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Recruiting learners' musical games as resources for South African music education, using a Multiliteracies approach

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the development of learner-centred teaching in South African music education by exploring the possibilities that children's musical games offer for pedagogy. Within the broader context of the complexities, challenges and constraints in Arts and Culture education implementation, it proposes that the Multiliteracies theoretical and methodological framework facilitates learner-centred teaching because it 'recruits' learners' situated cultural practices as potential resources for pedagogy. Thus a Multiliteracies approach can be applied productively to music education in order to transform teaching and learning.

This research also advocates utilising aspects of ethnography in music education. An ethnographic approach is used to analyse the musical, cultural and social content and value of township children's musical games, and how these games constitute children's musical situated practices. Ethnographic methods are used to describe and interpret such games, and it is proposed that ethnography brings to music education a deeper understanding of musical forms and practices in their socio-cultural context. It is argued that ethnographic research is necessary prior to embarking on the pedagogy of recruitment central to the Multiliteracies approach.

It is proposed that children's games are valuable resources that may be recruited for formal teaching and learning. The primary thesis is that the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework provides a methodology for incorporating and developing learners' musical practices in music education. This proposal is tested in three case studies working with Arts and Culture teachers in Soweto primary schools. The process of applying a Multiliteracies pedagogical innovation to music education was observed and recorded in these schools, in order to investigate the dialogue between curriculum implementation and learners' embodied musical practices.

The thesis finds that a Multiliteracies approach can be applied effectively to music education, given particular school conditions and the presence of an artistic sensibility in Arts and Culture teachers. It concludes that, despite the constraints of the present South African education system, adopting innovative pedagogies such as the Multiliteracies approach enables teachers to use their learners' musical practices productively in ways that promote transformative learning. Thus this research contributes both to music education and to the Multiliteracies endeavour, and promotes a closer relationship between the epistemological assumptions and methods of ethnomusicology and music education.

DECLARATION

I declare that this study is my own original work. Where use is made of the work of others it is indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

_____

Johannesburg, 8 March 2010

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If I had to reduce all of educational psychology to just one principle, I would say this: The most important single factor influencing learning is what the learner already knows. Ascertain this and teach him accordingly.

Ausubel 1978, 47.

Imagination is at the heart of any truly educational experience.
Stimulating the imagination is not an alternative educational activity to be argued for in competition with other claims;
it is a prerequisite to making any activity educational.

Egan and Nadaner 1998.

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LIST OF TERMS/ ACRONYMS

ACE	The Advanced Certificate in Education
ANC	African National Congress
AS	Assessment Standard
CIIMDA	Centre for Indigenous African Instrumental Music and Dance
CO	Critical Outcome
DJ	Disc Jockey
DET	The Department of Education and Training
DVD	Digital Versatile Disc
FET	The Further Education and Training Band, comprising grades ten to twelve
GET	General Education and Training Band, from reception to grade nine
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HOD	Head of Department
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
ISME	The International Society for Music Education
LO	Learning Outcome
NCS	The National Curriculum Statement (Department of Education, South Africa, 1996)
NETIEM	Network for the Promotion of Intercultural Education through Music
OBE	Outcomes-Based Education
PASMAE	The Pan African Society for Musical Arts Education
PEI	President's Education Initiative
RNCS	The Revised National Curriculum Statement (Department of Education, South Africa 2002a)
SABC	The South African Broadcasting Corporation
SAMES	The South African Society for Music Education
SAMUS	South African Journal of Musicology
TRC	The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (South Africa)
ZPD	Zones of Proximal Development

Chapter One: Aim, rationale, theory and literature review

1.1 Aims

On any day on a primary school playground in a South African urban township, one is likely to find schoolchildren engaged in myriad musical games and vibrant performances integral to their sociality and play. On the same day in the same township school in the music classroom, one may also discover children sitting at desks learning musical facts, with little active music-making.

This disjuncture between playgrounds and classrooms as "sites of practice" in many township schools is emblematic of a wider set of problems and contradictions in South African music education (Pahl and Rowsell 2005). There is a dislocation between school music education and the diverse and rich musics that form the fabric of the social, religious and cultural lives of South Africans. A failure to connect "music in everyday life" (De Nora 2000) to conceptions of musical knowledge, or to recognise music-making as embodied practice, presents a debilitating crisis for educators trying to implement South Africa's outcomes-based education (OBE) curriculum. The result is disparities between policy and practice, between curriculum ideals and their interpretation, between schools and government policy, teachers and learners, music-making and music education.

My research in Soweto primary schools as a teacher-educator attempts to address some of these disparities. Based on my observations of township children's musical games, this thesis proposes that by accessing children's musical repertoires for classroom learning, the disparities between children's playground musical practices and current classroom practice can be overcome. I first document and analyse children's musical games ethnographically, in order to explore their potential as pedagogical resources. In so doing the thesis presents an argument for using aspects of ethnomusicology in music education. After examining learners' musical games as forms of culture, I explore their relation to music education.

My first research question is therefore, "What are the implications of children's musical games for formal teaching and learning?"

The thesis intends to show that incorporating and developing learners' musical play in the classroom bridges children's existing musical knowledge and capacities with curriculum and pedagogy. In promoting a closer relationship between pedagogy and children's musical practices, I aim to demonstrate that the musicality exhibited in township children's games can be harnessed to deepen

and alter music pedagogy. My approach is grounded on the assumption that educators can recruit elements of children's musical play for transformative learning.

While investigating the relationship between children's musical practices and classroom teaching and learning, the Multiliteracies pedagogy emerged as a suitable method for incorporating children's games in education while promoting new learning. Working with Arts and Culture educators, I trialled this pedagogy in three Soweto primary schools.[1]

My research is therefore an analysis of the pedagogical innovation implied by applying the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework to music education. I examine how three Soweto primary school Arts and Culture teachers integrate their learners' musical games into their teaching practice to develop "learner-centredness" (Department of Education, 1996). The primary aim of this research is to investigate how three Arts and Culture teachers implement aspects of the Multiliteracies pedagogy with their learners, as part of the Intermediate Phase Arts and Culture curriculum.[2]

Thus, the second research question is, "How, and to what extent, can Arts and Culture teachers incorporate their learners' existing musical practices in pedagogy?

This thesis presents a descriptive, reflective and analytical account of a pedagogic innovation. Based on the findings of each case study, the thesis further examines the feasibility of implementing Multiliteracies pedagogy in South African music education.

1.2 Research background and rationale

1.2.1 A response to context

This chapter develops my argument for applying literacy pedagogy to music education by referring to a wide array of literature: South African education research on OBE, South African and African music education, studies of children's musical games, Multiliteracies and multimodality, and theoretical and philosophical trends in international music education. This literature provides the

[1] Arts and Culture is one of the eight Learning Areas prescribed by the South African National Qualifications framework outlined in the National Curriculum Statement (NCS), first printed in draft form in 2001. The NCS was developed post-1994 to replace South Africa's previous apartheid education curriculum (Department of Education 2001).

[2] In South African education, GET refers to the General Education and Training Band, from Reception to Grade Nine, incorporating Foundation Phase (Grades R-3); Intermediate Phase (Grades 4-6) and Senior Phase (Grades 7-9). The Further Education and Training Band (FET) comprises Grades 10-12. This project focuses on Arts and Culture teaching and learning in the GET band.

context for this research project, and supports my assertion of the need for critical pedagogies in South African music education that take local realities and musical practices into account.

My research is a response, and attempt to address, a number of characteristics of South African Arts and Culture education. In what follows I first outline these characteristics, and then propose an alternative approach to Arts and Culture teaching that is based on observable practice. I base my investigation on professional experience gained over a number of years as a music teacher and teacher-educator. The research is thus located in actual practice and experience: my own and that of learners, and of Arts and Culture teachers in Soweto primary schools.

There are a number of issues – many too broad to address in one project – that have emerged as crucial factors affecting the quality of Arts and Culture education in South Africa. Although this project will not fully address each issue, this project will address each issue in part. I begin with an overview of some of the challenges and contradictions in South African education, focusing on the notion of learner-centredness to be explored in music education.

1.2.2 The South African education landscape

The OBE system introduced after the first democratic elections in 1994 aimed explicitly to redress the inequities of the past and transform South Africa's education system (Harrop-Allin 2005, 3). As part of this transformation the government's "Lifelong learning through a national curriculum framework" document (1996) adopted the principle of learner-centredness as a key means of empowering learners in a democratic dispensation by including learners as participants in the learning process.[3] "Learner-centredness" is viewed as central to students' personal and social development (Department of Education 1996).[4] To this end, Curriculum 2005, and later the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) (Department of Education 2002a), highlight the importance of integrating learners' everyday knowledge with school subjects (Taylor 1999, 109).[5] It emphasises the essential role of learners' subjectivities in the learning process: their interests, identity, prior knowledge and history (Malcolm 2001). As a competence-based curriculum model, OBE is linked to learner-centred ideas and teaching, which hold in common "the conviction that schools can transform children's lives, and

[3] The "Curriculum framework for general education and training" (1996) states that "Curriculum development, especially the development of learning programmes and materials, should put learners first, recognising and building on their knowledge and experience, and responding to their needs" (Department of Education 1996, 11).

[4] See Walkerdine (1984) for a critique of learner-centredness, and Chung and Walsh (2000) for a discussion of the history and development of the learner-centred approach.

[5] Curriculum 2005 refers to the system of outcomes-based education that was adopted in 1995, which was to be introduced in all grades by 2005. In 2002 the RNCS was issued (Department of Education 2002a). This constituted a simplified version of the original curriculum. As a strengthening of Curriculum 2005 the RNCS is the first design of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic education system in South Africa.

ultimately the larger society" (Cuban quoted in Brodie et al. 2002).[6] Curriculum 2005 and later the RNCS are acknowledged to be "bold attempt(s) to move away from banking models of rote learning to interactive models in which learners are critically engaged, reflective and creative" (Newfield, Andrew, Stein and Maungedzo 2003, 62; Department of Education 1997).

1.2.2.1 Disparities between policy and practice

A number of characteristics of South African education make a research focus on learner-centredness in the Arts and Culture learning area an urgent priority. As the principle of learner-centredness is a core theme of this research, I outline its practice in South Africa in detail.

Research suggests that the implementation of learner-centredness, and OBE principles and policy more generally, fall short of the curriculum's ideals. The gap between policy rhetoric and -implementation in South Africa is widely acknowledged in the education research literature (Taylor and Vinjevold 1999; Jansen and Christie 1999; Jansen 1999a; 1999b; Geyser 2000; Brodie 2000; Chisholm et al. 2000; Adler and Reed 2002; Gravett 2004; Morrow et al. 2005). Reports such as *A South African curriculum for the twenty first-century*, and particularly the Morrow report, clearly state that many of the curriculum's teaching and learning goals are not being achieved (Chisholm et al. 2000; Morrow et al. 2005). Research findings demonstrate that while there is support for OBE and Curriculum 2005's principles, which have generated a new focus on teaching and learning, implementation has been confounded by, amongst other factors, "a skewed curriculum structure and design; inadequate orientation, training and development of teachers; policy overload and limited transfer of learning into classrooms" (Chisholm et al. 2000).

A more scathing critique of OBE in general is put forward by Jonathan Jansen who contends that it is an inappropriate system in South Africa because the teachers' own education and training presents considerable constraints. He argues that OBE is based on "flawed assumptions about what happens in schools, how classrooms are organised and what kinds of teachers exist in the system" (1999a, 149). The conceptual leaps represented by claims like "the teacher must now facilitate and mediate the educational experience" (Department of Education, quoted in Jansen 1999a, 149) are particularly difficult given teachers' education and training in fundamental pedagogics.[7] The detrimental effects of apartheid education on current teaching and learning are still felt: the President's Education Initiative

[6] Learner-centredness has a long history and experienced its heyday in the United Kingdom in the 1960s and 1970s (Taylor 1999, 108). It received psychological support from Piaget's theory of development that states that young children actively construct concepts. Brodie, Lelliot and Davis (2002) outline a framework of learner-centred teaching in South Africa.

[7] During apartheid, fundamental pedagogics was the dominant theoretical, philosophical doctrine in education departments at South Africa's Bantu Education universities and colleges. It is an "indigenous product which, drawing on Dutch phenomenology, claims to have developed a science of education" (Taylor and Vinjevold 1999, 132).

(PEI) research project demonstrates "teachers' low levels of conceptual knowledge and poor grasp of subjects" (Taylor and Vinjevold 1999, 139). The shifts expected from teachers educated and trained under the previous system seem unrealistic given the "debilitating effects" of fundamental pedagogics (Ibid., 133).[8] Most important is Jansen's focus on "the isolation of the curriculum policy and planning processes from the varied and unequal contexts within which South African practitioners work" (1999b, 213). Jansen emphasises the need for methodologies and approaches that evolve in response to diverse teaching and learning contexts.

1.2.2.2 Challenges implementing a learner-centred approach

Research focusing on learner-centred practice suggests that although teachers are generally enthusiastic about the new curriculum, teaching remains teacher-centred; learner-centredness is understood in procedural terms rather than as something that promotes learning (Brodie et al. 2002, 94). The PEI research also highlights disparities between the verbal and practical understanding of learner-centredness. Teachers "quote discovery, building on prior knowledge and working in groups" as the way children learn, but their methods in the classroom were quite the opposite (Taylor and Vinjevold 1999, 142). The reasons for the lack of learner-centred teaching are complex. The legacy of apartheid education and black teachers' lack of skills or adequate training is only part of the problem: adopting a learner-centred approach places extreme demands on teachers, while difficult teaching contexts (overcrowding and lack of resources, for example) present enormous challenges. In addition, Curriculum 2005 and the RNCS's particular interpretation of learner centredness has been questioned (Taylor 1999, 116).[9]

The move towards learner-centredness is largely an attempt to counteract the authoritarian, teacher-centred approach of the previous system. OBE's competence-based approach "recognises the value of everyday knowledge because it is crucial to defining the identity of individuals and hence to building the self-confidence of citizens who not only value their own heritage, but also respect the differences exhibited by others" (Taylor 1999, 113). However, in the South African context, balancing "school and everyday knowledge" is difficult. Taylor asserts in his research that "foregrounding the everyday at the expense of conceptual knowledge" in the way that Curriculum 2005 does, "promotes superficiality" (Ibid., 121). His point is that learner-centred pedagogies, while proceeding from

[8] Taylor and Vinjevold characterise fundamental pedagogics as authoritarian: it was taught in South Africa "through a series of propositions which brooked no analysis or critique – that was chiefly responsible for its dismal reputation in liberal and progressive circles" (1999, 132-133). The debilitating effects of fundamental pedagogics on teachers have been widely expounded. See, for example, Enslin 1990, Chisholm 1994 and the ANC's "Policy framework for education and training" (1995).

[9] South African education research explores the interpretation and practice of learner-centredness in depth. See, for example, Taylor 1999; Gravett 2004; Brodie 2000; Brodie, Lelliot and Davis 2002.

children's prior knowledge and experience, cannot remain there; they must "promote a deeper understanding of conceptual knowledge, more positive attitudes and more skilled performance" (Ibid., 129).

Negotiating the journey from the everyday to formal knowledge requires sound methodologies, an understanding of how children learn, and consequently a particular kind of teacher. I concur with Taylor's assertion that adopting this approach requires highly developed conceptual understandings and clear pedagogical strategies that many South African teachers have never learned, given their own, often impoverished, educational background (which was generally in former Bantu Education: the schooling system that was integral to implementing the Nationalist government's apartheid policies from the 1950s, and which seriously disadvantaged black people). In the context of this discussion, Taylor's conclusions are particularly relevant: "In the hands of teachers whose own conceptual frames are not strong, the results are likely to be disastrous where school knowledge is totally submerged in an unorganised confusion of contrived realism" (1999, 121).

Taylor's critique foregrounds a dialectic between "the formal and the everyday" that is informative for this research. While acknowledging the importance of integrating everyday knowledge and experience in teaching, Taylor highlights how this is not an end in itself: effective learning builds from learners' prior knowledge but needs to connect to new learning. The necessity to bridge everyday and curriculum musical knowledge is essential in music education – both in terms of acknowledging children's identities and their innate musicality and broadening their musical experiences. Yet in order to proceed from the 'everyday' implies recognising what students' experiences are – it implies that educators work from practice.

Based on a collaborative four-year research project in South African schools, Brodie et al. (2002) describe how learner-centredness is being implemented in form rather than substance. Their research distinguishes between a superficial and substantive notion of learner-centredness, which involves "teachers acting to make links between learners' current meanings and new knowledge" (Ibid., 98). Based on the training they receive from the Department of Education, teachers may have conflated the form and substance of learner-centred teaching; they use the forms that may enable learner-centredness (group work, questioning and project-based learning) without understanding its substance (Ibid., 101).

The issues Brodie et al. identify are relevant to this research, particularly that the substance of learner-centredness involves the "selection and sequencing of tasks in relation to learners' current knowledge and providing for the required conceptual development in a subject area" (2002, 101). In *Challenges of teacher development,* the chapter "Developing learner-centred practice" and Adler and Reed's

study investigating teacher 'take-up' are informative for this project as they highlight the complexities of teacher-education and suggest interventions that might enable shifts in teaching practice.[10]

Continuing to focus on teaching practice in context, Karin Brodie's investigation of learner-centred teaching in South African mathematics education brings to the fore the real difficulties of teaching and learning in South African schools (2000). Her classroom-based research "helps to problematise learner-centred pedagogy and social constructivist approaches in this context" (2000, 139). She draws attention to the contradictions in the discourse of learner-centred teaching in the curriculum – that teachers bear the prime responsibility for learners' learning and "the role of the learner and context is seldom acknowledged" (Ibid., 152). Taylor confirms that ignoring the contexts of teaching and learning in South Africa is indicative of broader drawbacks of the NCS and RNCS (Taylor 1999, 128). I argue that Taylor's assertions still hold true in 2009 and agree that, because of the considerable constraints in learner-centred teaching in the South African context, "learner-centred pedagogy and its theoretical underpinnings may need to be tempered with local realities" (Brodie 2000, 133).

What, then, is the local reality in Arts and Culture education? And how can learner-centredness be meaningfully achieved in music teaching and learning?

1.2.2.3 Experiences in Arts and Culture teacher education

I maintain that the problems identified in South African education research described above are even more prominent in Arts and Culture education due to teachers' lack of training and subject knowledge (or any sustained, co-ordinated government strategy to provide this).[11] Added to this are the difficulties teachers have inherited from apartheid education: a focus on rote learning, teacher-centredness and an instrumentalist understanding of education (Taylor and Vinjevold 1999). In this situation, adopting a learner-centred approach becomes particularly difficult. My experience working in township schools confirms the disparities between policy and practice in education research observed by Chisholm et al. (2000) and Morrow et al. (2005). Having managed and taught in music development projects throughout South Africa since 1998, I have a broad understanding of the nature of Arts and Culture teaching and learning in under-resourced schools. My observations are that much teaching remains prescriptive, content-driven and reinforces a view of educational activity as

[10] *Challenges of teacher development* investigates 'take-up' in teacher development by education researchers in South Africa. Take-up describes "what occurs through participation in in-service professional development. Teachers take up aspects of the programme and different teachers do this in different ways" (Adler and Reed 2002, 9).

[11] I refer here to the average government school in townships and rural areas that were previously only for black students under the segregated system of education. The situation is very different in independent schools, particularly private institutions where there are trained and experienced music teachers. My focus is on Arts and Culture teachers in previously disadvantaged areas, where there is generally little capacity in music education.

replicating what is given (Gwala 1988, quoted in Walker 1993, 108). Lack of training and capacity has led to a superficial interpretation of Arts and Culture knowledge and learning. More specifically, there is a lack of sound methodology and ability to reflect critically on teaching practice (Reed et al. 2002). For teachers with little subject knowledge or methodological understanding, statements like: "Learners should move from being passive inheritors of culture to being active participants in it" are either intimidating or meaningless, possibly both (RNCS 2002b, 25).

My experience as a music education lecturer in the University of the Witwatersrand's Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) course from 2004 to 2009 confirms that teachers' own education, and their lack of Arts and Culture teacher training or subject knowledge, makes it difficult to implement curriculum requirements or principles.[12] Furthermore, facilitating these courses has confirmed the PEI findings that "teachers have accepted the desirability of learner-centred pedagogy, but are unable to practise it" (Taylor and Vinjevold 1999, 142). Nevertheless, teachers express a real desire to learn and teach music. Allied with developing in-depth subject knowledge, I propose that the gap between ideals and practice can be bridged methodologically. Developing a methodology for practising learner-centredness would enable teachers to account for and develop their learners' prior musical knowledge and skills.

1.2.3 Resources

The second issue this research responds to is the lack of resources in Arts and Culture education, understood broadly as physical materials, knowledge and inner resources, and teaching capacity. There are two kinds of resource deficiencies: perceptual and physical. First is the teachers' lack of awareness that they themselves, their learners and environments are sources of knowledge or skill resources. Facilitating the ACE course has highlighted the disparities between teachers' perceived lack of resources and their capacity to make music themselves. Instead of recognising that, like their learners, they come to the teaching and learning situation with a wealth of cultural experience, teachers tend to look to authority (experts or textbooks) for physical and knowledge resources. Most of the educators I have taught equate music education with learning staff notation, and therefore feel disempowered and lack confidence in this learning area (as few have had a Western musical education). The belief that teaching music means learning how to read staff notation is pervasive: it is viewed as a panacea for inexperience and lack of resources.

[12] The Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE), Arts and Culture is a two-year, part-time, in-service training course for educators teaching in the Arts and Culture learning area of the General Education and Training band of the National Curriculum (Grades R-9). It is offered by the University of the Witwatersrand School of Arts with the School of Education (Andrew 2008a; 2009) and Stellenbosch University (Smit 2007).

Perceptions of what constitutes music education translate into beliefs about the location and nature of musical knowledge. Cultural environments and children are not seen as potential knowledge resources; most teachers I have worked with place knowledge and musical skills with 'experts'. Such beliefs were inculcated in their own education and training in fundamental pedagogics, which was based on transmission models of teaching that asserted that knowledge was found in textbooks (Taylor and Vinjevold 1999). Among other factors, teachers' lack of confidence in Arts and Culture can be attributed to the "authoritarian practices" of fundamental pedagogic that "silenced teachers as only those with the science are qualified to speak" (Enslin 1990, 100). Furthermore, the hegemony of Western classical music in South African music education historically has largely prevented recognition of the legitimacy of other musical practices as valid knowledge and skill resources.

I turn now to the learners themselves. Underlying the inherited views of teaching and learning is a conception of the learner as ignorant, waiting to be guided by the all-knowing, adult teacher, whose task it is to transmit knowledge and skills to the learner (Taylor and Vinjevold 1999). Consequently, the idea of a learner already possessing musical knowledge and skill is, for many teachers, a foreign one. In my experience, learners are seldom viewed as potential musical resources. International music education research confers that, "too often a deficit view of children's musical ability pervades teaching-learning interactions in school settings, as educators measure children's musical ability solely against the communities of musical practice extant in the adult musical world" (Barrett 2005a, 189). (I explore children's own musicality as a potential teaching resource later in this chapter).

The lack of material resources is, however, real. The legacy of Bantu education resulted in a dearth of physical and infrastructural resources and many schools today are still not equipped to deliver quality learning programmes in visual arts, dance, drama and music. Coupled with a lack of human capacity, particularly a lack of awareness of immediate environments as a potential cultural resource, teachers turn to textbooks as their only source of teaching material. I propose that overcoming the problems of the dearth of resources (in both senses) includes broadening an understanding of resources in music teaching. This research therefore explores and responds to the issue of resources as "those objects and actions that we draw on in our various practices" (Reed et al. 2003, 59).

Hence this research is based on questions emerging from my experiences teaching learners and educators and from South African education research more broadly: What does learner-centredness mean in Arts and Culture learning? What would enable teachers to develop it in a substantive way? How can inexperienced Arts and Culture educators be empowered with theoretical and methodological tools that can meaningfully inform teaching and learning? What are the resources for learning in South African music education? Do current approaches in South African music education offer any solutions?

1.2.4 Challenges in South African music education

A third issue this research addresses is the contradictory nature of current South African music education approaches. To explain these I present an overview of the literature and trends, beginning with the framework of the Arts and Culture learning area statement (Department of Education 2002b) and moving to multiculturalism and the Musical Arts Education in Africa approach to music education (Herbst et al. 2003).

1.2.4.1 The Arts and Culture learning area

The South African Arts and Culture curriculum forms the background of this research. I describe some of its basics tenets here in order to present an idea of what teachers are required to engage with. Arts and Culture is one of the eight "Learning Areas" (subjects) prescribed by the National Qualifications Framework outlined in the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) (Department of Education, 1996) and revised in the RNCS (2002a). Derived from the South African Constitution, curriculum principles are couched in the discourse of inclusivity, access, redressing past inequities, human rights and democracy. Each of the eight learning areas from Grades R to Nine incorporate these overarching ideals. These include fostering a new sense of national identity based on dignity and respect for all people, articulated in the Arts and Culture learning area statement as "developing an awareness of national culture to promote nation-building" (Department of Education 2002a, 5). Arts and Culture learning is underpinned by a sense of African culture and positioned within a broader political impetus of reclaiming South Africa's rich and diverse cultural heritage. It seeks to "redress historical imbalances" and develop "creative and innovative individuals and responsible citizens" (Ibid.).

The Arts and Culture learning area incorporates four components that educators are expected to be able to teach, namely, Music, Drama, Dance and Visual Arts. In following the new curriculum, educators are expected to devise learning materials based on its underlying principles (in general) and the specific learning outcomes (LOs) and assessment standards (ASs) in particular. The LOs and ASs in each strand of Arts and Culture show the educator what skills, knowledge and values learners should demonstrate or achieve throughout the foundation, intermediate and senior phases. The curriculum's critical and developmental outcomes outline the kind of learner that is envisaged: one who can identify and solve problems; make decisions using critical and creative thinking; work effectively with others; communicate in different modes; demonstrate an understanding of the world; reflect on and explore a variety of learning strategies; and be culturally and aesthetically sensitive across a range of social contexts (Ibid., 1). The Arts and Culture learning area emphasises Arts and

Culture's integral role in life and human endeavour and encourages learners to explore living and past cultures, acknowledging that cultures are not static: they have histories and contexts "and change, especially when they come into contact with other cultures" (Ibid.).

The scope of the learning area is very broad, intending to "provide exposure and experience for learners in Dance, Drama, Music, Visual Arts, Craft, Design, Media and Communication, Arts Management, Arts Technology and Heritage" (Ibid.). In this integrated arts curriculum learners are meant to make connections between the disciplines, based on the interrelatedness of these strands in most African arts. Across the GET education band, teachers are expected to cover equally "a variety of African and other classical Arts and Culture practices" as well as "innovative, emergent Arts and Culture practices" (Ibid., 6).

Among the positive aspects of the curriculum is its emphasis on linking Arts and Culture products and processes to larger cultural systems and encouraging learners' critical, reflective and creative thinking. It further stresses the "uniqueness" of the learning area in providing "opportunities to nurture and develop the creativity of learners" (Ibid., 7) and develop collaborative, resourceful skills. However, the curriculum assumes enormous proficiency on the part of teachers. They are expected to teach within and across the four strands, have specific knowledge of each art form and understand the connections between them, as well as know about diverse South African arts and cultures.

For the purposes of this research, the curriculum is taken as a given. Rather than critique it, I aim to explore whether a new approach to music education may be introduced within the current curriculum framework.

1.3 Theory and literature review

There are various bodies of literature relevant to this research: multiculturalism and African musical arts education in South Africa; the international Praxial philosophy of music education; local and international studies of children's musical games and, finally, the Multiliteracies literature. First I discuss South African music education literature and then research documenting South African children's games. I review the South African literature with regard to method and theory in order to explain why this thesis has closer connections to trends in the international literature. The latter include international studies of children's games, and international music education philosophy. Finally, I examine the Multiliteracies theory and pedagogy to ground the research.

As this review covers a wide range of literature in different disciplines, it does not constitute an exhaustive account of all the possible literature relevant to this research. Rather, I present a literature review and theoretical framework in order to advance and substantiate the central argument of the thesis: that children's musical games can be recruited for pedagogy, and the methodology implied by this recruitment can take into account the complex contexts of South African Arts and Culture education.

1.3.1 Multiculturalism in music education

While it is not within the ambit of this research to trace a history of South African music education, I outline some major developments as a context for reviewing its literature and underlying philosophies. I consider a select number of South African music education texts in terms of their theoretical, political positions, relevant to the context of this study.

Since the late 1980s there have been two main ideological and political thrusts in South African music education: multiculturalism and Africanism. The debate between the two concerns how to engage difference – specifically, how to deal with shifts in cultural power demanded by the new curriculum. The debate so far in contemporary South Africa is between the liberal philosophy of multiculturalism – all are equal – and the more Africanist approach.

Before the development of Curriculum 2005 or the RNCS, some South African music education bodies had begun to recognise the necessity of including African music in the curriculum, to counteract the predominant Western music education methods (Oehrle 1993, 255). The South African Society for Music Education (SAMES) developed the principles of a "democratic multicultural music education" in line with educational transformation during the mid-1990s (Ibid.). SAMES became a forum under the principles of "equal and compulsory" (a legislative aspect of music education) and the notion that "music education in Southern Africa must shed its exclusive Euro-centric basis" (Mngoma 1988; Oehrle 1998). The early 1990s saw the beginnings of a dialogue and exchange between ethnomusicology and music education in response to the need for a South African music education that reflected the country's cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity. This link is evident in the appearance of certain teaching materials, particularly the periodical *The Talking Drum* (from 1991) wherein ethnomusicologists present materials for teaching African instrumental and vocal music.[13]

[13] *The Talking Drum* is a publication of NETIEM (the Network for the Promotion of Intercultural Education through Music) (Oehrle 2005). Initially the mouthpiece for SAMES, *The Talking Drum* is now a mouthpiece for the Pan African Society for Musical Arts Education (PASMAE) and provides classroom teaching ideas based on South African 'traditional' music as well as a database and resource of publications in African Musical Arts education (Oehrle 2005, 224).

In what she terms "a philosophy and process of inter-cultural music education", Elizabeth Oerhle encourages educators to look at "our own practices" for methods and content. Oerhle calls for a new "education through music" that draws on research into music-making in Africa (1993, 255). Together with that of other members of SAMES, Oerhle's work (1987; 1990; 1993; 1996; 1998) attempts to counteract misconceptions about African music, promoting its values as a vehicle for breaking down racial barriers and prejudice (1996, 99). Oerhle's approach, along with further research in music education by Hauptfleisch et al. (1993), Moore (1994), Delport (1996) and Hauptfleisch (1997), represents the first shift towards inclusivity, and attempts to counteract the effects of a colonial education and a "Western orientated music syllabus … of little relevance to a large proportion of South African children" (Herbst, De Wet and Rijsdijk 2005, 263).[14]

Much South African music education literature now advocates a multicultural approach, drawing from the philosophy of multicultural music education internationally (Anderson and Campbell 1996; Floyd 1996; Volk 1998; Campbell 1991; 2004a). Although these ideas have now been tempered internationally (as discussed below), multiculturalism remains a cornerstone of music education in South Africa, and is echoed in the RNCS.

SAMES aimed to achieve an "intercultural" music syllabus that would draw on South African musical cultures and traditions and include "a strongly practical creative basis" (Oehrle 2005, 220). SAMES envisaged that "all music of South Africa must be taught in teacher training programmes and be made available to all children" (Oerhle 1990). In response to multicultural music education internationally, Janet Barrett points out that "the teacher faces what may seem as an alternatively bewildering or liberating panorama of choices for guiding students' musical growth and experience in classroom settings" (2007, 156). In the South African context, I argue that such ideals assume considerable proficiency on the part of teachers (and trainers), and are difficult to achieve because teachers require knowledge of, and experience in, an array of musical practices. Policies that expect the teacher to expose learners to music of *all* cultures tend to cause a kind of paralysis, particularly for teachers who have no formal musical training. Moreover, multiculturalism has been criticised internationally for its tendency towards an oversimplified notion of the race-identity-culture relationship.[15]

A different local approach to education theories, philosophies and methods is proposed in African Musical Arts Education (Herbst et al. 2003; Herbst 2005; 2007; Nzewi 2005; Mans 2006; Masoga, et al. 2009), which, in its ethnomusicological orientation, resonates more closely with the interests of this research than multiculturalism.

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[14] The impact of colonialism and apartheid on music education in South Africa is considered in Primos (2001); Herbst, De Wet and Rijsdijk (2005) and Akrofi (2007).

[15] For a critique of uncritical multiculturalism in music education, see Regelski 2000.

1.3.2 Africanist approaches to music education

'New South African music education', largely inaugurated by PASMAE through its publication *Musical arts in Africa: Theory, practice and education* (Herbst et al. 2003) is linked to initiatives in music education on the African continent and intends to redress past inequities.[16] It is placed within an African Renaissance philosophy that aims to "deepen an understanding of Africa and its methods of development, and thus its indigenous knowledge systems" (Herbst 2007, 163). African musical arts education promotes the centrality of indigenous African cultural knowledge in the Arts and Culture curriculum and aims for an arts education that is "holistic, enabling the learner to become a competent composer, performer and critic" (Nzewi 2003, 13).

With a strong South African presence PASMAE "assists music educators in Africa in the preservation and teaching of knowledge of the music cultures of African societies" (Akrofi 2007, 153). The PASMAE philosophy, approach and its associated literature is motivated by an Africanist, recuperative imperative, in response to the "erosion of indigenous musical arts by colonialist and apartheid education" (Nzewi 2009a).[17] These moves have resulted in the desire to return to "traditional musical arts education", based on an African philosophy of transmitting, teaching and learning music, in keeping with musical practices "within the context of societal norms" (Herbst, De Wet and Rijsdijk 2005, 262).

Historically, formal music education during apartheid was present in white schools, but black schools did not have access to any music education, except in informal choral training (Primos 2001; Herbst 2007). Redressing educational inequalities has resulted in efforts to incorporate "indigenous knowledge systems" in Arts and Culture learning in order to "make children experience and fully understand the rich musical and cultural heritage of their traditions" (Akrofi 2007, 154). The African musical arts literature supports a return to traditional, indigenous musics as the basis for music education, emphasising an "indigenous African methodology", particularly for learning instrumental music (Nzewi 2005; 2006; 2009a). It presents ways of transforming music education systems so that traditional African musical arts are valued equally with Western music. PASMAE's endeavours represent important efforts to Africanise music education still dominated by Western music.

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[16] African Musical Arts Education is a professional group, developed by PASMAE to promote African music education. The term 'African Musical Arts' was coined by Meki Nzewi at the first PASMAE conference in 2001, to reflect the integrated nature of music, dance, drama and the visual arts in Africa. Although not explicitly a methodology, the members of 'Musical arts of Africa' share broadly similar approaches to music education that are evident in the literature under consideration.

[17] Agawu (2003) and Nzewi (1999) have strongly criticised the colonial influence of music education and its negative effect on African music. However, Akrofi argues that the positive effects of western colonialism include the creation of new genres and musical cultures that are recognised as African and that fuse Western and African musical characteristics, styles and systems (2007, 145-146).

Hence the African musical arts philosophy is an attempt to counteract the effects of a colonial system of music education that "alienated Africans from their cultural heritage" (Mngoma 1988, 122).[18] African musical arts education advances the use of traditional pedagogies in music education programmes in South Africa (Nzewi 2005). The overriding impetus to move away from Western music, its forms, learning methods and literacies is particularly strong in the African musical arts literature (see especially Nzewi 2009a).

The African musical arts position is understandable given the history of colonial education. South Africa's pre-1994 curriculum "concentrated on promoting Western lifestyles, behaviour patterns, heritage, knowledge and belief systems, to the detriment of many indigenous cultural practices" (Herbst, De Wet and Rijsdijk 2005, 264). In music education, the belief that "learning staff notation and playing Western instruments" is still a "prize achievement for many students" is pervasive (Ibid..). Ironically, although the South African Arts and Culture curriculum explicitly promotes teaching and learning of diverse cultures and musics, the educational 'capital' assigned to Western art music and its written literacy prevents an appreciation of oral musical traditions, and particularly "music in everyday life" (De Nora 2000) as musical practices with their own literacies and aesthetics.

The music education literature written since South Africa's democracy in 1994 is therefore explicitly political and philosophically Africanist. The texts and accompanying teaching materials focus on learning different African musical arts, using indigenous teaching methodologies (Herbst et al. 2003; Nzewi 2005; Herbst 2005; Mans 2006; Masoga et al. 2009).

1.3.2.1 Reviewing the African musical arts philosophy of music education

My review and critique of the African musical arts movement is argued through considering its main publication *Musical arts in Africa: Theory, practice and education* (Herbst et al. 2003) and similar PASMAE publications: *Emerging solutions for musical arts education in Africa* (Herbst 2005), and *Learning the musical arts in contemporary Africa* (Nzewi 2005).

Musical arts in Africa: Theory, practice and education (Herbst et al. 2003) is a pioneering collaborative effort, with contributions from thirty-one African scholars, drawing on multidisciplinary perspectives of musicology, ethnomusicology, performance, composition, research and education. Intended to be a valuable resource for students and educators, *Musical arts in Africa* is mainly an education workbook, with some theoretical discussion explaining how African musical arts are learnt,

[18] Since the launch of PASMAE in 2001 much of the music education literature has focused on "de-colonising music curricula" (Herbst 2007) and advocating African philosophies and methods of teaching music (by which is meant "indigenous sub-Saharan African musical arts") (Herbst et al. 2005, 262). See also Akrofi 2007.

practised and transmitted. It includes useful, practical classroom activities and projects. It thus implicitly articulates with the new curriculum, fulfilling the intention of the Arts and Culture learning area to "provide exposure and experiences for learners" in a variety of modes and "develop an awareness of national cultures" (Department of Education 2002b, 12). It describes and explains musical learning, and the development of skills, knowledge and values inherent in African music-making principles. *Musical arts in Africa* promotes ensemble playing as a key mode of social learning, corresponding with one of the Arts and Culture learning area curriculum's outcomes that requires learners to be "able to demonstrate personal and interpersonal skills through individual and group participation in Arts and Culture activities", highlighting the importance of both personal and social development (Ibid., 18). Because the curriculum's learning outcomes are divided into the kinds of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that learners need to acquire, this book is particularly useful and applicable in contemporary South African classrooms.

