Danielle Shannon Treacy

– BREAKING DOWN BARRIERS –

Teaching to learn and learning to teach in a music conservatory's outreach

program

Pro Gradu -Thesis

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the teaching and learning in a music conservatory's outreach program (OP). This program offers free music education in marginalized, underserved neighbourhoods in a large Canadian city and aims to make music education more relevant and accessible to a diverse population.

Participant observation by an educator-researcher in a youth internship program was an important method of data collection in this qualitative study. Additionally, semi-structured individual interviews with seven OP participants and seven OP instructors provided the bulk of the data. Both the researcher's field journal and the transcribed interviews were analyzed using content analysis.

The findings suggest that music was important to both OP participants and instructors for emotional expression and for shaping and challenging their identities. Teaching and learning in OP highlighted the importance of student-centred teaching and learning, student choice, and collaborative learning in which participants learn as much from one another as from the instructor and vice versa. As a result of their experiences in OP, both instructors and participants identified a variety of changes that occurred within themselves. These included changes in how they view themselves, their abilities and their goals for the future and changes in how they see and relate to others.

Keywords: critical music education, Community Music, outreach programs

TIIVISTELMÄ

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Tässä pro gradu -työssä analysoidaan opettamista ja oppimista kanadalaisen musiikkikonservatorion ohjelmassa (OP), joka tarjoaa ilmaista musiikinopetusta suurkaupungin vähävaraisten kaupunginosien asukkaille. Ohjelman tarkoituksena on tehdä musiikinopetus mielekkääksi ja helposti tavoitettavaksi monikulttuuriselle ja taloudelliselta toimeentuloltaan vaihtelevalle väestön osalle.

Kvalitatiivisen työn tutkimusaineistona ovat olleet opettaja-tutkijan osallistuvaan observointiin perustuvat havainnot nuorten harjoitteluohjelmasta. Lisäksi seitsemää OP-ohjelmaan osallistujaa ja seitsemää opettajaa on haastateltu puolistrukturoidun haastattelun keinoin. Tutkijan kenttäpäiväkirjasta ja haastattelumuistiinpanoista on tehty sisältöanalyysit.

Tuloksista selviää, että musiikki on tärkeää sekä OP:n oppilaille että opettajille tunteiden ilmaisun kanavana ja identiteetin muodostajana ja haastajana. Tässä ohjelmassa oppilaskeskeisyyttä korostetaan sekä opettamisessa että oppimisessa: Oppilaiden valinnanvapaus ja yhteistyössä tapahtuva oppiminen on tärkeää. Oppilaat oppivat yhtä lailla toisiltaan kuin opettajalta ja opettaja vastaavasti oppilailtaan.

OP-ohjelman kokemuksista keskusteltaessa sekä opettajat että oppilaat ovat huomanneet itsessään monia muutoksia. Näitä muutoksia olivat esimerkiksi minä-kuvan ja tulevaisuuden tavoitteiden muutokset. Samoin muutoksia oli tapahtunut ihmissuhteissa, kyvyssä uskoa omiin kykyihinsä ja ymmärtää toisia ihmisiä.

Avainsanat: Musiikkikasvatus, kehitystyö, musiikin opetus, musiikkikasvatuksen filosofia

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAD   Canadian Dollars

MC   Music Conservatory

OP   Outreach Program

YIP   Youth Internship Program

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

1 BUT CANADA IS NOT A DEVELOPING COUNTRY

To fulfill requirements of the Master's Programme in Development and International Cooperation, I went to Canada in June 2008 to do an internship, not knowing that this experience would become the focus of my Master's thesis. Other students from my master's program challenged my choice of internship, arguing that Canada is not a developing country. According to Contenta and Rankin (2008), however, among 26 developed countries, Canada's child poverty rate ranks nineteenth, with thirteen per cent of Canadian children living below the Statistics Canada low-income cut-off. Despite economic growth since the mid 1990s, this is the same rate as 1989 when the Canadian House of Commons committed to eradicating child poverty by 2000. Canada is also unevenly developed, something critical development theory attributes to unequal access and control of economic activities, resources, technologies, and innovations (O'Hearn 2001, 114). This unequal access and control is often related to race and newcomer status. Racialised groups are over represented in Canada's low paying occupations and sectors, and suffer higher unemployment, poverty and social marginalization due to systemic barriers, including racial discrimination (Kim 2007; Galabuzi 2001). Additionally, new immigrant and refugee populations may have large families, no savings, unrecognized or limited skills, and insufficient knowledge of English or French, Canada's two official languages (Bourne 2007, 6). The low income status of many racialised groups leads to a growing tendency towards residential segregation in urban Canada (Galabuzi 2001, 78), resulting in what two interviewed instructors (I1 and I6) referred to as "Third World" in their own backyards.

My internship took place in a Canadian music conservatory's outreach program (OP) which targets some of the city's marginalized neighbourhoods and contributes to community development. Development is conceptualized here following Amartya Sen (1999) who views development as a process of expanding and integrating economic, social and political freedoms in order to build human capabilities. The goal, as Sen sees it, is to enhance and enrich the lives that people value and lead, and the freedoms that they enjoy. He suggests that it should be viewed as the eradication of the major sources of "unfreedom," including poor economic prospects, inefficient public facilities, social

deprivation, and tyranny. In Sen's view, enhancing human freedom is both the goal and primary means of development. This view of poverty has been adopted by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development-Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC) in its multidimensional approach. Poverty, it says, is the exclusion from socially adequate living standards and deprivations of a range of human capabilities broken into five groups. Economic capabilities concern factors such as income, consumption, property, livelihoods, and securing decent work; human capabilities deal with health, hunger and education; political capabilities include empowerment, rights, and voice; socio-cultural capabilities relate to status and dignity; and the final capability is security. All of these capabilities are considered in the context of gender and environmental sustainability (OECD 2001, 4, 9; Wiman 2007).

Both development through music education and development in music education are themes of this research. Development and international cooperation has become an essential part of the Music Department at the University of Jyväskylä. Examples of such cooperation include The State Theatre Education Program which teaches western orchestral instruments to disadvantaged South African children and youth (van Niekerk and Salminen 2008), and other similar outreach programs in South Africa. The National System of Youth and Children's Orchestras of Venezuela, also known as El Sistema, is committed to social development through orchestral and choral music education. Music programs are also being used in Brazil, to tackle inequality and social exclusion of people in underserved communities (Kleber 2006); in Israel, for social cohesion in a divided community (Lichtensztajn 2006), to rehabilitate homeless street youth, and to support high school students with learning and emotional problems (Sandbank 2006); and in South Africa, for juvenile offenders as a diversion from crime and for reintegration into society (Woodward et al. 2008). These music education programs focus on a wide range of musical activities including playing instruments, for example in an African marimba and djembe ensemble or drumming group, singing, dancing, performing, composing and listening to live music. They are run by all levels of society, including non-governmental organizations (Kleber 2006), community programs (Lichtensztajn 2006), community collaboration between universities and various organizations (Woodward et al. 2008), and government ministries and bodies (Sandbank 2006; Fesnojiv).

OP, the focus of this study, grew out of a three-year grant to develop a comprehensive outreach program based on community consultation and to initiate a process of institutional change within MC. The major goal was to reduce the social, cultural, economic, and geographic barriers to music education faced by marginalized children, youth and seniors. The goals, as stated in OP's 2008 final report to funders, were to:

- Make music accessible in communities that are most in need
- Embrace diversity by providing programs that reflect many musical styles and cultural traditions
- Work in partnership with grass-roots organizations to achieve social change
- Offer high quality programs at no cost
- Empower youth by providing them with outlets for creativity and self-expression
- Research and document the effect of the programs to encourage advocacy for the creation and funding of community arts programs nationwide

1.1 Barriers to music education

Canada's uneven development is reflected in the country's music education. The exclusion from socially adequate living standards and deprivations of economic, human, political, socio-cultural and security capabilities within the country can not only lead to barriers in Canadian music education. Music education itself can also help to perpetuate these deprivations. Unequal access and how and what musics are taught are the biggest problems in Canadian music education today.

As a music teacher, my students have overwhelmingly been students of privilege. I have taught music in a community music school and music conservatory in Canada, and an international school in Egypt where the high cost of tuition excludes the majority from participation. There is, however, an underlying assumption within the Canadian music education paradigm today that to seriously develop proficiency in music making requires music lessons outside of school (Bartel 2004, xii). Because music instruction is expensive, children from lower socio-economic backgrounds lack the financial support needed to engage in musical activities, making them less likely to develop positive attitudes towards music (Lamont 2002, 54). This is even more important when considered in light of Alexandra Lamont's (2002) findings that children who do not take music lessons outside of school are less likely to consider themselves musicians (49).

Traditional teaching methods also create a barrier within Canadian music education. Bartel and Cameron (2004) suggest that the choices music teachers make determine whether children's experiences in music are motivating and positively transformative or debilitating and alienating (40). Within schools and conservatories in Canada, the focus is usually on developing performance ability through a rehearsal model that is possibly the most teacher directed aspect of schooling, with the teacher-conductor controlling the ensemble, and diagnosing and correcting problems to prepare for a perfect performance (Bartel 2004, xii, xiv). Teachout (2007) explains how the current nature of formal music education is largely a result of its history in North American schools. Large ensemble performance accommodated increasing attendance between 1910 and 1940 and the deficit of trained school music teachers led to the hiring of professional performers resulting in a rehearsal and performance based curriculum, which was strengthened by the emergence of music contests (22). Within this model, Bartel and Cameron (2004) identify a conservative Darwinist approach selecting the fittest without wasting resources or time on those unlikely to survive anyway. This results in a "legitimized deprivation" of opportunity for children on the basis of "talent," and music teachers express having no patience for the students who do not practice or those who come unprepared to lessons, believing they have little duty in motivating their students (40, 56).

The forms of music present in the lives of students and in school also appear to be in opposition. Despite 83% of the 7000 elementary school students surveyed in Canada saying that listening to music was the "most favored" after school activity, other statistics in the study by Upitis et al. (2001) led them to explain that it is likely that most students found neither much value in music classes nor wanted more similar musical activity (cited in Peters 2004, 5-6). As described by Peters (2004), the media can be a child's most important music teacher. The media can also be a limiting music teacher as radio and music television often provide access to only a narrow range of musics, or as one OP instructor said, "Because pop radio just refuses to acknowledge other forms" (I7, Individual interview, July 29, 2008). As a result, people are rarely enculturated into classical music as strongly as they are into popular music (Green, 2001 in Peters 2004, 7). The music education paradigm in Canada, however, favours classical music (Bartel 2004, xiv), giving more status to the Western cannon (Veblen

and Beynon 2003, 13). This discrimination against popular music is a trend which can be traced back at least 2500 years in Western culture (Senyshyn 2004, 110). Veblen and Beynon (2003) refer to this open or unintentional favouring of some forms of social experience or voice as "silencing." They explain, "When musics are marginalized or invisible within educational practice, that opportunity to connect with some students is lost" (13-14).

The polarization of popular versus classical music can be viewed as a form of cultural colonialism. This is based on a continuance of ideas of cultural and racial superiority, like that described by Daniélou in 1969 about African music (19). My experiences teaching in Egypt and Kenya have also highlighted this. At the international school in Egypt, I was expected to teach 'Western' musical traditions. When I had the opportunity to volunteer at a girls' secondary school in Kenya, which offered free education to the financially disadvantaged, it was also to teach 'Western' instruments. Bradley (2007) recognizes this trend in the North American music education curricula which she says continues to "validate and recognize particular (white) bodies, to give passing nods to a token few "others," and to invalidate many more through omission...Musical practices from around the world remain marginalized as curricular add-ons, if acknowledged at all" (Bradley 2007, 3).

Another interpretation is the idea of elevation through art which can be explained through Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. This describes how musical taste and competencies translate into social distinctions and class affiliation (Gaztambide-Fernández in press; Schmidt 2005; Green 2003; Mueller 2002; Burr 1995). Bartel and Cameron (2004) use the example of urban North American students learning to play classical music on, what they refer to as "the most symbolic instrument of elitist European art, the violin" (46) as an example of elevation through art, cultural progress, and becoming worthy of respect. Comparing learning Western classical music to learning Latin or Shakespeare, or changing from a regional dialect or accent to a dominant language and pronunciations, Bartel and Cameron (2004) argue that music is valued for its utility rather than merely for its enjoyment or functionality (46). In this way, musical consumption is regarded within Western culture as personal and as an important way for us to define ourselves and others (Dibben 2002, 123).

The economic, societal, cultural, institutional, and psychological barriers to music education so far discussed as well as issues of ethnicity, race, gender, sexual orientation, age, language, and physical and personal characteristics challenge our rights to fully develop our musical potential through accessible music education (Jorgensen 2007, 169). Another challenge to access is location, as music programs are offered in some places and not others (Veblen in review). Disadvantage in music education is multi-dimensional; and a result of an uneven concentration of music capital across social difference (Sotomayor and Kim 2009).

1.2 The need for greater accessibility

Article 27 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations 1948) states that, "Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits." Similarly, Veblen (in review) argues, "Music education is about *access* and every Canadian has the right to a comprehensive, sequenced, and excellent education in and through music" (italics in original). The realities of formal, public music education and of community music programs, unfortunately, fall short of this goal causing Veblen to ask, "how can we make connections and structures so that all Canadians of all ages and circumstance can learn and make music in ways that are meaningful and fulfilling to them?"

This case study examines Veblen's question on a small scale, using the case of a music conservatory which has recently begun offering an outreach music program within the community. The program asks not "Should music making be accessible to marginalized populations and to those who can't afford to pay?" (Veblen in review) but rather, *How* can music making be made accessible to these populations? This question is considered in terms of both how programs are administered and how they are taught.

Reminiscent of international development aid, issues of access and equity within music schools and conservatories in North America have most often been addressed through a charity model, involving fundraising concerts (Bradley 2007) and donating bursaries and scholarships to a small number of students in financial need (Sotomayor and Kim 2009). This charity model has been critiqued (see Sotomayor and

Kim 2009; Bradley 2007; Vaugeois 2007) for over-simplifying the problems and causes of social disadvantages in music education and for failing to challenge the status quo in music education and the many different dimensions of inequity existent in music education (Bradley 2007; Sotomayor and Kim 2009). Furthermore, a charity model risks invoking a passing sense of pity among those more privileged (Sotomayor and Kim 2009) or making the fundraising participants and donors feel good, while maintaining and strengthening an unacknowledged and unquestioned hierarchical relationship of the superior donor elevating an inferior, underprivileged, underdeveloped receiver: the "lesser Other" (Vaugeois 2007, 1, 4; Bradley 2007, 2). As a result, Bradley (2007) argues that no far-reaching change is created through the charity model that would eliminate or at least diminish the need for the existence of such charitable organizations (2). As an alternative to the charity model, in 2003 MC began prioritizing outreach and partnerships with community-based organizations. OP music classes are offered at no cost with(in) community organizations in marginalized neighbourhoods, require no previous musical experience, and provide the participants with the necessary instruments and materials.

OP also carries out critical research including participatory research for program design and evaluation, and an ongoing literature review, including literature on critical pedagogy and critical music education. Abrahams (2005c), one of the researchers currently applying critical pedagogy to music education, outlines five key principles of critical pedagogy. First, that education is a conversation in which teachers and students identify and solve problems together; second, that the goal of teaching and learning is to give rise to change in how students and teachers perceive the world; third, that education is empowering; fourth, that it is transformative, causing a change in student and teacher perceptions; finally, that education is political due to issues of power and control in the classroom, school and community (64). Abrahams (2005c) believes that critical pedagogy encourages music teachers to understand students' music as important and necessary, and that it can challenge students' and teachers' stereotypes about certain musics and musicians, by placing music in social, political and cultural context (63). As a teaching approach, critical pedagogy allows OP to offer non-traditional teaching methods in their classes and critical pedagogy is in line with their

purpose of changing the dominant charity model approach to outreach work traditionally used by arts institutions.

1.3 Rationale for the study and research questions

The Canadian Commission for UNESCO (2006, 11) identified a need for more Canadian research in arts education. Some specific research areas included in the report are investigated in this thesis, including examining what children are learning in arts education; how to teach creativity; teacher practices in arts education; best practices; and alternative models for arts education. This inquiry also fits into the current research in and arising from authors like those in *Questioning the Music Education Paradigm* edited by Bartel (2004), and followed by *Exploring Social Justice: How Music Education Might Matter* edited by Gould et al. (2009). Furthermore, as a study in a community music school's outreach program, it adds to the recent increase of scholarly interest in community music (CM) and corresponds to many of the eleven possibilities for research opportunities in CM identified by Veblen and Olsson (2002, 742-3). Finally, since the outreach programs in this study are offered in low-income, underserved neighbourhoods which are often stigmatized, it adds to the limited number of studies identified by Schmidt (2005, 1-2), examining music education and music teaching-learning pedagogy as a type of pedagogy of emancipation (see Abrahams 2004, 2005a; Allsup 2004; Regelski 2004, 2005; and Lamb 1996).

This study also has personal significance. Living in Egypt opened my eyes to the poverty in which many Egyptians live, while my sister's work teaching in schools in marginalized neighbourhoods in Canada taught me about the realities of poverty at home. Studying Development and International Cooperation came out of my resulting need to build knowledge and skills with which to work towards promoting social justice and social change. Music and teaching music has played a large role in who I am since high school, however this thesis has allowed me to explore and question the meaning and purpose of music. Finally, undertaking the research in OP provided me with an opportunity to give back at home and has been a valuable form of professional development shaping my practice and understandings.

The research questions have arisen from the literature, my initial experiences as an intern in the music conservatory's outreach program, and my previous background and experiences as a music teacher. The first three questions that this thesis aims to contribute answers to are:

1. *Why do participants and instructors want to learn, teach and make music?*
2. *What and how do participants and instructors learn through their experiences in community music outreach programs?*
3. *What kinds of change do participants and instructors perceive in themselves based on their experiences in community music outreach programs?*

These research questions are approached in the research primarily through fourteen interviews, seven with OP participants and seven with OP instructors, but also through participant observation from June to August 2008.

For the final research question, I view myself as a research participant. I am interested in examining my experiences as a 'school teacher' teaching in an outreach music program for the first time, and the influence of these experiences on my ideas about teaching music in formal and nonformal environments and their implications for my future teaching practice. As a result, participant observation and my research journal are important sources of data to answer the final question:

4. *What can an educator with formal school-based experience learn from a community music outreach program?*

This inquiry is of great personal interest to me as part of my journey to becoming a better educator. It forms a unique contribution to the literature because my reflections and interpretations are from the point of view of a school teacher's first experience in an outreach music program which provides an important perspective. Additionally, it is of interest to the field of development and international cooperation, because it is conducted in a "Third World" part of a developed country.

