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Musical identities, learning and education: Some cross-cultural issues

Introduction and aims of the paper

It is often said that there has never been a society without music. To what extent, however, does this mean that people in every society are apt to form ‘musical identities’? Understood as an ontological category, the concept of ‘identity’ must refer to a universal human condition arising from the development of self-consciousness; that is the ability to distinguish between ‘self’ and ‘other’, and possibly the ability to distinguish between the sexes and to situate oneself – however problematically – in relationship to them. However, understood in the way I intend to use the concept within this article – that is, as arising from social and cultural roles and activities – the concept of ‘identity’ refers to a historically and socially specific condition, which undoubtedly does not apply universally across all history and all humanity. Social and cultural identities tend to be formed in societies where diversity and distinction between the roles and activities of groups and individuals are the norm. This is because any social persona only comes to be what it is – that is, only takes on an identity – in so far as it is distinct from what it is not. Where there are no distinctions, or few distinctions, so there will be no identities, or few identities.

In the case of musical identity, for example, it is doubtful whether a member of a society which engages in only communal musical practices, which is unaffected by any global culture, and has a relatively simple, organic social structure, would be likely to take upon themselves, or be ascribed, a ‘musical identity’ through which they are distinguished from other members of the society. This might be so even if some members are more involved in music-making than others.¹ By contrast, in most parts of today’s world, the complex

¹ See for e.g. NETTL (1954: 10). Although his suggestion that some societies do not distinguish musicians is slightly contested by MERRIAM (1964: 123), the latter nonetheless notes the existence of societies such as the North American Indians and the Basongye, which, although they have musicians, do not allocate any special status to the musician as a social group (MERRIAM 1964: 140 and *passim*.) Also see MESSENGER (1958: 20–

and diverse nature of contemporary musical life, marked especially by the ready availability and indeed ubiquity of a range of musical styles, mean that some kind of musical identity, or more likely, various musical identities, are likely to be developed by social groups, and by individuals within them.² One aim of this paper is to consider certain aspects of musical identities that can arise in *similar* ways across different cultures and areas of the world.

Today, this very availability of a vast range of local and national musical cultures throughout the world goes hand-in-hand with the unifying tendencies of globalisation. This dialectical action, of a splintering into musical diversity on one hand, and a honing towards musical uniformity on the other, has profound effects on the ways in which musical identities are formed, and on the content of those identities. A second aim of this paper is to consider some examples of the ‘push-and-pull’ effect of globalisation versus localisation in relation to musical identity-formation, and the sometimes very *different* effects that both sides of the dialectic can produce.

Musical identities are forged from a combination of musical tastes, values, skills and knowledge; and from the musical practices in which an individual or group engages, including not only production practices such as playing an instrument or singing playground chants, for example, but also reception practices such as listening or dancing to music. As HARGREAVES, MIELL and MACDONALD (2002b: 11) remind us, musical identities can vary from something that is transitory and short-lived, to something that has a profound and lasting effect on a person’s life. In addition, the different components of a musical identity are likely to be continually formed and re-formed, and thus to be changeable throughout life. To this extent, musical identities are connected not only to the *nature* of the tastes, values, skills, knowledge and practices which make them up, but to a further, underlying aspect: that of the particular ways in which those tastes, values, skills and knowledge are acquired, or the particular ways in which those practices come about. In other words, I am suggesting that musical identities are intrinsically and unavoidably connected to particular ways of *learning* in relation to music.³

21, cited in SLOBODA et al 1994: 349–51) who describes the Anang Ibibo society, where there was no concept of ‘being musical’, because everyone was considered so to be.

² For a range of discussions of musical identity, see e.g. BENNETT (2000), BIDDLE and KNIGHTS (2006a), DENORA (2000), DRUMMOND (2005), FRITH (1996), GREEN (2011), MACDONALD, HARGREAVES and MIELL (2002a), O’FLYNN (2009), SMITH (2011), STÅLHAMMAR (2006), STOKES (1994; 2003).

³ WENGER proposes that identity can be conceptualised as involving a ‘learning trajectory’, and that as trajectories, ‘our identities incorporate the past and the future in the very

Music-learning takes place through diverse practices and institutions. These range from informal self-directed learning, enculturation or immersion in socio-musical groups involved in music-making, transmission and/or reception; to involvement in music-education that has been provided by a government or other social institution dedicated to that purpose. This provision might be what is known as ‘formal’, including for example school and higher education curricula or specialist instrumental tuition. This might be private or state-funded, and is often linked to recognised qualifications. Music-learning might also take place in ‘semi-formal’ contexts, in the sense that they involve a certain amount of organised provision, but, for example, looser boundaries between teacher and taught, less likelihood of leading to a qualification, and so on. Community music programmes would be one example of such provision.⁴ The third and final aim of this paper is to examine some of the different ways in which musical identity-formation is specifically intertwined with music-learning, cutting across from the informal to the formal music education spheres.

