants in relation to Merriam's (1964) discussion of the uses and functions of music. Merriam divides the role of music into two distinct aspects: (a) what music does, and (b) how it performs this function. The use and function of music is important for ethnomusicologists as they attempt to reveal not only the descriptive facts about music but also the meaning of music in people's lives. In the following passage, Merriam makes a clear distinction between use and function of music:

> Music is *used* in certain situations and becomes a part of them, but it may or may not also have a deeper *function*…."Use" then, refers to the situation in which music is employed in human action; "function" concerns the reasons for its employment and particularly the broader purpose which it serves." (Merriam, 1964, p. 210)

It is evident that context plays an important role in the uses and functions of music. If music becomes part of a situation, it is closely linked to its cultural context. This context determines how members of a local culture think about music. "In some cultures, at least, music is not abstracted from its cultural context….This means that music as such does not exist apart from its context; to the contrary, the context may well determine the conceptualization of music" (Merriam, 1964, p. 215).

Several members of the Italian community insist that music is vital to their lives. "Music is another big Italian Tradition, if you don't have music then its like missing a piece of your heart" (Samuel, Database, Virtual Discussions, Themes of the Italian culture, June 16, 2003). These community members believe that music is essential to the fullness of life and that it accompanies and enriches their everyday existence. In a recent telephone conversation with

Victor, one of the student participants, he described how his grandmother must always have the radio on when she is doing something around the house. He also mentioned that he "needs" music to get through a stressful day. Other cultures also express their need for music in their lives. "The Basongye view includes the value that life without music is not to be considered life at all" (Merriam, 1964, p. 215). Music constitutes an important and pervasive element in human existence.

Uses of Music

Merriam proposes categories devised by Herskovits (as cited in Merriam, 1964) to describe a range of cultural activities: (a) material culture and its sanctions, (b) social institutions: Social organization, education, political structures, (c) man and the universe: Belief systems and the control of power, (d) aesthetics: Graphic/plastic arts, folklore, music, drama, and dance, and (e) language.

During their participation in the present study students did observe many uses of traditional Italian music. I will discuss these uses in connection with the categories proposed by Herskovits in the previous paragraph. For example, music was an important element of the ceremonies, festivals, and collective activities such as the Italian choir that the students attended. They observed how traditional music was used in the context of a social activity. "Folklore and music are found in conjunction with great frequency as parts of the same social gathering, when song forms a part of a folk tale, through the use of proverbs in song texts" (Merriam, 1964, p. 218). Traditional folk music and song texts were used to tell stories in many of the social activities that students attended. In addition, the students commented about how music was used as a part of everyday life. The students described how many of their grandparents would sing all

the time while making wine or preparing food. Music was part of the social organization of a community, used at every point in the life cycle. Interviews with two women who were in charge of traditional Italian dance groups highlight the connection between music and dance within a local Italian culture. “Music and the dance have an inseparable relationship, and drama, almost by definition, includes music” (Merriam, 1964, p. 218). The students observed some of the uses of music categorized by Herskovits. They commented on the importance of social institutions, how music played an important role at every point in a person’s life, and the aesthetic use of music in connection with drama and dance.

Functions of Music

In this section, I present the categories of the functions of music that emerged from the present study, as already discussed in chapter four: (a) tells a story, (b) transforms mood, (c) transports, (d) connects and unites, (e) enriches everyday life, and (f) communicates. I will connect these emergent categories to the functions of music proposed by Merriam (1964): (a) emotional response, (b) aesthetic enjoyment, (c) entertainment, (d) communication, (e) symbolic representation, (f) physical response, (g) enforcing conformity to social norms, (h) validation of social institutions and religious rituals, (i) contribution to the continuity and stability of culture, and (j) contribution to the integration of society.

Tells a Story

The first emergent function of music is that it tells a story. Students observed how speeches, dances and music can tell stories in specific social contexts. According to Merriam

(1964), the underlying purpose of such storytelling is to maintain and unite people in a similar collective experience that can be felt by all members of a local culture. This storytelling contributes to the continuity and stability of a culture by transmitting the group's worldview and values and by stressing what is right in a culture. The students often commented on how members of the local culture shared a particular "state of mind" or similar ways of thinking about things. These shared meanings among members are not easily transmitted to the younger generation because of changes in social organization. For example, young people do not gather and make music in the piazza (the village square) or serenade their loved one from below their window. Most young people have not experienced singing while gathering fruit in the fields outside an Italian village. Traditional music was a part of a particular social structure and way of life that the older generation experienced back in their villages in Italy. Therefore, the meaning of the music is intimately connected with its original context of use.

While a particular type of folk song is normally associated with a particular kind of social organization according to Freeman (1957, as cited in Merrriam, 1964), changes in social structures engender changes in the nature of folklore. Student participants in the present study commented on how society is evolving and changing and how meanings are being lost. "But if the meanings are lost, so are the songs. As Sandra said 'I can see it being lost and there's a lot of songs they can't understand and not just in Italion but in the dilect too, they are going to be lost'" (Suzanne, Database, Virtual Discussions, What about the younger Italions, June 23, 2003). Students explain that the function of music is evolving with changes in societal structures. One of music's primary functions in the local culture was to tell a story.

Transforms Mood

Students and members describe the important function of music as a way to express emotions. Merriam (1964) also describes how music functions as emotional expression, stimulating, expressing, and sharing emotion. According to this renowned ethnomusicologist, for many cultures, music serves as an emotional release, a way to let off steam. One interviewed member of this particular local Italian community described music's power to change an individual's emotional state.

> Music has a great affect on people; it touches them in many ways. It is there to sooth your soul, to pump you up when you need energy, to cheer you up when you are down, to help you celebrate when something good has happen etc. (Christina, Melissa, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with Barry, June 27, 2003)

Transports

Members of the local Italian cultural community described how music transports them back to their homeland, a way of maintaining collective unity by experiencing music together. Traditional music in a local Italian community is the same music that members experienced together in their village in Italy before they immigrated to Canada. Therefore, the context of the music back in Italy determines the conceptualization of this same music today for members. Music has the power to vividly produce original contexts. This musical function is highlighted by music's power to incite emotional and physical responses, according to Merriam (1964). One of the members commented on this when she said that there are other ways a person can be transported to Italy but music is a powerful, more vivid way to experience the past.

> Yes, yes 'cause it [music] helps me connect with my roots….There are other ways to connect, like through pictures, ya know, through memeries, but music just makes it all easier to connect. When I play some of these songs, I feel like I'm back in the square [in Italy] with some friends. (Interview Transcriptions, Interviewing Sandra, June 23, 2003)

The students comment that traditional music "means more for the older generation." Thus meaning is a marker of the group's identity, a way of saying this is "who we are and with whom we 'belong'" (Hall, 1997, p. 3).

Connects and Unites

A local Italian community becomes connected and united, sharing meaning and expressing their identity through cultural practices. Merriam discusses how music functions to contribute to the continuity and stability of culture. In other words, music can function to preserve an existing culture by allowing the members to express values and beliefs collectively to each other and to the next generation. In addition, music functions to integrate society by encouraging belonging and maintaining unity and harmony in a culture. While being interviewed, several members of the choir described the experience of singing as giving and receiving. They emphasized the relational aspects of music making. For these members, folk music is a way of bringing people together, an important function within a social cultural system. Throughout the study, members and students talked about how music functions to increase patriotism and remind people of their cultural roots. Merriam (1964) explains that we have songs that evoke group rapport and patriotism. Members of the Italian choir talked about how music unites them so they can subsequently move out to share their music with others of different cultural backgrounds. In addition, they describe how this cultural activity creates an emotional

and relational bond between choir members. In the following excerpt, one of the interviewees describes the special bond she felt with her father through music. “It was a very funny song. I got a lot of the words in Italy from my father and it was kind of a bonding thing with him too because we had some kind of common ground” (Suzanne, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interviewing Sandra, June 23, 2003).

Enriches Everyday Life

As already mentioned, music is often described by participants and interviewees as a way to accompany tasks in everyday life and to enrich a person’s existence. According to Merriam (1964), one of music’s uses is to accompany everyday life. However, its greater purpose is to imbue life with meaning. According to Melissa, one of the students, music permeates all aspects of members’ lives. She describes its importance at every point in the life cycle.

> Italians seem to have a song for everything; food, war, flowers, love-every every step of it! From falling in love, to making love, to ebding [ending] love. Songs have meaning, a purpose, to help ease pain or spread joy. Or just simply tell a story. Most take pride in singing at every chance they get, whether they have a nice voice or not. It seems to be an integeral part of keeping the culture, preserving the roots. (Melissa, Database, Virtual Discussions, My Theory, June 17, 2003)

By incorporating music into their everyday lives, this local Italian community produces meaning and expresses itself, thereby assuring its preservation in modern culture.

