The Fourth Sociology and Music Education: Towards a Sociology of Integration

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Abstract

By identifying three main sociologies that characterise broad movements in the field since its inception, this paper provides a background to considerations of music education from the perspective of sociology. A fourth sociology is then proposed that may be useful to interrogate the complexities of the field of 21st century music education. This is termed a sociology of integration. Such a sociology fuses perspectives from within sociology itself and combines them with those of complementary fields, as relevant to the particular study under investigation. An illustration of the fourth sociology in action is made by presenting data from a recent study on informal music learning in two Canadian schools, interpreted through combined theoretical lenses including those of Bernstein, Levinas, Arendt, Ranciere and Biesta. The findings lead to an initial model of discourse production by students, speaking to important issues of democracy and inclusion in music education. Keywords: democracy, inclusion, sociology, informal learning

I n this paper I provide a background to considerations of music education from the perspective of sociology, by outlining the origins and development of sociology as a field. I do so through identification of three main sociologies, as described by the former President of the International Sociological Association, Piotr Sztompka (2012). I propose that the complexities of the field of 21st century music education require application of a fourth sociology—a sociology of integration. Such a sociology fuses perspectives from within sociology itself and combines them with those of complementary fields, as relevant to the particular study under investigation, such as cultural studies, philosophy, anthropology, musicology, psychology and educational studies. I then attempt to demonstrate a fourth sociology in action by presenting data from a recent study on informal music learning in two

Canadian schools, interpreted through combined theoretical lenses. The complexity of a fourth sociology lies in its fusion of previous sociological theories to produce multi-faceted sociological lenses through which to interpret data, overlaid with an additional lens (or lenses) providing a further layer (or layers) of interpretation and drawn from another or other (multiple) disciplines. In the present study the critical realist sociology of Basil Bernstein is fused with that of symbolic interactionism with additional lenses provided by philosophy and the philosophy of education.

The resulting analysis produces an initial model of discourse production by students within what Biesta (2010, 88) calls a "pedagogy of interruption"—moments when the previously rationalised community is disrupted. A pedagogy of interruption allows for discursive gaps to form (Bernstein 2000). Discursive gaps are moments when knowledge is temporarily in transition from one level of society to another and therefore is, temporarily, 'up for grabs'. Within these discursive gaps, I suggest that informal learning provides opportunities for the disruption of previously rationalised musical knowledges, allowing the equal/unequal relationship balance between teacher and student to be rebalanced and permitting students to create new discourse. This speaks to important issues of democracy and inclusion in music education.

For Sztompka (2012), the history of sociology to date can be categorized into three broad movements. The first sociology as he terms it, that of the founding fathers, (Comte, Marx and Durkheim) was characterized by a broad focus on social wholes and, borrowing its metaphors from biological science, conceptualised society as an organism with overarching properties not reducible to the level of its components-individuals. As sociology developed as a discipline, however, and the problems of one sole explanatory framework became apparent, a second sociology emerged. Within this second sociology attention was transferred, even if not explicitly stated, to the smallest possible unit of analysis—individuals and their actions—perceived as the 'ultimate components of society', the originators of all social phenomena (Sztompka 2012, 27). For Sztompka this movement has been continued in theories such as instrumental learning, rational choice theory and hermeneutics.

While these two perspectives might appear to exhaust all possibilities in

viewing society: holistic and individual, Sztompka suggests they may be augmented by a third. The third sociology pays attention to social relations—to 'inter-human space' (Sztompka 2012, 27). As social beings, we live in relationship with others defined either as 'we', those sharing connections with us, or 'them', those with whom we share no connection. Inter-human space is comprised of actions and interactions between and among individuals. This space is constantly changing and therefore, as for Sztompka "society is what is happening between and among people" (30), society might be viewed through this perspective as in a constant process of becoming. Contemporary philosophers number among those who follow a similar view, for example Tischner (2006, inspired by Levinas) states that: "the crucial human situation is the experience of another person, the encounter with the other" (19). Sztompka suggests that theorists as diverse as Simmel, Mead, Goffman, Bourdieu, Dahrendorf and Donati share a common perspective in their interest in interrelations between and among people.

These distinct sociological movements might be seen as three possible perspectives or conceptual frameworks through which society and the functioning of humans therein may be viewed. Indeed, Sztompka is at pains to point out that the third sociology should not be seen as replacing either the first or the second, that, in fact, they coexist in the theoretical landscape.

The Fourth Sociology

Sociological debate has, however, previously been dominated, perhaps unhelpfully, by proponents of the different perspectives advocating for the supremacy of their own conceptual framework in 'accurately describing' what is 'really' going on out there in the world around us. Subsequent discussions of late modernity have rejected any claims to 'grand' theory (Wieworka 2012, 13), describing late modern society in Bauman's (2000) terms as too liquid and changing to permit theoretical description. More recently however there have been increasing calls in the major sociological journals for a return to theory: for coherent conceptual frameworks that help us explain the social world around us.

As sociology is one of the fields[1] within which the sociology of music education must logically function, changes in the field of sociology have influenced

developments in the field of the sociology of music education. The evolution of the field can be witnessed in the papers collected in the proceedings of the international symposia on the sociology of music education held since 1995 in the United States, Canada, Ireland, and Norway (O'Flynn 2011, Rideout 1997, Rideout and Paul 2000, Rideout 2006, Roberts 2008). The field of the sociology of music education has become increasingly well-defined, thanks in part to the work of scholars such as Froehlich (2007), Green (1997, 2001, 2008) and, more recently, Wright (2010), who have labored to define and clarify its sociological underpinnings. Their work indicates the ways in which academics have applied sociological theory drawn from the second and third sociological movements and from the influences of late modern/postmodern scholarship on the sociology of music education.

As we now recognize, the truth claims of any one particular theoretical perspective are at best contingent and also very much dependent upon the nature of the question being asked. And in this respect some perspectives are more useful to answer some questions or aspects of some questions than others. I would suggest that one possible way forward for the sociology of music education is presented by an integrated sociology, one that can allow multi-dimensional understandings of human music making within those contexts defined as educational. If we accept the complex nature of the music making experience in human existence,[2] it is perhaps unreasonable to think that any one theoretical lens *could* adequately capture it in its sociological contexts.