In sum, the aims of this paper are to consider some of the ways in which individual musical identities are formed through formal and informal music-learning across a range of contexts afforded by the contemporary dialectical relations between local and global musical cultures; to suggest some ways in which both similarities and differences occur in the processes of musical identity-formation and the content of musical identities; and to consider some of the effects of globalisation and localisation in relation to the provision and content of formal music education.

process of negotiating the present’ (1998: 155). According to GIDDENS also, the identity of the self presumes ‘reflexive awareness’. Identity is of course not given, but has to be ‘routinely created and sustained in the reflexive activities of the individual’ (1991: 52). This involves a kind of narrative, a biography, ‘an ongoing story about the self’ which one creates and re-creates. DENORA (2000: 68) makes the link between a notion of narrative identity and specifically how this works with music, by showing how individuals develop a sense of self through engaging with musical materials, either as listeners or music-makers. Also see FRITH (1996) and others mentioned in Note 2.

⁴ The distinctions between informal, non-formal, semi-formal and formal music education are quite hard to identify and disentangle. This issue lies outside the focus of the present paper, but for some discussions see e.g. FOLKESTAD (2006), GREEN (2001/02: 1–6), MOK (2010), FEICHAS (2006), RENSHAW (2005); and: the *British Journal of Music Education* Vol. 27, no. 1 (Special Issue on Informal Learning); *Action, Criticism and Theory for Music Education*, Vol. 8, no. 2 (Special Issue on Exploring the Contexts of Informal Learning); and *Visions of Research in Music Education*, Vol. 12 (Special Edition: *Beyond Lucy Green: Operationalizing Theories of Informal Music Learning*).

Some introductory comments on musical globalisation and musical identity

In a loose sense there is of course nothing new about globalisation – migration, cross-continental exchange and trade have gone on since the dawn of humanity. But the specific term ‘globalisation’, tends to imply a disassociation from previous cognate terms such as ‘imperialism’ or ‘colonialism’. Most especially, in the way I wish to use it here, globalisation relates to the relatively new means of *electronic* exchange of ‘information’ and culture – particularly music for our purposes – that exploded in the last three or so decades of the twentieth century. GIDDENS succinctly explains the qualitative changes brought about by globalisation, thus:

“[...] the concept of globalisation is best understood as expressing fundamental aspects of time-space distancing. Globalisation concerns the intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations ‘at distance’ with local contextualities.” (GIDDENS 1991: 21)

In the case of music (and other cultural forms), globalisation can be understood to involve two directional flows. One is the relatively new, electronic, cultural, musical imperialism or colonisation by powerful nations or regions at the metaphorical ‘centre’ of the world, over smaller or less powerful ones at the ‘periphery’. This involves particularly the global export of styles of popular music that originated in, or are heavily associated with the USA, and (dating from pre-electronic means) the continuing export of classical musics that originated in Western Europe. The other is the diversification in the quantity and types of music that are readily available in an *exchange to and from* peripheral and central regions across the globe. In such ways local musics such as reggae and salsa have become, to some extent, popular global phenomena; or local musics such as gamelan and Ghanaian drumming have become well-known in certain pockets (including educational ones) that are spread throughout the world (see e.g. BIDDLE and KNIGHTS 2006b: 3f).

Musical identities are formed at the level of the individual and that of the group. The latter may involve a large-scale social group such as nation, class, gender, ethnicity, religion or age; or a smaller-scale ‘socio-musical’ group such as ‘jazz musicians’, ‘composers’ or ‘fans’ (see GREEN 1999 for a discussion of this relationship). It may involve a visible or spectacular group such as a profession, sub-culture or scene, in which the members may work or socialise together; or a more amorphous group such as conductors or particular instrumentalists – say, pianists or drummers – who, because of the nature of

their main musical involvement, rarely make music together, and do not work or hang about in social groups with each other.