1.4 Overview of the thesis

This thesis presents my journey to Canada, where I became an educator-researcher in a music conservatory's outreach program during the Summer of 2008. In this chapter, I have explained the rationale for selecting this space both for my internship and thesis

inquiry by examining some of the relevant problems and challenges concerning unequal access and control in Canadian music education. In Chapter 2, I paint a picture of the research context, describing music education in Canada, the institution, program and participants that form the focus of this thesis. In Chapter 3, the research methods used are described in detail. These include participant observation, semi-structured individual interviews, and content analysis of the interview transcriptions and my educator-researcher's field journal. In Chapter 4 the findings are discussed in detail and in dialogue with the literature. The themes that emerge are the meanings and functions of music, the means of teaching and learning, and the changes participants identified in themselves as a result of their experiences in the program. These include changes in how they view themselves, their abilities and their goals for the future and changes in how they see and relate to others. The final chapter, Chapter 5, reflects on the issues arising from the study to examine the relevance of programs like OP.

2 BREAKING DOWN BARRIERS: A CASE STUDY

Within a short time of beginning my internship, I realized that I wanted it to become the case study for my thesis inquiry. OP is very much in line with the kind of work that I want to be involved in, so I found that I was naturally asking questions because I felt that there was much for me to learn. That OP is based in my home country further interested me as I could gain a deeper understanding of the development sector in Canada while also giving back. With the support of my internship supervisor and the institution, I became an educator-researcher in the outreach program (OP) of a music conservatory (MC) in a large Canadian city. To provide a richer context for this study, music education in Canada is described before the details about the institution, program and research participants are presented. The city and institution will not be identified to protect the anonymity of the research participants, nor will MC's website or the 2008 final report to funders used as references in the description that follows.

2.1 Music education spaces in Canada

Music learning occurs through informal, formal and nonformal education. Informal music education includes the unplanned and unorganized learning in non-institutional settings and occurs, for example, in families when parents sing to their children, or through listening to the radio and watching television. Formal music education is that which occurs in schools, from primary schools to colleges and universities. Nonformal education is the intentional and systematic instruction of music outside the formal school system (see Etllng 1993).

A significant source of informal music learning is the media. In fact, Peters (2004) describes the media as children's first music teacher and possibly their most important one because of the integral role media plays in our lives (3). An examination of media's "curriculum," reveals a hegemony of capitalism and corporations in popular culture encouraging consumerism, utilitarianism and individualism. Walt Disney's music and the music in advertising for children, for example, help construct a model of childhood for their corporations' self-interest (Kasturi 2002, 40, 50). Kincheloe (2002) further describes the producers of this "kinderculture" as having developed increasingly

sophisticated ways to colonize children's conscious and unconscious desires (92).

Formal music education in Canadian schools is part of government funded public education. Because education in Canada is legislated provincially, ministries or departments of education establish localized curricula, policies and guidelines, resulting in thirteen different and legally separate systems of education in Canada. In their paper, *Negotiating Terms of Diversity in Canadian Music Education*, Kari Veblen and Carol Beynon (2003) provide an overview of the similarities and differences in music education across the country. They describe how, at the primary level, music is taught in most provinces by the classroom teacher and it is highly likely that some classrooms have no music at all or music only to the extent that the teacher is comfortable. Additionally, music education varies even from school to school in the same city due to the combination of community, teachers, parents, administrators and school board members. Schools in more affluent neighbourhoods also tend to have more resources, including instruments and music for ensembles and choirs (12). In the same way, Willingham and Cutler (2005) note how arts education in schools is often limited by their human and material resources. They worry that students are failing to reach their creative and artistic potential because music is often taught by under-qualified teachers or secondary teachers teaching some music classes to fill their timetable. "Teachers are needed," they state, "who bring a balance of competence, confidence, and courage, all supported by a strong calling to teach children and young people, in order to have healthy and vibrant music in our schools" (Willingham and Cutler 2005, paragraph 12).

These problems may be related to Elizabeth Gould's (2004) observation that the place of music in public school curricula in Canada has been in doubt since it was first introduced in the nineteenth century (296). She also explains how, to counter this, philosophy in North American education has been used for the past 35 years primarily to advocate for and justify music in schools (290). At the same time, the case for formal music education has been supported by referring to extensive research literature describing music as a universal and necessary human behaviour (see for example Cross 2007; Campbell and Kassner 2006; Elliott 2005 and 1995; Bartel and Cameron 2004; Peters 2004; Hargreaves et al. 2002; Campbell and Scott-Kassner 1995; Csikszentmihalyi 1990; Gardner 1983; Blacking 1973; Merriam 1964).

Community Music (CM) is nonformal music education. The International Journal of Community Music (www.intljcm.com) suggests an open concept of Community Music as music teaching-learning outside and/or in relation to traditional music institutions like universities, schools, and conservatories. Community music can therefore take many forms depending on the people, communities, and institutions involved; the aims, purposes or needs of the program; the relationships between the program and its geographical, social, economic, religious, cultural, and/or historic circumstances; and the financial support it does or does not receive. As nonformal music education, Community Music can complement and support, interface with, and extend formal music education by being responsive to such issues as school systems' limitations. Veblen (in review) argues that CM is not, however, in competition with schools and cannot, will not, and should not save or replace school based music education (234; Canadian Commission for UNESCO 2006, 14; ISME-CMA).

Community Music in Canada has been classified into nine types by Veblen (in review). These include Community Music Schools; CM performance organizations which promote a variety of performance ensembles; immigrant and indigenous First Nations' groups not only preserving traditions but also adopting, improvising, recreating, or inventing them; groups sponsoring space and place like coffeehouses, "open-mic" nights, and drop-in jam sessions; festival gatherings; religious-based community music; associative community music linking nonprofit and professional organizations and schools, for example; outreach initiatives with schools and universities in schools, hospitals, seniors' centres, and early childhood centres, sponsoring local events, or collaborations with community music groups; and informal, affinity groups including cyber groups and new ways and reasons of and for music making (230-3). The federal Canadian and provincial governments provide minimal support for arts programs through grants and awards making Community Music groups predominantly self-funding, operating as non-profit organizations supported by participant-paid fees and volunteers (Veblen in review, 233).

Community Music (CM) activities are often based on the belief that everyone has the right and ability to make, create, and enjoy their own music, and that active music-making should be supported and encouraged at all levels of society and ages (Veblen and Olsson 2002, 730; ISME-CMA). CM understands creativity as essential to

realizing human potential, and enabling greater participation in society and better citizenship (Higgins 2006, 6). Goals of Community Music, therefore, sometimes include social factors including community building, self-expression, identity, awareness of national heritage, group solidarity, networking, bonding, consciousness raising, and healing (Veblen in review, 228). According to the vision of the Commission for Community Music Activity of the International Society for Music Education (ISME-CMA), established in 1984, CM activities, not only involve participants in music-making and opportunities to pursue musical excellence and innovation. They also provide opportunities to construct personal and communal expressions of artistic, social, political, and cultural concerns. The ISME-CMA also recognizes how CM activities can lead to economic regeneration and enhance communities' quality of life, and empower and encourage participants to become agents for expanding and developing music in their communities (ISME-CMA). Higgins (2006) describes these ideals of community music practice as also including unconditional hospitality, democratic musical practice, and promoting openness, diversity, freedom, tolerance, and a commitment to access and equality of opportunity (Higgins 2006, 6). Despite these ideals, Veblen and Olsson (2002) recognize issues of access, participation and equity as key emergent themes in Community Music (736). Like formal and nonformal music education in Canada, CM is not immune to economic, societal, cultural, institutional, and psychological barriers and issues of power; including race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, age, language, location, and physical and personal characteristics.

2.2 Outreach as a catalyst for institutional change

MC is a community music school for students of all ages and ability levels known for providing high quality and expensive music education. As a traditional music institution, MC has participated in reproducing social disadvantages in music education. By conserving and promoting the European classical music cannon in Canada, for example, MC determines whose music is appropriate for educational purposes, and therefore superior, who becomes musicians, how music is taught privately and in schools, and how music and musicians are assessed and evaluated (Sotomayor and Kim 2009; Gaztambide-Fernandez 2008, 242; Bradley 2007, 148-9). Additionally, like many

community music schools, the high cost of instruction makes music lessons at MC accessible only to the privileged (Veblen in review, 230).

Equity and access concerns in MC, like most conservatories and music schools in North America, have historically been addressed following a charity model. Scholarships are offered to skilled and promising students in financial need and bursaries are offered for individuals who cannot afford to pay, regardless of prior musical experience or talent. Beginning in 2003, however, MC began to prioritize outreach and partnerships with community-based organizations. The goals of this Outreach Program (OP) were to initiate a process of institutional change within MC, and to reduce geographic, cultural, economic, and social barriers to music education faced by marginalized communities, therefore enhancing diversity and equity within MC and increasing its capacity to serve and be relevant to the city's increasingly diverse population. To work towards these goals, OP offers free music classes in low-income, underserved neighbourhoods with funding from Canadian governmental foundations and private donors. Group music classes are held with(in) community-based partner organizations with support staff. OP does not require participants to have prior musical experience, instruments, equipment, or particular skills. Principles of Participatory Action Research, including community consultations, forums and focus groups, help OP guide program development, delivery and evaluation. The programs offered by OP since its inception have included: DJ techniques, MC-ing, Hip Hop, singing and song writing, music production, African drumming, steel pan band, samba ensemble, Taiko drumming, classical guitar, preparatory music, eurhythmics, seniors singing, and musical theatre camps.

It is beyond the scope of this research to examine the issues surrounding the process of institutional change at MC. One instructor, however, described at length the complexity of MC, which he described as a traditionally elitist and racialized (white middle class) institution, finally recognizing and validating other forms of art and now also competing for youth development funding. This interview excerpt can be found in Appendix 3 (p. 95). Gallagher (2007) argues that institutions have limitations to any ideas of real empowerment since they are all ultimately interested in self-preservation (174). Also of interest regarding MC's process of institutional change, is Sotomayor and Kim's (2009) chapter, *Initiating Social Change in a Conservatory of Music:*

Possibilities and Limitations of Community Outreach Work in Gould et al.'s *Exploring Social Justice: How Music Education Might Matter*, a chapter which was also written about MC.

2.3 The Youth Internship Program

As part of my internship with MC, I contributed to OP and the Youth Internship Program (YIP) in particular, in a planning, research and teaching capacity. YIP was a program that developed out of OP participant demand and interest, and ran for the first time during July 2008. It was the only OP program running during that time. YIP is funded by a three-year (2007-2010) government grant, the goal of which is to invest in youth ages 11-24 living in the city's underserved, marginalized neighbourhoods. Detailed demographic information from Statistics Canada (2006) about the three low-income neighbourhoods in which YIP interns live is available in Appendix 4 (p. 96). This information shows that 77.2-86.6% of those living in these three neighbourhoods are visible minorities, and 11.3-23% immigrated within the five years prior to the census, confirming that race and recent immigrant status in this Canadian city are related to poverty.

Ten interns between the ages of 13 and 21 from various OP music programmes were identified and recruited by OP staff and music instructors, and staff from community partners, as potential 'project youth leaders'. The selected interns had regularly demonstrated dedication, commitment, potential, and interest in developing their musicianship and leadership skills throughout their participation in OP. YIP was co-created and designed with and for these interns through questions on the registration form and planning meetings. Ongoing feedback from the interns (oral, anonymously written, end of program discussions and student created surveys) allowed the instructors to adapt the program accordingly. The three main goals of YIP, as listed in the program description, were to:

- Meet the musical needs and interests of project youth leaders that are not met during the year-round OP programming
- Provide professional development and job opportunities for youth in the fields of music and community-based research and youth outreach programming
- Engage and involve youth in OP, research, program planning and evaluation activities

Unlike many other OP programs that take place in various social service agencies in underserved neighbourhoods, YIP took place at MC and therefore was able to make use of MC's full resources, including professional studios and a keyboard lab (see Photo 4). As a result, interns' travel time from home to the program varied from one to two hours each way.

The interns' official job title was OP Project Youth Leaders' Intern and they reported to MC's administrative coordinator. Their duties, as listed in the job/internship description included:

- Participating in all internship activities (see daily schedule)
- Assisting in the creation of media materials (music, video, print) for the project
- Assisting in the development of questions/guides to be used for youth consultations, individual interviews and focus groups with OP program participants
- Assisting with program evaluation and planning activities of the OP project
- Assisting with the recording of individual interviews and focus groups
- Participating in regular meetings
- Other duties as assigned from time to time

The work schedule was Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays from 11:00 to 17:00 except during the last week when classes were held every weekday. In total, classes ran on 15 days and culminated with a concert (see Photo 1) and recording. The daily schedule was as follows:

11:00 - 12:00 Applied Music Theory
12:00 - 13:00 Social History of Music
13:00 - 13.30 Lunch (provided)
13:30 - 14:30 Introduction to Logic Studio Pro
14:30 - 16:00 Breakout Sessions
16:00 - 17:00 Research Methods

PHOTO 1. YIP interns performing in the final concert.

In addition, interns were expected to work on their projects outside YIP up to 3.75 hours per week to a maximum of 18.75 hours. The hourly pay was 9.88 CAD per hour, which is higher than the current minimum wage (8.20-8.75 CAD/hour), making the total value of the internship approximately 1,000 CAD (based on a maximum total of 101.25 hours). Interns were provided with contracts and had to

complete time sheets. YIP thus provided them with work experience for their CVs/ resumés and allowed them to participate without having to choose between YIP and summer employment. An added benefit of this was also developing or increasing parental support for those interns whose parents do not value their child's interest in music. As one YIP intern told me,

> *Getting paid is actually the reason why I was allowed to participate in the internship, because that was basically my excuse for being there. My parents would have never allowed me to be in it otherwise. I was a little too young to get a part-time job at that time, so I just told my parents that I wouldn't be able to get it anywhere else, and it's always good to have some extra money. That did the trick. (e-mail from YIP intern, September 10, 2009)*

To meet the first of YIP's goals, Applied Music Theory, Introduction to Logic Studio Pro and Breakout Sessions were included to develop the interns' musical skills and knowledge and contribute to their music making. The Applied Music Theory took place in a keyboard lab so that each intern had their own keyboard on which to practice and experiment with the topics we were covering. These topics included learning to read music and build and play scales and chords on the piano. The Introduction to Logic Studio Pro was held in professional studios and the interns learned skills including voice and sample

PHOTOS 2 and 3. YIP interns working in the studio on a voice recording (left) and music production (right).

recording, editing, mixing, mastering, multi-track sequencing, and live sound reinforcement (see Photos 2 and 3). The Breakout Sessions provided interns with time to develop their main musical interests (singing, emceeing and music production) and later collaborate in groups. A weekly master class also provided opportunities for solo performance practice and feedback from instructors and peers. The interns worked in two groups of five, which were formed with an effort to provide opportunities to work with people they had not worked with before in other OP programs.

The Social History of Music class was a place to examine the origins and social issues surrounding popular musics. The interns did research and made short presentations on the Blues, Swing, Be Bop, Soul, Funk, Reggae, R&B, Hip Hop, and beyond Hip Hop and the class provided a forum to think critically and discuss related

topics like culture, race, colonialism, space and hegemony. One debate topic, for example, was "Race is the product of history and nothing to do with skin tone/colour."

The second and third goals of YIP were addressed in the Research Methods class. This class provided the interns with skills and training to take on some of the research, program planning and evaluation responsibilities of OP. The class included role play, learning and practicing interview and participant observation skills, and discussions and debates. During discussions in the Social History and Research Methods classes, we took notes on chart paper which

PHOTO 4. Main room used for Social History of Music, Lunch, Breakout Sessions and Research Methods

I then photographed. As interns became more comfortable we began to use a digital recorder rather than taking notes. With this training as professional development, OP planned to provide interns with the opportunity to work as 'Project Youth Leaders' from August 2008 until the end of the project (December 31, 2009) and assist project staff on various outreach and research activities such as youth consultations; interviews and focus groups; and other program planning and evaluation activities as well as creating music CDs and organizing music concerts. Project Youth Leaders would be compensated in the form of honoraria ranging from 25 CAD to 75 CAD per event, depending on the nature and time of the work involved. As a result, YIP challenged the trend in the development sector of keeping these research and evaluation skills within a select few, namely adults and program organizers.

Classes were taught by professional musician/artist mentors. I co-taught YIP's Applied Music Theory and Research Methods classes. The instructor with whom I co-taught Applied Music Theory was one of the vocal coaches. Both vocal coaches, were studying vocal performance in a professional music school, and have extensive experience as opera and concert singers. I co-taught Research Methods with the instructor who also taught the Social History of Music course. He came to Canada from South Africa to study for his Master's degree in social anthropology, with his research area focusing on the intersection between hip hop, activism and pedagogy. In South Africa, he was involved for over a decade in one of the first hip hop groups to have the

opportunity to record. In addition to performance and music production experience, he has taught, or "shared" his experience in radio production and writing techniques; used music to mobilize and educate people around issues such as workers rights, anti-sexism, anti-racism, and voter education Post-Apartheid; and done so in spaces including schools, prisons and community centres in countries including South Africa, Northern Ireland, Angola, Norway and the Netherlands. Introduction to Logic Studio Pro and Music Production was taught by the Artistic Director of a local non-profit organization that produces installations and performances comprising the full spectrum of electroacoustic and experimental sound art and aims to promote awareness and understanding in the cultural vitality of experimental sound art in its many forms of expression. He is a soundscape composer, radio artist, sound designer and concert producer who studied electroacoustic composition and has written articles about listening and environmental sounds as well as CD, concert and book reviews. This eclectic group of teachers allowed us to support each other and our different strengths so that no one person needed to know everything.

2.4 The OP participants

Of the seven participants interviewed about their experiences with OP, six were YIP interns. The seventh had been selected to participate in YIP but could not due to other obligations. Because YIP was such an intense program, it would have been preferable to interview the participants once the program had finished. It takes time to process the meaning of and reflect upon any experience, and the interns I interviewed earliest may have had different answers to my questions closer to the end of the program. As I was leaving the country soon after the program's conclusion, however, I could only wait until the last two weeks of YIP, in which we met eight days. This gave us three weeks to build a more trusting and comfortable relationship, and allowed the interns to learn about and be able to think critically about what I was doing through their Research Methods course. Waiting any longer would have meant that even fewer interns were interviewed because of time constraints.

In this thesis I refer to the OP participants as P (participant) followed by a number, for example P1 (participant one). Three participants were female and four

male. They ranged in age from 13 to 21 and one had just finished primary school, one was in and two had just finished secondary school, two were in college and one was in university. In Table 1 the pseudonyms, sex, and age of the interns are presented because the age range is so wide that it may affect interns' responses. To maintain anonymity, however, additional descriptive information is not associated with their pseudonyms.

