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Teaching fiddling: a multi-sited case study of traditional music in classroom settings

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF FINE ARTS

Dissertation

**TEACHING FIDDLING:
A MULTI-SITED CASE STUDY OF
TRADITIONAL MUSIC IN CLASSROOM SETTINGS**

by

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ABSTRACT

The last twenty years have shown increased focus on expanding the stylistic boundaries of string music education. The many styles of traditional fiddling are a natural answer to the call for a culturally responsive curriculum in the string classroom, but they each come with their own history, context, and methods of transmission. These can pose challenges to music teachers with experience only in Western art music. To what extent and how are methods of folk music transmission finding their way into classrooms? How are string teachers meeting the need to teach music outside of their own experience? How does the context of the music change when it enters a classroom setting?

This ethnographic multi-sited case study was designed to investigate existing examples of how traditional fiddling is currently taught. The result is a picture of how two individual educational scenarios incorporate elements of traditional music transmission, informal learning, social collaboration, and group instruction into their educational design. I explored the backgrounds and values that instructors and

directors bring to each program and those of the musical traditions represented, and investigated how these are negotiated in the development of instrumental music programs. These programs are unique in that they feature group instruction, but classes are taught by tradition bearers.

The programs studied here are Mountain Music for Youth (MMY, a pseudonym) in two counties in the southeastern United States. The two programs are primarily focused on traditional Southern American mountain music, with classes offered in fiddle, banjo, guitar, flatfoot dancing, and mountain dulcimer. Data was collected through observations of classes and performances, interviews with teachers and program directors, and document collection. First, I identified and explored four themes: “Music became my social life,” playing with others as a curriculum, values of the musical tradition, and need for instructor training. Then, using Schippers’s (2010) Twelve Continuum Transmission Framework (TCTF), I explored context, modes of transmission, dimensions of interaction, and approach to cultural diversity.

Aural/oral and holistic learning, ties to lifelong social groups through music, and skills for participation in music communities play significant roles in the findings of this research. I argue for development of a participatory competency to be included in secondary instrumental curricula and in music teacher preparation programs to prepare students for lifelong participation in a wide variety of musics. Findings from this study can offer tools and perspective for string educators: a

window into musical and non-musical elements that are central in the minds of tradition bearers as they pass their music on to the next generation.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

String players, students, teachers, and enthusiasts today are fiddling¹ more than ever before (Forsyth, 2011; Goertzen, 2014; Gongaware, 2016; Hendricks & Smith, 2018; Jabbour, 2014; Lindamood, 2011; McMahon, 2014; Mick, 2012; Oare, 2008; Olson, 2018). As string educators embrace an increasingly wide variety of musics, we must look at how our perspectives, assumptions, and habits interact with the musical traditions we present.

Ethnomusicologists have long recognized that diverse musical traditions are distinguished not only by sound, but by cultural contexts and modes of transmission. (e.g. Abril, 2006; Blacking, 1987; Gilbert, 2018; Herrick, 2015; Mars, Sæther, Folkestad, 2015; McLucas, 2010; Nettl, 2009, 2015a). When fiddle traditions (or any musics) are introduced to classroom settings, they are recontextualized; that is, the social and cultural contexts in which the musics unfold are changed in some way, as are means and methods of teaching and learning (Boon, 2014; Campbell, 2011; Campbell & Higgins, 2015; Cope, 2002; Drummond, 2010; Hill, 2005; Mellizo, 2018; Olson, 2014; Reyes, 2018; Schippers, 2010; Shiobara, 2011; Silva, 2004; Solis, 2004; Talbot, 2010).

Regardless of the genre, music teachers face sets of competing musical and cultural values: their own, those of their students, those of the institution, and those

¹ For the purposes of this study, fiddle and fiddling will be used to denote the playing of bowed string instruments in traditional and vernacular music traditions.

of the musical tradition. Schippers (2010) categorized these values into three categories: tradition, authenticity, and context (p. 41). The question remains, according to Solis (2004), “how do we represent the rich cultures we revere while we acknowledge and deal with the cultural distance between us and our students, and between both of us and these cultures?” (p. 4). This calls for first examining our own cultural assumptions and biases (Kallio & Westerlund, 2020; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Lind & McKoy, 2016; Mellizo, 2018; Thapa, 2020), and developing cultural humility. Dolloff (2020) defined cultural humility as “an attitude toward engagement with peoples of cultures other than one’s own. The stance is based on life-long, self-reflective inquiry, and seeks to disrupt the power imbalance that defines ‘othering’, seeking to establish partnerships and collaboration” (p. 135).

A Limited Lens

Many have suggested that formalized approaches to music education have reflected primarily the values and practices of Western classical music² (Anderson & Campbell, 2010; Bradley, 2015; Clements, 2012; Elpus & Abril, 2011, 2019; Hess, 2017; Hill, 2019; Jaffurs, 2004; Jorgensen, 2003; Reyes, 2018; Seeger, 1957; Small, 1996, Waldron, 2006, 2009, 2011, 2012; Waldron & Veblen, 2009; Wicks, 1998; Woody, 2012). Much of music teaching has been founded on a 19th-century German conservatory model (Campbell, 1991; Green, 2002; Mark & Gary, 2007; Schippers,

² This study will use Schippers’s (2010) definition of Western classical music as “European-style tradition of composed art music from the beginning of the eighteenth to the early decades of the twentieth century” (p. xii).

2004, 2007; Shehan, 1986; Volk, 1998). The “rigid orientation toward Western European [classical] music” which prevails (Wicks, 1998, para. 2) represents the values of a specific musical population. This model enculturates music students into a way of perceiving music from a Eurocentric perspective, placing musics that fit into its value system at a higher or more elite level. In other words, it upholds the ideology of white supremacy (Hess, 2017; Koza, 2008). Bradley (2015) attested that the continuing predominantly White participation in school performing ensembles is a result of this “obvious agenda of cultural Whiteness” (p. 194) in North American music education. Disrupting the “normative” model of music education and its privilege of White aesthetic, process, and history calls for not only addressing repertoire choices but also carefully “constructing our pedagogies to honor transmission and performance practices integral to their chosen musics” (Hess, 2017, p. 24).

When music teachers design and implement instruction of music that comes from outside of their experiences, they must consider a broad range of factors or risk presenting “simplistic models and solutions” (Jorgensen, 2002, p. 44) based on their own musical orientation and the structure of the institutions in which they teach. The sounds and practices of a music dictate how it should be taught (Morgan-Ellis, 2019; Waldron, 2006, 2018; Wicks, 1998). For example, a musical tradition that places a strong value on participation (Turino, 2008) will require of its players different skills than one in which becoming a concert player is the primary goal (Cope & Smith, 1997; Waldron, 2007). In a participatory music as defined by Turino

(2008), such as old-time stringband music in the United States, learning by ear “preserve[s] the notion that there is no one way to play” a tune (Thibeault, 2009, p. 270). In contrast, a musical environment which calls for playing the same notes each time might better rely on prescriptive notation. In a discussion of traditional Irish music learning modes, Smith (2005) stated, “when pedagogical or analytical tools distort musical priorities, they not only impede transmission but also erode stylistic specificity.” Smith continued, “The best resource for models, methods and philosophies in this music is the tradition itself” (p. 70). Different solutions are needed in the music classroom depending on what musics are being learned. We cannot assume that a skill set required to play Western European classical music in an ensemble will enable our students to engage with other musics.

Similarly, teachers must strive to understand values and contexts of musical cultures they wish to represent in the classroom. Schippers (2010) urged music educators “to develop an understanding that is sensitive to culturally diverse realities but workable within specific educational environments” (p. 44). Small (1998) stated that: “Performance practices associated with Western European art music and the philosophical assumptions associated with that practice are. . . not necessarily consistent with other world music performance practices” (p. 46). Drummond (2010) warned that teaching from a singular viewpoint “sets up universals based on one culture, and denies the validity of ways that other cultures use to describe and evaluate their own practices” (p. 123). Hill (2009), naming Western art music a music “superculture,” named these universals as:

Technical virtuosity, harmonic complexity, standardized tempered intonation, written notation, faithfulness to the score, authority of the composer, a canon of great works by prodigy composers, subfield and role specialisations, orchestral hierarchy, elite high-culture status, progress through the innovations of individual composers, and apolitical transcendental artistry. (p. 211)

One might also include staged, concertized performance and the specific role of prescriptive written notation among these ideals. Further, Reyes (2018) explained that, if compared to a universal standard from a single musical art, world musics would be undervalued and underappreciated. Universal standards for art cannot truly be universal: This is simply a way to accept without acknowledgement that one cultural set of standards is dominant over others. For example, the prevalent use of the term “standard notation” implies that the notation is universally relevant to all types of music, while it was developed to represent specifically the sounds called for by European art music composers. Ewell (2021) outlined how mainstreaming this “universal” approach in music theory has become a universally-white approach, whereby western functional tonality is “the only organizational force in music worthy of music theory’s consideration in the classroom” (p. 2). Reyes (2018) continued, “Such an ethos hinders the willingness of educators to learn other musics, to continue to develop musically, and to teach musics of the world in the school setting” (p. 15).

Olson (2014) recounted his own experience navigating the challenges of

participating in a school orchestra program as a young traditional fiddler, making tangible how each maintained different cultural perspectives:

It wasn't just that the musical sounds and styles of classical music were different, but also that that my fiddle-playing friends and I actually thought about music differently than my high school colleagues. The legacy, purpose, and practice of classical music contrasted, sometimes significantly, with the legacy, purpose, and practice of fiddling. (p. 4)

A widening viewpoint has crucial implications in music educators serving increasingly diverse student population in the United States. Maintaining Euro-centric assumptions as we choose content, delivery methods, and gatekeepers has resulted in a “pedagogy rooted in white conceptions of art and education” (Karvelis, 2018, p. 74). Deep consideration of the cultures of students and of the music we share with them can only take place when we consider both together. Privileging musics and their associated value systems and pedagogical modes over others naturally privileges certain students over others (Bond, 2017; Bond & Russell, 2019; Clements, 2012; Green, 2008b; Mantie & Talbot, 2015). Green (2008b) argued that ideologies that uphold Western European classical music as superior often call on the image of a “musical mass,” or general public that needs to be educated in musical taste:

Classical music has maintained a hegemonic position of cultural superiority ever since the Enlightenment. Ideology immanently ratifies and maintains the dominance of an elite musical institution that, with its reified products, is

made to seem superior; and it does so by propagating the appearance that there is a musical mass which, along with its profane products, is not very musical. Hence a complex and multifarious division is created and maintained between elite and mass musical styles. (p. 17)

To broaden our perspective in this way, Gates (2020) argued, we need to:

promote a humane approach to musicking that is grounded in such global capacities as an understanding of and practice in the skills, knowledge, and dispositions that encourage cross-cultural flows of musical ideas. These include a knowledge of music-making's place in human societies, and an awareness and an appreciation of differences in taste. (p. 27)

This calls for reconsidering which music, or “whose music” (Hess, 2017) is presented, and rooting musics with deep understanding of how, why, and under what circumstances the music has transpired, instead of processing and presenting it through the lens of one dominant music.

Tradition, Authenticity, and Context

Tradition

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *tradition* as “the action of transmitting or handing down, from one to another, or from generation to generation...esp. by word of mouth or by practice without writing” (“Tradition,” 2011, entry 4a.). Nettl (1982) defined tradition as “a concept that combines the stable nature of a culture’s way of life with the implication that by its very existence over long periods of time this way of life is subject to change” (p. 3). In the current study, I use the word

tradition to refer to a long-established trend of transmission of information, beliefs, and values among a group of people. By referring to a “trend of transmission,” I acknowledge that traditions are in varying states of flux, and not limited to a canon or set attributes. Traditional music, or traditional folk music, will indicate a music that is shared among an intergenerational group of people and historically passed down aurally/orally.³

Schippers (2010) identified two opposite ways to perceive tradition in music. The first is to approach music as a “frozen in time” picture of a tradition, and the second is to approach music as continuously changing and being affected by new influences (p. 45). Schippers (2010) argued that in no actual education setting would we see either end of this spectrum. It is common, however, among formal educational contexts, newcomers to a musical tradition, and revivalists, to regard a tradition more as a static phenomenon than as a practice in flux (Goertzen, 2014; Hill & Bithell, 2014; McCarthy, 2002; Schippers, 2010; Wood, 2015; Wooley, 2003).

Szego (2002) noted that ethnomusicology has historically been lacking in “tightly focused descriptions of music transmission and learning,” (p. 710), but has

³ I use the term “traditional music” with this loose definition for delineating between a range of musics which have these aspects of context and transmission in common and two other ranges of music: commercial music, which offers much wider access but less intergenerational participatory engagement, and Western classical art music, which has dictated and narrowed the scope of much school music learning in the United States (Bradley, 2015; Campbell, 1991; Clements, 2012; Elpus & Abril, 2011, 2019; Green, 2002; Hess, 2017; Hill, 2019; Jorgensen, 2003; Reyes, 2018; Seeger, 1957; Small, 1996). Others have used the much contested “folk music,” and more recently, “roots music” (McLucas, 2010); “traditional” is simply the term I have heard used most often by practitioners when referencing the music they play.

more recently included focus on social contexts of music learning, including accounts of researchers' own forays into learning to play the music they are studying (e.g. Bakan, 1999; Forsyth, 2011; Rice, 1995). Transmission is a central concept in Schippers's (2010) approach:

Methods of transmission should be anything but an afterthought in the study of music traditions across the globe; they are crucial elements in their survival. Especially in the case of unwritten traditions, this is where the music of the recent past is handed on and preserved. This is mostly achieved through well-developed protocols and processes, including a formalized relationship with a senior bearer of the tradition, a long apprenticeship, and mechanisms such as rote learning, imitation, and modeling. (p. 46)

Authenticity

The term *authenticity* has long played key roles in discussions about music (Bohlman, 1993; Campbell, 2001; Szego, 2002; Väkevä, 2009). For some musicians, authenticity means adhering as closely as possible to sounds made or notated in the past, whereas for others, authenticity may imply finding one's own unique identity (Folkestad, 2006; Lilliestam, 1995; Moore, 2002; Schippers, 2010), engaging one's creativity (Hill, 2009; Kisliuk & Gross, 2004), validating the listener's experience (Moore, 2002), or acting as an agent of change on a living culture (Nettl, 2015a). In a performance-based music, Moore (2002) recommends considering authenticity from three perspectives: first person authenticity, where an audience becomes engaged with the performers themselves, instead of their sounds and gestures;

second person authenticity, where listeners feel validated or personally connected to the musical performance; and third person authenticity, where a performer accurately conveys the ideas of another. Parkinson and Smith (2015) contended that some musical cultures' definitions of authenticity may present conflict with its inclusion in educational systems. For example, when a musical tradition's authenticity stands against capitalist institutions (hip-hop, punk, and I would add, traditional mountain music could all at times be included in this category), its relationship to the educational setting inherently challenges its culture and values.

Early practices of transcribing and arranging folk songs as sources for educational materials have largely given way to presenting musical sounds from different parts of the world more accurately, replicating not only pitches and rhythms, but nuances as well, using musical instruments and techniques derived from their cultures of origin (Campbell, 2011; Clements, 2010). Focus on the processes of different musical cultures has increasingly been given attention as well (e.g. Anderson & Campbell, 2010; Wade, 2013). Campbell and Higgins (2015) noted that:

Changing demographics, globalization, and mandates of multiculturalism have turned music educators toward a search for musical sources and the means by which they are transmitted, and have led them along the well-traveled pathways of ethnomusicologists, whose work has embraced music, learning, and transmission across cultures. (p. 653)

Via partnerships and conferences, ethnomusicologists have influenced the

perception of authenticity in music education with the maxim, “music in, and as, culture” (Kruger, 2011; Schippers, 2006; Volk, 1998). Despite the ideological development, many believe that there is a gap between this increase in understanding and actual changes in the classroom and in higher education (Campbell, et al 2016; Clements, 2010; Drummond, 2010; Kallio & Westerlund, 2020; Locke & Prentice, 2016; McCarthy, 2002; Schippers, 2007; Schippers & Campbell, 2018; Szego, 2002; Waldron, 2006, 2007). Robinson (2003) contended that, “What it means to be musically educated in colleges and public schools has clearly changed since the 1930s; the institutions of musical learning have not kept pace” (p. 25).

Instrumental programs, including strings, have seen slower change than their general music counterparts (Campbell & Higgins, 2015; Williams, 2009). A Task Force on the Undergraduate Music Major of the College Music Society determined that “fundamental overhaul of university-level music study is necessary if we are to bridge the divide between academic music study and the musical world into which our students and the students of future years will graduate” (Campbell, et al, 2016, p. 11).

Western classical musicians are unique in their complete dependency upon notation (Jeffery, 1992; Small, 1998), but notation is often an insufficient vehicle to represent a musical tradition or its associated sounds (Blacking, 1987; Forsyth, 2011; Goetze, 2000; McCarthy, 1995, 2004; McLucas, 2010; Seeger, 1950; Waldron, 2006; Woody, 2012). Relying on sheet music transcriptions to represent certain

types of music can result in contradicting the native culture's values of authenticity in performance (Blacking, 1987; Nettl, 1985; Schippers, 2010; Wiggins, 2005). In Schippers' words, "all aspects that cannot be written down may be ignored or replaced by Western interpretation" (2010, p. 51). In addition, notation used as a prescriptive tool (as opposed to a record of a previous performance, an archival tool, or a memory aid) carries the implicit assumption that notated aspects of the music must transpire the same way each time (Cope, 1999; Lilliestam, 1996; McLucas, 2010; Small, 1996; Turino, 2008). The belief that notation, particularly a specific notation designed for a specific musical culture, represents the universal path to understanding music stands in the way of truly investigating processes, values, and cultures of different types of music, and, according to Elliott (1995), notation and music literacy "is only one part of the formal and procedural dimensions of musicianship" (p. 61).

Context

The maxim, "music in, and as, culture" placed context as a centerpiece for understanding world music and introduced ideas of anthropology and sociology to multicultural music education. The International Society for Music Education's *Policy on Music of the World's Cultures* (1996) urged music educators to consider music from an ethnomusicological perspective, stating that, "Music can best be comprehended in social and cultural context and as a part of its culture. Properly understanding a culture requires some understanding of its music, and appreciating music requires some knowledge of its associated culture and society." The ensuing

dilemma is that music brought into a classroom cannot entirely retain its original context.

What is an original context? Schippers (2010) argued that recontextualization that takes place in music education reflects a greater reality in that music worldwide is continually recontextualized (such as Ghanaian drum circles taking place in Belgium or Western classical orchestral music in Asia) (p. 54), and that musical traditions are constantly in flux, and recontextualization one contributor to constant change. Bernstein (Wright & Froelich, 2012) defined recontextualization as the change from knowledge in its original state to “school knowledge,” or a version that has been acted on by agents and systems of education. The resulting changes represent the habitus of those in control of the curriculum. “The choices toward which music educators presently teach are predicated on an unspoken mandate by those in positions to exercise control over curriculum content and formation to perpetuate a particular form of musical capital as valued knowledge” (Wright & Froelich, 2012, p. 219).

Change of context does not in itself present an insurmountable problem in music education, but recontextualizing music without first carefully considering presentation style can be problematic. Before undertaking implementation of multicultural curricula, educators need to ask specific questions to develop this understanding (Gates, 2020; Hill, 2019; Jorgensen, 2003; Lundquist, 1998; Mellizo, 2018, 2019; Szego, 2002; Westerlund, et al, 2020; Wright & Froelich, 2012), which I will explore in Chapter 2.

The Fiddle in String Education

The challenges of including a global musical agenda in instrumental curricula are compounded by the specific band and orchestra instrumentation typically institutionalized in schools and available for study in private lesson studios (Cope & Smith, 1997; Fetter, 2011; Palmer, 1991). Innumerable musical traditions across the globe employ bowed stringed instruments in primary or supporting roles—a wealth of cultural offerings to draw upon in string education (Bergonzi, 2006; Black, 2012; Dabczynski, 2002; Kuzmich, 2005; Lieberman, 2004; Smeall, 2001). Brenner (2010) noted:

Strings are not limited to playing classical masterworks but are among the most versatile instruments stylistically and culturally, with music from virtually every style period... Strings remain an important voice in contemporary music in both classical and popular genres. (p. 57)

For the purposes of this study, fiddle and fiddling will be used to denote the playing of bowed string instruments in traditional and vernacular music traditions. For example, I have cited relevant research on fiddle playing in musics referred to by authors as Celtic, Mariachi, Irish, Scottish, old-time, vernacular, folk, traditional, non-traditional, Appalachian mountain, Japanese Naguta, alternative or eclectic styles, and multistyle musics, as well as genre-non-specific “fiddling.” The two communities that I have investigated feature Southeast Appalachian stringband and vocal music, with influences from long traditions of local social music as well as “revivalists,” or musicians who came to the music from outside its geographical

locations (Goertzen, 2014; Jabbour, 2014; Ruchala, 2011; Wood, 2015; Wooley, 2003). In visiting these communities from the outside, the music played locally can feel like a single “type” or “genre” of music, but participants in this study differ from each other in the language they use to name the music they play (I have listed these in Chapter 4). More commonly, people call their music “music.” For this study, I will refer to the tapestry of musical influences, values, and repertoire as “mountain music.” This was a moniker used by several participants, connects to the pseudonym “Mountain Music for Youth,” and is unlikely to be confused with mountain musics from other regions of the world.

Integration of fiddling into string education is a goal of many string teachers and the impetus behind the American String Teachers’ Association’s *Eclectic Strings* movement (Allsup & Olson, 2012; Dabczynski, 2002; Fetter, 2011; Gillespie, 2015; Gongaware, 2016; Hendricks & Smith, 2018; Mick, 2012; Lindamood, 2011; Olson, 2014). Some posit that genres of fiddle music may increase school and lifelong music participation because of opportunities for communal music experiences (Blanton, 2016; Waldron & Veblen, 2009); increased freedom and enjoyment (Godwin, 2015; Goertzen, 2014; Huneven, 2010; Mick, 2012; Pellegrino, 2015; Veblen & Waldron, 2016; Woody, 2012), or self-efficacy (Hendricks & Smith, 2018). Increased diversity of musical content, processes, and contexts can help to achieve better equity in participation (Abril, 2009; Benham, 2011; Herrick, 2015; Howard, et al., 2014).

For many string teachers, there are barriers to teaching traditional fiddling

styles with appropriate methods of pedagogy. Many string teachers lack knowledge of performance and teaching styles outside of Western classical music (Brown, 1983; Campbell et al., 2016; Howard, et al., 2014; Lindamood, 2011; Lundquist, 2002; Robinson, 2003; Schippers, 2007; Wang & Humphreys, 2009). Much of higher education today does not prepare pre-service teachers with experiences teaching multicultural musics or their pedagogical modes of music learning or transmission practices (Brown, 1983; Campbell et al., 2016; Conley, 2017; Howard, et al., 2014; Lindamood, 2011; Lundquist, 2002; Robinson, 2003; Schippers, 2007; Smeall, 2001; Smith, 1995; Wang & Humphreys, 2009). In fact, applicants to college music programs whose experience in music is outside the classical canon are not likely to be accepted, therefore making the path to music teaching certification unattainable (Koza, 2008).

Historically, much fiddle music is learned outside formal educational settings and without printed music, for example, from imitating a mentor (Blanton, et al., 2016; Hendricks & Smith, 2018; Smith, 2005; Veblen, 1991), in sessions (Bayley & Waldron, 2020; Cope, 2002; Godwin, 2015; McCarthy, 1999; Waldron, 2006, 2007, Waldron & Veblen, 2009), through self-tuition (Bayley & Waldron, 2020; Black, 2012; Blanton, 2016; O'Flynn, 2011; Williams, 2015), or through a combination of all three (Cawley, 2013; Miller 2016). Therefore, skills developed in undergraduate string programs, such as sight-reading, harmonic analysis, and counterpoint, can be irrelevant when attempting to understand a new music.

Background/Context

As interest and visibility of fiddle musics increase within music education (Lindamood, 2011; Olson, 2014, Thibeault, 2009), the responsibilities of string educators are changing. At many post-secondary institutions, there is little to no diversity in music studied by pre-service string teachers (Allsup, 2015; Campbell et al., 2016; Hendricks & Smith, 2018; Klocko, 1989; Lieberman, 2004; Lindamood, 2011; Lundquist, 2002; Olson, 2014; Schippers, 2007); Fiddle music is in particular “still a relatively new and rare phenomenon in institutions of higher education in North America” (Olson, 2014, p. 335). “The ‘music’ in schools of music always means, exclusively or overwhelmingly, Western classical music (also called ‘art music,’ ‘canonic music,’ ‘cultivated music,’ serious music,’ and even—wryly—‘real music’ and ‘normal music’)” (Nettl, 1995b, p. 3, see also Black, 2012; Blacking, 1987; Campbell, 1989, 1991, 2002b; Campbell et al., 2016; Elliott, 1995; Green, 2012; Klocko, 1989; Lindamood, 2011; Nettl, 2010; O’Flynn, 2005; Reimer, 2002; Small, 1998; Swanwick, 1992; Volk, 1993; Wang & Humphreys, 2009; Woody & Lehmann, 2010).

The exclusive focus on orchestral music in higher education indicates that the generally accepted practice for teaching strings in the United States has been limited to standard orchestral training, i.e., learning and performing from printed music, studying repertoire from the Western art music tradition, and participating in ensembles under the direction of a conductor (Allsup, 2015; Bergonzi, 2006; Campbell et al., 2016; Fetter, 2011; Lindamood, 2011; Olson, 2014; Smeall, 2001;

Thibeault, 2009, Wang & Humphreys, 2009). Mantie, et al (2017) reminded us:

“Today, our musical culture is incredibly diverse and opportunities for music engagement are many and varied. Our continued devotion to a singular model of music-making tends to ignore this diversity” (p. 5). Integration of a broad range of musical styles into the orchestra curriculum is an increasing goal of string teachers, as reflected by conference offerings, journal articles, and standards for music teachers of the American String Teachers’ Association (Kuzmich, 2005; Lindamood, 2011; Olson, 2014).

Several events pushed the string education community toward a broader acceptance of fiddling. The National Standards for the Arts, published in 1994, represented a formal expectation for music educators to include exposure to multicultural music, improvisation, and composition in their curricula. This stipulation for music educators to provide instruction in music of a variety of styles and skills followed a precedent set by the Tanglewood Declaration, published in 1967 by the Music Educators National Conference (Mark & Gary, 2007). Among other directives, the Declaration stated that in music education,

Music of all periods, styles, forms, and cultures belongs in the curriculum.

The musical repertory should be expanded to involve music of our time in its rich variety, including currently popular teenage music and avant-garde music, American folk music, and the music of other cultures. (Volk, 1998, p. 201)

The founding of the student group Saline Fiddlers Philharmonic led to publication of *Fiddlers Philharmonic* (Dabczynski & Phillips, 1999), which provided a model fiddle tune curriculum for many string teachers. An alternative styles symposium for string teachers was held in 1999 at Eastman School of Music, exposing educators to the wide variety of music available for stringed instruments. Also in 1999, the members of the American String Teachers Association created its Alternative Styles Committee (later renamed Eclectic Styles), making a point of endorsing activities in string education that included exposure to and participation in non-classical music genres. “Alternative styles” was a term adopted after much consideration by founders of the committee; they determined that it be applied “to encompass everything that wasn’t classical and deserved to be taught” (Williams, 2009).

Despite increasing enthusiasm, changing the canon of music taught in classrooms across the country presents challenges. Without experience in fiddling, it can be time-consuming and difficult to go about learning how to engage in new musical traditions and to play a current instrument in a different way. For teachers, the transition from the notated tradition of Western classical music to aurally transmitted traditional music idioms requires that a musician not only needs to learn new skills (Allsup, 2015; Campbell, 1991; Campbell et al., 2016; Green, 2012; Lee, 2011; Lundquist, 1998; Shiobara, 2011; Waldron, 2006) and stylistic elements (Blanton, 2016; Burman-Hall, 1975; Campbell, 2011; Goertzen, 2014; Liebermann, 2004; Rice 2003), but that familiar processes for acquiring new repertoire are

stripped away (Allsup, 2011; Campbell, 2011; Green, 2002, 2012; Lee, 2011; Musco, 2010; Shehan, 1986; Smith, 2005; Waldron et al., 2018). Surmounting this challenge and embarking on a journey of trial and error in developing instructional practices and materials may be a larger undertaking than can reasonably be attempted on top of a full-time teaching job. Sarath (2018) went so far as to stipulate that in order to give ample space to various musics and their processes in education, European interpretive performance as a basis for elementary through university musical study would have to be disrupted as a whole.

Smith (2005) observed that entering a tradition from the outside can be uncomfortable for adults, and “when they discover that the pedagogy of trad music avoids familiar tools they can become deeply resistant” (p. 74), particularly with respect to learning by ear. Drummond (2010) reminded us that to make this shift, “Something else is required besides good resources” (p. 118). In Schippers’ (2010) words, “the multitude of concerns and subtleties of approach raised here may seem a little intimidating at times; but I hope that they inspire passionate engagement rather than being dismissed as ‘too much and too hard’” (p. 168).

Researcher Positionality

For the past 20 years, I have been seeking knowledge, experience, musical expertise, contacts, and settings to teach fiddle music in ways that are educationally appropriate and that honor the musical cultures which they represent. As a founding director of Strawberry Hill Fiddlers and Summer Strings Music Camp, I searched for other student fiddle groups to act as mentor organizations to our own.

At first, groups were difficult to find, but over the years more and more programs have been surfacing around the country. Connections with increasing numbers of other groups have revealed myriad teaching innovations that weave concepts of large-group instrumental music education together with traditional music transmission. Most groups I have encountered are community organizations for primary and secondary students, although some are in or affiliated with public schools, and others are open to participants of all ages.

Concurrent with this journey, I have pursued a wider range of musical experiences with which to define my own identity. As a conservatory-trained violist, I felt on the outside of most vernacular styles of music, but the dance rhythms of traditional fiddle music have always called to me. My first attempts to make the sounds of the fiddle were comprised of reading tunes from sheet music, and I found the results disappointing and lacking in style. Gradually, I narrowed my pursuit to stringband music of the southeastern U.S., and became involved with learning experiences that included holistic approaches and learning by ear: weeklong camps at Ashokan Fiddle and Dance and Augusta Heritage Center, workshops, and lessons with seasoned fiddlers. Progress was slow, but eventually I was able to play music with others and participate in community elements of music.

I continued to develop as a musician by relocating to western North Carolina and learning from fiddlers Clyde Davenport of Kentucky and Benton Flippen of North Carolina, who were both in their 90s at the time, as well as Round Peak guitar player Chester McMillian and Piedmont fiddler and singer Joe Thompson, both also

from North Carolina. One defining realization in my development into a fiddler was that every time I played a note, it came with articulation, tone, and intonation that were already informed by my mother tongue: orchestral and conservatory training. The sounds of fiddling seemed to make more sense to me when I understood that style could not be added onto notes that were already stylized in their own way. Another discovery was that the way I learned a tune changed everything about how the music unfolded. Learning a tune by ear did not just change the learning, it changed the whole process of participation, my relationship with the sounds, and my need to use the same notes to play a tune each time.

I came to this research inspired, after years of developing my own teaching of world music styles for strings, to look deeply into a setting that could (and did) challenge my assumptions “in my own house.” For years, we (my mother, Carole, and I, along with many wonderful contributors) worked to make the Strawberry Hill Fiddlers (SHF) program into something we loved without knowing exactly what we were aiming for. (When forming our orchestra program, we found many successful programs to look to as models, but far fewer fiddle groups.) We held in our hands two goals: 1) to provide exposure to folk traditions, music that was less consumer-oriented, and global traditions that were likely to be outside of students’ experiences; and 2) to give SHF students an arena to develop skills they could use to participate in communities of music throughout their lives. So many of our peers and colleagues (teachers and performers trained in Western European classical music, and highly competent musicians) consistently described themselves as

unable to fiddle, improvise, learn by ear, swing, groove, let go, etc., and therefore felt cut off from participation in any other tradition of music. We saw our students becoming proficient as orchestral, solo, and chamber musicians, but wanted them to graduate able and confident to participate in whatever was available, or attractive, to them in their surroundings after high school. We wanted them to exit the program knowing they could learn by ear and appreciate social music, having dipped their toes in improvisation, composition, collaborative band practice, arranging, singing, dancing, and harmonizing. We also wanted to offer them opportunities for informal performance, audience engagement, outreach, and deep social connections with each other.

Slowly, we discovered and collaborated with others who had been forging similar paths for themselves, such as the Saline Fiddlers, Franklin County Fiddlers, and Pioneer Valley Fiddlers. We also found inspiration from international educational groups performing in their local traditions, such as Fochabers Fiddlers and Ayreshire Fiddlers of Scotland, and Morpeth Ranters of northern England.

This research is based on a setting of music taught by culture bearers to youth in a classroom. Here, culture bearers are not visitors, but teachers confronted by many of the same challenges and responsibilities music educators see in instrumental classrooms every day: classroom management, curriculum design, student motivation, learning differences, home cultures, resources, and more. Aside from the three participants who have taught in public schools (but not as music teachers), these instructors have not had training in education beyond annual

professional development workshops offered by the program. I have examined how these teachers make choices in their instruction and curriculum and asked them to discuss how their values inform those choices.

Two aspects of my personal history have likely affected my lens as I implemented this study. First, Schippers (2010) noted that experience and knowledge of a particular music can expose bias: “Those who are more familiar with a tradition tend to react more strongly to signals enforcing impressions from previous experience” (p. 126). Thus, my expectations may be different with southern Appalachian mountain music than with other traditions. Second, I have experienced my own “lens change” (Waldron, 2006), or “subject shift” (Titon, 1995), in pursuit of music outside of my home tradition.

Purpose of This Study

This study is designed to investigate an existing example of traditional fiddling transmission in two educational classroom settings: music programs with the goal of teaching traditional music to young string players while preserving aspects of context, transmission, and social structure in their environments. “Educational settings,” for the purpose of this study, include, but are not limited to school settings, and indicate situations that feature groups of learners with an instructor or instructors. The current study will provide the music education community with a picture of how two individual educational fiddling scenarios were designed and implemented, a concrete and specific example of music transmission across cultures.

The goals of the study are to:

1. Offer detailed description of an educational program with the goal of teaching traditional music to young string players.
2. Examine the values, experiences, training, and music teaching methods of instructors in each program.
3. Identify choices made by instructors and administrators in the design and implementation of the program and examine to what extent they represent values of the classroom, the educator's background, the learners, and the music's native context.
4. Identify challenges posed by joining large group instrumental music education and traditional music, and discuss solutions used by directors and instructors.
5. Expand music education discourse by providing examples of music transmission in recontextualized settings.

Although recognition of musical learning and its challenges are growing in ethnomusicology and music education research, more specific case studies investigating musical learning and its challenges in cross-cultural settings are needed (Cremata, et al, 2016; Schippers, 2010; Szego, 2002). Methodical study of transmission and music learning in specific traditions is increasing in ethnomusicological research (Szego, 2002), but more research is needed on the role of the music teacher in recontextualized settings (Kastner, 2014) and with respect to children and youth (Szego, 2002). Schippers (2007) wrote:

There is an increasing need for models with low cultural bias, that map out key explicit and implicit choices in specific settings of music transmission, in order to provide greater insight into current practices of teaching and learning the world's musics in culturally diverse environments, including Western classical music, jazz, pop, and the rapidly developing presence of what is now often referred to as "world music." (p. 3)

In this study, I place focus on instructors whose experience is not primarily framed by European classical music or by collegiate music education. Their values and choices are instructive because they are influenced by tapestries of musical experiences they have had in and around the traditions of the music they are presenting in the classroom.

Research Questions

Schippers (2010) called for considering competing values in the classroom to enable a culturally sensitive process in teaching diverse musics. These questions guided this investigation:

- How do educators choose teaching modes and methods when bringing traditional fiddling into educational settings?
 - What priorities of MMY are reflected in instruction?
 - How do the teachers' own experiences and perspectives affect the learning process?
 - How are learning settings adapted to the cultural and social characteristics of the students?

- How do values and practices of the musical tradition inform pedagogical approach and practices?

Researchers have indicated that music learning procedures in folk music traditionally differ from classroom instruction (Schippers, 2010) and that informal, or self-directed musical learning can inform classroom music education (Folkestad, 2005, 2006; Gaten, 2009; Godwin, 2015; Green, 2002, 2008a; Hill, 2009; Jaffurs 2004; Lind & McKoy, 2016; Waldron, 2006; Waldron & Veblen, 2008). Research in both of these areas can inform strategies and procedures for the inclusion of fiddle music in string curricula. In this study, I investigated how culture bearers in a southeastern Appalachian community of music share their music with local youth.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Presenting necessary variety of musics in education requires careful consideration of the values and culture of musics as well as to the values and underlying assumptions held by educators, institutions, and music education systems (Bradley, 2006, 2015; Campbell, 2004, 2011; Hess, 2015; Kallio & Westerlund, 2020; Schippers, 2010; Small, 1996). In this literature review, I discuss research in five areas, beginning with a brief exploration of relevant intersecting research in ethnomusicology and music education, and then related concepts in culturally relevant pedagogy. Next, I present studies on teaching and learning in folk traditions, followed by studies that have compared characteristics of formalized music education in school environments with characteristics of informal music learning. Finally, I conclude with a discussion about recontextualizing music and its relationship with instrumental music education. Particular focus has been given to studies with specific relevance to traditional folk music, strings, and fiddle styles.

Ethnomusicology and Music Education

The term *ethnomusicology* came into use in the 1950s to describe the “anthropology of music,” (Campbell, 2003; Hood, 1960; Merriam, 1964; Myers, 1992), when American scholars “were first concerned with the study of non-Western contemporary musical cultures from a number of perspectives” (Nettl, 2010, p. xvii). Ethnomusicologists have shed light on the unique perspectives of individual musical traditions and underscored the need to look past one’s own

musical perspective and values to be able to understand and appreciate unfamiliar musics (Blacking, 1987; Hood, 1960; Merriam, 1964; Nettl, 2010; Rice, 2003).

Processes and contexts of transmission define musical culture, thus having implications for how different musics are approached in educational settings (Allsup, 2015; Blacking, 1987; Campbell, 2004, 2011; Elliott, 1995; Nettl, 1982; Schippers, 2010).