However, in this paper most of the examples that I will use are located in the experiences of individuals. In the individual we can find issues that reverberate at the level of the social group, and beyond to global matters. Again GIDDENS has a helpful way of conceptualising the relation between these two extremes, which he is discussing in the quote below as facets of ‘high modernity’ or in other words, advanced capitalism:

“Transformations in self-identity and globalisation [...] are the two poles of the dialectic of the local and the global in conditions of high modernity. Changes in intimate aspects of personal life, in other words, are directly tied to the establishment of social connections of very wide scope [...] the level of time-space distancing introduced by high modernity is so extensive that, for the first time in human history, ‘self’ and ‘society’ are interrelated in a global milieu [...]” (GIDDENS 1991: 32)

Thus the sociologist can focus on the individual, but in ways which, rather than denying the social whole, can illuminate how the individual and the social whole are in a dialectical relation of mutual production.

Musical identity as reflexive self-affirmation

I would like start with a hypothetical example. Let us take a young person who enjoys a weekly violin lesson, in which the teacher focuses mainly on notation and technique in Western classical music. The young player also attends regular rehearsals with a youth orchestra. Because the music involved in these activities is a global phenomenon, this young person’s activities could take place in a large number of different countries or areas of the world, from Australia to Japan, South Africa to Finland, or Argentina to Canada. Then let us take another young player who eagerly learns the violin – or fiddle as it would be known in this context – by sitting in a session in an Irish pub with her family, watching and listening to traditional music-making around her, and joining in when she can. As well as the pub sessions, this young person also learns in the home, when a parent or older sibling shows her a tune and helps her to play it. In the case of both these young people, they are likely to be developing some kind of an identity as a ‘violinist’, or ‘fiddle-player’.

In this example both young players *enjoy* learning to play the violin, and do so willingly. But what of those to whom violin practice and violin lessons are a torture forced upon them by their parents, and activities to be avoided as

much as possible? Could we say that two young people in that kind of position would be likely to develop identities as violinists? Probably not. This is because the concept of musical identity tends to imply a level of positivity, or ‘good feeling’ about one’s identity. As GIDDENS puts it, a key part of self identity is the notion of an ‘ideal self’, which ‘forms a channel of positive aspirations in terms of which the narrative of self-identity is worked out’ (GIDDENS 1991: 68).

However, the fact that two such young people may not develop identities as violinists is unlikely to mean that they will go through life with no musical identity whatsoever. On the contrary, being ‘forced’ to play the violin by one’s parents, and hating it, is likely to lead to the development of an *alternative* musical identity; one which, perhaps, will involve hating violins and hating classical music, or Irish traditional music, or whatever is the case. The two young people in the example above might turn to alternative music, as a way of expressing their disdain for the violin or the fiddle, and as a way of taking on a musical identity of a different kind.

What of those young people who have either no opportunity or no desire to learn to play any musical instrument, or to take part in any kind of music-making activities? As we know, such young people are still unlikely to grow up without a musical identity, but will in the vast majority of cases, develop an identity as music-listeners or fans; or at least, as people with certain musical tastes and values. For music in most parts of the world today enters into the interstices of people’s lives in such a way that the possibility of a person having no musical identity whatsoever is fairly remote. Globalisation means that ‘no-one can “opt out” of the transformations’ which it brings about (GIDDENS 1991: 22). Although in making this statement GIDDENS had in mind the unavoidability of eventualities such as nuclear war or global-warming, it is not far-fetched to apply the same principle to the cultural sphere. Even if a person’s musical identity could be described as ‘luke-warm’, most people are almost bound to have some musical tastes and values, which would form the skeleton of a musical identity.

Globalisation, localisation and children's informal musical identity-formation

A major channel for musical identity-formation is forged in the unsupervised play of children. Children's playground games and other play activities in many regions of the world reflect a mix of local musical identities derived from peers, family and kinship networks, and global identities reaped from the mass media and involving musics which – regardless of where the children live or what national or ethnic group(s) they identify with – tend stylistically or historically, to originate in, or delineate, the USA.⁵

Some of the processes involved in this syndrome are well illustrated by Susan HARROP-ALLIN (2011a). She observed the musical play of South African township children in the Soweto area of Johannesburg. In this example of a playground game, she describes ten girls gathering under a tree and organizing themselves into two lines facing each other. They sing and move to the pop song 'Barbie Girl' by the Danish-Norwegian group Aqua, but adapt the song to a Zulu clapping game (see Figure 1).