The publication makes explicit links between music education and ethnomusicology, both in content and methodology. Its methodological contributions include strategies such as "collaborative applied research", focusing on learners' own responses and reflective practice that are central to the Arts and Culture curriculum (Nzewi 2003). For example, Learning Outcome Two (reflecting) requires learners to "reflect critically and creatively on artistic and cultural processes, products and styles in past and present contexts" (Department of Education 2002b, 18). The questions Nzewi asks – the kinds of questions an ethnomusicologist would ask – form a useful model for educators. Further strategies like having an "indigenous expert as artist-in-residence" (Nixon et al. 2003, 66) are similar to initiatives in other art disciplines such as the Artists in Schools programme in visual art.[19] The authors identify a variety of learning sites and contexts and recognise communities as important learning resources. Such creative strategies help to address the problem of lack of resources and access to Arts and Culture, especially for under-resourced schools.

The most theoretically substantial chapter (Agawu 2003) interrogates terms like 'African' and 'music' in a style that resonates with the Curriculum's intention to develop learners "who can participate in society as critical, active citizens" (Department of Education 2002a, 11). Kofi Agawu seeks a theory that will not smooth away the rough edges produced by the coming together of indigenous and metropolitan conceptions, but rather accommodate the resulting tensions and contradictions (2003, 10). Agawu's approach is important for learners today. The South African cultural reality is fraught with tension, contradiction, and inequity. I contend that critically informed Arts and Culture education

[19] The Artists in Schools Programme was implemented by the Curriculum Development Project and Wits School of Arts in Johannesburg between 2003 and 2005.

can help children live with contradiction by bringing to the surface tensions between cultural practices and styles and engaging with the results of the power of certain practices over others. Furthermore, and significantly for this project, Agawu validates learners as cultural practitioners: he proposes that educators recognise that learners also create culture instead of only receiving it. He encourages a sense of interrogation, exploration and reflection in learners. Unfortunately, Agawu's critical stance, and his suggestions for a pedagogy that takes complexity into account, is not adopted in the rest of the text, nor in subsequent African Musical Arts publications.

Similarly, the teaching materials *Learning the musical arts in contemporary Africa: Volumes I and II* (Nzewi 2005) do not engage critically with different musical practices and in my view are alienating to the average South African Arts and Culture educator, particularly in their complex language and presentation. The two-volume series is a learning programme for teaching African musical arts. The content and methodology is outlined in "culture-environmental sensitive modules for musical arts education [that] accentuate the imperatives of cultural knowledge acquisition that enriches and enlightens an African cultural self" (Nzewi 2005, 56). The series is intended to equip learners and teachers "with the right theoretical and practical competencies through the provision of culture-derived literary and practical resources" (Ibid.). Although informed by indigenous knowledge systems, *Learning the musical arts* reverts to using staff notation as the basis for learning rhythm and pitch or melody, tending to de-contextualise musical activities from their social practice in ways that seem at odds with the stated intention of the teaching materials to use indigenous pedagogies (particularly oral learning through imitation and apprenticeship). Furthermore, its presentation of learning discrete musical elements seems particularly un-African. This form of learning 'musical concepts' is critiqued in the international Praxial approach (Elliott 1995; 2005), which the same African musical arts literature purports to follow.

1.3.2.2 Challenges of implementing the African Musical Arts approach

The conceptual and theoretical problems in the African musical arts literature reviewed above are emblematic of the challenges facing music education in South Africa, and Africa more broadly. Primos acknowledges that "it is impossible to consider music learning and development in Africa without being drawn into historical, cultural and political issues" (2001, 1). That there are "fundamentally different approaches to music learning in African and Western traditions, together with popular culture" (Ibid.). produces dilemmas of how to teach music in Africa and what to teach. More specifically, Primos identifies the problems of learning 'tradition' (10), based on a pervading conception that traditional cultures are static. She points out the incompatibility of formal music learning and assessment of achievement levels and "the musical development of the African child" (11). Because traditional or indigenous music relies so much on its social context, singing traditional

songs in the classroom may be incongruous. Transplanting what are in fact old, past ways of learning and practising music (of the imagined rural Africa), may not work in the classroom, unless careful methodologies for doing so are considered.

On a more practical note, Akrofi acknowledges the difficulty of implementing the African Musical Arts approach as teachers would need to be proficient in one or more 'indigenous musics' (2007). Although the RNCS incorporates aspects of an African musical arts education, its own proponents acknowledge the difficult task of implementation: "the gap between political initiatives and documents … and curriculum innovation and implementation, on the other, is still very wide and needs to be bridged" (Akrofi 2007, 154). Given the fact that South African teachers generally lack musical training, whether Western or African, questions of how to implement an African Musical Arts approach remain.

On a more fundamental level, there are multiple interpretations of what music education actually means, amongst black Arts and Culture teachers. Conceptual problems related to musical epistemology surface in reports on the state of music education in Cape schools (and are borne out by my own experiences teaching South African Arts and Culture teachers). Because the word 'music' in African languages is "semantically diffuse" (Agawu 2003, 1-2), there may be misconceptions amongst African language speakers that music means reading and writing music, or playing from a score, "related to a higher form of performance" and that singing and dancing is not 'music' "because we do it naturally" (Herbst, De Wet and Rijsdijk 2005, 267). Implementing the new curriculum, including the integration of African musical arts practices, is thus "hamstrung by the problems teachers experience" (Ibid..), related to varied interpretations and experiences of culture and music associated with ethnic and linguistic and cultural difference.

Despite the strong desire to promote and teach African music in South African music education academia, research indicates that the teaching of African musical arts after the introduction of the revised curriculum in 1997 has not changed (Herbst, De Wet and Rijsdijk 2005, 264). In spite of the new curriculum's recognition of a performance-based African musical arts philosophy, "the commitment to integrated learning and indigenous knowledge systems is in practice undermined by the lack of capacity-building opportunities and facilities for teachers" (275). One response to this situation has been the establishment of teacher training programmes in African instrumental music and the development of accompanying teaching materials (Nzewi 2005).[20]

[20] An initiative of PASMAE, the Centre for Indigenous African Instrumental Music and Dance (CIIMDA) was established in 2001. It offers 10-day in-service training courses for music teachers in learning how to play African instruments. See Nzewi (2009b), where he outlines CIIMDA's "culture sensitive" musical arts teacher education.

Further responses are offered in *Emerging solutions for musical arts education in Africa* (Herbst 2005), which follows *Musical arts in Africa* and aims to address "problems unique to the African context" and to formulate African solutions (Herbst 2005, vi). With contributions from authors across Sub-Saharan Africa, the collection outlines the problems of implementing an African Musical Arts approach and offers practical solutions for using African musical traditions, forms and methods in the classroom. For example, in her chapter concerning Kenyan music education, Emily Akuno promotes the learning of "the child's musical mother tongue to teach music concepts and skills" (2005, 54). Children's songs are viewed as "integral to the formation of children's cultural identity" and an "agent of socialization" (Akuno 2005, 55). Similarly, integrating children's own music into formal teaching and learning is the basis for my project, albeit with different methods and purposes in mind.

Although texts such as *Emerging solutions* provide useful approaches and ideas for teaching African music within Arts and Culture education, I argue that the body of African musical arts literature posits notions of culture and identity that are problematic in the South African socio-political context.[21]

1.3.2.3 Critiquing the African Musical Arts philosophy

Moves to recuperate and celebrate South Africa's cultural heritage that the African musical arts literature reflects, are reasonable responses to the hegemony of Western music in music education.[22] I return to the main text (Herbst et al. 2003) in order to discuss why some of its assumptions are, I propose, problematic in the context of South African music education.

In attempting to do away with the "colonially infused aesthetics-based music appreciation taught in schools on the African continent" (Herbst 2007, 164), the African musical arts approach tends to supplant one hegemonic discourse with another. PASMAE aims to "put mother-tongue culture at the core of the curriculum" in each African country (Herbst 2007, 164); but the question for South Africa is, "what is mother-tongue culture?" The binary around which the African Musical Arts movement is organised (Western opposed to African) assumes that the two have never met – culturally, musically, linguistically or socially. Such a presentation of pure forms in this literature does not, I suggest, reflect actual cultural practices, or the social makeup of South Africa. Echoing much current writing and research in South African music education, *Musical arts in Africa* tends to imply fixed cultural

[21] For an exploration of the problematic of cultural essentialism, and conflation of 'culture' with identity, see *Questions of cultural identity* (Hall and Du Gay 2003). In relation to music and identity Frith's chapter in this volume is particularly illuminating.

[22] Robert Davis offers reasons for underlying philosophies of "reclaiming heritage" and elevating "cultural authenticity" of music education in societies where traditional musics have been marginalised as education subjects – as evident in *Musical arts in Africa*: "The music of an imagined agrarian past, especially in the instruction of the young, underlined a growing belief in music as the key to the recovery of lost cultural patrimonies malignly submerged by the combined effects of imperial oppression and the dislocating yet homogenising forces of industrialisation" (2005, 50).

identities, forms and practices, which bear little resemblance to real social contexts, which are characterised by cultural fluidity, dialogue and mixing.[23]

Music education as espoused in the African musical arts philosophy does not account for hybrid practices, either theoretically or methodologically. It assumes the existence, and by implication supports the teaching, of 'pure' forms based on an "indigenous theory" of musical arts teaching in Africa (Nzewi 2003). In its failure to engage with mixed, urban practices, this philosophy and approach runs the risk of essentialising culture, race and language, which is problematic for an education underpinned by principles of democracy and social justice.[24]

Such positioning of different cultures and musics has been interrogated in some international music education philosophy that asserts music education's "responsibility to a multicultural ethic of diversity, hybridity and difference" while accommodating the tension with "ethnic and cultural particularism" (Davis 2005, 47). Multiculturalism has been criticised internationally because "the emphasis on the essentialism and homogeneity of cultures is misleading for complex, pluralistic societies" (Regelski 2000, 10). Internationally, music education has recognised the problematics of cultural essentialism. However in South Africa multiculturalism has developed in the opposite direction. I argue that the cultural essentialism implied in Africanist approaches is politically problematic in relation to apartheid categories of ethnic purity, and especially in the light of post-1994 South African education's explicit aims to create distance from apartheid practices.

Although *Musical arts in Africa* draws on ethnomusicology as a discipline in terms of (mostly historical) content, it does not take into account some of the discipline's more recent theories and methodologies, nor its study of syncretic and hybrid cultural forms.[25] Recognising cultural complexity and the richness of urban cultures in the way ethnomusicology does is particularly significant for this project. I argue that in South African music education it is important to interrogate notions of 'tradition' and 'authenticity', and that these questions should be explored with learners. Part of music education's task, I suggest, is to open up such conversations with children, to talk about the relationships between the child and her musical and cultural world, and those of others.

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[23] See, for example, my review of Laurie Levine's *Traditional music of South Africa* (2005) along with a range of other music education resources (Harrop-Allin 2005).

[24] In the Arts and Culture learning area, constitutional values find expression in developmental outcomes that encourage learners to be "culturally and aesthetically sensitive" and to understand "cultural diversity" (Department of Education 2002b, 2). Developing tolerance and understanding of South Africa's different language and cultural groups, I argue, is not served by essentialising them and treating them as pure and separate.

[25] For example, ethnographies that explore syncretic musical forms (Waterman 1990; Coplan 1994; 2007; Erlmann 1991) and Carol Muller's *Music of South Africa* (2008), which focuses on South African music in its complexity and seeks to dispel essentialising cultural stereotypes about African musics and their history.

Methodologically, South African music education approaches could draw more from ethnomusicology's close observation, recording and description of what is actually musically present, instead of what is expected. Davis contends that "multiple and fluid hermeneutics can open music education to experimental, heteronomous systems of organisation and practice grounded in the actual materialities of different cultures and societies" (2005, 58). Ethnomusicology's view of music as a social practice, created by and creating culture, could meaningfully inform music pedagogy. Ethnomusicology's reflexive and critical methodologies and epistemologies have been engaged internationally in Praxial music education (Elliott 1995; 2005; Regelski 2004; 2005a; 2005b) but have yet to do so in South Africa.

Problematic conceptions of musics and cultures highlight how perception affects understanding: "we see the world as *we* are" (Barlex and Carre, quoted in Elliott 2005). Ethnomusicology foregrounds perception by emphasising its methodology; its practice therefore informs its theory. This is a central principle of the praxis approach shaping contemporary music education (Regelski 2004; 2005a). Similarly connecting theory, practice and methodology, Tia De Nora (2000) maintains that the question of how music works – and how music works for children – is "essentially an ethnographic one" (Shepherd 2002, 9). The relevance of De Nora's argument to this project is explained in my focus on the way music 'works' for township children in Chapter Five.

The impetus for Multicultural arts education is broadly social and political; most of this literature does not provide any coherent methodological basis for music education. My research differs from both the multicultural and Africanist approaches as it uses what is present culturally – in the way ethnomusicology does – as opposed to what fits into pre-determined categories. Thus this project does not iterate any existing political ideology as manifested in music education philosophies discussed; rather it provides space for possible future cultural movements and cultural politics. I propose alternative music pedagogies and ways of validating multiculturalism. Therefore this research does not engage directly with the South African music education literature; rather it is located within international music education literature.

1.3.3 A methodological response

The variety of musical and cultural content available for teaching Arts and Culture in South Africa is considerable. Furthermore, definitions and conceptions of culture, tradition, music and art are complex and contested. In South Africa, there may be as many diverse understandings of "what music is", or "what music is for", as there are people and cultures. In response to multiculturalism, the dangers of unmediated Africanism, the contradictions and demands of the curriculum, and the practical problematics of learner-centredness, I propose a methodological response.

Keith Swanwick first introduced the idea of praxis in music education (1979; 1988). It was later developed philosophically and pedagogically by David Elliott (1995; 2005), and theoretically by Thomas Regelski (2000; 2004; 2005a; 2005b). Swanwick proposed a need for sound methodologies, asserting that "because musical experiences are so complex, but elusive, and music manifests so differently in different settings, for education our procedure becomes important – evolving a set of procedures which remain steady in many situations" (1979, 40). His central premise is to find common ground on which music and music education can exist.

Swanwick's argument for focusing on approach is particularly compelling and pertinent to this project in the light of the music education landscape I have outlined. For example, some of the problems identified in current education policy are that it fails to respond to actual teaching and learning contexts (Taylor 1999; Brodie 2000; Jansen 1999a). What is needed, I argue, is an approach to music education that can respond to teaching and learning contexts. Hence, my fundamental questions are: is it possible to evolve a music education methodology that remains constant in the face of the inconstancy, change and complexity of music as a subject? Is there a method that is transferable across different teaching and learning sites?

I suggest that because learning is grounded on primary experiences, these should form the basis of educational practice from which theory and methodologies are formulated. Given the problems and constraints in Arts and Culture education, I propose a response to the actual practices of both learners and teachers and the development of a pedagogy that moves from practice to theory. This research therefore offers a methodology that is able to account for specific contexts in a way that the South African curriculum, multiculturalism, and aspects of the Africanist approach do not. I argue that music education pedagogy should in the first instance respond to what already exists musically, and suggest therefore that the primary step is to identify what this is.

1.3.3.1 Observing practice: children's musical games

Based on my observations of learners' musical play at three Soweto township primary schools in 2005 and 2006, I propose that music educators look outside the classroom – to the playgrounds, streets and communities – and consider what learners' life-worlds look and sound like. My observations reveal that children's lives are marked by an active engagement with artistic practices: visual art-making, songs, games, dances and chants. These form the fabric of learners' social and personal interactions, their identities, relationships and understanding of the world. Township children make and manipulate

music as part of the way they play; "musicking" is integral to their everyday lives (Small 1998).[26] Township school playgrounds are filled with musical games, dances and song.

1.3.3.2 Addressing contradictions

I suggest that shifting attention to learners' primary musical experiences is the starting point for developing a methodology in music education that accounts for specific contexts. The materials, inspiration and resources for both inexperienced and trained arts educators reside with the learners themselves. Rather than seeking musical content, ideas and teaching materials elsewhere, viewing learner's games as potential knowledge resources could provide inexperienced educators in particular with resources for learning. Developing teachers' ability to recognise, and then utilise, learners' musical practices in Arts and Culture pedagogy addresses the disjuncture between policy and practice in curriculum implementation. Such an approach, I suggest, would fundamentally shift the nature of music teaching and learning.

"Accessing learner repertoires and interests as an entry point in Arts and Culture study" also addresses the issue of learner-centredness (Andrew 2006a, 10). Despite the challenges inherent in implementing learner-centredness, I suggest that considering children's musical games as potential teaching and learning resources facilitates the development of a learner-centred pedagogy. South African education research demonstrates that this is possible. Brodie, for example, shows that even in a severely under-resourced teaching context, a teacher in her university education course came to "view herself and her pupils as her primary resources and consistently works with pupils' knowledge" (2000, 138). Brodie also confirms my contention that under-resourced schools need accessible theoretical and methodological tools to practise learner-centredness. I propose that educators harness the richness of children's musical practices and develop a method to incorporate and develop the musical capacities learners demonstrate outside the classroom.

It is evident from my research, however, that many teachers do not recognise their learners' games as musical practices, nor their relation to pedagogy. Teachers' conceptions of knowledge-location, and their views of learners as ignorant, contrast starkly with the richness of children's musicking. The result is a dichotomy between children's playground music-making and what happens in the classroom. What emerges from the township school context are disparities between teachers' and learners' practices, and a dislocation between knowledge and learning sites. I suggest that addressing

[26] Christopher Small coined the term 'musicking' in his book of the same name (1998). Elliott uses 'musicing' to mean the same (1995; 2005). Both terms emphasise the action of music-making. 'Musicking' is used as an all-encompassing term in music education literature (Regelski 2004; Campbell 1998a). In the context of this research, 'musicking' includes township children's different styles of singing, their vocalising, chanting, rapping, clapping and moving to sounds in dances and in circle, pair and line games.

this ‘lack of fit’ between school and children’s musical lives is essential for developing a learner-centred approach.

1.3.3.3 Addressing the dislocation between in-school and outside-school musics

Globally, music educators often grapple with the difference between children’s relationship with teacher-driven music education in school and children’s positive engagement with their own music outside school. [27] This disjuncture between classroom and ‘everyday life’ is discussed in a range of literature. Carmen Luke maintains that:

> If schooling refuses to deal with the texts of everyday life − which include media and school texts − then educators will indeed separate, not bridge, the experiential and knowledge gap between both teacher and students (1997, 47).

Luke’s comment implies that including children’s ‘everyday’ musical practices in classroom learning would help to bridge the gap between teachers and learners. Similarly, in a project entitled “Music education and everyday life”, music educators in Brazil aimed to connect classroom activities to children’s experiences of music in their own lives (Torres and Souza 2005). Based on De Nora’s conception of music and social agency, Torres and De Souza highlight “the importance of connecting the reality of children’s lives with the music classroom” (2000). In music education, therefore, it is not only musical traditions that are transmitted (in the way African musical arts education espouses), but a broader connection with the way music operates in everyday life.

Increasingly, music educators recognise the necessity for “bringing informal music learning practices into formal settings” (Green 2008, 4). Community music practitioners raise questions about how children’s musical experiences outside school could intersect with school learning. Sheri Jaffurs identifies the discontinuities between formal and informal music learning environments, how schools can become alienating for children when they do not attempt to connect to children’s lives. Jaffurs (2006) suggests that informal music learning processes can inform school learning, potentially closing the gap between in-school and outside-school contexts. On South African township playgrounds, children’s musicking constitutes forms of “informal music learning”; I suggest that Arts and Culture educators can develop the collaborative musical learning inherent in learners’ games, in the classroom, as proposed in literacy and music education internationally.

New Literacy Studies research (Street 1997; 2005; Pahl and Rowsell 2005; 2006) identifies similar discrepancies between informal and formal learning: a gap between literacy teaching and the

[27] These disparities are not unique to South African schools: more broadly in education, the dislocation between in-school and outside-school practices is recognised in music (Giroux and Simon 1989; Green 2002; 2008) and literacy education (Pahl and Rowsell 2005; Stein and Mamabolo 2005; Stein 2008).

"sophisticated set of practices students use outside school" (Pahl and Rowsell 2005, 3). My research in township schools reveals a contradiction between children's musical practices on the playground and the way music is taught. Pahl and Rowsell's work is informative for this project in facilitating an understanding of children's communicative repertoires and practices and their implications for teaching and learning. The authors propose that educators connect "sites of practice" in pedagogy to address the dislocation that exists between home and school, classroom and playground (Pahl and Rowsell 2005). "Crossing sites of practice" is an important theme in this research, and is explored in Chapters Six, Eight and Nine.

Like those working in New Literacy Studies, Nita Temmerman in Australia argues for connecting children's musical participation in two sites (2005). She investigates the differences between home and school, asking what it is about children's musical involvement outside school that is so different from school music learning and teaching. Temmerman questions the function of music education and its 'fit' with children's lives. She identifies the incentives for learning provided by outside-school engagement in musical activity (like participating in a band, becoming a composer, or interacting and working with artists) and proposes that school music create similar learning incentives. Her proposals centre around music's meaning for children. Temmerman argues that educators need to "expand a view of music education to relate to the needs music fulfils outside schools" (2005, 116). Her arguments suggest a view of curriculum that crosses and connects multiple sites of learning and teaching.

An important reason for connecting sites of musical practice is that children's engagement with music outside school is closely associated with their identities, particularly their identification with popular culture. In *Popular culture: Schooling and everyday life* (1989), Giroux and Simon argue that schooling should connect to popular culture. Their reference to the "expressive practices and involvements of the everyday life of youth" is relevant to this project (Giroux and Simon 1989, 133). They contend that "popular culture cannot be ignored" in teaching because it is a "significant basis of knowledge" that is part of learner subjectivities (Ibid., 18). Paul Smith, however, emphasises that music education's aim is not only to acknowledge these subjectivities, but develop, build and extend them (1998, 34). The necessity to "extend student's subjective responses" (Ibid.) is essential in developing learner-centredness, and will be further explored in this study.

Lucy Green's work in the United Kingdom proposes similar connections. In *Music, informal learning and the school* she "considers how pedagogy in the music classroom could draw upon the world of informal popular music learning practices outside the school" (Green 2008, 1). Green's research connects informal and formal musical learning methods and represents a detailed examination and implementation of new music education pedagogies. Drawing on popular musicians' informal

learning practices, Green develops a pedagogy that aims to develop new musical skills and knowledges in the classroom. She examines what motivates popular musicians to learn and identifies their autonomy and capacity to work co-operatively as important factors (Ibid.). Through classroom-based research and working with teachers, Green explores how popular musicians' motivations for learning may be utilised in the classroom.

Part of the reason that Green advocates the use of popular music practice in pedagogy is to acknowledge and reflect students' identities (Ibid., 13). In developing a learner-centred approach that acknowledges learner subjectivities, many music educators explore the relationship between children's identities, embodied in their own music, and their relation to teaching (Wharton-Boyd 1983; Harwood 1998a; 1998b; Campbell 1991; 2004b; Barrett 2005b; Marsh 2008). The music children create themselves is a repository of children's layered identities, as Campbell asserts:
The songs and singing games, melodies, and rhythms that children choose to preserve, create, and re-create in variant forms are key signals of children's identity (2004b, 887).

Children's musical games also signal more specific identity traits such as ethnicity (Wharton-Boyd 1983; Merrill-Mirsky 1988) and gender (Grugeon 2001; 1993). Patricia O'Toole's argument that "a primary reason for music making is identity affirmation" is particularly relevant when considering the meanings of children's musical games (2005, 297). Her assertion that "context is the playground for identity formation" (Ibid.) also informs an approach that accounts for practice in music pedagogy. Identifying the playground in particular as a site of musical learning, Robert Davis foregrounds children's identity as an important reason to look outside the classroom and relate pedagogical practice to "playground spaces" (2005, 56).

This research responds, then, to the dislocation between in-school and outside-school knowledges, musical practices and experiences, by proposing that children's musical games become the starting point for music pedagogy. The reason for this is that children's musical games embody learners' personal, social and musical identities and their potential for further development (discussed in Chapter Three and Four). Both locally and internationally, there are precedents for exploring the implication of children's musical games for teaching.

Before discussing these precedents, it is necessary to acknowledge a body of literature on South African children's games. This research is not connected to education, but represents substantial and systematic documentation of what is termed "indigenous games" in South Africa.

1.3.4 Literature review and theoretical discussion of children's musical games

There is a body of literature outside music education that focuses on South African games and represents conventional socio-scientific description and documentation of "indigenous games." I suggest, however that because of its quantitative approach, this body of literature does not help us to understand or value children's musical games in particular, as cultural practices. I review this literature, its methods and theories of tradition and culture in order to present an alternative approach and then to locate my research in an international body of literature on children's games.

1.3.4.1 Engaging with the local research on children's games.

The body of research that has systematically documented and studied South African children's indigenous or 'traditional' games is located in the discipline of Sports, Games and Recreation Studies (Goslin and Goslin 2001; Burnett and Hollander 2002; 2004; Burnett 2003; 2006). [28] Traditional South African children's games are characterised as those that children of different ethnic groups have passed down by oral transmission. Traditional games are studied largely in terms of their relation to preserving South Africa's indigenous national heritage and fall under a broader indigenous knowledge systems research area in South Africa.[29] The relationship between theory, ideology, research aims and methods is particularly apparent in the indigenous games research. I use this aspect of the local research on children's games to argue for alternative methodologies for researching South African children's musical games.

As the broad intention of the South African 'indigenous games' research is to document, inventory and classify games of different groups, this research employs primarily quantitative methods. According to Burnett:

> In the international area of sport and national educational spheres traditional and/or indigenous games are instrumental in resisting cultural imperialism, developing a national identity and branding national unity (2006, abstract).

[28] South African research on children's indigenous games is published in journals such as The African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance or the South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation. Its location in the games, sports and leisure literature rather than anthropology or ethno/musicology could account for its prominent quantitative approach.

[29] The National Research Foundation's programme for research on South Africa's Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS), represents the major impetus for studying artistic processes and forms as ethnically and historically-defined cultural products. The National Indigenous Games Research Project (Burnett and Hollander 2002) is a comprehensive study of South African children's games in which eleven tertiary institutions collaborated, with data collected from 6489 participants (Burnett and Hollander 2004, abstract).

Rather than seeking to understand children's games for their intrinsic musical, social or communicative functions, or as cultural practices in their own right, children's games tend to be viewed instrumentally.

In this body of research, research methods are chosen to address aims like those described above. As a result, this research mainly utilises quantitative methods, focusing on collecting games from different cultural groups, using data collection methods like surveys and questionnaires. For example, in a study of children's games and play behaviour in the Northern Cape Province, "traditional heritage and indigenous games peculiar to a group were traced by utilising questionnaires" (Burnett and Sierra 2003, 29). The data is then classified according to "categorization and taxonomy" (Burnett 2006), "to be utilised for cross-cultural comparison" (Burnett 2003; Goslin and Goslin 2002). The tendency to quantify and therefore 'fix' children's games is revealed in *The South African Indigenous Games Project of 2001/2002* (Burnett and Hollander). The report classifies children's games into categories as follows: "Indigenous games were identified (from an 'emic' or insider's perspective) as indigenous ('belonging to us'), having been passed on between generations ('traditional') or created locally (indigenous)" (Burnett and Hollander 2004, 12).

Although the indigenous games research employs qualitative methods such as interviews and observation the data gathered is used to evaluate the "ethnic spread" of games between population groups and trace the traditional heritage of games from adults to children (Burnett et al. 2003). Using such quantitative methods to "trace traditional heritage" has, I suggest, led to an instrumental portrayal and evaluation of the purposes and meaningfulness of children's musical play.[30]

1.3.4.1.1 The indigenous games research's conception of culture and tradition

I suggest that data interpretation methods like taxonomy, classification and distribution of forms rely on, and reproduce a conception of children's games as quantifiable and unchanging. Although studies like these acknowledge that cultural traditions are not static, the indigenous games research posits fixed notions of culture, tradition and identity. Indigenous or traditional games are viewed as repositories of national ethnic identity and culture (Burnett 2006, abstract). These studies regard change as problematic for preserving traditional heritage, as Goslin and Goslin maintain:

> With modernization … nations tend to lose some of their indigenous cultural heritage. Economic, social and environmental changes have led to the demise of some traditional games indigenous to specific culture groups and geographical areas" (Goslin and Goslin 2002, abstract).

[30] The instrumental portrayal of children's musical games is critiqued in Baumann 1982, Bishop and Curtis 2001, Campbell 2004b and Marsh 2008.

The result of this view of cultural heritage is that the indigenous games research presents contemporary musical practices as fixed, unchanging cultural forms. The understanding that "traditional games communicate localised ethnic and socio-cultural identity of earlier times" implies that contemporary children's games are unchanged reproductions of historical games (Hirth 1991, quoted in Burnett and Hollander 2004, 12). Consequently, collections of South African children's games tend to represent children's play as cultural products, passed down through generations by oral transmission, rather than fluid processes of communication and representation. The notion of culture being "passed on" in the South African indigenous games literature is premised on an understanding of culture as "a broadly shared system of knowledge and its products" (Coplan 2008, 3).

However, I suggest that these theories of culture and tradition do not relate to practice. Furthermore, such conceptions of culture and tradition are generally refuted in the ethnomusicology literature on African and South African music (in for example Coplan 1994; 2008; Erlmann 1991; 1996; James 1999; Muller 2008). I also argue that part of the problematic portrayal of South African children's games relates to its underlying ideology. Because individual games are seen to represent the cultural heritage of specific linguistic or social groups, the indigenous games research tends to revert to an ethnic- and race-based conception of culture, which can be politically problematic in its representation of people. For example, in the "ranking of indigenous games among children from different population groups", data is presented according to apartheid's population groups, detailing which children play certain games – black, white, coloured and Indian children (Burnett et al. 2003, 20). The indigenous games research reveals an underlying divisive ideology in its classification of children's games according to race and ethnic groups. Portraying South African children, their musical practices, and cultures broadly in terms of race and ethnicity seems to conflict with the ideals of a post-apartheid, human rights-based democracy based on non-racialism and equity.

Despite the ideological, political problems that surface in the South African indigenous games research, I maintain that the primary difficulty in this research is that it cannot explain the actual nature of children's musical games in practice, because of its essentially quantitative methodologies.[31] Much of the complexity and richness of children's games is missed because children's music and dance play is not documented, described or interpreted in their performance context. Underpinned by fixed understandings of culture, research that employs quantitative methods cannot explain local inflections, hybridity or the situatedness of children's games, nor interpret the meanings of musical play for children themselves.

[31] I refer here to studies of indigenous or traditional games by Van der Merwe and Salter 1990; Van der Merwe and Bressan 1995; Saayman and Van Niekerk 1996; Burnett 2001, 2006; Burnett and Hollander (2002; 2004); Goslin and Goslin 2002; Burnett et al. 2003; Burnett and Sierra 2003.

1.3.4.1.2 Locating this research in an international body of literature

The influence of method on representation is particularly apparent in the indigenous games research; hence, I argue for alternative approaches to studying children's musical games congruent with an international body of literature. In contrast with the approach dominant in South Africa, the international children's folklore literature refutes the idea that children's play functions only as a means of social and cultural transmission (Opie and Opie 1988; Bishop and Curtis 2001; Factor 2001; Grugeon 2001; Marsh 2008). Like children's games globally, Soweto children's contemporary play highlights that their "folklore [is] a communicative process within the context of face-to-face-performance" rather than rooted in time" (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 6). As I will argue in Chapter Two, documenting children's playground music using an ethnographic approach reveals a more multifaceted picture of children's games than is presented in the South African indigenous games literature.[32]

I therefore locate my work within the international research on children's games (Harwood 1992; 1998a; 1998b; Campbell 1998a; 1998b; 2004b; Bishop and Curtis 2001; Factor 2001; Marsh 2001; 2008). Drawing on contemporary children's folklore research, I describe and interpret township learners' games as practices that involve the "active realisation of the knowledge in performance", rather than a set of historical texts passed down to each generation unchanged (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 6).

1.3.4.2 International studies of children's musical cultures

Internationally, there are two bodies of literature on children's musical games. The first concerns the documentation and study of children's musical games as a form of culture; the second is located in musical education and considers how children's musical games relate to pedagogy.

Historically located in folklore studies, the study of children's musical games mostly in the UK, Europe and the United States, is more than a century old (Campbell 2004b, 884). Children's musical games are regarded as folkloric because they are passed down through oral transmission and learnt by informal watching, listening and copying others (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 5). Musical games were first conceived of as cultural products or texts, then recognised as art forms specific to children, and more recently as expressive practices tied to identity, communication and sociality.[33] As the

[32] My argument for using an ethnographic approach, as well as the theoretical orientations underpinning ethnomusicology, is presented in Chapter Two (Methodology and Research Design).

[33] Amanda Minks (2002) provides such an overview of the ethnomusicological study of children's cultures, from "children's songs to expressive practices."

understanding of children's musical games developed, such games were recognised as having important implications for music education.

Early folklore collections primarily in the UK and Europe, presented 'childlore', such as children's games, rhymes, taunts, songs and riddles" (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 5) as 'cultural products' – texts passed down through generations of children (for example in Opie and Opie 1959; Knapp and Knapp 1976; Sutton-Smith 1976). Changes in the conception of 'childlore' shifted children's folklore research to recognise children's musical games as more than 'cultural products.' Drawing on anthropology and ethnomusicology, children's musical games were later documented through "observing and interviewing children themselves, rather than based on adult memories" (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 5-8). Game and song texts were studied in the context of their performance and in their social, cultural context (Baumann 1982; Addo 1995; Marsh 1995; 1999; Campbell 1998a; 2002). Musical, performance and movement aspects became integral to documenting children's folklore. "The conceptualisation of children's folklore as performance and communication", led to a focus not only on the social, developmental and educational aspects of children's musical play, but also on the "cultural, expressive and aesthetic" (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 7).[34]

The Opies, for example, changed their initial view of children as 'primitive adults' and in *The singing game* (1988), presented children's games as more than 'playthings': "Their verses were vivid, constantly renewed art-forms, which also functioned as vital social supports amid the jostling life of the school yard" (Boyes 1995, quoted in Bishop and Curtis, 2001). Since the late 1970s, children's games have been documented in their cultural context, viewing music as a changing phenomenon (Marsh 2008, 17). Highlighting musical games and their acquisition, folklorists and educators began to describe and analyse children's musical interactions, processes of transmitting songs, dances and games, as well as the influences on children's music (Merrill-Mirsky 1988; Riddell 1990; Addo 1995; Harwood 1992; 1993; 1994; 1998a; 1998b; Marsh 1995; 1997; 1999).

In ethnomusicology and anthropology, researching children's musical cultures was taken seriously since John Blacking published his book *Venda children's songs* (1967). Blacking's research helped validate children's musical play as "separate and autonomous" forms of culture rather than replicas of adult music (Campbell 2004b). His documentation of Venda children's songs, particularly his method of cultural analysis, is recognised as the one of the first studies that examines children's music as autonomous practice. In South Africa, Blacking's documentation and interpretations of Venda children's games is still regarded in the contemporary literature as the seminal ethnomusicological

[34] For an overview of the historical conceptions of children's culture, see Campbell 2004b.

study of children's musical games.[35] Although Blacking's work on Venda children's music is particularly influential in the field ethnomusicology, it represents only a small part of the historical and geographic repertoire drawn on by urban children and is therefore largely outside the remit of this work. While I do not draw directly on Blacking's work it informs this project and offers important contributions to research into the forms and functions of children's musical play.

Studies of children's musical cultures provide important information on young children's musical abilities and suggest that children already possess a number of musical competencies prior to formal instruction. Further work focuses specifically on children's musical games observed outside classroom settings, particularly on school playgrounds (Merrill-Mirsky 1988; Riddell 1990; Addo 1997; Marsh 1995; Factor 1988; 2001, Factor and Marshall 1992; Harwood 1992; 1994; 1998a; 1998b; Riddell 1990; Grugeon 1993; Curtis 2001; Barrett 2005b; Marsh 1995; 1997; 1999; 2008; Lum 2009).

Play today in the primary school playground (Bishop and Curtis 2001) offers a wide range of case studies that investigate children's free play activities, particularly their musical games. Ranging from studies of the etymology of one game, to gendered and linguistic dimensions of children's play, an examination of how children use playground space, and how children incorporate media influences into their games, this collection refutes the assumption that children's cultures are 'dying' (Bishop and Curtis 2001; Factor 2001). The chapters are organised around a rubric of the tension between continuity and change in children's musical play, interrogating the notion of tradition and emphasising children's own perceptions. The global documentation of children's musical games as embodiments of their identities, interests, interactions and values (Campbell 2004b), prompted the focus on children's musicking in music education. Children's artistic expressions are now acknowledged as worthy of study in cross-disciplinary scholarship, particularly in the intersection between music education and ethnomusicology. For instance, Harwood proposes further studies of children's music in the context of "design schooling", and as such her proposal confers with the aims of this study:

> Thus we are urged from many directions to undertake a study of learning in specific contexts, as the basis for building a theory of learning, for describing the development and capacity of children, and ultimately, I submit, as a basis on which to organise our classroom practice. If we understand how children learn outside the school ... we will be in a better position to design schooling that utilises the learning strategies they already have developed and use elsewhere (1998b, 53).

[35] Blacking's *Venda children's songs* (1967) is referenced in Bishop and Curtis 2001, Campbell 2004b, Marsh 2008, as significant in providing a model for studying children's musical games in culture, from an ethnographic perspective. Further ethnomusicological studies of children's games include Margaret Kartomi (1981) who studied Aboriginal children and Lomax, Elder and Hawes (1987) who did fieldwork in the West Indies on children's "expressive practices" and Segler's analyses of children's playground games in the UK and Europe (1992).

1.3.4.3 The recognition of children's musical play in music education

The second body of work on children's musical practices is more closely related to this project as it proposes implications for pedagogy. This ethnographically-based literature explores how children's innate musicality informs music education.

Studies of African American children's musical games (Harwood 1992; 1993; 1994; 1998a; 1998b; Wharton-Boyd 1983) highlight their musical and communicative characteristics specific to the African American social context. Focusing on African American girls' musical games, Harwood analyses the kinds of contextual musical learning that takes place on playgrounds in the United States (1998b). Based on Lave and Wenger's conception of "situated learning in legitimate peripheral participation in communities of practice" (1991), Harwood contends that children's musical learning depends on the social context of the playground, viewed as a "community of practice". She uses Vygotsky's learning theories to explain musical learning as a social act, and distinguishes the playground as the context for learning and interaction.