Hood (1960), whose research was informed by formal musical study in composition and piano, advanced the term *bi-musicality*. In response to the ideas of Charles Seeger (Myers, 1992), Hood had students at UCLA develop basic musicianship through Javanese gamelan music. Hood found that students with prior musical training experienced more difficulty in the “development of an ability to hear,” “correcting” unfamiliar intervals to familiar standards, and that it was necessary for these students to “set aside this prejudiced standard” to access the nuances of sound and the style of learning in the new music (Hood, 1960, p. 56). Later researchers used the term *bi-musicality* to indicate musicians who could function in both notated and aural/oral traditions (Green, 2002), or to refer to a performer from one tradition who had learned music from another *in situ*, and therefore is able to experience a “lens shift” and participate in the music in a manner appropriate to its context (Solis, 2004; Titon, 1995). The concept of bi-musicality is principally relevant to in-depth cultural study aimed at achieving fluency (originating in the definition of bilingualism) (Szego, 2002), and Hood (1960) argued that a well-trained ethnomusicologist should be able to move fluidly

between two musical cultures. This carries implications for music education, particularly for educators looking to further their own musical experience in order to expand the diversity of musical exposure in the classroom. Schippers (2010) recommended research be conducted on educational strategies implemented by bi-musical instructors to explore how cross-cultural understanding can inform one's approach. Campbell advocated for deeper consideration of bi-musicality as defined both ways in music education, through representation of both aural learning and reading notation in the classroom (Campbell, 1989, 1991) and deep, meaningful engagement in more than one musical tradition by pre-service teachers (2011).

Merriam (1964), in contrast to Hood's participatory model, worked to standardize a theoretical study of the world's musics that emphasized its cultural behaviors and concepts. Taking the lead from anthropologists, Merriam encouraged carefully examining people (musicians, dancers, listeners, learners), and not exclusively the sounds of music. Merriam studied the process of enculturation, or learning one's own culture, which he believed continues throughout one's life, and stressed the importance of examining musical learning in and out of formalized schooling. Merriam's model challenged assumptions inherent in musicology, such as the objectification of music's sound and individual works, and specialization, or professionalism, in music. Green (2008b) would later pursue similar ideas in music education, focusing on the value that our institutions and systems place value on the music itself over the process, participation, and human connection that transpire in its making.

Grainger (1934) challenged the idea of universality in music and advocated for the study of all kinds of music in the interest of furthering tolerance and understanding in the human race: "There is no longer any necessity for the appalling ignorance that darkens our musical life and for all the prejudices that arise out of that ignorance" (reprinted in Blacking, 1987, p. 151-2). Pointing to the complexity of folk music, both Grainger and later Blacking (1987) focused on the insufficiency of notation to communicate an entire music, or even the entirety of just its sound.

Even an exceptionally accurate score...does not convey the reality of performance to someone who is not acquainted with the sounds of the music. Besides, I have come increasingly to doubt the merits of printing transcriptions of music of different cultural traditions without accompanying recordings that reveal their incompleteness: performance in context, and the structure and meaning of the music that they portray can be grossly distorted in the cause of some academic enterprise (Blacking, 1987, p. 86).

Langrall's (1986) description of Cecil Sharp's attempt to notate songs of the Appalachian mountains describes this specifically: "Despite his careful notation of their songs, the folklorist found it impossible to catch the slides, slurs, and twangy gutturals of their free expression, although he was one of the first to try" (p. 38).

Blacking questioned the ideas of "tradition" and "authenticity" in music, with the idea that studying musics from across the world tended to paint less familiar music as a static phenomenon (1987, p. 36). Blacking (1973) placed importance on the study of all musics in ethnomusicology, turning the focus of scholarship on

familiar musics in addition to the previously studied “ethnic” or “exotic” musics (Nettl, 1995a). This notion of questioning one’s own perspective encouraged an increased awareness of widespread Western preconceptions of music. In *How Musical is Man*, Blacking (1973) called members of the Western classical music community to task by enumerating assumptions that pervade notions of what making and learning music means. Based on his study of the Venda of South Africa, Blacking questioned the idea of letting those assumptions color musical experience. For example, the ideas of talent, hierarchy of skill, and literacy are concepts that should be recognized as specifically representative of classical art music, and not universally held values.

Blacking studied alongside Venda children, participating as if he were a child himself and watching how they learned to participate in music in their communities. He developed a theory that in the United States, “the human potential for musical expression is suppressed by the Western elitist view of musicality” (Campbell, 2000, p. 342), by way of focusing music education on only select students to the detriment of a general participation in the whole community. Blacking advocated for music education for all, rather than a select few, to increase participation in music across our society and develop the innate musicality of all children. Blacking (1973) argued that music education could benefit greatly from ethnomusicology—not only from songs and sounds from other countries, but from the ways in which children are naturally enculturated into musical participation in other societies. Learning by doing, more than talking about aspects of the music, was the best way to connect

with the moving qualities of music (Campbell, 2000): “If I want to understand and appreciate music, my best course is to get on with listening to it and performing it” (Blacking, 1987, p. 126).

Nettl (1973, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1998a, 1998b, 2009) has written extensively on folk music, both from a philosophical standpoint and about specific musical cultures. Nettl (1998a) defined folk music by its transmission process, describing it as “the product of a musical tradition that has evolved through the process of oral transmission” (p. 5). Nettl (2009) noted that, in historical musicology, the written tradition has been predominant; however, ethnomusicology research has shown that aural/oral transmission is predominant across the world, including in the United States:

The approaches developed in ethnomusicology can underscore something not always understood among the Western music intelligentsia, that aural transmission is the world’s norm, that music everywhere—even when notated—is actually learned more through hearing than through reading, and that aural transmission really dominates the musical life of even a literate society, and typically also the life of a piece of music.” (p. 301)

Nettl (1983) encouraged focus on transmission in research in ethnomusicology, placing importance on how it occurs, and also how aspects of culture are transmitted in the process. Further, Nettl (1985) also enumerated ways in which Western music has affected thought and process not just in Western countries, but throughout the world:

Virtually all of the world's people have been exposed to masses, hymns, marches, rock and roll, waltzes, and jazz; to violins, pianos, guitars; to chords, notated music books, records, radio; to orchestras, bands, choruses; even to opera and oratorio, Monteverdi and Schoenberg. (p. 3)

A particular influence on non-Western music was the spread of the Western notation system (Nettl, 1985). The availability of a notation system has helped to preserve traditional music in some societies. In others, the change brought about by notation has caused the process of learning or the sounds themselves to change (p. 65). The *radif* of Iran is an example of both; its standardization with the publication of three major variants ended the practice of teachers developing their own versions (Nettl, 2015b). At the same time, the newly notated tradition was able to stand up to Western culture, as well as broadening its scope (Nettl, 2015b). According to Nettl (2010) “all musical life changed substantially” as a result of the development of musical notation and printing (p. xviii).

Many settings of music learning and teaching today use a combination of aural/oral methods and notation (Lilliestam, 1996; McLucas, 2010; Seeger, 1950). “Western notation focuses on pitch and duration in accordance with the way Westerners conceptualize, organize, and value these elements” (Goetze, 2000, p. 24). Prescriptive use with other types of music will superimpose its values onto the new tradition. In many kinds of music, notation serves as a memory aid or to preserve the music—using sheet music to determine what will be played is a particular system of the Western art music canon. Small (1996) explained that:

Many cultures, it is true, have developed ways of notating their music, but these notations have functioned mostly as mnemonics, *after* the creative fact, to help the musician remember what he did; only in Western music has the written score become the medium through which the act of composition takes place, and this long *before* the actual sounds are heard, as the composer wrestles with the problems of composition in the silence and isolation of his study. (p. 30)

Small (1996) encouraged music-makers, listeners, and thinkers to question assumptions about music in order to better comprehend and appreciate music from unfamiliar traditions. Specifically, Blacking's (1973) ideas of ethnomusicological inquiry into Western classical music's perspectives allowed for a deeper understanding of what assumptions are inherent. Small (1996) also posited that perspective gained from this inquiry would cause us to "learn something of the inner unspoken nature of western culture as a whole" (p. 2).

Small (1996) contended that the formalized systems of music education adopted in Western countries have acted and continue to act as mechanisms in canonizing the importance of through-composed, stand-alone "works" of music composed by great composers. Ideals of virtuosity and perfection in implementing the notation, and therefore intentions, of composers have formed a hierarchy that overshadows the idea of music as a participatory and social experience. Small, with this philosophy, aimed to create space for valuing aspects of musics that could not be represented using the Western classical notation system. These aspects included

“sophistication and charm that cannot be measured based on the ideals of what we know to be true from a formalized music education” and “the kinds of relationship of music to society that are possible in cultures other than our own” (p. 35). Gatién (2009, 2012) provided an example of this in jazz, which gained significant legitimacy in formal education, but in doing, narrowed the scope of “what can be studied, what can be learned, and how we can teach” (2009, p. 99).

Small (1998) expanded the call to widen perspective in music education by deconstructing a professional orchestral performance. Questions asked turn from “what is the nature or meaning of this work of music?” to “what does it mean when this performance takes place at this time, at this place, with these participants?” (p. 10), thereby removing the privilege and objectification of the musical work, and shifting attention to the actions of attending, listening, performing, or otherwise participating in the performance. Small (1998) used the word *music* to include all types of engagement with music, including merely paying attention. To *music* does not require talent or skill, specific roles, or styles of music. The investigation of music as an action and not a thing opens the door to witnessing relationships among people (performers and other participants alike), between sounds and people, and the manifold values that inform their behavior.

Campbell advocated for increasing multiculturalism in music education, but without allowing inherent values of Western classical music to dictate the processes of learning. With notation serving as the “most prevalent process of music learning in the western world” (Shehan, 1986, p. 16), most students could involve their eyes

more than their ears in their musicianship. Shehan surveyed literature about Japanese, Indian, and Thai learning styles to explore “theoretical implications for certain universal principles of music learning” (Shehan, 1987, p. 11), and the potential application of aural/oral learning in music education. Campbell posited that students who play exclusively from notation have less opportunity for creativity and connection in their music (1989), particularly in instrumental ensembles.

Those [students] that elect music in secondary schools participate in instrumental and choral ensembles pressed for time in preparing for concerts, festivals, and “entertainment music” at sports events. As a consequence, students are glued to the notated music on their stands with such concentration that they are scarcely aware of the full ensemble, or even their own contributing, sound. (Campbell, 1989, p. 16)

Written and oral traditions are at the root of a divide between popular and Western classical musicians (Shehan, 1986). The ideal, according to Campbell, would be to blend literacy skills and orality in music education, drawing on transmission styles from cultures around the world, so as to well equip young musicians for participation and also creative aspects in their musicianship (Campbell, 1991). Challenges here involve long-standing structuring of music programs and teachers’ attachment to notation from their own musical upbringing. “Teachers raised on notation are likely to stand by similar goals of music literacy, drilling with rhythm flashcards, playing spelling games on staff notation, and

seeking out any other activity that focuses on note-reading” (Shehan, 1986, p. 17).

In Campbell’s view, the move toward multiculturalism in music education has often been focused on diversity of musical sounds without sufficient regard to context, nodding to the difficulty of fully committing to the changes required:

Perhaps this is because it is easier and far more economical to publish instructional packages complete with fully notated melodies than it is to run institutes for teachers in which culture-bearers transmit the music (and not incidentally, the cultural constructs too), in a traditional time-honored manner. (Campbell, 2002a, p. 31)

To shed light on specific aspects of context, Campbell interviewed ethnomusicologists about introducing the musical cultures they studied to music classrooms (1996). More recently, Campbell (2011), in a study on world music pedagogy for college students, detailed benefits of educators experiencing cultures of music outside of their own, and to delving deeply into fewer types of music in order to provide students with a richer experience. Teachers who learned from culture bearers were found to be consistently stronger at presenting those styles of music, even if they adapted transmission methods to fit the current setting (Campbell, 2011). Belz (2006), in a similar study, also found these benefits, as well as an additional increase in music education students’ abilities to evaluate multicultural materials designed for classroom use. Conversely, participants in Campbell’s (2011) study reported that elements of their Western art music training made it difficult to adjust to learning repertoire without notation and to change

elements of style in their musicianship, which made them feel like beginner musicians. Rice (1995) found similarly, in studying his own learning of Bulgarian *gaida*, that the Western-based sounds he had long developed interfered with his ability to learn the new style of music.

Turino (2008) focused on social elements of musical contexts, using four fields of music to illustrate how we experience music in our society: participatory, presentational, high fidelity, and studio audio art. The pervasiveness of the recording industry has allowed access and exposure to an infinite variety of music from around the world, but the experience of music in community is not part of most people's lifestyles today (Turino, 2008). However, playing music with others can be a source of intense connection with other people, a chance to experience a oneness or sameness where differences are temporarily stripped away. He said:

Good music making or dancing is a realization of ideal – *Possible* – human relationships where the identification with others is so direct and so intense that we feel, for those best moments, as if our selves had merged. It is the sounds we are making, our art, that continually let us know that we have done so or that we are failing to achieve this ideal. Being in seamless synchrony with others feels wonderful, and it is one of the main experiences that attracts me to musical performance again and again. (Turino, 2008, p. 19)

Turino (2008) also discussed elements in music-making that allow one to achieve optimal experiences and referred to Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi's concept of *flow*,

where distractions disappear and the mind is fully present (2008, p. 4). Accessing just the right amount of challenge in a musical process is critical for reaching this state. Turino, in investigations of the music of the Aymara in Peru (1989), and of stringband music in the United States (2017), demonstrated how two settings of highly participatory music can allow for both of these transcendental aspects of music making.

Values that make room for participation without judgment or hierarchy, according to Turino, “are more important than innate ability for achieving musical competency” (2008, p. 99). Turino recommended music education settings with less focus on innate talent and an emphasis on making music and dance with children as a regular habit:

It follows that competence in performance will be lower among the general population in places where music and dance are assumed to be specialist activities not regularly practiced by everyone, and especially in places where the habit of connecting musical ability with the idea of inborn talent prevails. (Turino, 2008, p. 98)

Turino’s *participatory field* includes musical experiences that are for doing (and not for listening without doing), and allow for many people to join in. They are characterized by an open form, repetition and thick sonic textures. “Participatory values place a priority on performing in ways that invite participation, even if this might limit a given performer’s desire for personal expression or experimentation” (Turino, 2008, p. 33). The musical sounds produced are often determined by acts of

inclusivity instead of only by aesthetic choices.

Culturally Relevant and Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

Culturally relevant pedagogy includes a body of educational theories that place cultural competence and reconsideration of systemic structures at its core. Ladson-Billings (1995, 2014) developed a philosophy based on the idea that no student is culturally disadvantaged, but that the cultural capital they do hold may have less value in an education setting that holds to a narrower, or single, worldview. It is up to educators to question the social nature of these settings and broaden their own cultural competence instead of diagnosing students and student groups as “underperforming.” Specifically, when students of color are not able to learn at the rate of white students, it is time to look at the Eurocentric assumptions and values deeply embedded in our education systems, and how they privilege certain types of learners over others. Culturally relevant pedagogy is designed to enable teachers to teach all students, not only students of the dominant (White) class.

Gay (2018) outlined eight distinguishing qualities of culturally responsive teaching: validating, comprehensive/inclusive, multidimensional, empowering, transformative, emancipatory, humanistic, and normative/ethical. Particularly relevant to this discussion are three of these characteristics. 1) *Validating* acknowledges different cultural heritages as legitimate, and teaches students to value themselves and others. 2) *Empowering* leads students to confidence in their ability to take ownership in their education and act as agents of change. 3)

Emancipating eschews the idea of universal and uncontested truth. Emancipating pedagogy, according to Gay (2018), “lifts the veil of presumed absolute authority from conceptions of scholarly truth typically taught in schools” (p. 43). Culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014) and culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2018) offer overlapping and subtly different ways to uphold students’ own cultural values and ways of learning in the classroom.

In music education, early practical responses to expanding perspectives came in the form of multicultural content offerings (Lind & McKoy, 2016; Reyes, 2018). These multicultural musics were intended to lessen racial prejudices and cultural biases, but were often disparaged with language such as “primitive” (Hess, 2017b; Bradley, 2015). In addition, the use of what Hess (2017b) termed “additive multiculturalism” (p. 136) was prevalent, where content was added to a mostly whitewashed curriculum without integration. Often these added musics are taught from a Western European framework, which does little to provide cultural integrity (Hess, 2017b), and through unauthorized appropriation (Bradley, 2012). Both the tokenism and framework that result serve to uphold the ideology of white supremacy that are pervasive in education and music education (Bradley, 2012, 2015; Hess, 2017a, 2017b; Koza, 2008). The invisibility or lack of acknowledgement of how Western European perspectives dominate music education systems through teacher education, gatekeeping, and more exemplify Bonilla-Silva’s (2010) models of color-blind racism. That which is not institutionalized is marginalized. The problem is compounded by the increasing gap between student and teacher

demographics: Most teachers are White, but an increasing number of students are non-White (Clauhs & Newell, 2013).

Bradley (2006, 2012) outlined how music education remains under the influence of colonialism, with its history of exclusion and “imposition of colonial value judgments” (p. 23). Including multicultural offerings in a music education program without seeking to dismantle the hierarchy of aesthetics only serves to preserve it. Bradley (2006) argued for “interrogating the role that race as a social construct plays in the music included in (or excluded from) a curriculum, its social context, and our ability to understand it” (p. 14), and for exposing the “racial coding embedded within music education practices” (p. 24).

Digging deeper and affecting cultural change requires systemic action (Nieto, 1999), individual growth that can be challenging and uncomfortable (Beauregard, 2012; Kallio & Westerlund, 2020), and content that is both relevant and diverse (Lind & McKoy, 2016). Bond (2017) stated that:

When one way of musical knowing is held in greater esteem than others, such as is often the case for notation literacy, the musicality of some communities is diminished. Culturally relevant education calls for the public validation of culture, which should include not just heritage repertoires, but also explicit use and valuing of various music literacies. (p. 160)

Kallio and Westerlund (2020) “argue that stepping outside of one’s cultural, musical, and pedagogical comfort zone is a necessary component of constructing and (re)negotiating teacher visions in music teacher education” (p. 47). Otherwise, by

default, schooling “preserves the social structure, hierarchy, and dominant culture of its place” (Allsup, 2016, p. 6). Thapa (2020) underlined that this process requires great effort and a significant amount of time.

In order to move music education in this direction, it is necessary to break the cycle of enculturation of teachers and institutional gatekeeping following a single-minded paradigm (Allsup, 2016; Campbell, et al, 2016; Karvelis, 2018; Mellizo, 2018; Mantie & Talbot, 2015; Reyes, 2018). There is advocacy for institutional legitimacy for more diverse musics and musical processes in higher education (Boon, 2014; Bradley, 2007; Drummond, 2010; Gatien, 2009; Hill, 2009; Karvelis, 2018; Miller, 2016; Olson, 2014; Talty, 2019) and for pre-service teachers to have deep and meaningful experiences that challenge their cultural stagnancy (Campbell, 2002b, 2011; Carson & Westvall, 2016; Mellizo, 2017; Thapa, 2020). Central to Ladson-Billings’ (1995) concept of culturally relevant teaching is “the ability to link principles of learning with deep understanding of (and appreciation for) culture” (p. 76).

Mellizo (2017) argued that simply offering opportunities for pre-service teachers to experience musics outside the Western classical canon is not sufficient, as this validates the “normative” position of European art music in the institution. Hess and Talbot (2019) drew attention to how this creates a hierarchy of music in education. Focusing on process over content to solve this problem, Reyes (2018) suggested:

A multicultural program in music teacher education might exchange dexterity in Western European music for musical versatility. Instead of primarily fostering development in one musical genre, pre-service music teacher programs may need to focus on students' capacity to self-learn musical expressions from diverse parts of the world. (p. 15)

Mellizo (2017) synthesized education and music education literature related to multicultural education in order to present a “conceptual framework from understanding and practicing multicultural music education” (p. 24). To better align practice with research on cultural sensitivity and awareness, Mellizo (2017) outlined eight action steps for music educators based on content, process, and approach. Multicultural music education, as used by Mellizo (2017), indicates an in-depth relationship with cultural inquiry as related to students and musical traditions present in the classroom. Gates (2020), in a response to Mellizo's article, argued for a discourse in music free from boundaries. Students, Gates argued, do not need more “shallow contact” (p. 29) with musics, but ways to actively dialog with people whose musical tastes and experiences are different from their own.

Adams (2017) chronicled a personal journey through an undergraduate music major with prior history as a vernacular musician. The author's experiences reconciling an identity that did not align with the culture of the music department demonstrate how clinging to “universal” musical ideals has social ramifications as well. Successes by vernacular music standards were not recognized as legitimate, and teaching models were lacking.

Bates (2012) and DeLorenzo (2012) have speculated on diversifying process and approach in large ensembles in schools to align with a wider variety of musical genres, and how this might widen the demographic of students involved. For example, Bates (2012) advocated for using local cultures and the musical preferences of students as starting points for broadening curriculum. Acknowledging both and legitimizing them in the curriculum validates and empowers students. Allsup (1997), Abril (2009), and Boon (2014) presented specific cases where pedagogical techniques aligned with genres relevant to local students increased participation by students of underrepresented ethnicities. These included exposure to mariachi music (Abril, 2009), R&B, hip-hop, rap (Boon, 2014), and popular music (Allsup, 1997).

It has been estimated that school music education, particularly at the secondary level, reaches a limited number of students through the large ensemble offerings of band, choir, and orchestra, and an overrepresentation of White students (Elpus & Abril, 2011, 2019). In essence, music education is failing to reach the majority of students. A key remedy for this is to expand course offerings while exploring alternative approaches (Clements, 2010, 2012).

O'Flynn (2005) suggested that the path to considering a multiplicity of cultures starts with where the cultures assign value in music learning. Investigating each music's modes of pedagogy can help us to understand what is important about teaching and learning music. Allsup (2003), in a study on informal learning environments created in a band class, suggested that classical music specifically did

not lend itself to composition, student choice, and democratic learning processes. The author found it necessary to broaden the scope of musical sounds in the classroom in order to fully pursue new processes, and found that these strategies helped to lessen the gap between school music and the music that students pursued on their own for enjoyment. Dillon (2018) found that certain instruments lack privilege and power in Western music education. Students who played these instruments would have to audition for college music programs on a secondary (Western European classical) instrument that carried this prestige. In high school education, students who played “non-prestige” music learned to code-switch to the prestige music skills in order to participate in their school music programs, just as students learn to code-switch to prestige language skills in schools (Dillon, 2018, p. 87).

Bond and Russell (2019) surveyed music teacher educators about their comfort levels and engagement with culturally responsive education. They found that while many music education faculty were familiar with basic definitions, far fewer were well-read in relevant research. Similarly, most participants were comfortable talking about culturally responsive education with pre-service teachers, but they didn’t feel confident in providing teaching experiences or in assessment of related skills. These ideas are consistent with Rohan’s (2011) dissertation on teachers’ application of culturally responsive pedagogy: Teachers responded favorably about the concepts of culturally responsive pedagogy, but found barriers in large ensemble models, competitive structures, conservative teacher education,

and lack of professional development.

From the literature presented in this section, we can deduce that multicultural music education is not meeting the goals that were set out for its inclusion in curricula. Research shows that our efforts must go deeper: to seek to understand our implicit bias, both as individual educators (Bond & Russell, 2019; Kallio & Westerlund, 2020; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014; Thapa, 2020) and in the larger systems in which we teach (Allsup, 2016; Bradley, 2012; Gay, 2018; Mellizo, 2018; Reyes, 2018; Rohan, 2011); to present diverse musics in a manner that is rich with cultural context and where they are not sidelined to a central, European, curriculum (Bond, 2017; Bradley, 2006, 2015; Hess, 2017a, 2017b); and to honor processes and learning systems that better represent a multiplicity of musical cultures (Bradley, 2006; O'Flynn, 2005) and the students we teach (Allsup, 1997; Abril, 2009; Boon, 2014; Gay, 2018).

Informal Learning

Green (2002) defined informal music learning as “ways of passing on and acquiring musical skills and knowledge” outside of formal education (p. 5). According to Green, these learning approaches have historically had little in common with teaching and learning in schools or other formalized learning environments. Although some researchers have focused on popular music styles in their investigation of informal learning styles (e.g. Allsup, 2011; Allsup & Olson, 2012; Caravello, 2017; Dyndahl et al., 2017; Evelein, 2006; Green, 2002, 2012; Irwin, 2014; Jaffurs, 2004, 2006; Kruse, 2016; Lilliestam, 1996; Söderman & Folkestad,

2004; Väkevä, 2009; Westerlund, 2006), others have found similar elements of learning present in traditional music transmission (e.g. Cope, 1999; Cope & Smith, 1997; Dabczynski, 1994; Frisch, 1987; Garrison, 1985; Hill, 2005; Lindamood, 2011; McCarthy, 1999; Miller, 2016; Nettle, 2015a; O'Flynn, 2011; Olson, 2018; Perttu, 2011; Veblen, 1991; Waldron, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2012). Many have agreed that examining a variety of musical cultures, transmission styles, and learning environments has positive implications for music education research (Allsup, 2016; Allsup & Olson, 2012; Bergonzi, 2006; Campbell, 1991, 1996, 2001, 2003; Cope & Smith, 1999; Elliott, 1995; Folkestad, 2005; Goetze, 2000; Green, 2002, 2011, 2012; Jaffurs, 2006; Kisliuk & Gross, 2004; Lee, 2011; Lundquist, 1998; Schippers, 2010; Veblen, 1991; Woodford, 2005). In this section I discuss research literature about aspects of learning music outside of formal education settings, concluding with studies featuring folk traditions and fiddling.

Informal Music Learning and Music Education Research

Cope and Smith's (1997) theories of informal learning followed Resnick's (1987): Elements of schooling emphasize individual cognition and "decontextualized, symbol-based reasoning" over shared cognition and developing understanding in specific contexts (Cope & Smith, 1997, p. 284). Cope and Smith (1997) asserted that taking an atomistic approach common to instrumental instruction can make instrumental study seem irrelevant to students.

"That...exercises are called tunes and are given names such as 'Donkey's Waltz' does not disguise their lack of cultural context" (p. 285). As is common in formal

education as a whole, abstract skills and “generalizable knowledge” lose their meaning, as they are not in an “authentically situated learning experience” (p. 285). A study by Klinger et al. (1998) on song acquisition further supported holistic learning: Students in this case showed greater recall for songs learned through immersion (listening of the whole song), even though they were accustomed to learning from a phrase-by-phrase approach. Schippers (2004) added that “holistic learning may stimulate analytical skills more than presenting the material pre-analysed” (p. 205), and that an atomistic approach to learning a piece of music can cause a distinct difference in how it sounds.

Green (2002) surveyed British rock musicians who learned to play music in informal settings. With this qualitative research, the author dealt mostly with informants’ feelings and recollections about their musical experience, and sought to inspire enthusiasm and self-motivation in school settings by replicating aspects of self-teaching. In a follow-up publication (2008a), Green examined informal musical learning as experienced by popular musicians, and speculated how its best attributes could be applied in a school setting. A study was conducted in 21 schools, involving music students in a project designed to expose them to informal learning practices in a school music class. In this book, Green questioned the quality of students’ performance when learning with informal approaches, and recommended further research to determine whether practices utilized in this study, including learning by ear, are capable of producing results as finely polished as formal study

can provide⁴. Allsup and Olson (2012) furthered this discussion with the question, “What is quality?” in a setting where a teacher appears to be doing less in the classroom (p. 14). When implementing aspects of informal learning, a new idea of what constitutes a highly qualified music teacher is necessary. Clements (2012) added that maintaining a teacher’s involvement to some extent would undoubtedly make for “better musical projects” (p. 7)

Learning by ear is an important part of Green’s definition of informal learning in both works, but references to aural approaches tend to focus on the idea of “copying” music. Use of the term “copying,” as with “rote learning” (Holmes, 1990) tends to imply a limited experience with music, one without understanding, improvising, composing, or even performing as part of the process.

Green’s (2008a) prescription for informal learning tactics in schools involves a peer-directed process of learning and decision-making in small groups. This format was used to investigate how informal music learning might unfold in a public-school setting. Results showed that after students’ initial missteps in choosing repertoire that was too difficult and in spending time on non-musical discussion, the students learned to listen to music purposefully and learn from their mistakes. The social dynamic created by a democratic learning environment

⁴ I would suggest that Green’s use of the terms “quality” and “finely polished,” and suggestion that “formal study” might better achieve them could be examples of assumptions (applying values from Western European classical music to other musics), that are worthy of consideration under frameworks provided by such authors as Bradley (2015) and Hess (2012).

appealed to some students who had previously been disillusioned with school music. This is an example of how a social context for learning might be reexamined in a public school or other classroom setting. Ballantyne and Lebler (2013) found support for Green's (2002, 2008a) peer-to-peer, democratic learning environments. They connected an undergraduate education class with the goal of learning to play musical instruments on their own with a group of students studying popular music at the same university. Music students were instructed to assist with advice about how to learn, but not to teach the material. The education students reported increased enjoyment as well as deeper thinking about their own learning as a result of the collaboration, choice of instruments, and repertoire that the process offered. Many reported that the experience deepened their commitment to providing opportunities to make choices to their future students.

Green's (2012) study investigated informal practices as they could be applied in a private lesson format. Students learned music aurally by playing along with a recording, to imitate an informal learning approach of popular musicians. Green (2012) documented learning processes that different students tried, achievement, roles of the teachers, and participants' views. The goal was to create a body of strategies that might be useful to classically-trained teachers who might otherwise hesitate to incorporate processes of informal music learning, with the intent to add to their potential teaching tools (and not to replace the existing ones). In response to the aural learning exercise, participants reported higher levels of enjoyment, "leaps" in achievement that exceeded expectations, more confidence, and increased

listening skills. Wong's (2019) study found similarly that adding aural learning exercises to piano study increased enjoyment and achievement, even in the area of sight-reading.

Evelein (2006) examined pop music and authentic learning in two case studies in the Netherlands. Authentic learning goals and learning processes, which align with Gay's (2018) culturally responsive teaching, are realistic, culturally relevant for pupils, and meet their needs (Evelein, 2006, p. 183). Pop music, with its wide audience appeal, singular social processes, and simple structure, is a perfect tool to access authentic learning in the classroom. Case studies centered on a pre-service music teacher who focused on pop and classical musics as part of her teacher training, and Soundcheck, a model classroom pedagogy with the goal of teaching students skills needed for learning and performing pop music. Self-assessment and reflection were important contributors to student growth in this study. Evelein, like Green (2002, 2014), hypothesized that covering pop songs allowed students autonomy in their music making to drive their intrinsic motivation, noting that achieving autonomy in a music classroom setting can be particularly challenging. Gramm (2021) found similar results in a study on peer mentoring. Using recordings to solve musical issues without the help of a teacher allowed for peer collaboration and autonomy in the group learning process.

Folkestad (2005, 2006; Söderman & Folkestad, 2004) contributed several informal music learning studies, including one on a group of hip-hop musicians in Sweden to examine the specific learning techniques they used (Söderman &

Folkestad, 2004). Echoing Campbell (Shehan, 1987; Campbell, 1989), this investigation was used as a platform to plead for music education researchers to “focus not only on the formal and informal musical learning in Western societies and cultures, but also to include the full global range of musical learning in popular, world and indigenous music in their studies” (Folkestad 2006, p. 135). Söderman and Folkestad’s (2004) study provided support for pluralism in examining contexts of different musics. Specifically, many of the traits found in the social context and values of hip-hop music would apply to neither formally- nor informally learned music, and neither Western or non-Western music, so looking beyond these dichotomies is encouraged. For example, members of hip-hop groups gave little value to their colleagues’ attendance and timeliness, and lyrics were considered the most highly valued facet of the music.

Folkestad (2005) suggested that as music education research turns from formalized education settings to the various forms of learning that take place outside schools, focus shifts from the perspective of the teacher to that of the learner, and from teaching methods to ways of learning. Most musical learning across the world takes place outside schools, without teachers or instruction (Folkestad, 2005; Green, 2002). These musical activities take place not with the intention to *learn*, but with the intention to *play* music (or dance, or listen, or have a social experience around the music). Therefore, music education researchers must investigate all various forms and settings of learning: “Music education researchers need to be everywhere, focusing not only on the formal and informal musical

learning in Western societies and cultures, but to include the full global range of popular, world and indigenous musics in their studies.” (Folkestad, 2005, p. 286)

Additionally, formal and informal music learning “should not be regarded as a dichotomy, but rather as the two poles of a continuum, and that in most learning situations, both these aspects of learning are in various degrees present and interacting in the actual learning process. (Folkestad, 2005, p. 285)

Woody and Lehman (2010) conducted a study to examine the extent of difference in aural learning ability between musicians with vernacular music experience and musicians with only formal musical training. The researchers predicted that vernacular musicians would be quicker at learning by ear than the other musicians—the results of the study confirmed this hypothesis and provided further insight into the many processes used by the different musicians to successfully learn a melody by ear. This insight helps to explain the gap in ability experienced by Rice (1995) and described as a “divide” by Campbell (Shehan, 1986). Participants in the study were given melodies to learn by ear, and were tested on their ability to sing and play them on their instruments. Vernacular musicians were found to not only sing the melodies more quickly than musicians with only classical training, but the additional time needed to adapt the melodies to their instruments was also significantly smaller.

Social aspects of learning figure prominently into this discussion of informal learning. Shared learning experiences allowed students to develop deeper

understanding (Ballantyne & Lebler, 2013; Cope & Smith, 1997; Green, 2008a). Students allowed to participate in decision-making processes demonstrated increased interest and autonomy in their music learning (Ballantyne & Lebler, 2013; Evelein, 2006; Gramm, 2021; Green, 2008a). A variety of aural learning tactics were described that increased enjoyment, achievement, and listening skills (Green, 2012; Woody & Lehman, 2010). Informal and formal learning should be perceived in a spectrum (Folkestad, 2005), a concept which allows us to treat aspects of informal learning individually as we consider their application in classroom teaching (Allsup & Olson, 2012).

Folk Traditions and Fiddling

Research on learning approaches used by traditional musicians have emphasized links between stylistic sounds and learning modes (Cawley, 2013; Dabczynski, 1994; Frisch, 1987; Rice, 1995) and individual blended learning plans (Blanton, 2016; Waldron, 2013). Many have focused on learning modes such as aural/oral learning (Frisch, 1987; Holmes, 1990; Kruse, 2012; Smith, 2005; Waldron & Veblen, 2009), holistic presentation (Blanton et al, 2014; Frisch, 1987), learner-focused processes (Cope, 2002; Veblen, 1991), and social learning contexts (Cope, 2002; Dabczynski, 1994; Waldron & Veblen, 2009; Waldron, 2013).

Justification of Aural Learning

Frisch's (1987) description of a week studying at Augusta Heritage Center links ideas of transmission styles with characteristic sound in a tradition. In a beginning fiddle class in West Virginia music, despite moments of frustration from

each member of the class, instructor Gerry Milnes patiently persisted with his method of showing tunes to the class. His style of teaching emphasized bowing style and rhythm over all other aspects of the music and technique, and while he answered questions, he stayed with a holistic presentation of the tunes. Frisch found that this consistent adherence to a strong value in the musical structure during instruction led to a shift in perception of the music. The shift was most available to those who were able to surrender to values so different than those of the music they knew. These values, according to Frisch, held much in common with other musics, including mainstream popular music, “that share only a deeper distance from western musical categories” (p. 100).

Dabczynski (1994) found that aural learning and familiarity with traditional fiddling styles were beneficial to music students, both for the purpose of enhancing cultural familiarity and also for improving skills that could be applied to other study of music, regardless of genre. Fetter (2011) found similarly that aural learning served as a bridge to other styles of music for string students. Dabczynski (1994) also concluded that learning by ear might enable students to enjoy the aesthetic aspects of music earlier, rather than focusing entirely on technique before the spark of excitement has a chance to be ignited.

Rice (1995) described the experience of learning Bulgarian bagpipe music, an unfamiliar aural tradition; one that was slowed by preconceptions inherited from prior study of Western music. The author found that the teacher, or informant, role played by his mentor musician was not one that existed typically in the tradition.

Learning the ornamentation style required a shift in understanding from hearing melody and ornamentation separately to hearing them as one. The author's grasp of the instrumental technique and stylistic aspects of the music were inextricably linked and caused a subconscious, kinesthetic understanding of the sound. The music that Rice (1995) produced as a result was not a direct replica of the informant's music; rather, a natural, personal adaptation that flowed from a deeper understanding of the musical sounds.

Waldron (2006) conducted a field study at Goderich Celtic College, a week-long music camp in Ontario, and interviewed instructors and students of Irish traditional music about their learning and teaching styles. Waldron found teachers at the camp to have a history of informal learning with Irish music, characterized by aural/oral learning in social settings. Student participants were formally schooled and musically literate, and reported "fright" at the idea of aural learning (p. 178). The students also reported that "Western concepts of formal teaching were inappropriate and/or insufficient to deal with learning Celtic music" (p. iv) for two reasons. First, notation was not an adequate vehicle through which to understand all sounds in the music. Second, learning the appropriate socio-cultural behaviors, including playing in realistic traditional music settings in the local community, was an essential part of the learning experience.

Students who participated in this study (Waldron, 2006) reported a transformation regarding aural/oral music learning. Relying on the advice of their instructors, students attempted learning the unfamiliar techniques (repeating after

a teacher who modeled phrases of music). As did the participants in Gerry Milnes' class (Frisch, 1987), these students began to listen more intently, eventually realizing that for Irish music, this holistic and aural approach allowed them to capture the musical sound more authentically. "Teacher and student participants experienced a perceptual 'lens' change regarding music teaching and learning, and, for the most part, this was based on their previous familiarity with formal music instruction" (p. 176).

The instruction at the Celtic College revealed qualities that were consistent with both formal and informal learning as defined by Garrison (1985), Green (2002), Cope and Smith (1997), Veblen (1991), and Dabczynski (1994). "Teaching and learning observed in College classes could not be demarcated solely on the basis of characteristics found in either informal music learning practices or formal education" (180). One example of this middle ground is that instruction was presented in group settings (a characteristic of formal education environments), but continued in the evening in social settings such as sessions and concerts (informal).

Swain (2010) studied the Allegheny Echoes program in Marlinton, West Virginia, finding that to most professional folk musicians teaching there, teaching music meant transmission of culture. Aural learning was considered so important in passing on the West Virginia culture that sheet music was not allowed in classes. Students and teachers persevered through challenges presented by learning by ear, sometimes a slow and difficult way to learn tunes. The music was important, but without the customary social interactions between learner and mentor, aural

transmission, stories, song, and much more, the identity of the music as an integrated and representative part of simple, rural life was lost. Swain's research points in this case to the values of the institution as primary determinant of teaching style: "Although methods of instruction vary somewhat from teacher to teacher, the general approach is similar, because it evolves from the values that undergird the programme" (p. 272). Teaching in classes was supported at Allegheny Echoes by informal learning opportunities such as jams, slow jams, and workshops.

Forsyth (2011) documented her own experience teaching Shetland fiddle music at a week-long camp. From the perspective of an ethnomusicologist, the author reported a dissatisfaction with the need to involve sheet music in her fiddle classes as a response to requests from students. The transcribed tunes seemed "lifeless," and increased reliance on "cheat sheets" contributed to a lack of musicality by students. This case, Forsyth contended, was an example of a larger trend within folk music camps to increase use of notation, a change in music learning that affects change on the larger tradition. Thibeault (2009) also found that aural/oral learning changed not only the medium for how the class learned the tunes, but also its product: When learning by ear, the class discovered that there was no one fixed way to play a tune.