> Meaning is also produced whenever we express ourselves in, make use of, consume or appropriate cultural ‘things’; that is, when we incorporate them in different ways into the

everyday rituals and practices of daily life and in this way give them value. (Hall, 1997, p. 3)

Communicates

The students describe music as the language of the soul. This language signifies and represents cultural beliefs and values of a community culture. Music is not a universal language, but rather it is shaped in terms of its cultural context. "In the song texts it employs, it [music] communicates direct information to those who understand the language in which it is couched. It conveys emotion, or something similar to emotion, to those who understand its idiom" (Merriam, 1964, p. 223).

This final category, communication, subsumes all the others. Music's function is to communicate cultural values and a worldview by telling a story. Music's function is to communicate emotions and feelings by transforming experience. Music's function is to encourage collective identity and a sense of belonging by transporting members to original musical practice contexts. Music's function is to communicate scenes from the past and cultural identity by accompanying and enriching everyday life. What does music communicate? It communicates a collective cultural identity.

Ethnicity, Identity, and Ethnic Identity

In the following sections I discuss the findings from chapter four and make theoretical connections with some emergent literature about identity. It is important to note that there is an extensive literature concerning identity and this section is not an attempt to review the vast literature. I will present findings about ethnicity and identity in relation to an ethnographic study

conducted by Yon (2000) in an urban, "inner city" high school with a diverse population in the city of Toronto. Yon focuses on issues of race, culture, and identity among adolescents in "global times."

Cultural "Roots and Routes": Conceptions of Culture and Identity

Yon (2000) presents two views of culture in the introductory section of his ethnography. Yon questions the essentialist view of culture as something that is at the core of every person and needs to be released. In this view, cultural identity is understood as an entity that can be lost. The *attribute theory*, which has influenced anthropological thinking, is the understanding that culture is a set of stable and knowledgeable attributes. Therefore, anthropologists have traditionally focused on patterns in culture and how people make sense of their world. In this view, culture can be thought of as a product including histories, traditions, shared beliefs, and folklore. The students in the present study often used the language of "your culture" and "my culture," exemplifying their understanding of culture as product. They perceived culture as belonging to them and as having a core or an essence. The members of the Italian community that were interviewed often spoke about cultural roots including memories and traditions such as music. Fatima, one of the interviewees, states that if you do not have cultural roots, you do not have an identity. Students talk about issues of culture loss and reconnecting to the attributes of culture such as langue, family traditions, and music in order to build and maintain identity. "According to this dominant view [of culture], subjects are the unified objects of a culture which tells us who we are. Cultures are viewed as objects that can be set against each other, so that 'new cultures' and 'not having a culture' are set against 'old cultures' and 'being at one with culture'" (Yon, 2000, p. 6).

Yon proposes an alternate view of culture as an ongoing process, emergent and continually in the making and as a site of identity construction. “Far from being a stable and knowable set of attributes, culture has now become a matter of debate about representations and the complex relationships that individuals take up in relation to them” (Yon, 2000, p. 9). Categories of race, culture, and identity were slippery and shifting for the students in Yon’s study. He considers that culture is essentially elusive for the students in his study and that they experience culture “ambivalently and in multiple and conflicting ways” (p. 7).

Identity and identification are conceptualized in two very different ways according to Yon. “This distinction between identity and identification is important because while the former implies an essential and fixed individual, the latter recognized that identity is a constructed and open-ended process” (Yon, 2000, p. 13). Hall (as cited in Yon, 2000) describes three concepts of identity as defined by how the subject is conceptualized: (a) the enlightenment subject, (b) the sociological subject, and (e) the postmodern subject. The enlightenment subject has an inner core that unfolds and develops in a linear way as a person moves through life. The identity of the sociological subject is the product of increasing complexity that is mediated and produced by different cultures and socialization. “In social psychological terms, identity, and the self, is the result of symbolic interaction between the individual and what Mead and others term ‘significant others.’ Identity offers coherence and completion to relationships between the subject and the social world” (Yon, 2000, p. 13). Hall believes that this security and coherence is in fact a fantasy for the postmodern subject who lives in a world where identities fragment, multiply, and remain unresolved. However, feelings of rootedness, security, and coherence can be possible by constructing the self within narratives. In other words, members of a local Italian community create a sense of belonging by constructing their collective identities through storytelling and

musical narratives. These narratives create feelings of rootedness and belonging and represent who they are in their social world.

Yon explains how the "deterritorialization" of culture has resulted in new identities of "hybridity" being formed by students in schools that are intersections of global culture. This hybridity brings into focus questions of loyalty to a culture and belonging to the nation-state. This struggle between what I have termed ethnic identity versus national identity is illustrated by the students' conversations describing the local community in chapter four. Members of a local Italian community construct their identity in terms of their ethnic background that is connected to where they are from. Their race and identity is shaped by the context and history of their past in a specific geographical and cultural region of Italy. The students discuss how two Canadians are speaking to each other but they do not identify themselves as Canadian. Rather, they identify with their village and region in Italy. Therefore, many members will label themselves as Italian first and Canadian second. This question of who we are within the nation was a concern discussed by the students. "The question of how the nation is imagined and what constitutes a Canadian identity, as if there can only be one, is perpetually posed in Canada" (Yon, 2000, p. 38).

Yon discusses the issues of *diaspora* and its impact on the identity of students. "In its original use, 'diaspora' referred to the dispersal of a people from a homeland and the multiple journeys that form collective memories and the desire for return to the place of origin, imaginary or real" (Yon, 2000, p. 16). This traditional view illustrates how members of a local Italian community conceptualized their homeland with nostalgia and longed to return to a place of the origins of their collective memories. The contemporary view of diaspora means that people are at home where they live but they continue to live the memories and shared histories of their

ancestors' homeland. This is exemplified by Mrs. Marcone's comments when she says "We left Italy and we still live Italy today…We still practice the traditions….It is these traditions that remain alive within me" (Translation, Database, Interview Transcriptions, Interview with Fred and Mrs. Marcone, June 26, 2003). Many members of the local community experienced feelings of nostalgia when they spoke of their cultural roots while the students, who did not immigrate with these same cultural roots, were creating new identities and multiple subject positions in relation to the new diaspora space in Canada, a local Italian community.

Yon criticizes multicultural and antiracist policies as they exist in schools today because they usually aspire to the attribute theory of culture. He believes that the celebration of culture framed by a "folk model" can actually promote racism by encouraging stereotypical concepts of culture in order to recognize difference. I believe that it is important to focus on different cultures but also to qualify approaches in schools to include the aspect of discontinuity within sameness. In other words, no cultural community projects a homogenous voice or one set of values or beliefs. However, I do think it is interesting to explore how cultural practices and belief systems intersect while keeping in mind that cultural perspectives are not fixed, monolithic objects. "Challenging the gene pool analogy, elusive culture is interested in the more ambivalent processes of making culture and the often troubled relationship between cultural and personal identity" (Yon, 2000, p. 21).

Several students in the present study discussed the issue of culture loss. It is as if the study made them feel that they were "cultureless." As was the case with the students in Yon's study, "the cultures of others can also be objects of desire for those who see themselves as "normal" or "without culture" (Yon, 2000, p. 77). The students perceived the mixing of cultures and evolution as resulting in a loss of culture. They felt that they were "lacking culture," and

"rootless." Melissa felt sad that she never learned the traditional Italian songs because she considered them to be a part of her cultural heritage. Here again we see that students conceptualize culture and cultural roots as objects that can be lost. In contrast, Yon describes culture, including race and ethnicity as being much more open ended and related to social networks, or "routes," rather than being determined by "roots." "These networks have less and less to do with where Steve [one of the students in Yon's study] is from and more to do with where he finds himself now. In other words, the social relations that help form the identities of Steve and other youth like him have more to do with "routes," the various trajectories, interactions, and networks through which these youth are connected, than with "roots," or countries of origin, birthplaces, and ethnicity" (Yon, 2000, p. 64). These various trajectories will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Insider-Outsider Perspectives

In chapter four, I offered several profiles of students and described how they experienced different tensions in their roles as insiders and outsiders. The profiles describe the multiple perspectives and voices of the students that took part in the study. In some instances, students experienced ambivalence as insiders, taking for granted the Italian culture. Victor never bothered to look and never really thought about his cultural heritage before. He felt that he knew everything. Another Italian student, Melissa, who took part in the tour of Little Italy, found the information boring and was not motivated to take notes even though she admits to learning new things. Yon (2000) describes the ambivalence he experienced in his case study as it relates to identity. "Ambivalence might be so central to the process of making identities because of the inadequacies of identity categories in relation to lived experience, but part of the ambivalence

also resides in the fact that identity may not always be a matter of choice" (p. 58). Perhaps these students felt that they had not been given a choice regarding their identity, that it was something expected of them. Victor eventually felt that he had learned so much about his traditional culture that he had taken for granted. Margaret, a student in Yon's study, reports a similar view.