Patricia Campbell's *Songs in their head: music and its meaning in children's lives* (1998a) also focuses on American children's musical thinking and learning and playground. The author discusses the use and function of music in children's lives and the means by which they are musically acculturated. She then examines the place of music in children's schooling (1998a, 42). Campbell demonstrates that the myriad forms of children's musicking are clues to children's musical potential. By revealing how musical children are "without expert guidance" in her music anthropology, she prompts us to ponder how "more musical" they may become (Ibid., 96). She suggests that information about children's musical interests and capabilities should inform children's development, thus forming the basis for their music education and training. Campbell proposes that by:

> ... honouring children's earlier and concurrent pathways of acculturative knowledge, their intuitive and informal learning beyond the school can be the launch and the motivation to a more thorough and lasting understanding of the concepts and literacies that schools profess to teach (1998a, 180).

Nevertheless, Campbell does not develop a methodology for how children's musicking might "launch" further learning, a question I begin to address in this research.

Margaret Barrett's "systems view" of children's musical creativity (2005a) and her emphasis on "musicianship in communities of practice" (2005b) also informs this research. Barrett (2005b) emphasises contextualised musical learning on Australian inner-city school playgrounds, which contributes to an understanding of how children learn within the practices of their games. Like Harwood, Barrett studies children's musical participation in "communities of practice" (Lave and

Wenger 1991) and examines children's musical learning using Vygotskian socio-cultural theory. She maintains that it is necessary to "investigate children's experience and understanding of music" (Barrett 2005b, 261) in order to inform music education.

Following Barrett, Kathryn Marsh's studies of children's musical games foregrounds children's cultures as the "locus of musical learning, meaning making and communication" (2005b, 262). Furthermore, Marsh's work is significant in its synthesis of ethnomusicology and music education. As a culmination of long-term field work with children (Marsh 1992; 1995; 1997; 1999 and 2006), *The musical playground* (2008) is an important contribution to the literature on children's musical games, and their implications for education. This is an in-depth, cross-cultural, multi-ethnic study of children's games, which the author views as performances in context, rather than texts. Marsh documents a wide range of musical games, examining them for their interaction with adult culture, the media and how processes of appropriation and change enrich children's musical cultures.

The musical playground (2008) highlights teaching and learning processes children employ and how games are transmitted, adapted and changed. Children's collaborative "composition on the playground" (Marsh 1995), and the "recursive and constant nature of variation on the playground" (Marsh 2008, 31) are just two features of musical learning that can be brought into the classroom. Based on process-orientated musical learning, teachers are encouraged to "give children the time, diversity of materials, and trust which will enable them to reach in the classroom the potential that they so confidently display in the playground" (Ibid., 315). Finally, Marsh encourages adults to "peer out through the windows of the classroom and *notice* children's musical play" (original emphasis) (318). Her contention that children's "manifestations of play" can be incorporated into the classroom to develop a "playful" pedagogy, concurs with the central theme of this thesis (Ibid.).

Closer to home in southern Africa, Minette Mans's studies of musical play (2002; 2003) explore the kind of music children bring to the education enterprise. I consider her research on children's musical games separately from other Southern African music education literature as it constitutes a precedent for this research. In her contribution to *Musical arts in Africa* (Herbst et al. 2003), Mans emphasises the centrality of play to children's learning. Based on her field research on Namibian music and dance (2003) she proposes an increased use of play in musical art pedagogy, "not only in terms of content, but as the form of all musical learning activities" (2003, 195). She advances her proposition in terms of how play "construct[s] a musical world and identity" (2002, 56). Play, then, is a particularly important means by which children learn their place in the world; a "means of learning, being and expressing" (Ibid.). Mans concludes that by focusing on play in music education we may engage with our own and other cultural forms as "doing rather than knowing, process rather than product", thereby utilising the "underlying reasons of why children like to perform" (Ibid., 59). In alerting music

educators to children's potential and to the creativity and imaginative skills shown by children, Mans's research resonates with the aims of this project. However, although she suggests "learning through play" as a model for music education, like Campbell, Mans does not go on to explain how to harness and build on children's existing musical knowledge and skills.

Natalie Kreutzer provides an earlier example of using children's musical skills and knowledge (1995). She proposes that music curricula be based on the "musicality children already possess and which encourages them to move into a wider musical world" (1995, 65). Like Mans, her research focuses on rural musical practices (in Zimbabwe) but, unlike Campbell and Mans, she explicitly asks how teachers can build on what children already know. She proposes teaching processes that validate children's musical experiences and promote further acquisition. Although she does not frame her suggestions theoretically or methodologically, her aim to "build on the strengths of informal music learning in the community" (Ibid.) concurs with my assertion of the need for research in this area.

A decade before the literature cited above, Wharton-Boyd (1983) pinpoints children's games as materials for teaching in considering "the significance of Black American children's singing games in an educational setting" (46). Wharton-Boyd writes from the perspective of developing a music education more in tune with African American children and their particular "communication framework" (49). He argues that children's games should be "applied and researched in an educational setting" in order to inform teaching. Wharton-Boyd promotes the use of the games for developing teaching strategies and enhancing curriculum materials (50). In exploring how "black children's singing games can provide materials for pedagogy" this work sets a close precedent for the present study.

However, the pedagogical use of children's musical games suggested in the literature above has been questioned. In her introduction, Marsh outlines some critique and underlines the potential problems of directly appropriating children's games as classroom materials (2008, 12). Criticisms of the pedagogical use of children's music include its "dumbing down" and misconceptions that children's playlore is intrinsically simple; simplifying them for classroom use could "impoverish children's musical creative imagination" (Basic 1986, quoted in Marsh 2008, 14). Marsh outlines further cautions of folklorists against making children's own music conform to educational goals and practices (Merrill-Mirsky 1988; Harwood 1994a). Clearly, pedagogical strategies are needed to ensure that children's musical games and the rich cultures they exemplify are not tampered with. Like the performance of 'traditional' dance, ritual and songs from unfamiliar cultures in the classroom (advocated in much South African music education), simply repeating children's playground music inside the classroom may become ethically problematic. Speaking of the inclusion of world musics in education, Green lists such challenges:

> The difficulty of incorporating music from one culture into another, the challenges of adopting, within formal education, music which is transmitted outside formal education; the lack of fit between the cultural assumptions that surround music and musical practices in different cultures (2008, 13).

If children's musical games are also considered as 'musical cultures', perhaps similar issues may apply. How, then is it possible to "bring instruction in line with who the children musically are" (Campbell 1998a, 196). The concern for methodology – for developing teaching strategies – in music education is stressed in Lucy Green's work (2008). In *Music, informal learning and the school* Green develops a new pedagogy for music education, based on how popular musicians learn. Her classroom research trialling a new pedagogy highlights the processes of informal learning, rather than the musical forms themselves. The new pedagogy comprises a transfer of the methods of popular music learning into the classroom. Green points out that the relationship of formal and informal music education has generally been played out on the level of content, not pedagogy, particularly in the world music education philosophy (2008, 3).[36] Green identifies the gap as methodological and in this sense her work resonates with this research.

The absence of a sound methodology for incorporating or accounting for children's musical practices in pedagogy is evident in much of the music education literature that engages with children's music. In order to achieve learner-centredness substantively (Brodie et al. 2005) teachers need procedures to use children's musical resources in pedagogy: "ways to help children build on their musical foundations" (Barrett 2005a, 191). Barrett suggests that a greater understanding of children's musical cultures would contribute to a more positive view of children's musical ability and a more informed educational practice (2005a). She connects children's music-making with a sense of their agency (Ibid.). This is an important emphasis – promoting their agency is "needed to tap the musicianship that children bring to the school setting" (2005a, 190). Basing her views on studies of children's musical play, Barrett identifies a range of ways children create when not constrained by the classroom. Barrett's work is particularly relevant for this study, as she draws together ideas about children's practices, their agency and the implications these have for pedagogy:

> Within the communities of practice that constitute children's musical worlds, they not only learn and acquire the social and cultural processes and practices of group membership. As Gee and Green remind us, 'members have agency, and thus take up, resist, transform, and reconstruct the social and cultural practices afforded them in and through the events of everyday life' (Gee and Green 1998, 148; Barrett 2005a, 189).

In what follows I propose that the relationship between children's "communities of practice and everyday life", the concepts of agency, resources and 'affordance' are brought together in a pedagogical framework and approach called Multiliteracies.

[36] For music education related to teaching world musics, see Anderson and Campbell 1989; Campbell 1991 and Volk 1998.

1.3.5 The Multiliteracies pedagogical framework

1.3.5.1 A methodology for utilising musical games as resources for learning

Globally, then, the need for a methodology to address the question of how to use children's practices as resources for learning is increasingly recognised. Working in English academic literacy education, Arlene Archer asks how teachers can use students' cultural resources in a "reciprocal way" (2006). In literacy education, Brian Street asks how teachers can build on the richness and complexity of learners' prior knowledge (1997). My questions in this research are: what do teachers do with children's musical resources and the capacities they demonstrate? How can such resources be used in a way that promotes learning?

I suggest that the particular conditions of my research (located in Johannesburg and Soweto in the early twenty-first century), surfaces an approach that could provide some of the answers sought elsewhere in the world. I propose that the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework can be applied productively to music education in South Africa. This approach constitutes a productive methodological response to the conditions of South African Arts and Culture education, the presence of children's musical games, and arguments for connecting sites of practice. It brings to my investigation a method for incorporating children's musical practices into the classroom, and further explains how learners' musical practices may be recruited to deepen learning in Arts and Culture. "A Pedagogy of Multiliteracies" (New London Group 1996; 2000) therefore provides a way for teachers to build on the musical resources learners bring to the teaching and learning context. I propose that the musical games I observed constitute such resources, and that 'recruiting' these games in teaching addresses the dislocation between in-school and outside-school knowledge and experience by bridging sites of practice methodologically (New London Group 1996, 85).

There are two characteristics that make Multiliteracies a particularly effective approach. First, the Multiliteracies pedagogy recognises the importance of children's practices; second, it addresses the question of how to incorporate these practices into the classroom in ways that extend learners' knowledge, skills and musical capacities.[37]

Once teachers recognise the value of what their learners already do musically, they need a method for developing and moving beyond these practices: a means of moving from 'everyday' to 'school' or

[37] The importance of not only acknowledging but extending children's everyday knowledge is emphasised in the education literature. Taylor highlights the danger in learning programmes that remain at the level of superficial activities related to the personal experiences of learners, but do not result in solid conceptual development (1999, 121). Brodie et al. (2002) highlight similar problems.

formal knowledge (Taylor 1999).[38] I propose an application of the Multiliteracies pedagogy to music education because it is premised on teaching that moves from "Situated" to "Transformed practice" (New London Group 1996, 2000). This framework enables teachers to both acknowledge children's everyday practices and provide a way to develop children's potential. In this way the Multiliteracies approach responds to the problem of learner-centred teaching at the expense of formal knowledge development. This methodology therefore promotes learner-centredness substantively and balances everyday and formal concepts in the way that Taylor proposes (1999) (see section 2.1.2).

1.3.5.2 Introducing Multiliteracies

The Multiliteracies theory and pedagogy is a relatively new approach to literacy education, developed by the New London Group in response to the social environment facing students and teachers (1996). Their influential "A pedagogy of Multiliteracies: designing social futures" in the *Harvard Educational Review* (New London Group 1996, 60) led to the publication of the seminal text in this domain: *Multiliteracies: Literacy learning and the design of social futures* (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000a). This collaborative publication is informed by international practitioners and theorists from a range of disciplines: language and literacy, sociology, semiotics and linguistics. These contributors have developed the Multiliteracies Pedagogy: a theoretical and methodological response to the nature of literacy teaching that "arises out of historically and socially constituted domains of knowledge" (New London Group 2000, 30). Multiliteracies therefore responds to context and practice.

The Multiliteracies framework is appropriate for my research for a number of reasons that resonate with the South African education context. First, the framework acknowledges and engages with diversity – multilingualism and multiculturalism – by recognising that communication in today's world happens through diverse means. Second, it provides a language to describe and explain children's rich cultural practices by identifying multimodality as a feature of socially-situated meaning making. Third, Multiliteracies is an important contribution to the learner-centredness debate as it offers a methodology for extending learners' prior knowledge in order to "transform" learning (New London Group 1996).

Understanding that learners construct meaning, and then utilising their practices as key resources in Arts and Culture, forms the crux of this project. Because the Multiliteracies approach examines the nature of learners' prior knowledge, it is directly relevant to my project, and to present South African education priorities. It helps teachers to "reclaim how learners use multiple experiences and multiple

[38] Taylor (1999) provides an in-depth investigation of the difference between school and everyday knowledge, and the difficulties in negotiating these differences and their 'subtle relations' in the context of Curriculum 2005 implementation.

aesthetics and languages to make meaning … and validates these as equally important to acquiring aesthetic and formal language" (Andrew 2003, 68). The way in which learners' subjectivity is recruited is crucial to the Multiliteracies framework, and is explained in the four components of the Multiliteracies pedagogy.[39]

The Multiliteracies pedagogical framework, comprising Situated Practice, Overt Instruction, Critical Framing and Transformed Practice, represent different teaching and learning orientations (New London Group 1996; 2000). The framework provides a methodology for both incorporating and developing children's cultural practices in teaching to promote further learning. The Multiliteracies pedagogy facilitates learner-centredness because it enables teachers to mediate between the knowledge of the learner and the knowledge of society, thus completing the journey between everyday and formal knowledge (Wood 1998, 99; Adler and Reed 2002, 97).

Multiliteracies orientates pedagogy to accommodate the "multiplicity of communication channels and increasing cultural and linguistic diversity in the world today," drawing on new theories of communication (New London Group 1996, 60). This approach emphasises the diverse representational and communicative resources available for meaning-making. It is primarily a call to move away from the dominant written and spoken modes to incorporate the sonic, performative, spatial and visual modes (Newfield et al., 2003; Newfield and Stein 2000, 295; Stein 2008, 1).[40] Although it is a literacy pedagogy, the Multiliteracies approach's fundamental tenets are applicable to Arts and Culture teaching and learning, specifically the key notion of multimodality (Kress 2000a; 2000b; 2000c; 2000d; Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996; 2001; Jewitt and Kress 2003).[41] I present my rationale for applying Multiliteracies pedagogy to music education in Chapter Six.

1.3.5.3 Multiliteracies and multimodality: related theoretical components

The theoretical framework for this project comprises two related components: the pedagogical framework of Multiliteracies and the concept of multimodality on which this framework is based (New London Group 1996; 2000; Cope and Kalantzis 2000a). This research focuses on the

[39] The Multiliteracies theory and pedagogical framework as a whole is often referred to as the Multiliteracies approach. See Cope and Kalantzis n.d.; Pahl and Rowsell 2005 and 2006; Rowsell and Rajaratnam 2003; Newfield et al. 2003; Newfield and Stein 2000; Stein and Mamabolo 2005; Emanuel 2001; Street 1997 and Thesen 2001.

[40] The RNCS implicitly acknowledges different literacies in one of the Intermediate Phase organising principles: "sensory perception and literacies (cultural, visual, spatial, aural, oral and kinaesthetic)" (Department of Education 2002a, 16).

[41] The concept of multimodality is based on theories of social semiotics and concerns the representational, communicative and meaning-making potentials of different modes (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996; 2001; Kress 1997; 2003; Jewitt and Kress 2003). Pippa Stein presents an overview of multimodal social semiotics, and related multimodal pedagogies in "Multimodal instructional practices" (2007) and Multimodal pedagogies in diverse classrooms (2008).

Multiliteracies pedagogy as an appropriate methodology for music education and draws on concepts of multimodal communication and representation to describe children's musical practices.

1.3.5.3.1 Multiliteracies

Multiliteracies refers to a theoretical and pedagogical innovation developed by the New London Group (1996). Mary Cope and Bill Kalantzis provide a concise explanation of the two major influences that have defined the development of the concept of Multiliteracies:

> The term 'Multiliteracies' highlights two related changes. The first is the growing significance of cultural and linguistic diversity and emergence of multiple Englishes. Immigration, multiculturalism and global economic integration make these increasingly critical issues. Paradoxically, the globalisation of communications and labour markets makes diversity a more critical local issue. The second change is the nature of the new communication technologies. Meaning is made in ways that are increasingly multimodal – in which written-linguistic modes of meaning interface with visual, audio, gestural and spatial patterns of meaning (n.d.b, 1-2).

Cope and Kalantzis go on to say that these two changes potentially change both the nature and substance of pedagogy. "A Pedagogy of Multiliteracies" (New London Group 1996; 2000a) proposes a framework for re-thinking pedagogy.

1.3.5.3.2 Multimodality

Implicit in the Multiliteracies project is the assumption that meaning-making occurs across a range of semiotic modes, that meaning-making is 'multimodal'.[42] As an emerging field of study, "multimodality … is concerned with how human beings use different modes of communication, like speech, writing, image, gesture and sound, to represent or make meanings in the world" (Stein 2007, 1). Multimodality concerns the range of semiotic resources people in different socio-cultural contexts use … and the different potentials both for communication and representation afforded by these modes (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996, 2001; Kress 2000b). Modes are "culturally shaped resources for making meaning" and the term 'multi' refers to the fact that modes never occur by themselves but always with others in ensembles (Jewitt and Kress 2003, 1). Different modes serve particular representational or communicative purposes in particular cultural and social groups. Kress draws attention to the fact that many cultural practices are intrinsically multimodal: non-Western cultures have always made use of different communication and representational modes and materials (2000b, 194). Each mode has particular potentials and limitations, or "action possibilities" (Gee, n.d.). Kress identifies two important concepts in this regard: 'affordance' is a particular mode's potential in terms

[42] According to Jewitt, "multimodality is concerned with signs and starts from the position that, like speech and writing, all modes consist of sets of semiotic resources – resources that people draw on and configure in specific moments and places to represent events and relations" (2008, 1).

of imaginative reign, effective communication or rich symbolism, while 'aptness' means how appropriate a mode is for particular intentions. I expand on the concepts of affordance and aptness in Chapter Five.

The recognition of multimodality in the Multiliteracies framework articulates with this research because learners' musicking is innately multimodal: their games combine song, rhythm, dance, gesture and movement. Studies of 'multimodal meaning-making' help to describe and explain learners' musical practices. Furthermore, the concepts of 'affordance' and 'aptness' are useful for analysing the skills and capacities present in learners' multimodal practices and, more particularly, for exploring why they choose the music and dance mode. My research investigates whether teachers are able to access what music and dance affords their learners, why these are apt modes for their purposes and what those purposes are.

Some of the key concepts that shape this research – resources and resourcefulness, affordance and agency – come together in multimodality. Kress identifies resourcefulness, and the relationship to resources, as key components of multimodality. Learners' resourcefulness depends on context and learners' ability to source and shape available materials according to their different affordances (Newfield et al. 2003, 79). For example, found and waste materials are available resources for township learners to use to make music. I expand on this idea in Chapter Seven, where I propose that learners use these materials as resources for making instruments.

Resourcefulness is connected to human agency, to the ability to recognise and engage with the 'affordances' of particular resources or modes. Affordance also relates specifically to music-making. In her study *Music in everyday life*, De Nora draws on Gibson's notion of 'affordances' (1977) to describe how music's characteristics are "guiding, shaping and facilitating" (De Nora 2000, 49). She discusses how music and sounds in the environment afford certain things for people. Kress and De Nora's use of the concept of affordance enables a connection between studies in music and multimodality. In this research, I develop the concept of affordance and its relationship to agency and resources in music education.

With relation to multimodality, this research aims to enrich the already textured understanding of the way human beings use different modes for expression and communication. I use the central tenets of multimodality (as described above) and explore how they are played out in the aural mode in children's practices, offer an understanding of the way sound works for children, and propose how teachers can utilise the affordances of sound and music in Arts and Culture learning.

1.3.5.4 The literature on Multiliteracies and multimodality

Most of the writing and research on Multiliteracies as theory and pedagogy is by members of the New London Group (1996; 2000). *Multiliteracies: Literacy learning and the design of social futures* (Cope and Kalantzis 2000a), which includes contributions by South Africa's Pippa Stein and Denise Newfield, is the central text in this domain.

In the international Multiliteracies literature, Kate Pahl and Jennifer Rowsell's classroom-based studies on new literacy and multimodal pedagogies (2005) are useful as a practical guide to applying the Multiliteracies pedagogy in practice.[43] The text details examples of teaching practice as well as useful summaries of the Multiliteracies pedagogy itself. It also draws attention to the expression of identity through language and the multiple identities of students in different learning contexts. Similarly, children's individual and group identity is expressed in cultural practices. The multimodal activities suggested are easily adapted to Arts and Culture learning in South Africa.

Because an acknowledgment of socio-cultural contexts is central to the Multiliteracies Pedagogy, this approach can be applied in different disciplinary environments. Its successful application in a wide range of disciplines has demonstrated the potential of the Multiliteracies Pedagogy to meaningfully shift pedagogy. For example, at the University of the Witwatersrand, the Multiliteracies pedagogy and multimodal pedagogies more generally, have been used in radiography (Wemmer and Drew 2004), enterprise education (Emanuel 2001), and in the visual literacy foundation course at the Wits School of Arts (Andrew 2003; Andrew and Brenner 2006).

1.3.5.4.1 Multiliteracies and multimodal pedagogies in South Africa

In South Africa researchers emphasise the relevance of the Multiliteracies approach to education as it "articulates with the principles of the curriculum and mirrors our experience of social transformation" (Newfield and Stein 2000, 294). The Multiliteracies framework addresses diversity, change, multilingualism and multiculturalism in South Africa. Multiliteracies, and its associated multimodal pedagogies, acknowledges complex cultural practices, hybridity, popular culture, and related issues of personal and group identity that are at the forefront of children's meaning-making activities. Stein's comments about access are particularly relevant to the South African context:

> Multimodal pedagogies that work with multiple entry points for meaning making have the potential to hold in tension access to dominant discourses while incorporating the rich variety of representational resources that each student brings to the classroom context (2000, 335).

[43] Multiliteracies refers to the theoretical and pedagogical innovation developed by the New London Group (1996) and Cope and Kalantzis (2000a). 'Multimodal pedagogies' (Newfield et al. 2003, 3; Stein 2007; 2008) draw on Kress and Van Leeuwen's concept of 'multimodality' (Kress 2000a; 2000b; Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001), but do not necessarily employ the Multiliteracies' pedagogical framework.

The Multiliteracies group in South Africa has adapted the Multiliteracies approach and associated multimodal pedagogies to the South African education context.[44] Classroom-based research demonstrates the aptness of a Multiliteracies pedagogy that "captures and validates diversity of practice in specific sites and has a flexibility which seeks to include rather than marginalise" (Newfield and Stein 2000, 294). Inclusivity is demonstrated in collaborative work in Multiliteracies and multimodal pedagogies in South Africa. For example, working in both literacy and Arts and Culture education, Newfield, Andrew, Stein and Maungedzo (2003) tackle the issue of assessment in the multimodal classroom, exploring how students design meaning particularly in the visual mode.

South African literacy education research shows the appropriateness of Multiliteracies and multimodal pedagogies in under-resourced contexts (Stein 2000; 2001; 2004; 2008; Newfield and Stein 2000; 2004; Newfield et al. 2003). Stein's work informs my project because she works with teachers in urban townships (1999; 2000; 2001; 2004; 2007; 2008). She writes about multimodal texts that adolescents produced in Vosloorus, exploring storytelling as a particular semiotic mode (1999). In Soweto, Stein shows how teachers can use multimodal pedagogies with learners to represent their own personal experiences. Using a multimodal approach, an English teacher was able to "work responsively and creatively with students' inner and outer worlds" to create a project called "Shack Life" (2008, 9). Stein focuses particularly on "poor children living at the margins of this society" and how they utilise multimodal semiotic cultural resources, like oral poetry, in their meaning-making (2008, 10). Through her work with English literacy teachers, Stein first examines the nature of the representational resources children use, and then asks what kinds of pedagogies "can support learning in contexts of diversity" (2008, 10). In her collaborative work with teachers and her attention to the diverse cultural resources learners bring to the classroom, Stein's work provides a model for the pedagogy I propose in this thesis. I draw on Stein's practice, theoretical insights and her understanding that pedagogy needs to engage with children's multimodal resources.

Research undertaken by the Wits Multiliteracies group brings together notions of resources, design and agency, while arguing for a closer relationship between home, school and community (Stein 2004; 2008; Prinsloo and Stein 2005; Newfield et al. 2003). Mastin Prinsloo's work on the "multiple semiotics of children's play" in Khwezi Park (2004) is particularly informative as he describes children's games and their meanings similar to those I have observed in Soweto. His work represents a close precedent for the first part of this study in terms of the urban context and his acknowledgement of hybrid cultural practices. However, he does not engage the games as music.

[44] The Multiliteracies group in South Africa included Denise Newfield and the late Pippa Stein in Applied English Language Studies, David Andrew in Visual Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand, and David Bond and Arlene Archer at the University of Cape Town.

Concerning an application of the Multiliteracies Pedagogy to music education, Torres and Souza's project in Brazil (2005) provides evidence that this approach to pedagogy is effective for an individual project. Torres and Souza's project, however, does not explore the potential of Multiliteracies, or multimodal understandings of children's music in any depth. A more substantial application of the Multiliteracies pedagogy, which analyses case study findings in different schools, has yet to be undertaken.

1.3.5.5 Music in the multimodal ensemble

Within the diverse representational texts and practices in the "multimodal, or communication ensemble" (Stein 2007; 2008), my research focuses on the aural mode in children's songs, dances and clapping games. Yet despite the prevalence of children's musical play in South Africa and globally, Multiliteracies and multimodal research in education does not seem to address learners' musical practices directly. This study therefore presents an opportunity to explore the musical mode within the multimodal ensemble.[45]

Applications of multimodal pedagogies in the literature tend to focus mainly on visual, oral and technological modes of meaning making. Although "audio meanings (music, sound effects)" are mentioned as an "increasingly important mode of meaning" (New London Group 1996, 80), the rich semiotic possibilities of music, sound and dance practices are neglected.[46] Although researchers and educators in this area talk of "multimodal texts" for the most part they do not explore sound and more particularly music as being among these 'texts'. If the intention is to "recruit learners' subjectivities" as the Multiliteracies theory proposes (Ibid., 72) then it is important to recruit learners' musical interests and activities. For example, Gunther Kress recognises music's place in multimodality, but the aural component of different semiotic modes is not fully investigated (2000b, 182-203). In South African research, the aptness or affordance of the musical mode is largely glossed over. In Prinsloo's informative study of children's games he analyses linguistic and performative meaning from a social semiotic viewpoint (2004). His work is positioned within a multimodal frame but, although he highlights the musical mode, he does not explore music or sound in terms of what it affords children (as he does with other modes). Although the focus of, for example, Newfield and Stein's research is to examine aspects of multimodality and media education in relation to the visual, performative and technological mode, I suggest that there is much potential for exploring music and dance, particularly because so many South African cultural practices combine these modes (Newfield and Stein 2000,

[45] A notable exception is Theo van Leeuwen's work on music and sound in social semiotic theories (1999; 2005). Van Leeuwen's semiotics of sound concerns itself with describing what you can 'say' with sound, and how to interpret the things other people 'say with sound' (1999, 4). I consider his characterisation of sound resources in Chapter Five.

[46] For example, Kress discusses music's role in Western society as a new form of communication (2000b, 182) but does not explore music's "power to communicate, to mean" to the same extent as he does visual objects.

292-311). I propose that considering the music and sound associated with genres like "African oral storytelling" (Stein 1999, 66), in addition to the written and visual modes, would enhance the practice of multimodal pedagogies.

The dominance of the visual in the Multiliteracies pedagogy seems in some ways to negate its intention of recognising all modes. However, it must be acknowledged that it is very difficult to write about the aural mode because its language is sound. Nevertheless, I hope to broaden the understanding of multimodality in Arts and Culture teaching and add to the Multiliteracies conversation by focusing specifically on sound, song and its associated dance practices, thus deepening the argument for teaching that recognises multiple modes.

To summarise, this research aims to contribute to a number of arenas in significant ways: to contribute to the field of Multiliteracies; to extend an understanding of music within multimodality; to enhance the literature in music education by developing an understanding of the richness and complexity of township children's play and the meanings of these practices for learners; to explore the potential of children's musical games as teaching resources; to contribute to ethnographic research on children's play in an urban setting, particularly adding an understanding of the musical in township learners' play; and to enrich the discussion on music internationally, providing insights revealed in a South African township school context.

1.3.6 Intersecting with Praxial music education

Multiliteracies, as envisaged by the New London Group, deals primarily with literacy and language learning. I apply this pedagogy to Arts and Culture, not necessarily as a way to teach 'music literacy' in the Western sense, but as a pedagogical innovation that utilises existing cultural resources. The Multiliteracies' conception of multiple literacies as opposed to an autonomous model is applicable to musical literacies. Like language literacy, musical literacy in the broadest sense is also "always and everywhere situated and … is inseparable from practices" (Kress 2003).

Furthermore, I apply the concept of 'multi-textuality' to music in the context of the changing nature of literacy texts (Kress 2003). Instead of asking, "What are the new forms of language communication and representation?" I ask, "What are the new *musical* texts that children use?" In addition, the view of literacy as social practice resonates with the Praxial philosophy of music education (1995; 2005). A Praxial music education acknowledges many musical languages rather than music as a universal

language.[47] Although this research does not aim explicitly to engage with the Praxial music education theory and philosophy, I draw on some of its underlying assumptions and explore whether it articulates with Multiliteracies pedagogy. Thus these international developments towards a theoretically and methodologically informed music education form the background of this research.

The move from Aesthetic to Praxial music education has shifted the focus from contemplating and studying music as art or as object, to focusing on musicianship within specific practices (1995). Taking up some of the main tenets of ethnomusicology and new musicology, Praxial music education acknowledges situated musical practices as the basis of education.[48] Both enterprises highlight the sociological, political and cultural meanings of language and music practices, and the relationships between the two; how we understand music and the language we use to describe it is itself informed by social, cultural and political factors.

Like Multiliteracies' recognition of language as social practice, Praxial music education pays attention to "matters of musical context, musical communities (practices), a wide range of musical values, and the humanistic dimensions of music-making and music listening" (1990).[49] In *Music Matters* (1995), Praxial music education's foundational work, David Elliott argues that,

> Music (as products and processes) ought to be understood in relation to the meanings and values evidenced in actual music making, music listening, and musical outcomes in specific cultural contexts (2005, 14).

Musical understanding, therefore, involves closely related kinds of thinking and knowing. The Praxial philosophy emphasises the interpretive aspects of music as a performing and improvising art and urges a "comprehensive and reflective approach to music teaching and learning" (7). Elliott's emphasis on the music class as a "reflective practicum" is particularly relevant for this project's consideration of reflective practice.[50]

Praxial theories of music education are based on an understanding that "one's perspectives of music form the basis of what and how we teach" (Elliott 2005, 11). The Praxial philosophy considers music as social praxis and music is seen as pragmatically social in origin, meaning, and value" (Regelski

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[47] Praxial Music Education challenges the dominance of "aesthetic music education" (advocated by Bennett Reimer 1970; 1989) and its emphasis on musical works within a Western musicological paradigm.

[48] Critical and Praxial music education philosophies draw on ethnomusicology in their understanding of musical practices as socially constituted and constituting; of music in and as culture. For a discussion of the influence of critical theory and ethnomusicology on music education, see Regelski 2005a and Schmidt 2005.

[49] Elliott has confirmed this citation (personal correspondence, March 30, 2007).

[50] "Reflection" is one of the four Arts and Culture learning outcomes in the Intermediate and Senior Phases. The others are "Creating, Interpreting and Presenting", "Participating and Collaborating", and "Expressing and Communicating" (RNCS 2002). In addition "Critical Framing" is a component of the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework (New London Group 1996; 2000).

2005a, 7).[51] The focus on music as praxis emphasises the action of music-making. A Praxial philosophy of music education is based on conceptions of music not just as a collection of identifiable products or works of music but as 'practice', in the sense of a socio-cultural community (McCarthy and Goble 2005, 38). Elliott's characterisation of music as human activity informs my project: "music involves makers and listeners, particular kinds of doing (music making and listening) and the 'complete context in which doers do what they do' " (1995, 39-40). Based on the concept of praxis, Elliott proposes that musicianship is the knowledge that should be taught (2005, 11). That teachers' understanding of what constitutes musical knowledge and practice profoundly influences the way they teach is shown in Chapters Five and Six.

In discussing a possible intersection between the Multiliteracies pedagogy and Praxial music education, I draw on some of Thomas Regelski's ideas. In what he terms 'Critical Music Education', Regelski explores the notion of Praxial music education theoretically. His emphasis on "praxis as embodied knowledge and experience" draws attention to embodied musical knowledge (2004, 17). He brings a more theoretically informed perspective to Praxial music education, drawing on cultural and critical theory (2000; 2004; 2005a; 2005b). Regelski contends that music education should focus on what the world's music is "good for" (2000, 20-21), proposing that music education should enable students to investigate musical affordances and functions in different cultures as a way of expanding their musical horizons. I discuss some of Regelski's ideas further, in relation to the Multiliteracies pedagogy in Chapter Six.

The arguments for including children's own music in the curriculum (Campbell 1998a; Temmerman 2005; Davis 2005; Barrett 2005a; Marsh 2008) are proposed in the broader context of critical issues in music education. Historically, music education philosophy has grappled with the issue of what to teach, what counts as curriculum knowledge, and how music education negotiates a diversity of musical practices.[52] Like other musical disciplines, music education grapples with issues of cultural identity and practices and definitions of indigenous, traditional and classical music in an effort to locate itself within the local-global dialectic. Recent music education philosophy and approaches acknowledge that what music is taught, and how it is taught, depends on how it is seen. Regelski's Critical music education urges music teachers not to take the nature of music for granted, but rather to wrestle with such questions as: "What is music?", "When and how does it come into existence?" and "What is music good for?" (2000, 13). Although I agree that music educators should ask these

[51] Praxial music education draws from a Praxial philosophy of music (Alperson 1991), which considers the production, study and appreciation of music in contexts (Regelski 2000, 16).

[52] In music education, the major philosophical debates have been between aesthetic (Reimer 1970; 1989) and Praxial music education (Regelski 1997; Elliott 1995; 2005), with multicultural music education (adopted in South Africa to some extent) somewhere in-between. A historical development of philosophies of Music Education can be traced from Aesthetic, to Multicultural, Praxial and Critical music education, outlined in McCarthy and Goble (2005).

questions and recognise their own interpretive lenses (and encourage learners to do so), there is a more urgent need for a methodology that enables Arts and Culture educators to engage critically with their subject.

While it is not within the ambit of this thesis to explore the ongoing challenge of what should be taught in music education, I argue that educators need tools for navigating this difficult terrain. Faced with the endless variety of music that *could* be taught, music education requires a theoretically-informed methodology that accounts for "multicultural diversity" as well as "particularism" (Davis 2005).

In conclusion, then, this research aims to investigate whether the Multiliteracies pedagogy – as a theoretically informed methodology – is effective in a particular learning and teaching context. I ask how Multiliteracies pedagogy would work in South African Arts and Culture education, in practice. In order to do so, the thesis first addresses the question of how to perceive and understand learners' musical games. I argue for the importance of first engaging with learners' musical games as multimodal practices, as forms of musical, expressive culture, using an ethnographic approach. The thesis then uses information and insights gained through studying children's musical games, to explore how the Multiliteracies pedagogy is implemented in three case studies in Soweto primary schools.

Chapter Two: Methodology and research design

2.1 Doing 'ethnography' before doing Multiliteracies

In response to the challenges present in South African Arts and Culture education, this thesis presents a dual argument for applying the Multiliteracies pedagogy to music education and for using an ethnographic approach to study children's musical games. The project is therefore undertaken broadly within the discipline of ethnomusicology, using its methods as a lens through which to view children's games and teachers' practices.

The Multiliteracies pedagogy provides an appropriate methodology for developing learner-centredness. However, in order to "recruit learners' situated practices" (New London Group 2000) as resources for teaching, it is essential to understand the nature of learners' musicking.[1] Thus, I argue for the necessity to 'do ethnography' before implementing a Multiliteracies approach. My research therefore concurs with international studies of children's musical cultures that advocate the analysis of playground musical games "to provide the insights, rationale and basic premises for our programmes in music education" (Hall 1984, quoted in Marsh 1992). I suggest that the methods and theoretical assumptions inherent in an ethnographic approach provide such insights. In *The musical playground* (2008), Kathryn Marsh paves the way for the procedure I advocate; she documents, describes and analyses children's musical games in order to consider their relationship to formal teaching and learning.

In this thesis, I consider children's musical games as significant in two ways: first as autonomous musical and cultural practices, and then for their implications for music education. The first significance relates to ethnography and the second to pedagogy. The descriptions and analyses of township children's musical games in Chapters Three, Four and Five demonstrate multiple methods for examining children's musical "situated practices" (New London Group, . 2000). I examine the first way in which the games are significant (Chapters Three and Four) and then the second (Chapter Five). The outline of my research methodology therefore begins with ethnography and proceeds to case study method and an account of trialling the Multiliteracies pedagogy in three Soweto primary schools.

[1] "Recruitment" is a terms used in the Multiliteracies Pedagogical Framework. "Recruiting learners' subjectivities" implies acknowledging and then using learners' prior knowledge and experience as the basis for pedagogy (New London Group 2000). "Recruiting learners' practices", like their musical games, suggests using learners practices, interests and everyday experiences as resources for learning. I explain "recruitment" in detail in Chapter Six.

2.1.1 An ethnographic approach

The games I observed in Soweto schools are rich and interesting multimodal practices that warrant ethnographic research. In Chapter One I attempted to demonstrate that the quantitative methods used for studying South African 'indigenous games' cannot account for this richness (Burnett and Hollander 2002). Adopting an ethnographic approach, however, enables a deeper and more layered description, interpretation and cultural analysis that views children's games as multifaceted musical practices. Undertaking a full ethnography falls outside the parameters of this research, and this research does not claim to be an ethnography per se. Methodologically this section is, nevertheless inspired by ethnography, using methods derived from this discipline to document, describe, analyse and interpret children's musical games. The following description of ethnography in the literature thus serves to justify the use of elements of ethnographic method and explain how using qualitative methods to portray children's games facilitates an understanding of their pedagogical value.

With its roots in anthropology, ethnography is a form of qualitative research that aims to describe and interpret human society and behaviour within a certain culture (Merriam 1998, 13; Wellington 2000, 196). Usually defined by participant observation, the researcher enters into participants' social worlds. The central concern for social and cultural context distinguishes ethnographic method from other fieldwork techniques, making this method distinct from other observation-based approaches. The goal of ethnography is to search for meaning in the study and interpretation of culture (Geertz 1973).