Therefore, I suggest that a useful approach to investigating the messy and difficult world of music education in its real life contexts may be a fourth sociology, one that combines and integrates theoretical perspectives from within sociology itself, but also importantly from other disciplines, perhaps particularly anthropology/cultural studies/studies in popular culture and the media, musicology, philosophy, psychology and education, while remaining grounded in the basic sphere of sociology and its focus on the development of robust theoretical descriptions and empirical investigations of the nature and issues of human existence in societies.

Basil Bernstein and the Fourth Sociology

A number of scholars have worked to fuse theoretical perspectives from within their own and other disciplines. Giddens' (1984) concept of structuration bridged the structure/agency divide, as did Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice, where his concepts of field, capital and habitus also drew relationships to cultural studies and anthropology. Foucault's (1991) work on power, discourse and social reproduction spanned many worlds including those of philosophy and sociology. Basil Bernstein's sociology of education is another example, originating from the field of sociolinguistics. His theoretical framework was initially based upon integration of elements of the work of Durkheim, Mead and Luria, but he expanded this at a later date to incorporate the insights of Althusser, Bourdieu, and Foucault.

In his theory of the pedagogic device, Bernstein (1990) provides a powerful tool to analyze the workings of structure and agency, culture and identity in education as both the source and the relays of hegemonic processes from the macro to the meso and micro levels of education. Bernstein (1990) observed that educational sociology research prior to his own had been consumed with identifying the structures and mechanisms by which education was delivered—the pathology of the carrier of the educational message system—rather than focusing on the nature of the message itself—the educational content and rules by which it was constructed, transmitted and received. In his pedagogic device theory, Bernstein presented a series of constructs that allow understanding of the processes through which knowledge becomes approved educational knowledge or, as he termed it, pedagogic discourse. It also allows analysis of how this discourse is shaped and recontextualised in the educational context to be acquired by learners.

Figure 1 shows a very simplified depiction of this filtration process whereby originally produced knowledge is filtered and selected by agents within the field of power to become approved educational knowledge, or pedagogic discourse. Very simply put, Bernstein asserted that knowledge produced at the macro level of society goes through a process of filtration and recontextualisation—or change—by powerful agents within the official (State) and pedagogic (educational) recontextualising fields to become socially approved knowledge or pedagogic discourse.[3] Such filtration and recontextualisation then keeps occurring as knowledge moves from the macro

(societal) to the meso (school) to the micro (classroom) levels of education. Figure 2 then shows how the teacher reshapes this knowledge through embodied and frequently unconscious dispositions or tendencies within classroom discourse. These dispositions, operating through classroom rules and routines, language, posture, evaluative schema and a myriad other individual factors, affect the ways in which the knowledge is transmitted. The result is such that instructional discourse—the "what of the lesson"—is encapsulated within regulative discourse—the "how the lesson is conducted"—such that knowledge is never transmitted without the transmission of values.
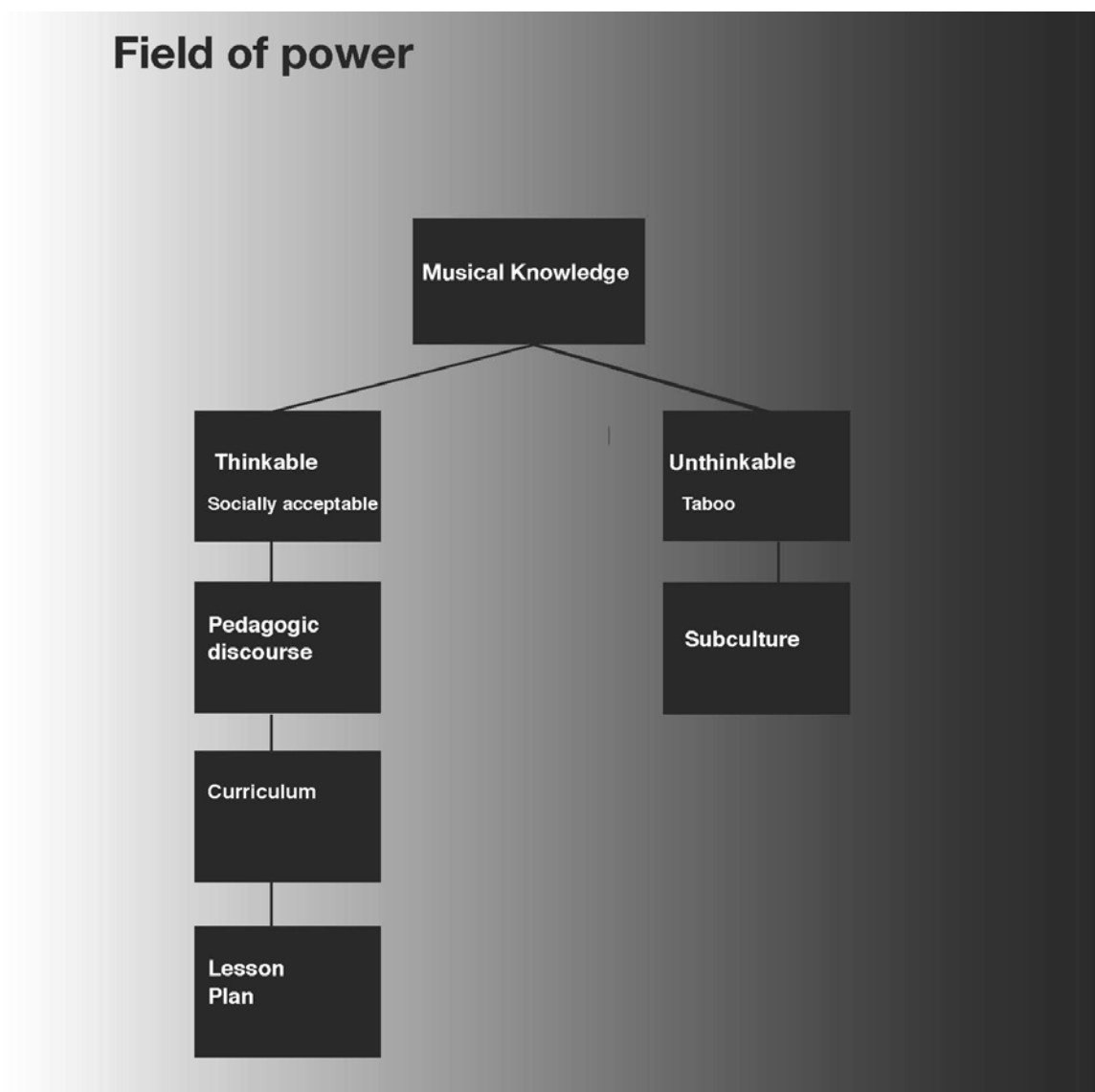