TABLE 1. Interviewed OP participants

Pseudonym	Sex	Age
P1	Female	18
P2	Female	21
P3	Female	19
P4	Male	19
P5	Male	20
P6	Male	13
P7	Male	19

The first question I posed in the interviews was, How would you describe yourself? To this they replied:

- *Music student, writer*

- *A short, brown, skinny musician*

- *A ball of energy, a positive person with an honest and sincere outlook*

- *Not judgmental, open-minded*

- *A fun-loving person who enjoys life*

- *"Young, ambitious...I'm just trying to stay focussed, and accomplish something with life."*

- *"A young male that would like to achieve a lot of goals. I would not want to fall into a stereotype or classification, because I believe that everyone is different in their own way and when you classify people it doesn't let you see the individual themselves, you just see the group and you don't see them themselves. So I wouldn't want to classify myself into any specific group or anything."*

One OP participant came to YIP from Centre A, four from Centre B, and one from Centre C. The seventh participant first got involved as a volunteer in OP. Centre A and B were added as partners in January 2007, when OP moved outside of the downtown catchment area. These are both community centres run by the city which offer in-kind donations of space. The youth programs offered at Centre A were: Hip-Hop Workshop, Urban Singing/songwriting, Singing/Songwriting & Production, Guitar, MC-ing and DJ-ing. At Centre B the youth programs were: Hip-Hop Workshop, Urban Singing/ Songwriting, and Taiko Drumming. Both centres also offered Eurhythmics for children. Centre C is a non-profit organization that provides opportunities to explore multi-media experiences to youth in its community through programs including radio broadcast, music production and web design. Its vision is to connect the community by building relationships through information and technology. Centre C became a partner in March 2008 with a two month pilot program focusing on music production, radio and song/ creative writing. OP also offered a Music and Video Production class at MC in which three interviewed OP participants participated. Along with this, one interviewed OP youth had been hired as an assistant for his centre to carry out tasks such as helping with setting up for programs, tracking attendance and keeping weekly reports. Interestingly, many of the interviewed OP participants did not take music in high school and this was either because there were no classes to take, the kind of music making in the classes did not interest them or because the music making was of a low quality.

Readers unfamiliar with Canada's multicultural society may be interested in further background information about the OP participants. I include this reluctantly, because I do not want to apply labels to people with which they do not identify or that have been stigmatized. In an early focus group discussion, for example, one intern complained about labels and stereotypes and described how it felt to overhear someone describing her building complex to a group as "home to a large number of immigrants" (Field notes, July 8, 2008). As a result I have taken the following information from a focus group discussion (July 24, 2008) and asked for permission and verification from the interns before using it here. Four participants were born in Canada, one in France, one in India but lived in Kenya before moving to Canada, and one in the Philippines. The participants born outside Canada have lived in Canada since 1995,

2005 and 2007. The participants' parents were from Canada (1), Guyana and St. Vincent (1), India (1), Jamaica (1), Pakistan (1), Philippines (1), and Sri Lanka (1).

2.5 The instructors

My internship supervisor provided me with a list of names of OP instructors and I contacted them with an e-mail requesting interviews. The e-mail explained the purpose of the study and contained the information letter and consent form, a copy of which may be found in Appendix 1 (p. 89). Seven of these nine instructors replied and were interviewed during July 2008. I feel that this was quite a good response, especially since it was during the summer holiday. Additionally, the interviewed instructors all welcomed continued e-mail communication.

As with the participants, I refer to the instructors as I (instructor) followed by a number. Three instructors were female and four male; five taught in programs for youth, one taught early childhood music and another taught a seniors' singing program. In Table 2 the pseudonyms, sex, courses taught and dates instructors began teaching in OP are presented. The youth program instructors include the YIP Social History of Music and Research Methods instructor introduced above (see section 2.3); a rap artist who is president and owner of an independent record label, has released a number of albums, and toured Canada and the United States; a guitarist who composes and performs in a wide variety of styles; the lead singer of a band creating conscious and politically aware music, who grew up singing and dancing traditional Bengali folk music and dance and participated in choirs and bands until high school; and a music producer/engineer and artist whose murals can be found across the city and is certified by the local police for participating in a graffiti eradication program. The early childhood music instructor is a classically trained musician (singer/pianist) with a strong background in traditional folk music, story-telling and dance, who went to Theatre School and is certified in Kodály and Orff pedagogy. The seniors' singing program instructor holds a master's degree in music, has taught in conservatories and public schools, and won awards and scholarships for singing. Five instructors were born in Canada, one in South Africa, and one in Bangladesh. Of those born in Canada, their parents were born in Canada (2), Canada and England (1), Spain and Jamaica (1), and Trinidad and Jamaica (1).

TABLE 2. Interviewed instructors

Pseudonym	Sex	OP course taught	Teaching in OP since
I1	Male	YIP	January 2008
I2	Male	Hip Hop workshop	January 2006
I3	Female	Seniors' singing	September 2005
I4	Male	Guitar	September 2007
I5	Male	Music production	September 2007
I6	Female	Preparatory music	September 2005
I7	Female	Singing and songwriting	July 2007

The instructors' interviews also began with me asking them to describe themselves. They replied:

- *Creative, unique, humble and artistic; a teacher/leader working for the community*

- *"I'm largely self-taught. And yet I've played in many eclectic situations. I play guitar primarily and I play professionally in different situations. Right now I'm playing in a kind of Brazilian jazz duo, doing choros and chorinhos and folk Brazilian music."*

- *"I regard myself as a hip hop enthusiast, a lover of the culture and am certainly a lyricist at heart."*

- *"As a teacher?...Well I am definitely identified with the Orff-Schulwerk specialist, and all of my teaching is informed by the fact that I am an Orff specialist."*

- *"in my perspective, it's the way that I am with people I think that is more important than anything else. If they can come away from their experience with me, with a relationship, that they feel that they've been respected and cared about on all different levels, then I think that that's far, in some ways, far more important than what I'm giving them musically. And especially in terms of doing the outreach programs."*

- *"composer, singer, and I predominantly take part in the band [band name]...We consider ourselves professional artists but we also take part in a lot of community based projects as well as activist and social justice based projects."*

The instructors had different reasons for teaching and for becoming teachers. They all described the enjoyment and satisfaction they got from their work, and I5 described teaching as a way of giving back to his community. For some, like I7, teaching was also a reality of being a musician and the need to support oneself. All instructors also taught outside of OP. The biggest differences they perceived between

the learning spaces in and out of outreach were limited resources, a drop-in tradition, and the students' self-esteem. Instructors described shyness, lack of self-assuredness, and students not feeling like their voices should be heard. As a result instructors tried to use their classes to empower the participants,

> *It's almost less about how creative a song they write and more about trying to empower them, trying to feel more confident about the fact that they have voices. And then working towards creating good pieces of art... It's just basic respect. It's really respecting people's voices. (I7, Individual interview, July 29, 2008)*

3 RESEARCH METHODS

Not knowing that OP would be the case study for my inquiry when I started as an intern allowed me to begin the study with a very open mind and fresh eyes. The nature of the inquiry and the small sample size made quantitative methods unsuitable. Instead, I chose to do a qualitative case study, examining this one program in detail.

A variety of perspectives for the data collection and analysis were used. Since the purpose was to understand the phenomenon of how instructors and participants experience and perceive community music programs, I drew upon ideas of phenomenology in examining music, learning and change (Kvale 1996, 53). My main source of data was in-depth, semi-structured, individual interviews but I also made use of overt participant observation, which according to Becker and Geer (1970), provides "the most complete form" of sociological datum (133 in Patton 2002, 21-22). As a result, my methods were also influenced by ethnography (Kuronen 2008; Gallagher 2007; Yon 2000). Because I spent the first month working in the OP office and the second also teaching in YIP, my research can also be described as practitioner-based research or action research. In education, this form of research is primarily concerned with activity and change and the goal of improving human welfare (Gallagher 2007, 55).

In the section below I describe my methods as well as the transcription and analysis process as fully as possible (Kvale 1996, 209) to enable the reader to judge both the reliability and validity of this study for themselves. Like Kvale (1996), I conceive validity as the quality of craftsmanship during investigation, continually checking, questioning, and theoretically interpreting the findings; communication, that it is always possible to argue for or against an interpretation; and action, an emphasis on instigating change (Kvale 1996, 241- 251).

3.1 The author's lenses

The purpose of this section is to describe the "unconscious, experiential and biographical baggage" that I brought to the study (Cohen et al. 2007, 150). I am both a musician and a teacher trained in the Canadian music education system, and my roles as

intern, educator and researcher during this research give me a variety of different motives.

I am a musician. I began playing the trumpet in sixth grade because learning to play a band instrument was a requirement from sixth to eighth grade in my elementary school. Previously I had no musical training. I chose to audition for a high school with a special arts program and majored in music, not so much because of a love of music, but out of a desire for change and to be part of a new community of learners,

> *I realized today that by breaking free from the schoolmates I had been with from grade 1-8 and not continuing with them at the local high school I was choosing to give myself a new space in which to re-create my identity. Music was my tool for escape as it gave me a ticket to enter a school environment different from what I had experienced and what I expected to experience at the local school. My fresh start gave me an environment where, because nobody already knew me, I could decide how I wanted to be seen. (Field notes, July 3, 2008)*

During my last year of high school, I began taking private trumpet lessons to prepare for university auditions. I earned my Bachelor of Music degree in Music Education followed by my Bachelor of Education degree in Primary/Junior Education (elementary school). All of this education was in Canada. Additionally, I have played or sung in community music ensembles in Canada, Egypt and Finland.

I am a teacher. During university I volunteered in a music program in a public middle school (grades 6 to 8) and worked in a community music school teaching group and private piano and private trumpet lessons. After completing university I taught for four years before beginning my master's. I taught kindergarten to grade 6 music in an international school in Egypt, English as a second language in a public school in Finland, and was a classroom teacher in an international school in Finland. These teaching experiences have also presented me with the challenges of being a visual and religious minority and having to learn new languages and alphabets, thus increasing my respect and empathy for immigrants.

My motives in this research come from my roles as intern, educator and researcher. As an intern, my motives were to learn as much as possible from OP both through the work I was doing for OP and the experiences I was having there. Being an educator, and co-teaching the Applied Music Theory and Research Methods classes, was part of my job as an intern. In this role, my goal was to share my knowledge and experiences with the interns to help them grow as musicians, researchers and critical

thinkers. Prior to my experiences with OP I knew very little about urban music, especially Hip Hop. I had never learned to make beats or emcee and had not written poetry since high school. As an educator, this limited knowledge was both a disadvantage and an advantage. It was a disadvantage because it often made me feel like I had little to share with the interns, but it was an advantage as it allowed me to learn with and from them.

My role as researcher was both part of and independent from my role as intern, and the line between the two was often ambiguous. Many of my research responsibilities in OP were selected by my internship supervisor to support my learning. The work I did for OP's literature review, visiting programs, program planning and evaluation, and organizing and compiling earlier surveys, for example, supported my thesis research by providing me with more lived experience and knowledge of OP in general and exposure to research literature in community development and music education. My thesis research was, however, made independent of my internship to further ensure that the participants and instructors did not feel any obligation to participate. This was also explained in the letter of consent (see Appendix 1, p. 89). MC has been supportive of my work and I have promised them a copy of the completed thesis.

The ethical challenges of being educator-researcher have been many. My varied roles meant that I was not neutral, and therefore had to rely on constant reflection. This reflection included considering the ways my being educator-researcher, instructor, MA student, school teacher, and 'white' female, for example, may have affected relationships with interviewees or their responses, possibly leading them to answer in a way that they thought I wanted, or just highlighting different aspects of their beliefs. The participants also shared an awareness of this, and one emphasized, "This is one of the best things that has happened to me ever since I got here to Canada, and no I'm not just saying that for interview like stuff" (P1, Individual interview, July 21, 2008). My roles also had accompanying power relations that I needed to be aware of. Judith Stacey (1988) warns of the potential risks for the ethnographer to manipulate or betray the subjects (in Kuronen 2008). I worried that my role as instructor might make the interns feel pressured or obligated to have an interview, so I was perhaps overcautious while asking or reminding them. As a result, one interview was

rescheduled because by the end of the long day of classes and preparation for the final performance he forgot about our meeting until he had already left, and I hesitated to remind him in case he had changed his mind.

I found it much easier to ask the instructors to be interviewed and to interview them than the OP participants. Occasionally, however, my role as researcher or MA student came up, in the form of instructors devaluing their knowledge or experience, for example, "But I've read about other countries, and you're probably better, might have much better knowledge of this" (I3, Individual interview, July 11, 2008). Despite the challenges these multiple roles posed, their strength was in providing me with multiple lenses through which to see and understand both myself, the research participants and the researched phenomenon. I tried to be a "reflexive analyst," continuously weighing the impact of my presence and the research participants' perceptions of me against the usefulness and limitations of the data I collected (Ball 1990, 43 in Gallagher 2007, 57).

3.2 Participant observation

Using participant observation has allowed me to provide a richer description of OP and allowed the participants to be involved in this research. I began this observation and writing field notes on my first day at MC. In the beginning these were hand written in my research journal, a notebook dedicated to my experiences at the internship, but I soon found it easier to use my computer. Field notes and detailed reflections on the research process were written daily, usually as soon as I arrived home after the program so that I could write without interruptions and at length (Bogdan and Biklen 1992, 126-7). They were not completed during the day, as it was distracting to me and the interns to be writing, especially when I was teaching at the same time. Instead, the hand written research journal was kept with me throughout the day for quick notes or ideas I wanted to make sure I remembered. The new skill of keeping a research journal was an ongoing challenge, "It is a struggle to teach the whole day and then sit down to write up some field notes. Now so much time has passed that I wonder about their validity or relevance ... at the same time I don't want to be writing all the time in our classes" (Field notes, July 8, 2008).

I used a narrative style, attempting to describe the people, places and events in as much detail as I could. These included observations from program visits, meetings, interviews, and YIP and I tried to keep my jottings, descriptions, analysis and reflections separate (Kuronen 2008). In writing my observations I was conscious of what Geertz (1973) discusses as turning social discourse from a passing event to an inscribed account which can be consulted again and again (19) and Yon's (2000) description of this as a dilemma of ethnography which arrests the course of events in their normal flow in time (124). Because of my role as educator-researcher, the majority of my participant observation and field notes are from YIP. I have very few thick descriptions of YIP in my research journal, and found it easier to write these in situations where I was a true outsider, visiting new spaces, like the community centres. I did, however, photograph the physical spaces at YIP and the interns working in the studios and performing in the final concert to aid my recall. The majority of my research journal is reflections of what happened in class or during an interview, thoughts about the research process, or lists of interesting questions, themes and issues that emerged. The research journal was also where I took notes from the crash course in Hip Hop culture and history my co-instructor (the Social History of Music and Research Methods instructor) gave to myself and one of the YIP voice instructors. This crash course was important for me in both roles as educator and researcher, since learning the 'language' of the interns helped me better understand the culture (Spurr 1993), develop an appreciation for a music I knew little about before my internship, and prepare the Applied Music Theory course.

In the weeks leading up to YIP, I had already begun collecting data, by reading OP reports, participant surveys and program field notes, visiting programs that were still running, and talking to community partners, all of which I kept track of in my research journal. This initial research and participant observation was valuable in directing my study, establishing research questions, creating the interview guide and reflecting upon ethical issues. Once YIP started I was an active participant, not only teaching and co-teaching classes, but attending classes I was not teaching. When the interns were learning new lyric writing techniques I participated and tried to complete the activities. When we got discussions going, however, I let the interns construct their own knowledge and definitions, without my input, sometimes asking questions to get them

thinking or challenge an idea, but avoiding my own opinions. I admired my co-instructor's skill at this and tried to learn from him. In the end my research journal filled an 80 sheet notebook and 20 single spaced pages of computer files. On two occasions closer to the performance, when I was also trying to squeeze in the last of the interviews, I used my digital recorder rather than write to save time.

3.3 Interviewing

Semi-structured interviews provided the bulk of my data and participant observation helped me plan my interview guides. The interviews took place in a variety of settings: the OP office, practice rooms and studios at MC, inside and outside of a partner community centre, a busy shopping mall food court, a cafe/bar, and over the phone. Each interview space had aspects that proved conducive and challenging. I interviewed my co-instructor first as a 'pilot' interview. This allowed me to practice my interview skills and receive feedback on these skills and the questions. Stylistically, it was recommended that I avoid being so formal at the beginning, but rather start with some casual small talk to build a more comfortable atmosphere. The only change to the interview guide was the omission of one awkwardly worded question about the importance of the instructors' personalities versus the importance of music. The disadvantage of interviewing my co-instructor as a pilot interview meant that he could not reflect on his experiences teaching in YIP, as "a lot of these questions would probably be different at the end of this particular program [YIP]" (I1, Individual interview, July 7, 2008). Unfortunately, time prevented me from interviewing him again once YIP had ended.

The interview guides used for both OP participants and instructor interviews can be found in Appendix 2 (p. 91) and allow the reader to evaluate how the questions may have influenced the findings and their validity. Due to the nature of the interviews, however, I did not always ask all the questions or follow the same order, and I allowed myself to ask new questions that emerged from the interviewees' responses. My goal, which follows a postmodern perspective, was for interviewer and interviewee to engage in conversation as coauthors of knowledge, the decisive issue being where the interview questions should lead as opposed to whether they should lead (Kvale 1996, 158-9).

Some limitations of semi-structured interviews became apparent during the research. For example, when replying to a question such as, "What have you learned through your experiences in OP?" The interviewee does not reply with a complete list of everything that was learned. The first things they mention may be what has been most important for them or simply what came to mind first. Semi-structured interviews also proved to be an inefficient means of gathering contextual information like which OP music programs OP participants had participated in. A brief questionnaire at the beginning of YIP could have more easily gathered such information and allowed the interviews to focus on the most important topics. Similarly, the use of a brief questionnaire both at the beginning and end of YIP would have allowed me to obtain some information for comparison. Another limitation of both interviews and questionnaires is that a researcher can never know to what extent an interviewee's responses are consistent with his or her feelings and behaviours (Gallagher 2007, 128) and it is possible, that knowing that I am a researcher, the interviewee may give responses based on what he or she thinks I want or expect (Yon 2000, 61). Finally, people process their learning in different ways and times. The timing of the interviews may not have allowed the interviewed participants or I1 sufficient time to reflect on their experiences and become conscious of their learning and change.