These studies point to concrete ways in which not only the learning experience, but the playing experience and resulting sounds are different when aural/oral learning modes are used. Culture bearers in these studies highly prioritized aural learning. Additionally, in the process of engaging in a tradition's

own methods of transmission, cultural values were implicitly transmitted along with sounds. Campbell's (2011) music teacher participants addressed struggling with an urge to "support" aural models with visual notation (p. 91), which would act in opposition to this implicit cultural transmission. A "lens shift," or major implicit moment of new understanding, was a common occurrence when a notation-dependent musician engaged deeply with aural/oral learning (Frisch, 1987; Rice, 1995; Waldron, 2006).

How Aural/Oral Transmission Takes Place

Holmes (1990) determined from existing literature that essential components of aural instruction are quality demonstration, immediate and consistent participation, and appropriate guidance. These were compared with a prominent fiddler's teaching style. Effective techniques used were "chunk and link presentation" (Holmes, 1990, p. 97) (or phrase-by-phrase), pre-recorded tapes of tunes, naming (of musical snippets) and imagery, note names, and performance opportunities. The instructor provided small sections for learning and repetition, but also performed the full tunes for the class and described in detail contexts in which the tunes might be used, such as dancing a Slängpolska. Continuous feedback to students was integral to the process, but because expected outcomes from aural learning might be different from a setting with notation, a teacher must consider relating feedback directly to appropriate outcomes. Holmes, like Campbell (1991, 2011) stressed the importance of providing the best musical model for demonstration for aural learning purposes.

Morgan-Ellis (2019) conducted a mixed-methods study of how old-time musicians learn music. Students at camps and participants in festival jams reported that they used a variety of sources to learn repertoire, including recordings, jam sessions, classes, and notation or tablature (notation that indicates finger placement for a particular instrument), and that skills were often learned as a part of the same process. Each participant agreed that a “correct” or universal version of a tune does not exist in their community (p. 46). There was a large range of responses, and much disagreement, about the idea of learning music from notation in old-time music. Morgan-Ellis concluded that “full participants” in the old-time music community of practice was most often aligned with reliance on aural/oral learning and absence of formal musical training. Morgan-Ellis (2019) described, as did Waldron and Veblen (2005) and Rice (2003) how aural/oral learning often includes reliance on visual cues in addition to listening.

Potential Applications of Aural/Oral Learning in the Classroom

Several studies have been conducted to determine whether aural learning practices utilized in traditional folk music had an appropriate application in the school instrumental music classroom. Garrison (1985) studied developing traditional musicians from Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, Canada, through observations, interviews, and surveys. In addition, a selection of students in beginning and intermediate fiddle classes at school were observed to find evidence of teaching and learning styles similar to those in the traditional folk music setting. Garrison (1985) showed that beginning string programs without aural approaches

suffered from a lack of sufficient modeling by instructors, stating that developing the skills to learn music by ear constituted “developing natural talent” (p. 288). Garrison further championing learning by ear beyond the beginning stages of musical study, as a process of assimilating music that is based on sounds instead of sight,

Cope and Smith (1997) used traditional fiddle music in a community setting as an example of learning that incorporates cultural context, social learning, and relevance for students involved. With this perspective, traditional fiddling in educational settings can model elements of informal learning that may be useful to school, community, and independent music education. Challenges to augmenting classical string study with traditional fiddling were articulated as well. Models of traditional fiddling, for example, often demonstrate poor left-hand position and other contradictions to classical technique (p. 287). Taking advantage of learning in context would require teachers to reorganize their group teaching, but would provide a deeper understanding as well as increased student and audience appeal.

Cope (1999) tested these theories with an action research project in a small town in Scotland to determine if any aspects of traditional folk music could keep students interested in playing instruments. It was determined that certain aspects of a less formal transmission process as well as a lack of student selection process, variety of instrumental techniques, and reduced pressure placed on musicians did result in an increase in participation in the program:

We have no direct evidence of the importance of the cultural focus on traditional rather than classical music, but the popularity of the group, its

relatively low drop-out rate and its impact on the community, in terms of performance, suggests that we have been reasonably successful in finding a common chord between children, parents and community.” (Cope, 1999, p. 71)

Smith (2005) outlined a historical model of learning to play Irish music, with ideas for how traditional methods could be adapted to an appropriate pedagogy for those raised outside the tradition. Although newcomers to the tradition are often uncomfortable with “demonstration-imitation teaching paradigms,” the author advocated for using techniques traditionally used in Irish music, such as direct person-to-person contact, non-verbal demonstration, development of memory, and an aural/oral approach. Such modes of learning encourage understanding of the perspectives and procedures of Irish music, preserve stylistic nuance, and help to develop cultural insight. Without a tradition bearer as a model, however, such cultural transmission may not be as successful. Blanton et al. (2014), interviewed a fiddle camp instructor who expressed concern over the way old-time music seems to be represented in school music—teachers unfamiliar with the sound and style of the music were acting as the gatekeepers of the tradition in the schools. It was important to expose both the teachers and their students to authentic traditions: “The best you can hope for is to inspire and expose them to great traditional musicians” (Blanton et al., 2014, p. 68).

O’Flynn (2006) posited that “practices of music teaching and learning outside the school system have much to contribute to school- or college-based music

educators” (141). Using the term “vernacular” to describe music and associated practices that people are familiar with and have access to, O’Flynn advocated for considering popular and traditional music together, due to their “closely intertwined social experiences,” and that the emergence of both in music education is long overdue (144).

O’Flynn’s (2011) study of traditional music in Ireland benefitted from the perspectives of young musicians who had experience both in school music and in self-directed study of traditional music. The participants in this study shared a feeling of alienation from school music, as it was felt that teachers who came from a Western classical perspective did not hold traditional music in high regard. Thibeault’s (2009) Eva, a student in a high school improvisation class, recounted a similar dissociation from school music. A fiddler with a passion for bluegrass, her stories are “dominated by tensions” (p. 255) by the competing values of the school’s orchestra class and her own process. Eva teaches the orchestra class about bluegrass and improvisation, bringing discussion, creativity, and “productive disorder.” Thibeault (2009) contended that “setting-centered” musical experiences, contrasting with “score-centered” (p. 261), are misunderstood by the music education profession, but encourage negotiation and “the very kinds of discussions and goals music educators strive to foster in their classrooms” (p. 271).

Kruse (2012) interviewed three folk musicians from the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Carolina, investigating how they viewed their own learning and its place in the tradition of their music. They took pride in carrying on their heritage,

wearing their identities as folk musicians as a “badge of honour” (p. 91). Reflections on their music community are consistent with Turino’s (2008) participatory field: informal, oral, and inclusive, with an emphasis on originality and not perfection. Kruse advocated for using aspects of these musicians’ lives (playing by ear, singing, and playing for enjoyment) alongside more typical school performance practices such as notation, as they “could be significant contributors toward cultivating students’ personal musicianship” (p. 93). The observations of cultural practices here are particularly relevant to the current study, based on the similar musical traditions.

Fetter (2011) explored issues of teaching alternative strings, examining recontextualized music learning through *String Jam*, an alternative styles summer camp for string players. Via curriculum design theory, Fetter considered personal musical identity and stereotypes, challenges in implementing alternative styles in string education, engaging curricula, and experimentation as themes. The author found that aural learning and other performance skills that were generally unfamiliar in a string classroom served here as “bridges” to other musics, as students developed the skills to reproduce music they liked from only listening (p. 123). Fetter noted that stepping out of the role of the traditional conductor/music teacher, teachers could more easily foster social learning and collaboration, but that teachers with an established identity in the classroom may fear such open systems. The action of stepping out of a traditional role is an example of how individual teachers can transcend the assumptions of the Western European music education

paradigm as detailed by Bradley (2012) and Hess (2015).

Studies here reflected that use of aural/oral learning and corresponding informal music learning methods in the classroom could contribute to students playing better and having a deeper understanding of the musical tradition (Cope & Smith, 1997; Garrison, 1985; Kruse, 2012; Smith, 2005), increased student appeal (Cope, 2002; Cope & Smith, 1997); and could serve as a bridge to learning other musics (Fetter, 2011). Relying on aural/oral transmission methods would be more challenging without a culture bearer present (Blanton, et al., 2014; Smith, 2005).

Communities of Practice

Dabczynski's (1994) dissertation "Northern Week at Ashokan '91: Fiddle Tunes, Motivation and Community at a Fiddle and Dance Camp," detailed techniques one needed to learn in order to become a fiddler after completing a typically rigorous applied classical string education. In addition to the author's own learning, Dabczynski described elements of the folk learning processes present at Ashokan Fiddle and Dance Camp, giving particular emphasis to aural learning and to social elements of the community. A principal finding in this research was that "a sense of community was integral to the enjoyment and fulfillment participants in the traditional fiddling workshops found in music" (p. 9) and without this sense of community, many of those participants would not have attended the camp, nor would they engage with music at home.

Cope (2002) looked to six session musicians (amateur musicians who attended Celtic sessions to play music socially) to discover how they learned to play

music. They were mostly self-taught, had learned more than one instrument, and played music purely for pleasure; they viewed these aspects of musicianship as typical in their musical community. Participants had differing views on the factors that contributed most to their musical abilities, but agreed on the need for motivation and a strong social context in which to build their skills: “Music lives and breathes in a session, in a social context. This kind of music has always been in a social context and on the island music has always been and has grown within a social context” (p. 100). Sessions were open and inclusive, but had their own unwritten protocol for participation. They provided participants with repertoire and also the inspiration to learn new tunes.

McCarthy (1999) focused on the Irish tradition in *Passing it On: The Transmission of Music in Irish Culture*. Transmission in this case referred to not only aural/oral methods of learning traditional music, but also social contexts for learning and playing Irish music, and study of every other genre of music in Ireland. McCarthy found that when music education appeared in Irish schools there was a negative effect on community music learning through a change in the identity of the culture of learners. A focus on “classroom subjects” in music such as literacy and music theory has impacted music outside the classroom, and thereby appealed to a different group of potential learners. Cawley (2013) also detailed musical enculturation of Irish musicians, who used a combination of informal, non-formal, and formal learning processes both in and out of organizations and institutions to learn musical and participation skills. A variety of learning strategies, applied

consistently over a long period of time, provided the most efficient enculturation process. Learning from family was common, although not required to achieve a high level of skill in Irish music. Characteristics of informal music learning, such as aural/oral learning and imitation, were represented in the formalized music classes. Musicians reported learning both repertoire and social customs, as well as finding motivation, from actively participating in musical events, in addition to learning events.

Blanton et al. (2014) interviewed tradition bearers at a traditional old-time music camp to create “an in-depth portrait of old-time musicians as educators...to illuminate the teaching methods and styles associated with oral tradition and transmission in the 21st century” (p. 56). The structure of the camp provided a sense of community, ample opportunities for participation, and immersion in the musical style. Teachers used techniques that reflect the informal learning styles of popular musicians, articulated by Green (2002). In another example of Waldron’s (2013) pedagogical syncretism, these teachers also adapted to the camp setting by using more formal music learning approaches and teaching methods that differed than how they had learned themselves. For instance, their own mentors sometimes struggled with slowing down a piece of music.

In a mixed-methods study of a Scottish community fiddle group, Godwin (2015) found that a fluid view of culture and a participatory ethos encouraged both enjoyment and musical agency in its members. Players learned primarily in open weekly sessions, with occasional formal workshops, and were encouraged to self-

select for different performing ensembles. Processes were learner-focused, emphasizing autonomy and peer learning. The author found that enjoyment, rather than typical performance-driven objectives, was the central desired outcome of instruction, which contributed to lifelong participation in music.

Miller (2016) sought to discover how Glasgow Fiddle Workshop developed learners' competency to participate in music, and environments for their participation. Specific musical skills were taught, such as:

playing by ear, maintaining a steady pulse in playing, rendering common tunes individually or in sets, and providing simple accompaniment. More specialised competencies appear to be varying or embellishing tunes, leading the performance, providing clear musical introductions and creating effective sets. (Miller, 2016, p. 157)

In addition to classes, opportunities for playing such as informal performances and sessions were available to students, where they could play alongside more experienced learners and try out musical skills in a low-pressure environment. These participatory scenarios provided their own educational benefits, but they also served as a stepping stone to participating in the musical community beyond the school.

Gilbert (2018) studied Celtic music programs to learn how the values of their directors played out in their organizations. Several shared philosophical concepts among directors became clear. First, in studying music, learning how to take part in a community was just as important as learning to play an instrument.

Second, taking part in such a community was a path toward developing personal social skills. For instance, as students learned to listen better in music, their intrapersonal listening skills improved. Social skills learned through sessions not only produced a musician who could participate in the music, but one who could then help to build the community and pass it on to others. Community building, directors believed, was a value of Celtic music itself, and part of the tradition that was handed down with the repertoire. “In this study, directors of Celtic traditional music education organizations believed their role as culture-bearers was to teach ‘not just bow and string and notes’ but also to subtly impart lessons needed to maintain communal practices essential for transmission” (p. 598).

Democratic Learning Environments

Veblen’s (1991) ethnographic study was designed to analyze the transmission of Irish traditional music over time. Fifteen traditional music teachers were observed as they transmitted Irish traditional music to their students. Data was compared to “the remembered past.” Veblen found the role of the teacher remained constant over time—the teacher remained a “community resource, tradition bearer, and facilitator” (Veblen 1996, p. 82). Veblen described a much more passive type of pedagogy than is common in classroom education or school ensembles, where the learner directs the lesson. The researcher used the terms “formal and informal teaching” to label this distinction. “Informants defined the role of the music teacher as a musician who ‘knows’ how to play traditional music, and responding to requests from the learner, shows how to play the music. The learner

has the responsibility to ‘pick up’ the material” (Veblen 1991, p. 175). The mentor may have made corrections in technique or ornamentation, “or perhaps not” (p. 177). In the next section, I have included examples of studies where this type of democratic classroom structure is included in classroom approaches.

Learners Blending Individual Approaches

Studies of informal learning situations, especially those tending toward democratic environments, necessitate investigating from the learner’s standpoint. Many have found that learners blend multiple learning styles together to suit their own preferences and abilities. Waldron and Veblen (2009) studied methods used by session participants to learn Irish music. All used a variety of approaches to learn, developing their own individual techniques for picking up tunes in a session, and for practicing at home. Aural/oral learning, along with observation, was considered important, and playing with others provided them with pivotal moments for learning. Irish sessions offered venues for some musicians to continue playing into adulthood, after dropping an instrument they had studied in school.

Waldron (2013) compared two communities of online traditional music learning. Waldron applied the term “pedagogical syncretism” to blended approaches to music learning. These included vernacular music learning modes such as aural/oral music learning, visual from various styles of notation, and visual from observation, designed individually by the learner. Beauregard (2012) contributed a study on teaching West African music to Americans at the Degara Music Center that also demonstrates pedagogical syncretism. West African teachers had designed a

curriculum of learning over several years that catered to the learning styles of the Americans they were teaching, but retained the values of their culture as much as possible. For example, Americans brought a concept of teacher and student roles with them which was foreign to the West African musicians, who adapted their more fluid roles to make the Americans more comfortable. One important factor in the West Africans' learning process was a discomfort that precedes substantial music learning progress, an aspect that was retained in the blended curriculum.

Bayley & Waldron (2020) studied the in-person learning week at the Online Academy of Irish Music, a community music school blended between online and in-person tuition. Students at the school reported experiencing motivation from tailoring their own approaches to music learning. Online learning offered convenience and lowered social risk, while the group activities and face-to-face instruction of the workshops were invaluable.

Mars, Sæther, and Folkestad's (2015) study is an investigation of how adolescents will use their musical learning experience and cultural backgrounds to inform how they teach others and learn unfamiliar musics themselves. Students from Sweden and The Gambia worked in pairs to teach each other examples of their own music. All participants reached first for their most familiar learning styles, but when teaching their partners, they tried multiple approaches, including learning styles more familiar to that partner:

Their musical backgrounds played a greater part in their own musical learning than they did in their musical teaching. The adolescents were more

prone to change when their task was to teach someone else a piece of music than they were when learning it themselves. (Mars, Sæther, and Folkestad, 2015, p. 306)

Swedish students preferred more talking and explaining and used notation, while Gambians used repetition with a holistic, aural approach. “In a literate culture, coding what the eye sees creates knowledge. The notes in themselves form the foundation for the sound of music. In an oral culture, ear and listening are used to remember” (Mars, Sæther, & Folkestad, 2015, p. 308).

Blanton’s (2016) study described the personal learning curricula created and maintained by five fiddlers learning at the Swannanoa Gathering. Blanton discussed how the learning process was intertwined with participation in a community of practice. An “aha” moment for students was the experiential phenomenon, when a student was learning by doing, rather than learning first, doing later. As Waldron (2013) found in online learning communities, students developed their own blend of approaches to learning music, choosing among various formal and informal elements of learning to create a “personal learning curriculum” (2). This is consistent with assertions that instances of music learning fall on a continuum (or multiple continua) between formal and informal (Folkestad, 2005; Green, 2002; Schippers, 2010). Blanton (2016) advocated for providing a variety of learning contexts where students can learn through joyful participation.

Research on formal and informal aspects of learning in traditional music settings show clear support for reconsidering contextual and pedagogical

boundaries of the music classroom. In addition, elements of transmission that can inform this process have been connected to specific musical traditions with relevance to the string classroom. For example, aural/oral music learning as seen in traditional fiddle camps (Blanton et al., 2014; Dabczynski, 1994; Frisch, 1987), Celtic music (Gilbert, 2018; Miller, 2016; Waldron, 2006), and community folk schools (Lee, 2011, Swain, 2010) could develop deeper listening skills and a more immediate connection with musical sounds for beginners, and might result in greater participation. Social dynamics created by democratic learning environments (with a smaller power distance between teacher and students) caused some students to identify more strongly with the musical process (Abril, 2006; Godwin, 2015; Green, 2008a; Evelein, 2006; Jaffurs, 2006; Lee, 2011; Pellegrino, 2010; Woodford, 2005).

Recontextualized Music Education Settings

Research literature in this section includes educational settings where aspects of informal learning have been integrated with more formalized approaches and theories about specific applications of such approaches. I conclude with a proposed framework for articulating core issues in researching recontextualized music education settings.

Democratic Structures in the Classroom

The following studies detail instances where democratic structures described by Veblen (1991, 1996) and Green (2002, 2008a) are applied in classrooms settings. Oare (2008) described the evolution of the Chelsea House

Orchestra, an after-school project organized by the high school's orchestra director. Students learned, rehearsed, and performed Celtic music in a group designed to support the objectives of the classical orchestra program. Both the music itself and the learning style were described as "creolized," with a blending of sounds, values, and processes from orchestral playing and folk music. Students learned by ear and from notation; some students described that the sheet music eventually "gets in the way" (p. 74). The group emulated Celtic musicians, but often were pushed for technical demands, such as refined tone, which were more in line with their orchestra class. Goals were to expand their stylistic boundaries, access aspects of democratic learning, and provide a more social environment with the idea of increasing creativity and ultimately, participation. Democratic learning gives students opportunities to contribute to decision making (Woodford, 2005) and facilitates creativity (Green, 2002). Students were enthusiastic about the ensemble, enjoying making music with their friends:

This is a party band. This is what they do for fun...For my gig, from my standpoint, the kids are there to play music...But when you're looking at kids who are so inundated with information all day long, they just want their hands dirty and they just want to have some fun. Not just fun, but they want to be enlightened in a different way rather than straight up left brain intellectual. (p. 71)

Abril (2009) explored a music program whose teacher decided to start a mariachi ensemble to try to attract more Hispanic students to the music

department. Moving beyond the typical multicultural effort of the instrumental ensemble to program arrangements of world music, the mariachi ensemble represented a different pedagogical approach, different instrumentation, and a new rehearsal process. In the course of implementing a curriculum in this new context, the teacher found that students opened up about themselves and their relationships with Mexican music. The student-centered format of the rehearsal, combined with controversy surrounding the music itself, provided a setting where students articulated their concerns and engaged in dialogue, and the teacher became a learner.

Silva's (2007) investigation of urban music in a community setting revealed themes of collaborative learning and participatory music. The social approach to learning identified and adopted by the school involved performers who acted as facilitators rather than instructors, deriving a collaborative approach with students to "situated learning activities" (p. 164). Social participation and unification were the most important values in the community. Participants in this study developed ownership from their everyday contribution to the classroom through shared authority: They were responsible for choosing content and did not always have to rely on instructors for their learning. This primary aspect of social learning, according to Silva, would be the most difficult to reproduce in a more traditional classroom setting.

Teacher Qualification

Changing processes in the classroom necessitates a look at how teachers are equipped to deliver instruction. Allsup (2011, 2015) approached the problem of music teachers' hesitation to approach teaching popular music. Generally enthusiastic about bringing popular music into their curricula, teachers lacked experience, and therefore confidence, with musics outside their own classical training. Allsup provided a popular music learning experience for pre-service teachers in an attempt to "diversify and vitalize music education in public schools" (2011, p. 30). Teachers with experience in multiple styles of music and their corresponding diversity of learning styles will be better able to give their students the same. The classical training these pre-teachers had received privileged top-down, master-apprentice models without the flexibility needed to encourage creativity and diversity. A quality teacher could move between musical contexts with ease, always experimenting and learning (Allsup, 2015).

Shiobara (2011) called attention to potential pedagogical issues that can arise when traditional music is presented in a school music setting. In Japan in 2008, a directive was announced for a new course of music study including traditional *nagauta* music, with the goal to "cultivate attitudes of respecting and loving the tradition and culture of Japan" (Shiobara, 2011, p. 30). *Nagauta* transmission styles featured one-on-one instruction with an emphasis on the teacher as a "supreme musical example" (p. 32), with little explanation or correction. Local communities of music provide support for learning through participation and exposure to regional

style. Most teachers in secondary schools were educated in Western classical music, and were not familiar with the style of teaching and learning. Furthermore, the traditional *nagauta* transmission methods called for a higher level of performance skill than most teachers had. Culture bearers in the classroom provided musical examples, but presenting the music in a group setting required additional adaptations.

Jaffurs (2004) observed independent, informal music learning by students outside of school, and analyzed differences in the students' approach from formal musical learning in the classroom. She chronicled her own journey questioning formalized music education and learning to incorporate aspects of the self-taught garage band. Describing "feeling like an outsider" at a garage band practice, she sought ways to blend learning styles so her students did not experience the same in her classroom. Rice (1994) and Bakan (1999) also used the term *outsider* to describe their position leading up to a change in cultural perspective in learning music. Jaffurs suggested that music students would learn best if exposed to ideas from each approach and made recommendations for teachers to learn from exposure to informal musical learning to benefit their teaching styles; for example, to "understand how children problem solve and create knowledge through social interactions" (2004, p. 196). In this study, musicians benefitted from reaching beyond approaches presented in school to outside experiences in order to become the best musicians possible. Jaffurs pointed to the inherently social nature of music and the necessity of prioritizing social interactions in learning environments.

Kuzmich (2005) interviewed seven string educators who specialize in popular, jazz, and multistyle musics to discover how broadening music curricula in public school string program can overcome current weaknesses. Although the educators perceived that acceptance of their musical genres in primary and secondary education was no longer in question, none felt that teacher training included enough foundation in these musics to “make it good” (p. C38). Darol Anger (Kuzmich, 2005) ventured that although there are an unprecedented number of teaching materials available, that person to person is the most effective way to pass on this learning: “it is going to take time. Most string teachers who are working ‘in the trenches’ have limited money and time to attend seminars, conferences, or camps” (p. C36). Caravello’s (2017) investigation of Long Island string teachers’ approaches to musical diversity in their programs showed that teachers placed a high importance on exposing their students to a wide range of musical styles. Underlining Anger’s position (Kuzmich, 2005), most did not feel their preservice training prepared them adequately to use “non-traditional string methods” (p. 89), such as improvisation, or self-directed learning modes in their classrooms. Conley’s (2017) dissertation confirmed these findings, with limited class time surfacing as an additional barrier to inclusion of improvisation in string classes. Thus, teachers’ discomfort with new processes (Allsup, 2011, 2015; Conley, 2017; Jaffurs, 2004; Shiobara, 2011) and with diversity of the repertoire itself (Caravello, 2017; Kuzmich, 2005) challenged their ability to engage in widening their approach in the classroom.

Student Engagement

Kastner (2014) conducted a study on music teachers who implemented informal learning practices as a professional development project. Participants were using the informal learning strategies for the first time. They emerged with confidence that some of the strategies had a place in their teaching long-term in reinforcing material taught with a formal approach. Teaching methods were found to be on a continuum of formal and informal as described by Folkestad (2006). Informal learning experiences helped students to become more independent musicians, with an increase in musical interests, as well as problem solving and collaborative skills (Kastner, 2014). They emerged motivated and took ownership over the music they had created. Teachers saw value in continuing their formal instruction as a way to ensure a comprehensive curriculum.

In a study conducted at two string camps, one based in classical music and the other in a range of fiddle styles, Hendricks and Smith (2018) examined how self-efficacy affects students' motivation to play various types of music. Starting with the idea that eclectic musical styles may provide increased appeal for classically-trained string students by way of the musical styles (Green, 2002; Liebermann, 2004; Mick, 2012; Väkevä, 2009), the learning processes (Dabczynski, 1994; Evelein, 2006; Green, 2002), or the types of environments they offer for playing with others (Kastner, 2014; Waldron, 2006, 2016), Hendricks and Smith (2018) interviewed students about their experiences learning at the camp. Social experiences and communal music making had a significant positive effect on the students' learning.

“Considering the importance of social musical experiences for youth, we may do well to not underestimate the potential of motivation through collaborative and cooperative music-learning structures, no matter the genre” (p. 46).

Veblen & Waldron (2016) interviewed a middle-school band teacher who incorporated fiddle tunes alongside a traditional method book in his band classes. Aspects of the music’s context were replicated in the classroom: Students were often familiar with the tunes from their childhood, elements of aural/oral and holistic learning were utilized, and all students learned the melodies. The teacher believed that students enjoyed engaging in a long-standing tradition, and that their technical skills improved through study of the traditional tunes.

Values of Informal Music Learning

Lee (2011) chronicled music learning at the Old Town Folk School. The school’s model of learning valued friendship, fun, inclusiveness, and community over competitive-based motivation for learning. Orally-based group classes, jam sessions, and sing-alongs provided a variety of avenues to develop skills while building musical friendships and maintaining well-being. Lee found that the school’s unique pedagogy style, which provided every student with opportunities for playing with others in addition to instruction, reflected Turino’s (2008) participatory field, “the one least valued by most Americans” (p. 26). Lee (2011) struggled with aspects of learning folk music in these classes, and attributed the challenges to a “classical education” in music throughout childhood (p. 26). The participatory environment contributed to greater self-confidence and enjoyment in music making:

It was my year at the Old Town School that freed from me the psychological limitations of my conservatory education, in ways that no university experience ever could. Finally, I found myself able to enjoy playing music without the anxiety that I was doing it wrong, or poorly, or not living up to my potential. It no longer seemed so important to me that although I could play a Chopin ballade on the piano, all I could do on the guitar was bass-strum patterns in a few major keys with little evidence of improvement. I enjoyed the latter so much more fully than the former, primarily because I was doing it with other people. I finally internalized the concept that music does not have to be complex or difficult to be good, but it does have to be something you enjoy doing. (Lee, 2011, p. 26)

The Old Town Folk School was not singular in that it held participatory values, but its focus on teaching the tools necessary to be a participant in a musical community was unusual. Skills for developing musical friendships enhanced the well-being of the community and its individuals.

Traditional Music in Higher Education

Olson (2014) documented the appearance of formal fiddle instruction in higher education, detailing programs at three institutions. Each school made its own path in determining how the values of the music and the institution would be negotiated. For example, the student experience at Northport features a thriving community outside of school where jam sessions serve as a laboratory for fiddle innovation, while at Meridian, fiddle classes feature discussion on negotiating the

contexts of different musical styles. According to Olson (2014), this means that any type of university can provide a home for traditional music. “Institutions like these not only afford legitimacy and place for folk traditions to reside and thrive, but they can also play an integral role in helping those traditions evolve and gain wider influence” (p. 322).

Black (2012) investigated the possible paths for a multistyle musician, or one who is able to play in “a wide variety of distinctive musical styles” (p. 2), to pursue a college degree and prepare for a career as a musician. Most music conservatories offered experiences that were irrelevant to multistyle players, with the exception of two conservatories that specialized in multistyle education. Black (2012) found that current and former students considered social environments to be among the biggest predictors of a successful multistyle music education.

Talty (2019) provided an overview of nine institutions of higher education in Ireland that offer programs in Irish traditional music, including a discussion of how pedagogues negotiated the historical predominance of Western European classical music. Talty described specific aspects of traditional Irish music in contemporary performance that were impacted by pervasive use of notation and theory based on Western European classical music, such as dramatically reduced use of non-tempered tunings. Based on challenges outlined by educators at institutions in Ireland and beyond, Talty proposed development of a *lingua franca* notation, or a new type of notation that could be universally applied to different musical traditions.

Olson (2014), Black (2012), and Talty (2019) have provided a look at the limited opportunities for studying string music in higher education outside the Western European tradition. In addition, they have created a pool of some possible routes higher education could take to meet the call to provide legitimacy to a more diverse pool of musics (Boon, 2014; Bradley, 2007; Drummond, 2010; Gatien, 2009; Hill, 2009; Karvelis, 2018; Miller, 2016).

Investigating Transmission in Recontextualized Settings

Schippers (2006, 2007, 2010) investigated the complexities involved in recontextualizing music to educational settings. While Schippers (2006, 2010) treated context as a primary consideration in any musical learning experience, the author challenged the notion of musical traditions as fixed entities. Consequently, replicating a music's context in a classroom is impossible and irrelevant. In fact, an inherent risk of such a strategy is the possible loss of fluctuation and creativity that are fundamental to the identities of many musical traditions (Schippers, 2010, p. 115).

Under Schippers's (2010) approach, teachers are charged instead to "take position consciously with regard to the cultural setting they are in, sensitive to the choices open to them with regard to tradition, context, and authenticity, and choose their approach to teaching accordingly" (p. 107). These approaches should reflect careful consideration of the values of four participating entities in the learning process: The instructors, the institution, the musical tradition, and the learners (p. 118). Successful teaching is most likely to emanate from situations where educators

are aware of the ramifications of the choices they make in designing and implementing instruction.

This type of dynamic approach to multiculturalism, Schippers (2010) acknowledged, does not come without challenges. Some obstacles to implementation include a shortage of information about transmission processes, systems of music education (including higher education) that are resistant to change (p. 128), and the preparation of teachers with expanded musical and procedural understanding (p. 107, 168).

Schippers's (2010) recommendations begin by addressing the first obstacle: shortage of information about transmission processes. The author has provided a framework for investigating transmission in recontextualized music settings, the Twelve-Continuum Transmission Framework (TCTF). With this framework, music education researchers should look to settings that feature flexible approaches to world music instruction, such as community music settings, to inform the broader field of music education:

Practical examples and experiments in community-music activities can serve research into alternative models of music learning and teaching, in order to widen the framework dictated by the history and structure of formal music education in terms of content, methodology, and practice. (p. 96)

Summary

Musical traditions across the world differ in context and procedures of transmission (Blacking, 1987; Hood, 1960; Nettl, 1995a, 1998b, Schippers 2006, 2007, 2010). Attention to aspects of music learning that take place out of formalized education settings, such as aural/oral transmission, observational and kinesthetic learning; community; autonomy; and social collaboration, could result in models for change in music education in general (Campbell, 2011; Cawley, 2013; Folkestad, 2005; Green, 2008a; Jaffurs, 2006; Kastner, 2014; Lilliestam, 1996; McLucas, 2010; Thibeault, 2015; Waldron, 2006). This type of change would require a fundamental understanding of educators' own perspectives and those inherent in Western music education (Bergonzi, 2006; Bond, 2017; Folkestad, 2005; Hill, 2019; Kallio & Westerlund, 2020; Lind & McCoy, 2016; Schippers, 2010; Small, 1996; Thapa 2020). While challenging to make such a shift to systems already in place, these systems and their history of exclusion must be challenged in the interest of providing relevant and equitable education across racial lines (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Bradley, 2006, 2015; Elpus & Abril, 2011; Hess, 2017a, 2017b; Koza, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 2015).

According to Söderman and Folkestad (2004), "it seems as if formal and informal learning strategies act in a dialectic way, which indicates that musicians, no matter what genre, combine formal and informal learning strategies in their practice of musical learning (p. 314). This is well supported in the literature (Blanton et al., 2016; Cawley, 2013; Folkestad, 2006; Kastner, 2014, McLucas, 2010; Oare, 2008;

Waldron, 2006, 2013, 2018). Schippers' (2010) framework serves as a tool for examining how educators' perspectives inform teaching practices in recontextualized learning situations, and how they interact with the values of the musical traditions present. Analysis of such situations can lead to "designing situations and moments of musical transmission that are in line with current thinking on student-centred, authentic, and competency-based learning," and can inform the creation of situation-appropriate multicultural music learning (Schippers, 2006, p. 5).

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODS

This qualitative ethnographic multi-sited case study is an investigation of music learning and teaching at two sites of Mountain Music for Youth (MMY, a pseudonym) in the southeastern region of the U.S. MMY was chosen for its revelatory potential for teaching and learning music in recontextualized settings and string pedagogy, and for its unique characteristic of featuring tradition bearers teaching youth in a formalized classroom environment. Bluehill and Clinton MMY were chosen among all MMY sites because of their longevity and large enrollment. A core element of the research was to examine musical and cultural values of instructors, administrators, and the MMY program, and the ways they manifested in the learning environment and in instruction. In this chapter, I present an overview of research design and describe participant selection criteria, data collection methods, and analysis. All participants are represented by pseudonyms and will remain anonymous.

Overview

The purpose of this investigation was to examine a music education program based on traditional music where aspects of pedagogy are determined by practitioners of that music.

This qualitative ethnographic multi-sited case study is framed by Schippers' (2010) *Facing the Music*. Schippers' (2010) Twelve-Continuum Transmission Framework (TCTF), designed for studying recontextualized music education

settings, facilitates consideration of issues of context in providing a vocabulary and corresponding measurement tool designed for qualitative study. While the framework calls for use of a fixed set of discussion topics (listed below), the nature of its questioning called for an inductive, open-ended investigation of the culture and community of the MMY program. This approach follows the spirit of Schippers' (2010) framework:

In drawing together these considerations into a framework, the multitude of conscious and subconscious choices in any situation of music learning and teaching becomes clear. An extended case study shows how this can lead to deeper and sometimes surprising insights into the interplay of practice and ideas in music learning and teaching across cultures. (p. 167)

I sought to understand the nature of music-making that participants (MMY staff) engage in and its meaning in their lives. What elements of that music-making did they feel was important to pass on to the next generation? How did these elements inform the experience they provided for MMY students? To address these questions, I chose ethnographic methods for this case study, including observation of classes and rehearsals, in-depth interviews with teachers and administrators, and document examination.

I interpreted data in two ways. First, I applied a coding process as outlined by Saldaña (2013), using Initial and Process Coding to identify the most salient themes for structuring a discussion of MMY's musical and educational community. Then I organized and analyzed data according to Schippers's (2010) TCTF, resulting in a

visual representation of points on each of its twelve continua and corresponding narrative for each.

Research Design

Gerring (2007) defined *case study* as an “intensive study of a single case where the purpose of that study is—at least in part—to shed light on a larger class of cases” ...“the unit(s) under special focus is not perfectly representative of the population, or at least questionable” (p. 20). My intent for the current study was to describe how educators’ choices play out in existing educational settings in order to further the discourse on cultural perspectives in music education, with a specific focus on strings.

Awareness of socio-cultural aspects of education and of music has been increasing (McCarthy 2002, p. 563). According to Szego (2002), ethnographic techniques are the most appropriate for researchers who wish to study music learning and teaching in the broader context of music transmission (p. 707). Ethnography, however, presents a unique challenge in navigating between the researcher’s and participants’ perspectives, and results will inevitably be influenced by a researcher’s experience (Packer, 2011, p. 145). Although the research design and full disclosure of researcher positionality will not eliminate the influence of my perspective, the current study can yield results that are both informative and constructive.

Because I investigated elements of context and *emic* perspective in this study, it was necessary to employ ethnographic techniques of participant observation and

interviews to collect data. In addition, printed teaching materials and organizational documents such as bylaws, mission statements, curricula, and instructor handbooks were collected and examined.

Participant Selection

One of this study's goals is to provide insight that could be applied to different educational settings in music education. Although the groups chosen for study are community programs (and do not represent public school string programs or private lesson studios), Schippers (2010) pointed to the need for extended studies of existing programs that blend traditional transmission practices with formal learning environments, adding:

Practices of private teachers and in community settings are less heavily influenced by institutional pressures and may serve as inspiration for devising appropriate new approaches to learning and teaching in formal music education, taking into account the resistance to change in these environments. (p. 118)

Blanton et al., (2014) and Shiobara (2011) called for further investigation into tradition bearers as teachers or resources for the music classroom. Because of the unique nature of the MMY program, the participants in the current study represent a spectrum between tradition bearers and classroom teachers, most positioned closer to tradition bearer. However, their responsibilities in MMY have caused them to think like educators, to consider issues such as classroom management, curriculum, skills, culture of their students, and more. They are

predominantly musicians who have learned in an informal environment and have spent time wrestling with the challenges of adapting their craft to the formal setting of a group of young learners. Thus, they were uniquely able to comment on the intersection of the two.

I chose to include two research sites so as to investigate more deeply the interaction between the MMY institution (shared goals among different MMY sites, values of Regional MMY, and ideals of the first MMY founder “Evelyn”) and the individual values brought to classes by each instructor. Bluehill and Clinton MMY sites have both been operating for a significant time (more than ten years), have had consistent directorship, and have high enrollment.

Criterion-based selection (Schensul et al., 1999) allowed for the examination of educational settings that demonstrated aspects of both established formal learning environments and traditional music study.

I chose the locations for the research in this project based on the following criteria:

1. The groups have been running for at least 10 years with consistent or increasing student populations (as evidence of established programs).
2. Musical repertoire focuses mainly on traditional folk music (music that is present in local communities and has historically been passed on from one generation to another) and is centered around learning to play instruments. (Music studied in MMY is southern Appalachian mountain music, and instruments in MMY include fiddle, banjo, guitar, bass, and dulcimer, but any

folk music tradition, and any instruments were acceptable based on the criterion-based selection.)

3. At least one of the following attributes of traditional folk music is represented: aural/oral learning, community integration, repertoire, instrumentation, or performance style.
4. Curriculum is based on innovations by instructors or program directors (and not on a published teaching method).
5. Performance is an end goal of instruction. This element of formalized instruction adds relevance for performance-based music education programs.

Several traditional music programs were considered before choosing these two MMY sites. I chose these based on my prior acquaintance with teachers and directors, and basic familiarity with their history, mission, and enrollment.