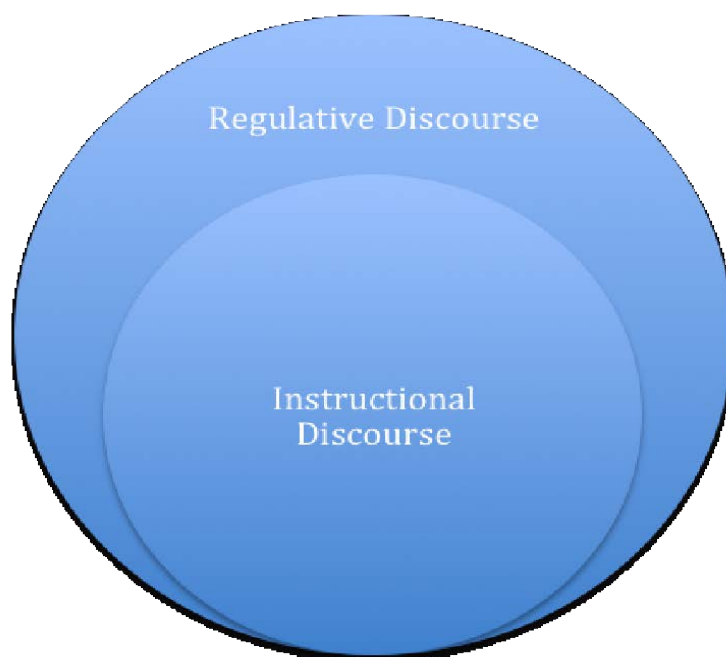*Figure 1: Social production of pedagogic discourse (from Bernstein 2000)*

Figure 2: The pedagogic device (from Bernstein 2000)

One idea of particular interest is Bernstein's (1999, 59) identification of 'potential discursive gaps' or places in the movement of knowledge through the fields of official and pedagogic power where knowledge is temporarily 'up for grabs'. Bernstein perceived this occurring at the primary level of society where knowledge is produced and selected by the State for transmission to society. I would suggest that these gaps might also present themselves at other levels of the process, where appropriate educational philosophies and pedagogies permit them. In Figure 1 these gaps would occur between each of the levels of the diagram. Such gaps appear to offer possibilities for music education to disrupt circles of hegemonic socio-cultural reproduction as they represent moments where knowledge is in free flow. It is in such moments that pedagogy may play a vital role in allowing new discourse to emerge and to offer opportunities for embedded patterns of inequality to be disrupted.

In the analysis that follows, I will combine lenses drawn from the theory of Bernstein, applied though an interpretive framework drawing on the symbolic interactionist school, focusing on analysis of the utterances of individuals and their meanings. This will be overlaid by a further analytical and explanatory lens provided by philosophers Arendt, Biesta, Levinas, and Ranciere—a fourth sociology in action.

Previous attempts within education to counter inequality have experienced only limited success. Ranciere (2010) asserts that this is due to a misapprehension of the necessary point of origin from which such attempts must depart. "Ordinary pedagogical logic is supported by two fundamental axioms. First one must start from inequality in order to reduce it; second the way to reduce inequality is to conform to it by making of it an object of knowledge" (4). Ranciere suggests that this involves conveying to students from the beginning of their education that everything they have previously learned, as they have developed from birth to that date, is relegated to an everyday realm, separate from that within which their learning from the teacher resides. The mode of transmission of educational knowledge is explanation. The power to explain resides with the teacher. This establishes inequality between student and teacher, where the teacher can transmit educational knowledge through explanation, gradually and constantly moving the point of understanding away as the child matures, always inexorably moving it farther towards the horizon. Thus an equal/unequal relationship is established between student and teacher. Education promises to rectify inequality so that, eventually, the student will become the equal of the teacher in understanding but the point at which this equality will arrive is always in the distance. In this way, Ranciere points out that the teacher merely makes a promise of equality to come. By starting from the erroneous premise that inequality is a fact to be remedied through education and that the first stage in this remediation is to make students aware of their inequality—how much they do not know—Ranciere argues that teachers merely confirm in their students their (the students') perceptions of their (the students) inferior status. Ranciere (2010) suggests that the equal/unequal educational positions are thus established in the minds of learners as facts.

Biesta's (2010) analysis of education suggests, "education becomes uneducational if it only focuses on the insertion of 'newcomers' into existing sociocultural and political orders and has no interest in the ways in which newcomers can, in some way, gain independence from such orders as well" (75). For Biesta, as for Bernstein "education, in other words, should always also have an interest in human freedom" (75). I would suggest that issues pertaining to lack of human freedom, in terms of allowing students to gain freedom from existing

sociocultural orders, have dominated music education more pervasively than many other curriculum subjects. Opportunities for students to think beyond the confines of existing socially accepted musics and ways of being musical have frequently been few and far between in education.