Words	Translation	Actions and musical content
I'm a Barbie girl, in a Barbie world		On 'girl' and 'world', learners do a circular motion with their hands around their faces, indicating a girl Words are sung to the tune of the pop song
I have a boyfriend; my boyfriend is a <i>tsotsi</i>		On 'boyfriend', the learners gesture to their chins to indicate a man's beard.
<i>Ma s'hamb' se y' tjontja amaswitsi</i>	Let's go and steal some sweets)	Pair cross-clapping pattern on word syllables
<i>Ang-i-fu-ni</i>	I don't want to	Sung melody to part of the 'Barbie Girl' song, accompa-

⁵ See MARSH (2008) for a recent acclaimed study of children's games in a range of global contexts; also MARSH (2011); and for an example of their seminal work in the field, OPIE and OPIE (1969).

		nied by a gesture, wagging forefingers to communicate ‘I don’t want to’
<i>Asamb’ se y’ tjontja amaswitsi</i>	Let’s go and steal some sweets	
<i>Ang’fu-ni, ang’funi</i>		Syncopated rhythm; words are pitched <i>doh, te, doh; doh, te, doh</i> (a melodic fragment from the song)

Figure 1: from HARROP-ALLIN (2011a: 161)

HARROP-ALLIN comments:

“Retaining the pop song’s melody, the girls change the original lyrics to ‘I have a boyfriend, my boyfriend is a tsotsi.’ This is a colloquial South African word for street thugs or gangsters, which refers to a thief, petty criminal or ‘clever, street-wise hustler’ in the township [...] On the word ‘tsotsi’ the gesture pointing to a man’s beard indicates a boyfriend in township gestural language and also suggests the riskiness implied in having a tsotsi boyfriend. The girls extend the word ‘angifuni’ [‘I don’t want to’] singing it to the descending melody of the original song words ‘uh oh uh oh’. Wagging their forefingers and rocking their hips from side to side on each individual syllable of ‘angifuni’ emphasizes the word’s connotations. The drawn-out stress on the word, combined with the ‘no’ gesture, accentuates a sense of defiance and control over the tsotsi boyfriend who tries to lure the ‘Barbie Girl’ into stealing sweets (in the game’s lyrics).

Accentuating each fast pulse of the song instead of the song’s four-beat metre, results in rapid alternative clapping back and forth across the two lines of girls. Their gestures replace claps on words like ‘girl’, ‘tsotsi’ and ‘ang’funi’, so that individual actions are integrated into the rhythmic texture. The game increases in tempo, pitch and loudness [...]” (HARROP-ALLIN 2011a: 160)

She argues that such games highlight how township children’s play can be understood as culturally hybrid forms, through which the children realise complex music identities that produce, or tap into, both local and global culture.

However, the co-existence of global and local identities in children’s culture, as HARROP-ALLIN would agree, does not always involve so organic or

(apparently) harmonious a cultural blending. For example, PIERIDOU-SKOUTELLA (2011) discusses the construction of children's musical identities in the Republic of Cyprus. As she explains, Greek popular music spans a continuum, from local or traditional musical characteristics at one end (Byzantine, *rembétiko* and *laïko* musical styles) to global characteristics reflecting Anglo-American popular music at the other. She explores children's involvement with these musical styles across urban and rural, school-based and out-of-school contexts, revealing tensions between globalisation, localisation, ethnic identity-construction, and the effects of Eurocentric ideology on the children's musical identities. For example, despite the smallness of the country (with a population of 500,000 and a region spanning around 9,250 square kilometres) children who live in urban settings, where global influences are stronger, express more disdain of both traditional Cypriot folk music and Greek popular music; whereas those living in more rural areas are far more willing to admit liking these styles, and were even prepared to sing examples of them to the researcher. As put by one of PIERIDOU-SKOUTELLA's young rural participants:

“-I like dancing tsiftetéli [a dance from Asia Minor related to ‘belly’ dancing] and zeibékiko [a nine-beat dance of Turkish origins]. I like laïka [popular Greek music] and traditional songs. They make me feel very different. I don't like the songs of modern Greek singers. They sound foreign, not ours. My cousin from Nicosia says they are modern, so that makes them better. She tells me that I am píso pou ton kósmo (behind the world) and chórkatos (peasant). When she comes to a village wedding she dances Greek laïka but she goes back to Nicosia and makes fun of them saying they are Arabic. (Kiriaki, age 11, from a rural school in Cyprus)” (PIERIDOU-SKOUTELLA 2011: 128)

Such issues are particularly pertinent to how music intersects not only with the formation, but also the possible rejection, of national as well as ethnic identities.

There are also many ways in which early musical identities are produced, reproduced or rejected, not only through children's informal musical games and other practices, but also through the formal music education, which they experience in schools and other institutions. The identities associated with these latter experiences often contrast and conflict with those developed in the informal arena. I will now consider a few examples of these.