Mountain Music for Youth (MMY)

Mountain Music for Youth (MMY) was formed in Springfield by local traditional musicians and educators. MMY offers small group beginning instruction on instruments, song, and dance common to the southern Appalachian Mountain region. The program was initially supported by a grant from the state arts council, and interest in similar programs spread rapidly across the region. Today other mountain counties operate MMY programs, and there is a regional non-profit organization that works to unite county programs, develop and maintain standards, and provide materials and other support for local chapters.

Access to Research Sites

This research design is based on two pre-selected sites (Bluehill MMY and Clinton MMY). Access to research sites was granted by program directors at both sites, and by the director of regional MMY by email. After access was granted, all teachers and administrators in both programs plus the regional MMY director and MMY founder were contacted by email to solicit volunteers for participation in the study. From Bluehill MMY, the program director and four teachers consented to participate. In Clinton MMY, there were five teachers plus the program director. In addition, both the regional director and MMY founder, who had previously acted as program director and teacher, agreed to participate.

Data collection took place during the months of March and April, 2015.

Data Collection

I conducted data collection for this study on location, allowing for continued observation of instructional time, performances and extracurricular events of each class, and interviews conducted at the convenience of staff and directors. The desired result of the investigation in this study was to gain a thorough understanding of the structure, implementation, teaching methods, and values represented in an ongoing program. These data cannot be obtained by short-answer questions—a fully interactive approach was the only way to gain access to the inner workings and context of an innovative educational setting. Similar data collection protocols were followed in a recent study by Montague (2011).

Interviews

A primary focus of this research is to identify how instructors and administrators made choices based on their prior experiences and world views about music learning and teaching. Thus, I used structured interviews here to determine what significance and reasoning educators bring to the programs they implement. Seidman (2006) stated that, "If the researcher's goal...is to understand the meaning people involved in education make of their experience, then interviewing provides a necessary, if not always completely sufficient, avenue of inquiry" (p. 11). Potential challenges in investigating via interviews include reconciling ambiguous data, especially when participants say one thing and do another (O'Reilly, 2005, p. 127), and reconciling researcher bias to ensure that participants' perspectives are clear and accurate⁵. Triangulation through Values Coding of interview transcripts and observation field notes partially addresses the former (Saldaña, 2013), although perceived disagreements between participant

⁵ Sometimes these turned out to be one and the same, or an opportunity to pursue deeper conversation. As an example of both, a guitar and dulcimer teacher, Jack, discussed his ideas about learning from visual aids. He described notation as "not the best for traditional music," and stated that "they will have a whole lot more fun if they can play by ear instead of following your notes." Yet, Jack focused his class on using tabs in each of the classes that I observed. At first glance, from my perspective, Jack's actions were not consistent with his comments about his own musical values. However, when I questioned him in depth about this in a follow-up interview, Jack returned to what his primary value in teaching music was: Students should find the joy in playing or learning music. He told the story of an older guy he once observed learning at a music camp. "He was sitting there in a jam with his P&S Book (Pick and Strum), enjoying himself in that little room." To Jack, this was successful learning because here was a man enjoying playing music. From my perspective as a researcher, my zealotry for uncovering cultural views on notation and aural/oral learning had overshadowed that Jack's priorities were elsewhere. The perceived conflict allowed an opportunity to reset my bias by inquiring further.

actions and views can sometimes be insightful in describing their perspectives.

Interviews conducted followed an “interview guide approach” as outlined by Johnson and Christensen (2004, p. 208). I conducted interviews one-on-one and strove to create a relaxed, informal atmosphere with participants by meeting in their spaces and engaging in casual conversation before beginning with questions. I pursued specific topics and the same open-ended questions with each interviewee, but follow-up questions and order of topics were changed as necessary to follow the natural flow of the participant’s narrative (p. 209). Questions were designed in a way that allowed participants to tell their own stories with as little intervention as possible to limit reflexivity. In one case, I designed and presented follow-up questions after scheduled interviews to pursue topics raised by participants from other programs, and conducted follow-up interviews by phone. This approach corresponds to Yin’s (2009) definition of an *in-depth interview* (p. 107). Interview protocol can be found in Appendix A.

I recorded interviews with an iRiver digital voice recorder in Mp3 format. Audio interview recordings were uploaded and stored on hard drive, then transcribed so as to incorporate details and the narrative voice of each participant. I took notes during each interview to ensure that all topics were covered and follow-up questions pursued systematically.

In each location, I interviewed major directors, past and present. Major directors include the following titles (in many instances directors hold more than one title): artistic director, assistant artistic director, founder, executive director,

and musical director. In addition to directors, the programs employ between six and ten instructors, varying by semester. All teachers in each program who volunteered participated in interviews. In addition, I conducted interviews with the program's regional director and its founder. Brief follow-up interviews for clarification were conducted by phone and email with each participant.

Observations

Defining participant observation has historically posed a controversy among anthropologists: There is disagreement over whether a participant-observer must take part in a community as a fully participating member (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, p. 2). For the purposes of these observations, it was not feasible for me to act fully as a teacher or student in the classroom, but elements of participation were sometimes incorporated (mostly in the form of tuning instruments and replacing strings). All parties were fully informed of the research process and goals of the project, and therefore my role in the classroom was as a researcher; however, I seized opportunities to play music with some of the students in the evening jam that took place in Boone after classes, as well as participating in class discussions and interacting casually with students in the comings and goings between classes. My participation in the program in these ways was intended to help participants feel more at ease, and facilitate my access to information I may have otherwise overlooked. Thus, for the purposes of this study, I used a broader definition of participant observation and attempted to become integrated socially with the participant base without being an integral part of the teaching and learning event.

This was facilitated by my former acquaintance with most MMY teachers and prior attendance at MMY events. This approach falls between DeWalt and DeWalt's (2002) definitions of *moderate participant* and *active participant*.

I took brief field notes during classes and performances, limited so as to keep my mind available to notice reactions and interactions. Class and performance sessions were video recorded. Additional field notes were added after observations were complete (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), centering the initial phase of the research on larger ideas rather than individual exchanges or teaching moments. These were made from memory within 24 hours of observation, and wherever possible, directly following observations. Reflections, including "the researcher's feelings, reactions, hunches, initial interpretations, speculations, and working hypotheses" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 151) were also added at this time.

I used video recordings of my classroom observations to generate data in several ways according to the recommendation of Derry, et al. (2010). First, I created a content log to index the classroom events according to time. This enabled me to return to specific events later when necessary. After watching and indexing each video (one class), I wrote a narrative summary describing the general flow of the class; teaching methods used; repertoire studied; size, age, and gender makeup of the class; and any personal reflections such as what students might have learned, how they reacted to the instructor, and what the teacher's goals for the class might have been. The second viewing of videos took place after coding notes and interview data, when some patterns had been identified. At this point, I chose sections of the

videos based on these emerging patterns to document “rich examples” (Derry, et al., 2010): transcriptions and play-by-play descriptions.

Documents

“To corroborate and augment evidence” (Yin, 2009, p. 103) from observations and interviews, I collected artifacts, including bylaws, mission statements, curricula, and staff handbooks. These provided corroboration and background for data that spoke to institutional values and the history of MMY’s development. Documents and artifacts can “frequently reveal what people will not or cannot say” (Eisner, 1998, p. 184). In this case the MMY teacher’s resource manual and teachers’ resources posted on the MMY website yielded the most enlightening information: they demonstrated ongoing efforts to provide instructors with training in classroom management and to structure repertoire used for Bluehill MMY’s common tunes.

Triangulation

I triangulated data by cross-referencing notes from observations of instrumental classes with the interviews, informal exchanges, and the written records from the other observations. Follow-up interviews included member checks of interview data. All directors and teachers signed consent forms prior to participating in interviews and human subject guidelines were followed.

Data Analysis

Four types of data resulted from my fieldwork: interview transcriptions; a journal of field notes, reflections, and narrative summaries; video footage of

observations, and documents. Each of these were subjected to three coding processes, which then led to identification of themes to be explored in Chapter 4, and grouping of data for application to Schippers' (2010) TCTF, which is the basis for Chapter 5.

Initial coding is an "open-ended approach to coding the data" (Saldaña, 2013), leaving the researcher open to let themes emerge from the data freely. This step included both Values Codes, representing participants' perspectives or worldview by reflecting their attitudes, values, and beliefs, and In Vivo Codes, which are drawn from the language used by participants, and "prioritize and honor the participant's voice" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 91). I then returned to the raw data and applied Protocol Coding, an *a priori* coding system (Saldaña, 2013) determined in this case by Schippers' (2010) TCTF. These codes, based on aspects of context, transmission, dimensions of interaction, and diversity were used to group data for the purposes of discussing the TCTF in Chapter 5. Each of these codes, as defined by Schippers (2010), is described in detail below. Secondary (Focused) codes were added to streamline language and group codes that were commonly used or related. In this step, I found that some concepts drawn out by the Initial Coding phase fit well within the TCTF categories.

The next phase involved identifying the most significant and commonly used codes to draw meaning from the data. In this step, I created a spreadsheet with each code listed, grouped by participant where possible. This led me to identify the four themes explored in Chapter 4:

1. “Music Became My Social Life”
2. Playing with Others as Curriculum
3. Values of the Musical Tradition
4. Need for Instructor Training

I also identified five significant themes that I did not discuss individually in either chapter: These, I felt, were pervasive in the treatment of all topics, and served to inform my overall discussion. These five themes were:

1. Instructor values
2. Institution values
3. Student culture
4. Values of the musical tradition
5. Impact of the MMY program.

The first four were outlined by Schippers (2010), but were not identified as codes at the outset of data analysis. TCTF categories remained as distinct codes throughout this final phase.

Development of Themes

Initial Coding

Some examples of Values Coding that appeared in the first phase of analysis were “music as a pastime,” “‘essence’ of the music=community connection,” “‘old’ music,” and “about having music, not about having a specific music.” These codes were used when participants spoke directly to their beliefs (“I believe” or “I think it’s important that”), and also when a statement or action reflected an underlying

cultural value (“I just did whatever my teacher wanted me to do”). This is an element of the process that is likely to be influenced by my personal views and experience, where another researcher could produce a different result.

In Vivo codes represented here include “string music” and other labels participants used to describe the music they play, “who cares” about music learning styles, “you just dive in” regarding how one should approach teaching, and “boom-chuck.” These codes provided a data set that retained the variety and interest of the participants’ words when stripped down to codes, and aided in preserving more nuance than if they were summarized in my own words.

Some of the initial codes did not fall into either of these categories. These codes were useful in tracking topics and how often they were mentioned, such as “kids as mentors” or “government support for the arts,” or to connect statements to each other, as in “on talent” or “on reading music.”

Focused Coding

To begin the second phase of coding, I was armed with a spreadsheet and a better idea of the range of data. I approached the list of codes with a broad idea of categories, but not a specific list of titles. I used an additional column to list new codes for about 70% of the data, focusing on categories that seemed to have more representation and those that were more emphasized by participants. Some of the resulting codes here included: “teaching skills,” “sustainability of the music,” and “old-time music ‘club.’” Value statements were generally categorized by “instructor values,” “values of the music itself,” and “MMY values.” Some of the initial codes fell

into categories relevant to the TCTF, such as the initial In Vivo code “breaking things down to the cellular level” and its corresponding categorization as “atomistic.”

Below is an example of the range of Initial Codes from the first round that fell into one category in the second round of coding:

Sustainability of the music

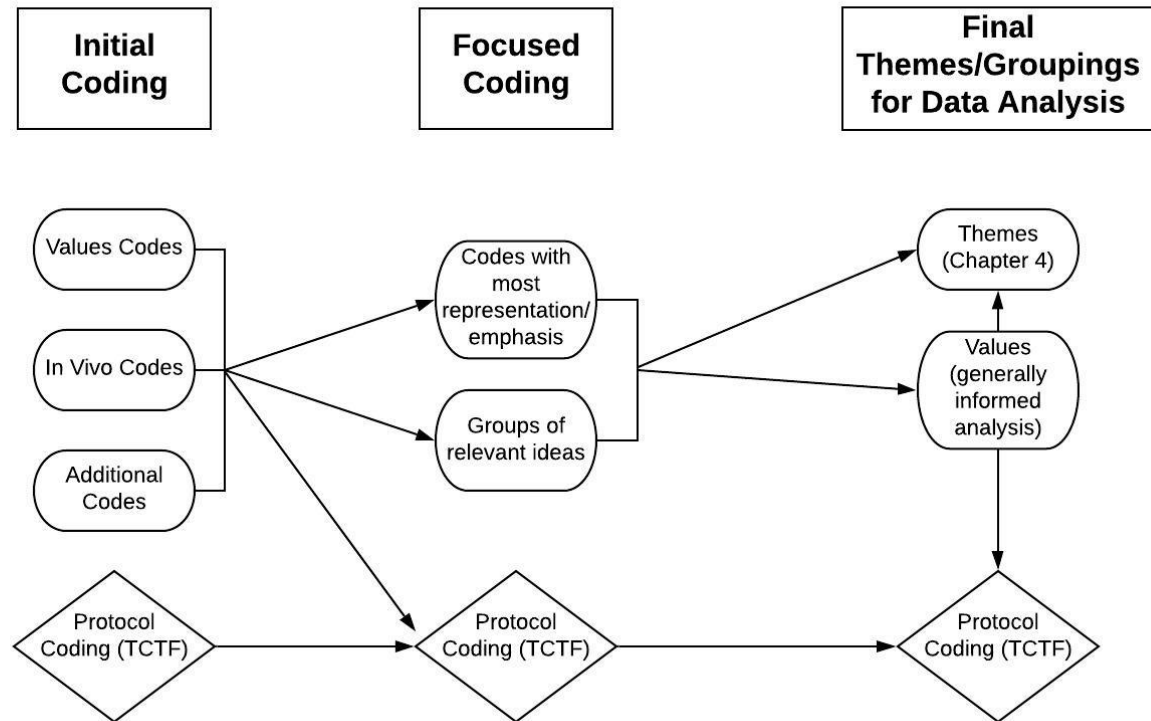
Music lives on, doesn't need support
 Pass along the music, no matter how
 People vital to the endurance of the tradition
 Music has stayed relevant for generations
 Impact of MMY: Create people who know a little something about the music
 History, having the stories with the tunes
 Preserving the music
 I don't want [the music] to die, but don't try to make people like it
 It should be “saved” enough so that you can find it
 Schools & government could promote the integrity and importance of the music
 Artificial sustenance of mountain music
 If we need MMY, maybe the music is not sustainable
 “It's already survived”
 Need to get the young folks exposed to it so it stays alive
 Music lives on—it doesn't need support
 The music, the barbecue, the crafts—it can hold its own without govt support

As the data was categorized using the Focused Codes, themes that had been hinted at during data collection were confirmed. One theme became clear during the interview stage: “Music is my social life.” Every participant made comments that were related to this, despite its not being a part of the interview protocol. Other themes, such as the idea of the old-time music “club” were not as readily apparent, but after seeing the data grouped together, both the common thread and the language the participants used to express it became apparent, and clearly linked. “Sustainability of the music,” a focused (second round) code listed above, was

grouped with related ideas such as “History of the music” and “Local Heritage” under the final theme, “Pride of the homeplace.”

Protocol Coding

For third round of coding, I returned to the original data and employed a Protocol Coding technique using the Twelve-Continuum Transmission Framework (Schippers, 2010). Here, each of the twelve continua represented a code, and these were used to group the data by category. These snippets formed the set of relevant topics for each continuum’s discussion. In addition, some codes from the Initial Coding set were classified into these categories. Many codes related to categories in both areas. Figure 1 depicts the flow of the three rounds of coding as described above. A complete list of Focused Codes and their corresponding themes are listed in Appendices 3–5.

Figure 1*Coding Flow Chart***The Twelve-Continuum Transmission Framework (TCTF)**

I used the Twelve-Continuum Transmission Framework (TCTF) to shape data to better understand how the transmission process in the classroom reflected specific (if not always conscious) choices made by educators. To maximize the significance in its application, it is important to bear in mind that the continua are exactly that and do not represent dichotomies. There are no universally desirable positions on the continua; the framework is “essentially nonprescriptive and nonjudgmental” (Schippers, 2010, p. 125). No position on the continua is expected to be completely left or right, and Schippers’s (2010) accompanying *Indicators* tables for modes of transmission, issues of context, dimensions of interaction, and

approach to cultural diversity were utilized to aid in determining criteria for placement (pp. 121–123). The goal is to raise awareness that each place on the spectrum represents a choice that can be examined from the perspective of the teacher, the learner, the institution, or the musical tradition (pp. 124–125).

The framework is designed to serve as a graphic tool to enhance descriptive analysis of transmission processes. “Not only the position but also the reasoning behind choosing the position on each continuum is crucial” (Schippers, 2010, p. 126). In addition to providing a visual representation, the framework lent a common vocabulary, structure, and flow to the discussion of MMY. Use of the framework pointed my research specifically and persistently toward defining culture and values of the four perspectives in play (instructors, students, institution, and musical tradition). While the framework provided my direction in gathering data, it did not ultimately serve to convey the subtleties or a satisfactory overview of the data that resulted. This was the reason for coding data in two separate sets (according to the framework and by emerging themes).

The twelve continua that comprise Schippers’s TCTF are as follows, beginning with issues of context:

Static tradition—constant flux

A static tradition would be represented by a canonized body of works, with more value placed on knowledge and rules than on artistry and creativity. A flexible tradition would be open to new influences and hold a high degree of respect for change.

“Reconstructed” authenticity—“New identity” authenticity

To the left side of the spectrum, the “reconstructed authenticity represents the goal to reproduce historical models of music. A “new identity” approach would stress the authenticity of the individual more strongly.

“Original” Context—Recontextualization

“True original context is quite rare” (Schippers, 2010, p. 55), but the level of importance placed on recreating original context of time, sound, values, or socio-cultural norms can vary within recontextualized musical settings. Teachers may choose to replicate their perceived version of a music’s context, to make references to it, or to rely on only musical sound to act as a conduit to the new culture.

The next three continua represent modes of transmission:

Atomistic/Analytic—Holistic

An atomistic approach to learning would have a stronger focus on “truth” and may involve incremental increases in complexity, while a holistic approach would involve exposing learners to entire pieces of music or processes without breaking them down or simplifying.

Notation-Based—Aural/Oral

There is much support for the idea that there are no entirely notation-based musics, as many of the values of even the Western classical canon are imparted through modeling and listening (e.g. Hood, 1950; Small, 1996). Likewise, many traditions involve learning aurally/orally and using notation of some sort as a mnemonic aid. This continuum represents the degree to which each are used to understand, participate in, and retain pieces of music.

Tangible—Intangible

According to Schippers (2010), “Values are generally taught partly explicitly, partly implicitly, and often through stories, anecdotes, or legends” (p. 73). This scale represents the tendency to present and prioritize concepts that are concrete (such as technique) or abstract (such as musical expression).

The following five continua involve “dimensions of interaction,” and are borrowed from the work of Geert Hofstede (1998):

Large Power Distance—Small Power Distance

A large power distance puts the teacher in a leadership and power role, with a greater physical and social distance between teacher and learner. A small power distance exists when teacher and learner are both participants in a learning process.

Individual Central—Collective Central

How much is the atmosphere centered around individual learning, and how much around achievements of the group? Already, settings in this study are predisposed toward the collective central side of the spectrum, as only group lesson

environments will be investigated; however, there is still room for variation within the scale.

Strongly Gendered—Gender Neutral

Are there gender-specific roles or rules in this community? Are certain instruments more acceptable in the hands of either gender? Whose voices contribute to social dynamics and decision-making of the group?

Avoiding Uncertainty—Tolerating Uncertainty

Avoiding uncertainty involves music being presented with a clear-cut and unchangeable set of values. A setting where music and its accompanying knowledge are open to interpretation would be classified closer to the “tolerating uncertainty” side of this spectrum.

Long-Term Orientation—Short-Term Orientation

Is the learning process based around short- or long-term goals? Systems that involve a prescriptive progression over the course of years would be characterized by long-term orientation.

The final continuum is in a category alone:

Approach to Cultural Diversity

Schippers’s (2010) last scale has four distinct points of reference:

1. Monocultural—Music is presented from the perspective of one dominant culture and the idea that it is more “developed” than other types of music.
2. Multicultural—There is an awareness of other types of music, and ideas about what constitutes “good” may be more flexible.

3. Intercultural—Comparisons are made to other musics, with the possibility of fusion.
4. Transcultural—“Music has taken on an in-depth characteristic of more than one culture” (Schippers, 2010, p. 123). Ideals for assessing quality in music represent more than one perspective.

Researcher Positionality

I approach these topics and the participating musical communities, like all researchers, striving for objectivity “even though it is an unattainable, idealized, goal” (Banks, 1998, p. 6). Bias is inherent in the process of collecting and analyzing. A recognized, carefully checked bias can add useful insight, according to Kvale (2007): “A recognized bias or subjective perspective may...come to highlight specific aspects of the phenomenon being investigated and bring new dimensions forward, contributing to a multi-perspectival construction of knowledge” (p. 86).

Using Banks’s (1998) typology of cross-cultural researchers, I find characteristics of the “external insider” useful to define my positionality with regard to the musical communities represented in this study. This is not without complication for several reasons. First, as I discussed in Chapter 1, the musical communities in question include people who have lived and learned music locally for most of their lives, but also many transplants from outside the region, who either brought their music with them or learned from local players. Therefore, it is difficult to delineate an “indigenous” person from an “external” one. Second, I have loosely defined “musical communities” here by their participants’ ability to participate in

and habits of playing music together. There are no black and white lines where these communities start and end, so it is difficult to place myself definitively inside or outside, and also to define a set of “beliefs, values, behaviors, attitudes, and knowledge of the culture” (Banks, 1998, p. 14) that are common to the community as a whole.

When I relocated to North Carolina in 2007, it was in pursuit of experiencing more context for the traditional music I loved. I set out to do this through graduate school coursework in Appalachian Studies as well as by inserting myself as much as I could in a local and regional music scene. I attended festivals, music parties, and jam sessions, played in fiddle contests and for square dances, and met as many musicians as I could across the tri-state area. I met and played music with many of the participants in this study, and spent some time teaching with two different chapters of MMY. This familiarity and extended contact gave me insider status as described by Banks (1998).

I believe this insider position facilitated comfortable interviews, allowing participants to be forthcoming early in the process, even those whom I did not know before this study. Some participants that I knew required very little prompting, talking for 10 or 20 minutes after my first question. I also found that my knowledge of the specific music and community gave the interviews an energetic rapport, as participants talked to me as a co-conspirator and often tried to elicit my thoughts on the topics we discussed. As Liamputtong (2010) stated, “Insider researchers have the privilege of knowing the life worlds of people whom they wish to learn about”

(p. 119). Conversely, I saw throughout the process the potential for letting my generalized understanding of the larger traditional music community of which I am a part setting an expectation for what participants' experiences or beliefs might be. To retain as much objectivity as possible, I sought to let each participant's words and stories speak for them, and to avoid generalizing where possible. I found it helpful to retain participants' vocabulary when they described their music or other aspects of their participation in the community (for example, see Chapter 4 for a list of the different ways they described the music they play).

Another angle to consider is the effect of my "first language" of classical music on the interpretation of data. This discussion is grounded in the systemic centering of Western European classical music, and I believe that fluency in two musics puts me in a unique position to recognize subtle and unspoken aspects of both perspectives. On the other hand, the act stepping into a new music as a classical musician felt like a rebellious one, which could cause me to be hyper-aware of some of these subtleties. For example, as a fiddle teacher, I am extremely resistant to notation in my classroom, probably more than most teachers in MMY. In fact, my own learning of fiddle music has been in defiance of the skills that I brought with me from my viola world. During my research, this feeling of defiance has served as a cue for me to listen particularly well and to use participants' words, and not my own, to convey their ideas, so as to maintain as much objectivity as possible.

Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed in detail four themes identified above; these are also included in Appendix B. In Chapter 5, discussions of data are organized according to the four main categories of Schippers' (2010) TCTF: 1) Issues of context, 2) modes of transmission, 3) dimensions of interaction, and 4) approach to cultural diversity. A narrative of each of these four categories will be presented, followed by a visual representation of the TCTF. The two MMY locations were examined collectively, as comparison between the locations was not a goal of this research. Schippers's (2010) three brief case studies of music education in the Netherlands served as examples of structuring narrative description using the TCTF.

A deviation from Schippers's (2010) example case studies was necessary to process a larger amount of data due to research involving 13 participants, a longer time frame, and multiple class observations. A more in-depth examination of an educational setting can yield more inconsistent results using the TCTF, which according to Schippers, does not diminish the value of the framework's application or of the data collected. He stated, "However difficult to position and document precisely, the description of longer trajectories, of course, can provide the most valuable information on how musical skills and knowledge are acquired within a specific tradition in a particular setting" (p. 127). Data collection over a longer timeframe and with multiple teachers and directors necessitated additional comparative discussion, but was helpful in distinguishing institutional perspectives from those of the instructors.

CHAPTER 4

MOUNTAIN MUSIC FOR YOUTH

Mountain Music for Youth (MMY, a pseudonym) offers group instruction to youth in traditional Appalachian mountain music. The first MMY program began in Bluehill County in the southeastern United States, and later, other counties started their own programs. The two sites investigated in this study were Bluehill MMY, in the town of Springfield, (Bluehill County); and Clinton MMY, in the town of Clinton (Stone County).

In Bluehill MMY, classes are offered in fiddle, banjo, guitar, mandolin, bass, and stringband. Classes take place after school at Bluehill Elementary as part of a homework help program, which provides busing and snacks for students. No direct funding is provided by the school. Each student attends a 35-minute instrumental class and two 35-minute activity classes (singing, dance, or dulcimer). In addition to classes, students can attend special enrichment programs such as guest performances, open mics, coffeehouses, dances, and an annual in-house fiddlers convention. There is a student performance at the end of each semester. Bluehill MMY is open to elementary and middle-school students. Tuition is offered on a sliding scale and instruments are provided.

Clinton was the second MMY program to be started. Classes take place at a local historic site, at first administered through the county arts council and currently by the Town of Clinton. Classes in fiddle, banjo, and guitar are held one evening per week, followed by open jam sessions attended by community members. Students

typically enroll in a single hour-long class, but many choose to add a second instrument once they are able to play their first instrument at an advanced level. Classes are currently open to any age student. Initially, they were only open to children, but adults have been included in the past two years.

Currently there are many MMY programs in different counties, as well as a regional organization dedicated to providing resources for individual programs. Teacher training workshops are offered, as well as consultations for starting programs, how to apply for funding, and assistance achieving non-profit credentials. An array of documents is available online for use by instructors and administrators, ranging from handouts about how to find and participate in local jam sessions to MMY “passports” designed for students to record their own progress. In addition, guides about local music are provided for school teachers to inform their classroom teaching.

Themes

The goal of this study was to investigate cultural values and context of music learning in Mountain Music for Youth. The goal of data analysis via coding was to let the words and topics discussed by participants and observed in classrooms determine the themes explored here. Some themes, such as the concept of aural/oral tradition, centered around data that could be explored fully through the TCTF, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Themes provide a perspective of the MMY program’s culture with which to frame the TCTF continua. They will further discussion initiated by existing research

on traditional music cultures in music education. The following four themes will be explored:

1. “Music Became my Social Life”
2. Playing with Others as a Curriculum
3. Values of the Musical Tradition
4. Need for Instructor Training

Beginnings

“Evelyn” created the idea that would become MMY. A long-time guidance counselor at Springfield Elementary, Evelyn knew the local elementary students well, and thought they needed more opportunities to connect to each other. As an active performer of traditional mountain music herself, she also took note that they were becoming less aware of their own local heritage in this music. Evelyn told the story this way:

I did some research in my guidance classes, some family heritage and roots and family traditions, and had all the 4th graders make a little book. I had little questionnaires. (I told my partner I was really looking for old Lloyd Loars [mandolins] and Martins [guitars] stuck under beds, ha.) But [I was] asking if there was any music and any instruments in their home. [I had] them interview their grandparents and great-grandparents if they had them. You could see that the traditions had broken down two generations ago, and nobody was doing anything.

As part of her career as a performer, Evelyn had taught fiddle workshops to classical violin students in California which made her question and reflect on what she was doing, eventually asking herself, “what am I doing teaching ‘Leather Britches’ to affluent Bay area kids when our kids don't have access to anything?”

A few months after making books with the 4th graders, Evelyn had the idea to combine another teacher’s music classes (a regular class at Springfield Elementary then, but which they no longer have) and her own guidance classes for a day. The students had been studying pictures of string instruments in music class, and Evelyn offered to bring real ones to school so they could actually see them and try them out. Evelyn described what happened:

I brought in a fiddle, a viola, a cello, and my quarter-size bass. I had a string trio I had written, I don't know where it is, but it was really nice, I really loved it. It was on a cassette and I put it in the tape player and I started playing along. I'd play the violin part for a while, I'd play the viola part for a while, and then I'd play the cello parts so the kids could see and hear how the instruments wove together. I told them beforehand, “When I'm done, each of you will get 15 seconds to play the instrument of your choice. You'll come up here one by one. Be thinking of what you'd like to play.” There was a 3rd grader who'd been retained in 2nd grade. She was severely learning disabled. She picked up the bass and she hunkered over it, she got a really cool posture and she pulled beautiful clear tones out of that instrument, and seventy 3rd graders and all of their teachers came in to watch. She silenced the room and

then the place exploded. I still get goose bumps, I broke out in goose bumps.

It was absolutely the moment MMY was born. I came home that night and I journaled out a program plan.

Evelyn was successful in starting the MMY program at Springfield Elementary School. She found support at the state and national levels and from private foundations to start offering group fiddle, guitar, banjo, and singing classes to students at the school. To facilitate participation by as many students as possible, tuition was purposefully kept low, instruments were provided, and classes were held after school. Evelyn hired instructors who were participants in the local music scene—people who attended fiddlers’ conventions, played dances, maybe performed a bit. She didn’t look for instructors who had formal credentials in music or in teaching, but rather chose musicians who would represent aspects of the local music traditions. Evelyn believed that teaching some skills in classroom management to someone steeped in the tradition was more appropriate than finding an experienced educator who didn’t have a deep relationship with the local music. She also wanted teachers who would make good life mentors. Evelyn described one of the instructors she hired:

He is this amazing person. His *presence*—he sings these funny and wonderful songs with the kids and tells stories about growing up in Springfield. He's just like, to die for as a role model, and so inclusive of the kids. So, the piece he's missing [classroom management] is teachable, is trainable. But the piece he brings is not teachable or trainable and that is what I kept feeling with MMY.

How can we take these beautiful people who really represent a culture of the heart and they share from their heart, and give them a few strategies to help them help the kids be successful? Being successful is what builds self-esteem.

Participants

All names and locations have been replaced with pseudonyms. 13 teachers and administrators participated in this study: two Regional MMY directors, two program directors, and nine instructors.

Regional MMY: This organization provides training and resources to individual MMY programs. Teacher training workshops are offered, as well as consultations for starting programs, how to apply for funding, and assistance achieving non-profit credentials. An array of documents is available online for use by instructors and administrators, ranging from handouts about how to find and participate in local jam sessions to MMY “passports” designed for students to record their own progress. In addition, the site provides guides for non-music classroom teachers to inform their teaching about local music traditions.

Evelyn – the founder of Bluehill MMY. Now 65 and retired, Evelyn designed and implemented the first after-school music classes of MMY at Bluehill Elementary while she was a guidance counselor at the school. In the 18 years she directed MMY, she developed a wide following for the program as evidenced by financial backing, volunteers, and an enthusiastic staff. She previously acted as director of Bluehill MMY and later, Regional MMY. She was retired at the time of fieldwork, but was still active in an advisory capacity with the board of directors and with Regional MMY.

Evelyn has been fiddling for about 45 years.

Nora – director of Regional MMY. Nora, 29, is a banjo player and flatfoot dancer, and has been involved in local music since childhood. Her parents played music, so she attended events from a young age and started playing at the age of 14. In MMY, she organized teacher training workshops, planned regional events, and helped new programs to become established.

Bluehill MMY: Town of Springfield, Bluehill County

Preston – director of Bluehill MMY. Preston, who was 40, oversaw instruction, planning, finances, and events for Bluehill. Preston is a high school teacher in Bluehill, and plays fiddle and guitar. He grew up listening to local Bluehill County musicians when they visited his family, and is interested primarily in music from this small geographical area.

Jack – a guitar, mandolin, and ukulele instructor in Bluehill. Jack, age 60, was among the first MMY teachers. Jack began playing music as a child, learning from his grandfather. His interest in music grew out of learning to flatpick tunes on the guitar and competing at fiddlers conventions.

Lucy – instructor of dulcimer and bass. Lucy, now age 56, started learning to play string music 35 years ago through community college vocational classes. She played flute and piccolo in the marching band through high school and college. Having heard string music locally as a child, Lucy found that its presence in her community (jam sessions, dances, and fiddlers conventions) gave her a way to participate in music as an adult.

Lillian – instructor of fiddle. Lillian, now 28, began fiddling at age 10 in a community known for its vibrant stringband tradition. Lillian plays fiddle, banjo, and guitar and is active playing for dances and competing at fiddlers conventions.

Lester – taught guitar. Lester, age 68, started playing music and singing “as a kid,” and is known primarily for his banjo playing. He is active in the community as a performer.

Clinton MMY: Town of Clinton, Stone County

Adam – director of Clinton MMY. Adam works for the town of Clinton providing arts programming and services, and administers the MMY program as part of his job. Now 38, he played banjo and piano and has been known to sing a few songs. Adam grew up playing piano from age seven or eight and loving all types of music, and has always been intrigued by tracing the history and influences of different musical traditions. He began playing banjo in his early twenties, learning tune after tune from tablature⁶ in his downtime at a desk job.

Henry – fiddle instructor at Clinton MMY. He also loves to sing. Now 65, Henry encountered stringband music as an adult and learned most of his music from playing with peers, both socially at houses of friends and in band settings. He and some of his advanced students have been performing as the **Stonehill Stringband** for the past two years, which acts as both an MMY class and a professional pursuit.

⁶ Tablature, or “tab,” is a type of notation that depicts how to play a particular instrument. Tab for clawhammer banjo would usually include fret or finger placement and which string to strike.

Martin – teaches advanced fiddle and beginning guitar, but also plays banjo and sings. Age 27 at the time of research, Martin learned music starting at age 14, taking guitar and banjo lessons from the local barber. Mountain music was present in his home community at the time, but was not a common activity for youth. Martin is active performing professionally as a backup musician and as a soloist, in addition to a full-time job as a library archivist.

Taylor – has taught guitar and fiddle on and off for MMY. Outside of MMY, Taylor teaches undergraduate academic music classes. Now 33, he “started messing around with a keyboard at age three or four” and was introduced to mountain music through a stringband ensemble at a university while pursuing a music degree. Taylor saw himself as someone who came to the music as an outsider, or a revivalist (a musician who came to the music from outside its geographical locations, see for example Jabbour, 2014; Goertzen, 2014; Ruchala, 2011; Wood, 2016; Wooley, 2003). He developed his fiddle playing through formal lessons with mountain musicians.

Sara Nell – banjo and guitar instructor. Now 63, Sara Nell performs as a singer with her husband and daughter. She was a career English teacher at Clinton High School. Sara Nell came to playing music as a young adult, but “not that young.” She was inspired to take banjo lessons after meeting some friends who played folk music, playing with them in a band for several years. After that, she found mountain music in the community and learned from local people, playing socially in their homes.

William – William was teaching ukulele at the time of fieldwork, but is called on regularly to teach a variety of instruments. Raised by a musician father, William grew up playing Ska, Indie rock, hip hop, and jazz. Now 28, he started taking lessons at age 10, “but didn’t really get *INTO IT* until age 12.” Like he did with other musical genres, William spent a couple of years thinking about nothing but mountain music, refining his fiddle and banjo playing. He had active mountain musicians in his extended families, and used those ties to connect to teachers for formal lessons, though most of his learning came from YouTube.

“Music Became My Social Life”

The most prominent emergent theme from MMY instructors was the social music community they developed after they became involved in the music⁷. Despite the fact that they were not asked, this idea was mentioned by every participant, and many felt that music had *become* their social life⁸. In Evelyn’s words, “It’s the backbone of my social existence. All my buddies are music people.” Henry said, “I guess music is all about people, and the connections you make with people.”

Turino (2008) described two types of communities that have developed around old-time music and dance in the United States. One, predominantly located

⁷ Participants referred to the type of music they play, and that they teach in MMY, as “mountain music,” “old-time music,” “fiddling,” “old-time dance music,” “string music,” “traditional music,” “the music” or “this music,” or “fiddle music.” Scholars have pointed to complications in defining this genre (Jabbour, 2014; Ruchala, 2011; Turino, 2008, 2017; Wood, 2015). I have chosen here to follow the terms used by each participant to honor the diversity of their perspectives, rather than defining a single term to cover their musical styles and communities.

⁸ In fact, more than half of participants used these words verbatim: “Music became my social life.”

in the Southeast, where “events and music are simply part of the community’s social life over time” (p. 159), was qualified as a cultural formation. The second type is comprised of middle-class enthusiasts who were influenced by the folk revival or attracted to the participatory nature, archaic sounds, or anti-capitalist ethos of the community, and forms a cultural cohort, or intentional interest group (Turino, 2008). According to Ruchala (2011) and Woolf (1990), these “revivalists,” true to the word, have revitalized the living traditions in many such communities. Wooley (2003) documented the geographically diverse communities that have been created by this revival. Based on the relationships, activities, and geography mentioned by the participants in the current study, the “communities” referred to here appear to be comprised of a blend of both local music communities/cultural formations and geographically diverse cultural cohorts.

The Bluehill community has a longstanding tradition of locally situated music. Clinton has a slightly smaller but still active local music scene, but hosts more revivalists. The music has significant history in these physical locations of MMY (town, county, and region), and transplants from the “revivalist cohort” have joined over time, becoming enculturated in local traditions and introducing new influences. In addition, there were many references by participants to events and musicians from farther afield, therefore it is necessary broaden the term “community” here beyond its geographical definition to one that is “sporadic, temporary, and geographically diffuse” (Turino, 2008). This group, in Woolf’s (1990) words, “is constituted as an interlinked community with a sense of belonging and

camaraderie,” and “through their jamming at fiddle conventions, dances, folk and dance camps, concerts, and parties, provide a social context for the cultivation of their musical art” (p. 299).

Sara Nell and Jack described how playing music was common to their social circles, and how musical outings structured the ways in which they got out to see friends. This allows them to connect to people they only see a few times a year, and it’s what “friends do” when they get together. In contrast, Sara Nell doesn’t play music when she goes to see her family—“they just kind of glass over.” They might go out to dinner or to the beach. When music friends get together, music is both the commonality that draws them together and the merriment that ensues.