Absence of these freedoms raises questions about the extent to which we can describe such an education as democratic. Bernstein (2000) again gave us a concrete set of concepts we can use to measure the extent to which democracy is being enacted in education. He identified three interrelated rights to which all students must have access in order for schooling to be perceived as democratic. These are: inclusion (the right to be included but remain autonomous), enhancement (the right to perceive of possible future opportunities not barriers) and participation (the right to take part in decisions where order is formed and changed).

The relationship between democracy and freedom is a tricky one, however. Democracy can be just another term for mob rule. One person's freedom can cause another's disenfranchisement. Philosopher of radical democracy, Chantal Mouffe (1992) helps us understand how this may be otherwise. She suggests that rather than aiming at consensus, at general agreement as the point at which democracy is achieved, we should welcome agonism, the cut and thrust of debate, the end point of which should be recognition of the variety of opinions: "A project of radical and plural democracy [on the contrary,] requires the existence of multiplicity, of plurality and of conflict, and sees in them the raison d'être of politics" (Mouffe 2006, 15). In her definition of democratic citizenship, therefore, the end goal is "constructing a 'we,' a chain of equivalence among [their] demands so as to articulate them through the principle of democratic *equivalence*" (Mouffe 1992, 31). This conception of democracy thus allows for democratic freedom without subjugating uniqueness and individuality. This links closely to philosopher Arendt's concept of action which, as Biesta (2010) describes it,

> entails an understanding of the way in which human beings come into presence—and *continue* (original emphasis) to come into presence— that is not about the expression of some pre-social identity, but has to do with the ways in which we engage with the complexities of a world populated by others who are not like us. Our freedom and subjectivity are therefore not to be found outside of the web of plurality: they only

> exist within it…. It is therefore, only when we engage with the web of plurality that we can come into presence. (85)

Educational efforts in music as in other subjects, however, have seldom served to engage students with the web of plurality, to develop individuality and uniqueness, or to gain independence from "existing sociocultural and political orders" (Biesta 2010) but rather to inculcate participants into them. Referring to Levinas, Biesta defines this in relation to community. Community is a broad term in sociology and there has been much work to define its various meanings.[4] The particular instance of a community (constituted by a group of individuals with something in common) to which Biesta is referring is the same that Lingis (1994, 87) refers to as the "rational community". In the rational community "the insights of individuals are formulated in universal categories, such that they are detached from the here-now index of the one who first formulated them" (87). Again, Bernstein has shown us *how* this happens through the pedagogic device, where knowledge is selected, filtered and changed so that at the end "the text is no longer the same text". This explains why school subjects differ in many crucial respects from the original knowledge bodies they are supposed to encapsulate and why school music is perceived so differently in comparison to "real music" in the eyes and ears of many of our pupils. Both Biesta and Ranciere suggest that there is the potential for this to be otherwise, however.

Through the subject-based nature of education, educational institutions provide students with a voice—often, in fact, with numerous voices. But these voices only allow students to speak as representatives of particular communities preformed by consensus. As we have heard previously, but I think it bears repeating here, Biesta (2010) suggests that this strikes at the very heart of the educational project "if it only focuses on the insertion of 'newcomers' into existing sociocultural and political orders—and has no interest in the ways in which newcomers can, in some way, gain independence from such orders as well" (75). If, as Sztompka (2012, 30) says, "society is what is happening between and among people" and what is happening between students in schools is not focused on them enacting freedom but rather on inducting them into previously formed rational communities, then such society cannot be said to be democratic, as it is neither engaged in constructing a chain of equivalence, as Mouffe would define democracy, nor is it displaying an interest in

human freedom. We arrive here at a dichotomy between the ends of education in developing democratic society and the requirements of education to educate.

There are, however, opportunities for education to fulfill both these ends; the analysis of Bernstein identifies where such moments may arise—in the place he termed the potential discursive gap—where knowledge moves from one site to another. Previous work by Bernstein had identified such gaps presenting between society and school. My PhD work (Wright 2006) showed that the teacher also plays a recontextualising role in shaping knowledge for her students. I would suggest however that there is the potential for new knowledge—the yet to be thought—to arise in further potential discursive gaps. These are the gaps between teacher and student, and between student and student, and they are dependent for their potential upon appropriate pedagogical conditions. Such pedagogies may present what Biesta (2010, 88) terms a "pedagogy of interruption" defined as follows:

> It is only outside of rational communities, outside of communities that are constituted by communality, that the opportunity to speak with our own voice arises… it is not so much a way of speaking. It is first and foremost a way of responding, a way of taking up a responsibility that, in a sense, is "demanded" by the situation we are in—demanded by the face of the other…

Such opportunities require, however, as their first condition what Bauman (1993) termed proximity. Biesta (2010) states that

> proximity is not about physical closeness;… it does not refer to a shortening of distance. Proximity has to do with attention and waiting. Proximity is something that has to be "achieved" again and again and that crucially depends upon our own, individual efforts and commitments to be attentive, to wait, and so on. (72)

He further suggests that this is the "condition upon which responsibility might occur" (74). We will come back to this point later.

In this section I have presented a lot of complex ideas in order to demonstrate how, in keeping with my proposition of a fourth sociology, these ideas can be interrelated to allow a nuanced understanding of the world of the classroom and particularly the music classroom. In summary, I introduced Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device, a way of understanding how knowledge is filtered and changed to

become official knowledge. I pointed out the potential presence of discursive gaps (where official knowledge is 'up for grabs') within the passage of knowledge from one level of society to the next. I suggested that, under appropriate conditions, these may also occur in the classroom. I used Bernstein's term, pedagogic discourse, to describe the knowledge produced by the pedagogic device. I then discussed the problems of meeting the ends of both education and democracy within current dominant conceptions of education that focus on passing on to students bodies of knowledge already decided upon for them. Classrooms, then, become rationalized communities created by consensus around knowledge from whose formation they are separated. Biesta terms this the insertion of newcomers into existing sociocultural and political orders and suggests it risks being undemocratic and uneducational. I introduced Ranciere's critique of emancipatory education as beginning from the wrong starting point, from the presumption of inequality. I then turned to Biesta's concept of an alternative pedagogy—a pedagogy of interruption—in which Mouffe's ideas of radical democracy may be enacted. Such pedagogy may disrupt the previously rationalized communities formed by pedagogic discourse, allowing students to construct their own new pedagogic discourses. It is possible that in this way the ends of both democracy and education might be met.