Formal music education, Western cultural imperialism, and musical identity

For centuries, and before the advent of the electronic media that are associated with globalisation, musical cultural imperialism or colonialism took place primarily through the export of Western classical music as a status symbol and cultural icon, and along with this went the educational systems that were associated with this music. There are countries right across the world where, although their traditional or classical indigenous musics may themselves be rich and highly diverse, it is Western-style, classical music education that has been established in state schools through governmental policies, and in private educational arenas through the choices of middle-class and upper-class families.⁶ Roe-Min KOK (2006 [2011]) presents an autobiographical analysis of the post-colonial influences, which the British instrumental grade-exam system had on her identity-formation while taking classical piano lessons as an ethnic-Chinese child in Malaysia.

“I am standing in an air-conditioned waiting area of an expensive hotel in Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia. My surroundings are meticulously Western in a city and climate unyieldingly tropical. I am seven years old. It is my first piano examination.

There he is. At a desk near the piano. Silver-haired, of regal carriage, replete with the self-confidence and authority of the colonial master. His skin is ruddy, fashionably sun-tanned--a genuine tan acquired in this exotic land. He is attired in white, because white refracts heat rays. It is the color traditionally favored by travelers to hot climes. I have been schooled in the gravity of the situation. I have been trained time and again in simulated settings to be meek and polite, to parrot “Good morning, Sir!”. Madams are rare. My piano teacher finds out in advance the gender of the examiner, so that we, her students, can practice the greeting until it is smooth on our young Malaysian tongues. The examiner is all-powerful. Not only can he administer a failing grade to you, thus wasting the previous year’s work, time and money; he can do so at his whim, because nobody else witnesses the examination, held behind closed doors in his hotel room. If this is only a suspicion, it is one born of a colonized mentality that constantly anticipates the white man’s displeasure and its consequences--whether it happens in a ladang getah (rubber plantation) or in a

⁶ For discussions of the development of formal music education across a wide range of countries and regions see e.g. CAMPBELL et al (2005), COX and STEVENS (2010), and HARGREAVES and NORTH (2001).

Western-style hotel. I, the child, have to be respectful at all times and to be careful not to annoy him. My piano teacher's last-minute advice rings in my ears: 'Remember to hand him your book of scales and to respond as soon as he asks you to play. Dog-ear the pages so that you can turn them easily. Don't repeat passages in which you make mistakes; cut your fingernails so they don't go "clack" on the keys—that will irritate him'." (KOK (2006: 89) [2011: 74])

Through her analysis of this and similar experiences from her childhood, KOK reveals the informal, complex and influential relationships between the institutions of family and society, and between ethnicity, local culture and colonial history. For her, learning to play Western classical piano was an avenue for articulating and exploring changes in the formation of a mixed and complex ethnic identity.

Many other countries throughout the world have adapted not only Western classical music, but the formal educational systems and pedagogies primarily associated with it. The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, which is the body discussed by KOK above, runs centres all over the world, particularly in countries that are ex-British colonies. It is however only one example of this phenomenon, which has been exported to many countries where it exists outside, but alongside, indigenous music-transmission processes. There are also many cases of school curricula and higher education courses, which are based on the same fundamental pedagogic principles and likewise, focus on Western classical music and its associated curricula and / or pedagogy.

One example is the Brazilian Music Schools, which were originally modelled on the 18th century French conservatoire (FEICHAS 2011), and retained this ethos throughout the 20th century, in spite of vibrant efforts to tap into and establish a specifically national 'Brazilian musical psyche' (REILY 2001), and the rise of Brazilian Popular Music (MPB) (WARNER and NASCIMENTO 2006). Similar Western-style educational provision, in parallel with but distinct from local musics, has grown up in other South American countries including Peru, Bolivia and Argentina (OLIVEIRA 2001), and places as far apart as Ghana (WIGGINS 2011), China (YEH 2001), Hong Kong (HO 1996), Japan (MURAO and WILKINS 2001), Thailand (MARYPRASITH 1999) and Korea (AUH and WALKER 2001) to name only some. In such contexts, families, educational organisations and governments have attempted to 'Westernise', or 'modernise' their social status, education system or society, and have found music a powerful as well as convenient means to help in that endeavour.