> "There is so much more to our entire race than we know. Sometimes I am in awe of who we really are and what our identity is and our culture." Her reference to "who we really are" would seem to point to an essentialist race and culture which have somehow become diluted by what we have become or what we are becoming. (Yon, 2000, p. 92)

Culture and identity can be confusing for students. They can move from being ambivalent about culture to realizing its importance for their lives.

Member Typologies

Wenger (2006) believes that where we belong in relation to a community is important for meaningful practice and for identity development. In creating typologies to label their position along a continuum of ethnic identity, students were seeking to label, categorize, and essentialize their experience of identity. This section in chapter four detailed how students represented their complex relationship to culture. The typologies they proposed were new constructions of how they perceived their own cultural identities. Again, they based their typologies on the attributes of culture. For example, a "complete insider" in the Italian community must have gone through experiences with music in Italy, understand the songs and their meanings, know stories, speak the language fluently, and have an implicit understanding of the way of life within the community. Because the students view culture as a set of attributes, they try to position

themselves and their identity in relation to their conception of culture. For example, Tina feels that her identity straddles between insider and outsider. She was brought up in a traditional Italian family but she feels like an outsider because she does not know much about the culture. Melissa explains that she does not speak or understand Italian so this disallows her as a complete insider. These two students perpetuate the view that the Italian culture has a core, or essence and they are essentially living with a foot in two different worlds. Yon (2000) and Wenger (2007) speak about who we are versus what we are becoming. In other words, identity is a journey, the "routes" that sometimes allow students to question their assumptions about culture and identity.

Multiple Memberships and Identities

As was described in the preceding section, students experienced tensions arising from the intersection of two perspectives: Their perspective of identity and culture as fixed and the constructivist conception of identity as process. In other words, the students saw their position as being a fixed one rather than being a process of becoming in relation to their own and another culture. Students represented what culture and ethnicity were for them and placed themselves in relation to these representations. They romanticized and essentialized to some extent culture and identity as things to possess and objects that can be lost. While students do create labels or markers, they are also constructing their own identities when they talk about being "global minded" while simultaneously preserving their cultural heritage.

Students were often living in two worlds, constructing multiple ethnic identities. The multiple position of students in relation to the Italian community attests to these identity tensions. By discussing their relation to the local Italian community, students were able to come to know themselves better. Victor (personal communication, May 26, 2007) describes how he

experienced identity tensions during the period of his participation in the present research study. He describes the isolated state of being brought up as a "traditional Italian" and how this created conflicting identities for him in the context of the North American culture.

Identity Construction

The final important theme revealed in the related research literature and emerging from the data for the present study is identity construction. Deanna illustrated this longing or nostalgia for identity. "Of course, if you never learn much about your culture you will have a longing for discovery and maybe even identity" (Deanna, Database, Virtual Discussions, Response for june 25, June 26, 2003). Fatima, a community member, tries to reconnect Samuel, one of the students, to his ethnic identity by insisting that he learn the language and do different activities with his grandfather.

Wenger (2006) describes identity as deconstruction and reconstruction. He believes that in the journey toward understanding something (e.g. a local music culture), you learn about your own identity. Elliott (1990) also stresses the importance of self-examination and personal reconstruction as students study their own and other music cultures. "Accompanying all such risk taking, disorientation, and eventual musical 'acculturation' is self-examination and the personal reconstruction of one's relationships, assumptions, and preferences" (Elliot, 1990, pp. 160-161). During the course of the present study, the Italian students were involved in self-examination as they had to "make the familiar strange," while studying their own music culture. The research process resulted in students asking questions about their own culture, resulting in personal reconstruction for certain students. Victor (personal communication, May 26, 2007) explains that the present study got him thinking about his own ethnic identity. He was able to objectify some

things about his own Italian cultural heritage more and ask more questions about culture and ethnicity. He did begin the project taking things for granted and thinking he understood everything. He had not given his ethnic identity much thought before the research study. The study acted as an "encounter" experience, an immersion in cultural activities that resulted in an identity crisis. Today, Victor has gained a deeper understanding and appreciation of his ethnicity. He has resolved his conflicting identities (dual membership in the Italian and the North American cultures) and considers himself to be in a true, authentic bi-ethnic state.

This personal reconstruction process also occurred for students who were not of Italian descent. Deanna explained that learning about other people and their culture changed her assumptions about this cultural group. The research study allowed her to "gain knowledge about why they [Italians] do certain things and why they may act a certain way (Deanna, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 2, June 27, 2003). Therefore, studying either one's own or other people's cultures may result in self-examination, personal deconstruction and reconstruction, and identity searching.

Music and Group Identity

While the students positioned themselves in relation to the community and experienced identity struggles, the members of the local community affirmed the importance of belonging and being connected to a local Italian community. According to members, music is a way to connect to the community and to their identity. Fatima explains that music links the past, the present and the future. Music creates a sense of belonging, provides a link to memory, and maintains individual and collective identity for members. "Even though they are out of the ordinary experiences, music and dance (and talk about music and dance) do encourage people to

feel that they are in touch with an essential part of themselves, their emotions and their 'community'" (Stokes, 1994, p. 13). Nettl (1998) states that music is a principle marker of a group's ethnicity and that a group identifies with a type of music and considers it their own.

Music is self-defining for a group, a way of saying to others what it is that makes the group different and distinct (Stokes, 1994). McCarthy (1990) describes this group bonding process as consisting of two phases: withdrawal and coalescence. In the present study, the Italian local community withdraws or isolates itself from the mainstream culture. Members of the community subsequently coalesce, uniting as a whole by way of cultural practices such as music. Therefore, the community is a place for members to feel connected to each other and to their identity using music as one way to stay in touch with themselves and express their uniqueness as a group to the rest of the world.

According to Frith (1996), music creates and constructs an experience "that we can only make sense of by *taking on* both a subjective and collective identity" (p. 109). Frith views identity as mobile, the self in a process of identity construction. One way to know the self is through cultural activities. Fatima points this out when she says that if you do not have culture and music, you have lost yourself. Music must be understood to embody particular values of a community. In communal practice, music can enact and establish cultural values. Traditional Italian music places members in the world in a particular way. "If music identity is, then, always fantastic, idealizing not just oneself but also the social world one inhabits, it is secondly, always also real, enacted in musical activities….music gives us real experience of what the ideal could be" (Frith, 1996, p. 123). Music transports the Italian community members to their idealized past in Italy but it is also a real encounter with musical activities such as singing and dancing. Music defines a special place, having crossed the oceans to establish a homeland for members of a local

Italian community in their country of adoption. “But what makes music special—what makes it special for identity—is that it defines a space without boundaries (a game without frontiers). Music is thus the cultural form best able both to cross borders—sounds carry across fences and walls and oceans, across classes, races and nations—and to define places…we are only where the music takes us” (Frith, 1995, p. 125).

Summary: Emergent Themes

I propose that Wenger’s (2006) social learning perspective is a way to bring together the findings of the present study that examined the nature of learning in a knowledge-building community that focused on a local music culture and emergent data pertaining to the function of music in culture and ethnic identity. I find Wenger’s emphasis on the importance of identity to learning especially compelling. Wenger’s social learning perspective is comprised of four components: (a) community, (b) meaning, (c) practice, and (d) identity (see Figure 11). In a community of practice, the components and the questions they imply are essential to meaningful learning. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss each of these components in relation to the present study.