Applying a Fourth Sociology

In the remainder of this paper I propose to talk about a project in which I have been investigating the work of students and teachers within discursive gaps, in an attempt to understand how students may act as creators of pedagogic discourse (knowledge) and how music education may offer a pedagogy of interruption.

Research Design

An informal music learning project was developed in two schools in Canada in 2012, based on the work of Green in the UK Musical Futures informal learning project (Wright, Beynon, Younker, Linton, and Hutchison 2012). The project was designated Musical Futures Canada. Our study involved the introduction of informal music pedagogy to two Ontario schools, one secondary and one elementary, observing and evaluating the effects. During this project, the music teachers worked alongside

researchers and research assistants to plan and implement the pedagogy in a series of lessons which ran from March 2012 to June 2012. A second phase of the project concluded in June, 2013.

The elementary school[5] project involved three classes; in total, 74 students in grades 7 and 8 took part in their weekly 40-minute music lessons in a rural school in southwestern Ontario. The pilot study conducted at the secondary school level took place in a Southern Ontario high school of approximately 750 students within an area of high social disadvantage. Two classes, a grade nine and a grade ten music class, were involved, numbering 37 students in total. After a week of intensive background research and training in informal learning music pedagogy in UK schools, a series of lessons was designed by teachers and researchers to implement informal learning in the Canadian pilot schools.

The study used a qualitative methodology implementing a dual/comparative case study design. As participant-observers, the researchers and research assistants supported the teachers in delivering the series of lessons in each school, video and audio recording lessons, and keeping field notes. Analysis of data was ongoing from the beginning of data collection and informed further action and data collection. In June 2012, at the conclusion of phase one of the project, the music teachers were interviewed individually and students were interviewed in small groups. School administrators and homeroom teachers were also interviewed.

Students undertook a number of informal music learning activities beginning with a guided modeling task where a well-known pop song was broken down into parts and where the teacher modeled how to play each part and work it out by ear from a recording. Students then moved each week to a different group of instruments—bass, guitar, keyboard, drum set—learning the part for that instrument together and then splitting up into self-selected groups to make their own versions of the song.

Then students brought in their own songs to work with, chose groups of friends, and began to work out their songs by listening and copying. Each group chose their own song to work on by a process of listening to the recordings they brought from home and discussing which song they would most like to copy. There was also a good amount of experimentation as students tried licks and riffs out on

instruments and worked out which of their songs were realistic choices for them to play at their current stage of ability. Each student in the group chose which instrument to play and learned an individual part. They learned their part by repeated purposive listening and experimental copying. Field notes indicated that this work continued outside of school for many of the students with advice being offered at recess on the playground. Many groups met at homes outside of school hours to work out parts for their songs, even though the students were not allowed to take the instruments home with them. There was much consulting with family members who played instruments, YouTube videos of whole songs and instructional materials, and iPhone and iPad music apps were also brought into use to look up fingerings and techniques. The process was student directed. The teacher was asked to stand back and observe at first and then help students identify goals and help them achieve them either by demonstrating, playing along with the group, or providing advice. Students went on to write their own music in the high school, give public performances, and take part in a Battle of the Bands in the elementary school.

Ethical approval for the research protocol was obtained from the University of Western Ontario Non-Medical Research Ethics Board and the participating school boards. The research was conducted in accordance with the Canadian Tri-Council Policy on the Conduct of Ethical Research involving Human Subjects. For ethical reasons, students' names have been replaced with initials in the data reporting. Qualitative data were analysed through open, axial and selective coding to generate themes that were then pursued until data saturation was achieved (Merriam 2009, 178).

Proximity and Agency

Data analysis revealed a number of themes that will be presented in the section that follows. These themes were: proximity and agency, uniqueness, attentiveness, responsibility, and equality.

> K: I learned like, because I always thought it would be harder to work together with friends but I learned how we can work together and our group's pretty good with it because we know, when something's wrong we stop and work it out because we know how to control it now. Before

> it wouldn't have been as easy but now we've learned how to work
> together and think and fix problems and stuff.
>
> S: Like when something's wrong no one takes the offensive and we kind
> of stop, work around or we fix it and then we start over.
> (Extract from interview with elementary school students)

When students are 'dropped into the deep end' in informal learning it presents students with an imperative in the sense that they are forced to act within the learning situation in which they find themselves. The rational community is temporarily disrupted. All previous music education experiences for these students had been in a whole class, vocal situation. Their learning had been strongly teacher controlled. The material they sang had been chosen by the teacher. Music education for these students had been a preformed, taken-for-granted model, into the design of which they had had no input—"the insights of individuals are formulated in universal categories, such that they are detached from the here-now index of the one who first formulated them" (Lingis 1994, 87).   In informal learning this previous community was disrupted and a new mode of proximity and responsiveness was called for.

> The other community exists sporadically, at those moments when we
> find ourselves exposed to the other, at those moments when we find
> ourselves exposed to "an imperative" (Lingis 1994,111) …The other
> community, as an other set of relationships, an other modality of our
> "being with others", only exists from time to time as the interruption of
> the work of the rational community. (Biesta 2010, 90)

Pedagogies that allow interruption of the rational community, bringing students into proximity, permitting students and teachers moments where order and content are open, such as informal learning, foreground opportunities for agency of individual students. In this respect they allow action "to come into presence—and *continue* (original emphasis) to come into presence—to engage with the complexities of a world populated by others who are not like us—what Arendt calls the web of plurality" (Biesta 2010, 85). In this quotation, Biesta explains Arendt's conception of action as occurring when one has to come into presence, literally to be mentally and emotionally present, in order to engage with those who are not like us. These extracts from our data indicated one way in which this might happen in informal learning. As the students discovered that others were not like them, they originally

had some problems. People took offense at suggestions and there were arguments. However as the project progressed, they learned 'how to control it'. They learned 'how to work together and fix problems and stuff.' 'No one takes the offensive.' 'We work around or we fix it.'