These social circles fit Turino’s (2008) definition of a *cultural cohort*, “a social group that forms around the activity itself. This cohort provides an alternative, temporary ‘place to be,’ as participants put it; the cohort is sometimes deeply valued precisely because it provides an alternative to ‘modern’ capitalist lifeways.” In fact, Turino (2008) suggested that some are attracted to old-time music specifically for its ideals of community connection, and Gilbert (2018) found the same true of Celtic music communities:

It may be the case that Celtic music tends to attract participants who deeply value community and find that traditional music culture offers them a chance to connect with people who hold this belief in common. (p. 598–9)

Some of the social experiences are formalized events, such as fiddlers

conventions⁹. Lucy and Adam reflected that in the summer, there is an event or two to attend almost every weekend. Jack spoke of his reasons for attending and participating in contests. In the past, he had put an emphasis on the competition aspect, but over the years, his interests have turned more to social connection:

I still go and play at fiddlers conventions, but it is more or less to do it with friends. Evelyn and I are going to play together at the Monroe County Fiddlers Convention...it's just going to be amongst friends. We are playing together for the heck of it, just for friends. Nobody has said, "we'll give you a hundred dollars if you play with us tonight, whether we win anything or not."

Other events are more informal and incorporated into the activities of daily life. When people gather for a covered dish supper (or potluck) or a cookout, instruments come also. In time, it becomes a reason to get together. Sara Nell plays with her husband and daughter as a family band that performs around the area. When they are at home, playing music together is their main activity. In the community, it is much the same; she said that, "in our area...when people who play music get together, music is played."

Sara Nell described several avenues to learning music that she pursued throughout her life. She took lessons on a little electric guitar that her father gave

⁹ Fiddlers conventions are festivals which serve as social gatherings for musicians from the musical community, and as entertainment for local people. They often take place over a weekend and include contests for fiddle, banjo, guitar, stringband, and dancing. The spelling and punctuation used here is taken from advertisements from local fiddlers conventions in the southeastern United States.

her and learned songs such as *Red River Valley*. She recalled performing solo at a nursing home as a child, but without music around her to engage with, nothing came of her efforts. She did not feel that it really “took” until years later when she met friends who played, and she had the opportunity to form a social group around music.

Sara Nell’s observation supports by Blacking’s (1992) and Turino’s (2008) theories that enculturation, along with a social structure that values music making, make musicianship accessible to a wider portion of society. Turino (2008) stated that, “people growing up in cultural formations where participatory music and dance are at the center of social life are socialized to participate competently. This is nurture, not nature, at work” (p. 158.) Kruse (2012) connected this idea to motivation for participation in school ensembles:

While the primary objectives for many school ensemble directors and some students may be musical performances and the acquisition of musical knowledge, there are other motivators at play in music classrooms that are, for some students, just as powerful, if not more so, as music itself. In fact, a majority of students—no matter what age—may participate in music for reasons other than the music itself, including social or recreational incentives. (p. 92)

Lucy found that the friends she fell in with through playing music changed her path to a more wholesome one, an influence for which she was grateful. She recalls being somewhat of a party animal after her university days. Once she started

playing music, music and musicians became her social life. She found that she couldn't "do both"—party and be active in the music community—and that she didn't need to:

It was just really high up, and a very joyful thing...it kind of got me off that destructive path onto a little better path. All these people were having a great time, and they weren't drinking...I learned to have a good time playing music, doing things that were just a lot of fun. I made a lot of new friends.

For many musicians, their communities form their core in local ties, but continuously grow in numbers and geographical reach over time. It is this community, or type of joined community, to which some MMY teachers jokingly referred as a type of old-time music "club." Music can connect us to others, and in turn, provide enjoyment and a greater sense of identity, according to Elliott (1995) and Cope (2002). In Elliott's words: "self-growth, self-identity, and enjoyment emerge when students learn to make and listen to music in the socio-cultural context of others" (1995, p. 117). As Cope (2002) explained: "in the session, the social context is a critical feature of the musical meanings which emerge and of the learning which is taking place" (p. 102). Elliott added, "the joy and meaning found in playing with others is intensified when surrounded in acceptance or belonging. Identity develops in the context of the educational community or 'belongingness'" (1995, p. 128).

In addition to providing opportunities to play with others, the "club" represents a greater society of people to be accepted by. In Evelyn's mind, learning

the repertoire of tunes was enough to get a membership card in a community:

Bertram Levy said once, and it just stuck, that the cool thing about music is that there are all these tribes globally. And if there is a tribe over there that you think you'd like to be part of, just learn the body of tunes. And that really is it.

Evelyn compared this canon of tunes to chants from her yoga practice. While she had never been transported by chanting the way others were, she experienced a similar phenomenon in a jam session: “we were all just cranking out these tunes, and I thought, this is my chanting.”

When asked what they most wanted to pass along to the next generation via MMY, most instructors spoke about granting their students entrance to the music “club.” The community aspect of the “club” will not only offer future enjoyment to MMY students, but will also provide education they couldn't get in a classroom setting, affording them “skills and knowledge by immersion in the everyday music and musical practices” (Green, 2002, p. 22). By sharing the music with the community outside of their peers and instructors, students can access current and local musical practices.

Developing musicianship is essentially a matter of induction; students must enter and become part of the musical practices (or music cultures) they intend to learn. This is so because musicianship is context-dependent. The musicianship underlying any practice of music making and listening has its roots in specific communities of practitioners who share and advance a

specific tradition of musical thinking. Musical practices swirl around the efforts of practitioners who originate, maintain, and refine established ways and means of musicing, as well as cherished musical histories, legends, and lore. (Elliott, 1995, p. 67)

Adam, director of Clinton MMY, appreciated that in the traditional music community, masters of the music, those who were shaping the tradition, were accessible and part of the social fabric. In rock and roll, he found competitiveness. What drew him to traditional music was the fact that he could meet and even hang out with his heroes. "The heroes of rock and roll are super stars; they're not people you can go and hang out with." Adam had listened extensively to Etta Baker and held great admiration for her. One day, he looked her up in the phone book and called her. He was stunned that she was listed in the book and that she answered. Once he was able to connect with and meet one mountain musician, he found himself surrounded by musical opportunities, and rubbing elbows with people he had only heard on recordings.

Henry demonstrated how being a part of the club gave him entrance to a much larger social music network, even abroad. "I sat down with some [French] people that I'd never met before...and they were playing the same old-time tunes that I knew. It was just amazing!"

Gaining access to the club often enabled musicians to develop their skills and understanding through experience. Mentorship for many of the instructors came not from lessons or classes, but from opportunities for playing regularly alongside a

more experienced musician. Blanton et al. (2014) found that at a traditional music camp, “for younger players, building relationships with older more experienced players is one way to learn new tunes; for older players, welcoming in younger players ensures that the music and community will live on” (p. 57). Henry had a former bandmate who he described as his most prominent mentor:

He was younger than I was, but he was one of those who just absorbed the music—he played guitar and fiddle and bass, he could call a square dance while he was fiddling, he was just amazing. We were the two fiddlers in the original band. He was a mentor, he had a lot more repertoire than I did. I learned a lot from him.

Adam, in turn, had learned the most from Henry. He had spent the most time playing with Henry, and it seemed like when he heard a tune in his head, it was Henry’s version, his phrasing, his patterns. Henry’s playing felt like home.

Jack, after learning to flatpick fiddle tunes on the guitar from his grandfather and playing a few fiddlers conventions, received the next step in his training from playing with a circle of people his grandfather knew. His grandfather would bring him to the house of a banjo player he knew, and they would sit up all night playing music. Each weekend they would have a jam session with a different three or four people.

Sara Nell was intimidated to play with more experienced musicians at first, but it is from them that she learned the most. The people she has played with over time are who she remembers as her main mentors. The feeling of playing with them

was “indescribable.”

Evelyn was allowed to play alongside some professionals while she was just learning. She followed the Gypsy Gyppo stringband, who would let players come and stand on the stage behind them and play for square dances. Evelyn described shadowing the band—hearing the sound from the band in the monitors and watching their bowing, “trying to be a clone.”

Henry embodies this idea in his teaching in MMY. He teaches a stringband class for advanced students, a group called Stonehill Stringband. In addition to the class where Stonehill Stringband meets officially for MMY, this band plays out professionally on a regular basis, and has recorded their first album. Henry spends much of his time organizing set lists and travel, and performing as a member of the band alongside five teenagers who have been his students in MMY for years.

Playing with Others as MMY Curriculum

“Playing with others” is a value reflected in MMY’s mission, with the idea of helping students to feel more socially connected and enabling them to better contribute to their communities. In fact, these are the central reasons that Evelyn started the MMY program. The value is reflected by the instructors as well: Participants identified playing with others as a core priority for themselves and to pass on to the next generation of musicians. Most participants spoke of simply wanting to share the sheer enjoyment they have from connecting to people through music. In the words of Sara Nell:

Playing with other people. Until you experience that, are you just taking somebody's word for it? I remember my first experience. I wasn't playing, but I was at a music party at an old farmhouse and there was a room maybe twice this big. Somehow I ended up sitting in the middle of the room on a little stool and everybody around me was playing. This was my first exposure, and I went, "Whoa, this is too cool." Not just a little; it was really, really cool to me, and I thought, "*I like this.*"

Taylor shared his ideal setting for playing music:

My favorite place or way to experience it would probably be outdoors at night, at a festival somewhere maybe, kind of in the woods, that's usually fun. If it's nice weather and the moon's out, and everybody who's around either plays it, or dances to it, or sings along with it, or somehow participates in it, it's just—fun.

These experiences lie in what Turino (2008) defined as the *participatory field*, where music is made for enjoyment and connecting on a deep level with others, as opposed to performances that are made primarily for listening, defined as the *presentational field*. Turino (2008) said:

Good music making or dancing is a realization of ideal...human relationships where the identification with others is so direct and so intense that we feel, for those best moments, as if our selves had merged. It is the sounds we are making, our art, that continually let us know that we have done so or that we are failing to achieve this idea. Being in seamless synchrony with others feels

wonderful, and it is one of the main experiences that attracts me to musical performance again and again. (p. 19)

Taylor felt that having these regular participatory music experiences in his life changed it for the better. When he first moved to Clinton, he was overwhelmed by the number of people who played music. There was a weekly organized jam at a country store nearby, and each week it was well attended. Through connections from the store and similar events, Taylor remembered having opportunities to play music constantly during this time, and he loved it: "That felt like heaven in a way." Getting to know these local friends connected Taylor to a community of "festival friends" that he saw in the summers.

In Evelyn's view, it was important to prepare MMY students for success in playing with others, because she believes they would enjoy the music more. When they could really listen to each other and play together, or get in a groove, they could experience an "energy field." That energy field provides inspiration and creates a feeling of belonging.

Henry found that MMY classes gave him the opportunity to draw on the social setting of the group class to better prepare them for connection to their future communities. From a teaching perspective, he considered the group classes to be more difficult than teaching individual lessons. However, a group class is its own community, where students can interact with each other and play together. Henry found that the group experience could prepare them better for participation, even if teaching instrumental skills came slightly more slowly.

This goal of preparation for community participation became evident from classroom observations at MMY. JAM instructors dedicated much of their classroom time to showing students not just how to play tunes on their instruments, but how to play music in the company of others. Students often had opportunities to play in front of each other, demonstrating small phrases for their teachers in Martin's or Lester's classes, or a whole tune, any tune, once through in Lillian's class. They were taught to jam in William's class, learning techniques such as choosing speeds that would enable them to play together successfully or stopping the tune by putting a foot in the air.

The participatory skills and experiences prioritized in MMY are those that can help gain a student membership in the old-time music "club." Nora, director of the regional MMY organization, spoke to this:

I think the whole community aspect of it—the social aspect of it—is one of the most important things they should learn... It seems like kids who are learning how to play classical music or rock and roll, or whatever else...they might not have that aspect—they might not get introduced to this big music community that we have, that they're automatically accepted into.

Educational benefits of developing one's musicianship by immersion in a social community such as this have been widely recognized (Blanton, 2016; Dabczynski, 1994; Forsyth, 2011; Hendricks & Smith, 2018; Smith, 2005; Waldron & Veblen, 2009; Woolf, 1990). MMY instructors recognize that their students have this type of social community waiting for them once they have mastered a few skills.

MMY provides a distinctive setting in that the recontextualized class instruction takes place in a community with a living musical tradition. Directors Preston and Adam recognize how important it is for students to get a taste of local musical firsthand, and provided a constant stream of information about ongoing events to students each week. Adam saw some of the Clinton students get hooked after they ventured out to play:

Separate from the tradition, it's just a good experience for this generation to have some hands-on; that is a pretty big value. The kids in this program every weekend, they're trying to find a fiddlers convention or a festival, or an old folks' home to go play tunes. They're just looking for every chance they can get to go out and play.

Lucy valued the students' involvement with their local heritage as well as the opportunity to sustain the musical traditions. With so many fiddlers conventions in a 30-mile radius, there is tremendous social opportunity. Getting students involved serves the double purpose of providing social and intellectual enrichment for them, and continuing the legacy of their heritage. Lucy recalled, "Even if the ways of communicating and handing down these things are not the way they used to be, by ear, even if the ways of communicating these things are different, it's still got to be passed down."

In fact, one of the main reasons for instructors and directors wanting to pass on traditions in these communities was to connect local youth to their own musical heritage. In addition to the musical network they could benefit from, they stood to

gain pride in their homeplace, and to spread the music to others throughout their lives. Evelyn explained:

The big reason I started MMY was to give these kids community. But also, you go to Clifftop, you go to Portland, you go to Berklee and hear all these hip young people playing Appalachian roots music, and you go to Appalachia and they've never heard of it.

Values of the Musical Tradition

In examining the priorities that MMY's mission, administration, and instructors put into play in the classroom, it is useful to consider values of the broader musical tradition as seen through their eyes. Musicians in this study participate primarily in social participatory musical settings, and many expressed a strong preference for their music to be casual, informal, and off-stage. Participants shared their most common settings for music: parties, potluck jams, at home with the kids, country store jams, having a friend come over for some tunes, and playing melodica in the car (Adam wasn't sure if this was illegal). Martin, Evelyn, and William perform for concerts or festivals somewhat regularly (although are employed in other jobs), but see playing music for fun, or for their own entertainment, as part of what the music is really about. Most participants shared that they were in the habit of performing infrequently for square or contra dances, fundraisers, and "little things here and there."

"It's a non-show music that describes a lifestyle; the songs are about the things that happened within a community, that sort of thing," said Henry. Sara Nell

connected this to the simplicity of the music, a characteristic consistent with Turino's (2008) participatory field: "There must be a reason that it's this music that is part of everyday life and not another type of music, so simple forms of the music live on, not just the fancy stuff that some people are playing." Martin talked about its role as entertainment in their lives:

It's a very grounding type of music. No matter where you're from, I think it causes you to take a count of, number one, the fact that you can entertain yourself in the same way that somebody has in previous generations; you don't need all these other things that we have now—television, anything. Entertainment is a sustainable thing...[and you're] carrying on a history.

Taylor felt that performance-oriented efforts changed the music and the experience as a player. Some settings felt more appropriate for other genres of music—performances sometimes felt like chamber music to Taylor. For example, Taylor felt that when an audience claps after a tune, they are treating it like "some sort of cultivated art music." He preferred a low-stakes, fun, organic music situation. Recordings particularly made the music less enjoyable, and more sterile-sounding. He enjoyed seeing mountain music represented in the broader culture (he'd love to see it in the Macy's Thanksgiving Day parade), but doesn't particularly want to be the one performing it.

These reflections on the ordinary nature of the music's occurrence in everyday life call to mind Feintuch's (1983) study on Sammie, a fiddler from Kentucky, whose long commitment to playing music "is probably not all that

unusual among older American traditional musicians” (p. 208). In fact, Feintuch (1983) believed that Sammie continued playing because of the presence of music in his everyday life:

In the final analysis it is the very ordinariness of Sammie’s music playing which accounts for his sixty years of continuing musical activity. For Sammie music has always been an ordinary part of daily life, something one does as a routine part of existence. It was so for his father, and young Sammie found that his family and his community constituted a system in which his music could function. (p. 215)

A preference for old sounds and valuing the history of the music were commonly expressed by MMY instructors. In Sara Nell’s words, “One of the things that draws me to mountain music is the rawness of it, how real it is.” Taylor finds music that emulates “the old stuff” to be what inspires him. He is not worried about the historical research they have done, or about authenticity in theory, but knows the sounds he likes, and what the experience of playing it should feel like. Once it starts sounding too different from the old sounds, he does not like it anymore.

Moloney (1992), McLucas (2010) and Dabback and Waldron (2012) described this phenomenon in a tradition’s change over time. Too much change would be contrary to carrying on the history, but this value for the “old” combined with the creativity inherent in oral traditions create a process of gradual flux. McLucas (2010) showed how this was reflected through the role of one musician:

If we postulate a young singer growing up within a community of singers like Hazel Dickens (as she herself grew up), we can see that for such a singer there is no one fixed form of the tune that she will learn. She will hear the first stanza, plus all the further variants, and quite possibly another version of the tune equally varied, from another singer. From these varied renditions, the young singer will begin to put together her own, though perhaps not even actively conscious of the process. Naturally, since her model tunes don't go beyond certain bounds of the norms of her community's style in either rhythm and melody, neither will her own version—unless she is deliberately trying to be innovative, a trend which is not a normal part of the old oral tradition, though it certainly happens in popular outgrowths in the folksong revival. The fate of a tune that strays too far beyond the aesthetic norms of its oral tradition is simply to be forgotten. (p. 14)

Adam simply found the common old traditional tunes to have a universal appeal:

As much as re-interpreting things and tradition have their place, these melodies and this music has been passed down for generations because it has stayed relevant for generations. I think it will stay that way. I mean, there's something about them, there's something about the music that is infectious.

Preston, who was raised with the music as a consistent part of his upbringing, unapologetically called himself a traditionalist. He wasn't bothered by others changing the music, but couldn't get enough of field recordings of fiddlers who had passed on. This body of "source" recordings was made of musicians who

lived long enough for their music to be recorded, but who developed their musicianship and repertoires before the spread of commercial music. The source recordings form a sort of canon of repertoire that is mined by some musicians who are traditionalists like Preston, particularly fiddlers. To them, music recorded in that span of time represents a look into the past; musicians who were likely influenced by a much smaller geographical representation of music than anyone today, and it is prized for its window into region-specific sounds that no longer exist in the same way.

Preston described himself as “fanatically devoted to source recordings.” He could think of only one living fiddler from whom he would want to learn a tune. Aside from that, he would find a tune he wanted to learn, and immediately start looking for a source recording he liked. After carefully figuring out details from the tune, he didn’t mind “playing with it,” or varying the way he played it, once he learned it, to keep it alive and fun. Preston referred to this as “bringing it back to life:”

I feel very at peace with it. I love it. I love understanding the best I can what these old fiddlers were really doing, sharing that with those who are interested...I guess I’ve got these new rules now, that like when the dancers stop dancing and when people stop having fun, then something’s gone wrong. You know no matter how right you think you are doing the music, something went wrong.

Preston’s specific focus was on the way the old fiddlers bowed the tunes, and he

worried that the beauty of these sounds would be lost. He described their bowing as “phenomenal,” and a necessary part of their fiddling. Passing on the bowings is part of passing on the tunes. He wanted to make sure that the unique skills of the old fiddlers were carried on and not lost. Martin, who also preferred the older sounds, believed that focus on archaic music did not offer wide audience appeal, but in predominantly participatory settings, this would not cause concern.

These musical traditions offer opportunity for connection to local communities, to ancestors, and to a sense of identity and pride in the homeplace. Evelyn listed as a main reason for starting MMY her observation that people in Appalachia weren’t familiar with the music that developed in their own locales. Swain (2010) and Brown (1983) documented similar efforts to sustain Appalachian traditions in local communities through mountain music tuition in community and public-school settings. Both settings featured an emphasis on values of homeplace and history.

Lucy and Adam valued the students knowing about the music and having a positive reference for the culture throughout their lives, even if they didn’t continue to play. Classes in traditional mountain music could ensure that local youth was at least knowledgeable about their heritage. If they don’t become great musicians, or continue playing as adults, they have at least increased their awareness of the music through MMY. Many, they both thought, would continue to play.

Adam considered that those who didn’t continue playing might contribute to the tradition in other ways, just because MMY made them familiar with the music of

their homeplace. A student who wouldn't continue playing could walk away with a better appreciation and understanding of the local music. Adam recalled:

It's a story that's become old maybe in my repertoire, but I love to tell it.

There's this one boy in the program who clearly didn't really care about the music, his mom signed him up. He could care less. It was when we were checking CDs out: I checked him out a Will Keys CD, and he looked at it and said, "He's not playing clawhammer banjo. Why does he hold his hand like that?" This little astute observation from a kid who clearly wasn't into playing the music, but he could figure that out from looking at a picture of Will Keys—that's something getting absorbed.

Maybe later, this student will see someone playing at school and will decide not to make fun of them because he is able to relate better. Maybe they will support an artist by attending a concert or event, or purchasing an album. MMY, according to Adam, cultivates the broader community: players, fans, dancers, everyone. This is reflective of Miller's (2016) "ideology of finding out about traditional music through learning to play" at Glasgow Fiddle Workshop. Because instruction is made available to a wide range of students (e.g., through low tuition and visibility in the community), a student might enroll who was not previously invested in the culture, learn an instrument, and ultimately identify with the culture on some level.

Taylor, who participated in mountain music ensembles at two universities, wanted to see a similar opportunity offered to youth who had a regional connection to the tradition. Offering instruction of traditional music of the Southeast was more

important to the future of a local child, according to Taylor, than it was to affluent Ivy League students in New England. Many students in this area didn't have any music instruction at all in their schools.

Nora hoped that the increased connection and sense of homeplace would influence more young people to stay in the area. She commented, "That's a big problem we have around here. Kids graduate high school and leave, whether they go to college or just move. There's 'nothing for them.' I wouldn't have been back here if I didn't have the music." Henry saw MMY as filling a gap left by the local schools. Many didn't offer music at all. Some public schools in the wider region, however, offered traditional music instruction as their regular music class. Henry explained:

It's not old-time, it's bluegrass, but it's still traditional music. It depends on the location whether they support specifically old-time music or a broader area of traditional music, which would include bluegrass. I think this music should be in the public schools, at least in some places—maybe more rural places like Grayson County, Virginia. I think it would be more relevant there than say, Atlanta, Georgia.

Evelyn took this idea farther and worked to provide resources for public school teachers in the region who wanted to teach about local music. On the Regional MMY website, she provided materials for students to learn about the music, linked with common core standards. The resources describe the history of the music, where it came from, and how it was influenced by enslaved Africans and indentured Irish. There are worksheets for tracing family lineage and songs for

teachers to sing with their students, all materials created for “tilling the soil to get kids interested” (Evelyn).

Need for Instructor Training

A unique value in this study lies in the opportunity to witness culture bearers regularly delivering instruction in a formal setting, and how they negotiated the learning and teaching of their traditions in that environment. Choices made about instructional delivery by MMY teachers would be informed by their enculturation in traditional music and specific challenges they faced in the classroom, but not by a larger structure of formalized education, such as preservice teacher training or a public-school system.

The value of learning from tradition bearers has been promoted at length in multicultural research, both as presenters in classrooms (Campbell, 2002; Klinger, 1996; Shiobara, 2011), and to train teachers for inclusion of a new music (Campbell & Higgins, 2015; Howard et al., 2014; Rohan, 2011). Goetze (2010) and Oare (2008) discussed using visiting culture bearers in world music ensembles to augment knowledge provided by the regular teacher. Blanton et al., (2014) investigated three tradition bearers teaching at a traditional music camp, and their priorities in passing on their music.

Evelyn believed that “in order to bring the values of the tradition into the classroom, sometimes it’s necessary to hire someone who is not an experienced teacher.” Most MMY instructors, Evelyn reported, professed a desire for training so as to better handle their classrooms:

You've got 10 kids and they're all wanting your attention, how are you going to do that? That's where I think a little bit of structure recognizing learning styles, knowing how to handle discipline and setting boundaries and expectations and having structure in the classroom, that's way different from the old-time way but I think it's really important. Otherwise you just kind of have chaos. I have observed some really chaotic classes.

Sara Nell was an English teacher in public schools for many years before she became involved with MMY. This experience this gave her an understanding of basics she felt were necessary to success. The number one concept to Sara Nell was making sure that that when a student walks out of a classroom that they learned something, felt appreciated, felt included, and had fun. She saw her experience teaching high school English as a significant advantage.

Preston, also a career teacher, believed that even classroom management strategies provided by teacher preparation programs were insufficient. He found classroom management to be de-emphasized in educator training overall. Preston saw MMY teachers struggle with classroom management, and saw his newer high school teacher colleagues struggle with it as well. In both cases, teachers knew their material well, but could get little done in the classroom. There was opportunity for improvement, according to Preston:

I do think that in MMY programs in general, more of our staff development needs to be on classroom management...We tend to get great musicians that struggle with sometimes keeping things orderly, but at other times keeping

kids from being bored. We had one teacher who is just unbelievable [as a player], but he is like, “alright, now watch me play this.” Forty minutes of watching someone play is not going to keep kid's attention.

Part of the challenge of classroom management in MMY, according to Evelyn, came from instructors' reference from how they learned their own music. Many were self-taught, so lacked instructor models to follow in the classroom. Her idea of success was keeping order in the classroom, yet maintaining a friendly demeanor. “You can't just go in there and say, ‘Today we're going to play Cripple Creek, here it is. Alright now you play it for me.’” Although some MMY teachers learned that way themselves, they had the advantage of being steeped in the music before they day they learned Cripple Creek. They already knew it by sound, and only needed to be shown where to put their fingers. It was usually one-on-one.

This scenario, with MMY teachers having learned by simply copying their teachers, reflects Folkestad's (2005) concept of a learner-focused process in informal learning settings. The learners in Evelyn's example (who are now MMY instructors) were learning one-on-one and were responsible for their own motivation and process. Thus, in translating the process to a classroom environment, changes were clearly needed. Evelyn continued, “You can't do that when you've got 10 little monsters and one of them is...bouncing off the walls.” Thus, instructor training workshops were initiated in MMY.

The challenge of negotiating culture bearers' own history with learning music and classroom management did not change Evelyn's dedication to hiring

instructors who lived and understood local music culture. Shiobara (2011) saw culture bearers offer similarly valuable pedagogical approaches in the instruction of Japanese *nagauta* in school classrooms. Culture bearers would serve as “supreme musical examples” (Shiobara, 2011, p. 32), prioritizing this over offering advice or correction: “Explaining or delivering of facts is not a part of how this tradition is transmitted in its native environment” (p. 35). This approach reflected the musical tradition more strongly, but also needed adjustment to be applied successfully in groups of students.

Henry found the MMY workshops helpful to his classroom teaching, but not sufficient. He felt there could have been a lot more, and was interested in pursuing additional training on his own, but did not know where to get it. Henry had considered both formal lessons and Suzuki training.

Jack described the biggest challenge as keeping students’ interest, something he hoped to address by giving them choices about what repertoire to play. “I don’t know if it’s a problem or not, but I was never officially trained to be a teacher in a classroom and understand about discipline. About all I can do is say, ‘Sit down and be quiet.’” Jack also struggled with the individuality of the students in the class setting—each of them wanted to talk about or do a different thing. He considered himself lucky when the whole class liked learning *Wildwood Flower*. When some of the students didn’t want to learn *Home Sweet Home*, Jack wasn’t sure what to do: “What am I going to do if two kids want to learn to play *The Wreck of the Old ’97* and the other three don’t want to do it? Get out the whip?” He couldn’t relate to the

students on this level. When Jack was young, he liked all of the tunes, and wanted to play them all.

Adam felt that the social atmosphere of MMY, while beneficial, also made classroom management more challenging. His take that students may not be getting enough social interaction overall in their lives is reminiscent of Evelyn's desire for students to have opportunities for connection. Kids were excited to be together and socialize, which made discipline an issue. Adam didn't see the kids as badly behaved, but craving interaction: "Why are these kids craving that? Maybe they're not getting that kind of social interaction, not getting those needs fulfilled. Maybe music can fill that void."

Henry wanted to build on his teaching skills but wasn't able to find avenues for developing them. He was so moved when he had success with teaching:

When they get something, and all of a sudden I can feel that they're getting it, and they're really playing, it's just so cool to be able to pass that along. It's not unlike playing for a dance, you play some good driving tunes and you see them dancing, and you know the music is helping them do that, and [that the music] passed that excitement along at that moment in time.

Teaching in MMY left Henry with a constant desire to gain more insight into teaching methods, to give more to the program and to help his individual students more.

Evelyn compiled much of the material from early workshops, with some additional resources that she has built along the way, and made it available to MMY

teachers in all locations. It includes pages that can be distributed to students about jam etiquette, instrument technique sheets, and much more. MMY has continued to provide regional workshops for teachers to gather and learn, but the consensus is that much more is needed.

Conclusion

A significant challenge presented by this model of traditional music instruction appears to be imparting sufficient knowledge in child development and socialization to hone instructors' classroom management skills. In investigating how one might incorporate this tradition's cultural values and history into transmission models in school music education, it might be interesting to consider how these might interact with the concepts of discipline and order in the classroom.

From these examples, we can see elements of MMY teachers' musical value systems and how they influence what and how they choose to teach. A constant emphasis, both articulated and unspoken, was placed on the importance of connecting with others through music. Instructors spoke of sharing the joy they experienced in participatory settings and the richness of their lives as a result of their musical social networks. Skills for building competence in participatory social music were stressed through opportunities for jamming and collaboration in and out of class.

MMY students were encouraged to gain additional exposure outside of the classroom, both on their own and through sponsored field trips. These served to give them a "first taste" of the community with the hope that they would be inspired

to come back for more, and also provided the support they needed to participate in unfamiliar rituals for the first time. Helping young musicians to engage in their local music in this way underlined the institutional value of celebrating pride in the homeplace, concurrently promoting sustainability in those local traditions. Henry said:

I think it's important to the sustainable future, for it still being around. But as far as integrating that into family life, social life, I don't think it's the same as it was 50 years ago or 100 years ago. Things evolve, and so JAM is taking that tradition that was part of the culture for this area, the Appalachians, and preserving it. Maybe it's continuing it in the best way possible, 50 or 100 years later. It's definitely sustaining it.

CHAPTER 5

MUSIC LEARNING AT MOUNTAIN MUSIC FOR YOUTH THROUGH THE TWELVE-CONTINUUM TRANSMISSION FRAMEWORK

In this study, MMY music learning takes place in a community where the music originated and is still played. Musical skills and repertoire are learned through demonstration and repetition in class and through playing with others. However, these two settings are considered recontextualized settings of music learning for two reasons. First, the setting for learning differs from transmission of mountain music historically in the region: MMY instruction takes place in a formal class with an instructor, schedule, registration, and tuition. Students are taught in groups at defined and limited times, and expectations for practicing, attendance, deportment, and performance are set by administrators and instructors. Second, students who participate in the class are not, for the most part, enculturated in the sounds, skills, and communities of the music.

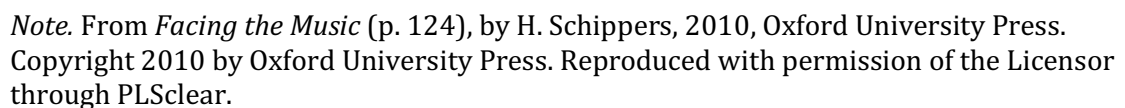
MMY is unusual in its potential to enable students to become involved in thriving local music communities. In fact, as discussed in Chapter 4, a unique goal of MMY is to connect students with the heritage of the music of their homeplace because many are not exposed to mountain music prior to participating in MMY.

Schippers's Twelve-Continuum Transmission Framework

I used Schippers' (2010) framework to shape data to understand how music teaching and learning in MMY classrooms reflected the priorities and values of those involved (instructors, learners, MMY, and the traditions and communities of

mountain music). The framework calls for an analysis of where the learning setting is situated on each of the twelve continua, using the accompanying *Indicators* tables as criteria for placement. Placement on each continuum and the accompanying narrative serve to acknowledge choices made in the design and delivery of instruction, and how they represent those priorities and values. Specific codes used to group data into the TCTF framework are listed in Appendix C. The continua are:

1. Static tradition—constant flux
2. “Reconstructed” authenticity—“New identity” authenticity
3. “Original” context—recontextualization
4. Atomistic/analytic—holistic
5. Notation-based—aural/oral
6. Tangible—intangible
7. Large power distance—small power distance
8. Individual central—collective central
9. Strongly gendered—gender neutral
10. Avoiding uncertainty—tolerating uncertainty
11. Long-term orientation—short-term orientation
12. Approach to cultural diversity



Issues of Context

Static Tradition—Constant Flux

In MMY classes, most of the repertoire taught and discussed was drawn from a body of old-time and bluegrass fiddle tunes¹⁰, old traditional songs¹¹, and Carter family songs¹². Instructors emphasized skills such as getting through tunes, starting and stopping when playing with others, listening to music, and seeking out musical experiences in the community. Many instructors provided opportunities for students to contribute opinions or suggestions about what repertoire would be studied; some instructors were open to a wider variety of suggestions than others. Often, instructors included a bit of historical information about the repertoire being taught—who played the tune, where they lived, maybe an interesting story. Martin

¹⁰ The body of repertoire referred to here as “old-time fiddle tunes” is derived largely from music collected during the folk revival of the 1950s and 60s or recorded by record producers in the 1920s to 40s, and shared among communities in the United States (Thomas, 2004). Bluegrass music was derived from many of the same tunes and developed into a stage music beginning in the 1940s, most notably by Bill Monroe and His Bluegrass Boys (Rosenberg, 1985). Jabbour (2014) attributed the use of the term “old-time” to a desire to distinguish the older traditions from bluegrass. In these music communities, particularly among participants from Bluehill, the lines between bluegrass and old-time music are blurred. For example, Jack calls himself an old-time musician, but is known as a master of flatpicking, a style of melody guitar playing characteristic of bluegrass music.

¹¹ “Old traditional songs” would largely have been collected during the folk revival, as above, or learned from family members. Traditional songs studied in MMY during my visits included “The Wreck of the Old ’97” and “Say, Darlin, Say”. Some numbers, such as “Fly Around My Pretty Little Miss,” or “Angelina Baker” could be considered to be either fiddle tunes or songs.

¹² A.P., Sara, and Maybelle Carter recorded traditional and original songs between 1927 and 1941 (Crawford, 2001). Their records mark a time when Appalachian music began to be widely circulated. Through Victor Records, A. P. Carter secured copyrights for near 300 songs (Russell, 2010); many of these are widely disputed. Songs copyrighted by the Carter Family learned in MMY during data collection include “Wildwood Flower” and “My Home is Across the Blue Ridge Mountains.”

remarked to his advanced fiddle class in Clinton:

This [tune] was played by Clark Kessinger, a fiddler from West Virginia, one of my favorites to listen to. Look him up on the internet—he could dance while he played the fiddle. This was supposedly the tune that was played by the brass band for President McKinley’s funeral procession after he was assassinated.

At Bluehill MMY, a common tune was selected each semester for all of the classes to learn. These songs were practiced by everyone throughout the term and presented all together at a final concert, with 60 or more musicians onstage. The tunes, such as “Susannah Gal,” “Black-Eyed Susie,” “John Henry,” and this semester’s “Wreck of the Old ’97,” could be considered to be from a canon of widely played tunes in the area. As they were common to all musicians in the program, they present opportunities for reviewing in class or having a jam, so students played them many times over the years.

In contrast, advanced classes were focused on a wider blend of repertoire: tunes that were less common or sometimes from outside of local traditions. The Stonehill Stringband was a group of Clinton MMY students that performed with their teacher, Henry. They had a set list that included traditional fiddle tunes and ballads from the Southeast, but also the occasional Irish jig, some originals, and hints of bluegrass. Students were encouraged to bring repertoire to the band that interested them. Songs outside the tradition might also be taught in other MMY classes if they were particularly suitable pedagogically, such as William and Jack’s

teaching of “Yellow Submarine,” which is catchy and uses just two chords.

For Henry, making his own musical progress alongside his students became a healthy challenge, as over time they were exposed to larger variety of music and wanted to expand their repertoire stylistically. As students advanced, Henry had to work harder to find material for them, particularly the Stonehill Stringband players. Often, he would have to work on a tune himself in order to teach it to the students—sometimes at their request. After the students learned the tune, he often found they brought back a version he liked better than the one he had taught them. In his words, “they could play it better than I could sometimes.” Henry enjoyed the musical challenge of stretching both his technique and the genre boundaries of his playing.

Henry talked with Adam (director of Clinton MMY) about expanding “out of the realm of old-time music” in MMY classes in this way. Adam responded with, “So what?” If students were enjoying the music, and they were still fiddling, neither Henry nor Adam saw a need to limit musical exploration in class.

The body of repertoire and skills emphasized here reflect a respect for music that is old and music that is commonly known. Some participants demonstrated an ethos that valued archaic sounds, as outlined in the “Values of the Musical Tradition” theme in Chapter 4. These data suggest a view that is generally closer to the “static tradition” end of the TCTF spectrum, with a shift toward “in flux” as classes become more advanced.

In considering the way these musical traditions were presented in the classroom, it is necessary to take into account the variety of ways in which the

tradition bearers viewed their own musics. In the music community¹³, there seemed to be people who adhered more to the “old ways,” and those who appreciated and embraced change in the music. According to Taylor, a fiddle and guitar instructor in Clinton, some people want it to be a fixed tradition: “They operate as if they are the ones that are bearers of that tradition, or gatekeepers for that tradition.” Taylor found a wide spectrum of attitudes among musicians as to whether the music is static or in flux. His personal preference had always been for a drive and excitement in the sound:

There’s a certain old-time music sound that I like hearing, and playing, that I don’t think has a direct historical basis, but it’s an amalgamation of a lot of different things. To me, it sounds like Appalachian good-old-boy, kick-ass old-time music, but I know it’s inspired by rock and roll.

Jack, a guitar and dulcimer teacher in Bluehill, described some influences that represented both a fluctuating and a static tradition. Performers such as Bela Fleck and Chris Thile would “take it to another level” beyond traditional approaches to 3-finger bluegrass banjo or bluegrass mandolin by adding variations and improvising. These players, according to Jack, valued originality in their playing. A solo banjo player such as Adam Hurt might play “prettier” types of tunes as a soloist than

¹³ The music community referred to here, as defined in Chapter 4, includes both local musicians and the geographically diverse cultural cohort as defined by Turino (2008). This group, in Woolf’s (1990) words, “is constituted as an interlinked community with a sense of belonging and camaraderie,” and “through their jamming at fiddle conventions, dances, folk and dance camps, concerts, and parties, provide a social context for the cultivation of their musical art” (p. 299).

“playing-with-the-fiddle-player” banjo players typically would. On the other hand, sometimes old-time fiddlers focused their energy on playing the oldest versions of tunes they could find, and “digging up all the old things that the old-timers played.”

Adam, director of Clinton MMY, wondered if musicians who prioritized keeping the tradition static were, ironically, imitating the playing of older musicians who themselves had more open-minded approaches. He believed that tunes probably sound different to us today than they did to past generations because we have been exposed to current popular music, and a wider variety of music in general:

This music doesn't live in a bubble—it can't. There's no reason to try to force that because it's imaginary anyway. Even though they're “so-called purist-traditionalists,” the people they are trying to hold true to are people who probably soaked up every influence they could and were all about changing with the times.