One thing that surprised me was how interviewees seemed to enjoy being interviewed. Most noticeably in the case of one participant, the experience of interviewing changed our relationship and brought us closer. Perhaps young people do not get listened to enough by someone who sincerely cares about who they are. This is confirmed by "Spivak's (1988) notion of listening to the plural voices of those normally Othered, and hearing them as constructors, agents, and disseminators of knowledge" (in Gallagher 2007, 8). Additionally, Patton (2002) describes how in one of his studies, "the parents and many of the staff were most interested in using the evaluation processes to make themselves heard by those in power. *Being heard* was an end in itself quite separate from use of findings" (98, italics original).

3.4 Transcribing and analysis

Before beginning transcription I had a break of approximately four months. This break proved a valuable step back from my close connection to the program giving me space to process my experiences (Kuronen 2008). The transcription process presented numerous challenges and ethical questions. I used my judgement and made choices on how to transcribe the interviews. Some were transcribed entirely verbatim while others also made use of point form notes. These notes were taken where we went off topic or when answers were long and repetitive. I was careful to periodically write the time so that sections chosen for analysis could be re-listened to and checked for accuracy, as well as things like tone of voice and expression.

I found it challenging to represent what was said in conversation on paper where the nuances of expression and meaning present in spoken language are lost. How could I show the burst of excitement put into a phrase, the slow deliberate formation of an idea, or the quiet sincerity of a belief? At one stage I wished that my thesis could be an interactive product whereby quotes could have a link and be heard as well as be read. Furthermore, something that is said in a very intelligent, thoughtful manner, on paper may appear as unintelligible and disorderly speech, and even suggest a lower level of intellectual functioning (Kvale 1996, 172). To respect the interviewees' voices, I tried to imagine how they would have wanted their statements formulated in writing (Kvale 1996, 170). Another important decision was whether I should censor swear words from the transcriptions. The use of bad language is described by McEnery (2006) as a complex social phenomenon. These words are empowered through a process of stigmatization and cause us to draw inferences about their users (1). Because we agreed when setting up our "ground rules" in YIP that swear words were okay as long as we were not swearing at another person, I kept the transcriptions in the speakers' original words.

In total there were 138 pages of single spaced transcriptions. These transcriptions and the research journal were analyzed for themes using content analysis. Analysis began during the transcribing process, with the many decisions that were made regarding how to transcribe and when reflections on emerging patterns, themes, categories, and relationships were written after transcribing each interview. The

interview guide was then used as a framework for the analysis to create a draft list of codes (Patton 2002, 440). All text in the participant interviews was coded. Anything that really stood out was highlighted in colour. During this process, new themes were discovered and added to the list of codes. Each theme was then gathered into a separate document, where quotes were further organized and reduced, before all themes were compiled into one document. A similar process was followed for the instructor interviews and research journal. Participant, instructor and personal quotes were then compiled into one document but kept in separate sections. This inductive process of reorganizing and condensing themes and returning to transcripts or interview recordings for verification of meaning and context continued through the writing phase always referring back to the research questions. Additionally, I tried to make use of *emic* analysis, by using the interviewees' categories whenever possible (Patton 2002, 454). My greatest challenge was the need to summarize and condense the interview quotations, and the accompanying loss of many individual voices.

3.5 Additional ethical concerns

On the first day of YIP I introduced myself in both roles, as instructor and as researcher, and I read the information letter and consent form (see Appendix 1, p. 89) aloud with the interns to explain the purpose of the study, stopping regularly to answer any questions. It was crucial for me that the consent form was returned by the interns before I began my research, especially the parental consent for those under 18 years of age[1]. Participation in my research was a choice made by the interns and their parents. It was not a selection criteria for YIP and I regularly emphasized that participation in my research, as well as being interviewed or not, and the answers individuals provided, would not affect their participation and/or employment at the MC in anyway.

My observation was overt and I attempted to be explicit and ask permission before taking notes or turning on the digital recorder. Similarly, at the beginning of both instructor and participant interviews, I reminded the interviewees of confidentiality and confirmed consent verbally. I also reminded the interviewees that they did not need to

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[1] One intern who wanted to be interviewed never was, because he kept forgetting to bring in his parental consent form, until the last day. This was despite me having received his younger brother's form.

answer every question or even complete the interview if they so decided (Laws et al. 2003). Interviews were recorded, with permission, using a digital recorder. One interview was recorded using my laptop computer. Often these procedures of verifying consent at the beginning of the interviews felt like formalities or ritual, especially with the instructors (Bogdan and Biklen 1992, 53), however I feel that it was an important formality especially due to my role as instructor of the interviewed participants.

The nature of the issues, music teaching and learning, were not very sensitive. I did, however, set data collection boundaries for myself and feel like I kept more distance from the participants in my efforts to be ethical than I would have if I were only in the role of instructor. There are many questions that I wanted to ask, but was afraid were too personal. For example in one interview I was told that things were not very good at home. I would have liked to ask more about this, and its relation to the participants' music making. Did he mean that his parents were not very supportive? Was music making an escape from whatever was happening at home? But I also wanted to respect his privacy, believing that he would tell me what he was comfortable sharing although I could have asked something like, "May I ask what you mean?" In general, I tried to use my judgement to decide whether and when to dig deeper.

The small sample size has caused me to spend much time considering how best to maintain anonymity. I have omitted names where mentioned in quotes to protect my research participants' anonymity. Additionally much consideration was given to the pseudonyms of research participants in this thesis. Originally, I spent considerable time and research finding pseudonyms that would describe the participants as well as their real names. I felt that doing so was a way to provide some cultural or ethnic context for the reader, while avoiding ascribing labels and descriptions to the participants with which they may not identify. Unsatisfied with this I began asking the participants to choose their own pseudonyms. One participant offered his stage name and another a nick name that only close friends know her by. In the end, because this research will be read by individuals within MC, the small sample size, and how well instructors and participants know each other, I used I (instructor) and P (participant) with a number to identify them. I remain unsatisfied with this choice because I find the codes somewhat dehumanizing and undescriptive, however, they offer the greatest degree of anonymity. Another debate surrounding anonymity was how much descriptive information to

provide alongside each pseudonym and how much to keep separate. To solve this I balanced what information might cause greater bias to responses, such as age or OP program taught, with what information could make the individual more easily identifiable. The nature of my questions was not very personal but every effort has been made to ensure personal or private things are protected so no one suffers embarrassment. Furthermore, opportunities were provided for participants to check drafts to ensure that they are still comfortable with me using their responses.

Throughout the research process I have referred to Patton's (2002) *Ethical Issues Checklist* (408-09) and Kvale's (1996) *Ethical Issues of the Seven Research Stages* (Box 6.1, 111). I obtained informed consent both through the Information Letter and Consent form and verbally before the interview, taking notes or turning on the digital recorder. I have worked hard to maintain confidentiality and given much thought to the ways to do so in this written report. I have constantly considered how to create an honest transcription of the interviews and provided opportunities for the interviewees to read both the interview transcripts and the findings, and considered the consequences of this research to those involved. These efforts revealed themselves during an interview with one of the participants at the end of the program,

> *Danielle: Have you learned anything [from the outreach programs] that you can transfer to other areas of your life?*
> *P7: Probably being a bit more ethical. Making sure you know something is alright with the person first. You can't always just proceed with the activity, you have to make sure it's alright with them because you don't want to impose something that they have to do it, because obviously they have an opinion too. So it's better to ask them and make sure everything is okay first, and then you proceed with the activity? (Individual interview, August 1, 2008)*

3.6 Final thoughts

There are missing voices in this study. The voices of OP participants other than YIP interns, and especially those who dropped out of OP programs are missing. This is especially important considering that YIP interns were selected based on their motivation and leadership potential. Additionally, the voices of parents, children, seniors, and community partners would bring added insight to this research.

Time was the main factor concluding my research as I had only planned to be in the city for the two month duration of my internship. Fortunately, I left the program with permission from participants and instructors to contact them by e-mail and have

sent them their interview transcripts, and excerpts of the findings and context chapters for dialogue and verification. Additionally, I made a final draft of this thesis available to my internship supervisor and YIP co-instructor before the final copy was made. Through this open communication I hope to have created a loyal and honest representation of our experiences in OP.

The opportunity to use my experiences as an educator in OP as well as a researcher has further developed my tacit understanding. Because of the nature of the study and small sample size, it may not be possible to make any generalizations or be predictive (Patton 2002; Geertz 1973). I use the word 'may' because Yon (2000) explained that whenever he presented his study there were always people present who thought that they could identify the real location of his ethnographic study (124-125). I refer only to my research, and leave it to the reader and his or her other knowledge and experiences to decide whether to draw connections. Additionally, as my first experience as a researcher, this thesis has provided a wealth of new learning and I remain humble about how much I still must learn and experience. I am therefore both the great strength and fundamental weakness of this study; the credibility of which lies in my training, skills, competence, capabilities, insights, analytical intellect and style as well as the concurrent aspects of my life during this journey (Patton 2002, 14, 433). As a result I have tried to document my methods as transparently as possible.

4 FINDINGS

In total I interviewed seven OP instructors and seven OP participants. Interviews ranged from thirty minutes to one hour fifteen minutes and the transcribed interviews ranged in length from six to fifteen single-spaced typed pages. Responses were anywhere from a few words to several paragraphs in length. The research questions, interviews and responses focussed on three main themes: 1) music 2) teaching and learning and 3) change. These themes are examined below in dialogue with my field journal and the relevant literature.

4.1 Why music?

The first research question asked, Why do OP participants and instructors want to learn, teach and make music? The goal of asking this question was to gain insight into the meaning of music for the participants' lives and OP. The participants' responses emphasize the two themes 'music and emotion' and 'music and identity.' The latter included both Identities in Music (IIM), the socially defined aspects of musical identities, and Music in Identities (MII), how it is used to develop other aspects of our individual identities (Hargreaves et al. 2002, 2). Music was an important means of expression for all the OP participants and was also very important for managing their moods and contending with problems. Similarly, music was described as an important hobby to help take one participant's mind off of his studies and others valued the opportunity to learn something new and do something creative. Music also played an important role in shaping and expressing the participants' identities. The instructor responses also highlight the two themes found in the participants' responses, 'music and emotion' and 'music and identity.' According to the instructors, the arts are a place to build knowledge about self and others and learn how to manage emotions. A third theme, 'music and politics,' was also embedded throughout instructors' responses. Music was seen not only as a political tool in the hands of the program participants and instructors but also as a tool of social control to serve particular government interests.

4.1.1 Functions of music

Music was identified by participants, instructors, and the literature, as a natural and unique part of being human (see for example, Cross 2007; Campbell and Kassner 2006; Peters 2004; Gardner 1983; and Merriam 1964). One participant explained,

> *I don't think I could really answer why [do you want to learn music], because I was born with it so I don't have to question why. I think it's just in me. It's natural. It's um, it's just the way I am, not why. (P1, Individual interview, July 21, 2008)*

Instructors felt strongly about the importance of participating in the arts for everybody's lives. To I7 creativity was important to our development, happiness and connecting with other people. I6 believed that the active participation in music is a human birth right and an essential part of every group's experience of life.

When describing why they wanted to make, learn or teach music, the research participants discussed many of the functions of music identified by Merriam (1964, 209-227): *emotional expression, aesthetic enjoyment, entertainment, communication, symbolic representation, physical response, enforcement of conformity to social norms, validation of social institutions and religious rituals, contribution to the continuity and stability of culture* and *contribution to the integration of society;* and Hargreaves et al. (2002, 5): *cognitive, emotional* and *social (*including *the management of interpersonal relationships, mood* and *self-identity)*. Tarrant et al. (2002) further describe how adolescence is a challenging period of life in which we develop increasing self-awareness and confidence in our identity, and how music helps address salient developmental issues including acquiring a set of values and beliefs, performing socially responsible behaviour, developing emotional independence from parents, and achieving mature relations with peers. Additionally, music helps adolescents cope with mood fluctuations, fulfils emotional and impression management needs, like creating a self-image or pleasing others (135-6). Interviewee responses did not always fit clearly into only one of these functions but included much overlap.

All fourteen interviewees found music to be an important means of self-expression. Both participants and instructors discussed using music to express and stir emotions through writing and performing self-made music and listening to or performing other-made music. Although four of the participants had a home language

other than English, three explained that they wrote their songs in English because in it they are more fluent and can therefore express themselves more easily,

> *but I have to try really hard to be able to say something in depth and say something that is kinda similar to what I write in English that has a lot of meaning to it and I always have to consult my parents with how do you say this? And how do you say this? (P1, Individual interview, July 21, 2008)*

I3 explained expressing through music and song emotions we may not be aware we have or may not allow ourselves to express any other way. An example of the latter is how I2 described using a CD with swearing on it in his youth to make himself feel better when his parents got mad at him. Music was a medium through which I2 and P6 said they could express what they felt they could not otherwise express,

> *I've written songs about topics that are personal to me that I wouldn't even like to have conversations about because the conversations would bring me to a state of being almost shy or embarrassed about the situation. But somehow writing about it and performing it in a song is easier for me. That's strange but it's true, and I feel like I've expressed myself best through song. (I2, Individual interview, July 10, 2008)*

P6 also said that he likes expressing himself, but not through words. In this way, music becomes a source of empowerment used by people to express and communicate around political issues and injustices, or even just escape from them,

> *I mean, that is something that can be found in every single nook and cranny in the world. It's one of the kind of ways, one of the very, very, very basic ways that people get to express kind of the self. Whether whoever you're doing it against knows it or not, it's a sense of kind of empowerment knowing that I say fuck you whether you know it or not. (I1, Individual interview, July 7, 2008)*

Interviewees spoke about how they used music to both manage their emotions or escape from them. P4, for example, explained how the environment and problems at home led him to value songs with meaning and their lyrics. Hargreaves et al. (2002, 5) identify this as a social function of music. Instructors described how music and the arts were a means of learning about and how to control emotions,

> *The arts is where we find out about ourselves, storytelling, Grimm's fairly tales, folk tales, those scary things. Children can learn about their emotions and can learn to work through their emotions through the arts. They can learn to put their emotions into perspective. They can learn to control their emotions through the arts. They offer, story telling, music making, drama, all these things offer very structured, and protected, and safe ways in which to explore ourselves, and the dark nature of ourselves individually and as a cultural group, and then to reach out to others, to learn about others. So, in every area of our lives, we should be bringing the arts. It doesn't matter where. (I6, Individual interview, July 25, 2008)*

Similarly, Gallagher (2007) accepts "that we should allow the possibility that art can tell us more about who we are and the cultural contexts in which we live" (128). Teaching

students to learn to use the expressive qualities of music was seen as an important aspect of teaching music, and I5 talked about how important this was for providing children and youth with nonviolent ways of expressing their frustrations and emotions. Similarly, Teachout (2007) described how Dewey advocated for students to be encouraged to be critical thinkers, creative beings, and expressive about their feelings (22).

These responses led me to wonder why expression and creativity are so important to people and what other means of expression are available to them. Unfortunately, I did not think of this follow-up question during the interviews. Freire (1985), however, indicates that rewarding and effective education stimulates the development of our radical, human need for expression. This need for expression through creative acts is not merely emotional but is most importantly connected to a critical understanding of the link between word and world (in Schmidt 2005, 4-5). Similarly, Gallagher (2007) describes how English playwright Edward Bond argues that creativity has an essentially political imperative because it comes from a need for justice (78).

Merriam (1964) also described *aesthetic enjoyment,* the use of music to experience beauty and for deep intellectual and emotional enjoyment, as a function of music. While interviewees discussed the enjoyment and pride they experience from music, they also talked about the challenge and commitment music requires,

> *Fun, it is fun, it's joyous I guess, you know satisfying, gratifying. And yet there is struggle too. There's the work of it and you know and the times when you're really feeling like, ah man things could be better or whatever. (I4, Individual interview, July 16, 2008)*

Furthermore, music's aesthetics were not always important. I7 for example talked about how making challenging works was more important than making beautiful works. She was using music to *communicate* or give voice to her political and global concerns,

> *So for me, music isn't just about creating nice pieces of work, but it's to create challenging pieces of work and also to challenge people around issues that are happening globally as well. (I7, Individual interview, July 29, 2008)*

Instead of *enforcing conformity to social norms* and *validating social institutions,* I7 used music to challenge these norms and institutions. In this way, music was empowering. Gaztambide-Fernández (in press) also challenges this idea of beauty,

> What if we took as our basic understanding of "music making" – or "musicking" as Christopher Small has called it – the process of engaging sound and silence in the

elucidation of the political? What if, for instance, we let us back track – would we be concerned with the "beautiful," if we came to realize following Bourdieu that what constitutes "beauty" is simply the outcome of a system of deciphering based on the cultural codes of dominant groups, and that beauty is mostly about distinction and recognition? Would we embrace the ugly, as Richard Marsella suggests, as having the potential to disturb the order of beauty? Would this open the door for the kind of ethical encounter Bowman argues should be at the heart of educating musically?

As a hobby, music was an important way to take P5's mind off school and work and thus a source of *entertainment*, a diversion or amusement. The importance of this was stressed by I5 as it helped kids and youth stay out of trouble by giving them a positive activity in which to partake,

> *For one, I believe idle hands create crime, right? Boredom leads to crime. If you're bored and you've got nothing to do, you're not gonna do anything positive. This type of set up, like we're doing art and music, it's a process thing and it takes longer than a couple minutes. So if you take up the time that's the prime time for them to get into trouble, then you've just saved them. You know what I mean? 'Cause not a lot of kids are troublesome kids. A lot of kids get caught up wrong place, wrong time. They hang around the wrong person. If you hang around crack dealers and those kind of people eventually you're gonna get caught up in that lifestyle. But if you hang around people that go to the studio, and you're just going to school and going to the studio, or you're just going to school and you come and paint and you do murals, then you don't have that time, that opportunity to get in trouble. You don't have that opportunity because you're spending four, five hours sometimes eight hours, nine hours in a studio or painting a wall. So, the opportunity to get in trouble or to be doing something wrong is gone 'cause you're time is occupied. And it's a positive occupation, 'cause it could lead to you getting work later on, or could lead to getting a record deal. You know what I mean? It builds towards your future. (I5, Individual interview, July 23, 2008)*

The findings strongly support Hargreaves et al.'s (2002) argument that music is essentially a social activity, something that is done with and for others, as listeners and/ or co-creators (5). As already noted by the interviewees, music can bring people together, *contribute to the integration of society* (Merriam 1964), and help them *manage interpersonal relationships* (Hargreaves et al. 2002). Politically, instructors described music as a way of putting aside difference or bridging gaps, and transgressing cultures and language (I6, I7). Children, like those in I6's programs, learned to recognize their membership within the group through shared music, like singing games (Campbell and Scott-Kassner 1995, 4). As a result, I6 described how her programs helped newly immigrated families adjust to their new home and prepare the children for school. Comparably, P2 talked extensively about how much she learned in OP and YIP about being in a multicultural space, since OP was her first opportunity for this. Participation in OP brought people together who otherwise may not have met. This was a powerful

resource for the participants whose collaborative learning will be discussed later. It was also important to a senior I3 described who had been diagnosed with breast cancer. While music can bring people together, it can also do the opposite and interviewees discussed how music can also be used for segregating or excluding and as a means of social control (see Merriam 1964 *enforcement of conformity to social norms,* and *contribution to the continuity and stability of culture)*.