Another example of this occurred in the second stage of the project in the secondary school, where students were forming groups to work on a cover version of a song they were to choose themselves. There was some discussion about how to choose whom to work with. Students had discovered in a previous exercise that their social friends did not always like the same types of music that they did. How to proceed next? This extract from a video transcription shows how this situation played out:

> Teacher tells students to get into their new groups (friendship groups)
> Nobody is moving; they are talking.
> Student suggestion, "We all voice our opinion on what kind of music we want to cover and then we move into that group."
> Students are sharing types of music; one is classic rock, top 40, country etc. and forming groups.
> Students move around the room to their groups. They are talking with each other about what kind of music they want to play.
> (Extract from field notes in secondary school)

The loosening of control in deciding what to play and whom to play it with led students into an opportunity in which they engaged with the web of plurality and came into presence. In Bernstein's terms they were experiencing inclusion—being included but remaining autonomous. They also experienced Bernstein's concept of participation—the chance to take part in situations where order is formed and changed. Sometimes this was a problem:

> F: Well when you're playing with other people it's harder because you can't really hear like your own playing. You're hearing everybody else's and only some people can actually learn by hearing other people's like playing but I don't so it's hard to just play when other people are playing. (Extract from interview with elementary school student.)

For this student, proximity and attentiveness were difficult. But she learned something about herself through this process. Such learning is perhaps part of existing in a democratic environment.

Uniqueness

Biesta (2010) observes that the notion of "uniqueness" plays an important role in the work of Arendt in her idea that we disclose our individual uniqueness through action. As Biesta (2010) observes "we can only disclose this uniqueness if we are willing to run the risk that our beginnings are taken up in ways that are different from what we intended" (85). By opening the possibility of students choosing to work in musical groups, the student demonstrated a willingness to allow his beginning to be taken up in unpredicted ways. By moving into such groups, students demonstrated a like willingness to experiment with unpredicted consequences.

Biesta defines uniqueness in existential relational terms, in terms of how we exist with others. This reminds us of the third sociology where Sztompka highlights the importance of inter human space in social creation. Levinas helps Biesta (2010) understand uniqueness in a different way, in terms of when it *matters* that I am unique:

> Uniqueness is not something that can be produced; it is not something that can be the guaranteed outcome of a particular educational intervention or a particular pedagogy. But although uniqueness cannot be produced, it is rather easy to make sure that uniqueness will *not* appear (original emphasis) will have no chance at appearing. This will happen when we prevent our students from any encounter with otherness and difference, any encounter that might disrupt their "normal" ways of being and might provoke a responsive and responsible response. (90)

For these students it appeared that they had encountered within their social groups 'otherness' and 'difference' and had worked out how to negotiate it. Their response had been respectful and responsible. In the first extract, students had learned 'how to control it now', 'learned how to work together and think and fix problems and stuff' 'no one takes the offensive and we kind of stop, work around or we fix it and then we start over'. In the second group, they had learned important lessons about democracy, politics and community. This involved them in shifting social allegiances in some cases, so that those they worked within their musical taste groups were not necessarily their friends in social situations.[6] As these students worked out how to negotiate the rights to autonomy in musical taste of themselves and their peers, whilst allowing learning to progress, they constructed a "chain of equivalence"

(Mouffe1992, 31),[7] based around musical styles that allowed them to operate on the basis of democratic equivalence.

Attentiveness

Students also learned that proximity required attentiveness. This changed the way students listened and concentrated as this extract from elementary school students indicates:

> B: Yeah, people have changed a lot because a lot of time in Music people didn't really take it seriously. They didn't really care, they just wanted to get it done and over with but now people are actually excited so they want to listen so they know how to do it.

The research team noticed this change in behaviour and focus from a very early stage in the project, even as early as lesson two. Students in grades 7 and 9 moved from being restless and distracted at the start of lessons to the majority assuming a "starting blocks" position in the classroom where they were poised on the edges of their seats during initial brief introductions, feet braced against the floor, ready to push off and move to their working areas as quickly as possible when instructed to do so. Concentration on the teacher was intense and the moment the class were released they were in action and into their task.

Responsibility

For a number of students this way of working resulted in a sense of responsibility:

> J: It's made me feel independent without the teacher here teaching you. It just gives you a sense of responsibility like I get to do this and not have to like be playing the perfect notes for the teacher because I can't, sometimes when I mess up I feel like oh no, I'm not going to get in trouble for it. (Extract from interview with elementary school students)

It is interesting that this student and others perceived that the teacher was not there teaching them during the informal learning lessons. In fact, the class teacher, the research assistant, and I were constantly circulating the groups and playing alongside students to model and demonstrate or help with specific problems. No group was ever without support for an entire lesson. The students did not however perceive this as "teaching" them. It appeared that

the perception of power had shifted. There was no longer a demand to "play the perfect notes" for the teacher and, as a result, a sense of autonomy and freedom developed to allow the students space and a sense of responsibility. Sometimes, however, this responsibility was challenging for students:

> R: What didn't you like about these lessons?
> O: The fact that they're not allowed to help us. The teachers aren't allowed to help us if we have problems.
> R: If you have a real problem we help you but we try to get you to figure out problems on your own.
> P: Also how it can be bad because sometimes you might have trouble with the instruments and that and you have to figure it out on your own, how to solve your problems – so then you'll learn more.
> (Extract from interview elementary school students)

It is again interesting that the first student perceived that teachers were not allowed to help them. In class discussions at the beginning of the project and at the end of each lesson we explained and discussed the approach the teacher and researchers adopted. We emphasized that we were happy to help but that we would wait for students to ask us to help or wait a little and watch a group working to see how we could be most helpful before intervening. This student however interpreted it as a prohibition on the part of the teacher to help students. Why this occurred is a puzzle and would bear further investigation. Perhaps absences had affected understanding of the project pedagogy. Perhaps students felt they were not allowed to ask for help. In the final part of this extract, another student appeared to have an afterthought about the positive benefits of being asked to assume more responsibility for learning. Whether this was the student, in an effort to please the researcher, rearticulating something heard in discussions many times or whether the perspective was genuinely felt is not possible to ascertain from this statement.