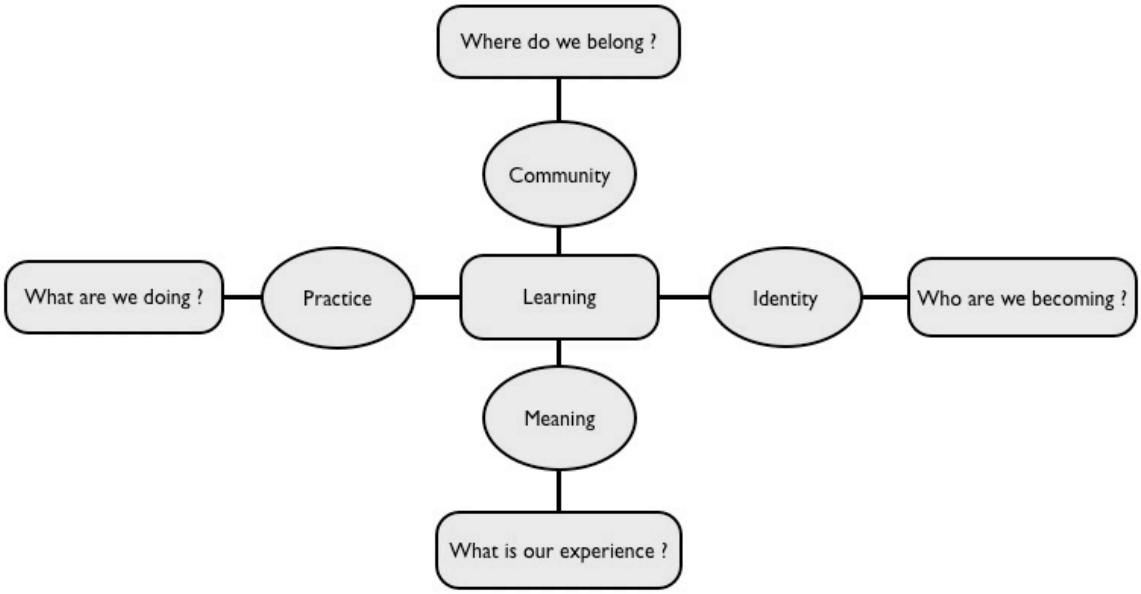

Figure 11. A social perspective of learning (Wenger, 2006).

Students reflected upon where they belonged in relation to the Italian community. They positioned themselves on a continuum of ethnic identity in relation to the community and dealt with issues of dual membership. Members of the community expressed the importance of belonging to a community for their sense of group identification and for their sense of well-being. Students also formed their own community of practice in the classroom as researchers studying a local music culture. The meaning or experience of the community was different for members, student insiders, and student outsiders. Therefore, meaning is directly related to where people belong in the community. Students were able to observe traditional music as a signifying practice that has specific functions in community culture. In conclusion, identity was clearly central to the students' learning processes as they observed musical practices, thought about them, and asked themselves the question: "Who are we becoming?" According to Stokes (1984), "A sense of identity can be put into play through music by performing it, dancing to it, listening to it or even thinking about it" (p. 24). The present study engaged students in various activities

that allowed them to learn about the uses and functions of music in a local Italian community and to explore their own identities.

Implications for Music Teaching

Why investigate youth's experience of studying a local music culture? One of the reasons I embarked on this journey with my students was my curiosity about what students can actually accomplish as researchers. I wanted to know whether they would be able to identify cultural beliefs and values embedded in musical and cultural practices in the context of a local Italian community. Because of the exploratory nature of the study, I selected my students carefully. The attributes of this purposeful sample are listed in chapter three. I believed it was important to generate data regarding how students think about learning in a knowledge-building classroom focusing on a local music culture. Therefore, I chose students that would be able to express their thoughts precisely in their conversations and in their writing. Also, because of the demanding nature of the research, I needed students that would be committed to activities that would take place outside of school hours. I found that the students were very committed to the research study and there was no attrition during the study. I believe that the data generated by the present study allows the reader to access the thoughts of the students about their learning in this specific context. It is important to note that the goal of ethnography is not generalizability to a larger population. However, there are certainly understandings that emerge from this population of students and the classroom that other teachers and researchers may find useful to explore.

Teachers who would like to incorporate the pedagogical approaches described in this study should think about how they will structure the learning environment for their students. Students need to be prepared to do research. Students need a certain amount of training before

they are ready to go out into the community to interview. I found that the Representing Others Workshop was very helpful in allowing students to take on the role of the interviewer and the interviewee. Also, students do need guidance in constructing interview questions and structuring their participant observation in the community. It is important to balance how much information students are given in advance with their own discovery learning in the community. I believe that the information is more relevant to the students when it is mutually produced with them.

Students also need to be trained as database users. The technology should not be a hindrance to the students and they need to be able to use it fluidly to express and organize their thinking and to collaborate with other students and the teacher. Students can work in pairs on the computer, using peer-teaching strategies to help each other use the database. It does take students some time to understand the concept of organizing their writing. I would have the students participate in several preparation activities as described in the present study as well as asking them to examine database entries created by other students. It is important to carefully plan the research and database preparation stages prior to going out into the community.

Teachers should not underestimate the challenge of changing the teaching and learning paradigm in the classroom. Several students described their frustration working on a research study with a teacher who did not know much about the Italian music culture. Also, some students appreciated a more top-down approach rather than being required to search and think for themselves. Educational paradigms are strongly rooted in our institutions of learning. However, I believe that the rewards of this constructivist approach - for both teachers and students - far outweigh the difficulties that will undoubtedly be encountered. These types of classrooms must be very well organized, especially if the teacher expects to involve students in multiple types of tasks simultaneously.

Teachers need to adopt culturally responsive music education practices that use students as resources, taking into account their prior knowledge about music and culture (Hookey, 1994). Also, the community should be a resource that helps the teacher to situate musical practices in their cultural context. Culture bearers from the community can be brought into the classroom and students can also go out to meet culture bearers acting within communities of musical practice. This allows students to experience music authentically as cultural production in social context (Klinger, 1996b). However, I am well aware of the difficulties that exist in taking students out into the community. I would suggest that teachers plan several multicultural activities for the year around a particular local music culture and incorporate these activities as part of their regular classroom curriculum.

Making connections with artists and members of the community was an enriching learning experience for me as a teacher. I chose to become the outsider to a music culture that I knew very little about. I concur with Campbell (1996b) and Bowman (1996) that teachers must continue to pursue their musical training through musical outreach in the local communities that surround the school and that students' music cultures should also be considered when designing multicultural music curricula. As this study demonstrates, students appreciated learning about a local music culture in context and from "real people" in the community. I witnessed the rich exchanges that took place between students and members of the community during the interviews. I do not think that this type of "learning" could have been experienced in the classroom. The participant observation activities provided the students with context and situated them within cultural and social activities of the community. As a caveat, the added benefit of these outings into the community is the close relationship that the teacher develops with her students.

During my years of public school teaching, many of the important learning moments took place outside of the classroom during trips, concerts, and other planned educational activities. This is not to negate the importance of learning in the classroom. As I have often explained to my students, a few minutes on the podium is not enough to sustain me for a career of music teaching. What I relish is the day-to-day interactions with them in the many and varied educational contexts. However, the student-teacher relationship changes outside of the school and this allows the teacher to know her students in very different ways. I was so privileged to have experienced many of these rich moments with my students while learning about a local music culture. Therefore, I encourage music teachers to embark on this adventure, even if it is on a small scale, in order to reap the rich educational and personal benefits.

During the course of the present study, most of the students were interested in finding out about their own cultural heritage or the cultural heritage of the other. However, we cannot assume that all students will react the same way. As already discussed, youth may be very ambivalent regarding the making of their own cultural identities (Yon, 2000). However, I do believe that the pedagogical interventions described in this study may help many students to deconstruct and reconstruct their identities in relation to their own race and culture and in relation to others. While identity was defined according to the attributes of culture, it is important to view youth's identity construction as a process. For many adolescent students, this time in their lives is filled with changes. Music teachers can encourage students to explore connections to their past, present, and future musical traditions. Students can be asked to study how music functions in a local community. By studying a local music culture, students can make connections to how music functions in their own lives and how it expresses and maintains their identity. Teachers can encourage students to explore these concepts related to music cultures of

the world in order to move pedagogical practices towards a deeper understanding of how music functions in culture and in students' lives.

How did music students perceive themselves and their identity as a result of studying a local music culture? Italian students perceived themselves as being inside and outside the culture. They saw themselves as having some of the attributes of the culture but not being "complete insiders" like many of the community members. Students are in the process of constructing their identities and they often find themselves betwixt and between cultures. Many of the students in this study were brought up in traditional Italian homes and they must subsequently construct their identity in terms of their Italian background and the North American culture. Both Italian and non-Italian students experienced feelings of "culture loss" as a result of the study. Students experienced a nostalgic longing for the culture of the past that they felt they no longer had. Teachers can engage these student perceptions about culture in relation to a multicultural music curriculum by discussing why students view cultures as stable objects that can be possessed or lost. The second step would be to engage students in conversations about their multiple identities in a global society and how music, also, is continually evolving and changing.

> The desire to know cultures, races, and identities as stable objects detracts from the possibility of engaging with the multiple identifications and affiliations which we have seen are central to the ways that identities, race, and culture are made and lived by youth. (Yon, 2000, p. 132)

What is at stake for multicultural music education given the results of this study? This study reiterates the importance of music programs in schools as places where the identity construction of students can take place. Students can learn deeply about themselves and others

through engaging multicultural music curricula. Therefore, the curricula needs to reflect the students' cultures and the cultures of the local community. Teachers need to balance an approach based on the attributes of culture with a view of culture, music cultures, and identity as processes.