This is by no means to say, however, that all countries of the world have been so susceptible to the importation of Western classical music and its associated education systems. A robust counter-example is India, which in spite of the existence of British-based classical instrumental grade exams there, has held on to a proud tradition of not only indigenous and highly specialised classical musics, but also very specific forms of music education in the traditional *guru-shishya* mould (FARRELL 2001; GRIMMER 2011). Additionally, today more hybrid forms of provision are developing, where local, non-Western musical cultures and/or social structures are integrated with Western classical music education in new ways. One example is the famous *El Sistema* programme in Venezuela, which has achieved incredible success, and turned around the lives of many street children by giving them the opportunity to play in Western-style classical orchestras. Another is the very recent setting up of a National Institute of Music in Kabul, where in the face of the previous moratorium on music decreed by the Taliban, children from the age of 10, mostly from poor backgrounds, are soon to be given the opportunity to acquire skills in both Western *and* Afghan classical musics (PELLENGRINELLI 2010).

Furthermore, this latter development involves a flow that is very much a two-way affair. Venezuela's *El Sistema* for example is being taken up by educational and out-reach organisations in many other countries, from Scotland to the USA. Other set-ups that connote local, non-Western regions or cultures are also rising up elsewhere, such as Brazilian samba schools or gamelan orchestras, which can be found in many European centres operating as independent units as well offering work-shops in schools and other institutions⁷. Whilst such developments could be seen as a refreshing reversal of the traffic of music-educational practices from the North Western or Westernised areas to other parts of the world, to what extent such schemes will survive and continue to succeed in these quite different local musical cultures remains to be seen. However, there are of course many tensions concerning the Westernisation and 'modernisation' of non-Western musics, where many traditional musicians see this trend as a threat. I will now consider some issues relating to this.

⁷ For *El Sistema* outside Venezuela see e.g. <www.sistemascotland.org.uk/>; <elsistemausa.org/>, and for Samba Schools outside Brazil, and gamelan orchestras outside Bali or Java, see e.g. www.londonschoolofsamba.co.uk>; <www.edinburghsambaschool.org.uk>; www.gamelannetwork.co.uk/groups/southbank-gamelan.html, accessed 22 May 2010. There are many more websites in different countries.

Localisation policies in formal music education

By contrast to the above examples, in many countries or regions, perceived threats from musical globalisation, along with the expansion of the industrial category of ‘world music’, are causing a vigorous renewal of interest in ensuring the survival of existing local, traditional and national musics. Thus, at the same time as the colonising effects of ‘central’ world superpowers is occurring through musical globalisation, in ‘peripheral’ regions many moves are afoot from governmental, educational and other cultural organisations, and from musicians themselves, to encourage musical localisation and nationalism. Some such moves can be regarded as involving a struggle to hold back globalising trends, whilst at the same time affording the possibility of capitalising on the touristic attractions and marketability of indigenous music, and the cultural export of local identity. This can in turn put them in tension with issues of cultural preservation and ‘authenticity’. Such issues may occur more vigorously in ‘small’ countries or regions; and/or in countries with long histories of colonisation or some level of subordination under a larger power.

As three examples, illustrations of ways in which musical globalisation has been resisted within formal educational arenas can be found in places as far apart as, and with local histories as different as, Brazil, Bali and Ghana. In Brazil, the previously European-modelled conservatoires are now encouraging diversification, not only of the music that is taught within their walls, but also of the profile and prior musical experiences of the student body. Thus students with backgrounds in Brazilian Popular Music, as well as other popular musics and jazz, are for the first time being given the opportunity to study in such places (FEICHAS 2011). However, whilst the backgrounds of the students inevitably means bringing in those national, or ‘nationalised’ Brazilian styles of music such as were mentioned earlier (REILY 1994, WARNER and NASCIMENTO 2006), they are less likely to involve more overtly commercial manifestations such as US-American rap, or underground musics, which always find their way into formal education more slowly and sporadically than forms which have attained a level of ‘respectability’, ‘classical’ or ‘national’ status. This is a process therefore of localisation and nationalism within a bounded, middle-class context.

In Ghana, WIGGINS (2011) studied a number of cultural groups who are involved in music-and-dance activities, sometimes intertwined with storytelling, and who draw their materials from either their immediate location or a wider Ghanaian background. Although they all have in common the desire to forefront local or national culture, their approaches can contrast markedly with

each others', particularly in respect of tensions between the demands of state education and those of attaining regional cultural balance. WIGGINS reveals the complexities involved:

“There was a considerable debate in Parliament about how an Arts Council should be set up, its remit and role. As the Minister of Education asserted: ‘We all have an interest in seeing that our nation makes its proper contribution to the artistic and cultural life of the world’, (Arts Council of Ghana bill [ACG], column 300). Although this point was agreed, the nature of the relationship between the Arts Council and the government was more contentious – ‘The [Arts Council of Ghana] Bill ... is going to give power to the Government to control arts in the country. We must remember that art is culture and anything cultural should not be placed under the control of the government’ (ACG, column 303). There was a commitment to representation of the different ethnic groups in Ghana on the Arts Council but the practical issue of what constituted the national culture, particularly in a post-colonial setting, continued to exercise the minds of the members of Parliament. The minister was advised that: ‘The first place he [the Minister] should look for development of this [the arts] is the villages. Encourage young people in the villages because the villages are the true repositories of our cultural heritage’ (ACG, column 306). There was also a commitment and expectation to a broader national knowledge of arts rather than the transmission and preservation of an individual heritage within its cultural location. ‘On special occasions ... residents from neighboring and distant areas of Ghana should be invited because it is not enough to know the heritage of your own individual tribal grouping; it is not enough. We must expand and be true exponents of Ghanaian culture in toto.’ (ACG, columns 306–7).” (WIGGINS 2011: 171–172)

Tensions between local, national and global cultures are also identified in Bali by DUNBAR-HALL (2011). As he explains, Bali has a fragile local and national identity, as the only Hindu island in an archipelago-nation that is otherwise Muslim. This identity has recently been rocked further by the terrorist bombings of 2002 and 2005, the outbreak of numerous diseases, and the general economic downturn affecting the tourist industry. Regarding the position of music on the island, independent learning studios have grown up, which are distinct from the traditional village-based teaching groups, and are amongst a range of responses to preserving local music and local music teaching-and-learning practices. In addition, both national (Indonesian) and local (Balinese) agendas for the use of music and dance as commodities of cultural tourism

mean that learning to play music or to dance can become a means of personal, family and group economic gain, as well as affecting individual and group identities.

Detailed comparative research about the attitudes and values of teachers, musicians and others concerning local musics across different nations could throw up some interesting issues. One could for example hypothesise that the local and national musics of ‘central’ or powerful countries with imperial pasts may be relatively more problematic as markers of identity for their indigenous, national people, whilst the local and national musics of ‘peripheral’ or previously colonised countries or regions may be relatively attractive and inviting for their populations, as well as their governments. For example, in England, although there is a history of folk or traditional music at least as strong as that in Scotland or Ireland, and although the government and educational system have for over a century included English folk music in the school curriculum, arguably, English folk music is not receiving the same level of interest from either musicians, listeners, teachers, learners or the mass media in England as its Scottish, Irish or Welsh counterparts are currently enjoying in their respective countries.⁸ The same could be said of Japan, where far more attention is given to Western or Westernised forms of both popular and classical musics, both inside and outside schools, than to Japanese traditional music, which entered the music curriculum there in 1998 (MURAO and WILKINS 2001). Furthermore, in a way which bears parallels with the views expressed by school music teachers in England (GREEN 2002), ENDO (2004) found that teachers in Japanese schools, who had mostly been trained in Western classical music, were quite antipathetic to the incorporation of traditional Japanese musics in the curriculum. The main formal centres for the transmission of Japanese traditional musics seem to be found outside schooling in ‘cultural schools’ (MURAO and WILKINS 2001).

⁸ E.g. as reported in GREEN (2002) music teachers in English schools, questioned in 1982 and again in 1998, revealed their general disinterestedness in folk music, in spite of its fairly prominent position in the National Curriculum for Music.

Diasporic musical identities: some complexities

Whilst the construction of localised musical identities tends to connote an occurrence that takes place within national borders, musical identities are also of course carried across borders in particularly interesting ways through diasporic groups. I will illustrate this through two contrasting cases. One is a diaspora of female Filipino maids, who were born and brought up in the Philippines, then moved to Hong Kong to work as domestic maids, where they number in the thousands (MOK 2010; 2011). Among the participants in MOK's study, their childhood and teenage musical enculturation had involved regular music-making in churches and social gatherings, where as well as other skills, many of them had learned informally to sing in spontaneous two-part harmony, by ear. Having moved to Hong Kong they maintained this kind of musical involvement through groups organised amongst themselves, but were also eager to absorb new learning within this more wealthy society. They made use of the internet, radio and CDs, often raiding their employers' collections, and through these means, listened to a range of music they had not heard before.

One particularly interesting finding is that they took steps to benefit from the instrumental lessons given by private music tutors who were hired to teach their employers' children. For example, they would listen to what was happening in the lesson, whilst at the same time getting on with the cleaning: 'Yes, when the teacher comes, I learn it. My ears, I am doing the duties and hear, this is how you play...' (A maid, quoted in MOK 2011: 55). Some maids were allowed to observe, and even take part in the lessons. Amongst other things, this provided them with their first introduction to staff notation.