For the teacher, proximity was also challenging at first as it resulted in what appeared to be off-task activity at times, particularly in the early stages of the project. But then she realized that allowing some apparent off-task time was actually productive:

> S: It just seems, I guess a little bit chaotic in the beginning and if you're used to a structured environment and almost a dictatorship of a

teacher—that's not the right word. It's the right word but it's not as strong as you think. If you're used to that it is chaotic and it feels a little bit uneasy at first but everybody gets used to it and I guess you just have to make sure that you leave them a little bit. Ruth commented the other day that you have to sort of give them—that you have to let them have that freedom for a few minutes because you—even though they're catching up on each other's lives and they're talking about like a sport event that's their way of connecting with each other. You give them that time. You don't say, "Oh, come on, get on topic!" You let them have that moment and then eventually, hopefully they carry on and they can create music. (Extract from interview with secondary school teacher)

She verbalized her thinking at these times as:

S: O.K. I have to relax and I have to be more flexible and I have to let things go for a bit, even if it gets chaotic, which it does.

Equality

Teachers, too, appeared to gain rewards from waiting for their students and the new roles resulted in a more equal learning relationship:

S: So yeah, it's just the classical training and then switching over to the oral learning [that are difficult] but you just have to think of it like you're learning everyday too and you learn along with your students and that's what makes it probably the most rewarding.

This and other similar comments from the project teachers indicated an interesting shift in the equal/unequal balance of teacher-student relationships during the project. This was also demonstrated from the students' perspective by comments such as:

A: Regular music lessons we would usually just sing from a book but with Musical Futures lessons we actually get to do it our self. So there's no book. We just go to our bands and we get to make the music instead of Mrs. D just playing on her own keyboard we all get to be interactive with our own instruments. (Extract from interview with elementary school students)

This transition from perceiving themselves as passive observers of the teacher's music making on her own keyboard (even though they were actually singing at the same time) to students perceiving themselves as making music with their own instruments resulted in comments such as, "Now we're the musicians." Another example is presented here of the equal/unequal balance changing. It is possible that

continuation of such pedagogy might lead to an alternative starting point to previous music education paradigms—one that, after Ranciere (2010), begins from a presumption of equality.

Discussion

The fourth sociology allows us to bring multiple perspectives to bear upon the data presented above. We may interpret the data using the sociological theory of Basil Bernstein fused with perspectives from symbolic interactionism, with additional lenses provided by philosophy and the philosophy of education. The resulting analysis produces an initial model of discourse production by students within what Biesta (2010, 88) calls a "pedagogy of interruption"—moments when the previously rationalised community is disrupted. A pedagogy of interruption allows for discursive gaps to form at the micro stage-that of the classroom (Bernstein 2000). This was demonstrated in comments such as:

> A: Regular music lessons we would usually just sing from a book but with Musical Futures lessons we actually get to do it our self. So there's no book. We just go to our bands and we get to make the music instead of Mrs. D just playing on her own keyboard we all get to be interactive with our own instruments.

There being no book, and 'getting to do it ourselves', 'being interactive with our own instruments', I would suggest, were moments when students' previous understandings of what constituted music education were disrupted. At these moments, the discourse of music education was 'up for grabs'. Students were able to decide for themselves what their music education should be. Within these discursive gaps, I would assert, therefore, that informal learning provides opportunities for the disruption of previously rationalised musical knowledges. It permits the equal/unequal relationship balance between teacher and student to be rebalanced by allowing students to be in control of the music and the learning. It therefore enables students to create a new pedagogic discourse of music education. (This speaks to important issues of democracy and inclusion in music education.)

As Ranciere (1991) very usefully says in his book *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*:

> Emancipatory education … starts from the assumption that … all students can *already* speak. It starts from the assumption that students neither lack the capacity for speech, nor that they are producing noise … when we classify such sounds as noise, we are not stating a psychological fact but are introducing a political distinction. We are saying that they lack the capacity to speak and are thereby suggesting that they need to be told what their sounds mean. (39-40)

Bernstein's theoretical perspective allows us to identify how the initial pedagogic discourse, the predefined subject voice permitted to students, originates at the macro level and is further recontextualised at meso and micro levels to arrive in the classroom. Working in the discursive gap, informal learning, here conceived as a pedagogy of interruption, created moments where teacher and students could begin from a presumption of equality, could find their own unique voices, and where students could be allowed to "speak". It was their speech that determined a new discourse.