Implications for Further Research

Ethnographic tools of inquiry are powerful ways to focus on any aspect of schooling. However, these tools of inquiry require the researcher to be present in the research site for a certain period of time and they are labor intensive. Cross-disciplinary research approaches allow music education research studies to examine questions of teaching and learning in new ways. The perspectives of anthropology, ethnography, and ethnomusicology are important in our quest to understand in detail what goes on in music classrooms. These approaches have been used widely in the general education literature in order to bring to light classroom issues. Music education research has also begun to appropriate these perspectives in order to tackle the complex questions related to music teaching and classroom learning.

The teacher/researcher approach to inquiry provides the teacher with insights into the specific context of her own classroom. The challenge of making the familiar strange is a very real one for teachers doing inquiry in their own classrooms. However, the opportunities for self-reflexivity and the access to the site and participants are excellent reasons to continue this research approach in music classrooms. Many teachers ask themselves questions every day about how their teaching practices and curricular choices impact their students. The teacher/researcher approach provides an opportunity for music education researchers to connect more concretely to practitioners, seeking to bridge the divide between the two.

An interesting avenue of research to explore is to examine students as researchers within a research study. The present study was two-tiered in that the researcher investigated how students went about their tasks as researchers in a local community. I asked the students to take on the role of researcher to find out about a local music culture. One of the student's parents wanted to know if the students were doing my job for me. Rather than making the research process easier, this definitely added a layer of complexity to the study. However, it would be interesting to explore this approach in other music classroom contexts. Students could be asked to explore their own cultural heritages or another cultural heritage that they do not know so well. Future studies should examine this process in more detail in order to determine the benefits for students and if it is a viable way to learn about different world music cultures.

Future research needs to explore the question of sequence of instruction for world musics. Is it important to focus on student cultures first and then move out to explore other cultures? If students act as researchers to find out about their own music culture, will they be more open to using these same approaches to study music cultures that are more foreign to them? Does the learning method change students' relationship to the content?

The present study was conducted in a diverse school in a large North American city. It would be interesting to conduct a study in more homogeneous schools and in smaller localities. The question of local resources is important to address for a study in any context. I believe that this type of study should be conducted at the university level in music education classes. I experienced ambivalence about exploring questions of "my culture" and "my music culture" in a third year music education class at a large North American University. The students did not feel these questions were relevant or important to their future profession as a music teacher. If this represents one perspective of future music educators, it would be important to observe the impact

of a study like this one on their future attitudes and pedagogical practices. Does ambivalence about one's culture and music culture translate into ambivalence about the music cultures of others? Research needs to continue to examine future music teachers attitudes towards multicultural music education and whether they feel prepared to teach in diverse and homogeneous classrooms.

According to Campbell (1996b) and Quesada and Volk (1997), there is a definite need for multicultural music education studies that focus on the classroom environments of secondary students. Research needs to identify effective instructional strategies with diverse groups, describe the impact of multicultural music education on student attitudes, and continue to explore contextual issues such as ethnicity and ethnic identity (Lundquist, 2002). In addition, we need to continue to investigate the impact of music on the cultural and musical identity of students. Does studying students' music cultures impact their identity? Is ethnic identity developmental and to what extent can music contribute to students' identity construction? Future studies should also focus on the multiple identities students and teachers bring to any context or situation and how these identities may evolve as a result of multicultural music curricula.

We need longitudinal studies that describe what happens when schools connect to community music cultures. We also need research that investigates the impact of simply acknowledging the culture and ethnicity of students in the classroom in order to develop culturally appropriate music curricula. We need comparative research focusing on different pedagogical practices (e.g. utilizing the expertise of culture bearers). These studies should look for effects on attitudes and perceptions of students about music cultures and whether more profound understandings are developed as a result of a particular approach.

As a final point, we need qualitative studies that let us hear the voices of our students as a means of coming to understand and appreciate their perceptions of the multicultural music curricula we have developed for and with them. These highly descriptive studies give us access to important student knowledge about multicultural music education that should inform our future practice as researchers and practitioners.

Reflecting on Doing Ethnography

I make no claim to represent the data in the present study as realist ethnography. I have called attention to possible relationships and associations between different data and elaborated explanations and interpretations. The data in this study was a result of doing fieldwork with student researchers. It is important to recognize the resulting data as being mutually produced by the researcher and the students. Ethnography presents highly detailed accounts of how people live. Ethnographies are based on agreed-upon categories for describing cultural behavior, told through member's eyes, representing the social organization and the worldview of a group of people. In chapter four, I presented a portrait of the local Italian community and its cultural practices. In chapter five, I described the community of practice of students and their learning and thinking processes as they studied a local music culture. I believe that the concepts that have been presented and ethnographic details that illustrate them have expanded our knowledge of the community, multiculturalism, and multicultural music education.

Conclusions

Music and Identity

I was so gratified that this research study allowed students to get in touch with their own culture, the culture of others, and explore their multiple ethnic and cultural identities. As Christina commented, the project has made her think about her own culture and caused her to want to know more,"not just about the italian culture but also about my own culture" (Christina, Database, Virtual Discussions, question 2, June 27, 2003). Tina also commented on what she took away from the research study:

> I want to thank you Mrs. Peters for making us do this project because of the fact that I might of been an insider because I'm part of the Italian heritage but I felt like an outsider because I didn't know much on [about] my own Italian culture. I experienced a greater bond with my grandfather because I took the time to talk to him. (Tina, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question #2, June 27, 2003)

As a result of the present study and the invaluable assistance of my students, I have come to understand that connecting to the other is a way of connecting to self. Conversely, it is also important to know yourself in order to know the other (Delpit, 1995).

The Value of Music in Culture

One of the significant contributions of this study is that it reiterates the importance and value of music in people's lives. Music is a fundamental need, a way of constructing and exchanging meaning, and its pervasiveness enriches our everyday lives. Music is a signifying

practice that embodies, enacts, and communicates the beliefs and values of a culture. Art and music meet a social need and they are integral to the cultural practices of a community.

> The importance of music, as judged by the sheer ubiquity of its presence, is enormous, and when it is considered that music is used both as a summatory mark of many activities and as an integral part of many others which could not be properly executed, or executed at all, without music, its importance is substantially magnified. There is probably no other human cultural activity which is so all-pervasive and which reaches into, shapes, and often controls so much of human behavior. (Merriam, 1964, p. 218)

The following two student database entries demonstrate the value of music within a local Italian cultural community. Music holds the key to memory and unites the members of the community. Music permeates their lives with meaning.

> I also learnt about the italian music culture and how it is one of the most valued and important things in ones life. They cherish it, because it holds a memory, a connection to something they once knew. (Nadine, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 2, June 27, 2003)

> All in all, music, is one of the most important things in the Italian culture and others as well. It brings great significance to them. It has a connection with them that sometimes people may not even have. Simply put it is communication through the soul. (Nadine, Database, Virtual Discussions, Question 3, June 27, 2003)

Epilogue

The students in the present study were given the opportunity to observe a music culture in the context of a local Italian community. As a result of their participant observation and

interviews with members, they were able to identify the cultural beliefs and values of the community as embedded in musical and cultural practices. The students were able to experience first hand the community's attachment to its traditional music and the significant contribution of this music to members' everyday lives. The value of music in the lives of people in a local Italian community was an incentive for some students to deconstruct and reconstruct their own ethnic identities and to begin exploring their own music culture.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Themes from Anthropological Texts

Ritual Behavior

Ideological Systems
- Belief Systems
- Value Systems

The Search for Order: Solving the Problem of Disorder
- Political Organization and Social Control
- Religion and the Supernatural
- The Arts

Ethnicity and Social Stratification
Artistic Expression
Religious Belief, Behavior, and Symbolism

Meaning
- Symbols: Language and Art
- Meaning: Creativity and Performance
- Creed: Religion and Ideology

Note: These themes were taken from Wolcott (1999). They reflect some of the categories that helped him infuse his work with an anthropological perspective. Some of the themes come from titles of the chapters of anthropological texts.

asked to contribute to the electronic database and participation in class discussions will not be used in the research analysis.

This project represents an enrichment opportunity, and does not replace your child's public school musical learning experience.

Confidentiality
Participation in this research study may result in a loss of privacy, since persons other than the investigators might view the study records. However, your child will be identified by a false name, and not by his/her real name, so that his/her identity and personal information will be kept as confidential as possible.