MOK shows how their homeland enculturation processes had given them a profoundly personal musical identity and a deep love of music, along with a set of musical skills, which many classically trained musicians would envy. Yet she also shows that they did not place high value on these factors, but rather wished to reject them in favour of what they saw as more advanced, Westernised musical identities, skills, knowledge and opportunities.

The other diasporic group I will consider is that of male Muslim Khalifa barbers who originate in Gujarat, North India, and have settled in the UK over the past few decades (BAILY (2006) [2011]). In the past, BAILY explains, members of this community held low social status in Gujarat, which was closely bound up with two of their hereditary occupations: that of barber and that of musician. However, while Khalifas have historically acknowledged and actively pursued their connection with haircutting, music-making has been an area of contestation, with competing claims that on one hand, 'music is in our

blood' and on the other hand, music is not fully endorsed by Islam. Through his study of Khalifa groups in three urban centres in England, BAILY examines participants' changing attitudes towards their previously stigmatised occupations now that they had become members of a well-established and relatively successful community in the UK. He suggests how Khalifas conceive their own musicality, and illustrates how they pass on music through informal learning. Those who are deeply involved in music-making express considerable pride in being self-taught, which they regard as a sign of inherent musicality, and a fundamental aspect of their collective identity.

Many interesting contrasts can be illustrated through these two cases. In each, members of the diaspora have strong musical identities arising from their enculturation in their familial ethnic groups, and from the informal music-learning practices of their childhoods. But for the Filipino women, MOK shows how their removal to a different society resulted in a rejection of these identities and a search for new, more formalised and as they saw it, more advanced ways of learning; whereas for the Gujerati men, as BAILY illustrates, their new overseas status enhanced their pride in both their ethnic musical identities and their informal learning practices. Furthermore, the Filipino women were from the start engaged with Western music mainly brought to their country through the Christian church, and not with indigenous Filipino music; whereas the Gujerati men were engaged with a music very much identified as ethnically and culturally 'their own', even though it had problematic and complex connections with their religious beliefs. The Filipino maids wished to benefit from and blend in with the more global musical culture – both popular and classical – which they found in their host country; whereas the Gujerati men wished to maintain and distinguish their musical culture from that of the host country. These two cases alone can illustrate the complexities of musical identity-formation, and the need to avoid generalisations about this challenging issue. A similar area is well illustrated by BENNETT (2000), who shows how even members of the same ethnic group living in the same city can develop highly different and even opposed identities in relation to the same styles of music.

Concluding thoughts

In this paper I have considered some issues concerning the formation of local, national and ethnic identities within a globalised musical culture, in relation to music learning and music education. Musical identity-formation carries many practical challenges as well as opportunities for the future of music teaching and learning, whether conceived as formal, informal or somewhere in-between. Recently there have been moves in countries right across the world, in which educators have begun to investigate, adapt and incorporate local and/or globalised, informal music-making and music-learning practices from outside formal educational institutions, and bring them inside. This has involved developing new teaching methods, which aim to reflect such practices, as well as the values and identities that go along with them.⁹ Such moves also contain implications for understanding different types, not only of learning, but of teaching too, and suggest that more knowledge about music-learning and its relation to the formation of musical identities could continue to enrich the ways music educators think about teaching, and more importantly the ways they *go* about it.

Many music educationalists and music-education researchers today would agree that we should approach issues connecting musical identity and learning, tentatively. Even a brief cross-cultural perspective on these issues quickly illustrates how different are the *processes* of musical identity-formation; how varied are the *contents* of musical identity for individuals and groups in different places; and how closely-woven musical identity-formation can be with music-learning. This points to a need for music-educationalists and researchers to deepen our understanding of the complexity and multiplicity of the influences on children's, teenagers', adult-learners', and also our own musical tastes, knowledge and skills. It suggests that music education could gain in many different ways if it continues to act in parity and interchangeably with both global and local musical traditions and practices; and that global and local musical traditions and practices can complement and fill many gaps left by more formal approaches to music teaching and learning. These issues have implications for curriculum and pedagogy within and beyond schools, conservatoires, universities, community schemes and other education providers,

⁹ See for example CAMPBELL et al (2005), COPE (1999), GREEN (2008), HARGREAVES and NORTH (2001), HARROP-ALLIN (2011b), LEBLER (2007, 2008), O'FLYNN (2006), WESTERLUND (2006), amongst others, and the articles within the special issues of journals mentioned in Note 4.

and suggest the continued importance of opening up what we conceive to be music, musical identity, learning and education.

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