The rational community was disrupted and, through this moment of interruption, teachers and students entered into new relationships and were able to speak with new unique voices; voices generated under the prime condition of proximity, engendering or allowing equality, attentiveness, responsiveness, responsibility, uniqueness, and action—concepts drawn from the other disciplines of philosophy and the philosophy of education. Through this process, students became producers of new discourses. Figure 3 (on the following page) attempts to demonstrate this.
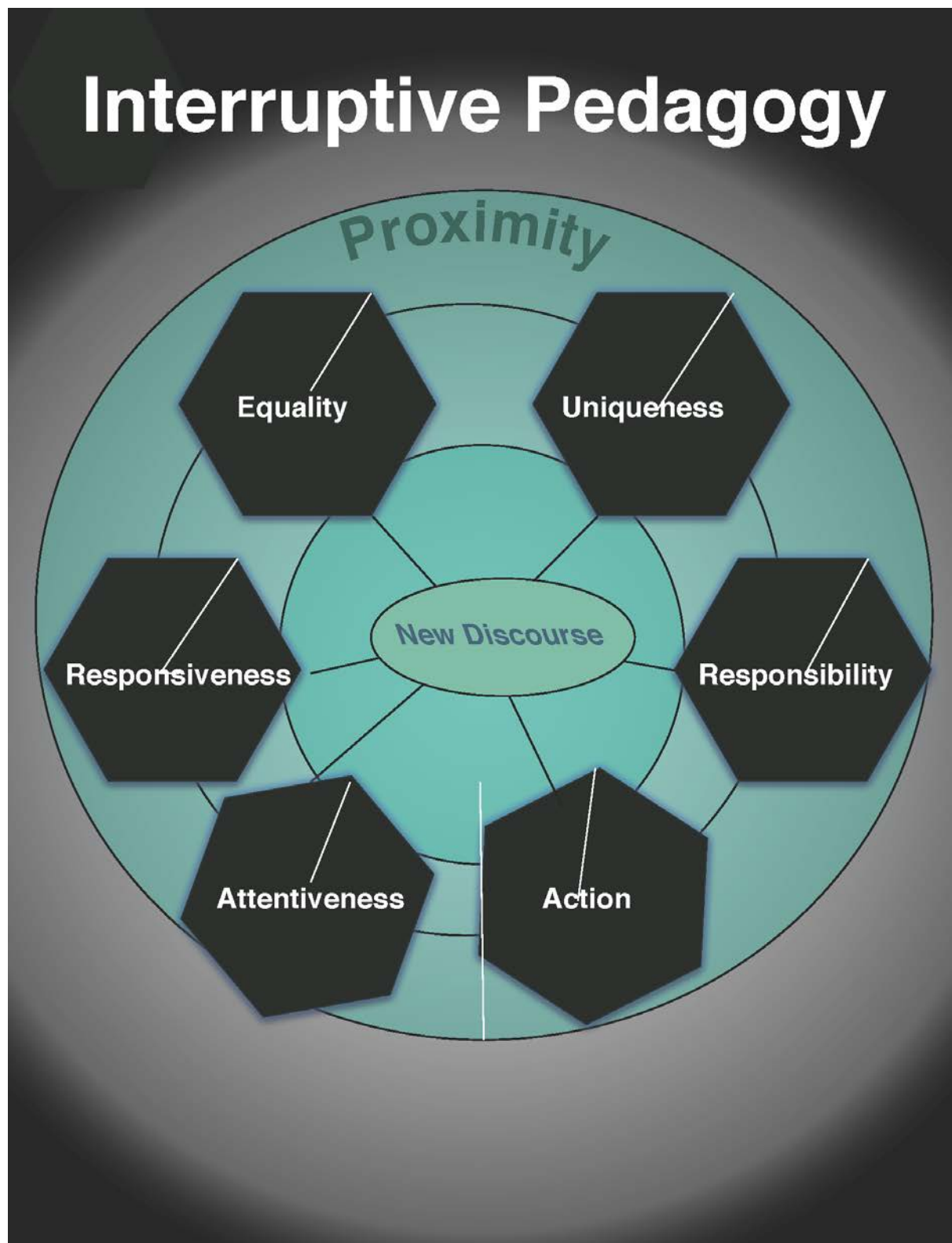
Figure 3: Model of discourse production in pedagogy of interruption

The fourth sociology, therefore, a sociology of integration is demonstrated in action here and allows us to extend sociological analysis, amplifying it with additional interdisciplinary perspectives and gaining new insights on the human experience of music making.

I would suggest that an integrated sociological examination of situations such as the one above permits an investigation of ways in which a presumption of equality may be enacted in music education. It allows the sociologist to move beyond describing the conditions she observes to suggesting action. The sociological imagination may be freed to envisage conditions of music education in which rational communities are disrupted, where students have the opportunity to discover their uniqueness, to speak with their own voice, to respond to others in non-predefined ways, to be attentive and to wait. It is suggested that such pedagogy offers the potential to address the dichotomy between democracy and education identified earlier, by listening to students musical "speech" and recognizing it as such, not as noise, and by watching and helping as they shape new music education discourses. A comment by a student in the secondary school demonstrates this well:

> V: I think that a lot of the changes in modern society that are happening, the school board has to follow it and one of them is the music… And I think that a lot of kids that have interests like us, we play rock and roll and we play different types of music and it doesn't matter if we're into Blues or Country—if you say go play the music you want to play and you give us the instruments I think we can express ourselves better than any other musical course that I've been in.

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Notes

[1] The concept of field was used by Bourdieu (1986) to describe the social space within which actions take place.

[2] The scholarship supporting the premise that music making is a complex and multifaceted human experience is represented by the works of those such as Green (2001), Elliott (1995) Reimer. (1989) Small, (1998) and Swanwick (1979). I do not have space to do justice to their work here.

[3] For a thorough description of this theory please see Wright, 2010.

[4] See Froehlich 2007 for an excellent discussion of sociological considerations concerning community.

[5] Elementary schools in the area in question commonly include students in grades 7 and 8. Middle schools specifically for this age group are comparatively rare.

[6] When students moved into the second stage of the project, many chose to form new groups. Often they chose to work with people who were not their 'social' friends from the playground. These choices were based on musical decisions such as interests and abilities and caused an interesting social remixing in the classroom.

[7] In her definition of democratic citizenship, Mouffe defines the end goal as "constructing a 'we,' a chain of equivalence among [their] demands so as to articulate them through the principle of democratic *equivalence*" (Mouffe 1992, 31).

About the Author

Ruth Wright is Assistant Dean of Research, in the Don Wright Faculty of Music, Western University, Canada. From 2009-2014 she was Chair of the Department of Music Education at Western. Prior to moving to Canada to take up this position, Ruth was a senior lecturer in music education at the University of Wales Institute Cardiff, UK. Wright's earlier career involved teaching high school music and maintaining a large private piano studio. She received her PhD in Education in 2006. She is passionate about the rights of all young people to a rewarding music education that speaks to their personal interests. In 2012, in collaboration with colleagues Dr. Betty Anne Younker and Dr. Carol Beynon at Western University, she launched Musical Futures Canada, a music program aimed at addressing this agenda. Her edited book *Sociology and Music Education* was published by Ashgate Press in September 2010. It is now a widely used text.