Unless required by law, only the study investigator, members of the investigator's staff, and the Northwestern University Institutional Review Board will have authority to review your child's study records. They are required to maintain confidentiality regarding your child's identity. Records of your child's ongoing participation in this study will be kept confidential at Rosemount High School.

The electronic data files and audio tapes will not be directly linked to your child's identity. All research materials will be held in the strictest confidence until the study is completed, at which time all recorded materials will be destroyed.

Financial Information
Participation in this study is at no additional cost to you. You will not be charged for any audio tapes, concert admission, or transportation used specifically for the research. Your child will not receive any pay for participating in the study.

Subjects' Rights
Your child's participation in this study is voluntary and he/she is free to withdraw at any time. You are also free to withdraw your child at any time during the study. Participation or withdrawal will not affect your child's class standing. His/her participation in the study may be discontinued by the investigator without your consent if he/she fails to attend classes or does not participate in the classroom activities and discussions.

If you choose to withdraw your child, or if he/she chooses not to participate in the study prior to its completion, you must inform the investigator of your intention. Your child will not be audio taped, and participation in class activities will not be used in the research analysis.

Contact Persons
Any questions you may have about this study may be directed to Dr. Scott Lipscomb at telephone number (847) 467-1682.

Questions about research subjects' rights may be directed to:
The Office for the Protection of Research Subjects of Northwestern University (OPRS)

Telephone: 0 01 (312) 503-9338
E-mail: irb@northwestern.edu
Address:
OPRS
710 N. Lake Shore Dr.
Northwestern University
Chicago, IL 60611
U.S.A.

Consent
I have read this form and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. If I have additional questions, I have been told who to contact. I agree to let my child participate in the research study described above and will receive a copy of this consent form.

_____ _____
Parent's/Guardian's Signature Date

_____ _____
Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date

_____ _____
Investigator's Signature Date

APPENDIX B

Northwestern University, School of Music
Parent/Guardian Consent Form

"Collaborative Knowledge Building of Ethnic Musical Communities in an Urban High School: An Ethnographic Case Study

Dr. Scott Lipscomb, Principal Investigator
Valerie Peters, Teacher-Researcher

Introduction/Purpose
Your child is being asked to participate in a research study that will focus on the local Italian music culture. He/she is being asked to participate in this study because he/she has shown an interest and ability to excel in high school music. The purpose of this research study is to create a multicultural music program that focuses on local communities in an urban setting.

Procedures
Your child's participation in the study will last for the full school year, from September 2002 through June 2003. As a participant in this study, he/she will be asked to attend some music performances by local artists, interview the artists before or after the performances, audio tape the interviews and transcribe them in a local database that students will construct at school. He/she will be asked to act as a researcher, documenting Italian music culture as he/she sees it. Your child's participation in this study will last for eight months. He/she will be asked to work in the music lab during music class time as well as attending at least two musical performances in the local community outside of the school day. We will take public transportation to performances, and all out of school experiences will be conducted in the company of Ms. Peters.

Risks
There are no known risks associated with this study.

Benefits
The potential benefits to your child from participating in this study include habits of mind, cognitive strategies, and an understanding of another culture that may be beneficial to your child in the years to come. The study may aid in our understanding of a local Italian community in Montreal.

Alternatives
Your child has the alternative to choose not to participate in this study, and you have the alternative not to allow your child to participate in the study. If your child does not wish to participate, he/she may participate fully in the experiences during regularly scheduled music instruction, including all of the activities and discussions. Your child will not be audio taped or

APPENDIX C

Northwestern University, School of Music
Student Assent Form

"Collaborative Knowledge Building of Ethnic Musical Communities in an Urban High School: An Ethnographic Case Study"

Dr. Scott D. Lipscomb, Principal Investigator
Valerie Peters, Teacher-Researcher

Introduction
You are being asked to participate in a research study that will focus on the local Italian music culture here in Montreal. The purpose of the study is to become researchers of the Italian musical community and create a database that will show your thinking about the musical experiences in that community. You are being asked to participate in this study because you have shown an interest and ability to excel in high school music.

Procedures
Your participation in the study will last for the full school year, from September 2002 through June 2003. As a participant in this study, you will be asked to attend some music performances by local artists, interview the artists before or after the performances, audio tape the interviews and transcribe them in a local database that we will construct at school. We will take public transportation, and all of our field trips to performances will be conducted in the company of Ms. Peters. You will be asked to work in the music lab during music class time as well as attending at least two musical performances in the local community outside of the school day.

Risks
There are no known risks associated with this study.

Benefits
By taking part in this study, you may develop a stronger understanding about music, learn more about a local Italian community in Montreal, learn about how you think about collecting and looking at information from interviews and observations, and learn how to use a database.

Alternatives
You can choose not to participate in this study at any time during the class. You will not be audio taped. You will still be part of the class discussions, but your part of the discussion will not be used in the research analysis.

Confidentiality
Participation in this research study may result in a loss of privacy, since people other than the teacher and investigator might view the study records. You will be given a false identity in the written report of the study so your identity and personal information will be kept as confidential as possible. Unless required by law, only the study investigator, members of the investigator's staff, and the Northwestern University Institutional Review Board will have authority to review your study records. They are required to maintain confidentiality regarding your identity.

The audio tapes and data files on the database will not be directly linked to your identity. All of the research materials will be held in the strictest confidence until the study is completed, at which point all recorded materials will be destroyed.

No personal information about you will be included in any presentation we may do about this study. The results of this study may be published or presented at scientific meetings but you will be identified in these reports by your false identity and not by your real name.

Financial Information
It will not cost anything for you to participate in this class or the study, and all paper, pencils, and other materials you will need will be provided by the teacher. You will not receive any pay for being in the class or in the study.

Subjects' Rights
Your participation is voluntary and you may decide not to participate at any time, without dropping out of music class. Your participation in the study may be discontinued by the teacher or investigator without your consent if you do not attend classes or do not participate in the classroom activities and discussions.

If you choose not to participate in the study at any time during the school year, you must inform the teacher or investigator that you want to withdraw at the beginning of a class period. You will not be directly audio taped, and your participation in our class discussions will not be used in the research analysis.

Contact Persons
If you have any questions about the study, you may call Dr. Scott Lipscomb at telephone number (847) 467-1682.

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, you may call Northwestern University's Office for the Protection of Research Subjects of Northwestern University (OPRS) at:

Telephone: 0 01 (312) 503-9338
E-mail: irb@northwestern.edu
Address:
OPRS
710 N. Lake Shore Dr.
Northwestern University
Chicago, IL 60611
U.S.A.

Assent
I have read this form and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. If I have additional questions, I have been told who to contact. I agree to participate in the research study described above and will receive a copy of this assent form.

_____ _____
Subject's Signature Date

_____ _____
Signature of the Person Obtaining Assent Date

_____ _____
Investigator's Signature Date

APPENDIX D

Parent Letter

April 11, 2003

Dear Parents of _____,

My doctoral dissertation study, *Collaborative Knowledge Building of Ethnic Musical Communities in an Urban High School: An Ethnographic Case Study,* has been approved by Northwestern University. With your assistance, this study can become a reality.

I am inviting your child to participate in this study. Your child was chosen based on the following criteria: overall school average, music mark, ability to speak/understand Italian and/or French, and ability to communicate ideas clearly in writing and verbally. Should you allow your child to participate, he or she will be involved in interviewing artists in the local Italian community and working on creating a database in the music lab during music class time. Your child will not miss classes in other subject areas. Students involved in outings to meet and interview local artists will be given a field trip form as per school regulations. Some of these outings may be during school time but most will occur outside of the regular schedule. Not all students involved in the study will attend each meeting. All efforts will be made to work flexibly with the students' schedules. Students will be given as much class time as possible to work on this project and it will count as part of their regular term assignments.

Enclosed is a parental consent form for your review. Please take some time to review it thoroughly and discuss it with your child. Northwestern University's Internal Review Board of the Office for the Protection of Human Subjects requires your signature and your child's signature, should you allow your child to participate.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact me or my faculty adviser, Dr. Scott Lipscomb. **I respectfully ask that you return the enclosed consent form to me no later than April 23, 2003.** I look forward to receiving your response!

Sincerely,

Valerie Peters

Cc: Dr. Scott Lipscomb, Northwestern University School of Music
Principal, Riverdance High School
Chairman, Research Committee

APPENDIX E

Representing Others Workshop

Your 'data' will only be as good as your rapport.

People are not fools. Never forget this when in the field. Much of ethnography is simply learning how to *listen* to the wisdom that is embedded in homely sayings. Learn how to *listen deeply* in order to grasp what people are telling you *indirectly*, obliquely.