The term ethnography has two meanings: first it refers to set of fieldwork data-collection methods, involving participant observation, visual, aural and written documentation, as well as different forms of interviewing. Second, ethnography refers to the written record produced by using these methods: the "sociocultural interpretation of the data, entailing descriptions and analysis of a unit of study" (Merriam 1998, 14). An educational ethnography concerns the culture of a school community, which in this project is the community of learners on the playground. In combining methodological aspects from ethnomusicology with music education, this thesis resonates with the literature I describe below.

2.1.2 Ethnographic method in children's folklore research

Qualitative methods like ethnography are increasingly used in children's folklore and culture studies (Sutton-Smith 1982; Baumann 1982; Merrill-Mirsky 1988; Addo 1995; Marsh 1995; 1999; 2001; 2006; 2008; Minks 2002; Campbell 1998a; 1998b; 2002; 2004b; Lum 2007). In music education, some of the first ethnographic studies focused on community music and children's music-making

practices (Zimmerman, 1983).[2] Sandra Stauffer and Janet Robbins point out that "three decades later, the dominant focus on musical communities of practice and on teachers and teaching remains in ethnographic (and mostly qualitative) studies in music education" (2009, 85). [3]

The descriptions and analyses of children's musical games in this thesis draw on research that uses ethnographic methods to examine the nature of children's musical interactions on the playground (Riddell 1990; Baumann 1982; I. Opie 1994; Merrill-Mirsky1988; Harwood 1998b; Bishop and Curtis 2001; Grugeon 2001; Campbell 1998a, 2002; Marsh 2008; Lum 2007; 2009). Marsh's recent work represents an extensive ethnographic study of children's games in schools, based on fifteen years of ethnomusicological field research. In *The musical playground* (2008), she presents and analyses 600 musical games played by children aged 5-12 in rural schools and multi-ethnic inner city schools. Marsh informally observed and recorded children's games in their 'natural context', using audio-visual recordings and unstructured interviews, to study the way in which children create, transmit, vary, teach and learn playground singing games (Marsh 2001, 62-80). The use of ethnographic fieldwork to study children's playground cultures – whether linked to education or as musical cultures in themselves – is now prominent.

2.1.3 The influence of ethnomusicology

The prominence of ethnographic fieldwork in music education research, particularly in community music and children's culture studies, highlights the discipline's connection with ethnomusicology. Marsh's recent work, for example, represents a "synthesis of ethnomusicology and music education" (2008, back cover) as it combines the approaches of ethnomusicology with the aims of music education. Globally there is a rapprochement of the music education and ethnomusicology projects.

Inspired by connections to ethnomusicology and anthropology (particularly Geertz), the "turn towards meaning" has orientated music education research towards considering questions of meanings and interpretation in school contexts (Stauffer and Robbins 2009; Barrett and Stauffer 2009). Methodologically, ethnomusicology and anthropology has influenced music education research in its shift towards interpretation, narrative enquiry and using detailed description to uncover participants' meanings. The researcher-participant relationship, tensions between objectivity and subjectivity, and the complexities of representing another's culture are increasingly recognised in music education research (Stauffer and Robbins 2009; Marsh 2009; Jorgenson 2009). Ethnographic methods and the

[2] Janet Robbins Zimmerman's study of children's musical experiences in elementary schools represents one of the first ethnographic studies of children's musical cultures (1983).

[3] For example, *The new handbook of research on music teaching and learning* (Colwell and Richardson 2002) includes a number of qualitative, ethnographic and empirically-based studies in music education (Barrett 2007).

challenges posed by 'doing ethnography' recently received attention in *Research Studies in Music Education*, where Jorgenson (2009), Stauffer and Robbins (2009) and Marsh (2009) explore the implications of using Geertzian approaches to study children's musical cultures, issues of representation, and balancing researcher and participant voices.

Perhaps the most important influence of ethnomusicology and related disciplines has been prompting music education research and philosophy to recognise music as a social practice. Studying music as socially constructed, rather than as an object to be contemplated, has shifted music education towards Praxial and Critical approaches (Regelski 2000; Elliott 1995; 2005). It has necessitated that "teachers and researchers examine and reflect upon taken-for-granted assumptions of musicianship and musical understanding" (Barrett 2007, 149). Using ethnomusicology's methods presents opportunities for music education to engage with music-making in its social, historical and performance context, to "deepen our understanding of the meaningful and situated nature of the musical experience" (Ibid., 147). As I argue elsewhere, "ethnomusicology offers education the tools for understanding and approaching 'music in and as culture' (Merriam 1964), as a mode of understanding, being and behaviour" (Harrop-Allin 2005).

I suggest that in research, one of these tools is ethnomusicology's emphasis on method. Music education's recent concern for the correlation between research methods and representation highlights the increasing influence of ethnomusicology and critical anthropology on music education and children's folklore research.[4] One reason for the validation of qualitative methods, like ethnography, for studying children's cultures is because quantitative methods may produce problematic representations of children and their play. These include presenting children's musical games in terms of pre-defined categories and uses for children. The danger is creating an instrumentalist view of children's play – what Richard Baumann calls 'adultocentrism' – where children are considered as "proto-adults … as yet unfinished bearers of adult culture" (1982, 173-4). According to Marsh, the representation of children and their cultures is an ethical concern, which has bearing on data collection, analysis methods and the uses made of results (Marsh 1992, 135). Echoing Marsh and addressing potentially problematic representations of children's folklore, Baumann makes a plea for truly ethnographic studies:

> This means investigating [children's] folklore as a cultural system in its own terms, attending to the ways and contexts in which it is used by them in the conduct of peer group social life, neglecting nothing that is meaningful to them – decorous or indecorous, sense or nonsense – without asking first if it is 'meaningful' to adult sensibilities (1982, 175).

[4] I refer here to impact of the 'critical turn' in the social sciences on other disciplines, especially the questioning of ethnographic representation in ethnomusicology and anthropology. This is explored in Marcus and Fischer 1986, Clifford and Marcus 1986, Van Maanen 1988 and Clifford 1988.

Undertaking the kind of research Baumann and Marsh promote requires an ethnographic methodological approach. In contrast with the South African 'indigenous games' research, adopting an ethnographic approach in this project highlights the games' performative nature; their rich combinations of different literacies, representational modes and the ambiguities of musical and semantic meaning. Ethnographic approaches further demonstrate how deeply township children's games are embedded in the local, reflecting, incorporating and creating cultural expression and communicative forms. When viewed ethnographically, children's games are culturally, linguistically and ethnically mixed. Like their social environment, township children's games are characterised by syncretic, hybrid cultural forms and processes. As Marsh demonstrates in *The musical playground* (2008), an ethnographic approach based on fieldwork emphasises learners' musical games as a means of communication, expression and social interaction in their communities of practice.

Using ethnographic methods allows the researcher to investigate children's musical games in their performance context, in their situatedness in terms of time, place and participants. In this project, an ethnographic approach enables an interpretive description and analysis of children's games, including: their multimodal content and methods; performance contexts; the games' meanings and functions for children; the social, cultural features they display; their relation to children's identities and interests and the musicality they embody. Such information and insights facilitate an understanding of children's prior musical experience and knowledge, and an acknowledgment of learners' identities and their musical and social environments.

2.1.4 Challenges of implementing an ethnographic approach

In this project, I observed township learners' musical play outside the classroom, on three primary school playgrounds over a number of weeks. As the "forum and focus of play" (Roberts 1980, 139), the playground is the domain where children create their own music and dance cultures. Mavis Curtis characterises this domain as a "private world, controlled by children, with its own rules and ways of dealing with problems" (2001, 62). Thus, much of what occurs on the playground is inaccessible to adults, which poses methodological challenges for attempting to 'enter children's worlds' in order to study and describe their games.

In order to 'enter children's worlds', as a researcher, including children's own voices and perspectives is integral to the documentation and understanding of what musical games mean, and how they function in children's lives. This project reflects a key feature of more recent ethnographic research – the inclusion of the voices and viewpoints of the participants themselves, and the notion that these

carry equal (if not more) weight than those of the researcher.[5] In addressing the broader ethnographic challenges of access, interpretation and representation posed by entering another's culture (in this case, that of children), I have attempted to obviate misrepresentation by using multiple methods and using co-interpreters in my presentation and analysis of Soweto learners' musical games.

Nevertheless, in portraying children's games, I am aware that "the accounts of performers and performances never arrive unmediated; they cannot 'speak for themselves' " (Coplan 1994, 260). The descriptions in Chapters Three, Four and Five are mediated through my own interpretive lens. I acknowledge that as an "interpreter-observer" I am not a "neutral spectator" (Denzin 1997, 35). My own identity and perspective as teacher, musician and member of the white upper-middle class in South Africa, shape the presentation and interpretation of the children's games, particularly their narrative or expressive meanings. As Springer observes, "What is suppressed in the seeing-knowing equation is the fact that interpretations are produced in cultural, historical, and personal contexts and are always shaped by the interpreter's values" (quoted in Denzin 1997, 35).

Hence, I acknowledge that in ethnographic work what the researcher documents and writes about is what she happens to see at the time. In Ethnomusicology, a performance event, song, dance or instrument can never represent a culture; it is only something heard or experienced at a given moment. Ethnographic representation is "not about a representation of an authentic other", but a record of "what performers say they think they are doing" and "what the ethnographer believes he heard or observed", obviating the link between our perceptions and reality (Erlmann 1996, 29).

Finally, the ethnographic approach concedes that, like the children's games themselves, meaning is unfixed. The resultant reflexive, literary methodologies in ethnographic work attempt to address the problems of representation and description.[6] Two important methodological responses to the problem of ethnographic representation (and by implication, description and interpretation) in ethnomusicology are: emphasising music as performance, and including multiple voices in the text.[7]

Performance and music ethnographies focus on performance in specific times, places, social and cultural contexts, made by specific people. In doing so, music ethnography acknowledges the

[5] For studies of children's games that focus on children's voices and expressing their meanings, mainly through interviews, see Opie and Opie 1988; Campbell 1998a; Bishop and Curtis 2001; Factor 2001; Grugeon 1993 and 2001, and particularly Marsh 2008.

[6] Regarding the debates over ethnographic representation and ethnographic authority, see Denzin (1997), Cooley (1997), Marcus and Fischer (1986), Clifford (1988), Clifford and Marcus (1986) and Geertz (1973).

[7] In the South African literature, Erlmann (1996) and Coplan (1994) integrate multiple perspectives and voices in their musical ethnographies.

difficulties of musical description; of communicating musical experience of one's own and others' performance.[8]

Performance ethnography views performance as "unfixed, open domains of culture" and the "indeterminacy of human action" (Erlmann 1996, 95). David Coplan "foregrounds performance as a site of cultural meaning" particularly the creation of identity, consciousness and agency (1994, xvi). Coplan's assertion that "social life is performative" is particularly applicable to the learners I observed as they 'performed' their understandings of their world, their relationships and feelings, on the playground. Finally, Coplan's observations are applicable to the descriptions and interpretations of children's musical games in Chapters Three, Four and Five: "There are aspects of performances that participants are not aware of" (Coplan 1994, xiv). Thus performance ethnography aims to "give voice to something that may not otherwise be heard, something outside the participants' vision" (Ibid.). Chapters Three, Four and Five seek to 'give voice' to children's musical cultures and their meanings.

This research uses aspects of ethnographic method to describe, analyse and interpret children's games in three different ways: the first is an 'ethnography' of musical games children played on one day in one school; the second is a reading of one game as a text that operates in multiple ways; and the third is an overview of games played in all three Soweto primary schools, analysed for their functions and pedagogical value.[9]

2.2 Research design and methods

This research is divided into two components: a description and analysis of children's musical games and an account of a pedagogical innovation in three case studies in Soweto primary schools.[10] The empirical part of this research took place during 2006, comprising two related components: (A) observing, documenting and interpreting children's playground games; and (B) an observation-based account of teachers' implementation of the Multiliteracies pedagogy, over a period of eight weeks. The first component uses elements of ethnographic method, while the second is case study research based on classroom observation.

[8] In their monographs of African music, both Paul Berliner (1978) and John Miller Chernoff (1979) discuss the challenge of explaining and describing musical experiences. In describing the difficulty of communicating his experience as participant observer, Chernoff writes, "to portray with fidelity both the relativity of his own viewpoint and the reality of the world he has witnessed necessarily involves an act of interpretation" (1979, 11).

[9] The quotation marks for 'ethnography' indicate my acknowledgement that this research is inspired by ethnography, but does not claim to be a full ethnography.

[10] For purposes of anonymity, I refer to School and Teacher A, B or C in this research to identify each of the three primary schools and their Arts and Culture educators.

My description of the research design for this thesis is divided into three parts. Part One is a pre-research phase, where I describe the research site, participants and educators' previous Arts and Culture training, which provides background information pertinent to the research. I also outline the nature of the informal teacher training programme I facilitated with the same educators. Part Two constitutes the first component of the research where I observed and documented learners' musical games with educators and then described and interpreted learners' games (interpretation A). Further analysis and interpretation took place with co-interpreters (interpretation B). Part Three is case study research where I examine the pedagogical intervention.

2.2.1 Research background and context

2.2.1.1 Research site and participants

The research site is Soweto – South Africa's largest township, south-west of Johannesburg. In terms of access, I was familiar with Soweto primary schools. I initiated the *Eyethu* Soweto Music Project Soweto in 1999 and taught extra-curricular music in the project for ten years.[11] This prior experience gave me background knowledge with regard to the conditions experienced by teachers and learners, and the teaching and learning contexts in average township schools. I first observed children's musical games during a small research project at one of the *Eyethu* project primary schools in 2005. I was struck by the prevalence of music and movement games that children played during break. I also observed a number of Grade Four Arts and Culture lessons. The stark disparities I noticed between playground and classroom practices at this time stimulated this research project.

The three primary schools were chosen by virtue of the fact that I had trained their Arts and Culture educators in 2004, in the Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) Programme (described below). Based on their interests and capabilities demonstrated throughout their ACE course, I approached each teacher and asked whether they were interested in participating in a music education research project based on children's games. Having gained participatory consent, I obtained written permission from each school principal and the school governing body; written consent from the learners in the chosen teachers' classes; and written permission from learners' parents or guardians for me to observe and videotape learners' games and observe their Arts and Culture lessons. The aims and nature of my research were communicated to the learners in each class. The Arts and Culture Curriculum section of the Gauteng Education Department also endorsed the project.

[11] Extra-curricular music refers to music training and lessons that are not part of the school curriculum. "*Eyethu*", meaning 'ours', is an orchestral training and development project of the Johannesburg Youth Orchestra Company. (Further details available on www.orchestracompany.org.za).

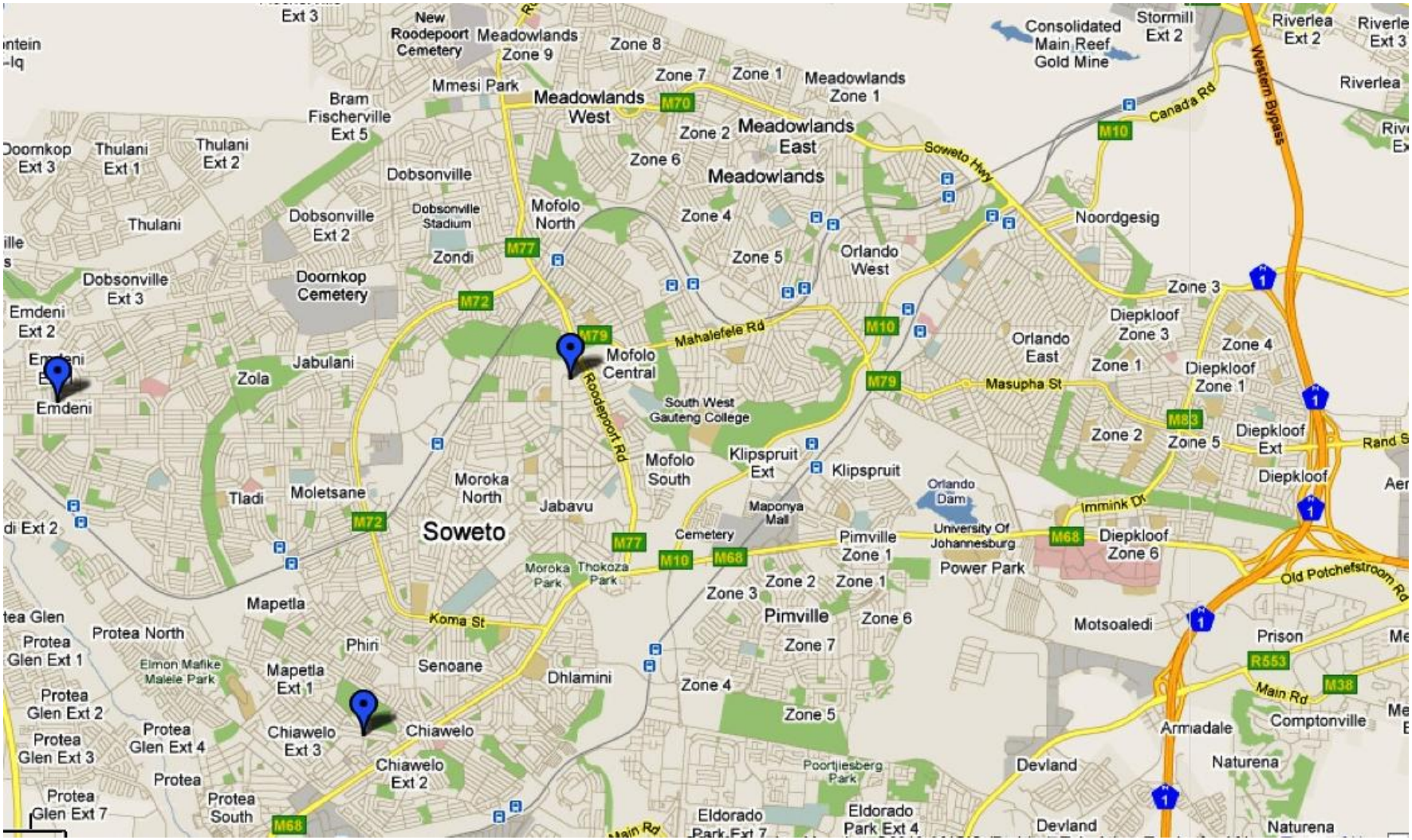
Ext 3
New Roodepoort Cemetery
Meadowlands Zone 9
Zone 8
Consolidated Main Reef Gold Mine
Stormill Ext 2
Riverlea Ext 2
Riverlea
Western Bypass
Mmesi Park
Meadowlands West
M70
Zone 7
Zone 1
Meadowlands Zone 1
Bram Fischerville Ext 5
Zone 2
Meadowlands East
Canada Rd
M10
Soweto Hwy
Doornkop Ext 3
Thulani Ext 1
Thulani Ext 2
Dobsonville
Zone 6
Meadowlands
Thulani
Dobsonville Ext 2
Dobsonville Stadium
Mofolo North
Zone 4
Noordgesig
Zondi
M77
Zone 5
Orlando West
Dobsonville Ext 3
Doornkop Cemetery
M72
Zone 3
Emdeni Ext 2
M79
Mahalefele Rd
Mofolo Central
Diepkloof Zone 3
Orlando East
Zone 4
Jabulani
Zola
Zone 1
Diepkloof Zone 1
Masupha St
Emdeni
South West Gauteng College
M83
Zone 2
Zone 5
Diepkloof Ext
Rand St
Roodepoort Rd
Klipspruit Ext
Klipspruit
Mofolo South
Orlando Dam
Diepkloof
Moroka North
Tladi
Moletsane
Jabavu
Maponya Mall
Immink Dr
Soweto
M72
Cemetery
M77
M10
M68
Pimville Zone 1
University Of Johannesburg
Diepkloof Zone 6
Moroka Park
Thokoza Park
Zone 2
Zone 1
Power Park
Old Potchefstroom Rd
Mapetla
Zone 3
Pimville
Zone 6
Motsoaledi
Koma St
Protea North
Protea Glen Ext 1
Phiri
Zone 7
Prison
R553
Elmon Mafike Malele Park
Senoane
Mapetla Ext 1
Dhlamini
Zone 4
Main Rd
M38
Protea Glen Ext 2
Zone 5
Protea Glen Ext 4
Chiawelo Ext 3
Chiawelo
Armadale
Comptonville
Protea Glen Ext 3
Chiawelo Ext 2
Poortjiesberg Park
Devland
Naturena
Protea
Protea South
Protea Glen Ext 7
M68
Eldorado Park Ext 7
Eldorado Park Ext 4
Devland
Naturena

Figure 1.

The research participants were: three Arts and Culture teachers and their respective class of learners in Grade Four (School C), Grade Five (School A) and Grade Seven (School B). Learners were in the Intermediate and Senior phases of the General Education and Training Band.[1] The teachers and learners were also chosen because they were working from the same section of the Arts and Culture Curriculum and each case was therefore comparable.

Each school shares similar demographics as former DET (the former Department of Education and Training) schools.[2] Although South Africa's education system is now officially de-racialised, township schools remain predominantly for black children, by virtue of their geographical situation as well as other socio-economic, political and historical factors. The schools are situated in different areas of Soweto, namely Chiawelo, Emdeni and White City Jabavu (as indicated by placemarks on the Soweto map) (Figure 1). The learners in each school ranged between nine and thirteen years old, depending on the grade. All students were black, and spoke a range and mixture of South African languages.

2.2.1.2 Teachers' previous training and the planned teaching intervention

The three Arts and Culture teachers in this project had completed ACE in Arts and Culture education.[3] As such, the teachers already had an arts training background that included a short module on music education. The teachers agreed to participate in the project in order to extend their music teaching experience and expertise. After their ACE course the three teachers attended an additional informal training programme, which I facilitated in my capacity as a teacher-educator. The teacher training programme was designed to develop teachers' ability to structure a learning programme that engaged with their learners' musical games. The training further intended to build teachers' skills and capacity to make links between learner and curriculum and between classroom and playground practices.

The training introduced teachers to a Multiliteracies pedagogy, focusing on the recognition and recruitment of learners' musical games into curriculum practice. Applying a Multiliteracies approach to music education represented a curriculum innovation that involved the crossing of local and existing musical practices and knowledge. The training aimed to show how teachers could use children's games and develop them musically through a series of transformations to become pedagogical knowledge. Acknowledging, observing and analysing children's games formed an important component of the training. I gave teachers an understanding of underlying concepts and

[1] Refer to Chapter One, footnote 2 for an explanation of the GET band in South African education.
[2] Under the apartheid system of Bantu Education, the former Department of Education and Training was responsible for black education outside the homelands. It was disbanded under the new non-racial education system post 1994.
[3] See Chapter One, footnote 12, for an explanation of the ACE Arts and Culture teacher training programme.

methodology of the Multiliteracies pedagogy, training materials and practical thematic and lesson ideas to try out in their classrooms. My primary aim was to shift teachers' attitudes towards acknowledging their learners as being musically resourceful, and then to extend learners' musicality using a new teaching methodology. Training materials and notes given to teachers are included in Appendix B.

2.2.1.2.1 Working with teachers in situated practice

Working with each teacher in "Situated Practice" (New London Group 2000) formed part of their training. Observing and describing children's everyday musical practices with teachers is placed within "situated practice" in the Multiliteracies pedagogy, where teachers work from a base of students' own interests and life-world experiences (Cope and Kalantzis 2000b, 240). Each teacher documented her or his learners' musical games observed on the playground by writing down the words, actions and dance formations. Each teacher helped to translate and interpret the games in conversation with the researcher. The teachers and I attempted to elicit the games' meanings and purposes for children: how the games were learnt; what musical resources learners used; and how they structured music and movement material into a game that served their own expressive, communicative and social interests.

I introduced some research techniques to enable teachers to recognise, observe and describe their learners' musical practices. Imparting basic research skills formed part of the teachers' development. These included: close observation; identification (knowing what to look and listen for); detailed description and using descriptive language; video recording techniques; and communicating with learners to discover their ideas and explanations of their games.

In framing the descriptions of each game with the teacher, we asked, "What musical practices do learners bring to the classroom?" and "What do they sound and look like?" We then identified the different musical capacities and competencies evident in the learners' musical play.

2.2.1.3 Research parameters

The training and development programme with teachers constituted a curriculum re-design and forms the background context for this project, with its own data. The research is not an account, nor an evaluation of this training, but an enquiry into the results of three teachers implementing a Multiliteracies pedagogy. Thus this research focuses on a second set of post-training data, gathered from observing and documenting what happened when the three educators implemented the pedagogical intervention introduced in the training.

2.2.2 Research phase A: documenting, describing and analysing children's musical games

An ethnographic approach presented in this thesis provides the methods for extracting what is present in children's games when they are conceptualised as distinct musical practices. The initial observation and documentation research phase aims to give this study material richness by presenting a detailed description and analysis of learners' musical play (in Chapters Three, Four and Five).

The data gained from observations, unstructured interviews and video-recording township children's playground musical games serves three purposes: to describe, analyse and interpret children's musical practices integral to playground culture; to provide contextual information for the project; and to assist teachers in documenting and acknowledging their learners' situated practices in order to recruit these as resources for pedagogy.

2.2.2.1 'Ethnography' stage one: fieldwork

2.2.2.1.1 Observation and participant observation

The primary strategy employed in ethnographic research is participant observation (Wellington 2000; Merriam 1998, 103-104; Stock 2004; McMillan and Schumacher 2006). There are varying degrees of participant observation, from complete participation to complete observation, depending on the aims and desired results of research. My role during fieldwork was as a "researcher participant", hence I observed activities and interactions, but was partially involved, in order to function as a researcher (Gans 1986, 81-82).

More significantly, the role of researcher in fieldwork depends on who, or what, is being researched. In this case, documenting children's practices as an adult poses methodological problems: by its nature children's cultures exclude adults (Opie and Opie 1988; Holmes 1998; Curtis 2001).[4] Based on her ethnographic studies of children's games, Marsh points out that "an adult, by nature of his/her 'otherness', cannot be a participant observer" (2008, 45). Like others, I acknowledge that there are aspects of children's cultures that may never be accessed or understood by adults (Marsh 1992; 2008; 2009; Holmes 1998; Opie and Opie 1988). When children are the 'insiders' in ethnographic research, accessing their meanings and perspectives can be problematic because children may not want to reveal parts of their games they considered rude (Marsh 2008, 57). In overcoming the dilemma of

[4] In outlining her research methods for her ethnographic studies of children's games, Marsh considers the challenges and ethical concerns associated with studying children's practices and ways in which she overcame these (2008, 43-69).

accessing children's perspectives and musical experiences, I follow Marsh who balances insider accounts with observations and videotaped performances, and includes the participants' voices in interpretations. Furthermore, for the purposes of this project, it was not necessary to understand every detail of each game. I only needed to understand enough about the children's games for the games to be useful in a pedagogical context.

The most appropriate method of data collection for this project was through "field observation – the technique of directly observing and recording without interacting" (McMillan and Schumacher 2006, 346). Bearing in mind the complexities involved in studying children as an adult researcher, I thus became a "participant observer" in the sense McMillan and Schumacher describe:

> The field worker in each instance receives permission to create the role for the sole purpose of data collection. The participant observer obtains permission from the organization or cultural group; the field worker then has to establish his or her research role with each person or group selected for study (2006, 345).

The purpose of my study as "a teacher interested in your games" was made clear to learners. Learners were informed beforehand of my intention to record their games and I asked obtained verbal and written permission to do so. In terms of the ethical considerations inherent in studying children, this research as cleared by the Ethics Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand (protocol number H070I04). While observing and recording learners' games, I did not participate in the sense of taking part in any games, but videotaped their play, asking them questions afterwards, in the presence of the teacher. My participation occurred in the process of transferring games into the classroom.

The second methodological challenge posed by an adult researching children's cultures is that an adult presence may affect children's interactions, as Marsh observes:

> This is likely to occur even when the researcher views children's performances from the standpoint of a non-participant observer, since both the context and the nature of the performance may be changed to meet the perceived requirements of the observer, and to maintain the privacy of the participants (1992, 135-6).

That my presence potentially changed what children would normally do is acknowledged in the 'ethnographic' chapters. Following Marsh, and in order to "lessen any diffidence in children's responses", I recorded children's performances on the playground, during normal break-times (2008, 45). Multiple recordings of the same games and triangulating the data with other informants attempts to mitigate the effects of children 'playing to the camera.' Nevertheless, children's desire to perform in front of a camera became an important feature in examining how musical play functions for children.

2.2.2.1.2 Fieldwork observation and data collection methods

I observed and videotaped children's musical games during 2006, in Schools A, B and C in the presence of the Arts and Culture teacher. Each teacher and I observed children's musical games on the playground during three to four break-times (about an hour each). We walked around the playgrounds and school buildings, videotaping any games we observed, focusing on the learners who willingly participated in the project. I videotaped varieties of chants, dances, songs and clapping games.

i. Video recording and field notes

The video data, lasting 3-4 hours, records the games observed over several visits to each school over a period of three weeks. A few games were recorded a number of times, for purposes of clarity and sound quality. The video recordings formed the primary data for describing, analysing and interpreting the games. DVDs are enclosed as appendices (DVD 1 and 2). The description of each game is supported by video examples, with number references.

Assisted by teachers and learners, I transcribed the song and chant texts, the accompanying clapping patterns, actions or gestures, dance formations and movements. The teachers assisted with translations and took their own field notes. My own notes, transcriptions of games and teachers' field notes formed supplementary data for the Chapters Three, Four and Five.

ii. Unstructured interviews and informal conversations

Interviews are often used in conjunction with observation in qualitative research (McMillan and Schumacher 2006). Methodologically, interviews are designed to elicit unobservable views and perspectives; they "allow us to reach parts which other methods can't" (Wellington 2000, 71). Unstructured, informal interviews – those with no pre-determined questions or interview schedule – were suitable for the initial stages of this research. I used unstructured interviews as informal conversations with learners for "exploratory purposes" (Merriam 1998, 72-73) as I was not yet familiar enough with township children's games at the beginning of the research process. Furthermore, language barriers and my position as researcher and educator prevented me from undertaking formal interviews. However, interviews are not the main source of data collection as the focus is on the performative nature of children's games. The difficulty in eliciting verbal responses from learners about their games is explored in Chapter Four. This issue forms the basis of a theoretical discussion about how musical games function for children in terms of non-verbal meaning.

2.2.2.2 'Ethnography' stage two: description, interpretation and data analysis

I transcribed data collected from observations (field notes), video recordings and informal conversations with learners. The transcriptions formed the foundation for Chapters Three, Four and Five on children's musical games. Each chapter functions distinctly in terms of what it aims to demonstrate about children's musicking. There are two sets of interpretation and analysis, according to the questions and aims of each chapter.

Interpretation A: (Undertaken in 2006) is based on my own analysis, teachers' translations and explanations of their learners' games at the time of observation and recording the games. I use the recorded data from all three schools. Interpretation A forms the basis of Chapter Five, which is an overview of the functions and meanings of children's games, related to their pedagogical significance.

Interpretation B: (Undertaken in 2007-8). Chapters Three and Four are based on subsequent interpretations of the video recordings. A year after the initial documentation, I was not able to observe the same learners, as they had moved to new schools. Portraying and interpreting learners' musical games as expressive cultural forms, congruent with ethnomusicological notions of children's games as culture (Blacking 1967; Campbell 2004b), required cultural 'insider' insights. It became necessary to develop an additional method of describing and analysing the games recorded in 2006 as significant musical forms in themselves. In order to present and interpret the games more fully, the video data was viewed by 'cultural insiders' who became 'co-interpreters' in this research. This phase of the research took place between 2007 and 2008 and I explain the role of my co-interpreters in Chapter Three.

The video recordings of children's playground musical play at each school were observed many times by seven 'cultural insiders'. These were older students who grew up in Soweto and other townships in Gauteng, who were familiar with the games children played in 2006. This triangulation of data as a form of "cross-validation" aimed to ensure descriptive and analytic depth (McMillan and Schumacher 2006, 374). Multiple observations, conversations and interpretations of the same games by different informants also obviated the problems of a single representation of the games by the researcher who is a 'cultural outsider'.

In attempting to overcome problems associated with the question of whose meanings are represented in portraying children's games, Marsh suggests that in ethnography, "insider accounts need to be balanced by observation as a major component of research" (2009, 97). My use of a range of data collection and interpretive measures is undertaken to achieve such balance in Chapters Three and Four.

2.2.2.3 An emergent research design

The choice of data collection and analytical strategies in this research was a process of "deciding among available alternatives for collection and corroboration of data and of modifying one's decision to capture the reality of the phenomenon" (McMillan and Schumacher 2006, 347). The necessity for supplementary interpretive and analytic methods surfaced in the process of research, rather than being pre-determined. The overall research design of this thesis is therefore emergent, in keeping with qualitative ethnographic enquiry as well as case study design (McMillan and Schumacher 2006, 347). The inclusion of many voices in interpretation is congruent with interpretive ethnography (Clifford and Marcus 1986) and assumptions of "multiple truths in social situations" (Wellington 2000, 71). In keeping with ethnographies of children's musical games, methodological choices and resultant interpretations are grounded in the material of the research (Marsh 2008, 43).

2.2.2.4 'Ethnography' stage three: methods of analysis

The 'ethnographic' chapters (Three, Four and Five) in this thesis use similar data, but describe, analyse and interpret it differently. Chapters Three and Four utilise contrasting methods of documentation, description and analysis to demonstrate the methodological possibilities for presenting children's games as cultural practices. Drawing on ethnographic approaches to writing, Chapters Three and Four use detailed description as the basis for analysis and interpretation (Geertz 1973) and are located in an understanding that "ethnography is a written account of culture" (Geertz 1973; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Van Maanen 1988). Chapter Five approaches the games from the perspective of teaching and learning, examining how the games function for children, and the capacities they embody.

2.2.2.4.1 Analysis method one: reading many games thematically

In the first ethnographic chapter, the 'unit of study' is the playground. I use video data to describe and analyse the games children at School C played during one recess. Although this chapter is not based on extended fieldwork, it draws on playground studies such as Sue Parrot's "Games children play: ethnography of a second-grade recess" (1972) and Grugeon's account (2001), in which she illustrates the range and variety of girls' games observed in the space of just one playtime. The chapter also shares approaches of, amongst others, Harwood (1998a, 1998b) Campbell (1998a, 2002), Armitage (2001) and Lum (2009), who observe and document children's musical games as they happen on the playground.

Chapter Three differs from this literature in that it portrays children's musicking according to what they wished to play and demonstrate at the time, rather than their whole game repertoires. I analyse these games thematically as manifestations of children's sociality, sexuality and gender. Co-interpreters' responses and analysis are integrated into the analysis to deepen description and interpretation of the games in terms of the themes that arose from the data. In terms of examining the gendered nature of children's playground games, Merrill-Mirsky 1988, Grugeon 1993; 2001, Epstein et al. 2001 serve as precedents.

2.2.2.4.2 Analysis method two*:* reading one game as a text

In the second ethnographic chapter, the unit of study is one game, called "Xoxisa". Using thick descriptive writing, the chapter portrays one child's play/performance of a graphic-narrative game. Its subsequent analysis operates as a 'reading' of the game as cultural text in multiple ways (Geertz 1973). Geertz's approach of "reading culture as a text", exemplified in his analysis of "Deep play: notes on a Balinese cockfight," demonstrates that one event or instance of cultural expression or form can be used to elicit a layered understanding of culture (1973, 412-455). Employing aspects of the notion of 'culture as text', I attempt to show how one game can 'say' many things about the nature, function, purpose and value of multimodal games for children, when analysed from multiple perspectives. This chapter is like the approach Prinsloo adopts in his description and analysis of one game that children play in Khwezi Park (Western Cape) (2004). He uses detailed textual and multimodal analysis to explore children's use of semiotic resources for communication and expression. His work is written in the ethnographic present, presented as a narrative of children playing one game.

2.2.2.4.3 Analysis method three: an overview of children's games related to pedagogy

Chapter Five relates to the significance of children's musical games for pedagogy. It presents an overview of the meanings and functions of a variety of games played in all three schools, from an educational perspective. The purpose of the chapter is to inform a teaching method based on recruitment and presents a justification for focusing on musical games as learners' 'situated practices'. It is thus a broader description, informed by children's performances recorded on each school's playground. Games are analysed according to the characteristics that can potentially inform an application of the Multiliteracies Pedagogy. I categorise the games according to the values, functions, children's musicalities and capacities they display.

2.2.3 Research phase B: an account of a pedagogical innovation through case study research

The second phase of the research is an account of the case studies, where an application of the Multiliteracies pedagogy to music education is trialled in three schools. The account has three components: a description of the intervention in three schools; an interpretation and analysis of findings; proposing a way forward by discussing the implications and impact of this research for Arts and Culture education in South Africa, and last, how this research informs the Multiliteracies project in South Africa. First I describe the key characteristics and issues in case study research design; I then explain how case study research design is used in this project.

2.2.3.1 Key characteristics of case study research

This research falls within an "interpretive research paradigm", where schooling is seen as "lived experience" and learning is seen as a process. It is therefore theory-generating, rather than deductive research: "understanding the meaning of the process or experience constitutes the knowledge to be gained" (Merriam 1998, 4). This project uses case study method within qualitative educational research in order to examine the application of the Multiliteracies pedagogy in three primary schools. Widely understood as an in-depth, holistic method of investigating a bounded contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context (Knobel and Lankshear 1999), case study research design is best suited for this kind of classroom-based field research. Qualitative case study refers to the unit of analysis, the process of carrying out an investigation and the research product (Merriam 1998).

2.2.3.1.1 The unit of analysis

A case study is a "detailed examination of one setting, or one single subject" (Wellington 2000, 90). The stress on a 'unit' as a bounded system is the defining characteristic of case study research (Smith 1978, quoted in Merriam 1998). In a case study design, "the data analysis focuses on one phenomenon, which the research selects to understand in depth regardless of the number of sites or participants for the study" (McMillan and Schumacher 2006, 316). The teaching intervention, its context and effects are the 'bounded phenomenon', and each Grade Four, Five or Six classroom is the "real-life context" (Knobel and Lankshear 1999). American sociologist Howard Becker urges researchers to ask "What is this a case *of*?" (emphasis in the original) (quoted in Wellington 2000, 195). In this research, each school is a case of music education teaching and learning where a particular pedagogic intervention was implemented.

2.2.3.1.2 Multiple case studies

As each school represents a single case, my research design is "multiple case study research" (Wellington 2000, 99; Merriam 1998, 40). This "collective case study" involves collecting and analysing data from three different schools for "instrumental enquiry", where each study is instrumental to finding how a pedagogical innovation is carried out (Stake 1995, 3-4). The case studies seek to understand the processes of teaching and learning in each school individually and then to compare and contrast them. Multiple case studies at different sites enable research to "cumulatively produce generalizations" (Wellington 2000, 99). Utilising multiple case studies made it possible to study the results of introducing a Multiliteracies approach in depth and to later draw conclusions about its efficacy or appropriacy in schools that are typical of South African urban township schools. Ultimately, the insights gained through analysis of the three case studies are related to broader issues of Arts and Culture Education.