Music is an expression of cultural values. It transmits history, literature, and social mores helping people understand the *continuity and stability of their culture* (Merriam 1964). Music conservatories are selective in whose culture is worthy of this continuity and stability. They conserve, transmit, reproduce and privilege the European classical canon but disregard other musical traditions (Sotomayor and Kim 2009). Similarly, my experiences in high school and university taught me that there were only two types of music in schools. To my embarrassment, I discovered just how deeply ingrained this was when it came up in the interview with I4,

> *I4 called me on a very interesting point...At one point he got me talking by asking what style of music I played. I answered something like, "In high school I played both. A lot of jazz and a lot of classical." To which he responded "Both, 'cause there are only two kinds?" This was very interesting for me since my educational experiences have made it so that there are only three kinds of music. The two which are appropriate for school being 'classical' and 'jazz,' which recently has become 'elite' enough for 'serious study'...I suppose by the time I got to university there were three musics, classical, jazz and world...though I think the Beatles earned themselves one course. Thus my understanding of the genres of music has been shaped by my education, and the musics of popular culture were not really valued. (Field notes, July 16, 2008)*

Interviewees also discussed functions of music not mentioned by Merriam (1964). Music was important for learning. This was both as something new to learn and as a way of learning or educating oneself which was described as "motivating and invigorating" (P2), and "empowering" (I7). P1 also felt that music "influences other kinds of things you do outside of music, like in academics" and explained,

> *I find that whenever I read a book, I find that I can relate and illustrate what's going on in the story if I have a music that goes with it. Like if there's a battle scene and I'm reading about that, then it'd be really helpful if I have a sort of battle, warrior type of music that goes with it. Like when I borrowed the book Memoirs of a Geisha, I also borrowed the original soundtrack by John Williams, so as I read it I can visualize what's happening and it sort of helps me be in the moment more. (Individual interview, July 21, 2008)*

Music was also important because of the opportunity it provided to do something creative. Creativity was viewed by interviewees as important for development,

happiness, and connection with others (*integrating society)*. I4 also described the sense of control one gets from the cause and effect nature of playing an instrument. This could be something especially important during adolescence.

Merryl and Scott-Kassner (2002) also suggested the addition of therapy and healing to Merriam's functions and uses of music (1054-5). Recognizing the intentional use of the arts by counsellors in their practice, including dance, drama, visual arts, music and creative writing, the Canadian Counselling Association formed a new chapter in May 2003 called the Creative Arts in Counselling Chapter. Music therapists skillfully use music and musical elements to promote, maintain, and restore mental, physical, emotional, and spiritual health using the nonverbal, creative, structural, and emotional qualities of music to facilitate contact, interaction, self-awareness, learning, self-expression, communication, and personal development (CAMT 2006). I3 recognized the importance of the physical health benefits of singing to the seniors' groups. Similarly, a study by Clift and Hancox of 1124 singers from England, Germany and Australia, showed a high degree of consensus on the positive benefits of choral singing for well-being. Singers identified choral singing as beneficial for problems such as mental health, family and relationship, physical health and disability, and recent bereavement. These benefits were attributed to at least six generative mechanisms including positive affect (raised spirits), focused attention blocking preoccupation with sources of worry, deep breathing which can counteract anxiety and stress, social support and friendship, cognitive stimulation and regular commitment. A further finding was that choral participation in mid and later life appeared to require confidence and skill from a substantial foundation in music from earlier in life. Thus, to enjoy the benefits of music later in life, attention needs to be given to earlier music education (Clift and Hancox unpublished). These findings support the need not only for the Seniors' Singing programs, but programs at all stages of life.

4.1.2 Identities in music

When asked if they saw themselves as musicians two participants expressed reluctance (P2, P4). Rather than identifying as musicians, they described themselves as still on their journey to becoming musicians. Since the groups and social institutions we meet in

our daily lives influence the development of and form an essential part of our musical identities (Hargreaves et al. 2002, 7), I wondered how schools, music conservatories and the media define "musician" and whose definition of "musician" counts for these participants. One instructor (I1), highlighted this when he said that he did not care if he was regarded as a musician or not, referring to the elitism of what musics count.

The second question this raised for me was, how does one know that they have become a "musician"? Teachout (2007)'s discussion of open and closed groups helps provide insight on this. He describes how relatively open groups share few meaningful gestures, as with mall shoppers for example, while closed groups share complex bodies of knowledge, requiring many shared gestures for membership, as with neurosurgeons. Thus socialization to these groups differs with differences in bodies of knowledge (26). If "musicians" is seen as a closed group with much specialised knowledge, then even individuals like these two participants who are composing and performing their own music are marginalized. I4 described this long history of music as a specialised, elite language,

> *On day one it was an elite sort of thing. It was a language that only some understood, and it was very protected right? And it's pretty safe to say that there's still an element of that kind of elitism, and it's like special knowledge. (I4, Individual interview, July 16, 2008)*

Justly, Blacking (1973) asks, "Does cultural development represent a real advance in human sensitivity and technical ability, or is it chiefly a diversion for elites and a weapon of class exploitation? Must the majority be made "unmusical" so that a few may become more "musical"?" (4). Indeed, this is a double-edged sword. One participant referred to the elite nature of music as a special knowledge "normal people" do not have as something that made him feel unique (P6). As a result, I2 explained the importance for hip hop and its historical roots, including its relation to black culture and oppression, to be widely taught not only within certain populations or neighbourhoods,

> *And it's no different than the people themselves who created the stuff. Hip hop always has been and always will be closely associated with black culture. The blacks have been oppressed and just as blacks are prejudiced against, so will this culture, because of what it looks like, because of what it sounds like, and because of what it is. And quite frankly, that's why it needs to be taught in these neighbourhoods. These kids need to know that they're not the lesser than that they're being taught, you know in some of their school history textbooks and on news broadcasts. They're not thugs, they're not criminals. They're human beings like everybody else with a right to say and feel whatever it is. This particular art form to say and express themselves and however they feel like, they still shouldn't be prejudiced against, they still shouldn't be viewed as these thugs and gangsters. They not only gotta be taught about the genre or how to actually perform in it,*

but they have to be taught what it means. Especially in comparison to what the rest of the world thinks of them. There's always going to be these stereotypes associated with the culture. And teaching them that that's not the case, that's not the reality is important just for their own self identity, never mind if they become a rapper or not just to understand more about themselves. To learn more about hip hop really is to learn more about themselves. That's what's real. (I2, Individual interview, July 10, 2008)

The question of identity as a musician highlighted one instructor's conflict when she switched from trying to have a career as a singer to full time teaching. She described how her identity has been a constant struggle between the roles of musician, mother, and teacher. Bruenger's (2004) discussion of role theory can help explain some of I3's conflict. She describes how most people, like I3, have multiple roles, including family, professional, recreational and religious roles. When a person experiences simultaneous conflicting expectations, role conflict occurs (200). In I3's case being a mother and being a musician were conflicting roles because she felt guilty investing in herself what she felt she should be putting towards potential opportunities for her son. Bruenger (2004) continues to explain how balancing the demands of these roles can be difficult, and she refers to Waters and Crook (1990) who explain how multiple role conflict is usually resolved by either compartmentalizing the most salient roles, negotiating, or withdrawing from roles (Bruenger 2004, 200). I3 attempted to resolve her role conflict through the latter, withdrawing from her role as professional singer, but felt like a huge part of her was missing,

And it really felt, I felt somehow like part of my body was amputated. It was really very serious. I went through a huge depression...it took quite a while, it was seriously a struggle, I couldn't go to a concert literally for a good couple of years. (I3, Individual interview, July 11, 2008)

There are conflicting points of view about how important it is to be a practicing musician as well as a music teacher. Indeed, my own experiences are that some friends from my Bachelor of Music degree have not played their major instrument since graduating though they are now music teachers, while others continue to play quite actively. The instructors and participants I interviewed seemed to support the need for music teachers to be practicing musicians,

I wouldn't teach it if I wasn't a musician as well. I'm not one of those guys who's like a retired musician turned teacher. I do this everyday, and live it, even when I'm not in the studio recording or writing it's still part of my everyday as I mentioned earlier. (Individual interview, July 10, 2008)

I heard a great quote ... it's very simple, practice for your students, teach for yourself. Teach for yourself, practice for your students...It is interesting. I think students really,

> *they resonate more with...a well practiced me, than a sort of pragmatically prepared me...It's that sense of slowly moving forward and relating to your own experience as a practicing musician. (Individual interview, July 16, 2008)*

P2 also found having instructors who have "been there" and "done that" motivating.

These interviewee responses conflict with Bruenger (2004) who stresses the importance of training music education majors to invest more in their role of teacher. She states,

> Music education students struggle to compete with performance majors for social status by acquiring a performance reputation while they are acquiring the knowledge and other skills needed to teach (Roberts, 1991c). L'Roy (1983) suggests that those who have been denied status on the basis of marginal performance skills may develop motivational problems, which hinder their commitment to proper preparation for the teaching profession. "If music education majors invest too much of themselves in performance at the expense of other aspects of their professional preparation and identity, and if they fail to achieve the level of performance desired or expected, they may be needlessly setting themselves up for role conflict and failure" (L'Roy, 1983, p. 47). (Bruenger 2004, 203)

Teachout (2007) explains how this struggle continues into beginning music teachers' professional lives where a performance-based culture, to which there are few alternatives, persists thus continuing the cycle of a system which rewards success on the stage over anything else (26-7).

This conflict between the cited research and the opinions of the instructors and participants may be due to the nature of music education being discussed. While Teachout (2007) and Bruenger (2004) are referring to music education in public schools and thus formal education, the instructors and participants are teaching and learning in a community music, nonformal setting. In the case of the latter, the teaching and learning is in smaller groups where students have usually chosen to be there and thus the teaching and learning is more like apprenticeship or mentorship. Indeed, Mullen (2002) argues that the role of facilitator who uses their position not to impose or teach but to inquire, echo and affirm (4) is more appropriate to the practice of community music which seeks to move away from the model of expert teacher transmitting knowledge to a more interactive and dynamic community of participants (1).

4.1.3 Music in identities

Besides identifying as a musician or not, participants and instructors used music to show and find who they are. In multicultural societies, culturally diverse youth use music of their own culture as well as the culture of adolescence as an essential means of their socialization and recognizing and accepting their developing identities (Ruud 1998 in Brown 2002). P1, for example, discussed how she enjoyed singing classical songs in her mother tongue while P5 did not like the Tamil music his parents listened to because he could not understand it.

Music plays an important role in the formation of both individual and group identities. Hebert and Campbell (2000) argue that "among all of the activities humans possess as means by which to create such a powerful sense of identity and community, music may be among the most personal and the most meaningful" (16 in Folkestad 2002, 152). Music provides a means of defining oneself as belonging to or connected to a certain group, and of recognizing others as belonging to other groups than one's own (Folkestad 2002, 151). In defining himself, however, P7 described his struggle against this. He talked about how he did not want to fall into a stereotype or classification but how people assume that he is a part of

> *the group of people that just listens to maybe one type of music or only does certain activities. I'm open-minded. I do a lot of different things, right? And I listen to a lot of different types of music as well, but a lot of people don't see that though. (Individual interview, August 1, 2008)*

Musical genre was used by the participants for developing and defining a unique identity. They explained,

> *I don't go with the trend or whatever is in. I like just being, I just like just myself all the time and music I think has a lot to do with that since I'm into classical. (P1, Individual interview, July 21, 2008)*

> *I think I'm still trying to define where I fit in. Like I wanna do something different. I don't wanna be a typical R&B singer. I wanna have like different influences with a little bit of everything. I'm sort of trying reggae a little bit, like R&B over reggae beats. (P3, Individual interview, July 22, 2008)*

OP thus provided the participants with a space to "form their identity through musical experiences and activities outside school, rather than within the narrower framework of the target-oriented school world" (Sernhede 1995, in Veblen and Olsson 2002, 733). A comparison of participant and instructor responses on this topic leads me to wonder if

participating in OP helped students either discover, recognize or be able to verbalize this. I2 explained that,

> *Hip hop is an avenue for you to express yourself freely, to be original, unique, and to teach others about you, where you're from and what you're all about. That's kinda how it started. So as opposed to seeing and hearing the same old thing which is generally about guns, violence, jewelry and riches or girls wearing nothing while it incorporates all that 'cause those are parts of life, that's not all that it incorporates ... That's what we teach off the top, is: be original, be yourself, be unique and utilize this workshop and this culture as your way of expressing yourself. I know that that's what it's done for me. (I2, Individual interview, July 10, 2008)*

Youth culture and identity is highly influenced by the media. Since music is one vehicle by which we are taught to live according to the fundamental values of the culture (Campbell and Scott-Kassner 1995, 4), the media and music industry take advantage of how music can function to *enforce conformity to social norms* and *validate social institutions*. The participant's desire for a unique identity was partly shaped by the pressure of the media and the struggle to market themselves in the music industry. Participants seemed to feel conflict between who they wanted to be and who the media and music industry were telling them to be,

> *You can totally be you, as long as that's what you wanna be. Because if you want somebody to shape you into something that you're not, then you're not gonna be you and you're not gonna live up to the expectations of it, so it's just gonna end up either failing in the end or you're gonna end up being hurt. So I'd rather just be yourself, stand up for what you believe in, speak your mind, tell the truth. And give an understanding about the best that you know. (P2, Individual interview, July 22, 2008)*

Regrettably, P4 perceived his race as a barrier to success in the music industry. He described a lack of representation of musicians from diverse backgrounds marginalizing those who do not fit the image, and felt that the way to overcome this was to release his music on the radio and not disclose his race,

> *Danielle: What about your goals as a musician, you said you want to be a singer?*
> *P4: Yeah. Like a recording artist. But I don't know, because, right now, it's just like, it's the whole race thing. I haven't seen any Asians up there. They're not really...they're not there yet. (P4, Individual interview, July 23, 2008)*

He saw Asians stereotyped into comedy roles and sidekicks in movies and television, but not in main roles playing serious, scary, or even sexy parts. One of the instructors also referred to the lack of representation of herself in the media and challenges it created,

> *I think, I don't know if it's changed much in terms of what I dealt with, which is more around self-esteem stuff. It was more around not having, not seeing representation of myself in media or just as a musician. (I7, Individual interview, July 29, 2008)*

This highlights the importance of teaching critical media analysis to young people, especially those interested in urban musics. In fact, it is such an important topic that the YIP interns themselves selected media for a focus group discussion on July 21, 2008. Participants also described how the Social History of Music course in OP was empowering.

Many instructors also identified the need to include critical media analysis in their programs. They worried that young people are growing up with the message that the music business, what is going to sell, is more important than the art or artist (I6, I7). They talked about the pressure of media and marketing yourself (I7). I7 said that when she starts working with a lot of youth,

> *there is a tendency to want to be pop stars...do the big music manager thing and have studios. We try to show them the other side of artistic culture that isn't necessarily dependent on all this money being spent. That you can still produce something of quality without having to go to your studio. And even if you have one mic and you're in a room, you can still create decent work. (I7, Individual interview, July 29, 2008)*

Two of the instructors also explained that teaching helped them through their challenges with the music industry. I7 found it very humbling to work with young people and I2 found it helped him stay focussed on the kind of artist he wants to be,

> *It's allowed me to not get so caught up in the career, you know the music business aspect of things and really enjoy watching people create for the love of creating, and seeing something really magical happen. (I7, Individual interview, July 29, 2008)*

> *There was a time, thank God it was a short period of time, where I almost changed the type of artist I was and started focusing on creating music for the purpose of income and success. And um, the wrong way to make music...[Teaching] reminded me that, yes, the way that I write has to be from the heart...that that's the kind of artist I am. If I'm going to teach I really have to practice what I preach. (I2, Individual interview, July 10, 2008)*

4.2 Teaching and learning

Interview questions were asked to learn more about what can be learned in programs like OP by both participants and instructors and how the learning happens. Because of the nature of semi-structured interviews, the section on what was learned may not be inclusive but rather the knowledge, skills and understandings that came to mind first. Coming from a 'school teacher' background, I was especially interested in learning how the interviewees perceived teaching and learning to be the same or different in a nonformal community music setting as opposed to a formal school setting, and if they

believed programs like OP could work in schools. In OP learning was primarily student-centred and collaborative.

4.2.1 What was learned?

In describing OP student learning, participant and instructor responses can be grouped into three themes: 'learning music,' 'learning about the self, others and the world,' and 'learning transferrable skills.' The participants described learning or improving their performance skills including their musicality. They learned music production, deejaying, radio, composition and lyric writing, music theory and piano skills, about the process of making music and about the music business. Learning about music history even led to self-directed research on genres and artists by P5. Participants developed self-knowledge by discovering their own skills and abilities and learned to be unique, to "try to do your own thing" (P4). Additionally, P2, who was from a small homogeneous community north of the city, described learning about herself and others by being a minority in a multicultural space,

> *But being in these groups I like it because then I can see different perspectives of different people's views of like their beliefs of how they grew up and their opinions of life, the world and what they see. It's good because like even when we're down at the community centre, I'm the minority again. And I'm like the only white chick there. (P2, Individual interview, July 22, 2008)*

In OP, participants learned about the world through developing critical media analysis, to learn about and challenge the pressures and assumptions of the popular music industry, and discussions in the programs that were not limited to music making, but included topics that relate to it like hegemony, race, ethics and issues in their communities. P5 also described the transferrable job skills he learned from being hired by MC to take care of OP at one of the centres.

Instructors identified transferrable skills learned by their students. In addition to developing self-knowledge, students learned to pay attention to detail and about presenting themselves and their work. Participants developed math skills and learned about measurements, time and pacing. Similarly students developed patience and punctuality and time management skills were learned not just by students working in the studio but also by recently immigrated parents who needed to get their children to class

on time in a new time-centred culture. The children's music program was also important for teaching English as an additional language and school preparation for both parents and children because they learned how things happen socially in their new home. Finally, one instructor discussed the importance of participants learning a productive hobby to help divert them from trouble and another discussed learning about balanced community activity in the community centre space,

> *I think having the music program in the middle of the basketball and karate and swimming and hockey, it kind of helps to create a sense of sort of balanced community activity with learning the instrument. So it's not too isolated... But I think what it does is it creates, you know that students feel like well you know this is just a part of hanging out in the community is learning how to play guitar and play music with other kids and just spending time with music. (I4, Individual interview, July 16, 2008)*

Instructors' learnings fit into similar themes as with the participants. Instead of transferrable skills, however, instructors discussed learning about teaching. The three themes included 'learning about music,' 'learning about teaching,' and the most recurrent theme, 'learning about others and one's relation to them.' Instructors learned about their own song writing and music making including learning new words and phrases, and increasing their vocabulary. I7 discussed learning music theory, other languages and history from her students and I4 described how he continued to learn about learning types.