The fieldworker's two fundamental questions: **What is going on here? What does it mean?** But these are key questions that you ask *yourself* as you try to make sense out of field experiences. When talking to other people, however, it often works better to ask "how" questions instead of "why" questions.

Important Ideas:
Learning to listen
Fieldworker questions: What is going on here? What does it mean?
Get to know your interviewee – build relationships – rapport

Why are we doing this?
- To learn about others in the class – someone that we do not know well
- Sensitize ourselves to how it feels to be observed/researched or to be the observer/researcher (both sides of the coin)
- Break the ice – form a community of researchers

Types of questions to ask – things to explore:
Family background – upbringing
Ethnicity
Music – school and outside of school
School
Future aspirations
Personality traits
Strengths and weaknesses regarding research

Homework: Write up your representation in the view 'Representing Others' – 2 or 3 sentences about how it feels to be researched/observed or to be the researcher/observer.
Read through the database and the web site so we can discuss this next time.
http://kforum.motion.com:6066/ - database address; name & password (6065 client)
http://www.geocities.com/striker_catest – web site

APPENDIX F

How to interview an informant

Taken from James Spradley *The Ethnographic Interview*, 1979

Ethnographic interview = speech event with cultural rules

An ethnographic interview is much like friendly conversation (when asking questions, you can often shift back to friendly conversation to make things more easygoing and establish rapport with your informant)

Ethnographic elements:
(1) Explicit purpose: to discover the cultural knowledge of the informant (who may have a hazy idea of the purpose)
(2) Ethnographic explanations: ethnographer learns about the informant's culture and the informant becomes the teacher
5 types of explanations:
a. Project explanations – goal of project and doing ethnography – trying to get at informant's cultural knowledge (e.g. "I'm interested in how you learned to play this musical instrument. Can you tell me how you view traditional Italian music, why you continue to play it on a regular basis, and how it relates to your cultural identity?")
b. Recording explanations – "I'd like to tape record so I can go over it later, so I don't miss anything. Would that be Okay?"
c. Native language explanations – goal of ethnography is to describe culture in its own terms – encourage informants to speak the way they would in their own cultural setting – how? "If you were talking to your grandfather or other family member about this, what would you say?" (put the informant back in their own setting to get them to use their own words to describe things)
d. Interview explanations – explain type of interview – perhaps more formal
e. Question explanations – different types of ethnographic questions

Ethnographic Questions
(1) Descriptive questions: "Could you describe this music to me?" "Could you describe your feelings when you first came to this country?" "Could you describe what it means to be an Italian-Canadian in Montreal?" (sample of informant's language – a native language question asks the informant to use their own words "Could you give me an example of what you might say to introduce a segment of your music during an evening performance?" You can also create a hypothetical situation. "Describe to me what would go on during a wedding ceremony."

(2) Structural questions: How the informant has organized his/her cultural knowledge – "What are the stages you had to go through to learn this instrument?" "What are the different types of dances that you know about?" You can repeat a structural question. "Can you think of other dances you remember, perhaps from your childhood?"
You can ask a domain question – list the things the artist does at a gig or what a director does at a rehearsal "Can you think of other songs you would sing at a traditional Italian wedding?"

(3) Contrast Questions: Learn how the informants distinguish objects and events in their world. "What is the difference between popular and traditional Italian music?" "What is the difference between traditional music in Italy today and traditional Italian music in Montreal?" "Now, I'd like to ask you a different kind of question (contrast questions restate and incorporate terms). What is the difference between performing for a professional gig and just singing for fun for family and friends?" (use the informant's words "performing for a professional gig" and "singing for fun" to see how he/she views each activity)

When you take leave (especially if you will be interviewing the person again), you should make the informant feel that he/she knows important things that can be taught to the ethnographer. Express interest, explain that there is more to learn, and identify topics perhaps to explore next time.

** Always express *interest* and *ignorance* when interviewing. Informants lack assurance that they know enough and are not sure whether the ethnographer is interested. Use verbal and nonverbal gestures to assure your informants.

Asking Descriptive Questions
Rapport Process
Develop rapport and elicit information – eliciting information that fosters rapport that in turn encourages informants to talk about their culture.

Rapport is culturally defined in every society – learn local, culture-bounded features. (insider or outsider to the culture) – Can we list these for a local Italian culture? How will we make people feel comfortable?

Model of rapport process: Apprehension – Exploration – Cooperation – Participation
(1) Apprehension – keep informants talking and while they are talking you can listen, show interest, and respond in a nonjudgmental fashion.
(2) Exploration – informant needs to grasp the nature of the interview. You may need to *repeat* the explanation several times. "As I said earlier, I'm interested in finding out how you talk about things, how you see things. I want to understand things from your point of view." *Restate* (using their own words) what your informant says which communicates that you are interested, understand what they are saying, are learning, and that the information is valuable to you. *Do not ask why or probe for meaning*. We want to *discover* cultural meaning rather than demanding translations. These meanings will emerge from understanding how people use their ordinary language.
(3) Cooperation – know what to expect of each other; discover the culture of the informant in the language of the informant.
(4) Participation – informant teaches ethnographer, takes more assertive role, brings new information, helps discover patterns in own culture. Informant may begin to analyze his/her own culture.

Principles of conducting ethnographic interviews:

(1) Keep informants talking
(2) Make repeated explanations
(3) Restate what informants say
(4) Don't ask for meaning, ask for use

Ethnographic Questions
Both questions and answers must be discovered from informants. Things that "everybody knows" without thinking (what are these things in Italian culture – prior knowledge).

Discover questions when studying another culture: questions people ask in everyday life, questions used by participants in a cultural scene "If I listened to musicians talking among themselves during a gig, what questions would I hear them ask each other?" Ask informants to role-play typical interactions.

Descriptive Questions
- Describe one setting where the informant carries out typical activities "Could you describe a typical _____ ?"
- Talking about a particular cultural scene using native language
- Expand length of question to expand length of response "I've never been to an Italian wedding before so I don't have much of an idea of what it's like. Could you describe for me what happens and what I would see and hear if I was there?"

Grand Tour Questions
Aspects of space, time period, sequence of events, people, activities, objects – large events, ceremonies "Can you describe all the different traditional instruments you use when you play a gig?" (grand tour of objects) – end result is description of significant features of a cultural scene (performance, wedding, dance ceremony, etc.)

a. Typical Grand Tour Questions – describe how things usually are – generalize, talk about patterns of events
b. Specific Grand Tour Questions – describe a recent situation, day, or event. "Tell me what you did yesterday from the beginning of the performance to the end."
c. Task-related Grand Tour Questions – informant performs task that aids in description – "Could you interpret that song for us? Would you translate the words to the song and write it down for us? Would you explain what is going on during the dance for us?"

Mini Tour Questions
Smaller unit of experience, after a lengthy explanation, ask about a recurrent activity. "Could you describe what goes on when you sing an encore?"

Example Questions
"Could you give me an example of a time when you felt a special cultural link with the community during a musical performance?" (example of event identified by informant)

Experience Questions
Experiences informant has had in a particular setting. "You've probably had some interesting experiences performing – could you tell me about some of them?" (open-ended)

Native-Language Questions
Terms and phrases commonly used in a cultural scene. Ethnographer shows he/she wants to learn the language. "What is your expression for someone who loves the Italian culture?" "The way we would say it is _____."

Strategies to get informants to use native language:
- "How would you refer to it?"
- "If you were talking to another musician, would you say it that way?" (typical situation, ordinary talk)

APPENDIX G

The Quick Guide to Ethnographic Interviewing

Taken from James Spradley *The Ethnographic Interview*, 1979
Revised and Condensed by V. Peters

Purpose of interview: to discover the cultural knowledge of the informant

Principles of conducting ethnographic interviews:
(1) Keep informants talking
(2) Make repeated explanations
(3) Restate what informants say
(4) Don't ask for meaning, ask for use

Ethnographic explanations:
a. Project explanation
b. Recording explanation
c. Native language explanation
d. Interview explanation
e. Question explanation

Type of ethnographic questions:
1. Descriptive questions - "Could you describe to me…"
2. Structural questions – how the informant organizes cultural knowledge "What are the stages you had to go through to learn this instrument?" (list of things)
3. Contrast questions – "What is the difference between…"

Express *interest* and *ignorance* when interviewing using verbal and non-verbal gestures. This assures the informant.

Taking leave: express interest; more to learn; topics for next time. Make the informant feel that he/she can teach something to the ethnographer.