2.2.3.1.3 Case study process

The case study approach further provides a suitable design for this project because it focuses on process. Process in case study research can be viewed as "monitoring: describing the context and population of the study, discovering the extent to which the treatment of programme has been implemented" (Merriam 1998, 33). In this research, examining the process of implementation facilitated an evaluation of the extent of factors influencing its efficacy. Furthermore, because case studies "enable an understanding of the processes of events, projects, and programmes and a discovery of context characteristics that will shed light on an issue or object" (Sanders 1981, 44), issues of school context, teacher sensibility and learners' identities could be considered.

What is expected of qualitative case studies is "thick description, experiential understanding and multiple realities" (Stake 1995, 43). As qualitative case study in an interpretive research paradigm pursues the complex, constructed meanings in each case, its results emphasise "the holistic treatment of a phenomenon" (Schwandt 1994, quoted in Stake 1995, 43). In this project, this implies paying attention to contextual details, including learners' and teachers' social and teaching environments.

Working with each teacher, I observed the pedagogical innovation in their Arts and Culture class. I investigated the pedagogical innovation as it happened and worked towards generating a detailed, contextualised and multi-layered understanding of each teacher's practice and resultant student learning in all its forms. I used the case study method to generate thick descriptions of the particular and to identify trends and patterns that could be useful in relation to recruiting learners' musical games as resources for Arts and Culture education in the South African context.

2.2.3.1.4 The product of case study research

As a product, a case study is "an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single entity, phenomenon, or social unit. Case-studies are particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic" (Merriam 1998, 34). This project falls broadly within an evaluative study as it asks the question, "To what extent can teachers apply a Multiliteracies pedagogy in music education?" Addressing this question thus involves "description, explanation and judgment" (Ibid., 39) On the basis of examining teacher practice, I evaluate the possibilities or constraints for using a Multiliteracies pedagogy in schools in terms of the results of student learning. The research evaluates the extent to which this pedagogy can or cannot be implemented, comparing each case and identifying the factors influencing a potential application, in each school. Finally, the research uses the findings of the three case studies to make assertions about broader application of Multiliteracies in Arts and Culture Education.

2.2.3.2 Overcoming the shortcomings of case study research

One of the shortcomings of case study research is the external validity of its findings. Whether research findings are valid or not relates to the issue of sampling as well as the researcher's personal interpretation (Wellington 2000, 98). Nevertheless, the choice of multiple cases aims to make the findings in each school have wider purchase. Speaking specifically of a curriculum innovation, Peter Woods contends that:

> In the case of schools, we can take an area of special interest, say a curriculum innovation, and carry out intensive studies of it within several schools; then, as the study reveals certain particular aspects of interest concerning the innovation, widen the sample of schools (1986, 49).

Multiple case studies in this research enabled both a detailed description and analysis of the particularities of each case individually, and a horizontal comparison across schools, in order to make wider generalisations to "enhance the external validity of generalisability of my findings" (Merriam 1998, 40).

2.2.3.3 Interpretation in case study research: the researcher's role

In qualitative study, the researcher's role is interpretation – to recognise and substantiate new meanings (Stake 1995, 97). Observation is the basis for interpretation, for examining meanings, in similar ways to the ethnographer:

> We emphasise placing an interpreter in the field to observe the workings of the case, one who records objectively what is happening but simultaneously examines its meaning and redirects observation to refine or substantiate those meanings (Ibid., 8).

Nevertheless, the role of researcher as interpreter is complex as it is mediated by the researcher's own position, identity and cultural assumptions. This research is therefore informed by awareness that observing and describing practice is an interpretive act, and that the researcher's presence potentially alters real-life situations (although the problems inherent in the ethnographic method are not the focus here). Implicit in this approach is an awareness of how my own perceptions and assumptions influence the construction of meaning.

2.2.3.4 Case study stage one: fieldwork

The fieldwork was structured around the teaching intervention. I observed and documented Arts and Culture lessons (approximately twice a week in each school) over a period of eight weeks. I aimed to see how teachers used a Multiliteracies approach in music education; how they worked with their learners' musical practices; what new group compositions learners produced, and the kinds of learning that resulted. I therefore documented and described both the teachers' and learners' practices, focusing on the signs of curriculum transformation that were enacted in the classroom and playground. The account is located specifically within the teaching and learning context of Soweto township primary schools and is framed by the constraints and opportunities of this context.

In keeping with the need to understand social behaviour, including teaching and learning, as deeply contextualised, my observation of teacher and students' interactions in relation to the content and pedagogy of the teaching intervention involved multiple data collection methods.

2.2.3.4.1 Field work classroom observation: data collection methods

As an important means of collecting data in qualitative research, observation offers a "firsthand account of the situation under study, and, when combined with interviewing and document analysis, allows for a holistic interpretation of the phenomenon being investigated" (Merriam 1998, 111). Classroom observation was supported by four data collection methods.

i. Video recordings of classroom practice.

The primary data collection was video recordings of: whole class activities and interactions between pupils and teacher; "overt instruction" lessons by teachers; learners' group work and rehearsals; learners' performances for each other and learners' and teachers' verbal reflections. I videotaped all the lessons that form part of the planned teaching intervention. Teachers' lessons and pupils' musical responses were recorded, in the classroom and on the playground where learners worked out performances in groups. For the purpose of analysis I viewed all the videotaped lessons and selected critical moments and key musical interactions for transcription.

ii. Field notes

I used field notes based on classroom observations as a secondary data collection method to complement the video recordings. This enabled me to make observations and preliminary interpretative comments *in situ*. I used field notes to capture description and interpretation of key moments of teacher-class and pupil-pupil interactions and group work, and to highlight insights most significant to the research.

iii. Unstructured interviews

I used informal, unstructured interviews and conversations with learners and teachers. I asked learners questions about their rhythmic poems, instrument making, and how they used aspects of their games in new compositions. This questioning intersected with "unstructured participant observation" of pupils working together (Green 2008, 15). I also talked informally with teachers, reflecting on their progress. I recorded insights from informal conversations and interviews in my field notes.

iv. The teacher's journal

I offered each teacher the option of keeping an informal journal for the duration of the training and implementing the new pedagogy. They recorded the content of each lesson, reflected on what learners created together and the outcomes of the teaching intervention. Teacher A and B submitted their journals at the end of the research, which I read in order to gain insight into the process, difficulties and successes each experienced in working with the Multiliteracies pedagogy with his or her learners.

2.2.3.4.2 Participant observation

In the classroom, permission of researcher presence was established by virtue of my role as a teacher-educator and because learners were by then accustomed to my presence on the playground recording their musical games. Short case studies generally involve more observation than participation (Wellington 2000, 92); nevertheless as the teacher-educator, I was involved in guiding teachers at times in thinking about their teaching; facilitating children's group work and asking questions, but this did not seem to interfere in the process.

I was mindful, though, that my presence in the classroom was likely to have an impact on the interaction that took place (Swann 1994) and that this renders the distinction between observer and participant observer ambiguous. Nevertheless, it has also been noted that after a period of time patterns of interaction stabilise as the research participants become accustomed to being observed (Robson 1993). I therefore chose to define myself as an observer but remained alert, in the analysis of the observation data, to the various ways in which my presence shaped the data collected.

2.2.3.5 Case study stage two: Data analysis, description and interpretation

As part of an emergent data collection strategy, "analysis of documents or unexpected events is necessary in the process of deciding amongst variables and modifying decisions" (McMillan and Schumacher 2006, 346). In this research data analysis and interpretation was based on transcriptions, document analysis, informal learner focus groups and performances, and teacher questionnaires.

2.2.3.5.1 Data for interpretation and analysis

i. Transcriptions

I transcribed the video recordings of each lesson in the three schools, identifying how the teacher's practice influenced student learning. Combined with field notes, transcriptions included initial analysis of emerging themes.

ii. Informal learner focus groups and performances

Interviewing learners about new learning experiences did not elicit much useful information. However, in keeping with an "emergent data collection strategy", I asked learners to re-perform some of their new poems, songs and games and demonstrate ways of incorporating or combining elements of their games in performance. The new musical learning evident in these performances is described and analysed in the interpretation section of the thesis.

iii. Document analysis

Learners created visual and written reflections based on what they had learnt over the eight-week period of the pedagogical intervention. Creative texts include: children's written rhythmic poems; drawings of their self-made instruments; written descriptions of the sounds of their made instruments, and learners' personal responses. These documents are included in Appendix D.

iv. Teacher questionnaires

Teachers responded to open questions designed to evaluate what they had learnt about using their learners' games as the basis of teaching; their difficulties experienced in implementing a Multiliteracies pedagogy and any other personal responses. Questionnaire responses form part of the analysis of the efficacy of the pedagogical intervention, and can be found in Appendix E.

2.2.3.6 Case study stage three: presentation and analysis of findings

Qualitative case study research usually involves a degree of evaluation emphasising "the quality of activities and processes, portraying them in narrative description, interpretation and assertion" (Stake

1995, 96). In presenting the findings, I follow Stake's progression from description, to interpretation and assertion.

2.2.3.6.1 Narrative description of the pedagogical innovation in schools

I describe and present what happened in each school separately, building up an account based on field notes taken during lessons and video-recordings of lessons, learners' work, rehearsals and performances. Descriptions of teacher practice and students' learning are structured according to the four components of the Multiliteracies pedagogy.

2.2.3.6.2 Interpretation and analysis

The interpretation and analysis of the pedagogical innovation is based on video data, interview responses and texts, and teacher questionnaires. Interpretation of the extent to which the Multiliteracies pedagogy could be implemented is evaluated in terms of opportunities and constraints present in each case. I compared each case, identifying unique characteristics of teachers' practice and learners' performances, as well as highlighting common threads in three case studies. The analysis is thematic, according to what emerged in each of three cases, including congruencies, individual anomalies and differences in each school. I identify individual factors influencing take-up of the pedagogy related to teachers, learners, school context and the broader educational environment. The findings of each case are then used to draw conclusions about the potential of using children's games as resources for pedagogy more broadly in South African Arts and Culture education.

Chapter Three: *Bana etlong retlobapala*: an 'ethnography' of children's games on a Soweto playground.[1]

3.1 Introduction

This chapter represents the first of two 'ethnographic excursions' in this thesis, where children's musical games are portrayed as intrinsically valuable expressive practices. In this chapter I examine primary school children's musical play observed during a two-hour school recess on the playground at School C in Soweto in 2006. I documented and videotaped learners' musical games in the context of their actual temporal and situated performance. The musical games I observed were entirely "child-directed and self-choreographed" (Prinsloo 2004, 93) and formed part of township children's oral cultures.

My purpose in this chapter is twofold: first, to show the prominence and richness of township children's musical practices outside the classroom, documenting them "in relation to their broader social and cultural milieu, in the context of their actual use" (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 6). Second, I aim to illustrate how township children's musical games are localised practices, but also share features of children's musical play globally.

While School C learners' games are in dialogue with their immediate social and cultural environment, they also resonate with the global characteristics of children's games. One of these is the manifestation of "play at the core of middle childhood" (Factor 2001, 29-30), what Alasdair Roberts calls the "time of expansive imaginative and varied playground play" (1980, xii). Roberts further maintains that pre-adolescent children's play is specific in its separateness from adults and classrooms, and he emphasises its socialising, communicative and innovative character (1980). The Soweto children I observed were between the ages of eight to ten years and their games exhibited similar specific and separate features of children's games in middle childhood globally. Soweto children's musical play confirms that, like elsewhere, during recess times children are free to associate with their peers, with minimal adult intervention and supervision (Opie and Opie 1988). The playground is children's domain, where their cultures and transmission of cultural knowledge thrive (Holmes 1998, 49). "When the school bell rings and children run onto the playground … This is the time of the school day when children engage in mastering their culture and exerting their power in the world" (Ibid.).

[1] *Bana etlong retlobapala* is Sotho for "children come and play".

3.2 Methodological approach

In contrast with Chapter Four, where I read one game in multiple ways, in this chapter I read multiple games in one way. The present description is ethnographic, whereas Chapter Four describes and analyses a graphic-narrative game as a "cultural text" (Geertz 1973), exploring how the child's deployment of expressive modes connects with personal and cultural meanings. This present account depicts children's musical play as "interaction in face-to-face performance" (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 6), while Chapter Four describes the etymology of one game.

More broadly in this thesis I aim to demonstrate that township children's games can be approached, analysed and interpreted in multiple ways, using multiple methodologies. I propose that the contrasting methodologies employed in Chapter Three and Four could be applied to any of the games addressed in this thesis, each revealing distinct characteristics, functions and meanings of children's play and consequently its implications for pedagogy. As my approach here is broadly ethnographic, I aim to access participants' experiences and meanings through observing children's musical practices in their social context. The ethnographic 'event' here is a series of musical games that Grade Four learners played during one recess at School C in March 2006.[2] The description covers about two hours and constitutes both what children wished to show me and what they happened to be playing at the time. The following chronological account describes a sequence of game-performances from beginning to end, some happening simultaneously but based on what I recorded. As such, it does not encompass the learners' entire game repertoires, nor does it account for the games observed at other times at School C. For example, the School C girls did not play skipping games as they usually do, on the day I recorded their games. Rather than listing children's game repertoires, this chapter portrays learners' musical play during a typical Soweto primary school recess.

At the time, my purpose in visiting School C in March 2006 was twofold: to introduce Teacher C to his learners' situated musical practices as potential teaching resources, and to record the games his learners typically played during daily break-times. Teacher C and I moved around the playground observing, writing down and videotaping children's activities, asking the children to tell us about their games. I later returned to this video evidence as the basis for description and interpretive analysis. However, interviewing learners on the day of the recording did not elicit much useful interpretation and over time it became difficult to find out more about the recorded games as the learners I filmed had moved to other schools since 2006.

[2] Each game is recorded unedited on the accompanying DVD, as observed on the School C playground. Numbers cited with each game description in this chapter correspond with those on DVD1.

That revealing information was not very forthcoming from learners on the day of the recording is partially because I asked the wrong questions, but also because of our language and cultural differences. These exist because the children speak Sotho, Tswana or Zulu (and mixtures of these), and I do not, and also because even first-language adult speakers struggle to decipher the words of the games and access their meanings or references (Teacher A 2006).[3] Adults may miss children's transient rhymes, nonsense-type vocalising and verbal interactions because of the self-referential way in which these work in children's cultures.

Furthermore, as a cultural outsider, I did not understand the "idiosyncrasies of local vocabulary" in most of the School C children's games (Roberts 1980, 140). Township linguistic practices and literacies are mixed, characterised by code-switching and slang, and children create their own words for the purposes of play and peer communication. Children mix phrases from South African television and township *scamtho* in their musical games.[4] Some words and sounds are further localised within specific areas in Soweto as markers of place and cultural identity.[5] Township children also draw extensively on the lyrics, musical structures and dance styles of the urban electronic dance music *kwaito*.[6] In addition, the gestural and other communicative signs and their meanings embedded in township culture are often inaccessible by cultural outsiders. Hence, describing and analysing children's movements, gestures, music and dance references and the signs of status and 'coolness' integral to 'loxion culture' requires insider knowledge.[7]

It is therefore imperative to triangulate my interpretations with those of cultural insiders. They were: Teacher C, who explained the games in the moment; the learners (who I interviewed informally on the

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[3] Following Coplan, I refer to South African indigenous languages according to their usage in English (Sotho, Zulu, Tswana) dispensing with the prefixes used in the vernacular, i.e. Sesotho, isiZulu, Setswana (2007, xii-xiii).

[4] 'Scamtho' is a "contemporary African urban slang, based on a mixture of 'township' Zulu, Sotho and English" (Coplan 2007, 440). Allen describes scamtho as "a township lingua-franca or slang, concocted from Zulu and Sotho with smatterings of English and Afrikaans" (2004b, 86). Scamtho is primarily a marker of urban identity (Ntshangase 2002). For an in-depth analysis of Soweto language practices see Ntshangase (2002).

[5] Linguistic and gestural communicative practices are localised in different parts of Soweto, just as local taxis have 'sonic signs' (different rhythms played on their hooters) to signal destination within Soweto (as described by Phiri 2008 and Selibe 2009).

[6] *Kwaito* is a South African form of township electronic dance music that emerged post-1994, which "expressed the aspirations and experience of urban black youth, particularly in Gauteng" (Allen 2004b, 85). In its early years, *kwaito* was a South Africanised blend of hip-hop with European and American dance music, especially house and techno …" (Ibid.) Musically, *kwaito* is "composed of slowed-down house tracks and repetitive 'chanted' lyrics in Zulu, English or *scamto*" (Steingo 2007, 23). Slow rap-like speech-song reminiscent of spoken word poetry in South Africa, is *kwaito*'s musical marker. In performance, the lyrics are usually delivered in a question and answer format where audiences take part in the performance by singing or chanting after the lead vocalist, a practice also seen in hip-hop rap (Lephoto 2007). (See also Mhlambi 2004 and McCloy n.d.).

[7] '*Loxion kulcha*' means literally 'location culture', but references a clothing brand and township youth style associated with the 'Y Generation' (see Allen 2004b and Nuttall 2004). Allen explains *loxion kulcha* and its origins post-liberation (1994) as "an alternative narrative of the new South Africa. Black urban youth started to express their experience in a conglomeration of practices that has come to be known as 'Y culture' or *loxion kulcha*" (2004b, 83). Historically, the pejorative word "location" describes any South African township – demarcated areas for black people under apartheid according to the Group Areas Act (1950). The words "*kasie*", "*ekas*" or "*loxion*" are "common in black colloquial speech today" as a somewhat ironic reference to the original meaning of 'location' (Coplan 2007, 444).

same day); Teacher A, whom I asked to check the video evidence, translate the words of the games and explain their meanings; and a second tier of cultural insiders who I interviewed between 2008 and 2009. The latter were seven students aged between nineteen and thirty-five, all of whom grew up in township areas and played similar games as children.[8]

I gained insight into local knowledge, expressive and communicative literacies by asking my co-interpreters to view and listen to the video recordings of the School C learners' games recorded in 2006. Triangulating the data in this way resulted in two layers of interpretation: a set of interpretations at the time, where the text was what children were doing; a second tier of interpretations from the video text, played many times to cultural insiders (Teacher A and seven students), provided another level of interpretation. Each game I describe here has therefore been viewed and interpreted multiple times. My own observations and my informants' insights are integrated with my analysis in conversation with them. The portrayal and interpretation of School C learners' games in this chapter therefore represents a combination of cultural insider and outsider perspectives. By examining ethnographic material from these different perspectives, I aim to achieve greater interpretive and analytic depth.

Adopting an ethnographic approach in this research revealed a complex, vibrant picture of children's musical practices on the playground – full of innovation, humour and joyful play with sound and movement. The written transcript can only be a pale reflection of "vibrant three-dimensional performances" (Grugeon 2001, 101). Excavating the meanings of School C learners' musical games from the video recording reveals unanticipated dimensions of complexity and creativity. Hence, township children's games are congruent with children's games documented in Europe,

> … Reveal[ing] dimensions of creativity, artistry and complexity in their own right, including carnivalesque, subversive and parodic elements as well as normative ones (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 8).

The thirteen musical games I recorded in 2006 move fluidly between reconfigurations of media texts and adaptations of traditional cultural practices. They include innovative, improvised games and versions of old games learnt as part of children's folklore. They further exemplify the textured,

[8] I interviewed Lerato Seohatse, Malose Langa and Siphiwe Hlongwane (students from the University of the Witwatersrand) and showed them the video material in March 2008. All three students recognised the games I recorded at School C. I also asked for comments on the games from two music students from the Johannesburg Youth Orchestra Company during interviews in March and April 2008: Senzi Morajane, who was a *mas'kitlana* storyteller in Thokoza township as a young girl, and Theo Phiri, who grew up in Soweto. Ignatia Madalane, a master's student at the University of the Witwatersrand during 2008, helped further with translating the words of the games and offered insight into their connections with traditional musical forms and local popular culture. She had played many of the games as a child in rural Mpumalanga. In 2009 I interviewed musician and visual artist Daniel Selibe. Having grown up in Chiawelo in Soweto, he was familiar with the music and dance aspects of the School C games, many of which he had played as a child.

contradictory nature of children's play, which June Factor describes as features of children's play globally:

> Like the arts, which also create their own virtual worlds, children's play traditions unify conventional opposites. They are at once conservative and innovative, inherited and improvised, rule-bound and adaptive, collaborative and competitive, ritualistic and creative, universal and minutely local, secure and challenging, self-regulatory and group-orientated, stylised in form and boundless in content, conventional and subversive (2001, 25).

The description offered below proceeds according to where Teacher C and I moved on the playground, which games caught our attention, and which the children wanted to demonstrate for us. A great deal can be observed during one break-time. Children played different games very rapidly after each other and it was unclear when one ended and the other began. Teacher C and my presence clearly affected the children. They were eager to be on film, thinking that they would be on television. They performed and danced, showing off entire sequences from local television and films. Although children played to the camera, they could only show me what they already had in their behavioural, musical or performative repertoires. When I asked the learners where and when they usually played the games, they replied, "We play these games at home and on the playground every day" (School C learners 2006). Therefore, although the present description represents just a sample of learners' games, those that happened during one recess, it does constitute a portrayal of what is likely to occur every day in many South African township schools.

The description is based on video material and, as such, the game categories and interpretive analysis are determined by children's play and performance activities recorded at the time.

3.3 Playground description: White City Jabavu School C in 2006

School C's playground culture is typical of contemporary Soweto primary schools and is similar to that of Schools A and B. The school bell rings, signalling the beginning of 'big-break'. Children rush out of their classrooms to the ladies selling snacks outside the school fence and buy small plastic packets of red and orange crisps. Each child eats a large red apple given to them by the school as part of the school's feeding scheme. Their movements are boisterous and energetic as they shout and call to each other. In the centre, boys throw marbles in the sand or spinning tops on the ground; girls gather in circles under the trees. Boys play chaotic soccer, mixed up with chasing and running, girls chat on the playground periphery.

School C is surrounded by emblematic beige-white concrete roofs that give the area the name White-City Jabavu. These are hot, cramped, semi-detached two-roomed homes where there are often several families staying in one dwelling. The identical matchbox houses are physical reminders of Soweto's historical division into ethnic segments: White City is still predominantly Sotho and Tswana-speaking, as are the learners at this primary school. School C is constructed like all other Soweto primary schools built in the 1970s: a U-shaped red brick building of ten classrooms, a 'hall' and two small administrative offices. School C has a carefully tended small garden and a big playground of grassy play areas, trees and a crumbling netball court and dusty patches of bare ground. Different spaces delineate different games-areas for children: bricks, stones and patches of bare ground for marbles; an open space for large circle games; grass areas and spaces under the trees for smaller group or pair clapping games.

Arriving with a video camera at a township school usually causes a stir. At School A, there were so many children who wanted to be captured on film it became impossible to record anything. Hundreds of kids began playing games usually meant for two. Children want to be seen and heard; to be noticed and acknowledged. However, as School C has only 300 children and as the break-time I videotaped is for Grades Three and Four, the process of listening and watching was easier. The Grade Four class of nine to ten-year-olds performs for the camera and expresses their desire to demonstrate what they know.

They organise themselves into small groups under the trees when they notice my interest in the first boys' group. Although the Grade Fours join together to play "Sibidiphephe", "Iskipa sika Jomo" and "Tiny thukhutela", they continue their usual activities such as eating apples, carrying their self-made cardboard suitcases, playing marble games and breaking into spontaneous soccer matches.

Learners play different games according to friendship or gender groupings. Some games are highly organised, structured and choreographed; others are more spontaneous; some games are in pairs, others are in small circles or big groups. Most are noisy and boisterous and are virtually always accompanied by dance moves and gestures. Competitive, individualised performances contrast with collaborative, social ones. Girls and boys mostly play separate games, but occasionally come together in interesting patterns of girl-boy relationship negotiation through complex gesture, movement and word associations. I divide the description and interpretation according to the gendered dimensions of learners' games not only in order to illustrate their distinct characteristics, but also because gender differences are so striking.

3.3.1 Boy power on the playground: playing with identities

Hearing shouts of *mina lona* ("my one"!) from a noisy group of boys, Teacher C and I go to where boys are playing *amatali* (marbles). They have constructed a row of bricks, divided by a small passageway, with one brick placed over the tunnel. The aim of the game is to flick your marble through this narrow space. Boys begin by rolling their marbles along the ground from an agreed distance, hoping to knock other boys' marbles away. They exclaim and comment on what is happening, delighting in their individual success when their marble enters the small gap in the bricks.

Seeing the camera, another group of eight boys nearby starts jumping up and down on the grass to attract our attention. The game is "Aya bampa" (the "fatcakes").[9] Boys bounce around performing the movement of 'fatcakes' in a pot of boiling oil, while clapping to the beat of the chant in call-and-response form.

"Aya bampa" (DVD1 04:27-05:50)

Words	**Translation**	**Actions**
Call: *Aya bamp' amagwiny' e stofini*	The fatcakes are jumping in the stove.	One boy bounces around in the middle of the circle.
Response: *Azothi ncu!*		On "*ncu*" the boy in the middle bumps into someone in the outside circle, whose turn it then is to jump around in the middle of the circle.

"Aya bampa" is a typical Soweto Zulu game that draws on a familiar township activity of frying 'fatcakes'. The call's syncopated drawn-out triplet rhythm contrasts with the overlapping response, the rhythm of which is 'straight,' but speeds up slightly towards *ncu*, so that this word is stressed.[10] The response overlaps with the last syllable of *stofini*. *Ncu* emulates a kissing sound, shouted at a higher pitch. The boys inside a circle formation emulate the way 'fatcakes' bubble up as they are fried in hot oil. Bouncing around and falling down "creates excitement" (Selibe 2008). The game is "minutely local" in the way that children translate a familiar food-making activity into movement; it is innovative in the way boys match word-sounds (like *azothi ncu*!), actions and physical interaction (bumping into each other) (Factor 2001, 25).

[9] 'Fatcakes', or *vetkoek* in Afrikaans, are a common food in the township made by frying balls of dough in hot oil. As they are cheap to make and buy, fatcakes are "affordable for poor people. They are usually made when it's cold" (Selibe 2008).
[10] Call-and-response is a "musical structure in which a leader sings a melodic phrase (the call) and a group of singers repeats the form as response. Often the line sung by the group starts before the line sung by the leader is complete, resulting in overlapping musical phrases" (Muller 2008, 19).

My co-interpreters explained this game on two levels: one on the level of rhythmic movement and physical interaction copying *amagwinya;* the other is more sexually suggestive. Theo Phiri, who played the game as a young boy, offered another explanation: he suggested that the game refers to familiar township fish and chip shops where "they have lots of fatcakes on the stoves" (2008). According to Phiri, *aya bampa* literally means "they are bumping"; *amagwinya* are 'fatcakes'; *stofini* is derived from the English 'stove' or Afrikaans *stoof*; and *ncu*, vocalised with an explosive click, emulates the popping sound of the fatcakes cooking in the oil. Boys enjoy being the *vetkoek* bubbling up because they can bounce and bump into each other. Phiri explains,

> You play the game in a group in circle formation. One moves around in the circle and then chooses someone on the outside to bump into as you say *azothi ncu*. Or children play it all moving around at the same time with different movements while singing the rhyme. The boys throw themselves … they are the fatcakes (2008).

However, the nature of 'bumping' each other's buttocks, combined with the suggestive '*ncu*' sound, has other connotations. According to Siphiwe Hlongwane, Lerato Seohatse and Malose Langa, *amagwinya* refer to the roundness of a woman's buttocks, suggesting she is sexually 'ready'. In traditional dance-styles like the Pedi *ungula*, women jerk their buttocks and chests as a way of showing off their 'assets', expressing their sexual attractiveness through dance display (Madalane 2008).[11] The way the boys move in "*Aya bampa*" insinuates a similar 'bouncing buttocks' movement, which together with the fatcakes, or buttocks 'kissing' as they vocalise the sound, suggests sexualized movement. The word chanted as they bump is *ncu*, a kissing sound, which the boys vocalise at a higher pitch. The pitch emphasises the bumping movement, heightens the word musically and further alludes to a sexual gesture or movement. The boys' gesticulations and their suppressed giggles suggest that they have some idea of the sexual connotation of the game as a possible emulation of older boys' behaviour or talk (Seohatse, Langa and Hlongwane 2008).

The fact that there are levels of interpretation of this game is significant because multiple or ambiguous interpretations of song lyrics is a feature of African popular music; much of the joy or satisfaction of listening and musical participation is derived from the ambiguity or veiled inferences contained in lyrics. This is an "interpretive convention" that African audiences are familiar with (Allen 2004a). One reason for children enjoying the games is an appreciation of the double meanings of words, which is an important aspect of political African popular songs for adults (Ibid.).[12]

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[11] The description of the movements in this game being similar to Pedi traditional dance is my informants' interpretation. It is not clear whether or not the boys are consciously emulating the sexualised body movements Ignatia Madalane suggests.

[12] In African popular music, musicians are "theoretically licensed to express criticism through their art" (Allen 2004a, 9). Public performance and the 'ritualized communication' of music enables musicians to comment criticize or parody politicians in ways that would not be permitted in direct verbal communication. Veiled criticism works through ambiguity and double entendre, enabling words to be interpreted in multiple ways. Following Allen, I suggest that the different

As the boys start to tire of jumping up and down playing "*Aya bampa*", one boy shouts out "Chocolatey!" Their transitions from one game to the next are quick. They all join in with renewed vigour, chanting the syncopated rhythms of "Chocolatey" and clapping to the beat.

"Chocolatey" (DVD1 05:01-07:03)

Words	**Actions**
Cho-cola-tey, Chocolatey, Chocola-tey, Chocolatey.	Everyone dances their own steps to the chant's basic beat, with skipping-type steps.
Stop! –	They all freeze like statues.
Don't move….	They do two extra jerky movements and freeze again.

The word "chocolatey" is chosen for its rhythmic possibilities, rather than its meaning. The boys chant the words in the syncopated, dotted rhythms of South African *kwaito* and house music, while bouncing on the main beat. They freeze abruptly on "Stop" and make an extra jerky movement on "Don't move," to create individual statues. It is like musical statues with an extra move.[13] The boys fall to the ground; some connect with each other physically, reaching out an arm. Their bodies make perfect pictures of stillness, of frozen kinetic movement and personal, emotive expression in their poses. One boy bends on his knee with a finger on his chin, looking down, posing in contemplation like Rodin's *The Thinker*. Another one joins him in the same position as the camera zooms in. One boy shouts "You're blocking the camera!" They all want to be seen. The one who is 'on' looks to see who moves and who will then be out of the game. Then this boy starts chanting again and they all shout and move around, landing in another static picture on the shout of "Stop!": hands stretched out to touch a boy's head; stopped mid *kwaito*-dance-move; pointing, crouching, twisting. Each statue is unique. The boys create distilled pictures in their poses, with an unusual stillness of expression in the context of children's energetic interactions in other games.

When one boy wobbles or moves his hand, the boy who is 'on' shouts, "You moved, you're out!" In freeze games like "Chocolatey" and a game called "Fire on the mountain" (described in Chapter Five), the child who is 'on' controls who is in or out by observing which statue moves. "Chocolatey" also has a built-in appraisal of each other's statues, where boys comment on what each other's statues

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interpretations of children's games is part of what interests children about playing musical games, and what gives them pleasure.

[13] Musical statues is a Western musical game where children dance to a piece of music (recorded or played live) and have to 'freeze' like a statue, keeping their bodies still, when the music stops.

look like. This sense of reflection forms part of the game's interest and enjoyment, as does the hope of 'catching someone out' when they move. The group laughs and giggles; they point to each other, deriving much enjoyment and satisfaction from seeing who moved, arguing with each other about it as they build up to resuming the game again. When the boys tire of this game, someone starts singing another. They shuffle around as their 'leader' starts singing the tune of "Bang'thengel' isipelete".

"Bang' thengel' isipelete" (DVD 1 07:04-08:40)

Words	**Translation**	**Actions**
Bang' thengel' isipelete – Samapantsula. (Sung twice).	They bought me a pin or brooch.	One boy struts around in the middle of the circle while the others sing and clap to the main beat.
U dlala umntwana *– umntwana* *U dlala umntwana* *– umntwana.*	I play with my 'baby' [girl or princess].	The boy who is 'on' chooses a partner in the circle with whom to dance *patha patha*-type movements, holding onto his waist or shoulders.

The boys keep repeating the song, each time at a higher pitch and with increased silliness as they emulate dancing with a girl. "Bang' thengel' isipelete" is a Zulu game, and one of the few melodic games that I heard on the School C playground. Its lilting, laid-back rhythm is also different from the two previous games. The rising melody is repeated for the first two lines; then *dlala umntwana* is sung in a lower register. In the game, the boy who is 'on' struts around in the centre of the circle, doing the jerky, 'broken skeleton'-type movements of *pantsula* and *kwaito* dance.[14] On the words "*u dlala umntwana*" the leader in the middle chooses a partner and dances in front of him in *patha patha* dance style, sways his hips, wiggles his body, holding onto the 'girl' he has chosen and alternately lifts up each bent leg (in a clearly sexual movement).[15] Phiri explains the dance movements in the game as follows:

> If you are the one in the middle, you go to a girl when you sing "*U dlala umntwana*". You hold onto her shoulders and waist to dance with her. She copies your movement when you go to her; she must be on the same beat as you. The movement 'charms' the girl (2008).

[14] *Pantsula* dancing is an urban South African township dance style that involves very complex, jerky moves requiring considerably physical dexterity. As a specific dance form, *pantsula* emerged during the early 1980s as a South African version of American break-dance, particularly the dance style of Michael Jackson. The present dance style draws its steps from American dance styles like tap, break-dance and hip-hop. An example of *pantsula* dance can be viewed on the video of TKZee's "Dlala Mapantsula" (1998). (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kv6XtsF_6_s) (Accessed 26 February 2010).

[15] *Patha patha*, meaning 'touch-touch', is an urban pair-dance style developed in Sophiatown in the 1950s, and 1960s, particularly associated with Dorothy Masuka's song of the same name, made internationally famous by Miriam Makeba. A "distinctive urban dance form of the 1950s", *Patha patha* "was an individualised, sexually suggestive form of jive dancing for young people in which partners alternately touched each other all over the body with their hands, in time with the rhythm" (Coplan 2007, 192).

The boys copy dance movements associated with *patha patha* type pair-dance style, which is also used in Arthur Mafokate's *kwaito* video of his hit track "Dlala".[16] While they play the game, one of the boys rubs his hands together, performing the actions of a man anticipating the arrival of a woman. According to Selibe, mixed-gender groups usually play "Bang' thengel' isipelete" in Soweto. However, in the game videotaped, boys perform as girls instead, using exaggerated pastiches of feminised movements, giggling when they choose a 'girl' on the outside of the circle to dance with (Selibe 2008).

The game's stylistic, cultural references are particularly localised and internal to a South African township context. Its referents and signs are familiar to Soweto children and may be difficult for an outsider to access. When shown the video of the boys playing "Bang' thengel' isipelete", two of my informants offered their own interpretation of what the words and dancing meant. Selibe says that *isipelete* literally means the safety pin used to fasten a baby's nappy (2008). *Umntwana* denotes a small child, so in terms of semantic content the meaning shifts from referring to a baby, to "holding my baby (girlfriend) in the game" (as well as in Mafokate's *kwaito* track).

On a figurative level, *isipelete* indicates the designer clothing label *pantsula*s wear (Phiri 2007). Having *isipelete* therefore references being a *pantsula* by virtue of one's appearance, language and behaviour.[17] Being given *isipelete* thus signifies status, especially amongst women. Phiri explains that in Soweto,

> *Mapantsula* [is] a group of boys who usually dance. If you have the 'brooch' of the *pantsula* you can meet girls and dance with a girl. The pin is symbolic of your status as a *pantsula*; it refers to the whole attire. *Pantsula*s wear a hat, T-shirt and brand of clothes usually Dikkies and canvas All-Star takkies (2008).

"*Pantsula*" in the game refers both to a person and a dance style. The individual gestures and dance style that boys display in this game are associated with the *pantsula* image: a township male youth known for his fashion, dance, language and gestural styles.[18] Each boy performs as a *pantsula*,

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[16] *Dlala umntwana*, meaning "get down with my baby", comes from a track called "Dlala" by *kwaito* star Arthur Mafokate (from his album Mamarela) (2006). Mafokate is regarded as one of the artists who created the urban music and dance form of *kwaito* (see Mhlambi 2004).

[17] A *pantsula* is a stylish, street-wise township young man. '*Pantsula*' and '*tsotsi'* may be used interchangeably when referring to groups of young men in the township who are gangsters, but are known for their style. The 1950s gangster embodies the *tsotsi* style of the 1950s associated with Sophiatown and *kwela* music (Allen 1999; Coplan 2007). *Tsotsi* or gangster style is later reworked into the image of the *pantsula*, in the 1970s to1980s, mixed with 1950s style when *pantsulas* were smartly dressed like American gangsters, wearing spats and hats. As a signifier of being street-wise, stylish and fashionable, of having social, cultural capital in the township context, the *pantsula* image endures and is particularly present in local music and dance forms like *kwaito*.

[18] In a programme note for local dance group Via Katlehong, choreographer Robyn Orlin describes *pantsula* dance and culture as follows: "*Pantsula* is a name that goes back to the 70s when a *pantsula* was supposed to be the one who dressed elegantly yet not too formally but still made a fashion statement, also a popular dance form called "*pantsula* jive". It became a very popular dance form during the 80s among young men in the townships ... It includes not only a dance as a way of expressing oneself, but it is a way of life and impacts on where one lives ... It has been described as .... A flat footed African

projecting an image of being cool, in control, attractive and 'clever' in *loxion kulcha* terms.[19] Daniel Selibe explains that, "If you dress like a *pantsula*, you dress like a *tsotsi*."[20] According to Selibe, a *pantsula* in Soweto is associated with "hardcore living, stealing and being rough" (2008). *Pantsula* behaviour, movement styles and communicative gestures signify social and material status.

The group of boys continue playing *"Bang'thengel' isipelete"* for some time, but then change abruptly to another game when the group's leader chants, "*tamatie so?*" The rest of the boys respond in a fast, rhythmic, overlapping call-and-response chant. The play shifts to a wonderful combination of an old Sotho children's game with new rhythmic additions.