Teaching in OP also presented some extra challenges that instructors needed to learn to overcome. The limited resources in some centres required the instructors to be more creative and to try to work with the equipment available to them, rather than bringing in and leaving with too much of their own equipment. Because most other programs running at the community centres were drop in programs, the instructors were challenged to create a fluid and inclusive program that was not dependent on regular attendance,

> *So that gets tricky, but the next step is to do another program that's a bit more targeted and a bit more serious and then the kids who really wanna be there show up. (I7, Individual interview, July 29, 2008)*

The programs in community centres also often had a very wide age range, especially since many of the participants must take care of their siblings, and I7 found that the collaborative learning environment helped overcome this problem. I3 accommodated adult illiteracy by using page numbers on the music and lots of repetition, which she

said empowered them by preserving their dignity, and keeping their illiteracy a secret. Despite having many English language learners in OP, I6 described how music is

> *how language is learned, in any culture. So if you've got kids...and you want to introduce them to a second language that isn't spoken in their home, you put them into music class. (I6, Individual interview, July 25, 2008)*

Finally, building trust was very important. I4 found that being well organized, prepared, confident and present helped him with participants who were skeptical of outsiders, while other instructors discussed how having teacher consistency over many years helped in the programs. Trust was also reliant on stable funding since OP has had to end some programs when funding stopped. As a result of the challenges funding poses and the amount of time and energy it takes to secure, both myself and some instructors wondered if having music programs like this in public schools would eliminate barriers to access and help benefit more people. While agreeing that programs like those in OP could work in schools, I1 cautioned against the devaluing of nonformal and informal learning spaces,

> *I think that the problematic thing is when those spaces [formal education] are the only spaces that's regarded as, that are valued. (I1, Individual interview, July 7, 2008)*

Indeed I7 recognized that a lot of parents are apprehensive about their children's creative pursuits outside school.

In learning about others, instructors learned about others' talents and desire to be creative, about different cultures and that everybody is different. Learning about oneself in relation to others included learning about the students and different neighbourhoods and the instructors' own notions of the people they were teaching. This provided them with opportunities to challenge and evaporate their preconceptions and develop more compassion for their students both within and outside of the programs,

> *Because so many of those people [OP participants] have come from places where, you know they don't really go into that but I know that they've experienced real hardship in some cases. There's been torture, and just so many things. For me the whole thing is to help to create an environment where people feel nurtured, and they can really feel that they can be themselves. And again that they'll be respected, that there's an honesty there that's coming from me. But that's also grounded in compassion. (I3, Individual interview, July 11, 2008)*

4.2.2 Student centred teaching

The interviewed participants were highly motivated. Their motivation seemed to come from the desire to learn and pride in learning something new as well as the type of learning space present in OP. Important themes discussed by both the participants and instructors included 'student centred learning' and 'collaborative spaces'. An important aspect of the former was student choice.

In the majority of OP programs, the decision to participate was made by the participant. The interviewed participants not only chose to participate in OP programs, they chose what they wanted to do within these programs. P6, for whom music was a compulsory subject at school, explained how he did not really like music class at school because he had chosen a different instrument than the one he was assigned and therefore felt that he "wasn't really free." P3's description of one of the challenges to a summer program with OP she had participated in also suggested the importance of choice. She explained how some participants were "forced to be there" because their parents used the program as babysitting. As a result they were not really interested and did not want to get involved. Thus, community music and school programs share the same relationship between motivation and choice.

Instructors were very aware of this need for student choice. I6, who teaches children's music classes in OP, MC's regular programming and in schools explained that the majority of people she teaches are there because somebody else has decided that they will participate. She describes how the Orff-Schulwerk method helps her overcome this challenge by immediately engaging, challenging and helping the students think. She describes focusing on the whole child and creating a life long learner, as well as the importance of creating which gives the children a stake in their learning,

> *anybody who is a good teacher, is a gifted teacher, understands primarily, that a person, unless they feel that they have a stake in the process, learning, it's just going to be, oh yeah that, oh yeah. They really will not fully engage in it unless they have a real stake in it. And what's the way to have a stake in something? You use it and you create something with it. So teaching anybody anything, it doesn't matter what it is requires that they feel they can do something with it. They've got to have a context for it and they have to sense it as a relevant thing. And the fastest way to make something relevant is to all along the way let them experiment with the knowledge as they acquire it and see what they can do with it... And that is sound teaching regardless of what it is you're teaching. (I6, Individual interview, July 25, 2008)*

Similarly, YIP interns expressed excitement about having the Applied Music Theory classes in a keyboard lab where they could each have their own keyboard. During classes, I tried to provide time for them to just play the keyboards, experiment with sounds, improvise with whatever we had just learned, and have workshop time, so that I could work individually with students on what they wanted to learn. During the interviews, I did not ask the interns about the theory classes but the subject often came up when we discussed what or how they learned. Being able to discover for themselves was very important,

> *I love how you do theory in the mornings, like that is so cool. 'Cause I remember when we were doing it in grade ten. It was just, the teacher had one piano and nobody really fooled around with it. She might have played one note but everything was basically on the board. We never got to figure it out for ourself. So unless you had the musical experience you didn't really know. I don't have a lot of musical theory but yet I can still follow around with what you're doing because I have the keyboard beside me and I'm fooling around with it as you're telling me on the board. It's not like you're just standing there and circling the notes and expecting us to remember. (P3, Individual interview, July 22, 2008)*

This kind of 'hands on' or experiential learning was also a valued part of the turn-tabling (dejaying) classes P2 participated in,

> *I learned Sorato before I learned how to do it from ear. So, with [my instructor] I was like, oh gosh I gotta start all the way from scratch again. But it was good because he's a really good teacher. He's really hands on, and so that's what I loved about was that I actually got to touch the equipment, and not be afraid to like push too, like a little bit harder than before, 'cause before I was just like touching it lightly because I didn't want to break it. (P2, Individual interview, July 22, 2008)*

Many of the OP programs for youth focused on composing and creating original works. Kennedy (2004) describes this as the most often neglected curriculum strand especially at the high school level (69) and Bartel and Cameron (2004) draw an analogy between how music is taught in the traditional music education paradigm and children "learning to read by reading fine literature, but never being given an opportunity to write their own ideas and stories" (47). In YIP interns wrote their own song and rap lyrics and used Logic Studio Pro to create the accompaniment or 'beats.' The use of computers made composition accessible to students, even if they did not know how to play a musical instrument or any music theory. In I7's words, computers "changed the game a little bit for artists, for young people." Seddon (2004) contemplates the role of the teacher in such computer-based composition, asking whether engaging in the process alone will improve the learners' composition skills, if

teacher intervention is required, and if so in what form (219). In YIP, teacher intervention was in the form of mentoring. Instructors provided guidance, ideas, feedback and support, while the students worked on computers, but also provided the interns with space and time to discover and create something that they liked. I7 also recognized that the computer is a great tool, but felt that it was important for instructors to share the breadth of music, not just electronic music with students by getting them to listen to other styles of music.

As opposed to OP classes like singing and songwriting or Hip Hop workshops, guitar and choir are by nature more repertoire based. As a result the instructor is usually responsible for selecting repertoire and planning the course, often before having met the participants. While this eliminates the element of participants' choice, instructors still demonstrated a student centred approach to repertoire selection, attempting to use their students' knowledge and interests as the starting point. I4 described starting with what the participants already know, including hip hop rhythms (funk/African rhythms), reggae and Latin flavoured music that they are exposed to on the radio and music television. He does not stop there, however, because as he says,

> unfortunately, a lot of of them are really, all they know about is what they hear on the TV, on Much Music and MTV and stuff. So that's to be expected. Maybe their outlook isn't as broad as it could be given a lot of these kids come from really rich backgrounds musically. (I4, Individual interview, July 16, 2008)

Rather than sticking only to what they know, he also brings in some Classical themes to introduce finger style guitar playing and tries to keep the course very broad and eclectic. Other instructors discussed the lack of diversity on the radio, the students' main source of music, and the need to play them different styles that they do not get to hear. I3 also discussed trying to pick accessible music for her seniors' choirs by selecting music from a wide spectrum of genre, time periods, and tempi and considering the singers' enjoyment, language skills and vocal range. Her focus on the singers when selecting music was further highlighted when she explained trying to find

> things that I feel that will help them to maybe express things that they've experienced in their lives, that they'll feel some kind of connection to in terms of the text. (I3, Individual interview, July 11, 2008)

I3 also had an "all request day" on the day I visited her program. It was the last session before a performance and rather than cramming for a polished performance which is most common in a rehearsal model of music education (Bartel 2004, xiv), she went

around the room and asked each singer what they wanted to sing. When someone selected a song from their upcoming performance they sang standing up together in another part of the room, but for the other songs they remained in their seats. In my field journal I asked, "Why don't I use this in my teaching?" I had always felt so much pressure to plan every minute and create strong lessons that I had never thought of having an "all request day" (Field notes, June 13, 2008).

This kind of student centred teaching was not limited to composition and repertoire selection. Students' ideas and comments were an important part of the ongoing planning of YIP including meetings and e-mails with the interns about the program components, schedule and to plan the curricula, materials and music for the courses. I1 set up an e-mail address in which interns could send anonymous feedback about any component of the program and I had a system for getting feedback on topics, activities and pacing of the Applied Music Theory course. In the same way, I6 described watching the children in her classes to make use of their creative ideas,

> *In a classroom I'm always watching the children because the creative component, I might have the germ for the creative idea, but if I see a child do something that looks really interesting we'll go with that. And sometimes my own creative idea gets put on the back burner for another class or gets shelved altogether. Because if something better comes from the children, then that's what I'm going to use. (I6, Individual interview, July 25, 2008)*

In OP, students' interests and knowledge formed the starting point for the programs and instructors provided guidance, ideas for composition and exposure to new and unfamiliar musical genres to help students develop and expand their base,

> *a lot of it has to come from listening to the kids, understanding what they want, what they're good at, and where they need to go. (I2, Individual interview, July 10, 2008)*

> *And I mean, be open. Open, 'cause children, when making music...they just know what sounds good to them. If it sounds good to them, let it sound good to them. Just leave it at that. It sounds good to them. They like it. Keep moving, going on. Don't try and change it to the way you like it, 'cause obviously once you do that, you've just destroyed their passion for music. (I5, Individual interview, July 23, 2008)*

These practices echo Abrahams' (2005c) description of critical pedagogy in school based music education which he describes as striving to eliminate the barriers between the musics students enjoy listening to and those their teachers want them to learn. Critical pedagogy "suggests that when teachers relate school music to the music in students' personal lives, the students feel empowered by their knowledge and are alerted

to the plentiful opportunities for meaningful musical experiences inside and outside the classroom" (62).

In keeping with Article 12 of United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), OP listened to the voices of young people. This was something valued by both the instructors and participants,

> *There is something magical when people who's position in society isn't really acknowledged and they're either viewed as invisible and they don't count or there's that, when their experiences are viewed as knowledge as well. (I1, Individual interview, July 7, 2008)*

> *It's just really respecting young people for their voices, and not, just because they're young not respecting that they have something to say. If they have any experience it's really important. Every time we go in we learn something new. (I7, Individual interview, July 29, 2008)*

> *The classes are amazing, the people, the teachers, the, the faculty anyways, they really wanna get involved with you. They wanna know what you have to say, which is also really awesome. (P2, Individual interview, July 22, 2008)*

As a result, it was important for instructors to withhold their own beliefs, opinions, likes and dislikes in order to provide a space for the participants to have their own voice and discover what that voice is. These teaching methods become especially important considering how one YIP intern described school as a "boring place with boring teachers where you learn shit you don't care about" (Field notes, July 22, 2008).

Student centred teaching is, however, both challenging and "risky" for instructors, especially those like myself and another instructor trained in the 'classical' system of music education. Teaching in OP challenged our notions of the need for a polished performance or recording as the goal. Rather in OP the journey was more important than the final product (I1, I3, I7). Teaching in YIP also challenged my identity as a musician and teacher, and my music education. I felt that I did not have the "chops" or expertise to deal with popular music (Bartel and Cameron 2004). "Only rare teachers" Bartel and Cameron (2004) argue "have the ability and courage to add or change to steel pans, guitars, rock band, or other approaches strongly connected to many students' real culture" (47). Indeed, I often questioned what knowledge or skills I had to offer the YIP participants (Field notes, July 15, 2008), and spent the whole summer learning with and from them.

4.2.3 Collaborative learning

Learning in OP was described by participants as collaborating with serious, like-minded people to produce something they could be proud of. One of P4's reasons for liking OP, for example, was being surrounded by people who share the same interest, which he found motivating. P1 contrasted the program to her school music experiences, explaining how it was important for her to stop participating in her school's music program because of the program's poor quality. She described broken instruments, out of tune and unmusical playing and disorganization. She questioned whether this poor quality was due to the dichotomy of private music education which she described as more "professional" and public music education which she associated with students who are not really "serious" or skilled (P1, Individual interview, July 21, 2008).

YIP interns travelled up to 2 hours each way to get to the program, however their comments suggest that they liked going to MC for the program rather than having it in their local community centre. One explanation was because it made sure that those who attended were committed to participating. This was especially important since many programs at community centres are held on a drop-in basis. As a result, some participants treat OP programs as drop-in classes or stop going before the program ends, which P6 described as a big disadvantage. A second explanation could be the opportunity to meet and collaborate with a more diverse group of people than they would encounter if YIP was held at their respective community centres. Evidence for this came from many participants who reported valuing differences of opinions and of knowledge and experience with musical genres,

> *This program right now, the only thing I'd say is we're all, the majority of us already have a lot of experience with hip hop and R&B. I kind of wanna do something a little different. Just kind of fuse it with something else. That's why I love what [a classically trained intern] does, 'cause she brings a different flare to it, and I'm just like, it sounds so good. I like that kind of thing. (P3, Individual interview, July 22, 2008)*

> *Because, I think everybody has a different style. Even if it's the same they're not gonna sound the same or they're not gonna want the same thing. So, there's always a challenge to like work with the person. Also, a unique sound is created. I think that, and you can always feed off from that person. If they know something you don't then you learn from them. (P4, Individual interview, July 23, 2008)*

Although most of the participants focused on making urban music, they were interested in learning other styles of music that could bring different ideas and a unique sound to

their music making and contribute to their unique identities, as mentioned in section 4.1 (Why music?). Thus, as Lamont (2002) notes, peers have more influence in defining musical identities than adults (55). Teaching each other was not restricted to musical styles. Participants also shared concrete advice. For example, P7 described how another intern suggested he practice in front of a mirror, which he said worked well and made him feel even more confident and eager to perform.

Collaborating was also an essential part of the teaching methods in OP. Instructors described teaching as "sharing," "collaborating," and "co-discovering." Instructor-participant relationships were vital to the collaborative learning space. Not only did participants describe learning as much from each other as they did from the instructors, they recognized that the instructors were also learners. When asked, P6 said that he did not feel like a student of MC and explained by stating,

> *If you consider us a student then you're supposed to consider even the instructors as students, 'cause they're learning stuff too, right? (P6, Individual interview, July 28, 2008)*

Instructor responses confirmed this, and all the instructors working with youth described learning a lot from their students. Many felt that they were learning as much from the students as they were teaching them, and for at least two instructors (I1 and I4) learning from students was part of their reason for teaching music,

> *I think for me teaching it is really about learning it, because, I guess sharing. I get a bunch of stuff back and it gives me an insight into unpacking all kinds of different layers of what music means to different people. That helps me kind of get a better sense of my own position in the world and stuff like that. And so, I think that music is also an amazing thing to share, because it has, I mean as much as it is about exclusion in terms of the kind of communities it can create and stuff like that, it has all kinds of amazing possibilities of bridging gaps as well. (I1, Individual interview, July 7, 2008)*

Teaching their instructors or older students in a program was identified by I7 as a source of empowerment.

Sadly, the space at OP was described by participants as different from school, because it was about creating, sharing and teaching each other. P1, for example, described how she was a little nervous and worried to begin the Music and Video Production class because her experiences at school led her to dislike working or interacting with her class and prefer to work independently. The space in OP, however, proved to be much more conducive to group work and enjoyable for her,

> *If you compare me with how I interact in the classroom in school as opposed to being here, I would say I like being here more than being in a class, students are insensitive*

about how you feel... it's like a battlefield... but here it's more on let's create stuff, let's share stuff , oh I don't know how to play the piano why don't you teach me I don't know how to rap why don't you teach me kind of thing... but there I know everything, go away... I like this kind of environment better than being at school. (P1, Individual interview, July 21, 2008)

Similarly, P2 described numerous differences between high school and OP. She found the instructors in OP to be highly motivating, contrasting them to the teachers she had had in high school who've "lost all the etiquette" of encouraging their students.

Building a collaborative learning space takes time. Both P2 and P7 for example talked about how it is easier to work in groups with people you know well, for example friends, schoolmates or work colleagues. In YIP, P7 did not know the others at first,

At first I was kind of quiet...later on we started to have much more longer and deeper discussions than compared to the beginning of the class. At the beginning people ended up being kind of hesitant because of all the new people I don't really know, so I'm not going to really say anything. But since everyone felt more comfortable around each other, after everyone opened up more, you get to see more their personal side more. (P7, Individual interview, August 1, 2008)

A collaborative learning space also involves risks and challenges. Participants described needing to learn to compromise and develop interpersonal skills. This challenge was evident especially when the YIP interns were in the creation stage. One of the two groups struggled to get started since the group members had very different styles and attitudes towards their music and composition. Similarly, P2 struggled with being in a space with people she did not know well and worried about offending them accidently.

These findings suggest, similar to Kleber (2006), that an important teaching and learning strategy of OP is the social-cultural aspect of collective exchange and participation, whereby the students and teachers develop their musical understanding together. Although referring to the challenges of schools, Fine et al. (1997) discuss the importance of schools fostering group life which ensures equal status and works toward community building in order to produce engaged and critical citizens, willing to imagine and build multiethnic and multiracial communities. Supporting and nurturing a community is a process that "must include a critical interrogation of difference as the rich substance of community life and an invitation for engagement that is relentlessly democratic, diverse, participatory, and always attentive to equity and parity" (Fine et al. 1997, 252 in Gallagher 2007, 96).