Rapport Process is culturally defined – learn the local, culture-bounded features
Model of rapport process:
1. Apprehension (listen, show interest)
2. Exploration (repeat, restate, don't ask why or probe for meaning, discover)
3. Cooperation (expectations and interview understood, discover culture of the informant) 4. Participation (informant teaches, assertive, new information)

Asking Descriptive Questions
Both questions and answers *must be discovered* from informants, things that "everybody knows" without thinking. When studying another culture: questions *people ask in everyday life* used by participants in a cultural scene

Typical activities – talk about the cultural scene using native language – expand the question to expand the length of response

Types of questions

1. Grand Tour questions: typical, specific, task-related
2. Mini Tour questions: recurrent activity
3. Example questions
4. Experience questions (experiences performing – open-ended)
5. Native-Language questions (What is the expression for _____ ?)

Interview process
1. Equipment – Folder packet with tape recorder, tapes (2), small note pad and several pens, questions
2. Interview guide – make up a list of questions following this guide. Ask yourself what type of information your informant can provide for you. E-mail the list of questions to Ms. Peters to verify.
3. Dress professionally – first impressions are important
4. Always thank the person at the beginning and the end of the interview for taking time to talk with you.
5. Take notes as you go – "jottings"
6. Transcribe your interview in the database (or in a word processor)
7. Discover meaning in your interview – keywords, scaffolds, important quotes

APPENDIX H

Preparing for the Interview

Before the interview:

Try to get some background information on the person to help you structure your interview.

Before the interview (on the phone or after a performance):
- Family background – where they are from (Italy - when immigrated; Montreal - neighborhood)
- Music they know most about – traditional songs (region), instruments, musical activities involved in
- Bring some specific examples to the interview (translate song, perform particular music/dance/ceremony, describe context for a particular musical activity)

Go to the Interview View and read over the notes to prepare and find ideas for the kinds of questions to ask. Important notes are: Interview script, Interview Guide, Preparing for the Interview.

At the interview:

Describe hall/setting/restaurant/performance site in as much detail as possible.

Begin with some *small talk* to make the person comfortable. Remember about *rapport building* in the *cultural context*. Make the informant feel comfortable with friendly conversation. Take short hand notes in your little note pad. Sometimes it is better just to *listen* and write things down later (use your memory skills). Things that *"everybody knows,"* takes for granted, are important for us! If you are an "insider" to the culture (Italian), try to "make the familiar strange" (look at your own culture in a new way) and if you are an "outsider" to the culture, try to "make the strange familiar" (not of Italian heritage, try to find out more about the culture). Get people to talk *"in their own words!"*

Remember to:
- Keep informants talking (about the subject!)
- Make repeated explanations (if they don't understand something)
- Restate what informants say – pick up on an important phrase and ask for elaboration
- Don't ask for meaning, ask for use (no why questions; discover cultural meanings)

Interview Structure
- Turn on tape recorder and microphone

- Begin with *background questions*. These should be *grand tour questions*, trying to get the informant to give as much detail as possible. Remember, the longer the question (detailed), the longer or more detailed the response. *Describe* using many words creates rich texts!

- Family background; describe in detail: family (parents, siblings, relationships); move out to neighborhood, community, Montreal, Canada.
- Music in the family; learning music (structural question – have informant organize this knowledge into stages – e.g. I began by… then, I went to music school…then, I began performing at weddings…etc. Describe your relationship to Italian folk/traditional music and what it means to you; What is the connection between Italian traditional music and Italian culture in general? Does one reflect the other? How so? (try to find out why the person finds it important to preserve and perform this type of music without asking why directly!)

Grand Tour questions – more specific about the event
- Performance, Ceremony – describe a typical… how do things usually go (typical grand tour)
- Styles of music - general – north versus south; describe the music
- Specific songs performed – How do you decide which songs to perform? Describe a particular song, interpret, translate lyrics; Tell us about the context (when you play this music – for a particular ceremony or festival; anything about the history of the music – as much information as they know about) What is going on during this specific song/dance/ceremony?

Examples/Experiences
- Performing for an Italian audience versus a mixed audience – feeling; difference between performing for a professional gig versus family and friends (contrast question)
- Cultural link with the audience; what people in the audience say to the musicians about the music, how it makes them (the audience) feel
- Interesting performance experiences that illustrate ideas about musical and cultural values/beliefs

After the interview:
Transcribe your "jottings" (short hand notes) within 24 hours. Be sure to include *"personal notes"* in square [ ] brackets to tell the reader how you were feeling during the interview, your thoughts and perceptions. Transcribe the tape with your partner directly into the database (word for word). One person can operate the tape (listen, rewind, help clarify) while the other person types the notes. Start looking for *patterns, topics* in the interviews that are important and that say something about *cultural values, beliefs*, and *the importance of folk/traditional music* for people in the culture.

APPENDIX I

Initial Codes

Codes	Descriptions
AO	art object
AQCu	asking questions re. culture
As	art as symbol
Ass	assimilation
B	belonging
Be	beauty
C	context
CBV	cultural beliefs and values (students)
CE	collective experience
Cer	ceremony
Ch	change
CM	collective memory
CS	critical stance (students re. culture)
Cu	culture
CuL	culture loss
CuO	cultural object; objectified
CuTr	cultural transmission
D	difference; diversity
Da	dance
dbC	database concepts
Ear	earth
EC	emotional connection
EI	ethnic identity
EL	everyday lives
Ev	evolution
Eth	ethnicity
Ethics	ethics
Sexp	student expectations
Exp	expression
F	family
Fo	food
FS	familiar strange
G	gender
GC	global culture
GM	global mindedness
HO	higher order thinking
HOC	higher order concepts
HT	hard times
HW	hard work
I	identity
Id	idealizing Italy

IF	interview format
Im	immigration
Imp	improvisation
In	insiders
Inf	influences on music
Ins	insisting
Inst	instruments
INT	interviewing
IP	idealized past
Is	isolated
J	joy
L	learning
La	language
Li	life
LM	local mindedness
Lo	love; courting
LyTh	lyrics, themes
M	music
MA	musical associations
MC	music culture
MCS	music culture supports (students)
Me	meaning
Mee	meeting; connection
Mem	memory
Mos	mosaic
MP	melting pot
MT	member terms
MTh	member theories
MusTr	music transformative
MusV	music values
N	nostalgia
Nat	nationalism
O	Outsiders
OG	older generation
P	preservation
Pa	patriotism
Pcu	pure culture
Pe	peace
Pd	passed on; passed down
Po	politics
Pr	proximity; warmth
Pri	pride/honor
ProjExp	project explanation
R	representation
Ra	racism
Rap	rapport
Re	religion
Riv	rivalry

Ro	roots
RP	researcher paradigm
RTh	researcher theory
RV	researcher voice
S	storytelling
Sa	sacrifice
Sca	scaffold
SDR	students doing research
Si	singing
SM	shared meanings
SOM	state of mind
SP	seeing patterns (students)
SPP	student perceptions of project
St	stage
T	tradition
Te	teaching stance (interviewee)
Tech	technology understanding
TG	taking for granted
U	understanding (other cultures)
VB	values; beliefs
W	war
We	welcoming
Bo	bond, bonding
E	emotion, feelings
E-M	emotion related to music
INTF	interview feelings (student)
Lis	listening to others
PPI	pre-project ideas
Co	community
Tco	tight community
HN	headnotes
Sty	styles of songs
EK	everyday knowledge
OY	older vs. younger generation
So	songs
CuA	cultural activity
ItC	Italy vs. Canada
Fe	festival
Wa	warmth
I It	incarnate Italy
Iee Cu	interviewee asking questions
Con	connection, link
It	Italy
TeInf	technology influence
S/B	story vs. beat (in music)
Bd	background
MF	musical function
Com	communication

NM	need for music
Sou	soul, heart
PS	pedagogical structure
Col	collaboration, group work
Ide	ideas
Ow	ownership, belongs to them
Va	value something, important
Aut	autonomy
DP	different perspectives
Dem	democratic
Do	doing: practicing tradition and culture
Ad	adapting
Qcu	questioning culture
MI	mutual internalization
HE	human element of interaction
De	decentralized class structure
SS	social skills
Ipe	interactions with people
Itech	interactions with technology
CC	collaborative class
Cdb	collaborative db

APPENDIX J

Initial Memos

Memo Titles
Changing Mood
Collective Memories
Critical Stance on Culture
Culture Loss
Dichotomies of Difference and Evolution
Ethnic and National Identity
Function of Music
Hard Work/Sacrifice
Identity and Culture
Learning Value
Members Terms
Music as Collective Experience
Music Context and Meaning
Music Reflects Beliefs and Values
Nostalgia/Longing
Older Generation
Representing Others
Singing as relational
Story Telling as Doing

Suitcases

Taking Culture for Granted

Why Traditions