"Tamatie So" (DVD1 08:41-09:41)

Call	**Response**	**Translation**	**Actions**
Tamatie So *So*.	- *so*? - *so*?	(A nonsense phrase with no reportable meaning)	Boys bounce around to the beat of the chant.
So – so – so. (repeated three times)			
O bitsa mang?		Who are you calling?	On "*mang*", the boy who is 'on' approaches someone in the circle and points to him.
	Nna - ha ke batle.	I don't want to.	Chosen boy shakes his head.
O nkisa kae?		Where are you taking me?	
	- *shopong*?	The shop?	Everyone shouts "*shopong*" as a response.
	Nna - ha ke batle.	I don't want (implying I don't want to come with you").	The chosen boy shakes his head.
O nkisa kae?	-ah!		Boy who is 'on' points at someone in the circle.
A ke.	-ah!		
A ke ke ke.			Jerky hip movements on each "*ke*."

tap-and-glide style of dance ... The Zulu word *pantsula* can be translated to mean 'to waddle like a duck' or alternatively to walk with protruded buttocks – a characteristic of this dance form ..." (2008, FNB Dance Umbrella media release online).

[19] Being 'clever' or 'a clever' in township slang has connotations of being shrewd or cunning in the sense that a gambler or gangster is. Its meaning is either pejorative or complimentary, depending on the discourse context (Mhlambi 2002).

[20] According to Coplan, "*Tsotsi* is an African word for street thugs or gangsters, current since the mid-1940s" (2007, 444). The word is still used today to refer to a thief, petty criminal or "clever, street-wise hustler" in the township (Ibid.).

"Tamatie So" is a well-known game that black children have played for decades, with some regional differences, but retaining its basic form (Selibe 2008).[21] Similar to the circle forms of previous games, one boy dances in the centre chanting the first three lines. The response "*So*?" immediately after the call, rises in pitch so that the call "*So*" and response "*So*" sounds like 'see saw', with the pitch matching an up-and-down movement. The leader chooses a friend, stands in front of him with his hands on his hips, asking defiantly: "*O bitsa mang*?", to which the respondent declares, "*Nna, ha ke batle*", wagging his finger to indicate 'no'. Similarly, the response "*Shopong*", to "*O nkisa kae*?" is punctuated in tone and dynamic so that it stands out from the texture.

In the second part of the chant, the call is a staccato "*ke*"; others respond with "ah" rising in pitch on the off-beat, emphasising the chant's syncopated rhythm. Then the faster triplet "*ke ke ke*" rhythm accompanies a jerky side-to-side, hands-on-hip movement, similar to a break-dance action. Together, the clipped "*ke*" sound and its associated movement express boasting, as if the boy is priding himself that he said no to the first, taunting and laughing. The boys giggle and glance sideways at each other to challenge their friends in the game. Each boy seems to enjoy having the space to show off, point fingers, be defiant and perform his dance moves.

Musically, "Tamatie So" starts in a swing beat but changes at "*a ke*" into '*kwaito*-speak'. Rhythmically, it is more complex than the previous two games, with the response often rapidly overlapping the call, and marked tonal variation in the words. It is based on an old song that has words that seem meaningless, and which function more for their rhythmic and tonal interest than their semantic meaning.[22]

Selibe, who played this game as a child, suggested that the School C boys add their own word-rhythms to "spice up" the game and make it "sound more like the township" (2008). The overlapping, accentuated responses, and "*ke ke ke*" sound, movements and *kwaito*-like beat are Soweto additions and adaptations to the old "Tamatie So" game. I have heard different versions of this game in many Soweto schools.

[21] For instance one of my informants, Ignatia Madalane, said she played "Tamatie So" with a groups of girls at her school in Bushbuckridge (Mpumalanga) in the early 1990s (2008).
[22] Although this folksong's origins are not traceable, they are included in songbooks of South African children's rhymes and songs. In one written-down version of "Tamatie So" the nonsense words are "*vula malayisha*", which literally means "go front loader" (Cock and Wood 1995, 16).

3.3.2 Girls' and boys' games: "choosing the one you like"

While the boys are still playing "Tamatie So" I hear loud chanting from the centre of the playground. One by one, boys in the first group leave. The lure of the big circle is greater than my camera. They are drawn to a circle of about thirty girls and boys playing on the cracked old concrete netball field, clapping and chanting loudly and rapidly:

"Sibidiphephe" (DVD1 09:43-11:54)

Words	**Translation**	**Movement**
Sibidiphepheee – a ye ye *Sibidiphepheee – a ye ye*		The child who is 'on' walks, dances, struts or runs inside the circle while the others clap to a fast beat (each child moves differently).
Wena, hawu bona Fifi,	You, when you see "Fifi" (Person's name)	The child who is 'on' approaches a girl or boy in the circle and shouts these words, pointing at the second person she is referring to.
uyang'xhomela!	You disregard or dismiss me!	

Learners tell me that "Sbidiphephe" is about "choosing the one you like" (School C learners 2006). The game is loud, boisterous and humorous. The whole group shouts "*sibidiphepheee, aye ye, sibidiphepheee aye ye*", drawing out the end of the word and clapping on each pulse while the person who is 'on' poses, struts and flaunts their dance-moves inside the circle. The name of the game is a made-up word, chosen for its fast triplet rhythm. As the child in the middle chooses a friend ("*wena, hawu bona*"), s/he points and says someone else's name (usually of the opposite sex), wags her finger at her friend as though telling them off, and declares "*uyang'xhomela*" ("you disregard me!"). The shouted words imply that "you like her/him more than me; you aren't interested in me anymore". The game enables the child who is 'on' to comment on who someone else prefers. As the child who is 'on' approaches someone in the outer circle, the others shout out who they think this person likes. Once the child in the outside circle is chosen, she waits to hear whether she has been 'found out', whether who she secretly likes will be revealed by the person who is 'on'.

The child in the middle uses gestures to express whether or not s/he likes someone: a 'brushing off', dismissive hand movement at chest height indicates that you don't like someone; crossing hands over the chest indicates that you do (Teacher A 2006). The brushing off gesture represents the meaning of

"*uyang'xhomela*" (meaning either "you dismiss me", or "you reject me") (Selibe 2008).[23] Gestures are central to communication in "Sibidiphephe". Most children do the 'brushing off' hand gesture, but towards the end, one girl crosses her arms over her chest, eliciting shouts and exclamations from the group as this gesture communicates directly that she likes someone. Because the game involves the act of choosing, using gestures and commenting, matched with the dynamics and pace of the chant, children are able to communicate 'who likes who'.

The children's responses range from embarrassment to indignation. One boy reacts, open-mouthed with surprise, as though he is saying "I can't believe you've told everyone I like Fifi". At this point most of the children collapse with laughter and the game begins again more intensely. Each child struts or dances in turn inside the big circle, while others keep chanting "*sibidiphephe, a ye ye"*. A confident boy runs inside the circle, doing his characteristic 'stirring the pot' action with his hand. Another boy lopes about, casually still eating his apple. The boys' actions are extrovert, personal, boasting, while the girls' are more introvert, careful and small; their actions are less displayed, less confident. Boys seem more assured in revealing who each other likes, for girls it's more secretive. As the game progresses, the tone and volume increases with rising excitement, taunting and joking with each other.

I look away for a moment and suddenly half the group starts playing "Iskipa sika Jomo" as others finish playing "Sibidiphephe". Circle games like these follow the same format: the child who is 'on' performs in the middle of the circle, chooses someone on the outside whose turn it then is to be 'on'. A little girl skips lightly inside the circle as the others chant the dotted rhythms of the chant, "*Iskipa sika Jomo esibalwe u seven sika Jomo*" ("I like Jomo's T-shirt with the number seven"), while the other children clap the chant's slow beat.[24] The little girl skips towards a partner, faces her and holds onto her partner's shoulders, waist and hips, timing her actions with the corresponding words of the chant.

[23] Selibe explained that *uyang'xhomela* is *tsotsitaal* and can mean "you are in trouble", "watch out" or it indicates discounting another person. The word is usually accompanied by a dismissive gesture (2008).

[24] In 2006 I asked School A learners who played "Iskipa" about the chant and they said it referred to Jomo Sono. A well-known public figure, Ephraim Matsilele "Jomo" Sono is a former South African national soccer team coach and member of the South African Football Association. Although they were not sure who he was, the children knew he was associated with soccer. Other versions of the game just mention 'Joe' (Teacher A and Teacher C 2006).

"Iskipa sika Jomo" (DVD1 11:55-13:31)

Words	**Translation**	**Movements and actions**
Iskipa sika Jomo	Jomo's T-shirt,	One child claps on the beat and walks around inside the circle.
Esibalwe u seven'	that is printed with the number seven,	
Siyangchaza[25] (repeated twice)	we like it.	
Wang 'bamba'mahlombe	You hold me on the shoulders.	S/he chooses a partner and holds onto or touches each body part mentioned in the chant.
Wang'bamba 'mafiga[26]	You hold me on the waist.	
Wang'bamba 'mahips	You hold me on the hips.	
Kan'i ung'bamba kanjani?	How do you really hold me?	

The dance-touch actions with a partner are reminiscent of the *patha-patha* ('touch touch') dance of the 1950s (similar to "Bang' thengel' isipelete"). Children link each part of the body with a different tonal inflection in the words; they accentuate 'hips' by shouting the word higher and louder, highlighting the word's connotations. At the end of the chant, they all exclaim "*kan'i ung'bamba kanjani*" ("how do you hold me!") loudly in unison, clearly enjoying the sense of naughtiness the word implies. Children use the syllabic rhythm and tones of the words to alter pitch and volume, which further emphasises the suggestiveness of the statement. The close relationship between word-sounds and children's moves demonstrate how they choose words as much for their musicality as their meanings and connotations. My informants who played "Iskipa" as children, suggest that the addition of "*kan'i ung'bamba kanjani*?" is unique to the School C version of this game (Selibe 2008; Madalane 2008; Phiri 2008).

The "Jomo" game fades out and the girls and boys begin shouting "Tiny, tiny thukhutela" with renewed energy and enthusiasm. The beat is much faster than the previous game and everyone claps loudly, exactly together, creating a feeling of speed and movement.

[25] *Siyangchaza* is a township colloquialism for the Zulu "*sithanda*" (meaning "we like") (http://isizulu.net/ – Accessed 10 October 2009).
[26] *Figa* is a modification of the English 'figure', meaning 'body' in township *scamtho*. In the game the word indicates a person's waist.

"Tiny thukhutela" (DVD1 13:32-14:42)

Words	**Translation**	**Movements and actions**
Tiny – *Tiny thukhutela*	The toy train goes faster.	The child who is 'on' skips or walks quickly inside the circle, chanting and clapping to the pulse of the chant.
Tiny – *Tiny thukhutela*		
Bantse ba re	They keep on saying.	The child who is 'on' approaches a partner and faces her.
Kushu kushu kushu	(onomatopoeic words).	The *doh-soh* vocalisation matches jumping forwards and backwards with both feet.
Turn-a morao'	Turn around.	They both twirl around together.
Bantse ba re		
Turn-a morao'		

Everyone chants "*tiny, tiny thukhutela*", clapping loudly to the fast beat of the chant. The words imply that "the toy train goes faster". Teacher C said that he thought his learners meant "tiny rush-up" (Teacher C 2006).[27] The onomatopoeic words *kushu, kushu* (pitched as *doh-soh*, *doh-soh*) imitate the sound of a train shunting backwards and forwards. On the words "*bantse ba re*", the learner in the middle chooses a partner in the outside circle, faces them and they jump back and forth together with both feet on the words "*kushu kushu*". On "*turn-a morao*'" they both twirl around, pivoting on one foot.[28] Pairs watch each other closely, co-ordinating their movements precisely like a mirror dance.

My informants (Seohatse, Langa, Hlongwane and Selibe) interpreted the game's words and movements on literal and figurative levels while the learners demonstrated the game's purpose by swirling their arms round and round emulating the circular motion of a train's wheels. The game conveys the movements and sounds of a train getting ready to leave the station. Eager to talk on camera after playing the game, the children explain that "Tiny is a small train, like a toy" and that the fast pair actions convey how the train speeds up (School C learners 2006; DVD1 14:23-14:22). When Teacher C and I enquired further about the game, children's responses revealed that their interest in the game is kinetic, sonic and interactive.

[27] In Zulu, *thukhutele* is the verb meaning "to get angry; be angry, annoyed or excited" (Doke, Malcolm et al. 1990, 805). *Ukukhuthele* means to be industrious or energetic (http://isizulu.net/) (Accessed 10 October 2009; 5 February 2010). In the township context, and the context of this game, "*thukhutela*" refers to the movements and sounds of a train (Selibe 2010).
[28] *Turn-a morau* is an adaptation of the English 'turn around' and may also imply turning around to see the other person's buttocks (Teacher A 2006).

Teacher C: "When you say 'trainy', what does it mean?"

Learner: "It means, train, train, tiny …. When they say tiny they say train".

Still eating his apple, the bright-eyed boy rapidly rotates his arms round and round to show the train's wheels.

Teacher C: "Oh, they mean a train. And what do you do afterwards?"

Learner: "Afterwards they are saying "*tiny, tiny thukuthela*" and then…"

He turns to the girl behind him, jumps forwards towards her twice and twirls around, saying, "*kushu, kushu, turn-a morao*'" while others look on curiously and giggle.

Researcher: "Yes, but what does it mean?"

Teacher C: "What are you trying to show us?"

First boy: "It's meaning like a game, Sir."

A boy behind him winks furiously at the camera, showing the thumbs-up sign, trying to get my attention with the camera.

Second boy: "It means the train must go faster; when they say *bantse ba r*e, it must go faster."

As my futile questions and the learners' responses reveal, the game's significance for children lies in the playing of it: they like the game's fast tempo and actions, and synchronising pair movements is satisfying. Children's 'explanation' through movement illustrates how "the game itself is more important than the words and tune which accompany it" (Opie and Opie 1988, 2). School C learners' responses echo similar reactions by children elsewhere, when asked about their games; "Children become irritable if a game is held up by adults asking irrelevant questions. They know the game itself is all that matters: 'We can't explain', they protest, 'We'll show you' " (Ibid.). Although the boy I asked did not articulate this, he demonstrated the irrelevance of my questions by communicating in the kinetic language of learners' games.

However, "Tiny thukhutela" seems to have further meanings. Seohatse, Langa, Hlongwane Selibe and Madalane offered a range of interpretations based on their own experience and on watching the video. Selibe explained that stopping to face a partner, the word-sounds *kushu kush turn-a morao'* and corresponding pair jumping and turning around, demonstrate a train stopping at a station for people to change to the next train (2008). Hence the game is closely associated with commuter train travel, with which Soweto learners are likely to be familiar.

Seohatse, Langa and Hlongwane's interpretation was more figurative and suggestive. They commented that the School C version of "Tiny thukhutela" is a reinvention of the original game, but that the version I recorded contains sexual innuendos that these learners are probably not aware of (Seohatse, Langa and Hlongwane 2008). Given the literal meaning of *thukhutela* the words suggest that "Tiny is excited". The meaning of "turn around" is ambiguous, as it could insinuate "turn around

so [that] I can see your buttocks" or "come back for another round (of sex)" (Ibid.). The game may be functioning as an ironic parody of adult sexual behaviour, although it is unclear whether the learners were aware of the ambiguities or 'taboo' of the game's subtext. Madalane reported playing a slower version of the game at a rural school in Mpumalanga in 1987, but without the sexual connotations. She recognised that the "*kushu*" sounds emulate a train but said the Soweto version is frenetic and much faster.

When the learners finish answering questions, their circle breaks up into boys' and girls' groups to play their own games. Some girls begin dancing and singing scenes from the South African musical *Sarafina* while others move off to chat on the grass. The group of boys who played "Aya Bampa", "Chocolatey", "Tamatie So" and "Bangithele Spelete", is busily engaged in their own musicking, using plastic bottles and suitcases.

3.3.3 Musical Interludes

3.3.3.1 "*Jika Majika*": singing and dancing on the playground

The boys are dancing informally around one boy who sits on the ground beating a red plastic suitcase (DVD1 20:13-22:28). Using the suitcase like a beat box in hip-hop music, he performs as the DJ providing the music for his friends to show off their moves in the middle of a circle. They shout out "*isigobo*", (*isigubhu* in Zulu) referring to the bass sound of *kwaito* and house as the 'DJ' makes this sound on his red suitcase (Selibe 2008). The 'DJ' accompanies his beat boxing with hip-hop and *kwaito*-type vocalisations, singing "*Aya ya ya ya*," in rising and descending scale phrases, while others whistle, exclaim and shout to increase the noise or imitate instrumental *kwaito* rifs and beats.[29]

The next boy takes his turn on the 'beatbox', playing uneven, fast rhythms with a bent stick. The boys tell me they are "doing a street party in Soweto" (School C learners 2006). Each boy is eager to show off his own dance style, copied or adapted from local television programmes like *Jika Majika*, which showcases the latest urban dance trends.[30] They shout out "Jika!" during the performance, suggesting that they are emulating the television programme. Individual boys shout instructions and

[29] *Kwaito* songs use call-and-response to involve participants who shout back words and sounds to the DJ, as Mhlambi explains: "*Kwaito* performances require the audience to interact through verbal response, which is done in an antiphonal (call-and-response) manner. Participants 'listen attentively and respond when required to'" (Mhlambi 2004, 122). This kind of relationship between performer and listener "is an African attribute present in other genres and illustrates the strong African influence present in *kwaito*" (Ibid.).

[30] *Jika Majika* is a popular South African television programme on SABC1, which provides a platform for audience members and local dance groups to display the latest hip-hop, house and *kwaito* dance styles (http://www.sabc1.com/index.php/entertainment/youth-entertainment/jika-majika) (Accessed 2 February 2010).

encouragement, like "Do it like 'boetie' " and "Go down and down", telling the boy in the middle which dance moves to do. Each boy performs different dance styles associated with particular *kwaito* hit tracks. [31] One dances the *nqobetsa* style with bendy, open knees, illustrating the meaning of *nqobetsa* ("to pull in and out" from the ground) through movement. A tall boy dances the *pulexolo* (literally meaning "break your waist"), pointing left and right. Individual dancing includes elements of *twalatsa*, arms lifted above the head, hands up, in time to the slow *kwaito* beat.[32] A small boy grins as he does his stiff-body *pantsula* moves like break-dancing, while the others reproduce repeated electronic sounds vocally: "*a ya ziggy ziggy ziggy ya*", copying the sounds of turntable scratching. Each boy performs complicated, rapid foot movements and his friends shout out suggestions for the next style. Pairs emulate the suggestive hip movements of adult *kwasa*, laughing knowingly.[33]
The boys focus closely on each individual, clapping, admiring, commenting and enjoying his personal dance-style. The DJ watches the dancer's steps to keep in time. It is both a copy and an appropriation of local *kwaito* dance vocabularies and culture on the playground, playing different musical roles and expressing their own personal dance inflections. The boys' improvised, spontaneously-created routine creates a sonic and visual picture of *kwaito* and South African house music on the playground. Learners' dance performances involve competitive, individual male dance display reminiscent of some traditional male dance forms.[34]

3.3.3.2 Performing *Sarafina*

Keen to exhibit their dancing and musical prowess for the camera, a group of about twenty girls enacts entire song and dance routines from the South African film *Sarafina*.[35] (DVD1 16:38-20:12). The girls sing the theme song from the film – "*Sarafinaaaaa, tu do do do do, tu do do do do*". They vocalise the instrumental parts in-between the vocals, thus performing as singers, dancers and orchestra. The girls have clearly learnt and rehearsed *Sarafina* dance routines for school competitions note-for-note and step-by-step. They have copied the singer's vocal and dance style precisely. They are seriously engaged in being the film's female star, and emulation of Leleti Khumalo's performance

[31] Many South African dance styles and kwaito tracks are composed and created by popular artist Arthur Mafokate. Well-known in township clubs, Mafokate's music videos received extensive coverage on television.
[32] *Thwala* in Zulu means "to carry [something] on your head or shoulders" (Doke, Malcolm et al. 1990, 811).
[33] Learners may be referring to Arthur and the All Stars' track "Kwasa". Originally, *kwassa kwassa* (or *kwasa kwasa*) refers to a dance rhythm from the Democratic Republic of Congo that was very popular in Africa in the late 1980s, where the hips move back and forth while the hands move to follow the hips. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kwasa_kwasa) (Accessed 5 October 2009). See also Erlmann (1991) for further descriptions of *kwasa kwasa* styles in Central and Southern Africa.
[34] Popular dance-music forms like *kwaito* draw on dance displays in a circle formation usually associated with traditional forms like Zulu *ngoma* dance. Individual dance prowess is associated with male power and strength in Zulu dance forms, and seems to have been carried over into *kwaito*, house and hip-hop (see Clegg 1983).
[35] Mbongeni Ngema's *Sarafina! The Music of Liberation* was a hit stage musical locally and internationally in the late 1980s, later made into a film (1993). Musically it draws on South African musical genres like *mbaqanga* (Muller 2008, 86), which the School C learners attempted to copy. *Sarafina* tells the story of a young history teacher caught up in the events of the 1976 Soweto uprising.

suggests their interest in performing as a strong female character and possible identification with the main character of the film.[36]

Sarafina scenes continue for almost fifteen minutes. Three lines of girls follow their leader with her white school shirt tied up above her waist, showing off her stomach. Her dancing is particularly adult, sophisticated and carefully copied from the film. Simultaneously another group of girls is displaying a different kind of dance form.

3.3.3.3 "We change the traditional dance"

A group of six girls attracts my attention at the edge of the playground close to the road. Girls' games tend to happen on the playground periphery, in their own designated spaces. Passersby on the dusty road next to the school stare curiously at the girls' close copy of a Zulu dance and my intrusion with the camera (DVD1 22:29-23:57). The *ngoma*-type dance begins with the leader's shouted, high-pitched instructions that introduce the dance; she faces the three other girls, who respond to her. [37] This is *wethega* – the spoken part before the dance, where you "speak your mind" (Selibe 2008). The words are about "A chicken which had too much to eat, but it refers to a person" (Ibid.). The dance includes high-kicking steps that come from Zulu traditional and neo-traditional dancing, as well as steps from Pedi women's *kiba* dance, where women kneel down with their knees together in front of the dancer.[38] Like the boys, the girls make instrumental sounds, sing the words and do the actions to emulate what they have observed "in the location" (as the lead-girl put it). *Azay, zaga, zay zaga* goes the drum; the dancer kicks her leg up and stamps on the dust, as the others mark the strength of the movement by exclaiming "*a shiye*" each time she kicks. Emphasising each step vocally, the girls move and declaim perfectly together: their dance is clearly well rehearsed.

When their performance is over, I ask the girls where they learnt the dance and what it was. (DVD1 23:58-25:52). Unsure of what I mean, they respond,
"We saw it on TV", and "We learnt it when we attend class with Mr Tshabalala."
"Who do you think does these dances? Is it old or new? Do rural or urban people do it?" I ask.
"The dance comes from KwaZulu-Natal and the dancers come from Dingaan", the leader answers.

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[36] Sarafina is the name of the film's main character.
[37] *Ngoma* "refers to a particular style of song and dance among Zulu-speaking men" (Muller 2008, 313).
[38] My co-interpreters, Madalane and Selibe, explained the learners' dance performance as a combination of elements of male Zulu *ngoma* dance, with elements of women's Pedi *kiba* dance (see James 1999). High-kicking steps derived from Zulu traditional and neo-traditional dancing like gumboot dancing and *maskanda* are generic steps. The well-known high kick is typical of anything that is trying to be Zulu (for further exploration of "Zulu-ness" in South African music and dance practices, see Meintjes 2003).

There is an interesting association with historical practice, but the girls emphasise that "We change the dance to make it our own, so that others want to do it" (School C learner 2006). They use fragments of different traditional styles, learnt from Mr Tshabalala, to create their own version of a 'traditional dance'. Adding more contemporary dance steps from *Sarafina* and *kwaito* makes their own dance suitable for their friends.

3.3.4 Girl power on the playground: A girls' clapping game medley

Across the playground, the *Sarafina* performance ends and the line of girls shuffle around choosing partners. They begin an extended medley of clapping games that lead seamlessly into each other. They watch each other carefully, following and co-operating with focus and deep concentration. This medley of four games is a performance of School C girls' clapping game repertoires. They begin with the almost comic chorus of the pop song "Barbie Girl".[39]

"Barbie Girl" (DVD1 27:48-28:16)

Words	**Translation**	**Actions and musical content**
I'm a Barbie girl In a Barbie world		Pair cross clapping pattern: clap together, clap right hands, clap together, clap left hands. On 'girl' and 'world', learners make a circular motion with their hands around their faces, to indicate a girl. Words are sung to the tune of the pop song.
I have a boyfriend My boyfriend is a *tsotsi*		On "boyfriend", the learners gesture to their chins, showing a man's beard.
Asamb' se y' tjontja amaswitsi	Let's go and steal some sweets.	Pair cross clapping pattern resumes.
Ang-i-fu-ni	I don't want to.	Sung melody to part of the "Barbie Girl" song, accompanied by a gesture, wagging forefingers to communicate "I don't want to."
Asamb' se y' tjontja amaswitsi		Pair cross-clapping pattern resumes.
Ang'fu-ni, ang'funi		Sung in a syncopated rhythm, with the words pitched *doh, te, doh; doh, te, doh* (a melodic fragment from the "Barbie" song).
Bang' thum' edolobheni *Bang' thum' edolobhen' -* *Bang' thum' edolobheni* *Bang' thum' edolobhen' –*	They sent me to the "dorp" (town, in Afrikaans).	Pair cross clapping pattern resumes in a faster tempo. Words are chanted, no longer sung to the Barbie tune.
I say: viva, viva, viva ANC! I say: viva, viva, viva ANC!		Shouted suddenly, swinging their arms overhead like a victory signal.

[39] "Barbie Girl" was released by Danish-Norwegian 'bubblegum' pop group Aqua in 1997. The song topped the international pop charts (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barbie_Girl) (Accessed 18 March 2009).

Standing opposite each other facing their partners, the girls begin the pair clapping pattern, singing the opening lines of 'Barbie Girl': "I'm a Barbie Girl, in a Barbie world". Retaining the melody, they soon change the lyrics to suit their own township context, "I have a boyfriend, my boyfriend is a *tsotsi*". On *tsotsi*, the hand-sign of a man's beard indicates a male in township gestural language. The girls sing a descending melodic line from the original song ("uh oh uh oh"), to the word '*angifuni*'. They wag their forefingers on each syllable of *angifuni* emphasising the word's meaning: "I will not". Their drawn-out *tenuto* emphasis, combined with the 'no' gesture accentuates a sense of defiance and control over the *tsotsi* boyfriend who tries to lure her to steal sweets (in the lyrics of their game). They have transformed Barbie Girl into a defiant, autonomous woman.

The game's clapping pattern is on the pulse rather than the beat of the song, resulting in rapid alternative clapping back and forth across the line of girls. The repeated pattern is: clap own hands, clap across to partner's left hand, clap own hands, clap across to partner's right hand. Gestures replace claps on words such as 'girl', '*tsotsi'* and '*ang'funi*', so that the actions are integrated into the rhythmic texture. These gestures that communicate a word's underlying meaning need to be done quickly on specific words, requiring considerable physical dexterity and hand-eye-sound co-ordination. The game increases in tempo, pitch and loudness on the shouted chant, 'I say, viva, viva, viva ANC' as the girls swing their arms overhead in victory. Perhaps the reference to political sloganing underlines the girls' expression of power although it seems they simply enjoy shouting it. 'Viva ANC' signals a transition to the next part of the game, which begins with renewed vitality and onomatopoeic words.

"Sampili pili" section of the game (DVD1 28:16-28:39)

Words	**Translation**	**Actions**
Sampilipili sam poro poro		Back and forth pair clapping pattern on the pulse of the chant.
Salahl'ikhand' e he!	We throw our heads back.	On "*e he*", they nod their heads back.
Sampilipili sam poro poro		
Salahla sandl' e he!	"We rest our elbows" or "put our elbows out" (On the side of the taxi).	Girls lean out with their arms.
Sampilipili sam poro poro		
Sahlala phans' e he	We sit down.	Some girls push their skirts under as though they are about to sit down but there is confusion as other girls twirl around.
Sampilipili sam poro poro		
Salahl' unyawo e he!	We stretch out our legs	Girls kick one leg up to the side.

Words	**Translation**	**Actions**
Sampilipili sam poro poro		
Sazenza zonke e he!	We do it all!	The girls do each of the above actions in sequence at the end.

This section of the clapping game medley combines onomatopoeic sounds and word-instructions for a series of actions: "we throw the head back, we throw the hand, we sit down, and we sleep". Before each instruction, girls chant "*sampilipili sam poro poro*" in a dotted rhythm that sounds like a car hooter; this is accompanied by a fast back-and-forth pair clapping pattern.[40] On each action-word, a pulse that is normally clapped is replaced by a gesture or movement within the chant. Rather than accompanying words, the actions in the game are foregrounded in the rhythmic texture to be equally important as the words. The way in which children have created this chant highlights the centrality of kinetic language as a feature of township children's games.

At the end of the chant, on "*sazenza zonke*" ("We do it all at once"), the girls perform each action rapidly in sequence, exclaiming, "*e-he*" on each one. They laugh, giggle and fall to the ground at the end. Girls derive much satisfaction from being able to remember and do actions one after the other in a fast tempo. It is as though they are demonstrating, "look at what we can do!"
"Sampilipili" exemplifies children's preferences for games, verses or songs that "are as much to do with the sound of a verse as with its subject matter" (Opie 2001, xii).Games like this demonstrate "the indefinable appeal of sounds [for children] even if the sense is not evident" (Ibid.). The rhythm of the words *Sampilipili sam poro poro* emulates the sound of a hooter and sound like the fast, repeated background drum pattern of *kwaito*, thus locating the game in an urban popular musical context. Together with the hooter sounds of a township taxi, racing along the street, this musical game contains the sounds and movements of its locality.

"Barbie Girl" ends and there is another shuffle around as girls chant, "*mokop*', *mokop*', *mokop*'", (short for *mokopu*, meaning pumpkin), slapping the side of their thighs. They keep repeating '*mokop*'' until the two lines of girls are facing their partners with their right-hand palms touching across the 'clapping space', held up in readiness for the clapping pattern. The leader watches and when all the pairs are ready she begins to sing.

[40] Teacher A explained that *sampilipili* is similar to 'toot toot' in English, sounding like a car hooter (2006). The sounds and movements imply that the game's actions take place inside a taxi, while the speed and rhythmic excitement of the word-actions give the impression of forward movement.

"Mokopu" (DVD1 28:40-29:16)

Words	**Translation**	**Actions**
Mokopu o ke wa mang?	Whose pumpkin is this?	Words are sung to the accompanying clapping pattern (described below).
Ke wa ntate	It's father's	Clapping pattern
O ne o beuwe kae? *(o ne o beuwe mo ke mang?)*	Where did he put it? (or who put it there?)	Clapping pattern
Ka tlase' ha sefate	Under a tree	Clapping pattern
Tu lu lu lu lu lu luuuuuu		Four beat movement pattern: pairs face each other jumping and crossing their legs out, together and jumping forward in between their partner's legs and back together again.
Tu lu lu lu lu (repeated about five times)		Movement pattern repeated.

The clapping pattern of "Mokopu" is complex and requires considerable pair co-operation. The four-beat pattern is: hold partner's opposite hand; slap thigh; clap your partner's other hand under the held hands; clap over the held hands; clap your own hands; join your partner's opposite hands and repeat pattern. One little girl struggles to co-ordinate the fast under and over claps at the right time, much to the irritation of her 'leader'. If the clapping sequence is not perfectly synchronised with others and with the words, the game doesn't work. The pairs in the middle of the line confidently demonstrate how to do the pattern correctly as the other pairs watch and copy. The four-beat clapping pattern is repeated until the end of the words. On "*tu lu lu lu lu"*, they change to dance steps.

"Mokopu" is an old Sotho clapping song familiar to many of my informants, one of whom played it as a boy in Mafikeng in the 1980s. Known all over Soweto and other townships, its words suggest that it originated in a more rural context. School C girls say "we learnt it from these girls, my sister taught it to me, at home…" The familiarity and prevalence of games like "Mokopu", demonstrate how pre-adolescent children "master[ed] peer-group-generated oral tradition" (Curtis 2001, 63) which helps them to sustain peer culture. The girls explain how they acquire this knowledge from their peers and their siblings and then share this information with other members.

That learners have spent considerable time practising games like "Mokopu"' is evident in the dexterity required to do the movement pattern in time. The four-beat dance pattern relies on synchronised movement and partner co-operation. Each step occurs on one beat as follows: kick between partner's legs, jump feet together, jump out with open knees (for her partner's kick movement to fit into the gap), jump together and repeat the pattern. Simultaneously, the girls sing *tu*

lu lu in a repeated dotted rhythm reminiscent of *kwela*. [41] Learners often emulate instrumental sounds vocally in their games and here the repeated melodic fragment accompanying their foot pattern operates like an 'instrumental interlude' in the game. These penny whistle-like sounds in "Mokopu" accompany a "swinging jive-step of *kwela*" (Allen 1999). Everyone is more confident during the dance section; the girls find it satisfying to fit their jumps in between their partner's legs.

After their vigorous jumping, the girls are out of breath, but keen to keep going and show me the next game. I move the camera to the other end of the line towards a serious-looking girl with braided hair who shouts out "*ka sontag*".[42] Here, the video recording is unclear and the girls' words are mumbled as they concentrate on a new clapping pattern. The serious girl is clearly invested in this game, knows every word and mimes each movement perfectly to the matching beat. The others direct their attention to their new leader for "M'poppie yaka", which is sung:

"M'poppie yaka" (DVD1 29:17-29:54)

Words	**Translation**	**Actions, music and movements**
Ka Sontag', Ka Sontag' –	On Sunday, on Sunday -	
Ka tsatsi le leng	One day.	
Ka tsamaya le poppie yaka	I went with my 'doll', (meaning girlfriend.)	
Ka fehla stationing pitoria	I got to the station in Pretoria.	
Ka fehla ka dula teng –	I got there and I sat there.	On "*dula*", girls do a sitting action with hands under buttocks as though tucking a skirt in. Action replaces a clap.
Ka fehla ka dula teng		
Gwa fihla monn omong'	A man came.	
A bua le poppi yaka	He spoke with my 'doll.'	
A rola kepis'	I took off my cap.	removing cap action on "*rola.*"
A sharpa step	I stamped on the ground (indicating 'stop.')	The girls all stamp.
A rol' a rol' a rol'	And back and back and back.	Each line moves backwards, away from each other, stepping to the beat of the chant.
A rola kepis'	I took of my cap	removing cap action on "*rola.*"

[41] *Kwela* is a "pennywhistle style of performance developed on the streets by young boys in South Africa in the 1940s" (Muller 2008, 313) (See also Allen 1999).
[42] The Sotho word *Sontag* is taken from the Afrikaans *Sondag*, meaning Sunday.

Words	**Translation**	**Actions, music and movements**
A sharpa step	I stamped on the ground (indicating 'stop.')	The girls all stamp.
A rol' a rol' a rol'	And back and back and back.	Each line moves backwards, away from each other, stepping to the beat of the chant.
Pikakaaa		"*Aaa*" is drawn out and pitched higher. Two lines of girls move towards each other, lifting one leg on thefourth beat.
Lahlaaa	Throw or kick (in this context).	
Get down *ooh ooh* (Last three lines repeated).		*Ooh ooh* is pitched doh-so.

"M'poppie yaka" mixes Pedi, Tswana and Zulu in Soweto's typical code-switching linguistic practice. The first part of the game is also taken from an old, familiar game and concerns a typical township scenario where township boys meet up with their girlfriends on a Sunday. A boy takes his girlfriend ("doll") to Pretoria and at the station is confronted by another man, whom he stops. [43] The last part (*pikakaaa*…) has been added by this group of girls.

When Teacher C asks his learners, "What are you trying to show us in this game?" Fifi replies in Sotho that the words mean (DVD1 29:55-31:32):

> I arrived at the station and sat down. A man came and pulled my doll. He took off the cap ("*kepis*") and stamped on the ground ("*sharpa step*") and stepped backwards" (School C Learner 2006).

Fifi further explains that "it talks about *pikoko*" (a peacock).

According to Madalane, "*pikoko*" also refers to the 'get down' action, where children bend down like a peacock, and which is similar to a *kwaito* dance created by Arthur Mafokate (2008). The game's words loosely tell the story of a girl holding a little doll (*poppie* is the diminutive of doll in Afrikaans), which is "like a baby for that person" (Teacher C 2006). The girl waits at the train station with her 'baby'. The words imply that the man in the story may take the baby away with his forceful 'sharpa step', moving backwards, like a train leaving the station. It is interesting that the School C girls have interpreted the "*poppie*" to mean literally a toy doll (representing a baby), rather than girlfriend. However, the meaning of the game is ambiguous.

[43] I acknowledge Pinky Makoe for translating and explaining the meanings of this game.

At the end of the game, the movement sequence, where the two lines of girls stamp (on "*sharpa* step") and move backwards (on "*a ru ru a ru*"), indicates that the man is moving away, but may also convey a train's shunting movement. The game changes after the train movements into a line-dance routine on the words "*pikakaaa, lahlaaa*", shouted with great enthusiasm. The syllables of each word are syncopated to create a dotted rhythm and the 'aaaah' sound is drawn out. The two lines of girls step backwards together, away from each other, on the three beats after "*pikakaaa*"; on the fourth beat they all lift and kick their legs up "like a peacock"; they then move forward three steps after "*lahlaaa*" and lift their legs again on the fourth beat. The line movements illustrate the train leaving the station. "Get down, *ooh, ooh*", is pitched as a rising fifth, like a short siren. 'Get down', here, means 'get down and dance' (and probably references Arthur Mafokate's song of the same name).[44] On 'get down', they dip and rock their bodies downwards, continuing to move back and forth on '*ooh, ooh*', doing the lifted-leg step again as they meet their partner in the middle.'

The increase in speed, higher pitch and the girls' excitement in the last section of the game suggests that the co-ordinate backwards-forwards steps, accompanying vocal sounds and "*lahla*" movements, are the game's focus rather than the train and doll story.

At the end of the game, the learners talk to the teacher and researcher, responding each time "yes *ticha*" (teacher) to me, and "yes sir" to Teacher C.
"How do you know the game, where did you learn it?" asks Teacher C.
"It's Mpho and Lesego who started it", the leader-girl says while sucking her red sucker, still with her white school shirt tied above her stomach.
"How did you learn it?" I ask.
"We don't know. But we take the game from our sisters."