4.3 Change

Both Abrahams (2005a) and Schmidt's (2005) critical pedagogy for music education discuss the change or transformation that occurs in both students and teachers as a result of learning. This is a because teachers learn from their students in addition to teaching them, and according to Freire (1970) is the evidence that true and meaningful learning has transpired (in Abrahams 2005b, 4).

The participants described a variety of changes, not limited to improving musically, that they identified in themselves as a result of their experiences in the outreach programs. When I asked P1 if her experiences in OP have changed her in anyway she replied with a pronounced, passionate "YES!" and later told me,

> *this is one of the best things that has happened to me ever since I got here to Canada, and no I'm not just saying that for interview like stuff (laugh). (P1, Individual interview, July 21, 2008)*

P1 had participated in the Music and Video Production class held at MC, in which she discovered both that she was able to compose music and a new career path. She said that she started composing in the Music and Video Production class and never knew that she could compose before she was asked to create something there. When I asked her how it feels to know that she can compose she replied,

> *Very very enlightening. It's like an epiphany. It's amazing! I never really knew that I had that in me... I mean I know because my dad is a composer... there were times where I just didn't understand and didn't get it. I was overwhelmed. But I don't know what the program had that made me think that you have it in you, it's like second nature, it's like breathing, you don't have to try hard. One day I started playing, I mean I already know the basic chords, but um I started experimenting and that's when it just suddenly came out... easily... like that. I don't know how to explain it more but it just came out. (P1, Individual interview, July 21 2008)*

She said that it was a really good thing that she was involved in OP, and that her new need and desire to create led her to practice without knowing that she was practicing. Similarly, P5 said that he did not know that he could write songs, make his own beats or make a recording in a studio before OP. He also said that the process of writing his own music "feels good."

P1 and P2 both discovered new future goals, P1 to go on in film and P2 to open a community centre and radio station in her hometown. When P1 started the Music and Video Production class, she was following her parents' advice and planning to pursue studies in medicine even though she said that she was just not interested and her

studying was "not sticking." The discussions about university in the class with the instructors and the class itself made her start thinking that maybe film was her calling,

> *But then I tried to engage myself in the discussion. Which was about film. Which was really interesting because around that time I didn't really think about going into film. And I was also, I had also stopped writing, because I had this severe case of writer's block for some reason, so I stopped. I used to write plays, but that's another story (laughs). (P1, Individual interview, July 21 2008)*

Like P1, P2's participation in OP also influenced her career goals. She talked extensively about how seeing the studio in the community centre motivated her to want to open a community centre and radio station for similar programs in her home town "that's focussed on kids and it's gonna be run by the kids." Her goal is to give people a voice to express themselves and also learn about others' points of view and opinions, and she believes that the arts were important for this,

> *Then they come to the community centre, they express themselves through the arts. It's not just music, it's also photography. So we're gonna have photography, painting, drama, dance, b-boying, dejaying, so I kinda took the elements of hip hop. (P2, Individual interview, July 22, 2008)*

The other participants identified changes in their self-image and self-esteem, thinking, knowledge, and communication. P3 felt that she had grown and matured a lot. She said that her mind had changed about a lot of topics and things like,

> *Being more critical of what you're doing. I guess as far as lyrics go and what you're singing about. All those type of things. I pay more attention to that. (P3, Individual interview, July 22, 2008)*

She also described herself as more open-minded to different ideas and new approaches and P4 said he now thinks "more outside the box." P4 became more outspoken and P6 said he was able to express himself more. P6 also said that he has become a better debater because he became more knowledgeable. P2 described being able to listen to others more.

Many participants also identified changes in their musical selves. P6 said, "Obviously [OP] made me a better musician" even though he said before starting with OP a year earlier he would not have considered himself a musician. P3 described growing as a performer, becoming more comfortable, and less nervous and shy. P7 also became more confident from his experiences emceeing on stage. Additionally, P7 said, "it's kind of able to open my eyes more about how people relate themselves to their music" (P7, Individual interview, August 1, 2008).

The instructors were also asked what changes they perceived in their students. These changes included opening up, overcoming shyness, a willingness to try new things, increased confidence, excitement and pride in what they had done, acquiring English, learning how things happen socially and improving musically. Learning something also led to a greater sense of self-esteem. I6 explained how the changes in the children she teaches also had an effect on their parents,

> *As their children become more confident with the language, and their children become more confident with the Canadian children's games and things, their children grow with their confidence and become less shy. The parents, I think, are less frightened about the prospect of their children going to school. (I6, Individual interview, July 25, 2008)*

I7 described the participants becoming more serious about their music and even discovering career possibilities and used the example of a participant who, in addition to singing and writing songs, is doing photography and web design, and getting work in OP doing the graphic design for OP CDs,

> *And so for some of these kids, for them to, the ones who really want to pursue the arts, but may not have had or don't have family support or access. To see them now going into a class that's pretty intense [YIP], is really amazing. I don't think that any of the youth even thought about that possibility. That this actually might be an avenue that they can continue with. Even if they go to school and they get their degree and whatever, that they can still have an artistic life. I think that's what's really incredible, to see some of these kids move on to a much more serious kind of focus. And I think that's just brilliant. (I7, Individual interview, July 29, 2008)*

By the exposure instructors provide to other genres of music in OP, students also experience a broadening sense of identity,

> *Some girls and guys they come in, oh I'm hip hop, I'm hip hop. I'm a rapper I like hip hop beats. And then we give them the history of hip hop and then we start playing other music to them. And they come back tomorrow, you know I love listening to Nickleback and I really like the guitarist's lead solo. And I'm like, yeah you see you guys understand music now... Then they come back saying I like this type of music and I like this type of music. I'm no longer just hip hop. (I5, Individual interview, July 23, 2008)*

Another important change was in the participants' relationships. Friendships and relationships extended beyond program hours. I3 described the sense of family that was created in the seniors' singing groups and how one of these groups pulled together to support a member who had been diagnosed with breast cancer,

> *She's here on her own, no family, lives all by herself. And she came into class crying one day...So she told us what had happened. And she wasn't receiving really any of the help or support one would think would be available to low income seniors. So the group just rallied around her. One lady went and did her grocery shopping. Somebody else cooked meals and brought them. Another person went and cleaned her apartment for her. Another lady went and washed her hair and set it. (I3, Individual interview, July 11, 2008)*

Similarly, teaching in OP lifted an instructor's spirits and she described the support she received from those at the center when her father passed away.

When the instructors were asked about changes that they saw in themselves, many expressed changes in terms of their learning or the inspiration OP gave them for their own music making. I7 talked about how teaching in OP challenged her notions of young people and herself. I3 talked about how her philosophy of teaching has changed,

> *And it's reestablished for me, or I should say strengthened my belief that music making has to be honoured in all it's different forms. Not just honoured, but nurtured and valued. Just because somebody is not a trained singer does not mean that they shouldn't participate, in some way. And I think that the benefits are enormous. I mean, not just musically but in terms of their interactions with one another socially. I really think that it has an impact on their psychological and physical well-being that maybe we can't somehow quantify. (I3, Individual interview, July 11, 2008)*

Both she and I6 found that they became more compassionate, not just when teaching in OP, but that they became more compassionate with their other music students and even the "very pushy parents that you do encounter at the conservatory" (I6). I6 also described the tremendous respect she developed for immigrants, becoming more balanced and more generous,

> *Working there and seeing the faces of new immigration, knowing those children and knowing those mums and sometimes hearing a little bit about their stories has just given me such enormous respect for people who pick up their lives and move elsewhere. I don't know that it's something that I could do. It's just a huge, huge life change. It's a huge transition which effects everybody in all aspects of their lives. (I6, Individual interview, July 25, 2008)*

Another important change was related to role conflict. I3 experienced some anxiety between the roles of choir director and the expectations of what a choir is and should sound like, with the role of facilitator and what she felt was best for her students. Teaching in OP is not about the final product rather it is about the journey. We had a final performance during YIP, but I1 stressed throughout the program that he did not want that to drive the participants' creation process. Similarly, I7 said that,

> *It's not about the final product. For us it isn't about the final product. It's about the journey that we've had together to create something wonderful with each other. You know? It's not so much about how great it sounds, or is this a pop song? It's really about focusing on that journey. (I7, Individual interview, July 29, 2008)*

At an Annual General Meeting for one of the centres I3 teaches in, she introduced the seniors' choir by speaking about how it was not just about making a choir, but rather about creating a space for each member to find their voice and be empowered (Field notes, June 16, 2008). While a live performance offers the opportunity to provide the

audience with context about the group, when recording a CD it is hard to know who the audience may be and what contextual information they may receive. As a result, she told me in the interview how teaching in OP had made it important for her learn to let go of ego,

> *I think probably in many respects doing the recording of the CD of the outreach program was probably more frightening for me than it was for the participants. Because I know how I feel about teaching those classes, and I know I have a very good idea of what they experience emotionally, but for an outsider just listening to those CDs and to hearing, you know, that it's definitely not a choir and people are doing their own things. It's really scary. Because, we're so focused so often on musical outcomes, people are singing in tune, can we understand, how's the diction? Is there some kind of blending? ...And I found that totally frightening, because I thought, well, what if someone listens to this and then they, oh my God. She has no sense. She can't teach. She's not getting them to do anything thats, you know? (I3, Individual interview, July 11, 2008)*

4.4 Learnings of a 'school teacher'

The fourth research question asked, What can an educator with formal school-based experience learn from a community music outreach program? The journey of this thesis and being an educator-researcher has led to both new understandings and new challenges. The implications of this research on my teaching practice, and perhaps the field of music education and music teacher education, is reflected in this entry from my research journal in which I contemplated the narrow nature of my teacher training as opposed to the skills I needed in OP,

> *So do I think a program like this could work in school? I totally feel that programs like this should be in schools, but I don't think that music teachers would feel comfortable teaching this type of class. It's not what we were trained to do. We've been trained to teach band, orchestra and choir! We must revamp music teacher education. Music teachers need more skills in composition and technology. We need to be trained to be aware of and value popular culture, to listen to what the students are listening to and use that to at least draw them in. Music teachers need to make links between music and society and facilitate important discussions about these topics. In one of our role plays, while in the role of a math teacher, one of the students said something along the lines of not having time to talk to the students to find out what they are learning before and after school because he has to teach math. When did the subject we are teaching become more important than who we are teaching? Don't students deserve to have adults in their life who listen. Really listen to their thoughts and opinions, and to what is important to them, what they feel that they need to learn? (Field notes, July 15, 2008)*

OP reminded me of the need for teachers to be mentors for their students. The closer relationships formed after interviewing some of the participants highlighted the need for adults to not only listen to their voices, but care about what they have to say. This

research also confirmed my belief that learning should come from the students and the importance of collaborative learning.

These ideas were easier to put into practice in my most recent year of teaching as a classroom teacher in an International Baccalaureate Primary Years Program school. They were not, however, ideas presented when I studied to become a music teacher and did not find their way into my early teaching as a school-based music teacher. As I plan for my music teaching in the fall I have many questions to investigate. How can I apply my new understandings of critical pedagogy? How can I include more composition and collaboration in an elementary school music classroom? And how can I be a facilitator and mentor more than a teacher? One challenge of school teaching compared to OP is class size. With twenty to thirty students, how can I start with what they know in a meaningful and relevant way? Physical space also becomes a challenge to group work, as it is important for students to be able to hear themselves as they work in groups to create their own music. That this thesis has lead to change in the researcher is evidence, according to critical pedagogy (Freire 1970; Abrahams 2005b, 4), that true and meaningful learning has occurred, and that it has inspired action, at least in the researcher's future teaching practice, is evidence of its validity (Kvale 1996, 248-9).

5 ARE PROGRAMS LIKE OP NEEDED?

This research has found music to be highly meaningful and serve multiple purposes for the research participants. This is to be expected when interviewing instructors, many of whom are also active musicians, and participants who have chosen to participate in OP either as a hobby or because they are aspiring to have a professional artistic life. While their reasons for finding music meaningful are not new, the interviewee's stories reinforce the importance of the emotional and expressive nature of music. Interesting were the challenges music posed for our identities. The participants and instructors did not just use music to shape and express their identities, but music was part of the struggle between who they wanted to be and who they felt they should be. This was seen in the role conflict experienced by instructors, especially I3 and myself who received our music education training in institutions promoting the Canadian music education paradigm, and the pressures of the media and music industry on both participants and instructors. These findings make the student centred methods of teaching, which have much in common with critical pedagogy, even more important. Starting with what the learner already knows allowed participants to look critically at popular culture and the media, and the influence these have on their lives. Through instructor guidance and collaborating with participants with different backgrounds and interests, the participants were able to go beyond what they already knew, develop more interests and expand their creative ideas. Similar to these findings, Wenger's (1998) social perspective on learning includes as principles that learning is fundamentally experiential and fundamentally social, and that learning transforms our identities (227). The findings of this research were shaped by the interview guide's focus on learning and change. Had the questions focussed exclusively on instructor and participant experiences in OP (Ex. What is important to you about OP?), the responses could have been much different.

5.1 Future research

As this was my first experience in a space like OP I had many questions and much to learn. This research could be continued by taking one of the findings and examining it

in detail. The research was also limited to the program, participants and instructors available during my internship and it would be interesting to compare these findings with a wide range of programs and participants within OP or a program similar to OP, perhaps in another country. Furthermore, it would be interesting to interview the same group of participants after a longer period of time has passed, perhaps in five or ten years, allowing the participants more time to become conscious of their learning and changes.

The themes of access to programs and the influence of the media are important to pursue in future research. I also wonder to what extent gender, culture, class, age and race influenced responses. Women and mothers, for example, tended to have very nurturing responses. Additionally, Hip Hop and instrument courses tended to be taught by males while the early childhood and singing classes were taught by females. Gender issues in music such as these have been widely discussed in the literature (see for example Adler and Harrison 2004). I would also be interested in involving the YIP interns more in the research process. Such involvement could include identifying important themes about youth and youth or community development to be researched; and interviewing, leading focus group discussions, carrying out field research, or administering surveys. This idea comes out of YIP's goals and was part of the motivation for training YIP interns in research methods. Youth interviewing youth, for example, may lead to different findings due to the different dynamics and power relations of such an interview. Finally, in light of the findings of this study, I am interested in examining whether Canadian school-based music teachers perceive a need for change in how music is currently taught in schools.

5.2 A critical reflection

This research did not aim to glorify OP. There are reasons the findings were so positive. The nature of the questions in the interview guide themselves were positive, focussing on what learning and change took place. Perhaps questions such as, What did you dislike about OP? or What would you change about the program? could have led to more critical responses. Additionally, it is important to ask whether the overwhelmingly positive responses towards OP from participants and instructors was a result of the

small sample size or my insider role? Would thirteen to twenty-one year olds feel comfortable discussing things that they did not like about OP with one of their instructors? Did they worry that they might lose their paid position or chance to participate in YIP? Finally, because the program is reliant on external funding, there is a chance that interviewees worried that negative responses may lead to the program being shut down.

It is essential to ask what barriers were really broken down in OP? To what extent? And how?; and examine whether any barriers were created. The goals of OP included reducing geographic, economic, cultural, and social barriers to music education faced by marginalized communities, to enhance the diversity and equity within MC and increase its capacity to serve and be relevant to the city's increasingly diverse population. OP addressed geographic and economic barriers by locating the programs within partner organizations in marginalized neighbourhoods at no cost. Additionally, YIP interns received an income and training in valuable transferable skills. For at least one YIP intern, this was the only reason her parents allowed her to participate (see 2.3, p. 25). Other participants, such as P5 also received employment through OP. While participation may still involve transportation costs, these acts have greatly reduced the economic barriers to an institution known for high cost music education. As P3 explained, when the music course in her high school was cancelled her teacher recommended MC,

> *she said call them, find out their programs, check out the syllabus or whatever, right? But I looked at the tuition and I was like, yeah I can't do that. (P3, Individual interview, July 22, 2008)*

Just because a program is free, however, does not mean it is accessible. As recognized by I7, many of the participants she works with do not necessarily live close to the community centre. Many parents may not want to send their children to programs via public transportation, and others may not want their children going to a particular community centre because of the area's reputation or stigma. Interestingly, when I asked P6 if he thought more programs like OP are needed in the city, he replied,

> *I think that these programs should be more in the [marginalized] neighbourhoods and less in the middle class areas and stuff. 'Cause like, I'm considering myself a middle class, right? And I had the opportunity to get in the class, right? But a lot of people that are in the [marginalized] neighbourhoods don't even come to the rec. centres. My house is farther than the rec. centre, right? Than the [marginalized] neighbourhoods, but then*

they still don't go there. 'Cause like they just chill around it but they never go inside to look at the programs and stuff. (P6, Individual interview, July 28, 2008)

P6's comment leads one to wonder whether OP is truly reaching its target population.

OP's reach is limited due to funding which generally targets certain age groups, like youth, or neighbourhoods. As a result, many people living in other neighbourhoods and cities, or in other age categories who require programs and services are being left out. Thus important questions become, How do you reach the people you are trying to target? Who should have the power to decide who is 'poor,' 'in need,' or 'underserved'? How should this be determined? And who should be responsible for funding? These questions are also important in international development.

YIP interns were selected because of their dedication, commitment, potential, and interest in developing their musicianship and leadership skills. Two of the interns were already in college and one in university. As P6's comment above suggests, they are also resourceful, and able to find and take advantage of the programs available to them. During the summer, I lived with my sister who is the Student Success Leader in a publicly funded high school located in one of the city's marginalized neighbourhoods. Through our discussions it was evident that we were working with very different groups of young people. Furthermore, one YIP intern who had been identified as "very at-risk" had a lot of absenteeism during the program and I never learned the reason for this. Was this because the learning environment and culture of the program created barriers?