Preston described this as a dilemma. Like many other fiddlers, he listened to recordings of musicians from the past, learning tunes and incorporating elements of their styles into his own playing. He worked hard to recreate the sounds that moved him from these recordings; to play the bowings exactly as they did so the rhythm came across in the same way. But it is possible that these older musicians created those same sounds by trying to assert their own individuality: “Do you honor the tradition of being your own individual fiddle player or do you honor the notes and the bow licks that that particular fiddler did?” Preston recollected a quote from

Round Peak fiddler Benton Flippen:

Benton stood by the sink in the crowded kitchen. He was listening appreciatively to Tommy [Jarrell] and gazing vaguely off into the distance, well past the back wall of the house, it seemed. Then he said, 'No point to sound just like the other man. Don't even try, 'cause you can't. You've got to sound like yourself, have your own style. That's the way it's supposed to be. Like the old man said, it's all creamed 'taters, just fixed a little different.'" (Brown, 2011, para. 3)

William sees the overall mountain music tradition as one in flux, but believes there are a few musicians who hold on to the old ways, particularly in regards to keeping the more local sounds in their playing. Bands he has heard playing onstage at fiddlers conventions sound a lot different than bands on the older recordings he has listened to, but he does not consider to this be a negative aspect of their music. He pointed out the difference in sound he heard between a community of local, enculturated musicians and one of revivalists: A "straight-ahead, square dance, fast fiddle tune" of Galax, VA and Mt. Airy, NC is a significant contrast from the medium-tempo "jam" of Ithaca, NY. What he described was consistent with musicians discussed by Wood (2015) and Morgan-Ellis (2019).

Jack described elements of the sound that have changed over time due to competition at festivals. For example, guitar players particularly do not try to sound like "the old guys." Many of them want to play higher, faster, and louder, and win contests. As he said, "flatpicking guitar players want to play Sweet Georgia Brown

good and fast enough to beat Wayne Henderson. It's a testosterone thing."

To Martin, some of the updated music had lost its essential qualities. An older sound he called "standard time dance rhythm," or "boom-chuck," seemed to be a casualty of the newer styles in mountain music and bluegrass music. A "strummy-strummy" sound characterized modern Americana bands that he had heard, a sound which he did not believe lent itself to listening and blend. Returning to a focus on the older traditional rhythm guitar styles could be helpful for students, not just for playing the local music, but for other playing styles as well. Martin's consistent advice to his students is this: "If you don't know the boom-chuck, get it, because if you know that, you can play any type of music. It's the basis for Western music—boom-chuck. Completely."

Preston, director of Bluehill MMY, has struggled with his identity when it comes to tradition versus innovation in his own playing, saying, "I think it is the great dilemma of old-time music. You're trying to preserve a tradition, but music is alive." He described a time where he stopped enjoying playing:

I remember I was getting better and better at imitating source recordings. And I just remember being faced with these situations that I didn't think should happen. Like fiddlers that weren't playing it 'right' winning at fiddlers conventions. And even more interesting things, like people that weren't playing it 'right,' but the dancers loved it. So you got a whole group of people dancing their hearts out, and the traditionalist in my mind is saying, "that's not right. You shouldn't play that chord there, or they shouldn't enjoy it.

Preston also struggled with the opposite: There were true traditionalists playing impeccably and accompanied by historically accurate information, but not appealing to their audiences. Young players would sometimes change the music, and it was Preston's observation that audiences would feel more life in it. He said, "I remember seeing [Martin] on an open mic night doing a banjo skit with a beat boxer....doing this fantastic little run. The audience loved it, it was great, it was alive!"

There were also ways that participants could perceive the context of the music changing over time. Henry talked about how media and other available entertainment has changed his perception of the place of music in people's lives. In the past, music was the most easily accessible and available entertainment. When people gathered to socialize, they did not just sit and talk, but they "really interact[ed] with each other by playing music." They rolled up the rug to have a square dance, or gathered at a house to enjoy being together, and "the music was sort of the honey, in a way—the medium that held or brought people together, got people dancing or singing together." Today, Henry's community still does this, but less. Before the dawn of mass media, TV, and internet, music was the primary entertainment for people. "Music was a lifestyle then," according to Henry, and it held a deeper meaning for people than it does today.

Martin described the way the perception of people who play music has changed over time. Many people today talk about mountain music as a wholesome activity, but it wasn't always seen that way. Martin described a time where fiddling was seen as a vice:

It's the same way that we talk about people that just lay around and watch television and don't do anything. "This person is a ne'er do well, all they do sit around and play fiddle while their wife works," or whatever.

The aspects of tradition mentioned here portray one slightly more toward the "in flux" end of the TCTF spectrum, where there is an "ongoing negotiation between old and new" (Schippers, 2010, p. 120). Styles shifted and there was a body of players who brought new sounds to the music. On the other hand, MMY instructors described a community peppered with musicians who clung to old ways and old sounds (as Preston and William recounted above). The elements of change described are sometimes subtle, such as Preston's reference to how closely different fiddlers adhered to versions of tunes, and bowings, from source recordings. The inclination was for participants to talk about how the music used to be before mainstream media appeared. Even the widely adopted but not universally accepted term "old-time music," used to describe the style and separate it from the newer bluegrass music (Jabbour, 2014)¹⁴, indicate their "high regard for what is ancient" (Schippers, 2010, p. 120). The reverence for archaic things and sounds described in Chapter 4 help to imagine the deep value of history that holds this music close to its roots.

The "community" or "tradition" that participants drew upon here is not

¹⁴ Jabbour (2014) attributed the use of the term "old-time" to a desire to distinguish the older traditions from bluegrass. Some participants in this study used "old-time" specifically to make this delineation even when they did not identify with the term to describe their music overall.

defined collectively or by geographical boundaries, but represents the musical world each participates in, the body of people and resources they learned from, and social and professional musical events they attend. When asked what “tradition” she was describing, Lucy said:

The old tunes that our grandfathers played, and the way they played them. I think it’s important to carry that on, but that’s where a lot of musical styles came from, so I think it’s important that it be allowed to continue to evolve. But people should continue to honor and carry on the old ways.

Of the 13 teachers interviewed and observed in this study, eight were raised within 75 miles where they are teaching MMY, three grew up outside of the Southeast, five learned another style of music before the music they teach in MMY, and four learned traditional music from their grandfathers. Since the folk revival in the 1950s and 60s, traditional music in the United States, particularly Southern mountain fiddling, has seen a large increase in participants from “outside the source cultural group,” who over time, have become part of the story of those traditions (Jabbour, 2014, p. 117). It is important to consider the data here as representing a culture that is diverse in influences.

In addition to taking the lead from local traditions, MMY regional director Nora noticed that MMY is starting to influence the larger music scene: Many young people are playing in the community. She recalled that fiddlers conventions started offering youth categories around the time that she was a teen. Then, only a few young people would participate, but now every festival has a youth division full of

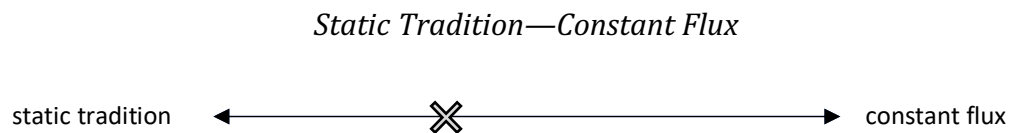
instrumentalists, bands, and dancers. Nora and Martin each remembered only one or two peers who played music while they were growing up. Nora reflected that:

Now that the MMY kids are going [to fiddlers conventions], Galax has a whole night dedicated to [youth]. There are probably over 100 kids in just the youth categories. It's a definite sustainable source for continuing it all. It's not the traditional way of doing it, but oh well.

Nora's ideas about continuing aspects of the tradition in spite of having to make certain changes are consistent with Silva's (2004): "Even with certain changes, why not bring to the classroom a musical style that mirrors the community that creates it, and from where the students come from?"

This picture (shown in Figure 4) shows a tradition moderately in flux which is represented in the classroom with a more static approach.

Figure 4



Beginner instrument classes were presented with more emphasis on mountain music, while students with advancing capabilities were encouraged to branch out toward more toward music that personally interested them. Henry, Jack, Martin, and Adam had a general concept of using local music traditions as an opportunity to learn to be a musician, after which students could then play the music they chose. As Martin described it, the real value in MMY is starting students

in music and then letting them follow their own path. They can enter the musical community, “get bit with the bug for it,” find their own style, or latch onto a tradition-bearing musician. In Martin’s words, after getting started in MMY, “they can go out and play acid jazz on the fiddle. It is a kind of a springboard that creates an understanding of the roots of the music and basic tunes.” Overall, instructors showed a clear goal of passing down a repertoire that was common and rooted in history but saw flexibility in the music’s present and future.

“Reconstructed” Authenticity—“New identity” Authenticity

Many of the MMY instructors’ own musical views about reproducing older sounds and infusing their music with individual creativity came to light in the above discussion of the tradition continuum, and under the theme of “values of the tradition” in Chapter 4. Here I examine how instructors’ choices in the classroom reflect Schippers’ (2010) scale, defined as, “a continuum ranging from interpretations trending toward reproduction to emphasis on originality” (p. 53).

Many MMY classes dedicated a significant amount of time to learning skills necessary to participate in jams, fiddlers conventions, and to a smaller extent, playing on stage. These skills include starting and ending tunes in a group, playing through tunes without stopping, and playing in front of others, described below. Instead of an overall emphasis on playing notes, rhythms, bowings, or other techniques exactly the same as a recording or other source (often, the opposite is the case), the skills themselves represent a recipe for participation in a set tradition. One could almost call them a “canon of skills” for traditional Appalachian mountain

stringband music. The de-emphasis on learning a predetermined, or universal, version of a tune is a trait common to musics learned without notation (McLucas, 2010; Miller, 2016). As Bohlman (1993) suggested, this approach can result in an “unintentional creativity” (p. 75) in participants’ music making, where there is no concerted effort toward improvisation, but a looseness in which the same notes and rhythms are not chosen each time.

William’s jam class in Clinton MMY, for example, was centered around these participatory skills. There were about 12–14 intermediate students in the class who could each play three to eight tunes, and the curriculum was to learn to jam. There was no talk about how to play instruments, and tunes were not taught. William threw out advice as they went, calling out parts. “Angelina Baker, key of D. Claire is gonna sing some, so when she sings, lay back.” A student asked if “lay back” meant that they needed to stop playing. “Well, I don’t know. There are four fiddles, so maybe, yes, stop.” William took a moment to explain the order of the parts and how the singing fit in so that the instrumentalists would know when and which section of the tune to play. William focused here more on what to do (rather than what to play), recognizing a common form (in this case, AABB, where the vocals came in for A2 and B1), and explaining how to react to a vocalist in the mix. Later, he reminded students to put a foot in the air so others would know when to stop the tune, and coached them on choosing a good tempo so that the group could be successful. The skills taught here align with Blanton’s (2016) advocacy for inclusion of participatory music-making scenarios in addition to instruction in music education, calling them

“opportunities to enhance [students’] skill and knowledge through joyful participation” (p. 114).

Research has shown that in musical traditions that are learned aurally/orally, it is often accepted that there is no one “correct” or universal version of a tune (McLucas, 2010; Morgan-Ellis, 2019). Lillian, who taught fiddle in Bluehill, emphasized this idea by teaching skills similar to William’s in her intermediate class. She asked each student to choose a tune they wanted to play through, and had them play it with or without her accompanying them on guitar (their choice). Most of the students chose to play the tune they had just played as a class, and Lillian did not mind. After they finished, they received a “good job! Thank you!” from her. When they had all played, she transitioned seamlessly into choosing a tune for the whole class to play together. After the class tune, one student commented that they had not all played the same version of the tune. Lillian reassured them: “that’s fine, as long as it works out the same. That’s the beauty of fiddle playing.”

Spending class time playing tunes together just for fun sent a message to students that this is an important skill for them to learn. Value was placed on skills for leading tunes (their solos), making their own tune choices, playing together without preparing for performance, and playing for fun. As a result, emphasis was not on replicating older sounds or on developing personal creativity, but rather on participating in the musical scenario at hand, and the freedom to play in a way that came naturally in order to become a contributor.

Students making choices was another common thread in MMY classes, a

factor encouraging students toward elements of “new identity” authenticity. In Lester’s guitar class, the group was urged to choose a tune that would be their “class tune” for performance. Martin demonstrated a tune and asked, “Does that sound like anything you want to sing?” Henry urged members of Stonehill Stringband to bring their own repertoire to the band, and to move toward what excited them as musicians. Jack was firm in his belief that he should not make students play tunes they were not interested in learning. Students who chose what they wanted to play and made it sound the way they wanted to would learn the song faster and keep playing it longer. He stated:

I think that...if we let [these kids] change the traditions and make it sound the way they want it to sound I think it will last their lifetime more than trying to force them to play it the way we want to do it. I’m 60 years old and I play things a certain way. A 16, 17, 18-year-old person won’t play it the same way that I did because they had a different way of learning it, a different experience...I’m just trying to supply them with the skill to take these tunes and make it sound the way they want it to.

MMY teachers were motivated to show students how to experience what really excited them about playing music. In asking them about the relative importance of teaching students to reproduce sounds or experience individual creativity, I found that most would turn the topic back to these aspects of excitement, indicating that their own authenticity might be tied more closely to experiential factors in the music, rather than sounds. In Schippers (2010) words,

“authenticity is an elusive and laden concept,” and “it is increasingly difficult to establish what a culture as a whole considers authentic” (p. 53).

For Henry, an important experience was playing for dances, one moved him deeply when he first started playing fiddle: “I really loved playing for dances—I guess it was the connection, the energy propelling the dancers; we were trading energy in a lot of ways.” Henry noticed that the students seemed to love it, too. Henry told them, “You’ll be a better dance musician if you actually get out there and dance, and see what it feels like. You’ll know what kind of music to play to propel the dances.” Other teachers consistently talked about the history and geography of the music. To some, it was important to connect the music to the students’ homeplace. Martin addressed this connection to homeplace when asked what he considered important to pass on to the next generation of musicians. He related a story about a young man who wanted to emulate Woody Guthrie:

I asked him why he wanted to sing like Woody Guthrie—I asked him if he had listened to anyone from [his homeplace]. “You are in the folk music capital of the world, as far as I’m concerned...you can have super heroes from your hometown.”

Martin related this to his own experience as a musician. After he had been involved with mountain music for several years, he discovered that certain musicians he had heard about lived in the area where he was raised, or where he went to college. Feeling that pride in his homeplace made Martin want to help his students connect to the music of their own homes:

It would be nice to have that pride. That can be applied to any area in the world for any type of music. Just being able to have something that is uniquely part of your community and its history—it's living.

Martin also valued teaching music he had learned from people when he had stories to share about them. This was more important for his advanced students, as they covered a larger amount of repertoire and had time to discuss the meaning or history of the music. He shared music both from his own mentorship experiences and from his heroes:

About every week, I just pick the Birchfields or somebody like that, that I've been able to spend some time with. I'll do like three tunes or something...and I leave it to them to polish it up and make it theirs. Last week we did Henry Reed stuff, and we did some Benton Flippen, too.

Values perceived as being long held in the musical tradition, such as connection to one's homeplace, playing for dances, and sharing stories as part of sharing music were strongly represented in these classrooms. It could be argued that instructors were encouraging their students to emulate musical traditions in the past, representing "reconstructed" authenticity.

Evelyn tended toward highlighting her own experience over more universal historical information in her lessons, which could represent a "new identity" authenticity. Although she knew the history of the tune "Uncle Pen," she preferred telling students about how she learned it:

I was at a festival and there was this really cute guy and boy could he play the

fiddle. So, I went over there and I listened for a while, and he was in this small jam and I knew I shouldn't really jump in there and start playing, so I stood back about 10 feet and quietly played along with it. When it was over, I went over to him and asked him if he would play it on my tape recorder.

Evelyn believed her students appreciated the personal connection and stories like this that were relevant to their lives more than textbook history.

Teachers did not use language that enforced recreation of tunes, settings, or skills. They did convey a strong sense of value in the experiences that moved them to become musicians, and to play music socially in their communities. They made efforts to recreate these experiences for students. Most participants, when asked about reconstructing older sounds as opposed to creativity, found a way to steer the discussion toward what made them connected to other people through the music.

Most talked about and prioritized the history of the music in their classes. Sometimes, as in the case of Henry encouraging students to play fiddle tunes for dances, this actively reinforced a “reconstructed” authenticity by recreating circumstances and characteristics of the music’s origin (students would need to develop a solid repertoire of traditional tunes over time to play a square dance, and attending such an event would expose them to a community of people who recreate the old ways of social dance). There was no evidence of encouragement to individualize musicianship through improvisation, expression, or creation of new music. The instruments offered for study in MMY (fiddle, banjo, guitar, bass, mandolin, and dulcimer) have been the central instruments in the community for

two generations or more. Aspects of “new identity” authenticity included a universal emphasis on student choice, with opportunities for choice offered in each class observed. Green’s (2002, 2008a) model of informal learning is relevant here, which suggests that self-selected music and self-directed learning can lead to increased creativity in music making. However, encouragements of creativity were not made explicitly in class. I have this setting would fall to the left of center, with a lean toward “reconstructed” authenticity.

Figure 5

“Reconstructed” Authenticity—“New Identity” Authenticity



Although participants expressed that they often consider the idea of creativity and adherence to historical tradition, they did not place importance on this in their teaching. They held experiential aspects of students participating in their communities and playing music with others as a higher ideal than the choice of which sounds to make. With this in mind, I suggest that this scale might be more useful with performance-oriented musics than those that tend toward participatory, as defined by Turino (2008), and that interviewing students in this setting could yield different results.

“Original” Context—Recontextualization

MMY represents an educational setting where music is learned in the midst of a living culture of social music. In both Bluehill and Clinton MMY, students can

find the music they are learning in class being played in their towns, in both participatory and presentational settings (as defined by Turino, 2008). They can attend festivals, fiddlers conventions, and dances in their own counties and regions and hear musicians who play regularly, both professionally and for their own entertainment. Some aspects of MMY that represent recontextualization include learning in groups, a set class schedule with tuition, levels of advancement, formal cultural presentations, and public performance as a culmination of the learning process. One could argue that the shift of the music into the educational setting of MMY brought it to a new culture, a youth culture, that has “little or no knowledge of [the music’s] context” (Schippers, 2010, p. 54), and in the case of Bluehill MMY, into a public-school culture.

When she created MMY, Evelyn set a goal to reconnect youth with their local heritage and to offer them some of the community and social benefits she thought the music would provide. She found that youth in Springfield were not being enculturated into the musical traditions by their families and neighbors. Both MMY settings demonstrated efforts to recreate aspects of old and current music making practices so that students could experience them in the classroom, and so that they would ultimately be equipped to participate in the greater musical community.

One sign that students were not enculturated in the music, Henry mentioned, is that students did not hear much regional music at home. He asked them: “What do you listen to? What do you listen to in the car? What kind of music do you sing? Do you sing? What do your parents listen to?” Henry routinely asked parents of his

students what their families listened to. He believed that, to get the most out of music instruction, students needed to listen over and over again: Students were “not really going to learn how to play more than just kind of robotic stuff” if they did not get into a habit of listening, or get a feeling for what the music was about.

As director of the Clinton program, Adam noticed a lack of home listening as well. He started a CD library from donated recordings, and would visit each class weekly to exchange the last CD students had borrowed. He asked them casual questions about the recordings they had, trying to focus their interest on the process of becoming habitual music listeners. Clinton MMY bought small voice recorders for every student and loaned them out free of charge, so students could record tunes from class and have a home resource for listening. Henry made a CD for his class each semester, with a track for each tune they would study. Bluehill MMY posted tracks of “common tunes”¹⁵ online played both slow and fast, with different versions for each level of class and instrument.

Preston considered it to be a responsibility of MMY to pass down context alongside tunes; context should be actively taught in the classroom:

We tend to teach the tunes, and I don't think we're doing a great job of giving the context of the music...There is so much emphasis placed on the tune, but...I want our kids to have a sense of the history of the music, the

¹⁵ These common tunes, the tunes learned by all classes for the final concert, such as “Susannah Gal,” “Black-Eyed Susie,” “John Henry,” and this semester’s “Wreck of the Old ’97,” could be considered to be from a canon of widely played tunes in the area.

background of the music.

There was never enough time to do all of this in class. In addition, the time constraints of a set class schedule represent a contextual change in the learning setting. Preston struggled with this: “The circumstances of sitting down with your grandfather for a limitless amount of time...and being in a classroom with eight kids for 45 minutes at the end of a long school day, they just aren't real comparable situations.”

The values of enjoyment and entertainment as a central focus in Appalachian music has been well documented with regard to play-parties (Spalding, 2014), dance (Jamison, 2015), and music (Brown, 1983; Ruchala, 2011; Wood, 2015). Henry, similarly, found that to him, the essence of music was enjoyment and spending time with people. These were not the easiest things to bring into the music classroom. That left him questioning what was important to teach his MMY students, and what it was that any instructor could know about the context of the tunes they taught. “If you think about this music in the community and homes, and having a good time, I mean, that’s what music is.” When you took away the musical context, however, that essence of the music was removed. Henry expanded:

What’s left when you get to an MMY class?...You’re listening to Bill Stepp, and you don’t know how he came to learn that tune. I mean, maybe he was in an [MMY] class! How did William Stepp come across that tune? Did he make it up, or was it something played in his community? Was that really the way he played it all the time, when that recorder was on at that particular time, or

was that just something that he came up with on the spur of the moment, and he never played it that way again?

In an MMY class, then, Henry was left with this one version of a tune in his hand to convey a world of music to the students. Henry wondered which part to focus on:

I can't convey...the community spirit of rolling up the rug and having a dance in the living room. Can you convey that whole thing to an intermediate fiddle class? Why is that child in there saying they want to learn fiddle? There's so much to think about in terms of where this came from 150 years ago when you're in front of a class of kids. What's *important* about that?

Evelyn noted that the routines she relied on to recruit elementary students had an effect on the context of the music in MMY. Some students were more attracted to the element of performing than the music itself, so as a result, the performance aspect was stressed. She would routinely have her students perform in front of the school to recruit the next year's players. Evelyn noticed that this attracted students who valued the positive attention of being on the stage. There was no way to separate interest in the musical tradition from interest in performing. She valued the interest in performing as a practice motivator: "If I'm learning a new tune and decide to play it at the fiddler's convention, I'll probably practice it more leading up to that contest."

Greater numbers and personality types led to the need for more classroom structure. Evelyn thought that the type of students who were interested in the positive attention of performing presented challenges in the classroom: "Knowing

how to handle discipline and setting boundaries and expectations and having structure in the classroom, that's way different from the old-time way, but I think it's really important." Without classroom management skills, learning in classes suffered. Motivated and talented students would learn no matter what, but Evelyn had goals to cater instruction to every child:

I have...seen that the cream will rise to the top and will get it and move on and be fine. They will thrive in any environment. I always pull for the underdog. This was one of my great frustrations, as I really wanted more structure and I wanted everybody to be included and to be progressing a little more, not just the kids that bubble to the top.

At each site, regular efforts were made to recreate contextual elements of the musical culture, with the idea of preserving the social functions of the music in its transmission. For example, as discussed earlier, class time was used to jam, or to learn to jam by doing it. In Clinton, the town ran a weekly open jam session¹⁶ that

¹⁶ The weekly jam session was open to all and advertised on the town's tourism website and in the newspaper. The historic house where it took place had eight rooms used as art galleries that could be used to play music, but typically only one to three were used. In the summer, there was often a jam on the porch. Rooms would sometimes have as few as three or four people, and sometimes as many as 15 playing music together. Fiddles, banjos, guitars, and an upright bass were most common, with the occasional addition of a mandolin, mountain dulcimer, or harmonica. Fiddle tunes were generally started by one fiddler, with others joining in after taking a moment to figure out the melody or chord structure. Songs were led by a vocalist who could also play an instrument. Those playing chording instruments (guitar, bass, and mandolin) might check in with each other visually or verbally to align chord choices, or a fiddler might indicate (verbally, or with a nod) their preferences for chords. Many musicians tapped a toe or heel throughout. A foot in the air, a holler, or a raised fiddle might happen to indicate the intent to end the tune, and often musicians ended in time and with great energy. Between tunes there was a good amount of conversation, catching up, and humor. Passersby came in the house to listen and would stay a few

started right after classes ended, in the same building. This encouraged some of the more advanced students to stay and play, or at the very least meant that more of the MMY students knew about and witnessed the weekly jam, if only in passing through. Bluehill MMY started hosting its own in-house fiddlers convention. Preston, however, found that while giving students exposure and experience without the barriers of travel and cost, recreating so many contextual elements right at the school insulated the students from the greater community.

I think our kids don't have a sense of the MMY bubble we've created. MMY becomes all they know about old-time music...We've isolated it; we've made them a safe little place for them to learn tunes. But we don't do a good job of then getting them out into the real world of being a musician and being a part of this community...As you enter the community, people are wanting to talk about the old musicians and old traditions. So it all goes together.

Preston's emphasis as director of the program lately was to push students toward participation outside of school: "We've just been going to fiddlers convention after fiddlers convention. We're hosting our own to prepare them for one in the spring, then we'll try to pull off [going to] one in the summer."

Adam also believed that the students eventually needed to leave the

minutes, sometimes chatting with the musicians. On a few occasions, there was an impromptu square dance or two in the center room, with one person calling moves and dancing with seven others. Newcomers were often shy about participating in the music, but gained confidence in taking instruments out after a just a few visits. The session had the feel of a party, with a nucleus of about eight to 12 regular participants.

classroom to find living music in context in their community. When one group of Clinton students got to the point where their skills allowed them to participate, they ventured into the musical community and got hooked:

Every weekend, they're trying to find a fiddlers convention or a festival, or an old folks' home to go play tunes. They're just looking for every chance they can get to go out and play, and do that kind of thing. You're going to find that you just can't stay in the classroom.

Some instructors found that the classroom setting in MMY was not that different from the way they themselves learned to play. Two of them learned to play at a community college class, where the teacher issued a standing invitation to community members to visit the class and play tunes with the students. Lucy's teacher made similar efforts to bring context into the classroom:

That was another thing that made it really neat—you weren't the only one there. It wasn't just a one-on-one, there was a lot of people. People were welcome to just come in to play music with you, to just jam a little bit so you could hear it and you got that experience of playing other styles and feeling what the whole social part of it was about.

In this community college class, in addition to learning fiddle and playing music, Lucy was introduced other aspects of being a musician, such as instrument repair and learning multiple instruments. One day her teacher brought in a bass and everyone tried playing it. Lucy ended up joining a band as a bassist after that day. She said, "It was a whole lot more than just playing fiddle." Cawley (2013) found

similarly that participants learned the most from social interactions with other musicians and through “prolonged participation in music making” (p. 315).

Other settings where these instructors learned to play music include a barbershop, fiddlers conventions, jams at people’s houses, piano lessons, one-on-one from a mentor in the community, “sitting at home by myself,” a grandfather’s kitchen, a banjo and a book of tab¹⁷ at a desk job, and camping in the woods with hippies.

Lucy’s perspective on context was that passing on the tradition was more important than the ways in which it happened:

Well, [MMY] changes how it is transmitted, and I don’t know if that can be classified as good or bad. I think the important thing is that it is transmitted. I wasn’t taught old-time in the way that my grandfather was taught music. I learned in a community college class, and he learned—well probably from his father, I don’t know how he learned. I’m sure it was at somebody’s side.

These changes in learning style, in Lucy’s view, were not good or bad, as long as the music was continued by the next generation and continued to survive: “If this is the way it’s gotta be done, than we gotta do it this way.”

Henry agreed that the educational setting of MMY changes the process:

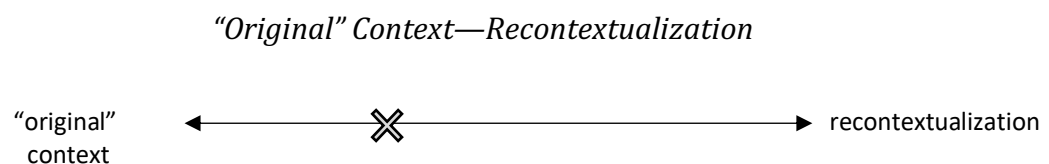
Where it came from 100 years ago was just out of people’s hearts, minds, and fingers. But if you have to put it in a public education system, you’re trying to

¹⁷ “Tab” is short for tablature, a notation system that depicts how to physically play music on a particular instrument.

carry on a tradition that's not there anymore in the same way.

Administrators and teachers at both Clinton and Bluehill MMY made concerted efforts to recreate the music's original context, as well as to connect students to the local musical network beyond their classrooms. The goal of these efforts was twofold: to equip students with the skills needed to participate in the music in its "real" context, and to enhance the music they learned by providing a richer understanding. Cope (2002) found that providing an appropriate social context for music (such as a session), served the dual purpose of supporting skill acquisition and increasing the likelihood of future participation. In a formalized educational setting, music is inevitably recontextualized: Here, realities such as class sizes and lack of prior musical enculturation, as well as goals of inclusivity and classroom structure, represent aspects of recontextualization. Because of the strong institutional value of prioritizing context and their physical location in the midst of musical communities, I found these settings to fall far toward "original" on the context spectrum.

Figure 6



Modes of Transmission

Atomistic/Analytic—Holistic

As no specific teaching methods or styles were prescribed by the administration of either program, instructors found their own way to deliver material. Some instructors, such as Jack and Martin, used decidedly different methods when teaching different classes, especially contrasting levels of classes. These participants showed a pattern of more atomistic teaching for beginning classes of melody instruments than for their advanced students or those learning rhythm guitar. Schippers (2010) observed about the atomistic-holistic continuum:

An atomistic/analytical approach corresponds more closely to an emphasis on mono-directional didactic teaching of a ‘single truth,’ while a holistic approach leaves more room for learners to construct their own musical knowing, leading to a more individual approach, even if the body of knowledge (the canon or tradition) is quite closely defined. (p. 85)

Instructors unanimously valued holistic approaches as defined in this way. Lillian’s advice to her students that it did not matter if two fiddlers played the same version of a tune, “as long as it comes out the same,” and William’s instruction to mix up two versions and “make a simple-complicated one” both showed that according to them, specific note combinations do not make the tune. Overall structure of the tune was valued over details, and students experiencing the tune as a whole and getting through to the end successfully was a priority. Students in MMY were encouraged to play, to play out, and to play with, and were rarely corrected on

notes, rhythms, fingerings, techniques, or bowings. Helpful advice was often given but was usually delivered as a suggestion rather than a mandate.

Instructors in beginner classes used a rote-learning type of approach, particularly when teaching melodies. For example, when Jack, in his beginning dulcimer class, taught the melody to “Wildwood Flower,” he taught in sections of three notes, and called out fret numbers to help students find them. He told them, “try these three first, then these three. 3, 2, 1, then 2, 1, oh, then oh, 1, oh, like that.” This atomistic teaching style echoes how Jack learned from his grandfather:

He would play tunes for me like Arkansas Traveler on the fiddle. He played just part of it. He'd say like here's how the first part goes...now you find those notes on the guitar. I would search and find something that sounded like what he was doing.

Jack's grandfather patiently played parts over and over until Jack could find the notes. They would spend an afternoon learning a single tune section by section. By the end of the weekend, they could play several tunes together, with one of them playing lead, and the other rhythm guitar.

Lucy also broke tunes down for students in her dulcimer class, but she showed techniques rather than notes to the students, demonstrating atomistic, tangible instruction. Description of technique happened before any sound was made. She said of a new tune in class:

You're going to be noting your bottom string on the 3rd fret, and your 1st string on the 1st fret. It's going to look like this—it's a chord. Take your

thumb and note that first note right there, then take your index finger and note the 1st string. So instead of sounding like this, it's gonna sound like this because you've got a chord there."

In the intermediate fiddle class, Henry spent time teaching students how to bring atomistic techniques into their practicing at home. He explained to them how to find a spot in their tune that was not working for them. In class, they could stop and ask for help, and at home, they could take the time to work on it, to get it "like it should be, or like you want it."

Taylor, who used an atomistic approach when teaching fiddle, was influenced by the way he had learned, in formalized, one-on-one lessons. Tunes "were broken down into very, very small constituent parts that would be added together into bigger things." He and his teacher would work on one note at a time and a corresponding bowing, adding many tiny parts into a small phrase. His teacher had a set, defined way that he wanted Taylor to play each tune, and a set sequence for learning the tunes, so Taylor felt the atomistic approach was appropriate.

Sometimes Taylor had his own vision for the lessons:

I would ask him for more detail stuff, like some of his left-hand things he did, I didn't understand—little nuances, little subtleties in how he'd move from one note to another, how he'd slide to a different position. He could do this wailing thing with his pinky; I still can't do it. So funky, the way he slides into certain notes.

The teacher's agenda was "a whole system of bowing that I think he could write into

a small booklet.” He had terminology for various bowing patterns: long saw strokes, bow rocks, shuffle licks, Tommy licks, syncopated Tommy licks. “If I didn’t get it right, we would not progress, not move on. There was not much room for creativity, which was fine by me.”

Evelyn described her teaching as highly atomistic: “I had the gift of making things really simple, breaking them down to the cellular level...I have no formal training as a music educator but it has come pretty easily.” As MMY director, she described her attempt to get another teacher to follow suit in breaking down the music in class:

He’s got this really weird lick on the banjo which is really cool, and he makes really great music. But he wanted students to be doing all of this all at once, which is very typical of our teachers—they want them to do it all, all at once.

Jack showed a more holistic approach in his guitar class. When they practiced the tune together, they didn’t talk about what needed work in the tune. The class played through the whole tune, and Jack tossed out direction for the students to get through the tune, saying “Again!” to repeat the part they played, and later, “now the B part.” He also used his own playing to help them get through the tune: If they were confident and did not need him, he switched to accompanying them, but if they struggled, he joined them on melody.

Both Henry and Martin showed use of a holistic approach, but with some technical elements broken down. Martin’s advanced fiddle class learned an entire difficult, multi-part tune by the seat of their pants in a total of about 10 minutes.

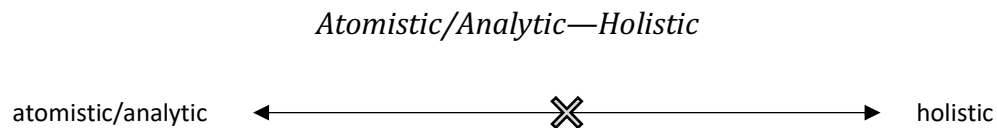
Before starting each section, he showed them how to find certain double stops or position work. "See, you just walk that G chord up the neck. Next, bar the neck; put your finger on both strings." Outside of this, there was very little breaking down of the tune. Tunes were reviewed each week, fast, and a review of several past tunes showed that the students grabbed onto a few more of the notes each time they played them.

Lester showed some techniques for holistic teaching in the beginning rhythm guitar class. With an assistant in the class, they were able to trade off and provide both singing and guidance to the class as the students learned a new song. One sang lyrics (this helped the students find chord changes by following their chart) and the other called out chords just before they changed. At times when the holistic approach was not enough for how he wanted the students to succeed, Lester would lean on more atomistic techniques. Once, he led them through the tune and stopped on a single chord, playing in rhythm and staying there until all the students had remembered to switch and located the correct chord. Another time, Lester enthusiastically coached specific changes before they started: "Let's talk a bit about switching to that A7. As soon as you get to the D, go right to the A7. One strum on D, and you go!"

Although most of the scenarios described here fall toward atomistic or holistic, as an average I have placed MMY directly in the center on the atomistic-holistic scale. Many methods were used, sometimes even within moments in the same class. Beginner classes tended to use more atomistic approaches, and

sometimes an atomistic approach was used “as needed,” or when further explicit instructions became necessary after a more holistic approach.

Figure 7



Notation-Based—Aural/Oral

Many settings of music learning feature both notated and non-written aspects (Cawley, 2013; Lilliestam, 1996; McLucas, 2010; Morgan-Ellis, 2019; Schippers, 2010; Seeger, 1950), and MMY is no exception. Many MMY classes used some form of notation as a memory aid; a few introduced paper before sound. All used aural/oral methods of instruction. Instructors who had learned without any sort of notation often used it in their classroom, and many have devised their own tablature system (some examples of these can be found in Appendices D, E, F, and G). Some teachers shared the belief that notation is detrimental to musical development, and still offered written materials in class. There was evidence that written materials, when provided, were not intended to represent an authoritative version of the music. Classes overall seemed to operate under the assumption that students would eventually be able to play the music without using sheets of paper. Again, the notation-aural spectrum showed a relationship to the level of experience of a class; beginner classes seemed to rely more heavily on notation than more advanced classes.

When Lucy's beginning dulcimer class started to work on a new tune, she distributed papers with tablature, and students busied themselves trying the new notes individually. This was their first exposure to the tune. Lucy was not a music reader. Despite her school band training on flute when she was growing up, she never learned to read music, and regretted missing the opportunity:

I could follow along enough to see where we were, and find the notes and tell you where they were on the flute, but to count it out and sight-read and all that, I just couldn't do it. I would just let somebody else do it, and play what they were playing...I just thought you were supposed to play, that's what my momma did [on the piano]. She just sat down and played.

Lucy felt that students wanted tablature and learned better with it, so she sought ways to provide visual aids, even though she did not feel comfortable thinking that way as a musician. She spoke of struggling with teaching her bass class, as students preferred and "really seemed to learn better" using tablature and written music, but the simplicity of playing the bass made writing out songs inappropriate and unhelpful. She used Jack's tablature for her dulcimer class, which she could follow but not write herself. Lucy was in the habit of asking her cousin, a school music teacher and traditional fiddler, for help in navigating this divide.

Jack also learned to play without notation, and mentioned that he had never learned to read sheet music. He created his own type of dulcimer tab because he felt his students needed it, but using it also changed other aspects of his teaching: "I came up with a little method of something that looks like a fraction. If you take a

3/2, that's 3rd string, second fret. Next note 3/4—3rd string 4th fret." This type of tab had no way of notating rhythm, although sometimes Jack spaced out the notes differently to try to make this clear. An example of Jack's tab notation can be found in Appendix G. "They could sort of get that if they could hear me do it and say oh yeah, it's 0, 2, 4, 2, 0, 0, 2, 5....and five lasts a long time, that kind of stuff." Jack started making up lyrics to the songs he taught that encouraged students' memory and rhythmic accuracy:

You know, I'd do Sally Ann and sing, "The B part goes to G....and then comes back to A...and the B part goes to G." In the MMY program you can see those little kids up on stage playing guitar saying this [mouths the words]. They were saying, "The B part goes to G," under their breath, because that's how they could remember that. That's how I started teaching it.