The bright-eyed girl laughs at me as if to say, "Who is this strange *umlungu* who keeps asking silly questions about my games?"
"Who can explain what it means?" asks Teacher C.

The same little girl leans in between two girls, her arms around their necks, and winks at the camera, fluttering her eyes, wanting to be noticed.

[44] *Lahla* (literally 'to throw') in the last section of Poppie yaka probably refers to a late 1980s/early 1990s township dance style called *lahla umlenze*, meaning literally "throw your leg" (Doke, Malcolm et al. 1990, 444), associated with pre-*kwaito* bubblegum' township urban pop (Mhlambi 2005, 119). It is also the title of a hit *kwaito* track by Arthur Mafokate (Madalane 2008).

Fifi says "*Ke bua ka pikoko*, sir".[45] ("I am talking about a peacock, sir.")

The line movement ending and "get down" chant is a Soweto addition to the original game and probably the section Fifi refers to when she says "Mpho and Tsega made it up." They are the two little girls intensely engaged in doing dance routines. Teacher C explains the game's association with a peacock, adding his own interpretation and concluding that "they're singing this song not to get bored." However, the children's focused, sustained energy and excitement; their collaborative communication and varied game repertoire underline deeper motivations for their play than entertainment.

The remarkable number and variety of learners' games I observed in 2006 during one playtime is testament to the richness of Soweto children's oral culture – a culture that echoes past practices but is characterised by constant creation and re-creation of games. They demonstrate children's ability to adapt and pool together music, dance and linguistic resources for the purposes of play.

3.4 Interpreting School C learners' musical games

> Play is at the core of middle childhood. It is a means of integrating the child's outer and inner worlds. It is a medium of friendship, and a protection against enemies; the language and rituals of play provide a collaborative discourse which distinguishes 'us' from 'them' through a shared aesthetic of performance (Factor 2001, 29-30).

Factor's interpretation of children's games resonates with the way in which Soweto children's games function as sites of social interaction and identity development. Playing musical games helps to create and maintain a children's playground culture that is entirely their own: with self-generated rules and regulations, accepted and non-accepted behaviours; separate from school and adult expectations. Through non-verbal communication, physical interaction and the co-operation integral to playing musical games, children cultivate social relationships.

Gender, sexuality and sociality are themes that emerge from School C children's playground play.[46] The differentiation between girls' and boys' games and the particular dynamics and texts of games played by mixed groups of boy and girls suggest that musical games in particular "provide a cultural

[45] *Ipigogo* in Zulu means peacock and *isigqoko* means a cap (Doke, Malcolm et al. 1990, 339; 61). *Pikoko* is peacock in Sotho (http://africanlanguages.com/sdp/, Accessed 9 October 2009).
[46] For further analysis of the gendered nature of children's musical and other kinds of games, see Grugeon 1993, 2001; Epstein et al. 2001 and Thorne 1993.

framing for gender during childhood" (James 1993, 194). In this interpretation of School C learners' games, I discuss the social and gendered aspects of the girls' and boys' separate games and the implied sexuality of the games they played together. I conclude by examining the games in terms of local and global features: how they are located in Soweto and South African township youth culture and how they also share features with children's musical games globally.

3.4.1 Girls' games: communication, co-operation and characterisation

The first aspect of gender and sociality revealed in School C learners' games is the differentiation between girls' and boys' games. Girls' playground games are quite distinct from those of boys in being generally co-operative rather than competitive (Opie and Opie 1985). Girls' games include high verbal and narrative content with pair clapping and choreographed group dance. While boys' games tend towards individual competition, rivalry and display, girls' games require physical, musical collaboration and co-operation. The School C girls' co-ordinated unison performance of *Sarafina* songs, for example, illustrates the same close relationships between musical and social interactions identified in girls' games globally (Grugeon 1993).

Clapping games in particular exemplify the way in which girls' musical motivation and ability is linked to sociality. As "almost the exclusive preserve of young girls", the clapping game is a "means of entering into a girls' peer culture" (Grugeon 1993, 16). Through shared aesthetic performance, clapping games function as a "medium of friendship" for young girls (Factor 2001, 29). The games are transmitted through apprenticeship; through "watching, practising and learning by rote, all of which takes time" (Curtis 2001, 63).[47] By "becoming apprentices to older girls" who pass down children's folklore, "little girls are drawn into a co-perative girls' playground culture" (Grugeon 1993, 29). Entering into a social group requires proficiency while successful participation in clapping games reinforces peer group solidarity.

In the School C girls' clapping game medley ("Barbie Girl", "Mokopu" and "M'poppie yaka"), collaborative proficiency requires being able to co-ordinate clapping patterns and time actions so that they correspond exactly with the chant words. Children also change words to suit the rhythmic clapping patterns, often 'swallowing' syllables or vowels to emphasise the rhythm of consonants; this in turn enables a regular clapping pattern. For example, in "Barbie Girl", girls subordinate the 'correct' Zulu words to rhythm and movements: *angifuni* is changed to *ang'funi*; words like *si ya hamba* ("we are going") are elided to correspond with the "Barbie" tune; and *mokopu* (pumpkin) is

[47] For an in-depth study of oral transmission in girls' clapping games see Harwood 1992 and 1993 and Marsh 2008.

changed to *mokop*'. Altering words to fit into the beat is an organising principle of the game because it facilitates synchronised clapping and actions.

For girls, synchronizing complex clapping patterns with a partner and other pairs is often more important than a game's textual meaning. What is meaningful is being able to play the game together. The way in which School C girls focus on 'getting it right' through musical collaboration is a common characteristic of clapping games girls play in other parts of the world. For example, in their studies of British children's games, Opie and Opie emphasise how girls are motivated by collaboration, rather than the chant's 'meaning', in their clapping games.

> Girls clapping a long game have no time to think whether the words they are chanting are sense or nonsense. They are concentrating all their energies on saying them in the right order and remembering the actions that go with them driven by the need to keep in time with their partner (Opie and Opie 1988, 445).

Like their counterparts elsewhere, School C girls concentrate more on the musical, rhythmic, movement relationships and their combinations, than the meaning of their chants. What counts in a girls' group is co-ordinating complex clapping patterns with a partner and other pairs; chanting the words in time; getting it right (and correcting each other), and challenging each other to go faster and faster. Individual skill is therefore less important than collaborative ability. Only when individual clapping disturbs the group clapping do girls notice. Co-ordinating actions with words, gesturing in-between pair clapping patterns at the right time, and the laughter accompanying "do all the actions at once" (at the end of "Sampilipili sam poro poro") bring the girls together in a cohesive group based on co-operative interaction. The reason that musical, kinetic co-operation is a motivational factor for girls is that it enables successful social participation. Clapping games thus operate as a means of forging girls' peer groups because musical proficiency confers social proficiency.

The second way that girls' musical play relates to gender and sociality concerns the narrative texts and movement styles of their games, which embody an experimental play with femaleness. Like girls' narrative clapping games globally, the School C girls' games can be viewed as "enactments of gendered positions" (Grugeon 1993).[48] Their games combine verbal and sound play with imaginative, metaphorical content (for example the story of the woman and her doll at the train station in "M' poppie yaka"). The texts of School C girls' games include a number of female characters: a 'Barbie Girl'; a gangster's girlfriend (in the same game); the attractive, politically and personally powerful Leleti Khumalo character in *Sarafina*; a traditional dancer; a sexy *kwaito* dancer and finally a mother

[48] Further examples of narrative girls' games played in Schools A, B and C are "Pelo yaka" and "Mama Dlamini", described in Chapter Five, and "Xoxisa" as described in Chapter Four.

looking after her baby at a train station (in "M' poppie yaka").[49] The range of characters, attitudes and performances of femaleness in School C girls' games underscores a complex experimentation with female role models and identities.

Township children's games in general reference global or local female stereotypes in ambivalent ways. In the "Barbie Girl" game the inclusion of the Aqua song "I'm a Barbie Girl", and reference to the actual Barbie doll, epitomise how children "select and re-create [from the media and popular culture] in a process which simultaneously emulates and mocks adult culture" (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 60). Girls' use of the song's melody and lyrics suggests both an identification with, and mockery of Barbie Girl. They may identify with Barbie Girl as an idealised female image, but they transform her in the game's lyrics into a powerful township woman who defies her *tsotsi* boyfriend. In this game, defiance is signified by the retort and corresponding gesture, *angifuni*!

For young girls, the functions of narrative and role-play games range between resisting domesticity, to trying out traditional female roles as wife, girlfriend or mother. For example, narrative clapping games like "M' poppie yaka" and "Pelo yaka" (that School C girls played at other times) "seem to anticipate [young girls'] adult roles and explore archetypal themes: birth, courtship, sex, pregnancy, marriage and death" (Grudgeon 2001, 100).[50] The prevalence of games like these, played by pre-pubescent girls on township playgrounds suggests that, like elsewhere, "texts played exclusively by girls can be interpreted as subversive acts of resistance while still predicting a future of marriage, domesticity and child rearing" (Ibid.).[51] The tension between individual, personal power and the acceptance of traditional gender roles in South African cultural groupings is particularly strong in the township setting. It manifests as a pull between different gender positions experienced or witnessed at home, on television, or by older girls; tensions played out in the narrative and movement content of girls' games as they practise, copy, perform, resist or accede to female stereotypes. Somewhere in-between, female peer groups forge their own identities through musical and dance proficiency and friendships that lie at the heart of their games.

The girls' clapping game medley I observed at School C is a performance of female sociality in the playground that demonstrates a close relationship between their games and peer group formation within a generally co-operative girl playground culture. In their exploration of femaleness, girls'

[49] The image of the Barbie Girl seems to enjoy currency on playgrounds all over the world. For example a game played in Scotland, begins with "We are the Barbie girls, we wear our hair in curls" and ends "and when we want our guy, we simply wink the eye" (Webb 1984, quoted in Grugeon 2001, 110)

[50] The pair clapping game "Pelo yaka", which girls at School A and B play, (and which is part of School C girls' repertoire), tells the story of a teenage girl who becomes pregnant, her experience as a mother and how she names her son. It uses symbolic, metaphorical language to express meaning. Generally, township girls are engaged in storytelling, with "xoxisa/mas'kitlana" and "Pelo yaka" being representative examples (described in Chapters Four and Five respectively).

[51] I recorded "Pelo yaka" at School B and A with older girls, but it is likely that girls in School C also play it.

games can further be interpreted as performances of female aspiration and group power, separate from boys' play.

3.4.2 Boys' games: competition, copying and kinetic ability

Boys' games also operate socially; but while they involve participation and peer-group cohesion as girls' games do, boys' games emphasise competitive rather than co-operative participation. Boys are inclined towards games that communicate status, power and bravado. Whereas individual skill is assigned a lower priority than communication and interaction for girls, boys value individual skill highly (for example in their marbles, tops and 'freeze' movement games). Dancing, verbal and performative skills are important markers of status and hierachy for boys and are integral to their competitive, often humorous kinetic games.

Township boys value movement and dance skills. Because individual display is important, the rules of games like "Chocolatey", "Fire on the mountain", and "Are you ready?" involve showing specific kinetic ability.[52] They allow boys to assert their independence through movement or static statue-display, that is, being able to create different body sculptures without moving, or getting into different-sized groups very quickly (in "Fire on the mountain", for example). These competitive kinetic games are often accompanied by verbal reflection and commentary. Teasing, trying to catch each other out and commenting on each other's statues in "Chocolatey" and "Are you ready?" are integral to the games' enjoyment and meaning. The individual ability to stand still, create an interesting statue or move fast is validated by the chosen 'leader' in the game. Whether it is commenting, teasing or leading a game, boys' leadership roles in kinetic games entail the "responsible use of power invested in the role, which in its turn results in the practice of sophisticated social skills" (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 18). Boys' games demonstrate how children practise and perform different social roles within the domain of play.

Such individual status within an identified peer group is likely to be important for pre-adolescent boys. Hence many of their games are performances of social hierachy within their friendship groups. Boys' group games play out leader-and-follower relationships: who follows who, who initiates or stops a game, who teases, who is left out and who is chosen. One-upmanship, social reputation or attractiveness is exhibited in games that entail individual dance display inside a circle.

[52] The same group of Grade Four boys played "Are you ready?" and "Fire on the mountain" ("Ho na le molo le thabeng") in the classroom a few days after I observed their games on the playground. The movement game "Fire on the mountain" involves being able to get into groups according to the number that the leader shouts out. In "Are you ready?" the group makes pretty or ugly body sculptures according to the leader's instruction; the leader then appraises each picture, often performing as different characters (described in Chapter Five).

Rivalry and competition is intrinsic to boys' games requiring dance prowess and kinetic skill. Dance games involve competitive individual display within the peer group. Individual dance and verbal skills are important in establishing individual identity and position. In their *kwaito* performance on the playground, the School C boys compete with each other to be the DJ or 'emcee', rapping or performing spoken-word poetry as hip-hop artists do.[53] Individual boys contribute their own verbal or movement responses, in chanted or rapped commentary and personalised dance styles. The boys value each other's ability to perform specific dance styles: they shout out "He can do this one!" Many of the boys' games are structured spatially to allow individual dance display inside a circle of peers who comment on his ability.[54] Performance status confers social status within the peer group.

More generally, games with high physical, kinetic and performative content are a feature of boys' playground play (Opie and Opie 1985). The School C boys tend towards games that involve considerable movement skill, rather than pair clapping or narrative games. Their movement games further demonstrate a preference for matching vocables to specific actions. Movement in boys' games is closely related to word-sounds. Boys seldom do an action, gesture or dance step without vocalising (for example *ncu* in "Aya Bampa" and *ke ke* in "Tamatie So"). Boys also play around with word-sound relationships, using nonsense words that suggest interesting and varied tonal and rhythmic variations. For example, the School C group of boys add their own rhythmic and vocal variations to the original *"Tamatie So"* game, changing its rhythm to make it more syncopated. These rhythmic modifications transform existing games into more contemporary games closely associated with the township culture, music and dance practices that boys are invested in.

School C boys' social status and sense of identity also connects with their township environment. Their games often relate to the kinds of adults they want to be; who is considered a 'hero' or 'cool' in the township *loxion kulcha*. Social status and 'coolness' depend on boys' ability to incorporate township slang, familiar rhythmic patterns and gestural language into a game. Like girls, boys allude to gender role models or stereotypes, but for the School C boys, sociality is formulated particularly through the emulation and identification of township men who have cultural style or sexual status.

Boys' affinity for township social groups is particularly apparent: gangs, *pantsulas* or *kwaito* artists. The allusions to *pantsulas* in "Bang'thengel' ispelete", demonstrate young boys' strong identification

[53] 'Emcee' is derived from the abbreviation MC (meaning microphone controller in hip-hop music discourse). It is used as a generic term for anyone who speaks over a beat, or performs a song that could be termed hip-hop (www.urbandictionary.com/define/php?term=emcee) (Accessed 25 September 2009).

[54] This dance formation mimics much popular and neo-traditional African music, including *kwaito*, where a community of dancers or participants support the individual inside the group, but also compete with each other through dance. In traditional communal dance, "an individual may spontaneously step out from the crowd to dance in conjunction with a musical performance. The crowd may respond with cheers, and others may be inspired to dance s well. The individual [thereby] demonstrates deference to the community, by only briefly asserting an individual identity within the context of a larger social scheme" (Miller and Shahriari 2006, 227).

with older boys and gangs. The *pantsula* character is significant for younger boys, because it is associated with social and material status, stylish dress sense, designer label-wear and being street-smart. Boys' emulation of the *tsotsi* or *pantsula*'s image, language and style does not necessarily legitimate gangster or illegal behaviour, but rather speaks of township identity that centres around the figure of the *tsotsi* historically. The gangster is an archetypal figure in boys' games: an epitome of township style and history because it speaks of township identity.[55] Games like "Bang' thengel' isipelete" afford boys the opportunity to try out different forms of status that are signified through communicative and expressive conduct, dance and walking styles that are especially male in movement and dress style.

Boys' identification with older men includes their ability to attract women; this is played out in the texts and dance styles and movements of their games (for instance *azothi ncu* in "Aya Bampa", and holding onto the imagined girl's waist, while singing *u dlala umntwana* in "Isipelete"). But their giggling pretence and the humour in copying adult pair dancing in their games signals a "curious balance between parody and emulation" (Marsh 2001, 83). The boys' humour, caricatured movements and language- and sound-play, suggest that they not only admire, but also satirise and subvert the image and practices of township figures like the *pantsula* or gangster.

3.4.3 Boys' and girls' games: sociality, sexuality and relationships

When School C boys and girls joined together to play three circle games, another kind of sociality and interaction emerged. It was clear from the three mixed gender games I observed at School C how, "set within the boundaries of the schoolyard and formal school regulations, games define the way children order their relationships to one another" (Parrot 1972, 207). Mixed gender play functions as a way of communicating, expressing and relating; a way of working out through speech and physical interaction who is included in, or excluded from, social, friendship or gender groupings. Chanted verbal content is often ambiguous and teasing, reflected in humorous interaction through dance moves.

Rules of games like "Sibidiphephe", "Iskipa sika Jomo" and "Tiny thukhutela" entail choosing a partner from the outer circle and interacting through dancing in unison. Choosing games like these allow children to practise relating to each other and expressing preference within the safety of the play framework. "Sibidiphephe", for example, functions as a way of indirectly expressing children's

[55] As an iconic township figure, the *pantsula* image still holds currency today and is closely associated with the history of township identity (See Glaser's *Bo-Tsotsi* (2000) on Soweto youth gang culture in the 1960s and 1970s).

preferences within the agreed rules of the game. It gives children opportunities to negotiate and play with cross-gender and friendship relationships explicitly and implicitly, through coded word, sound and gesture signals.

"Iskipa" and "Tiny thukhutela" also involve choosing with whom to dance. The body touching in "Iskipa" and close proximity of pair dance steps enable legitimate boy-girl physical communication. Cross-gender games like these function similarly to traditional song-dance forms, as spaces for "choosing the one you like" (School C learner, in response to playing "Sibidiphephe"). Girls' and boys' games draw on traditional forms of circle and choosing songs in different South African cultures that involve cross-gender communication and interaction. Traditional forms like the Venda *tshifase* dance operate as rituals for teenage boys to choose a girlfriend (or potential wife) by dancing with her in the circle (Blacking 1967).[56] These dances are ritualised performances of courtship where physical interaction is formalised into dance steps. Township children's games use the idea of choosing a boy or girl within the circle formation, modifying ritual forms to play around with the idea of friend and partner choice in a game.

A contemporary township variation of traditional circle choosing games is the veiled sexual content of the words and children's movements in "Iskipa" and "Tiny thukhutela". In "Iskipa", the word-actions make physical communication between girls and boys permissible. The underlying sexual suggestiveness of "Iskipa's" text, combined with the way learners move, suggests a sense of experimenting with sexuality, particularly on the words "I hold on your shoulders, waist and hips … how I really hold you." Practising how to choose a girl or boy and the provocative, sometimes explicit, sexualised movements in School C learners' games is a common feature of children's games more broadly (see Grudgeon 2001, 99). Moreover in South Africa, John Blacking (1967) confirms the prevalence of sexual content in children's musical games.[57] In today's township children's games, the *kwaito* and hip-hop dance styles that children copy are particularly sexualised; much of the visual and verbal content of *kwaito* overtly objectifies women (Steingo 2007). Children replicate what they observe, perhaps not understanding the implications of certain movements; however, there is a sense of 'knowingness' evident on children's faces, in their sideways glances, giggling and parody of *kwaito's* dance styles.[58]

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[56] Traditional forms like Venda *tshifase* function as a forum where young boys and girls can choose a partner of the opposite sex within an accepted dance-song ritual (see Blacking 1967; 1976). A Xhosa *umtshotsho* (dance party for teenagers) also operates as a form of courtship through music-dance performance (Levine 2005, 92).

[57] Although Blacking's documentation and cultural analysis of Venda children's games is historical, I suggest that his interpretation is still relevant with regard to contemporary, urban children's games. In his discussion of the social function of Venda children's games, Blacking describes "songs intelligible only to a limited audience … which surely refer to sexual intercourse and are couched in the hidden language which women use amongst themselves …" (1967, 30).

[58] My statement is based on the way children at School C emulated Arthur Mafokate's song and dance track, "Sekhalekhekhe" (literally meaning "cut the cake", but the words have explicit sexual connotations). Whether School C

Like children's games recorded elsewhere, verbal and gestural content is often "provocative or explicit" (Grudgeon 2001, 99). With reference to Venda children's games in South Africa, Blacking explains that prevalence of sexual content is a normal way in which children explore gender roles and sexual behaviours (Blacking 1967). For example, when both girls and boys play "Aya bampa" the physical dancing contact becomes more sexualised, but the game's framework, rules and ambiguity enables expressive or curious impulses to be contained. However, the tenor of children's pair dancing and their performance of adult behaviour take the form of humorous imitation and mimicry – a common feature of children's games more generally (Bishop and Curtis 2001). The paradoxical, ambiguous nature of games that parody adult behaviour are ways children attempt to work out cross-gender interactions and sexual roles.

3.4.4. Local and global features of township children's games

The final way in which I interpret the games I observed at School C is in terms of their local and global features. School C learners' games highlight how children utilise a range of multimodal resources from a range of sources, through processes of appropriation and modification. In this way, children create their own "communities of musical practice" (Barrett 2005b).

3.4.4.1 Appropriating media texts

The number and variety of musical games recorded during one break-time confirms that, like children's games elsewhere, township children's games are

> Brand-new and enjoying lively and swift transmission among contemporary children of the same age group. This allows the children to recreate almost instantaneously the latest mass-media influences in their own performances (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 10).

Almost all the School C learners' games borrow music, dance, and television or film elements sourced from the media in their games. Integrating media material "from the adult world" is a common feature of children's games globally (Opie and Opie 1984; Harwood 1994; Factor 2001; Marsh 2001). For example, the girls' clapping game medley typifies "new traditions of media-inspired play" (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 60). This series of games demonstrates the ease with which media texts are adapted to the playground, and how the media and popular culture "provide[s] the basis for textual material" for many children's games (Marsh 2001, 81-83). In this medley, textual and musical material includes pop songs, dance steps from *kwaito* and parts of the film *Sarafina*. In their musical games, township

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learners understand the explicitness of the song's corresponding dance movements is impossible to know, but they perform it often.

children take television theme tunes or advertisement jingles and re-mix them (as an electronic dance producer would).

Critically, though, the appropriation and incorporation process is not only imitative but creative, as studies of Australian children's games emphasise:

> The interrelationship between the media and playground game performance practices … involves the creative use by children of textual, musical and movement material derived from the media (Marsh 2001, 81-82).

School C children's games epitomise how township children adapt familiar song lyrics, melodic, rhythmic elements or dance routines for their games, often juxtaposing disparate elements in one game: a male Zulu-style kick with waving; whirling arms in political display; a or a vocalised *kwaito* instruction to 'get down' with the parody of being Barbie girl. Hence children make choices about what elements to use and enter a "dialectic with the mass media and appropriate for their own uses its materials and forms" (Mechling 1986, 110). Learners' appropriation of media texts, melodies and rhythms represents a transformation of media material, modified and then integrated into musical games. In learners' verbal responses, they acknowledge the immediate sources of their games and express the desire to be "up to date" (Lindiwe 2006).[59] Incorporating either local or global media texts into their games enables children to update their play culture in ways they view as relevant to their contemporary lives.

3.4.4.2 Reflecting and creating local township culture

A further distinguishing factor of township children's games is the integration of local communicative, expressive and cultural elements. Children's games are themselves part of township culture; many of the games School C learners play have been passed down by generations of children and still enjoy currency in rural and urban areas. Games like "Tamatie so", "Mokop'" and "Tiny thukhutela" were familiar to my co-interpreters who played them as children. However, as children pass down township games through oral transmission, their repertoires shift, change and are adapted according to context, history, language and place. "Tamatie So", for example, is an "inherited singing game" (Factor 2001, 25) with township modifications. The game's words go back decades, but its added rhythmic variations reflect contemporary township music.

[59] Lindiwe uses the words "I am up to date" in "Xoxisa", the visual-narrative game I recorded at School A in 2005 (analysed in Chapter Four).

Children's games also reflect township culture by incorporating its communicative, linguistic and gestural practices, including the typical Soweto linguistic practice code-switching.[60] As communicative practices are particularly localised, meanings are often inaccessible to an outsider, or even someone who used to live in Soweto, but who is not up to date with the latest slang (Selibe 2008). Furthermore, some differences or additions to familiar township games are specific to School C (for example in "Sibidiphephe"), demonstrating how township games manifest inflections of micro-communities of learners.

Children's use of township semiotic resources is also a noteworthy practice in their games. Their combined deployment of sound, gestural and word resources represents a sophisticated, complex, layered set of meanings and communicative expression. In the "Barbie Girl" medley, for example, girls use specific resources for narrative purposes. The individual gestures integral to "I'm a Barbie Girl" have deep significance in Soweto and may be used in township *scamtho* as 'underhand' or 'secret' language in opposition to what is being said (Selibe 2008). Gestures indicating boy (pointing to a beard), girl (pointing to breasts), defiance (wagging the forefinger) or "I'm watching you" (forefinger and little finger pointing to the eyes) carry symbolic, representational meaning for insiders. Children integrate the obtuse, internal local literacies into their games in ways that are usually unintelligible to an outsider. [61] Township communicative practices children use in their games operate like "hidden transcripts", concealed from others and which only insiders have access to (Scott 1992).

Township children's games further connect to their local environment is by incorporating the stylistic cultural practices of youth culture. Children "combine the local with contemporary global references and styles" in their games, in much the same way that the "Y Generation youth culture" does (Bogatsu 2002). Soweto township children are part of a post-apartheid youth culture that produces highly imaginative and innovative cultural forms in which existing genres are reworked and re-mixed with a range of global resources (Nuttall 2004, 435-438). Through these processes of reworking and remixing, of 'cut and paste', Soweto primary school learners' games come to represent a fusion and interplay between different styles, local linguistic practices, media texts, township and 'traditional' music-dance elements.

[60] Code-switching refers to a linguistic practice of switching languages and linguistic varieties within the same conversation. The practice of mixing and borrowing from different languages is typical in South African townships (Slabbert and Finlayson 2002, 235).

[61] Communication through gestural signs in townships like Soweto is particularly rich and localised. Madalane and Selibe explained that if they have been away from Soweto for a while they may return to find that some of the gestures, ways of walking, talking and facial expressions have changed, or taken on new meaning (2008). Non-verbal literacies operate in minutely local ways, indicating membership of different social or cultural groups.

3.4.4.3 Appropriating tradition

Observing the variety of games played at School C on one day highlights the shifts between "the contemporary and traditional, between improvised and inherited content" (Factor 2001, 25). Media-inspired activities are performed side-by-side with 'traditional' ones (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 60). 'Traditional activities' in this context refer both to games passed down by South African children as well as aspects of indigenous cultural forms associated with different South African traditional cultures.[62] Children appropriate traditional songs, melodies, dance routines and formations into their games. Their games reveal formal African musical traits such as call and response, cyclical structure, principles of variation and ornamentation (Muller 2008, 19).

Like many traditional and neo-traditional South African song and dance forms, the delineated circle-form of children's games functions as a form of inclusion in the group. Circle formations in traditional dances articulate group support and interaction while framing individual expression inside the circle.[63] Circle formations create spaces for individuals to display their dance prowess surrounded by a responsive 'community' of participants. Many games observed at School C emulate similar principles of "individual within community" and competitive dance display, particularly in boys' games.

Nevertheless, children's games seldom just copy traditional forms. "Tamatie So" and "Sibidiphephe" are two examples of how township children's games use the structural features of traditional South African music, but with contemporary words, music and dance elements. Hence the appropriation of local, global or traditional material or forms is seldom discrete. Children combine the traditional and the contemporary in their games. For example, the 'traditional dance' performed by the small group of girls was learnt in a particular context at a traditional dance club in Soweto, taught by adults and then adapted to playground play, incorporating the girls' affinity with contemporary culture and media. As the learners' responses reveal, the pleasure and point of playing games and performing songs and dances is to add something of your own, re-inventing and re-imagining a 'traditional Zulu dance'. The girls' performance of their 'traditional dance' and their accompanying comments demonstrate that traditions – whether they are adult dance forms or children's musical games – are modified rather than passed down unchanged.

[62] I refer here to song and dance forms that are called 'traditional' by different ethnic groups in South Africa. I use the word traditional to "forms with no perceptible Western influence, or … forms perceived by Africans as entirely indigenous and African in origin" (Coplan 2007, 444).

[63] Many traditional South African dance forms focus on individual, competitive display inside a circle formation of participants of audience, for example Zulu *umzanzi* dance (Clegg 1983), Sotho *kiba* dance (James 1999) , and Venda *malende* (beer songs) (Kruger 2007a). For Blacking, the circular dance form in much African music articulates interdependent relationships between individuals and their communities (1976).

As the School C games reveal, adapting and adding elements identifiably one's 'own' is what creates unique playground play cultures. The process of changing the game in order to personalise it implies a sense of children's agency:

> Allowing change, creativity and resurgence into the vocabulary of understanding children's games emphasis[es] that traditions are not passed down by some 'super-organic' process but one which is actively shaped by human agency (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 10).

3.4.4.4 Creating children's playground communities

The mixing of old and new, of languages, dance, traditional and contemporary cultural styles, makes children's games particularly compelling as forms of expressive play-cultures. While children's games reflect local, global or traditional cultures, they are essentially children's own inventions. Appropriation from different sources is not a conscious process for children, but a natural part of what it means to play. Often the meaning of the game for children is not whether it is new, old or changed: playing the game is important. Moreover, playing with the game – adding, subtracting and playing with rhythms, melodic fragments, new words and steps – is attractive, as Opie and Opie observe:

> Since the games are their own, they can play with them with affectionate disrespect. They can play with the games, as well as playing them, altering actions and making witty alterations in the words … They cannot – even if they wanted to – discriminate between the old-and-picturesque and the new and (some adults would say) shoddy or sophisticated (1988, 30-31).

Children's self-created games foster a sense of shared, special culture. Children's distinct, vibrant playground culture is thus not easily recognised by adults (Epstein et al. 2001, 160). It is separate – temporally and spatially – from school and home, creating its own interactive, communicative context through music and dance play. Musical games not only create the context for sociality and relationships, but for playing with multimodal resources. Children's musical-dance games thus represent special kinds of play.

The series of games observed at School C in 2006 illustrate a dialectic across time and space, between the local and global.[64] They operate on different levels, resonating with global children's folklore and play practices thematically and structurally, while including regional, and minutely local, language, sound and movement inflections, the meanings of which are internal. Children's games mirror their cultural social context, while forging children's own micro-cultures located in their school. Like children's games documented in the United Kingdom, School C learners' games provide evidence of, "a flourishing culture of play … which exhibits … the dynamics of creativity, continuity and variety

[64] Factor identifies the 'local-global' nature of children's games as a "double helix, one strand representing the universal, ubiquitous features of childlore, the other the particular manifestations of children's play lives which result from specific circumstances" (1988, xiv).

associated with a tradition that is very much alive" (Bishop and Curtis 2001, 59). Soweto children's games reflect and create local knowledge, but also possess thematic elements common to childhood: the performance of problems, negotiating gender and social roles, making and breaking friendships, imaginative dance display, storytelling and narrative created through words, sound and movement. Children learn, relate and become through play, and the musical, linguistic and kinetic modes act as enabling forces for their creativity. Children's games need to be understood, therefore, not only in terms of their significance pedagogically but also as repositories of their imaginative meaning-making, relating and developing identities.

Chapter Four: "Xoxisa": "the pen talks my story"

4.1 Introduction

The second ethnographic 'excursion' in this research is based on observing a young girl's storytelling game called "Xoxisa". The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the richness of children's graphic-narrative performances, using the instance of one game that township children are particularly invested in. The description and interpretation is based on video evidence of one performance of the game and responses by adult informants who played it as children. The chapter functions as a descriptive, analytic interpretation of a child's situated multimodal practice.

The documentation and reading of this game is as a text that works in multiple ways, relating closely to the learner's personal experience of the world and its broader social and psychological significance. The young girl's *xoxisa* story is a mixture of autobiographical experience, merged with incidents she has observed in her community and on television. I draw here on Clifford Geertz's notion of "reading culture as text" and his development of rich, detailed description, layered with meaning, to interpret and understand culture (1973). This chapter explores the kinds of 'work' that *xoxisa* does from different perspectives. After a detailed description of the game as performative event, I explore its multimodal nature, showing how the learner manipulates available resources for expressive, narrative purposes. Reading the game as a text, I focus on how the game functions personally, in order to interpret its psycho-social significance, as play and therapy. Finally, the game's significance as narrative that develops into a form of theatre is demonstrated.

The description is based on video evidence of Lindiwe playing *xoxisa* in a classroom in School A in 2006.[1] I describe what Lindiwe is doing and saying moment by moment in her performance, viewing the video data as a "dynamic visual text" that reflects the "temporal, spatial and kinaesthetic nature of visually recorded interaction" (Flewitt 2006, 35).

4.2 Description

The classroom desks are punctured with holes that break the soft wood, leaving deep scars. Some have the 'map' of *xoxisa* stories engraved on them – little blocks drawn next to each other, some with pen puncture marks, and others without. The grid is carved into the desk. They are marks and

[1] Lindiwe is a pseudonym for the 12-year-old girl I observed playing the game at School A.

evidence of children's stories imprinted into the school furniture; traces of the stories' meanings, of children's identities and lives: their personal agency and power inscribed on school materials.[2] These grid patterns on the desk are visual traces of the individual narrative that happens through performance, movement and rhythm, leaving the imprint of the people and places featured in the story. They are a child's mark pronouncing, 'I was here, this is what I said and this is how I said it'.

In a noisy classroom of forty learners at School A, Lindiwe begins her *xoxisa* game. She is immediately intensely involved and engaged in her actions and words. She has drawn a series of small blocks on her page with people's names or places labelled 'Woolworths', 'school', 'Jet', 'KFC' and 'disco'. They are places she knows in Chiawelo.[3] Each block has a 'door', suggesting the threshold of someone's house or a representation of their personal space. This is where most of Lindiwe's dots are made. She holds a normal ballpoint pen as though it were a pounding implement to make dots, marks and lines on the page. She begins telling the story by making dots with her pen inside the blocks to indicate location and who is speaking. These marks leave visual traces of action and emotion.[4]

As the narrator, Lindiwe uses theatrical role play, alternating between the main protagonists and herself (or someone like her), distinguishing character in the tone of her voice. She performs as the narrator, actor and director of the play. As Lindiwe enacts each person talking, her voice is dramatic, declamatory or aggressive at times. She shouts, whispers, pleads, and insults, using the full range of vocal tonal inflection to communicate who is talking, the actions and reactions of her story's characters. Like many girls her age, Lindiwe uses gestural language that her audience will understand, the meanings of which are localised in township culture. She holds her pen as a weapon, hitting it into the page to pierce the paper and puncture the desk. Her left hands beats alternative pulses on the page to push the narrative along. The intensity of emotion is translated into the intensity of the pen hitting the page. As her story moves to the next character's block on the page, she leaves pen traces of the journey. The listeners know who is speaking or acting by watching where her pen goes. In her role as a key character, her words and meanings are communicated by the force of the dots on the page. The narrative shifts between the narrator's and character's voices: herself (a young girl), Thabiso the boyfriend and Tebogo, a rival girl.[5] It is a story of violence, jealousy, power and defiance.[6]

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[2] Evidence of *xoxisa* stories on school desks can be seen on DVD1 31:51-56.

[3] School A is located in Chiawelo – a suburb in the eastern part of Soweto. In 2006, when I recorded this game, Lindiwe lived in an informal settlement nearby.

[4] Most of Lindiwe's *xoxisa* story-performance can be seen on DVD1 1:26:21-1:32:25.

[5] The names Tebogo and Thabiso are those Lindiwe used in her games but it is unclear whether they refer to specific people or not.

[6] This description gives a general sense of the story, interpreted by three informants, and not by Lindiwe herself. It is based on what could be understood from video material, and its purpose is to illustrate prevalent themes in township children's games.

Lindiwe dots her pen on the 'Woolworths' block to 'Thabiso', suggesting she has been shopping. "You're asking for ten rand?" she says to Thabiso in English, "*Ha ona tshelete*" (meaning, "You're broke, you don't even have money"), she mocks him, banging her pen down. "*Molate ke a molate*" ("I am going for her"), shouts Thabiso, as the pen breaks through Thabiso's block. The girl replies "I'm up to date", "*Ga ke popeye*" ("I'm not your toy").[7] Lindiwe's voice rises, "*O seke wa ntena, tswa mogeso*" ("not in my house"); don't annoy me, not in my house. She tells him to go away. Her voice rises in pitch, shouting "*Wantematsa*" ("You are hurting me"). Then, her words crescendo, her gestures become stronger; her pen slams into the block as she shouts, "*O ntshapile, O ntshapile*!" ("He has hit me, he has hit me!") She moves to the friend's block, indicating that the girl is now recounting the incident to her friend. She repeats over and over, "he hit me, he hit me!" Her verbal reiteration is reinforced by the repeated sounds of the pen hitting the page and her hand beating the desk. The learners watching her exclaim and react, participating as the witnessing audience. The girl – Lindiwe herself – hurls the worst insult she can at Thabiso: "*O nkga moroto*" (literally, "You smell of urine").[8] Her disgust is palpable. "*Ga ke dule le wena*" (literally meaning "I don't want to sit with you", but suggesting "I don't want to be your boyfriend").

The narrative moves to the mother who the girl pleads with, "I want to stay with you, he chased me away". To Thabiso she says "*Ga ke battle go dula le wa*" ("You think I do but I don't want to stay with you [in Chiawelo]"). She insults him again, moving the pen faster and faster. The game intensifies, as does the frequency of dots on the page that have broken through to the desk on Thabiso's name-block. "*O sepharitla*!" (The meaning is, "you're stupid", although the insult in Tswana is much stronger). Her audience gasps and exclaims in response. Lindiwe gestures to her mouth in movements understood in the township context as an assertion of self, rejecting the man. These are dismissive gestures girls do. Others are feminine hand movements pointing to her mouth that mean "I said" or "I was talking", to show that the narrator is talking to someone else. Her story moves over the page to Tebogo, who seems to be a rival girl. Lindiwe's voice rises in pitch, "*wena u shame, wena u shame*" (literally, "you shame"). Some of her girlfriends in the audience encourage her; they elicit more from the story, encouraging Lindiwe's defiance against the situation.