Cultural and social barriers were addressed in OP by trying to embrace the city's diversity by providing programs that reflect many musical styles and cultural traditions. The community was involved in program planning and the programs and classes were student centred and student directed, addressing barriers such as the silencing of voices that can happen in music curricula. Having a choice about whether to participate and what kind of skills to develop increased motivation, and collaborative learning, while challenging, provided opportunities to learn as much from each other as from the instructor, and thereby not be limited by what the instructor knows. Being both learner and teacher was empowering for participants, as was the opportunity not only for expression but also being heard, and developing new skills and understandings. Equally important was achieving a good balance between the process, by focussing on the journey and creation, and the product in the form of performances and recordings to

showcase this journey. Interns were taken seriously as musicians. This was especially important because entry requirements to university and college music programs prevented interns like P3 from applying,

> *that's why I can't really take [music] in school. Not because I don't think that I could do anything with it, but I don't have the theoretical background that a lot of the programs require. It would be too hard. (P3, Individual Interview, July 22, 2008)*

Access to music programs is important to provide people with an opportunity to realize their artistic potential. Through OP many of the participants realized that they were musicians and that they could compose and perform their own music. How many people exist in our societies who have yet to become conscious of their musical potential, and why is it important for them to do so? I6 believes that,

> *the world will benefit from it if every child, every human being is allowed to realize their potential. Or fail if they want to... we all squander, everyone one of us wastes opportunities or is lazy about this or that. So I feel that everybody has to have equal opportunity to waste their life as well as to reach their full potential. And if they're not educated, if nobody is allowing them to have a voice, and then listening to that voice, then we waste potential, so much potential. (I6, Individual interview, July 25, 2008)*

Despite this, YIP was suited to a specific learner style. The Applied Music Theory, Social History of Music and Research Methods classes were all very academic and favoured school type learning and discussions. For individuals interested in just making music, these classes could certainly create barriers to YIP. In addition, while OP aimed at creating an inclusive space where participants could learn about who they are and who they want to become supported by caring adults, it is impossible to ever know how inclusive a space really is. While interns liked having YIP at MC, MC is an intimidating space for many. The interns, however, came to YIP with a certain degree of confidence and knew some instructors and participants before the program began. Three of the YIP interns had also participated in the Music and Video Production class that was also held at MC. Questions must still be asked like, What kind of gender barriers exist in OP? Is OP, for example, a queer friendly space? Does it exclude individuals based on sexual orientation? How does the favoured music act to include or exclude some individuals? Can people of all physical abilities participate?

5.3 Wider significance

Poverty exists in both developing and developed countries. Finland, for example, is facing challenges similar to those in Canada, with immigrant populations in Helsinki having more than quadrupled since the beginning of the 1990s. Vilkama (2009) notes emerging patterns of residential segregation between native and immigrant households which are beginning to raise increasing concern from local politicians and urban planners. Additionally, Wahlbeck (2007) describes immigrants in Finland often experiencing marginalization and exclusion in the general labour market resulting in a relatively high rate of unemployment (544). It is important that Finland, Canada and countries in similar positions work toward greater social cohesion, integrating rather than segregating newcomers into society. As I6 said in her interview,

> *Regardless of your position on whether [immigrants] should be coming into our country or not...they are coming into our country and so they need to be absorbed into Canadian life and I can't think of a better way [than through music education]. (I6, Individual interview, July 25, 2008)*

So is there a need for programs like OP? Blacking (1973) argues that music cannot change societies, make people act, instill social values like brotherhood, or in itself generate thoughts, but that music can confirm situations that already exist and make people more aware of feelings they have experienced by reinforcing, narrowing or expanding their consciousness (107-8). The existence of a program like OP suggests an awareness of the barriers to music education in Canada and a possibility for institutions like MC to want change. This awareness is part of a growing community who believe that music and music education are not merely about art for arts' sake. This community believes music and music education are also about social change and social justice; that barriers such as marginalisation, exclusion, poverty and racism can and should be confronted through music education; and that it is every Canadian's right to receive music education that is engaging, motivating and transformative (Bartel and Cameron 2004, 40).

Programs like OP cannot change societies. Sandbank (2006) and Contenta et al. (2008), however, argue that money invested in preventative programs, such as community music programs, reduces money which may be required for more costly later interventions such as prisons and addiction rehabilitation programs. This being

said, although I1 valued the opportunity "for young people who are interested in music to have an opportunity and a space for them to develop their craft," he felt that programs like this cannot solve the fundamental causes of economic and political problems,

> *I also think that, again while I absolutely think it's valuable to have amazing music programs, there's also this assumption, whether it's the state or whatever, that you can solve economic and political problems by throwing cultural artsy type stuff at people...I don't think that having an amazing music program is necessarily going to change certain kinds of imbalances and stuff like that. (I1, Individual interview, July 7, 2008)*

Music programs such as OP, develop human capabilities, which Sen (1999) argues as being an end in itself (296). Sen affirms that, "The rewards of human development go, as we have seen, well beyond the direct enhancement of quality of life, and include also its impact on people's productive abilities and thus on economic growth on a widely shared basis" (144). From this research, it was clear that OP provided a space to develop new skills and knowledge in, about and through music increasing both participant and instructor's human capabilities. OP also engaged, motivated and transformed both participants and instructors through music programs. This occurred through the use of an outreach model, based on developing communities of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991), rather than the charity model, and teaching methods that have much in common with critical pedagogy.

Music is not the only subject in the school curricula silencing some voices while elevating others but merely reflects this pattern in society as a whole. By challenging these barriers, however, music educators might begin to widen their practice and curriculum and create spaces that students find meaningful. In this research, Community Music provided one such space. OP was able to make use of more accessible teaching methods and musics, and because OP instructors also teach music in other nonformal and formal spaces, there is potential for cross-pollination so that best practices, accessible practices, may spread. This is the case with my future teaching practice and the new ideas and challenges OP has ignited.

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7 APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Example information letter and consent form

Research methods literature and a university website on research ethics helped me create this information letter and consent form in which I introduced myself, explained the purpose of my research, and provided a consent form.

<u>Information Letter and Parental Consent Form</u>

From: Danielle Treacy, Masters of Arts student, University of Jyväskylä, Finland
Date: July 3, 2008
Re: Participation request for 'Teaching and Learning Music in Community-based Programs' (working title)

Dear Parent/Legal Guardian,

Please allow me to introduce myself. My name is Danielle Treacy. I earned my Bachelor of Music Education at the University of Toronto and my Bachelor of Education at Queen's University. Since then, I have been teaching in public and international schools as a music teacher, English teacher and classroom teacher. I am now pursuing a Master's of Arts degree in Education at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Part of my program involves doing an internship or 'work placement'. I have chosen to do my internship at MC (June 2-August 1, 2008) because I am interested in learning more about community-based music programs. As an intern, I will be contributing to the YIP in a teaching and research capacity. I will be co-teaching the course 'Applied Music Theory,' and participating in program evaluation and research activities.

Independently and separately from MC, I am working on my Masters thesis: Teaching and Learning Music in Community-based Programs (working title). I am interested in the meaning of the programs for both teachers and youth and the social contexts or spaces in which the music education occurs. I would like to collect data that I could use for my Masters thesis through observation and individual and group interviews. This will take place during YIP. Individual interviews will be held during the last two to three weeks of the program and be approximately one hour long. Please note that the interview will be recorded so that I may transcribe it at a later time. If you give permission for your child to be interviewed but your child or you feel very uncomfortable with him/her being recorded I can take detailed notes during the interview instead.

Please know that your child's participation in my study is voluntary. You are under no obligation whatsoever to allow your child to participate in my research. Your decision to

allow your child to participate and your child's responses will not affect your child's or your relationship with MC in any way. If you do allow your child to participate, your child does not have to respond to all questions. Your child can end his/her participation in the interview at any time, and in my research entirely simply by letting me know. Research participants have a right to anonymity, confidentiality and privacy. Research participants in my study will remain anonymous: no identifying information including names of individuals, programs, or organizations will be used in my thesis. A pseudonym will be assigned to your child's responses if any of these are quoted in the thesis.

Should you have any questions about this letter and my research, I would be happy to discuss these with you. Please feel free to contact me in-person, by phone ((XXX) XXX-XXXX) or e-mail (dashtrea@cc.jyu.fi). If you have any questions or concerns about my research, you can also contact Jane Smith, the Administrative Coordinator of MC at Tel: (111) 111-1111 ext. 111 and jane.smith@mc.com.

The perspectives of youth, community partners, and MC faculty and staff would greatly contribute to my research, and I thank-you for taking the time to consider this request. Finally, if you are interested in the findings of my research, I can send you or your child the abstract of my thesis once it is completed (probably Fall 2009).

Sincerely,

Danielle Treacy.
Masters of Arts student, University of Jyväskylä, Finland

Parental/Legal Guardian Consent

I have read and understood this letter and consent to _____
(please print your child's first and last name) participating in Danielle Treacy's Master's thesis research: Teaching and Learning Music in Community-based Programs (working title).

_____
First and last name of parent/legal guardian

Date:_____
Signature of parent/legal/guardian: _____

Relationship to child:_____

Appendix 2: Interview guides

Questions for program participants

I'd like to begin by focusing on some questions about identity.
MUSICAL IDENTITIES:

1. How would you describe or define yourself?
2. How do you think others would describe you?
    i.   I noticed that you **did not** mention that you are a musician. Why not?
    ii.   I noticed that you **mentioned** that you are a musician. What does it mean to be a musician?/ What is a musician?
3. What aspects of you come out more strongly in different spaces?
    i. Home
    ii. School
    iii. MC OP
    iv. Other programs
4. How important are the languages you speak or your background to your identity?
    i.   Do they influence your music making in anyway?
            (What language do you use in your compositions? Why?)
5. What kind of music do you listen to? Why?
    i. Do you listen to anything not from North America?
    ii. What kind of music do you hear at home? / What kind of music do your parents listen to?
    iii. How do the different types of music you listen to and hear influence your music making?
6. Why do you want to learn music?
7. How would you define the genre of music you make? Why do you want to learn this genre?
8. What other kinds of music would you be interested in learning? Would you be interested in learning an instrument like the piano, violin or trumpet? If so how would you want to learn?

I would now like to learn more about your experiences in the MC's outreach programs and spaces and similar programs in the community and your school.

9. What youth programs do you partake in outside of school?
    i. How are these programs and their spaces similar/different to the MC OP?
    ii. Why did you sign up for this program and not another?
10. What is the music program like at your school?
    i. Do you participate? Why/Why not?
    ii. How is the high school space similar/different to the OP?
    iii. Could a program like OP work in your school? Why or why not?
11. Outside of the school, what kind of music lessons or classes have you taken?
    i. How are these and their spaces similar and different to the programs at OP?

12. If you could design a music program for youth, what would it look like?
    i.   What would it feel like?
    ii.   What kinds of things would be in the spaces?
    iii. Who would the programs be for?
    iv.   Where would it run?

13. What have you learned in OP?
        i.How have you learned in these programs?
14. Would you be able to learn the same skills without this program? How?
15. What have you learned from these programs that you have been able to transfer to other areas of your life? Formal school? Work? Social or family life?
16. Have your experiences with OP changed you in anyway?
        i.Changed how you see yourself, others, the world/things?
        ii.Changed the way others see you?
        iii.Changed the way you interact with others (instructors, classmates, friends, etc.)?
17. What role have the following things played in your experiences in this program
    i.   The type/genre of music
    ii.   Collaborating with peers
    iii. Have the discussions we have been having in social history or research methods shaped your music making?

18. Is music important? Why?
19. Are music outreach programs like these needed?

20. What are your goals for the future?
21. Your goals as a musician?
22. What is helping you move towards your goals? What barriers exist?

23. Is there anything else you would like to add? For example, if you were me asking questions what kind of questions would you have asked?
24. If I need to follow up with you at a later date, may I contact you? How?
25. Would you like me to send you a copy of the transcript from this interview? The abstract from my thesis? How?
26. How did you feel about this interview?

Questions for instructors

1. **To begin**, researchers often describe people in their writing. If I write about you and our conversation today, how would you like to be described?
    i. Your identity
    ii. Background
    iii. Pseudonym
2. How is your description similar or different to how you think others would describe you, your family, friends, colleagues, students or even strangers, for example?
    i. *did they mention:
        a. The languages they speak?
        b. Their background?
        c. The genre(s) of music they listen to or make or teach?
3. I noticed that you **did not** mention that you are a musician. Why not?
    i. I noticed that you **mentioned** that you are a musician. What does it mean to be a musician?
4. I'd now like to learn more about the different contexts and spaces in which you have taught music. By spaces I don't just mean the physical places, but also the spaces of social interaction.
5. What music programs or classes do you teach and have you taught
    i. Within OP?
    ii. Outside of OP?
6. What genre(s) or type(s) of music do you teach?
    i. Can you define or describe it for me?
    ii. Why have you chosen to teach this genre of music? / **Why do you teach singing/guitar/children's music?/ Why do you think people want to or should sing/play guitar?**
    iii. How do you pick the repertoire for your music classes? (languages?)
    iv. For I3: Unlike in a lot of performances, you invited the audience to sing and you yourself sang with the choir. You even invited me to sing when I visited the program. Why?
    v. For I3: When the singers performed at X there was a woman who stood up, sang, and made her way to where the choir was performing. How did you perceive this event? Why do you think she joined in? How did it make you feel? What meaning did it have for you?
7. Can you describe the spaces (both physical and social) in which you teach music?
    i. In what ways are these different spaces conducive to teaching music?
    ii. What are the obstacles present?
    iii. How have you had to be innovative or had to adapt to contend with the obstacles in these spaces?
8. Overall, how is teaching in outreach similar to and different from teaching in other contexts?
9. Could your music program/class work in a (public) school? Why or why not?
10. The last part of the interview is about your personal philosophy of music education as well as the impact teaching in the outreach programs has had on you.

11. Why do you teach music?
    i.   What is your personal philosophy of music education?
12. Why do you teach in the outreach programs?
    i.   What impact or meaning has teaching in outreach programs had on you?
13. What have you learned by teaching in the outreach programs? How?
14. How have your experiences teaching in the outreach program changed
    i.   **You**
          a.   The way you see yourself/your identity?
          b.   Others?
          c.   The role of music or musicians in society?
    ii.   How others see you or their attitudes toward you?
    iii. The way you interact with others?
    iv.   **Your students?**
    v.   **Your teaching?**
    vi.   Your philosophy of music education?
    vii. **You as a musician**, your performing, composing or art-making?
15. If you could design the outreach programs yourself,
    i.   What would it look like?
    ii.   Feel like?
    iii. What kinds of things would the spaces include?
    iv.   Who would the programs be offered to/who could participate?
    v.   Where would it run?
16. **Finally**, in your opinion, why are music programs like those offered through RCM's outreach needed?
    i.   Benefits to the learner, the community?
17. Is there anything that you would like to add?
18. **Thank you** for meeting with me today. If I need to follow up with you later, may I contact you? How?
    i.   Would you like me to send you a copy of the transcript from this interview?
    ii.   The abstract from my thesis?
    iii. How?
19. How did you feel about this interview?

Appendix 3: MC

During I1's interview he described the space at MC and in OP at length. He raised many important and complex issues involved in OP related to elitism and institutional change which are worth quoting at length.

The MC is a really interesting place because depending on who you are and where you live and your experiences with not just the MC but institutions like the MC is interesting. I think for a lot of youth they don't even know what it is. And then there's some of them who've heard of it but they've heard of it in terms of kind of classical music type of thing. There are people in the youth development sector who view it as a white elitist institution that's now basically competing for the same funds that they are, when the need for them to exist in the first place was to create some kind of balance precisely because the MCs were the ones who were really getting any kind of support... It's precisely because of that problematic image. And I think it's more than an image, I think that to a large degree it has proved that it's a space that's not very friendly to a lot of people...it is essentially a space that is largely white middle class at least and embraces particular forms of music, because a lot of those musics are racialized anyway, right?...

For some people it's a mixed bag of feelings and emotions because you have an institution that's that highly regarded that's finally recognizing other forms of art, that's good, right? And so that's the whole kind of high culture, low culture debate... Then you get people also really concerned that funds that were essentially designated for groups who were committed to working with marginalized young people from working class areas, etc. etc., and areas that have all kinds of bloody stereotypes and stigmas and whatever attached to it. Now all of a sudden whatchamacallit wants a game in that... Having said that, the other thing about this space is precisely because of that elitist history. And I shouldn't say history as if it ended but the image that's attached to it... Precisely because this kind of weird moment in the history of an organization where it needs to kind of go, to some degree, do your thing as long as it works .... For me it's really interesting because a lot of questions that I have about South Africa is kind of encapsulated in this institution, in terms of transition. How do you deal with transition and all of those kinds of things... Looking at particular kinds of institutions or whatever that's going through some kind of transformation and the degree to which they hold on to a particular kind of image and the degrees to which they are prepared to go beyond that and when they go beyond that what gets co-opted in the process or embraced or whatever, right? And so it actually speaks to a lot of my concerns in South Africa but also globally, because this isn't unique to here, it's not unique to South Africa and so on. But to try to find those kinds of links.

At the same time I'm very fortunate that the immediate group of people that I'm linked with, there's a good energy and vibe just as human beings and in terms of their social concerns and stuff like that, that there's at least some kind of same pageness that's fostered... There is a genuine concern about the young people...being aware of how spaces can be intimidating and stuff like that. And it's tricky because teaching in the outreach, a lot of the time it's at community centres. That is a double edged sword because it's in their backyard and to travel two hours is no joke. It's expensive for a lot of people as well. At the same time for a lot of young people to come here there's also a kind of validation of the stuff that they're doing and acknowledgement... Because with outreach programs a lot of those youth get ghettoized as well. (I1, Individual interview, July 7, 2008)

Appendix 4: The neighbourhoods

I feel like there's a lot of negativity kind of attached to those labels, you know? Like on one hand it's like people wanna help you, but on the other hand it's like you come from here you must be like this. (P3, Individual interview, July 22, 2008)

The purpose of adding this appendix is to provide some demographic information about the three neighbourhoods in which Centre A, B and C are located. I do so cautiously for readers unfamiliar with Canada. The information refers to the neighbourhoods, and thus may not describe the participants. There are many complex motives underlying where an individual or family chooses to live. To maintain anonymity, the demographic information for the three neighbourhoods below has been separated. The information comes from the Statistics Canada, 2006 Census and the city's webpage.

The official languages in Canada are English and French.
Percent of the population with no knowledge of either English or French: 4.6%, 5.9%, 7.6%

Home language refers to the language spoken most often or on a regular basis at home.
Percent of the population with non-official home language: 34.5%, 47.8%, 49.2%
Top 5 home languages:

• Chinese, Urdu, Tamil, Persian (Farsi), Gujarati

• Punjabi, Gujarati, Arabic, Tamil and Urdu

• Tamil, Chinese, Urdu, Tagalog (Filipino), Gujarati

Percent visible minority: 77.2%, 85.3%, 86.6%

Ethnic origin refers to the ethnic or cultural group(s) to which the respondent's ancestors self-identified. Top 10 Ethnic Groups:

• East Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Greek, Afghan, Canadian, English, South Asian Nie

• East Indian, Jamaican, Canadian, Italian, Somali, Sri Lankan, Iraqi, South Asian Nie, English, Pakistani

• East Indian, Sri Lankan, Jamaican, Chinese, Filipino, Canadian, English, Tamil, Guyanese, Scottish

(Nie - Not included elsewhere)

Percent of the population who are recent (within the 5 years prior to the census) immigrants: 11.3%, 22.2%, 23%

Incidence of Low Income

- Economic Families: 23%, 28.8%, 36.7%
- Individuals 15+: 45.6%, 47.4%, 51.5%
- Private Households: 24.1%, 31.0%, 40.1%