Martin also learned music without notation, never having understood that some people wrote down the music aside from lyrics or chords. He also developed his own style of tab for student use:

I had to form my own tabulation system when I started working up here with the kids. That was basically writing the string in a big number, and the note in a little number, like 2 to the 2nd power: 2nd string, 2nd fret. I hate to do that, because I think you lose something in the music.

An example of Martin's tablature can be found in Appendix D. Since Martin did not write in staff notation and "they wouldn't be able to read that anyway," Martin found that the students "want these sheets of somewhat transcribed music, or

tablature.” As to why these students would know about and want notation when Martin had had no desire for it as a child, Martin mentioned three possible reasons: 1) they had taken past classes using tab, 2) they had exposure to classical music, and 3) they had seen instruction materials available on the internet. Martin noticed that his students in MMY had more exposure to classical music than he had:

I played drums in the band for the latter part of elementary school. I got kicked out because I was memorizing what they were telling me. I got caught when they realized I couldn’t read music. As far as I knew, [the music] just came from whoever you learned it from, like [my banjo teacher] talked about.

Students had past instructors in MMY or from elsewhere who had taught them using tablature. They also could find tab for any tune they wanted with a quick online search. Martin compared his own early interactions with music on the internet with the wide offerings available today:

I think the first thing that I found that was old-timey music on the internet was the Henry Reed Collection of fiddle tunes. I was doing a book report on the Mexican War, and I looked up Santa Anna’s retreat, and the Henry Reed fiddle tune came up, and I listened to it. That was when I was 10, when they first got the internet at the school—like Windows 95, or whatever it was...Now there is a culture of internet tablature.

This aligns with Waldron’s (2009, 2011, 2013, 2016) findings that traditional music learning has undergone rapid change with increased access to online tutorials and user-generated content.

Martin joked about his homemade tab in his guitar class. “You think you can read my chicken scratch?” A student responded that she could read the notation, but could not yet play the song because she had missed the last class and did not know the rhythm. This echoes Jack’s experience with homemade rhythmless tab, and points to the predominance of aural learning in Martin’s class, despite his using tablature. In Martin’s advanced fiddle and mandolin class, there was no sign nor mention of papers or tablature. Lillian used her own form of tablature for her beginning fiddle classes, as well as tab that she borrowed from another teacher. They were written in a different style but this did not seem to bother her students (examples of these can be found in Appendices E and F).

Lester, like Lucy, passed out papers before introducing a new song. Included were the lyrics to the song with chords (notated with letters) over the corresponding words. In addition to providing the handouts, Lester encouraged students to use the written materials to learn the song: “Look at your sheets so we don’t have to call out the changes. Look at the chord changes.” Lester spent a minute decoding the sheet for his guitar students, showing them how to figure out when to change the chord by reading the lyrics. He pointed out a particularly quick change and how to find it fast. Then he sang just the line with the chord change several times while showing chords on the guitar: “Let’s try that. *Say darlin, say. Say darlin, say.*” After this, Lester launched into the song and helped the students through it. They were able to follow the lyrics and change chords while he was singing, but had more difficulty between verses when he switched to flatpicking the melody.

Some teachers viewed the use of notation as detrimental to musical development. Evelyn learned classical violin early in life, and used staff notation to learn bluegrass songs when she first started playing fiddle, but was against it in principle as a teaching tool. "I think that learning notation as a sole learning tool is very handicapping, so I really think for traditional music, learning by ear is essential." Sara Nell noted the potential for some students to become dependent on notation:

I did notice that some people, once you hand them something written like that, become very dependent on it. What I told my classes, I want them to feel the music and not have to see it on a sheet of paper...Even a simple chord change on a guitar for example, you've got to know it's coming because your body remembers that it's coming. As opposed to this piece of paper says the chord change happens here. That's fine at first but eventually you want to not think about it.

In Martin's view, becoming dependent on notation limits one's capacity for listening, playing with others, and expression:

I've ticked more than a few kids off by telling them, "Listen, this is all about listening, so get you a recording device. Everybody has a device now. You record it, and that will help you out. I'll explain to you how to do this, but you're never going to keep it in your head or get a feeling for how a melody comes together if you're constantly looking at a sheet of paper.

Writing out music, Martin explained, causes problems with listening and playing together. In his experience, it has also caused students to play without feeling, and to often become dependent on sheets of paper. Forsyth (2011) also reported a tendency for Shetland fiddle students to become dependent on notation, and to sound “lifeless” (p. 5). When Martin wrote out tunes, he was not able to show timing or bowings, but he was confident that these could be learned by hearing and playing the tune.

Jack found it impractical to think of using notation as more than a jumping off point. It would be inappropriate to show up to a jam session or fiddlers convention with “a great big book full of papers.” He recalled an extreme case: “I had a guy in class one time at the folk school [who] had this huge binder of every song you could ever dream of. It was written in G chord and if the people that you were jamming with were singing it in D chord, he couldn't play it.” Jack also ventured that students would be able to enjoy music more if they could play by ear. For example, if they had to look at a paper to play a guitar run, they would get behind. Therefore, he encouraged his students repeat songs enough until they have really learned them, and did not have to “follow notes.” This felt more like internalizing than memorizing to Jack, where instead of knowing how many beats there were before a chord change, one could hear or feel where the change would go.

Adam is one instructor who did learn largely from tablature. A lifelong musician with experience in rock bands and piano, he moved to a city in the Southeast with an active and eclectic traditional music scene. He sat at his desk job

and played banjo in his downtime, learning tune after tune from banjo books. This process gave him enough technique and repertoire that when he ultimately had the chance to play with others, his musicianship transformed quickly. Adam recalled this transformation:

At some point, after playing with Henry, going to the jam session, going to fiddlers conventions, [when] I had committed enough melody to memory and could improvise on my own...I could start to sit back and play the tune and come up with my own phrasing. It wasn't like I was just sticking to the page exclusively; that was more where I was getting the melodies from and learning the technique from, and that sort of thing.

Preston's learning experience was almost the opposite. He learned by ear, and was influenced by streams of musicians visiting his family throughout his early childhood. Later, as an adult and a skilled musician, he experimented with learning from notation. Always in search of the details in tunes and how older folks played them, Preston bought Brad Leftwich's (2016) *Old Time Fiddle Round Peak Style* and felt like it took his understanding to new heights:

That combination of his tablature [and his recordings]—it was just magical to see that stuff unlocked. That was really nice. I just had maxed out what I could hear. And when that came along I was like “Oh, I just can't believe that, I just can't believe.” It was just one of those incredibly humbling moments, too, where before seeing some of that stuff, if you had asked me what percentage I'd got the tune down like Tommy [Jarrell] played it, I might have

said I had got 80 percent, like I'm missing some, a couple of little things. After seeing some of the stuff he put in there, I couldn't believe how little I had of it originally. I was just amazed.

Preston professed an MMY philosophy of teaching by ear in class, and sending students home with printed resources to practice with, attributing this to today's students in general having trouble memorizing and learning by ear. He felt that older generations had "better practiced memories" than today's youth. Preston drew these reflections from his experience teaching high school English, and from watching his own children progress through school. For MMY students, learning by ear in class and taking the time to process the tune at home, at one's own pace and with assistance from tablature, struck a great balance.

Another reason Preston considered notation so necessary was the frequency and time limits of MMY classes. He speculated that if he had been confronted with the same scenario as a student, he would have found it hard to learn music in a 45-minute lesson, then go home and know what to practice. Even now, he needs a resource to remember a tune: "When I go home from a jam and I heard a tune that I liked, I have to look it up. I have to have something to go back to [in order] to practice."

Sara Nell found that aural/oral learning left her with more room for creativity, an idea that is consistent with Campbell's (1995) and Green's (2002) findings:

My experience was strictly aural...I like that a lot for a couple of reasons, and one is that you hear something, you like it, and you learn how to do it the way you heard it, even though it might be different than the way somebody else heard it. So it seems to be a kind of superior way in my opinion to learn music, so it's not all so structured.

In place of written memory aids, Sara Nell preferred to lean on singing as an instructional approach. Singing made remembering a melody easier, and got it "into your head." This way, students had a better idea what was coming, what the next part would sound like.

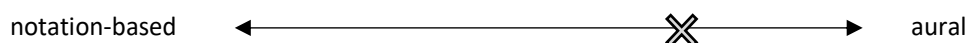
In Henry's classes, I did not see or hear evidence of papers or notation, with the exception of a set list that was present in the Stonehill Stringband rehearsal. As a memory aid, Henry distributed a CD of the tunes the class would learn, played both slow and fast, at the beginning of the semester.

Notation was used in many MMY classes as a memory aid and in some as a teaching tool, despite most teachers having learned by ear, with some believing that notation is detrimental to musical development. In three of the 16 different classes I observed, there were no signs of written materials having been present. All of the written materials I saw in the remaining classes was comprised of lyrics with chords or self-made tablature. Students or instructors did not demonstrate intent to perform using written materials, and some indicated that written materials were meant to be used as a steppingstone to getting started, either in learning a particular tune or in general as an instrumentalist. Despite a significant presence of paper

materials in these classes, the philosophy of their use points to a location toward the aural/oral end of the TCTF continuum.

Figure 8

Notation-Based—Aural



Tangible—Intangible

Schippers (2010) defined this continuum according to specifics of repertoire, techniques, and facts (tangible) and the more abstract ideas of creativity, expression, and spirituality (intangible). Lessons observed showed instruction that reflected the whole spectrum, and interviews revealed instructors to place more value on intangible elements, such as overall musicianship and influences by good people.

Both Henry and Lucy paused frequently while playing through with their classes to have a short (about a minute) discussion on technique. Henry's instruction to his intermediate fiddle class was, "I'm going to say this probably every time we play a tune. When you get to the A-note on that part, don't take your finger off, just leave it down. Play those notes, just 3rd and 4th finger." This type of technical instruction was more common than any discussion of what specific notes to play in both of their classes. Other instructors commonly offered guidance on notes (as Jack's singing his tab numbers). Lester's introduction and explanation of his tablature is noted above. These are examples of Schippers' (2010) tangible

aspects of transmission. Although events like these occurred consistently throughout MMY classes (more frequently in beginner-level classes), they were not the dominant form of instruction—more time was spent playing music (including applying tangible instruction) and telling its stories.

Evelyn was the only instructor to mention prioritizing instrumental technique in MMY:

I think that developing good technique/good muscle memory gives everybody a step up, and that has certainly played into my vision for MMY. That's not the focus, but let's give a little bit of training. Make sure the teachers understand what muscle memory is.

Evelyn found that sometimes this put her “at odds” with people who did not think technical instruction was important. Elements such as technique, posture, and intonation could be developed by scales and a “toolbox” for practicing. Evelyn thought students could develop stylistic identity on their own, as long as they had a basic foundation and a “healthy skill set.”

Henry encouraged the Stonehill Stringband to look beyond the technique and find some meaning in their song: “By the way, what’s this song about? What are the words? It’s talking about getting through life, so it’s got to have that punch. Just because it’s a slow song doesn’t mean it has to lack intensity.” These rehearsals showed a blend of tangible and intangible concepts. Students spent their time rehearsing arrangements for clean entrances and strict timing, but did so while listening to one another’s ideas on expression, solving problems, and improvising

solos and harmonies. For instance, the group would start a song several times, stopping each time to discuss ideas about intro style, counting in, and how to play more together. Another time they might decide to change the order of instruments that solo in a particular break to provide more color for their arrangement.

Several MMY teachers (and all directors) shared the idea that students needed to get out of the classroom and into the music community to “get it.” As much exposure to recreated contextual experiences as they provided, Adam and Preston did not think it could ever be enough to fully develop the students’ musicianship. There was some unexplainable, experiential knowledge that students needed to glean from their own interactions and playing opportunities, evidenced by Preston’s effort to “get to fiddlers convention after fiddlers convention” in spite of having their own, in-house festival. Henry felt that students needed to get out and participate in dances in the community. “You’ll be a better dance musician if you actually get out there and dance, and see what it feels like. You’ll know what kind of music to play to propel the dances.”

Other intangible concepts that instructors wanted to share with their students included positive mentorship, listening skills, and internalizing the music. Adam shared his priorities in hiring teachers for Clinton MMY:

You try to hire good people and keep kids in the room with them. Some people are really good, and some people...you know, are good...And even some people who aren’t meant to teach can still be really great. I’ve had that instructor before, too, and somebody who was still definitely worth the kids

spending their time with. [The students] may not have learned the technique, but more sort of, life. (Adam)

William's own development included positive mentorship from colleagues. He learned general ideas about music, musicianship, and professionalism: "Just show up on time and practice, and you'll get gigs." Sometimes his colleagues indirectly taught him what not to do, complaining about other musicians wanting to get drunk. Music has provided many positive elements and experiences in William's life: "I didn't get that from learning a song, or something, it came from playing all the time and meeting other musicians."

Martin stressed listening to others and savoring the enjoyment of music. He enjoyed passing on broader ideas, like listening or encouraging other people, through the music. "One of the things I try to stress in my class is that you have to listen to somebody, and play behind them, not over them." Martin wanted to show his students how to spread music to others without judgment, and to enjoy themselves playing with all sorts of people.

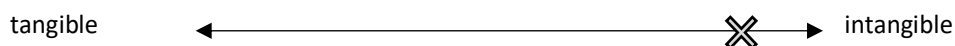
Jack demonstrated an intangible concept as he took a minute in his guitar class to address a question from a student, "Do we have to memorize this song?" Instead of memorizing, Jack encouraged students to try to internalize the song by listening. Memorization was for the alphabet, but songs get internalized into your soul. Jack just "knows how they go...they come out of your system, they come out of your soul."

Instructors' values expressed here resonate deeply with intangible concepts

and learning as defined by the TCTF.

Figure 9

Tangible—Intangible



Dimensions of Interaction

Large Power Distance—Small Power Distance

Classes in MMY represented a spectrum on this continuum, collectively resting slightly toward a smaller power distance. Trends that emerged were a slightly larger perceived power distance in classes where the age gap between students and teacher was larger, and a slightly larger power distance in Bluehill than in Clinton.

Lillian's fiddle class had a casual atmosphere. She sat in the same circle as the students and did not make an effort to stop them from talking amongst themselves while they tried to choose which tune to play for her. Her voice was relaxed, as if she were talking socially to peers. She played music with the students in the style of a jam session, and gave them autonomy over what they would play.

Lucy made a habit of encouraging, rather than telling, students to try her suggestions. She said of a variation she was showing: "It's not hard, and I think you'll find it more fun than just playing it the plain way." She gave the "why" with her suggestions, implying that the students were capable of making their own choices, and were "valued as peers/equal participants" (Schippers, 2010, p. 122). For

example, she said, “I use these two fingers, because it’s easier to switch back and forth.”

Jack, Lucy, and Lester sat apart from their classes, with students facing toward them. Jack and Lester corrected their students more often, and provided redirection when students wandered off topic. When a student asked what time it was, Jack responded with, “It’s time for you to learn this right now.” Jack’s classroom then showed a smaller power distance when starting a run-through of the tune they were working on: The class noodled separately until finally they were playing all at the same time.

Henry’s intermediate class was another instance of a larger power distance. Although he sat in a circle with the students, was addressed by his first name, and maintained a loose and positive presentation, one could feel respect in the room. There was no extra discussion in the room, and students were quick to follow instructions. Henry’s harshest words in this room were, “Do you have your [audio] recorder? If you don’t know it, you can record it now. No? Uh-oh, everybody, try to remember your recorders.” It should be noted that Jack, Lester, and Henry, whose classrooms demonstrated the largest power distances, represented a larger age gap from their students in these classes than is the case for the rest of the classes.

While Henry’s intermediate class spanned ages eight to 11, his Stonehill Stringband members were 12 to 17. This class had a different power dynamic, because Henry acted as a member of the band. He exhibited leadership by starting the rehearsal, coaching the students to listen to each other, and negotiating

everyone's opinions. "Let's talk so everyone can hear." Students listened carefully to Henry, but not as easily to each other. Although he was the clear leader in the room, Henry made efforts to pass off the leadership and democratize the decision-making process. "So, what do we want to do with that?" "Let's try it that way first, then we can try the others." When he made a mistake during rehearsal, Henry admitted it without a second thought: "I actually forgot to do it that time, but I liked what you all did." Students took the opportunity at one point to joke with Henry about how they had acted in his fiddle classes when they were younger, saying, "We would start tapping our feet faster so you would teach the tune faster." This setting represents a small power distance.

All classes that I observed were relaxed, casual environments. Teachers admitted making mistakes and issued very few direct commands. Students were generally attentive and complied easily. Teachers took initiative to direct the processes in the class, and asked for student input where possible. Students were expected to listen and respond respectfully, and teachers' voices were used more often than students'. MMY rests slightly toward a smaller power distance on the TCTF.

Figure 10

Large Power Distance—Small Power Distance



Individual Central—Collective Central

All classes in MMY are group lessons. This setup, when considered alone, points to a learning environment that is more collective-central than the typical one-on-one learning in the music's culture of origin. Teachers switched fluidly back and forth between focus on the individual and focus on the whole class during the lessons, seeming to rely more on individual interactions than one might see in a formal ensemble rehearsal. Henry and Lester are exceptions, because they kept the focus on the whole of the group for most of the class time.

Lillian's exercise where students each played a tune at the beginning of the class was centered on the individual. She took about 10% of the class period for this exercise. During his guitar class, Martin went around the circle four times, asking students to play what they just learned individually, and then gave them feedback. Collectively this accounted for about half of the class time. Jack's interactions in class were centered on individuals throughout, and he spoke to an accomplished guitar student more often than to the other students.

Henry's intermediate class was focused throughout on the collective group, with few exceptions. He did take a moment to walk over to a student and kneel down in front of her chair to help and encourage that student. The whole class played through the tune together while he did this. In one exercise, Henry invited individual students to stop the class and request a spot to work on. This entailed an individual interaction, but the activity was centered around the whole group, and the individual interaction was quick. Henry looked around the room at each

student's fingers as they were playing. Toward the end of the A part, he called, "Again!" and next time, "Let's play the first part again!" He talked softly to one student near him as they played, coaching her by saying, "You'll have to work on that part at home, ok?"

Constant shifting between aspects of the TCTF's collective and individual central, with a small majority of actions based on the individual, places MMY toward the middle of the individual central—collective-central continuum, whereas MMY instructors learned in predominantly individual-central environments.

Figure 11

Individual Central—Collective Central



Strongly Gendered—Gender Neutral

The classes in MMY showed an even balance of female to male students, and both genders are represented in all classes. All students were expected to dance, sing, and otherwise participate in sessions, and instrument classes were equally open and attended. This represents a departure from history in American musical traditions. Female musicians are underrepresented in field recordings and were often discouraged from pursuing instrumental music. A look at *Classic Old-Time Fiddle from Smithsonian Folkways* (Krack & Pace, 2007), for example, shows a track listing of 28 numbers, where the musicians are 100% male. In Rice's (2003) words: "In virtually every society, music may in some ways be available to all, but access to

certain parts of the total repertoire are restricted by or at least associated by race, ethnicity, age, gender, occupational background, and aesthetic preference” (p. 72).

In class, some teachers sang for their students (Sara Nell, Henry, Lester, Lucy, Jack) both to teach songs and tunes and to keep rhythm players¹⁸ on track.

Instructors of both genders demonstrated singing enthusiastically. In the classes observed, there were two female and three male teachers who sang. All of these were instructors of guitar except Henry, who sang in a Stonehill Stringband rehearsal. Student participation in singing was more strongly gendered, as female students tended to sing more often and with more confidence. Often, boys who sang during class did so quietly, murmuring along with those who were singing out. Studies in music education have shown that boys participate in singing groups less than girls (Ashley, 2002; Gates, 1989; Hall, 2005; Nannen, 2017). Some attribute this phenomenon to a “boys’ culture” of embarrassment with regard to singing (Ashley, 2002; Nannen, 2017) or “feminine connotations of singing” (Gates, 1989; Hall, 2005; Legg, 2012). Salisbury and Jackson (1996) asserted that these can be attributed to the influence of adults.

Of the Stonehill Stringband repertoire that I observed in rehearsal (eight songs), only the girls sang, although at one point one of the male participants sang through a verse confidently to demonstrate one of his ideas. Stonehill students each

¹⁸ Rhythm players in this setting refers to instrumentalists who are not primarily playing melody: Guitars and basses would be included, and sometimes banjos. In a class where students are not playing melody, they would often need to hear someone sing in order to keep their place in a tune or song, effectively in order to practice it at all.

played multiple instruments, and they switched often with no gendered pattern. Female and male participants contributed to the rehearsal dialogue with relatively equal frequency.

As mentioned in the previous section, the three classes with the largest power distance between teacher and students were all conducted by male instructors. From what I observed, these educational programs land significantly farther toward the gender-neutral end of the continuum than the musical traditions they play historically have. I note that a study conducted in this setting with students as participants, rather than solely instructors, might yield a significantly different result in this category.

Figure 12

Strongly Gendered—Gender Neutral



Avoiding Uncertainty—Tolerating Uncertainty

Aspects of an MMY classroom relevant to this scale are the use of black and white language, instructors' willingness to make mistakes, student choice, self-assessment, and musical and educational qualifications of instructors. As mentioned in the previous section on power distance, MMY instructors demonstrated a tendency to avoid black-and-white language, which infers that they did not hold a concept of "absolute" regarding tune versions, approaches to learning, and instrumental technique. Martin, when he encountered a student chording on the

wrong guitar fret, suggested, “You may need to slide those [fingers] over here a little bit.” I did not hear teachers use the word “wrong,” or issue commands. Often, instructors provided justification for their suggestions. Preston, Bluehill director, demonstrated this when he visited classes to make announcements. “What happens next Thursday? Regular MMY! Then stay for Emmy Sunshine!” When a student asked if they had to go, his response was, “I won’t track you down and attack you. But I want you to be there. You’ll love it.”

In an intermediate fiddle class, Henry showed his assumption that there is more than one way to play a tune. He tried to make sure the version of the tune he was teaching matched what he showed students the week before and therefore matched their practice resources. He said: “OK, let’s see if we can remember. Last week we kind of took two versions and combined them.” After he played through the B part, a student remarked that it matched what they had heard on the class CD. “Good! I guess I played it kind of right!”

Rather than critique his students, Lester used self-assessment in his class when discussing rhythmic unity:

Raise your hand if you think you were with me. Raise your hand if you think you were slow getting to your chords. OK, three of you...what about the rest of you? Which chords are the ones slowing you down? OK, we’ve had a weekend – you want to try it again?

When Lester encouraged students to self-assess in this way, it lessened the power distance in the classroom and placed value on student input.

Instructors in the MMY program were not recruited based on any credentials in music or education. Taylor happens to hold a music degree, Evelyn is a certified social worker, and Preston and Sara Nell both teach high school English. Evelyn's and Adam's criteria for hiring instructors, noted above, reflect a strong value for musicians who participate actively in social music and demonstrate positive mentorship qualities as people. This demonstrates "acknowledgement of different learning paths" (Schippers, 2010, p. 122) in music.

Events such as the Bluehill MMY final concert, where 50–70 musicians play together onstage, as well as teaching consistently in group settings, necessitated that sometimes a stance of avoiding uncertainty is adopted. Adam and Evelyn have both made efforts toward creating a basic list of tunes that all students should know in order to facilitate more opportunities to play music together, but the process has remained loose over time. Currently, Bluehill MMY teachers collectively decide on a "common tune" at the beginning of each semester, to be performed by all students in the end-of-semester performance. These tunes form a small canon of repertoire that students know in common once they have participated for multiple semesters.

In the MMY environment, student collaboration and autonomy were often encouraged, achievements were not categorized, and music was presented as an activity and social experience to be explored and enjoyed. I have placed it significantly toward "tolerating uncertainty" on the TCTF. Bergonzi (2006) encouraged a similar type of approach for preparing teachers for diverse

classrooms, including letting go of black-and-white approaches or the concept of absolute knowledge.

Figure 13

Avoiding Uncertainty—Tolerating Uncertainty



Long-Term Orientation—Short-Term Orientation

Aspects of both long- and short-term orientation were evident in MMY classes and in the structure of the program. In teaching instrumental classes, instructors focused on passing on tunes and songs, historical context, and skills for playing with others, and placed heavy emphasis on leaving students with a positive relationship with their local musical culture.

William spoke of his priorities in making sure students enjoyed learning music. He was content to teach them songs from the Beatles, Carter Family, or Metallica, even if it caused the class to switch focus each week. Program directors and some instructors showed more desire to make sure that students gained skills needed to participate in the local musical community—skills that take years to develop and would prepare students for participation in adulthood. Evelyn and Adam viewed MMY as an important vehicle for sustaining local musical cultures. Preston believed in the power of MMY to make its mark on those cultures, thinking long term about its potential footprint on the canon of local music.

A rehearsal with Stonehill Stringband showed a whole spectrum of orientation. The goal of the rehearsal itself was to prepare for an upcoming gig. The band was also developing a set list for use in performance and a recording in the coming 6 months. The skills they were learning and refining during the year-long band class included rehearsal strategy, positive communication style, rhythm and arrangements in ensemble playing, and stage presence. These would serve Stonehill Stringband members well, as some planned to transition into college music study. Henry planned carefully and extensively for this class/ensemble, thinking ahead to what he might do to carry the band through to its professional performances. A Stonehill Stringband class, and MMY overall, would be found in the middle of the short- and long-term orientation continuum.

Figure 14

Long-Term Orientation—Short-Term Orientation



Approach to Cultural Diversity

MMY's approaches in passing on mountain music were fairly fluid, like the musical communities themselves. Musical styles were not defined other than by individual musicians according to their own tastes and experiences. Many would call the predominant musical style taught in MMY "mountain music," "old-time music," or just "the old ways," but some of the instructors, like Jack, had a foot in the world of bluegrass. Others, like William and Adam, had musical tapestries in their

background, as discussed earlier in this chapter. The music itself is a blend of cultures, and participants did not agree on what to call it, thus it is difficult to demarcate the music with specific titles.

References for musical quality mentioned in other sections include playing confidently and with good flow, with less emphasis on specific notes being “right” or matching exactly with another player. Knowing a body of tunes reflects good musicianship, as does playing well with others. There was little talk of tone, intonation, or vocal quality. These are fairly specific cultural references for quality, which is consistent with Schippers’ description of “monocultural” (2010, p. 123).

Henry’s students in Stonehill brought in influences from different kinds of musical experiences they have outside the classroom:

Their personal interest takes them other places, like Nickel Creek, a gospel group, or something they pick up. I think they’re getting more than old-time...I’m not limiting it [by] saying, “because that’s bluegrass, we’re not going to play it.” They can sit down with old-time musicians, but they can also sit down in a bluegrass or singing jam and enjoy that...We came to the conclusion of, “Sure, it’s all music, and it’s all fun. Why should we limit it?”

Lucy found it equally important to promote knowledge and pride around local music and expose students to other cultures. She even hoped that students would help to spread the local music beyond the region in the future:

I think it’s good for people who aren’t familiar with this culture to hear it and understand it. I remember when I was in Chapel Hill, people would comment

to me, “I don’t see how you can stand to live in the mountains, there’s no culture there.” Somebody actually said that to me. I said, “There’s culture, it’s just different.” “No, you don’t have any culture.” I think that’s part of people’s problem. You need to understand other cultures, and I think there’s people in this state that need to be exposed to this kind of music. Of course, there’s old-time musicians in the Piedmont, down there. I like being exposed to the music of other cultures, different kinds of music. I wouldn’t hesitate to take this anywhere.

Evelyn came to her idea to form MMY after a tumultuous relationship with European classical music and corresponding strict expectations. As a result, some core values of the communities she found in bluegrass and mountain music took a strong hold as she pioneered MMY. These included participatory music experiences, playing for fun, and a strong sense of community. She also retained some values consistent with her violin training, such as a good foundation in (the one way to do) violin technique and clean intonation. The latter were less visible in the MMY environment than the former.

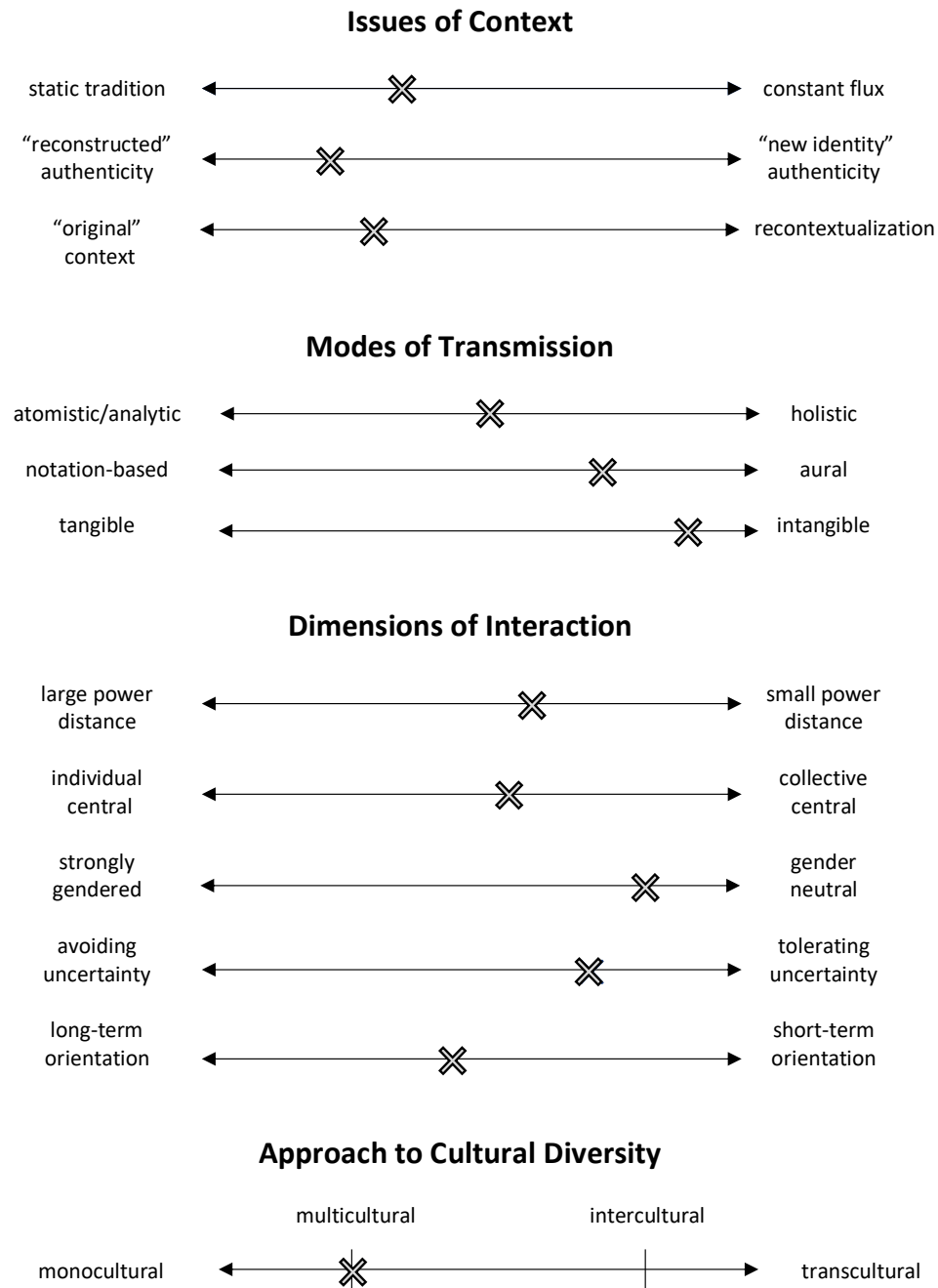
Overall, this program predominantly displays indicators of a “multicultural” environment, with brief excursions into the “monocultural” and “intercultural” categories.

Figure 15*Approach to Cultural Diversity***Conclusions**

Five out of 12 of the continua on the TCTF, and all of the indicators for modes of music transmission, saw significant differences based on the level of experience of the learners. Instructors in MMY seemed to be looking to formalized education for direction on how to teach beginners until they got to a point where the music could be explored beyond instrumental techniques. An increased use of notation, atomistic teaching methods, and tangible concepts fit with a more static view of tradition and a larger power distance in these classes.

This application of the TCTF framework shows that many values and practices of the MMY program reflect those of the music's culture of origin, and of the active local community in Clinton and Springfield. These include aural/oral learning and emphasis on participation. In adapting to the educational environment of MMY, the biggest changes were seen in the aural/written spectrum, where most teachers used written materials because they were requested by the students or because it helped mitigate the challenges of limited class time and lack of enculturation in mountain music outside of class. MMY programs, through location in musical communities and concerted efforts, recreated many elements of context for students in the classroom. Of course, to the teachers, this was not enough to

allow students access to the special, often un-nameable qualities that come from real experience taking part in their musical communities. This is consistent with Schippers' (2010) theory that all music is recontextualized when it enters a classroom. Below is the graphic reflecting the complete application of the TCTF framework (Figure 16).

Figure 16*TCTF: Mountain Music for Youth***TWELVE CONTINUUM TRANSMISSION FRAMEWORK (TCTF)**

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Through this qualitative, ethnographic, multi-sited case study, I have examined music teaching and learning in the Mountain Music for Youth program of Stone and Bluehill Counties in the southeastern United States. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, deep cultural values of participation and connection found in MMY aligned with those found in the instructors' own social music communities. These values were particularly evident in classroom curricula and atmospheres. Skills taught such as starting and stopping in a group and listening to others facilitated playing in jam sessions, learning tunes by ear, and participating in fiddlers conventions. These general participatory skills were prioritized over specific instrumental techniques or definitive, authoritative versions of repertoire. Instructors who were enculturated in and active in their local music traditions functioned as tradition bearers. In the MMY context, they passed on their music in a setting quite different from those in which they had learned. Instructors maintained relaxed, positive, and learner-focused classroom environments; for example, students were frequently allowed and encouraged to make choices during classes. MMY teachers also sought to instill a joyful habit of social music making in daily life and provide students with the tools they needed to gain access to the community making music around them.

This research was framed by a focus on issues of context that are present when music enters a formalized learning environment. Using Schippers' Twelve-

Continuum Transmission Framework (TCTF), I described aspects of tradition, context, authenticity, social interaction, and cultural diversity and how they played out in the MMY program. I identified and discussed four themes that emerged from the data:

1. “Music became my social life”
2. Playing with others as curriculum
3. Values of the musical tradition
4. Need for instructor training

Themes did not generally fit into the TCTF, as data relevant to TCTF categories were excluded from thematic coding. An exception was instructors’ preference for archaic sounds, which applied to the “values of the musical tradition” theme and also influenced placement on the TCTF “In flux—static tradition” scale.

Tradition bearers who pass on their music in a classroom setting, like instructors in MMY, deal with many of the same issues that confront music educators seeking to expand their course offerings to include traditional musics. An in-depth look at the choices made here by musicians enculturated in musical traditions and teaching in a classroom shows us ways in which the values of those traditions can be considered in education.

Schippers (2010) wrote that observing this phenomenon in the classroom can inform how music educators choose to proceed: “Focusing on actual practice will also give a strong voice to the key players in the process: accomplished musicians who have learned in one system and are now teaching in another” (p.

137). It is my hope that this study of context can help music educators to access contextual aspects of traditional folk music communities that could be valuable to instrumental study.

MMY Setting and Takeaways

In this study, I have taken a look into classroom and instructor perspectives to gain insight into the ways that enculturation in a traditional southern American music tradition might inform educational approaches. Teachers showed clear values of participation, local heritage, and connection and responded through pedagogical approaches, choice of skills stressed for development, and participation in events and activities. MMY made an explicit goal of enculturating local youth in regional heritage both to boost students' pride and to sustain a musical tradition. In addition, students were enculturated in the process and habit of musical participation through MMY activities.

Enculturating Youth in Musical Activity

Instructors in MMY were participants in their local musical communities, and music had a casual and constant presence in their everyday lives. For most of them, musical events formed the core of their social activities, from music with a friend after work to attending fiddlers conventions. Some specified that this blend of social and musical was what made it possible for them to become regular lifelong musical participants.

Teachers made three types of efforts to pass on these habits to their students in MMY classes. First, they consistently provided information about events in the

local community and further afield, making sure students were aware of opportunities to engage with music outside the classroom. Many of the classes I attended featured a quick visit from a program director to make announcements about upcoming festivals, jams, or concerts. Bluehill MMY took students on field trips to fiddlers conventions, where students could participate in fiddle contests and spend a day hanging out with friends, surrounded by jam sessions.

Second, instructors universally spent class time developing skills students would need to be participants in such activities, and not necessarily on skills they would need for performing music. These skills will be discussed more in depth below.

The third action was the teachers' consistent emphasis on playing with others, knowing musicians, enjoying music, and connecting with and appreciating their community throughout routine interactions. Teachers would talk about the music they were playing—sometimes history about the origins of the tune and sometimes a personal anecdote—that reinforced these values and made the learning memorable. They shared their greatest joys about the music both through sharing their stories and offering students opportunities to experience it themselves. Specifics varied by teacher, but they demonstrated a similarity indicative of a shared mindset in the community. Students progressing from one teacher to another were thus adopted into this culture of valuing community music.

Connecting Youth with Local Heritage

History and a sense of homeplace are both values of the music reported by participants. A core element of MMY's mission is to make students aware of local traditions and help them feel connected to the community around them. Students gained a sense of pride about their home and carried a positive image of its traditions when they ventured out into the world. Some instructors hoped that this would influence youth to return to the area and make it their home later in life.

Sustaining a Traditional Music Community

Preston, Nora, and Evelyn spoke of traditional music culture in Springfield and how it had dwindled over time. Their region has a strong heritage of local music, but they saw less social music in their town as time went on. Since the start of MMY, there has been a resurgence of music making in the area. At the time of this research, the program had been running for 15 years. In that time participation in MMY has consistently grown, and many graduates have continued playing local music. Teachers look forward to seeing the effect of this revitalization after another 15 years, and how it is amplified by the MMY programs in neighboring regions. Already, they are seeing fiddlers conventions adapt by featuring youth categories in competitions, and young people can look forward to seeing peers attend music events regularly. There is talk at fiddlers conventions that the youth bands are winning many of the adult categories in contests—these participants are no longer an “add-on” or unnoticed crowd at festivals.

Participation Skills

Before investigating the MMY program, my perception of skills that enhance a student's ability to participate in music, and the place of those skills in music education, was that they were either taught implicitly or through participation in an ensemble. MMY puts participation and collaboration skills at the focus of their curriculum to a point where they seem to represent the cultural definition of "learning to play an instrument." Such skills are treated explicitly in classes and constantly reinforced.

Making such contextual skills explicit is necessary in cross-cultural music learning settings where musicians are not naturally enculturated in the behaviors of a musical culture from childhood. Examples such as these can be instructive to music educators who aim to consider cultural aspects of less familiar musical traditions in their pedagogy.

Participatory skills taught in the MMY curriculum included process, behaviors, and skills for playing in a jam, confidence in playing with others, interacting with the local community, autonomy, learning common tunes, and aural/oral, observational, and holistic learning. For example, Lillian spent the first few minutes of her class time building her students' confidence by asking them to play the tunes they knew in front of peers, honoring their choices with warmth and providing consistent positive feedback. She then joined them in a jam session, encouraging them and directing traffic. Lillian acted musically as an equal or an accompanist—not as a leader—only giving direction when it was needed to

continue. Both processes in Lillian's class were opportunities for students to play with others, start and end tunes, call out repertoire, and experience what it felt like when two people played similar, but not identical, versions of the same tune together.

Almost every class showed several opportunities for students to make choices. For example, they chose a tune for the class repertoire, the tune they would play next, or the way in which they would play something. William's class, as discussed in Chapter 4, was actually a jam session. His teaching here consisted of acting as social coordinator: helping decide whose turn it was to pick the next tune, making sure students knew how to communicate with each other as participants in his community do, and instructing them on collaborative skills such as listening to sync rhythm and not playing over one another. Each instructor's feedback to students confirmed a looseness about specifics such as bowings, rhythms, notes, and techniques used, emphasizing getting through the tune, "as long as it worked out in the end."

This instruction in participatory skills comprised at least half of MMY class time, even though most of these classes were instrument-based classes (e.g. intermediate guitar or beginning dulcimer), and most of the students were at a very basic level of experience (able to play only two to five tunes or songs). Time spent this way would not increase repertoire or explicitly develop the students' body of knowledge about how their instrument works, but it would gradually prepare them for the moment they sat down to play with other musicians outside of class.

Turino's Participatory Field

Some of the most prominent values held by administrators and teachers in MMY are consistent with Turino's (2008) "participatory field" of music. The participatory field is characterized by activities that "are more about *the doing* and social interaction than about creating an artistic product or commodity" (p. 25). "Participatory music and dance is more about the social relations being realized through the performance than about producing art that can somehow be abstracted from those social relations" (p. 35). MMY instructors play much of their music with their friends, at home, at fiddlers conventions, and at parties. Their social lives revolve around joyful, casual musical interactions, and they are universally consistent in delivering this message in their classes.

Informal Music Learning

As music educators seek to diversify their offerings in schools, it is necessary to take a flexible and sensitive individual approach to choosing pedagogical modes that reflect the practices of the musics being taught as well as the needs of the students. As in Schippers' (2010) treatment of context, it is important to view the qualities of formalized schooling and informal learning on a spectrum (Folkestad, 2005; Green, 2002; Olson, 2014). MMY, with its formalized class schedules and specified teacher-learner roles, and its value system strongly influenced by a local living tradition of music, demonstrates qualities of both. Below I will discuss qualities of non-formalized music learning as defined by Folkestad (2005) and Green (2002) that were apparent in MMY classrooms.

Aural/Oral Music Learning

Students in MMY learned music predominantly by aural/oral processes. Notation, when used, served as either a memory/practice aid or, in the case of two beginner instrumental classes, as a vehicle for atomistic instruction. Written materials were not intended for use after initially learning the tune, either in MMY performances or in jam sessions. In Bluehill MMY, Preston noted that tablature, which was usually a handmade version of the instructor's creation, was intended not for use in class but to facilitate home practice, to compensate for time limits and infrequency of classes. Many teachers used tab in their classroom even though their own learning processes had been different, because they perceived that students preferred having it available. None of the classes I observed included discussion of how to read or use the printed materials. In some classes, there was discussion of the eventual goal of playing without using papers.

Teachers provided a fair amount of modeling for their students—every teacher taught with instrument in hand, and each explanation or discussion of a tune segment came with a demonstration. More of the class time was spent playing through tunes as a class and having students demonstrate for their teachers. Often, listening to recordings was referenced. Henry's class had a CD of their semester's repertoire, Martin suggested looking up tunes on YouTube, and many Clinton students had brought the small recording devices provided to them by MMY. These activities represent the three steps of oral learning as defined by Lilliestam (1996): Listening, practicing, and performing.

Observational Learning

Observation is an integrated aspect of aural/oral learning processes (Morgan-Ellis, 2019; Rice, 1995; Veblen & Waldron, 2012). Rice (2003) referred to an “aural-visual-tactile” learning process (p. 77). Learners will often watch finger placement, bowing patterns, and pick hands, and get an overall kinesthetic sense of control over their instrument from watching and copying a teacher. The idea of observational learning is a foundational assumption in mountain music learning and teaching (Waldron, 2012). This aspect of music learning did not present itself in interviews or emerge as a theme in observational data in this study, as interview questions were directed toward instructional values and choices rather than learning styles. Observational learning is embedded in the learning culture, and I did not ask specific questions about it and instructors did not mention it.

Holistic Transmission

Even in the aural/oral instruction of specific tunes, there was some call-and-response, phrase-by-phrase modeling, but by far, the most common approach to internalizing repertoire was playing through tunes or songs as a group. Often, teachers would call out advice while playing, usually to help with navigation (“now the B part!”), and sometimes technique (“get your pinky ready!”). Time was always made for questions, and sometimes students were encouraged to evaluate whether they might need help with any particular section of a tune. Most classes took the time to play through tunes from previous classes, where melodies and rhythm gradually conformed as they were repeated. Feedback was not focused on exact

replicas of the model—understanding of the whole tune and playing it uninterrupted in time was the goal of the learning process.

Green's Model of Informal Music Learning

In retrospect, it struck me how much the curriculum and weekly learning that take place in the Stonehill Stringband class resemble those of Green's (2008a) model for informal learning of popular music in secondary schools. Henry, Stonehill Stringband's teacher, is fully incorporated as a member of the band, and therefore present at all rehearsals; yet students maintain autonomy in repertoire selection and rehearsal process. Members learn songs and tunes from recordings at home and bring them to the band to work into set lists, using a cooperative approach to explore new styles and discuss possibilities. Students showed confidence in speaking up when they were not happy with any particular part of the performance. Despite Henry's acting as traffic cop to encourage students to listen to one another's ideas better, student input comprised half or more of the musical content that guided the rehearsal. "Noodling," or trying out licks and phrases, was constant throughout the process, demonstrating the musicians' creativity and self-direction in learning.

The process in this class results in a fully formed performing band, centering most of their music around local traditions and incorporating various additional interests of its members. The lines between educational and professional are blurred in this setting. For MMY, Stonehill Stringband was the natural next step in designing classes to fit the values of local music traditions but adjusted to a formal

classroom context. Students had developed the technical ability to play their instruments, were comfortable playing with others and learning tunes on their own, and so had outgrown the model of learning tunes in an instrumental class. They needed an opportunity to pursue collaborative skills with peers. This is an example of MMY recreating contexts of the musical tradition in the classroom.

Focus on the Learner and on Making Music

Folkestad (2005) outlined how considering informal learning situations from the standpoint of education requires a shift in focus from the teacher to the learner, which is demonstrated by opportunities for student choice and self-assessment. Concurrently, there is a shift from learning music to playing music, where the learning process is participation itself. At MMY, evidence of a learner-focused environment is exemplified by a strong emphasis on student choice. Self-assessment is common, as in Henry's class when he asked students to stop the class when they reached a section of the tune that they could benefit from working on. Lester demonstrated this in his questions to the class: "How many of you thought you were playing in time with me? How many of you thought you were playing faster than me?" Student choice and self-assessment give students a voice in the classroom, honoring and exercising their ability to judge their own musical progress and direct the learning process. This reflects *empowerment*, one of Gay's (2018) six features of culturally responsive teaching: "Empowerment translates into academic competence, personal confidence, courage, and the will to act" (p. 40). This "will to act," according to Gay (2018), enables students to become agents of change when

needed. In MMY, this could mean that students will not only participate in a current musical environment, but might be active agents of preservation or change.

Much activity in the MMY classroom was focused around actually playing music, rather than breaking it apart. Although I placed the MMY program in the middle of the holistic/atomistic spectrum, I would assert that this location represents minimal analytical teaching for a classroom setting. A truly, or mostly, holistic approach in a classroom is not impossible: I once attended a fiddle class that consisted of playing through a tune together non-stop at gradually increasing speeds for an hour. This is certainly not standard practice. However, much of the learning in the MMY classroom came from the experience of playing tunes and songs together as a class.

Implications and Applications in Music Education

Because of the nature of MMY, the participants in this study represent a spectrum from tradition bearers to classroom teachers, with most displaying more traits of tradition bearers. However, the nature of instructors' responsibilities in MMY has caused them to also think like educators because they encounter issues such as classroom management, curriculum needs, skills necessary for success, culture of their students, and child development. This has provided a rich set of data with regard to learning what tradition bearers can offer to music education. Indeed, Schippers (2010) designed the TCTF to enable consideration of the perspectives of the teachers, the learners, the institution, and the musical tradition in analyzing recontextualized music learning:

In drawing together these considerations into a framework, the multitude of conscious and subconscious choices in any situation of music learning and teaching becomes clear. An extended case study shows how this can lead to deeper and sometimes surprising insights into the interplay of practice and ideas in music learning and teaching across cultures.

These reflections provide music educators with a powerful set of tools to plan, design implement, and evaluate music education that is truly inclusive in terms of content and delivery. (Schipper, 2010, p. 167)

Value of This Qualitative, Ethnographic, Multi-Sited Case Study

While qualitative research is not generalizable, there are lessons to be learned from qualitative studies of contextually situated music learning like this one. As we continue to seek solutions in music education that bring culturally informed practice to the study of diverse musics, case studies involving specific musical traditions can provide models for considering context in a classroom approach. While resources for expanding and diversifying content of music classrooms are becoming much more widely available, processes for training teachers and creating materials create repetition of entrenched perspectives, namely the pervasiveness of European classical music as a departure point. It is crucial to examine how our processes might look different without the assumptions embedded in one specific culture. Investigations of tradition bearers, their values, and their chosen processes in the classroom provides much needed contrast.

MMY as a Model

MMY placed strong emphasis on recreating “original” contexts, encouraging and equipping students to gain experience in the music’s community of origin. Classroom processes were learner-centric and revealed tools for nurturing holistic and implicit learning. The music’s history of aural/oral music learning was honored, both in how the music was taught and how it was revered historically through story and narratives. These ways in which MMY embodied the culture of its musical traditions can serve as one example of how context could factor into delivery of traditional music in class settings. For example, MMY’s creation of an in-house fiddlers convention prepared students to participate in a local or regional event common to their communities. The ways MMY classes prepared students for playing with others, such as building confidence in leading repertoire, starting and stopping together without a declared leader, and getting the “gist” of a melody without concern for small details, reflect that instructors let the processes of the local musical tradition guide curricula.

Goals of Music Participation

Participation in social music for one’s own entertainment is at the core of MMY’s value system. Teachers upheld this priority in their methods, modelling, and discourse, and the institution reflects it through events and curricula. MMY classes demonstrated how to let a vision of students participating in music after schooling guide its approaches from the outset. MMY and its instructors not only gave students the skills to participate, but also made and sustained a place in the

community for them to continue to do so. This study has provided an example of considering cultural values of a musical tradition in formalized classroom instruction, as encouraged by such authors as Schippers (2010), Campbell (1991), Folkestad (2006), Hill (2005), and Jorgensen (2003). Below is a proposal for how this pursuit of a lifelong participation in music might be incorporated into school ensemble music.

What School Music Ensemble Programs Can Learn From the Values of Participatory Music

School music, particularly instrumental ensembles, could look to these values and processes of social participatory music, as exhibited in MMY, to broaden existing concepts of musicianship. Factoring in the many ways that students might participate in music in adulthood and the range of skills that could make them successful should be an integral step in determining curriculum. Processes of social participatory music could inform these perceived skills and provide some balance for the solely performance-oriented models pervasively in use. As in MMY, it would be most beneficial to let local opportunities, or the particular strengths of a local music community, determine specifics. As with considering perspectives of musical traditions, there is no single or universal answer. In fact, considering a universal approach is the opposite of this goal.

A Proposal for Participatory Competency

I propose definition of a “participatory competency” for use as a curriculum planning tool. This participatory competency could prepare students for a wider

variety of potential musical experiences in adulthood. Participatory competency, as contrasted with “performance competency,” could include skills that apply to various styles of music, and that specifically equip students for participation in musical communities where performance is not the primary goal. Prescription for such a competency could include a large range of skills of which a smaller number would be represented in a curriculum, or be eventually demonstrated by students.

Despite the great gains in multicultural music education in the past 50 years, instrumental ensembles have been behind general music in both including multicultural music in curricula, and in considering its context and traditions of transmission (Anderson & Campbell, 2011; Volk, 1994). U.S. school music ensembles are largely structured around preparation and performance of composed and notated works and enabling a performance-oriented competency which includes, for example, proficiency in instrumental and vocal technique; literacy in staff notation; and adherence to notes, rhythms, and other aspects of a musical score (Campbell, 1991; Goehr, 1994; Olson, 2014; Small, 1998; Thibeault, 2015). These elaborate techniques are useful and necessary for teaching music from genres in and related to European classical music, but do not hold their value in jazz, blues, or most fiddling traditions, because in these musical traditions, learning and making music draw on different processes and values. From the vast array of musical idioms and traditions around the globe, there are a “galaxy of other options for participating” (Blanton, 2016, p. 106) in music than those for which these techniques prepare students.

Defining and including paths to participatory competency as a goal in a school ensemble curriculum could open the door for more students to pursue their own interests as autonomous musicians, outside of and after their schooling. As Turino (2008) stated, “participatory music has the potential to make artists of us all, even the shyest of individuals, for social synchrony and bonding and fun” (p. 92). Thibeault (2015) argued that music education could follow Turino’s theories without completely redesigning its models, but “instead inquire about the musical structures, values, and social relations found in a particular setting” (p. 55).

As others have encouraged around incorporating the use of culturally dynamic music learning (Campbell, 2011; Folkestad, 2005; Schippers, 2010), I recommend flexible and situation-specific approaches to broadening ensemble curricula so that they result in well-rounded musical competence. In other words, we should prepare students with both performance and participatory competencies.

Musical competency, as defined by Cope (2002), “particularly in music performance, is a social construct and comparisons across different cultural norms are not straightforward.” A participatory competency designed specifically around ensembles could be informed by a wealth of existing research on participatory music (Small, 1998; Thibeault, 2015; Turino, 2008), elements of cross-cultural music learning (Folkestad, 2006; Green, 2011; Hendricks & Smith, 2018; McLucas, 2010; Schippers, 2010), and multicultural music education (Campbell, 1991; Lundquist, 1998; Volk, 1998). Its definition would necessarily be flexible, defining a range of skills needed for students to be conversational in a range of settings,

without implying that one musician needs them all. Its development could encourage placing value on musical proficiency outside of performance skill. Some skills that could be included in this model, as evidenced by the current study, are aural/oral, observational, and holistic learning, as well as musical autonomy and social musical interactions.

MMY's Participatory Competency

MMY can provide a model for participatory competency, seen in its students across all levels of experience in its classes. Beginners (those in their second semester of group lessons) were able to participate in informal jam sessions with guidance—they perceived this as the core ability to that they needed to develop as they progressed. Advanced students jammed with strangers at fiddlers conventions and were present in the community to the point where most local musicians knew their names. This involved a conversational familiarity with repertoire and behaviors of the musical community combined with the confidence to play their instruments with and in front of others. Younger students witnessed the community participation of these older students and their instructors, thus the model for one's trajectory looked like a musician capable of playing music with others. These are some examples of measurable outcomes that could be used in development of a participatory curriculum.

Aural/Oral Learning as a Pathway to Transfer Musical Skills

As an educator and in my network of classical and traditional musicians, I have encountered many people who were fluent in performance skills from

orchestral or other formalized training, but who struggled to apply their musicianship in a vernacular music setting. It was as if they perceived that an entirely different musicianship was needed in order to participate. Allsup (2015) described this as a “seemingly vast, unbridgeable gulf” that results from lack of exposure (p. 31). Turino (2008) argued that this gulf caused many middle-class music students to stop making music in adulthood, and to doubt their own musical abilities.

This idea is also supported by research reflecting that a switch to focus on traditional music learning modes may be difficult for those already competent in Western classical music. Notation dependency is an oft-cited barrier (Frisch, 1987; Holmes, 1990; Lee, 2011; Smith, 2005; Waldron, 2016; Waldron & Veblen, 2009). Campbell (2011) wrote of a participant who felt “handicapped” without notation, and Lee (2011) called these hopeful musicians who might be deterred by lack of notation “conservatory refugees” (p. 355). Volk (1998) went so far as to say that aural/oral methodology can provide an entry point into other musical cultures, and Green (2014) demonstrated achievable actions to incorporate it into various existing music education settings. I argue that broadening the instrumental curriculum to include experience and competence in aural/oral learning is possible without making drastic changes to the structure and accomplishments of existing programs, and that it could lead to a vastly higher percentage of music students participating in music later in life. Aural/oral music learning is an example of a single skill (although certainly not the only one) that could open doors across

cultures for school music students, and that could enable Clements' (2012) "transfer" of musical knowledge.

MMY instructors used predominantly aural/oral music learning modes, where students demonstrated comfort playing without notation, particularly once they were beyond beginner stages of learning their instruments. In addition to learning repertoire in a class setting, some discovered music they liked and learned it independently at home. Advanced students were able to listen to melodies in rehearsal and mimic them, sing them, accompany them, and sometimes harmonize them, on the spot.

I argue that including exposure to aural/oral music learning as advocated above by Allsup (1995), Green (2014), and Volk (1998) would not require transplantation of large ensemble models in school music. Offering instruction for students in learning by ear as well as from sheet music in ensemble classes will equip students for participation in both score-centered musical environments and music-making contexts that do not rely on notation. This could be as simple as addition of simple fiddle tunes in a beginner strings class or learning the melody to a current movie theme in band. It could add other elements of aurally/orally learned musics, such as building arrangements, choosing roles for each musician or instrument group, composing harmonies or lyrics, or improvising solos. A deeper experience would involve embracing other aspects of aural/oral musics, such as elevating participation and "getting through" the music above specific note choices and technical skills, and making intentional changes through stylistic choices and

improvisation.

Social Elements

There are several social aspects of the MMY program that could translate to school music ensembles. In the quest for ensemble classes to fulfill national standards that call for creativity, it is necessary to look to the processes of music learning beyond a single style of music. Green (2008a) outlined a specific scenario for incorporating a rock band setting in a school ensemble program, but limitless additional opportunities exist for implementing elements of the collaborative and autonomous processes that resulted (Green, 2014). Cooperative processes in the classroom can provide much needed social interaction that keeps students coming back for more.

In MMY, most classes were teacher-directed. However, students gradually developed autonomy and agency through making choices about repertoire and activities. The holistic learning process, combined with a relatively small power distance, allowed room for trial and error as well as self-assessment. As students progressed to higher levels of classes, these elements increased, with the advanced students of Stonehill Stringband participating creatively and autonomously in a quasi-professional band rehearsal process. Ensemble teachers could consider ways to incorporate a more learner-centered approach, with less focus on atomistic methods. These methods are suitable for musics that hold prescribed notes and technical virtuosity as primary values, but do not prepare students for everything.

MMY directors found classroom management to be an area of weakness in

the program, attributing this to a teaching staff that was highly qualified in mountain music, but not trained specifically in teaching. Hill's (2019) philosophy implies that this may actually have aided in encouraging creativity in students:

Learning approaches that inhibit musicians from developing these [creativity] skills include overly authoritarian teaching; overemphasis on correct technique; an insistence on mastering technique before developing other skills or engaging in creative activities; imitating and conforming to only one model; overreliance on fixed "written culture" (including notation and recordings); overemphasis on obedience; and overly abstract, unapplied methods of learning music theory. Those most profoundly affected by these inhibitors were the musicians in the study who, regardless of country of origin, had only experienced conventional Western art music education in formal settings and had little or no experience with informal or oral modes of learning. (p. 66)

Opening space for more holistic methods and increased student autonomy represents a challenge for music educators who were enculturated in a system with a formalized learning path and absolute answers. Institutional structure can be a further barrier. Again, there are many possible solutions, large and small. With careful consideration, learning environments can be diversified in social structure to expand the type of musicianship students will carry with them.

Applications for String Education

MMY is an inspiring and informative model for merging a formal learning environment with a traditional music genre. Drawing on both the music and context of a fiddle music tradition can expand musical content, appeal, musicianship, and future access to musical participation, as noted below. Kruse (2012) argued that, “implementing singing, playing tunes by ear, and learning songs by rote in conjunction with written notation could be significant contributors toward cultivating students’ personal musicianship” (p. 93).

In addition to the curricular benefits, introducing fiddle music has the potential to appeal to an additional range of students. Olson (2014) found when examining fiddle programs in higher education:

The features and forms of fiddling and fiddle culture resonate deeply with these students’ sense of self. For them, music making, and particularly the music of fiddle cultures, is not merely a vocation or avocation, but a fundamental part of their self-hood, worth honoring and exploring with devotion and sacrifice. (p. 319)

Incorporating fiddle music in the orchestra curriculum can be a low investment, as in teaching an Irish jig to a middle school orchestra, one phrase at a time, over a three-week period. It could also be more elaborate; Oare’s (2008) study presented the Chelsea House Orchestra, an example of a string program that diversified its offerings with an after-school Celtic ensemble. Oare described a hybrid music learning process, drawing on and merging elements of learning processes in both

Celtic music and the existing orchestra program at the school.

For teachers, presenting music that is not our first language with careful consideration of one's own cultural perspective is a significant challenge. Campbell (2011) and Dunbar-Hall (2005) recommended training with a culture bearer to develop awareness of contextual and social aspects of a music we plan to teach. On the other hand, string teachers across the country are embracing fiddle music more than ever before (Lindamood, 2011; Oare, 2008; Olson, 2014), so models and mentors of individualized blended approaches to fiddle instruction are becoming available. Exposure to participatory fiddle music or other traditions that require a different skill set from orchestral playing will, of course, better equip teachers for embarking on approaches to fiddle music that fit their teaching environments. Here too, participatory competence could help broaden musicianship, encouraging experience in more than one style of music. In fact, many have argued for pre-service teachers to study an instrument and musical tradition in an immersion experience (Campbell & Schippers, 2005; Wang & Humphreys, 2009) or with a culture bearer (Campbell, 2011; Campbell & Higgins, 2015; Goetze, 2000; Howard, Swanson & Campbell, 2014; Smith, 2005). Jaffurs (2004) wrote of feeling "like an outsider" when visiting a garage band practice (p. 198). It is this type of mind-opening exposure to different approaches to music making that can inform this process. Offerings of non-classical participatory musics in undergraduate music teacher preparation programs can go a long way toward helping music teachers recognize their own assumptions. Programs such as SUNY Fredonia's Improv

Collective or UNC Greensboro's Old-Time Music Ensemble have provided this type of experience for countless music teachers prior to their entering the field.

Repeated calls for increasing representation of diverse musical traditions in education combined with the urgent need to consider the cultural impact of instructional delivery point to the need for expansion of the processes with which we present music in ensemble programs. Development of curricula including participatory competency and using models such as MMY to aid in defining benchmarks and measurement tools can open school ensemble experiences beyond their current limitations.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study represents recontextualization of a specific music in one learning environment. To understand how competing cultural values of musical traditions and institutions are negotiated, more settings must be investigated. Multiple aspects of music learning have been studied at camps (Blanton et al., 2014; Dabczynski, 1994; Frisch, 1987; Forsyth, 2011; Garrison, 1985; Hendricks & Smith, 2018; Waldron, 2006), and some research done on music educators' efforts to branch out into new musics in their curricula (Abril, 2006; Howard et al, 2014; Kastner, 2014). Studies have focused on the diversification of musical instruction in higher education (Frank, 2014; Hill, 2005, 2009; Olson, 2014) and fewer on community fiddle groups (Cope, 1999; Godwin, 2015).

Olson (2014) said that "while fiddle programs in higher education might be comparatively rare, secondary institutions have embraced fiddling, and increasing

numbers of students have significant experience with, and consequently more acceptance for these styles” (p. 325). I point specifically to the many string programs involving elementary, middle, and secondary students in fiddle traditions that have burgeoned across the country in public schools and community groups (Oare, 2008), particularly those where teachers are consciously choosing how to navigate their own perspective with the culture of the music (Abril, 2009), and the ways they can inform secondary education and teacher preparation programs. Clements (2012), noted that “many educators have already moved beyond Lucy Green and have found ways in which to keep the organic nature of music learning alive within the classroom” (p. 8). It is necessary to investigate more than teaching methods, and to examine the creative and diverse ways that context and values are considered in each situation. Studies of cases of blended instruction, such as Oare’s (2008) and Abril’s (2009) can model specific approaches and solutions, but more importantly will demonstrate the nuance required to plan a culturally sensitive approach. It would be informative in these situations to investigate not only teaching methods, but experiences of the learners, and learning that takes place without methods of teaching.

In addition, it is necessary to examine the divide outlined by Olson (2014). Why are there so many string educators embracing traditional music at younger levels, yet so few in higher education? What training or policy changes are needed to broaden the approaches in college programs? Studies on current traditional music programs that exist in universities and conservatories in the U.S. as well as music

professors without such programs would be excellent sources for this information. Examination of traditional and other thriving non-classical music programs in UK and Scandinavia would also be instructive here.

Existing music programs that have a natural feed into local or regional music participation could be highly instructive. Grayson County Public Schools in Virginia feature an instrumental music program focused on old-time stringband music, and Westminster, CO boasts a mariachi ensemble. These and programs representing other musical traditions could point to topics such as the ways in which the larger music community has affected the processes and curricula of the programs, and how youth participation has molded musical traditions. .

Defining a participatory competency could entail investigation of non-professional musicians from a variety of musics, the ways in which those musicians participate in music, and their perceptions of the skills that enable them to do so. Current and former students of string programs should be surveyed about how the musical proficiency they developed in school prepared them to participate in music settings outside of school, inclusive of all musical styles. What proficiencies were they lacking when attempting to participate in music after schooling? Former music students who are not lifelong musicians would have valuable perspectives about whether these types of skills might have prepared them better to participate in the communities they live in as adults. Similarly, students who started in music and did not continue could provide insight into whether widening the scope of processes and culture in the classroom would have encouraged them to continue. Investigating

these last questions with particular consideration to marginalized groups who are typically underrepresented in school music, such as Black and Hispanic students or those who are economically disadvantaged, would offer even deeper meaning.

For teachers who are interested in expanding their stylistic offerings, what support or training do they need to begin to look beyond the assumptions they carry and into the cultures of other musics? What would enable them to go beyond the notes and have their own contextual experience with a new type of music? What could loosen the perception of performance-based evaluative measures and introduce the possibility of valuing a different set of skills? Current teachers could provide insight into ways of training both in-service and pre-service teachers, and valuable data for advocacy.

Closing Thoughts

On a personal note, this study has caused me to reflect on my own teaching of traditional music to string students. As a fiddler myself, I have had my perceptions of context and authenticity challenged and re-challenged over time, and the ways I negotiate their introduction into classroom and lesson settings has only been consistent in their tendency to change. Watching the spectrum of development in MMY and observing the Stonehill Stringband musicians navigate real-life musical situations shifted my attention to the skills needed to “converse” through music in one specific culture. Interestingly, the concept I have grappled with the most over time is that the inspiration for introducing classical string players to fiddling traditions comes from a desire to expose them to musical diversity. However, for

them to meaningfully engage in the music with others, they need to develop the situation-specific skills that can only come from a deeper exploration into a specific musical culture. Is it possible to expose students to a range of musics in situationally specific and meaningful ways? Another quandary that remains for me is one that is well documented in literature on informal learning: the challenge of developing of agency and autonomy in student musicians. In a way, these two problems are almost the same, unless (or until) students are somehow prepared and inspired to find the music they love and people who play it, and then pursue it on their own. MMY opened my eyes to new ideas about accomplishing this in a classroom, or more truthfully, to new ideas about how to step back and allow it to happen. Finally, I retain some dissonance around justifying and contextualizing this research in culturally relevant pedagogy and antiracism, but utilizing a research site with an almost entirely White population, particularly in this musical tradition, whose Black and Indigenous roots have historically been undervalued. I plan to let this guide my future research.

Olson (2014) made an important point in a discussion about three fiddle programs in higher education: “Institutions like these not only afford legitimacy and place for folk traditions to reside and thrive, but they can also play an integral role in helping those traditions evolve and gain wider influence” (p. 322). I found this to be true here. In the words of Preston, Bluehill MMY director:

In this community, MMY has just been amazing. I don’t think there would be any old-time music around here if it wasn’t for MMY. The few young people

that play old-time music around here are MMY students. [Evelyn] made a great point about the music not being in jeopardy. When MMY had its original mission, it was about preserving the music, and at some point she realized the music is not in jeopardy—it's growing and growing and growing. But the music in *our* community is. The MMY's dual mission of keeping the music in our community, but also using the music to help these kids who need the help, that's what's really important.

MMY provides a foundation for lifelong music learning and instills a love of mountain music and music making in its students. Perhaps more importantly, it has also become a place where students can meet and learn their local musical tradition, resulting in the tradition being fostered and sustained in the community. It has created, and continues to create, a community of young people for whom music making has become a lifestyle.

Appendix A: Interview Protocol

1. Could you tell me something about yourself as a musician?
 - a. With what tradition(s) do you identify most strongly?
 - b. What settings do you typically play in?
 - c. What role does music take in your life (your profession, a hobby, a social pastime, etc.)?
 - d. What were some formative musical experiences?
2. From whom or where did you learn music in the tradition you identify most strongly?
 - a. Did you have a particular mentor who stands out for you?
 - b. Did your training lead to a formal qualification?
3. How did you learn the music in your area of expertise?
 - a. By ear or as part of a written tradition?
 - b. What was the balance between notation and aural learning?
 - c. To what extent were tunes, songs, or concepts broken down and presented sequentially?
4. What are your attitudes toward “tradition?”
 - a. Do you see your tradition as static or in flux?
 - b. What do you consider authentic in your music?
 - c. What do you consider to be appropriate contexts for your music?
 - d. What place does your music have in the world?
 - e. What place did your music have in the world in the past?

- f. Where do you see it going?
- 5. Is a sustainable future of the music tradition you represent currently being supported by this class? This program?
 - a. By government policies and funding?
 - b. By the media or recording industry?
 - c. By music programs in schools?
 - d. By higher education?
 - e. Should it?
 - f. What are the implications of this kind of support for the tradition?
- 6. What is important to “pass on” to the next generation of musicians?
 - a. Repertoire, musicianship, community, stylistic ideals, technique, respect for tradition, musicality?
 - b. What are some things you do to get that across to your students?
- 7. Can you tell me something about your history with teaching?
 - a. How much experience have you had?
 - b. Do you enjoy it? Why do you do it?
 - c. Where and from whom did you learn to teach?
- 8. Other than your background with music in your area of expertise, what experiences or ideas have influenced your approach in the classroom?
- 9. To what extent does the teaching you do here resemble the way in which you learned to play music?

Appendix B: Coding – Themes, Chapter 4

Social Music Community	<p>Values: Connections with people</p> <p>Music is a good part of what occupies me in my daily life</p> <p>Music at gatherings</p> <p>Values: Welcoming, participation</p> <p>OTM "club"</p> <p>Values: Fit in and be a part of something</p> <p>Colleagues as Mentors</p> <p>"Backbone of my social existence"</p> <p>"Feeling the energy field"</p> <p>Changed my direction from partying/drinking</p> <p>Music is "part of" just about everything: "central"</p> <p>Social aspect part of the appeal for most people</p> <p>This type of entertainment is sustainable</p> <p>Best friends come from playing music</p> <p>Playing with family</p> <p>Instructors learned from playing with others</p> <p>"Felt like heaven"</p> <p>Values: Playing is better than listening</p> <p>Values: Common body of tunes</p> <p>Context: Getting out of the classroom</p> <p>Special connection with one person</p> <p>Learned by playing</p> <p>"His playing is what's in my head"</p> <p>Instructor's formative experiences: "Seriously rich community of local traditional music"</p> <p>Best recognition is to be called to play with people</p> <p>Learned from small jams at people's houses</p>
Playing with others as a curriculum	<p>Playing with family</p> <p>Instructors learned from playing with others</p> <p>"Felt like heaven"</p> <p>Values: Playing is better than listening</p> <p>Values: Common body of tunes</p> <p>Context: Getting out of the classroom</p> <p>Values: Pass down my own excitement about playing music</p>
Values of OTM	<p>Show vs. Pastime</p> <p>Music in Everyday Life Values: Play for one's own entertainment/enjoyment</p> <p>Values: Music of the people</p> <p>Lyrics: about everyday things</p> <p>Wholesome message</p> <p>Music is "part of" just about everything: "central"</p> <p>"I play mostly at home"</p> <p>Preference for Archaic Sounds</p> <p>Values: "Old" music</p>

	<p>Access to history</p> <p>Values: "It can't sound too different from the old stuff"</p> <p>Interest in old music as a kid</p> <p>Values: "Trace the roots"</p> <p>Values: Local music culture</p> <p>Music in the family</p> <p>Values: Sustainability of OTM</p> <p>Values: Students coming back home</p> <p>Values: Access to history</p> <p>Values: MMY is carrying on the tradition</p> <p>Values: More important to teach this music locally than in ivy-league universities</p> <p>Values: Know your roots</p> <p>Values: Mountain heritage</p> <p>Pride of the homeplace</p> <p>Connecting young people to their local heritage</p> <p>Culture in pockets of the world</p> <p>Values: MMY students might appreciate/know something about the music later in life, even if they don't continue to play</p> <p>Values: Stories with the music</p> <p>"Made in America"</p> <p>"Listen to your own music instead of trying to sound like someone from off"</p> <p>Values: Specifically teach music that comes with stories</p> <p>"You like the music? Now meet the family"</p> <p>Values: Instructor invested in his local music (county) above all the rest</p>
Need for instructor training	<p>Teaching skills</p> <p>Trial and error: "You just dive in"</p> <p>Good musician is not necessarily a good teacher</p> <p>Teaching influenced by watching others teach</p> <p>You teach how you were taught</p> <p>What can I do to keep this person interested and not bored?</p> <p>More structured than how I learned</p> <p>Challenges of bringing traditional musicians into the classroom</p> <p>Classroom management</p> <p>Reaching out to bi-musical cousin for help with teaching (influence of formal learning strategies)</p> <p>"Never had much confidence that I could teach"</p>

Appendix C: Coding – The Twelve-Continuum Transmission Framework

Static/Flux	Static Flux Values: Instructors not attached to sticking to mainline tradition Values: It's not traditional. "So what" "Straight old-time" Values: Encourage all interests Dichotomy in the community Personal dilemma Some of both but definitely not static Values: Hang out, party, not worried about history "It's going to change even if you try for it not to" "Protection of the tradition": Sustainability? Values: Genre distinction not that important Values: Lost something good Values: Let the kids flux the tradition Pressure from community to be a certain way
"Reconstructed" vs. "New Identity" Authenticity	"Reconstructed" Authenticity Originality "Does the tradition itself call for you to sound like yourself?"
"Original" context vs. recontextualization	What is left of the music by the time it gets to a MMY class Challenges of bringing traditional musicians into the classroom Context: Getting out of the classroom Ways instructors learned Why it's important to "play without papers" Limited time in classroom Teaching context
Atomistic/Holistic	Atomistic Holistic Teaching gets more holistic over time Teacher's learning style: holistic/atomistic "Breaking things down to the cellular level" Made up lyrics to remember chord changes Slow, but holistic "Absorbing"
Notation-based/Aural	Notation Aural Teacher-invented tab Learned tab for the purpose of teaching Visual component to aural learning Notation: "Handicapping," can get in the way Struggle between notation/aural "Never occurred to me that tunes could be written down" Students exposed to tab/notation via internet

	<p>Values: Students should throw away tab after they've learned the tune</p> <p>Values: They will have more fun if they can learn by ear (vs. memorizing)</p> <p>Values: Classical/notation training was valuable for instructor's learning</p>
Tangible/Intangible	<p>Intangible</p> <p>More structured than how I learned</p> <p>School/class too structured for OTM?</p> <p>Not just learning how to play: Learning "what to do" in the music</p>
Power distance	<p>Power</p> <p>Values: Not firmly committed to top-down</p> <p>Students as equals</p> <p>Teacher learning from the students</p>
Individual vs. Collective central	<p>Collective central</p> <p>Individual central</p> <p>Students have different needs</p>
Gender	
Avoiding/Tolerating uncertainty	<p>Tolerating uncertainty</p> <p>Teacher learning perspective from kids</p> <p>"No set way to do it"</p> <p>Kids want a set, solid answer</p>
Cultural Diversity	<p>Cultural tolerance</p> <p>Musical diversity</p> <p>Yellow Submarine</p>

Appendix D: Tablature Example 1

B part - Cotton Eyed Joe
 1st time through:

$D^4 D^4 D^4 D^4 A^1 A^0 A^1 A^2 A^3$
 $\downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \downarrow \uparrow$

$A^2 A^1 A^0$ $A^2 A^1 A^0$ D^2
 $\downarrow \uparrow \downarrow$

$A^0 A^1 A^0$ D^2 D^1
 $\uparrow \downarrow \uparrow$

2nd time through first line
 is the same then...

$E^0 E^1 E^0 A^2 A^1 A^0 D^2$
 $A^0 A^1 A^0 D^2 D^1$

Martin's fiddle tablature for Cotton-Eyed Joe. Arrows indicate bow direction.

Little Liza Jane
Key of A

A part

E
A 2 0 1 0 2 0 1 0 2 0 0
D
G

E
A 2 0 1 0 2 0 1 0 2 2 1 0 0
D
G

Repeat

B part

E 3 3 0 1 0 0 0
A 2 2
D
G

E 3 3 0 1 0
A 2 2 1 0 0
D
G

Repeat

Lillian's fiddle tablature for Little Liza Jane.

Appendix F: Tablature Example 3

Sugar Hill *key of D*
Advanced

1st part

3E 4E 3E 2E 1E 0E 3A 1E 3A 0E 3A *boue rock*
 3E 4E 3E 2E 1E 3A 1A 3A 1A ^T
 3E 4E 3E 2E 1E 0E 3A 1E 3A 0E 3A *boue rock*
 1E 3A 1A 0A 1A 3A 3A

Repeat

2nd part

3A 3A 3A 1E 3A 0E 3A *boue rock*
 1E 0E 1E 3E 1E 3A 1A 3A 1A ^T
 3A 3A 3A 1E 3A 0E 3A *boue rock*
 1E 3A 1A 0A 1A 3A 3A

Repeat

Appendix G: Tablature Example 4

ANGELINE THE BAKER

- 1) $\frac{5}{0}$ $\frac{5}{2}$ $\frac{4}{0}$ $\frac{5}{0}$ $\frac{5}{2}$ $\frac{4}{0}$
 $\frac{5}{0}$ $\frac{5}{2}$ $\frac{4}{0}$ $\frac{3}{0}$ $\frac{5}{2}$ $\frac{5}{2}$
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Angelina Baker in Jack's version of tablature that he uses for any instrument. "I still use this to teach a tune instantly to Jam kids. Looks like a fraction, the first number is the string and the second number is the fret. Students would still have to play along with me to get the timing."

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