Lindiwe's pen moves sequentially from one block to the other, indicating 'and then this happened, and then so-and-so did or said this'. The grid pattern she has drawn allows for the sequential story. The grid is not drawn in any particular order, although people's houses may be placed next to each other. Rather, it is her action and movement of the pen striking the page, and where she chooses to

[7] "*Popeye*" here literally refers to the cartoon sailor character, but in this context means a 'plaything' in the mixed scamtho slang style of township language that children use.
[8] The Tswana words connote disgust and revulsion, meaning more than 'the person smells bad'. In Tswana culture this is considered a filthy insult.

make the dots that determine the narrative. As the drama builds, more children in the class gather around to listen and participate in the story. They laugh, exclaim, encourage her and listen wide-eyed and attentive.

"You Tebogo", she exclaims as she confronts Tebogo. Lindiwe turns over her page, borrows another pen and draws the 'fighting ring' circle in the middle of a new page. The fighting ring in reality is the circle demarcated in a school playground, or on the streets, where two boys or girls physically fight each other. Lindiwe performs the fight with her pen – bang, bang, bang, the pen hammers. Bang, bang, bang – another hit. The sounds are the punches and blows. Her other hand slams the desk in-between the pen piercing. It is a literal enactment of what happens on some township school playgrounds. She holds the pen like a weapon in her fist, changing her hand shape, and the movement is fast and forceful. Afterwards, Lindiwe brags to her friend, turning over the page to indicate that the narrator is now going to her friend to recount her tale. Lindiwe's voice rises again, exclaiming: "*O sharpa … Ke mo tswere*" ("Her clothes were torn"), as she flings her hand up, demonstrating what happened to Tebogo. The sense of the words is 'she messed her up'. Lindiwe's friend sitting next to her gestures agreement. The audience participates in Lindiwe's enjoyment of victory, her pleasure in beating up her rival. She announces: "*O seke wa mphaphela*" (she uses figurative language here; the meaning is stronger than "don't you dare disrespect or disregard me"). The narrative calms, Lindiwe changes the place and people, returning briefly to Thabiso who is looking for her ("*O batlang*"). The words insinuate "let's go to your room". The girl rejects him and moves on to other characters, including a friend present who is in one of her blocks. Some of the characters or place blocks she doesn't use. Perhaps she returns to them at another stage to re-use the template of the story and create another narrative.

The game carries on for almost ten minutes. I do not get the sense that Lindiwe is performing for the camera; rather, she is fully invested in her performance for her audience of schoolmates. She has much to say and much that concerns her. Her characterisation is vivid and her storytelling is dramatic, with moments of heightened emotion, suspense and triumph. What remains after the game is a visual map of the story: a series of blocks with dots and lines delineating spaces and marking the actions, emotion and dialogue of her story.

4.3 Location: contexts of the game

Xoxisa is located in, and draws its meanings from its physical, social and cultural contexts. The game is embedded in the micro-sites of children's play and social practices, and broader "macro-contexts"

of township schools and the social environment of Soweto (Stein 2008, 19). It is further located within a set of children's narrative games.

4.3.1 Locating the game in its social, physical context

Lindiwe's story, recorded in the classroom in 2006, is a visual, performative and dramatic enactment of violence, jealousy and defiance – a personal narrative inscribed on the paper and desk. Lindiwe plays out a story that we can infer she either witnessed, heard about, watched on television or experienced in some way herself, given her social context.[9] Centering on relationship and sexuality issues, the narrative focuses on asserting personal power over a man, and the resulting conflict between two women over a man. Lindiwe recounts the story of a girl caught in a triangle of jealousy, violence and possession, marked by beating, hitting, retaliation and defiance. As Lindiwe's story illustrates, *xoxisa* stories are usually derived from the child's immediate experiences, and in this specific township context, frequently reflect socio-economic issues, domestic and family problems. Stories concerning sexuality, abuse, violence, jealousy and fear are common.

By playing *xoxisa* the child articulates her experience of the world, either drawn from her own life or relating dramatic events seen on the television programmes, as participants explain: "My story is about *Muvhango* in TV" (Lindiwe 2006), or "you can do it about something that has happened in your life" (Phiri 2008). Senzi Morajane, who used to play the game as a child, says that children's stories were either about family or inter-personal conflict, or about their dreams of the future that they wanted to share with their peers.

My informants suggest that Lindiwe's story (and probably those of many other girls) relates to trauma that she either experienced or witnessed.[10] The game is therefore a product of specific personal and social environments, representing the child's attempt to work out, or come to terms with, issues through narrative performance. Lindiwe's story provides insight into her life in an informal settlement, at school and the social environment of Soweto. The game is not only an expression of violence, but also the vibrancy of township and popular culture characterised by rich mixtures of language, music, tradition and contemporary artistic practices. It demonstrates the shaping of children's lives and meanings by their immediate environments including aspects incorporated through the media. In the *xoxisa* story I describe, Lindiwe narrates the violence she witnesses; she

[9] This assumption is based on the high rates of violent and sexual crime in South Africa. Research has exposed "an endemic culture of sexual violence" where one in four South African men has confessed to attacking more than one victim (Smith 2009). See also www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Rape, for a government report on rape in South Africa (2000).

[10] My informants were Lerato Seohatse, Malose Langa and Siphiwe Hlongwane (students at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg). They translated the game and its meanings from watching video material, and had all played *mas'kitlana* and *xoxisa* as children.

enacts it and performs it by hitting the page and the character's block, in a cathartic act of autonomy, self-actualisation and expression of personal power. There is no doubt that the game's narrative performance of violence, domestic and relationship problems, whether directly experienced or witnessed, whether on television or not, is a way in which Lindiwe attempts to make sense of her world.

4.3.2 School and township

In 2006, at my first meeting with three Arts and Culture teachers at School C in White City Jabavu (central Soweto), I noticed and asked why the school desks were punctured with little holes. The teachers explained how their learners play a story-game with pen and paper, making dots on the page that pierce through to the desks. Derived from the Zulu word (to narrate or give an account), children as young as three years play *xoxisa* ("you even see it at the crèche") and continue playing it with more sophisticated adaptations, into their early teens (Phiri 2008).[11] Phiri emphasises children's creativity and resourcefulness inherent in the invention of *xoxisa:* "Some children have the privilege of getting different toys. Some children make their own game – using your mind to have a certain game you are playing" (2008).

Learners play the game at township schools or at home alone or with an audience: "Sometimes I play it at home on my own; sometimes my mother listens to me" (Lindiwe 2006).[12] Learners – usually young girls – play the game during school break, and told me they also play it "in the yard at home." The stories are improvised in the moment, using pen, paper and a drawn grid pattern as materials. Children take any opportunity to play *xoxisa* during lessons or between school activities. Other learners often gather around the narrator to listen to, and participate in, the story. Thus the game is a vehicle for children to communicate "narratives of self and context" (Newfield and Stein 2004, 35). It is integrated into township children's lives as a means of self-expression and telling their own or others' stories, whenever they feel the need to do so.

[11] In Zulu, *xoxa* is a verb stem meaning "discuss". It can be used as an imperative form: "discuss!" or even "narrate!" *Xoxisa* uses the causative verb suffix to mean "make discuss" or "get discussed" or "get [someone] to discuss". There may be nuances or new aspects of the verb in the way it is used in Soweto. The noun should be *ingxoxo* in Xhosa (*inxoxo* in Zulu), meaning "discussion" (I acknowledge Dr Simon Donnelly for this linguistic explanation). Young children pronounce the game as '*cocisa*', without the 'x' click, which informants suggest is a township-slang (scamtho) version of the game's name.

[12] To the best of my knowledge games like *xoxisa* and *mas'kitlana* are not played in predominantly white schools, those in more affluent areas or in private schools in South Africa.

4.3.3 "Xoxisa" as a derivation of "mas'kitlana"

Xoxisa is derived from and located within a range of South African children's cultural, storytelling and play practices. It is situated within "histories of children's communicative practices and familiar performance styles – gesture, language, responses, movement and body interactions" (Stein 2008, 9). More specifically, it falls within children's chant, dance and musical games described in Chapter Five, but is distinguished from these in a number of ways: first, it is individual rather than collaborative; second, it is distinguished by its intense visual performative element; third, it is entirely improvised and last, the child uses available resources to facilitate her narrative, for communicative and expressive purposes.

More broadly, *xoxisa* contains strong elements of an oral tradition of storytelling in South Africa. The game highlights how children draw on histories of traditional storytelling and similar South African cultural practices, just as the other children's games I describe incorporate both traditional and contemporary musical and dance practices. More specifically, *xoxisa* is an urban adaptation of *mas'kitlana,* a traditional game that children play in township and rural areas, across cultural and language groupings.[13] *Mas'kitlana* is "an old game that black South African children have played for years, with regional differentiations" (Hlongwane 2008).[14] *Mas'kitlana* is an improvised story created using available natural materials like different-sized stones, sticks, paint and sand.[15] It is usually played by pre-adolescent and adolescent girls, although I observed four-year-olds playing *mas'kitlana* in the sand with stones, in a rural village in northern Limpopo in 2008.[16] Senzi Morajane, who played *mas'kitlana* in Thokoza township as a teenager, explains how the game is set up:

> You have to plan it first. I would do the plan on the ground first. The plan is big. There is a place in the middle to crouch down with my knees. And there must be a passage between each place. You must know which stone is which, according to the colours. We used to take a marking pen and use it to mark the stones. You must know that that stone represents Thembi. You draw in the sand what you want (a house, school, hospital, neighbour's house, big and small houses). You put different-sized stones inside the house or school according to who lives there. You draw a house with your finger on the ground then on top I would write, for example, Senzi's house or the neighbour's house. Then I'll do a school or a

[13] The names of both the game played with stones, and the classroom game with pen and paper, are interchangeable. Children who play the stone game also call it *uxoxa*.

[14] A number of my adult informants (aged between 25 and 35 years) remember playing *mas'kitlana* as children, in townships and in rural areas in villages and on farms.

[15] Different versions of *mas'kitlana* are played all over Southern Africa. I have observed *mas'kitlana* played by four and five-year-olds in rural Venda communities in northern Limpopo province. Historical research on San children's games mentions "sand sketching *Gqaina*", where "two children sat facing each other and drew as they talked" (Van der Merwe and Salter 1990).

[16] Three of my male informants said "we would never do that, but we would be interested in what the girls are saying." The fact that *mas'kitlana* is usually played by pre-pubescent girls, suggests some relationship to pre-pubescent child development, behaviour and concerns, like emergent sexuality.

> hospital here and put many stones there to show the many people. You can take a stick and draw the road from one place to another. The person who tells the story has to have a space because you are moving, for example, I am going to the police station, and I have to know where it is. The structure you have drawn from the beginning has to be in your mind. The child has an idea of what she is going to tell (Morajane 2008).

Lindiwe says that, "To play *mas'kitlana*, the little children use sand and stones" (2006). Stones represent people, and a delineated piece of ground represents physical locations in the story. Children draw the outlines of households and neighbourhoods on the ground in the yard, sitting in the middle so that the drawn 'houses' are around them (Morajane 2008). These outlines represent the plans of houses and other building seen from above like an architectural drawing, including written labels or symbols of different places (like a cross for a church). The narrator collects different-sized stones and sometimes paints them contrasting colours to differentiate characters. The narrator moves the stone-characters into and around the houses according to the story's plot and action. Using different stones for different people designates to the audience who is talking or acting. The tempo of moving the stone and the sound it makes on the ground indicates travel and how the narrative moves to another location, as Morajane explains:

> I hit the sand with the stone and I take her when she moves. You show if she's running or walking, they have to hear what's going on. You start (saying) Thembi, you do the rhythm of the name. The boyfriend has a whistle that calls that girl (its sound matches the name syllabically). You use the stone like this: *Wadla* [she indicates two beats]. So you'd say *wadla wadla wadla* in a beat beating the stone to the word. You friends would say 'mmmm' like she's eating something nice. When you go slower you're showing that she's finished now (2008).

Movement and sounds creates kinetic, rhythmic accompaniment to dialogue or commentary, often emulating the rhythm of the words. Little children bang stones together to accompany their words. These sound and movement components are integral to the game, both facilitating and reinforcing plot, action and emotion.[17] To communicate conflict, the storyteller hits two stones together to show a fight or argument, just as Lindiwe hits her pen hard into the paper and desk inside the 'fighting ring' she has drawn. The physical and spatial materials children employ in *mas'kitlana* (stones, a stick and the demarcated space drawn on the ground) frame and enable their personal and social narratives. The game presents opportunities for children to explore and create meanings by manipulating available resources.

Xoxisa employs similar means but adapts *mas'kitlana* to the school environment. It is therefore an urban, localised adaptation of the older game altered to suit the classroom and school context. Instead

[17] This description is based on evidence of pre-school children playing *mas'kitlana* at home and at school in Thembisa township in 2008, as observed by a mother. Thank you to Portia Umkhonto for this insight.

of using earth, stones and natural materials, children utilise classroom objects: a pen, paper, desks, to create *mas'kitlana*-type stories. The modification of *mas'kitlana* demonstrates learners' appropriation of school materials associated with writing, teaching and learning, as resources for their own expressive and narrative purposes. In *xoxisa*, like *mas'kitlana*, children mobilise material resources for their own meaning-making, for asserting agency and independence in a performative enactment or working-out of events, concerns, conflict and trauma.

Xoxisa story themes and issues are likely to be familiar to participative audiences; themes pre-adolescent and adolescent girls are particularly engaged with. Drawing on traditional oral cultures of storytelling, the narrator becomes different characters, uses dramatic techniques and develops a reputation amongst peers for her dramatic display and storytelling abilities. As a teenager Morajane used to tell stories for money at a set time after school every day. She developed a following of children who used to wait for her at her home, to tell or continue a story and said that she was "like the granny who told stories at night to the children" (Morajane 2008). Here it is clear how these games draw on traditional oral storytelling practices where elders would tell stories that combined gesture, characterisation, sound effects and movement. These performance elements are a "fundamental feature of traditional storytelling events and one of the central resources of African life" (Stein 2001, 157). Musical narrative forms, with audience participation and audience responses that acknowledge the narrator, still exist today.[18]

4.3.4 The conventions of *xoxisa*

Like the musical, movement and language conventions in most children's games, township primary school children understand the visual, kinaesthetic, linguistic and dramatic codes embedded in *xoxisa*. The game is characterised by the use of rich metaphoric language to deepen meaning, feeling and the significance of the story. Children use ambiguous language and obtuse words, drawing on the word-connotations and symbols of local dialects to heighten drama and action. Thus the meaning of the game is inextricably combined with the representational modes and materials a child uses to play the game.

For example, the idea of mapping, drawing a grid of boxes, houses and names, as well as the narrative function of the pen, is established in *mas'kitlana*, so that any child can play the game or participate in it by listening and responding. In *xoxisa*, the child draws a grid on pieces of paper instead of on the

[18] For examples of South African song-stories, see Kruger 2004 and 2007b (in the Venda tradition) and Kruger et al. (2003) for song stories in different South African cultures. For an examination of "oral historical narrative" and storytelling practices in South Africa, see Hofmeyr (1993). Stein (2001) describes learners' use of oral storytelling and performance elements in language and literacy education projects.

ground as in the older game. The *mas'kitlana* drawings of the houses may be decorative, representing an actual dwelling, whereas in *xoxisa*, the grid operates on a bird's-eye visual level that takes advantage of what a grid design affords. The action of making dots in spaces on the paper indicates who is talking or acting in the story, like moving the stone around the houses marked in the sand does in *mas'kitlana*. As the narrator draws lines or makes dots on the page, her tone of voice communicates the emotion and drama of her story, usually in a declamatory, dramatic style, accompanied by repetitive hand gestures and emotive body language.

Xoxisa and *mas'kitlana* are individually driven and, depending on the child's age, "sometimes you do it on your own; sometimes with others listening" (Phiri 2008). When it is solitary, the game functions as a form of self-narrative. With other children present, their responses, exclamations and involvement in the story emphasise the game's theatrical, performance element and the importance of a witnessing audience. When I observed Lindiwe's game at School A, her peers gathered around her desk as an audience of attentive listeners. In the context of the way these learners usually relate to each other, *xoxisa* stories provided unique moments of listening and focus, of acknowledging peers by paying attention to their stories. Audience members who gather around to listen may participate by playing different characters and making suggestions about the direction of the plot and action. Pointing at a house during the story is a way of suggesting that the narrator incorporates the person who lives there into the story. Siphiwe Hlongwane, who used to play the game as a teenager explains:

> Your friends are part of the story and may make suggestions … you are not only on your own. The same friends will come to your stone picture again and they will be your 'assistant directors and writers' (2008).

Senzi Morajane – a renowned storyteller amongst her friends in Thokoza as a teenager – relates how she preserved her *mas'kitlana* story-designs on the ground, or paper grids in *xoxisa* as original templates for the story to continue, like a television soap opera, or for a new one to unfold.

4.4. Interpretation: reading *xoxisa* as a text

Xoxisa exemplifies how "children communicate meaning in art through the use of signs that 'stand for' other things, which become a 'text' that can be 'read'" (Wright 2007, 2). Based on Lindiwe's story performance, I draw attention to what the game incorporates over and above actual thematic and narrative content. Using Lindiwe's words as a basis, I aim to illuminate meanings through a textual reading of the game that operates in multiple ways, using multiple semiotic resources (Stein 2008). The descriptive and interpretive categories used in this analysis are my reading of what the game proposes in the video performance. While it is not possible to infer the value this storytelling game has for the child, different readings of *xoxisa* enable an excavation of its possible significance as

multimodal representation, psychologically, socially and performatively. I describe and interpret the game in two ways: first for its complex deployment of modes, and second, how the game functions on different levels from the psychological to the theatrical.

Through a multimodal lens, I first examine *xoxisa* as a form of representation that children produce from a range of accessible cultural resources and through which they make meanings. In this reading, *xoxisa* is framed as a form of "graphic-narrative play" where the visual, narrative and performative modes interact (Wright 2007). I explore how, and to what ends, learners utilise the visual-spatial, kinetic and sonic modes, describing the representational modes children draw on, and how they manipulate them to create meaning. Then, I investigate how the game operates therapeutically as play related to psycho-social function and then as narrative and theatrical performance. Finally I draw conclusions about what the game reveals about the child's relationship to her environment.

Much of *xoxisa*'s meaning is in its performance. One needs to have observed the game to begin understanding the embodied nature of a child's meaning-making, to grasp the significance of the enacted events and the layered unfolding of visual-verbal-gestural symbolic acts in narrative performance. Observing the child as she designs visually, and listening to her story as a performance, one comes closer to understanding the game as a complete graphic-narrative play event (Wright 2007).

4.4.1 *Xoxisa* as multimodal text

> It is something to show that you can do something on your own. The boxes are the homes, shops and school. We use the pen to show that we are doing our story. We can't do without the pen, it shows how people are talking. In my story people are jealous and they don't like each other. I tell the story every day and even at home on Saturday. Sometimes my mom listens to me. When I am angry I take the paper and pen and I just talk my story. I keep all my papers at home. We like to draw the houses. My story is about *Muvhango* on TV. Another story is about the fight for a man and others they kill each other, or it is about how people love each other. We have been playing it for five years. The little children draw in the sand and use stones (Lindiwe 2006).

Xoxisa is a narrative game where children draw on their expressive and communicative repertoires. Like other narrative activities documented by Stein in South African township schools, *mas'kitlana* and *xoxisa* demonstrate how children:

> … creatively draw on the material contexts of their lives and their multiple literacies to narrate their stories. [They] recruit different cultural resources from home, streets, schools and communities and contemporary media to shape meaning … they recruit the semiotic resources they need in order to communicate (Stein 2007; 2008, 9).

Children's literacies work across modes, highlighting their ability to select communicative, expressive or symbolic modes for their affordances – for their appropriacy in conveying intention, action, drama or feeling in each moment. In her story Lindiwe expresses and articulates events, feelings or experiences through sound, gesture, movement, drawing, rhythm and voice. *Xoxisa* is thus a visual, vocal and kinetic mapping of a physical, temporal and emotional space. The game further encapsulates children's ability and desire to communicate "trans-modally" (Newfield 2006), moving between sound, the spoken, kinetic, visual and spatial modes to communicate and act out a personal story. Wright's descriptions of Australian children's "graphic-narrative play", bear a close resemblance to the ways in which *xoxisa* games combine different modes to make meaning:

> Cross-domain meaning-making, where two intimately connected modes and forms of expression are united, namely the: (a) non-verbal: graphic depiction, stemming from imagery and visual-spatial-motor memory; bodily-kinesthetic communication through 'enaction' and expressive gesture, and (b) verbal: story creation, expressive vocalisation and the use of sound effects to accompany the artwork. In multimodal meaning-making, the non-verbal domain often will enrich and inform the verbal, and vice versa (Wright 2007, 2).

As well as combining verbal and non-verbal forms of expression, the length and depth of the narrative and the child's recruitment of specific multimodal resources for communicative purposes represents a "sustained narrative project across multiple semiotic modes" (Stein 2008, 8). Here, I describe the game's key multimodal elements in terms of the way they are used before, during and after the story-performance.[19]

4.4.1.1 Beginning: the visual-spatial mode

> *"The boxes are the homes, shops and school"* (Lindiwe 2006).

Children's choice of a grid structure, derived from *mas'kitlana*, is significant on a number of levels. Primarily it demonstrates children's understanding of the affordances and possibilities that this design suggests. The use of this form is noteworthy because it capitalises on what a grid structure in design and architecture affords. The game's visual layout works to facilitate the story in different ways. Rather than a drawing of the story, it is the template upon which the story unfolds and is played out, exploiting what a grid-plan offers. The narrative performance with the pen then records a presence and prominence in the story through specific representational markings.[20]

[19] Analysing children's discourse and their complex linguistic code-switching falls outside the parameters of this thesis; however I acknowledge that children draw on a wide range of linguistic resources in their narrative games.
[20] The visual-spatial interpretation of *xoxisa* that follows is based on insights offered by architect Paulo Esteves during an interview with the author.

First, the game is interesting as a performance-drawing that develops as the story unfolds, leaving a visual, spatial impression and record afterwards. Before she starts, Lindiwe designs her story visually, drawing character- and location-blocks as seen from above, which form a template for her story. She labels her whole page 'Chiawelo', draws blocks labeled 'KFC', 'Jet', 'Woolworths' (names of shops), disco and draws the outline of the school with smaller blocks depicting classrooms. The blocks Lindiwe sketches represent familiar places or people, rather than imagined ones, as Phiri confirms: "You can only draw places and people you know or remember" (2008). The character blocks delineate the space people inhabit rather than portraying the actual person (refer to the drawings, Appendix A). Each block becomes a visual container for people and their experiences in the story. Before she begins narrating, Lindiwe draws individual blocks with name-labels that represent the potential cast of her story. Thus she proposes different character possibilities in her block layout of characters (which are not necessarily all used), like a cast in a drama. The grid of blocks and dots is simultaneously visual and performative, because although drawn beforehand, the narrator can add a block if the story needs another character or location.

The grid-design also functions as a narrative device: the block shape is primarily drawn to demarcate the space on the page where the narrator moves her pen. The blocks act as visual containers for the pen-punctures, as forms for holding energy, emotion and the narrator's voice as she punctures the page and leaves the mark of voice, feeling and action. Thus, the grid-design operates in different ways: it provides a framework for the story, it can respond to narrative development, and with the addition of pen-marks, it becomes evidence of the story's plot, characters, feelings and actions.

The grid structure of the game allows narrative, performative and movement freedom across a horizontal plane in the way that representational drawings would not. The grid design represents episodic units of the story mapped onto the page. These blocks are "discrete elements in a narrative field" that operate independently of each other (Esteves 2008). The proximity or otherwise of the character or place-blocks on the page is immaterial because character relationships and hierarchies are shaped in performance, using the pen and its resultant marks. The child's choice of a grid structure is significant because it enables the narrative and role play to move forward, develop or change, thus allowing for a fluid rather than linear narrative structure (Wright 2007, 2). The grid enables the narrator to choose plot direction, which characters play important roles, and where the narrative takes place, because she can move her pen (the 'voice' of the story) from any block to another. The grid design is therefore 'neutral' in that it allows movement across and between demarcated spaces. The unbiased quality of the grid design facilitates the narrator's freedom to improvise; it allows the element of surprise and narrative choice. Thus changes in the direction of the plot, of emotions and actions become possible because the grid operates as a "narrative armature rather than a geometric, graphic hierarchy" (Esteves 2008).

Hierachy and status emerge in the story's performance. Lindiwe uses the grid design as a field upon which to perform an improvised narrative, as a means of communicating a hierarchy of relationships played out in the story so that difference and privilege is built in through the narration. The grid design enables her to choose where and how the story will unfold. For example, as her plot necessitates, Lindiwe turns the page over and adds to the grid by drawing the 'fight circle'. Creating a grid rather than a representational image enables the narrator to choose where to go and decide who talks when, indicating this with her pen. Using the pen as a mark-making tool, the narrator establishes hierachies and character status in a performance, by returning to a specific block with her pen and by the quality and frequency of the marks she makes. The amount of dots or holes in a block records how much time the storyteller spent on a character, thus communicating visually who is prominent, privileged or peripheral in the story. Blocks with many dots or tears record a character's presence in the story, while curvy lines around about a character or place block suggest a secondary role in the story, or a different relationship or feeling the narrator has towards the place or person. (Refer to APPENDIX A, for Lindiwe's drawing, where prominence is indicated by dark markings.)

4.4.1.2 During the story: pen-marking, piercing and movement

> *"We use the pen to show that we are doing our story. We can't do without the pen, it shows how people are talking"* (Lindiwe 2006).

In *xoxisa* the child appropriates a pen for her own narrative and expressive purposes. Playing *xoxisa* represents the child's reclamation of the school or home space, specifically her use of an instrument of learning to make her mark. She 'owns' the pen by transforming a conventional writing object usually associated with school, into one that enables her to play the game. The pen is integral to the game in ways I describe below.

Lindiwe uses the pen in a number of ways, for different purposes. First, "the pen adds movements to your story": that is, it adds a kinetic dimension that connects closely with emotion, pace and action (Phiri 2008). The up-and-down movement of the pen helps Lindiwe to articulate her feelings – without it she would not be able to tell the story. Simultaneously, the pen movement moves the narrative along while the resultant marking, tracing or piercing leads the story to another place, person or event. Furthermore, the tempo and energy of the movement communicates pace, intensity and drama, reinforcing what the child is saying.

The pen functions both as a kinetic and visual instrument because its movement results in mark-making. Moments of tension, conflict and high emotion are indicated by fast, aggressive movements that break through the paper onto the desk. Different marks on the page become traces of the force

and motion of the pen, as the narrator makes dots or hits it into the page, tearing it. These marks carry emotive weight, etched into the page. The intensity of affect is represented by the size of the hole in the paper or the quality of lines she makes with her pen. Piercing through the paper is the effect not only of feeling, but the performance of characters' motives, reactions and behaviour. For Lindiwe, the fight, arguments, feelings of defiance or anxiety are forced into the paper by her pen movements. The forcefulness of the pen piercing the page is evidence of anger or jealousy; the softer, curvy, meandering lines are less aggressive, expressing contrasting emotions. Hence, marks and tears through the page become affective signs in the story. And in performance, the hard pen breaking the page suggests a catharsis or transgression; stabbing, destroying and penetrating the page are acts that violate graphic expectations (Andrew 2008b).

Watching Lindiwe tell her story and pierce the page with her pen, there is a clear sense of the import of her holding a mark-making instrument that acts as the story's voice and makes an autographic mark. The dots and lines in and between each block are traces of personal narrative as Lindiwe inscribes her story and her identity into the page. The final picture is a visual trace of movement, hitting and marking, carrying her emotions and meanings.

4.4.1.3 After the story: visual traces, serials and soap operas

> *"I keep all my papers"* (Lindiwe 2006).

The physical trace of each story is important to Lindiwe, who says that she keeps all her stories, collecting them to form a personal diary of her own and others' experiences. Storytellers keep the grid-map as lasting evidence of their story, which have an ongoing temporal life. According to Theo Phiri, who used to play this game as a child:

> If you are doing a story it has a date on top – like episodes – the other day you use another page. When it comes to Friday you show all the pages to your friends and have the whole story. They can recall what you were doing the whole week – remember the story from the picture you'll be having maybe five pages, one for each day. Then they have to tell you the whole story from the first to the last day, by looking at the pictures (2008).

Just as children return to their *mas'kitlana* stone designs on the ground, to continue or create a new story, children keep their grid drawings in order to continue the next episode. According to Hlongwane, who played *mas'kitlana* late into his teens, "we maintain records … in a new week [we] continue the game as we still have the names and spaces as a reminder" (2008). Morajane explains how the game operates as a continuing serial: in Thokoza, storytelling happens at certain times in the afternoon after school, at a specific place where children gather to hear the story's next installment. At the end of the week, those who listened to the original performance re-tell the story to the narrator and

others, guided by the visual designs. The game's episodic nature allows an outside person to speak back to the story, or to re-imagine it using the grid drawing as a reference. Because of *xoxisa's* particular visual design, plot and character are impressed into the page in such a way that other children can read the notation of markings at a later stage because they serve as a visual reminder of the story and its performance. By looking at the grid, friends can tell who the characters were (by the number of dots in each square), where the story took place and how it developed. The narrator's stories are therefore remembered, acknowledged and validated by her peers, who are involved as listeners and participants.

The ways in which township children play *xoxisa* demonstrates they appropriate elements of television and popular cultural forms, shaping them to suit the narrative interests of their game. *xoxisa's* design emulates the television serials that many young township girls watch and are engaged in.[21] Young adolescent girls not only base their stories on themes and characters from soap operas, but use the familiar narrative structure of the soap opera genre. The visual layout of *xoxisa* acts as a drama storyboard, enabling the storyteller to return to the same page to continue where a story left off, or begin a new one with another group of characters. Characters in *xoxisa* stories appear, disappear or reappear from one episode to the next, as they do in television serials. Similarly, children use commentary to recap previous episodes or set up what is going to happen next.

There are further ways of reading the visual evidence of playing *xoxisa*. Because the designs reflect children's social contexts and carry children's meanings, they become "artifact[s] tied to context and identity" (Pahl and Rowsell 2005, 153). One can 'read' the child's identity, her concerns and interests on the grid pattern, which in Lindiwe's case reflect her responses to possible social problems in her community. The story-maps hold the child's identity as a young girl grappling with relationship, family and economic challenges. They hold her experiences at school, in relation to peers, what interests her, what makes her happy or sad. Playing *xoxisa* is an intense project in self-representation (Andrew 2008b). The stories and their grid maps are traces of the ways in which a child attempts to make sense of the world through narrative.

4.5 *Xoxisa* as play, therapy, narrative and theatre

What draws *xoxisa's* multimodal practices together is its function as a form of narrative play that operates on personal, psychological and social levels. In this section I explore the themes of *xoxisa*

[21] These include South African soap operas like *Muvhango*, *Generations* and *Isidingo*, the American *The Bold and the Beautiful* and *Days of our Lives*. See Mkhuma (2004) on the influence of local and American soap operas; and Marx (2008) who examines the construction of identities in South African soap operas.

and their connections to the child and her environment; second, I describe how the game functions therapeutically. I examine it as play, narrative and then as performance deploying theatrical means. As a form of theatre, the child-narrator adopts multiple roles, using multimodal resources, which articulate her relationship to her social environment.

Based on the ethnographic evidence of Lindiwe's performance, it is clear how the game's narrative frame – witnessed by others and recorded on the page – enables her to express or try to work out or re-imagine difficult emotions and experiences. Similarly, in *mas'kitlana*-type games:

> If you have a kid and he's experiencing difficulties at home or school – you can draw the picture of the whole school – and he says 'from the school to the playground I am happy'. As I go home – emotionally he is changing because his mother is going to tell him to work a certain task. He will be expressing certain feelings in that drawing (Phiri 2008).

Operating in the narrative mode enables the child to make sense of a story because, as a "meaning-making strategy", narrative "mediates the experience and emotions" (Lyle 2000, 60). Through this graphic game, the child's internal world and its relationship to the social environment is articulated visually and performatively.

4.5.1 Themes emerging from Lindiwe's story

According to township children who play *xoxisa*, their stories are either drawn from television or reflect their own lives. They connect to the narrator's psycho-social context, specifically her personal world as an adolescent or pre-adolescent. Lindiwe's narrative includes the key ingredients of sexual jealousy and rivalry prominent in South African television series such as *Muvhango*, and which resonate with a wider psycho-social context.[22] Jealousy in particular is a common theme in South African television soap operas and seems to have multiple complex meanings for people, covering a wide range of emotions. Lindiwe adopts the jealousy theme characteristic of emergent adolescent sexuality and which is vivid in young township girls' conversations and stories, as Lindiwe asserts: "In my story people are jealous and they don't like each other" (2006). More broadly in South Africa, the figure of jealousy frequently emerges as a strong factor driving people's actions and behaviours (Van Zyl 2008).[23] Violent, extreme reactions to jealousy are enacted in Lindiwe's story, culminating

[22] *Muvhango* is a popular daily soap opera on SABC television. *Muvhango* concerns the conflict between rural and urban branches of the same family, both fighting for a chieftaincy that is under dispute. It explores issues of jealousy, sexual politics, power and inter-personal conflict "fuelled by the quest for money, power and ownership of heritage" (http://www.tvsa.co.za/showinfo.asp?showid=540, accessed 26 January 2010).

[23] The "codification and extent to which human behaviour is explained through the notion of jealousy" in many South African cultures is striking (Van Zyl 2008). In a study of spiritual culture in Soweto, Adam Ashforth explains that the dynamics of jealousy may originate in ancestor worship and ideas of bewitchment because of jealousy (2005, introduction). In relation to wealth, prosperity or sickness, particularly HIV/AIDS, Ashforth explains that "in African communities such as Soweto a great many afflictions and misfortunes are said to result from the secret ministrations of evil people seeking harm

in a physical fight between two girls that reflects what is happening on many South African playgrounds today.[24] Based on the prevalence of different kinds of violence in many poor South African communities including in township schools, it is likely that adolescents like Lindiwe are trying to come to terms with traumatic events, and that playing *xoxisa* helps them do so.

4.5.2 *Xoxisa* as a form of play: mastery and sublimation

> *"When I am angry I take the paper and pen and I just talk my story"*
> (Lindiwe 2006).

Lindiwe's words suggest that the game functions therapeutically for her.[25] The violent nature of the events recounted in her story, and the attendant extreme emotions expressed in performance supports the argument that playing *xoxisa* may be a coping strategy for township children. As an explicit mastering of trauma, the game is compatible with established theories of play, like Freud's analysis of a little boy's "*Fort-Da*"game. *Xoxisa* exhibits a dimension of this game, which Freud explains is an early mastering of trauma or an invasive traumatic event (1932).[26] Freud's example offers a framework for interpreting how children's play can be understood in terms of mastery and control and an early form of sublimation that helps to satisfy instinctual material in symbolic form (Van Zyl 2008, personal communication).[27] Play is what happens when children tie affect, or feeling, to symbols: the child masters an internal emotion or impulse by enacting it in symbolic form (the game) instead of expressing it directly in her behaviour. For example, in *xoxisa* the child uses physical objects that embody feelings or function for the narrator. For Lindiwe, the pen literally "tells the story" – it enables her to narrate and play out emotion (2006). The violence of the pen breaking the paper, the sound and movement of the pen help her to express difficult emotions. Beating the pen into the page can be understood as an indirect way in which Lindiwe expresses aggression, anger or anxiety

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for others or illicit profit for themselves by means of powers loosely designated as 'witchcraft.' A great many other invisible forces and beings are also deemed capable of wreaking havoc with people's desires for peace and prosperity" (Ibid.).

[24] The *Violence in Schools* report (South African Human Rights Commission 2006) describes the prevalence of sexual and other forms of violence in 25% of South African schools, particularly those in under-developed, low-income areas like Soweto. These include violent games and re-enactments of violent events. In addition, "bullying, gender-based violence, accidental violence, discrimination and violence, sexual assault or harassment, physical violence and psychological violence" describe some of the most prevalent forms that were identified during the public hearing (2006, 5).

[25] The psychological interpretation of xoxisa that follows is based on insights offered by Susan van Zyl during an interview with the author.

[26] Freud's psychoanalytic theory suggests ways in which human beings express emotions in indirect ways. Key instincts and their emotions can be satisfied indirectly in 'symbolic' or non-literal forms. In the "Fort-Da" game analysed in *The Pleasure Principle* (1932/1961), Freud argues that the preconditions for indirect or symbolic expression and satisfaction of affects are laid down in childhood, one of which is play. Play is understood as a form of sublimation, which is the mechanism of mastery (Freud 1932).

[27] In the "Fort-Da" example, the traumatic event is abandonment by the mother (Freud 1932).

because the aggressive impulse is 'satisfied' in the indirect, non-literal forms of the game.[28] This mechanism of sublimation relates closely to the arts and its deployment of different symbolic forms, evident in the way Lindiwe uses a range of artistic modes in her game to master traumatic experiences.[29]

A fundamental function of *xoxisa*, therefore, is the sublimation of trauma.[30] In *xoxisa* Lindiwe utilises a range of representational forms, organised into narrative to help her come to terms with experiences and emotions associated with violence, aggression, power or powerlessness and jealousy. Her story represents a narrative working-out of personal, psychological issues.[31] As such, *xoxisa* can be understood as a form of self-therapy because it provides a channel to express, satisfy or play out uncomfortable feelings and events. Psychoanalytic theories propose that the capacity and ability to sublimate is fundamental to therapeutic healing (Freud 1932), as it is in broader forms of human development.

From a psychological viewpoint, *xoxisa* is conceptualised as a series of opportunities to sublimate uncomfortable, complex feelings, or situations that the child finds difficult. Such sublimation, or 'working out' of trauma operates through narrative, the pen's action, vocalising, using metaphoric language, gestures and the graphic plan framing the narrative. Transforming traumatic events into a narrative game places the child in an active rather than passive position in relation to these events, allowing her to psychologically master them (Freud 1932). "The passivity of experience" is transformed, via activity and creativity in artistic or symbolic forms, into the "activity of play" (Freud 1932, 286). Play positions the child in a different relationship to traumatic events because it changes the form of this experience into one where the child has personal choice.[32] In Lindiwe's case, her assertion of control in the game may be a playing-out of power relations or acting-out of authority roles (at school by teachers, peers or at home by the parent or sibling). Consequently, playing *xoxisa* is not simply a space for the child to vent feelings; it is created and developed as a sophisticated

[28] Sublimation, in the Freudian sense, means redirecting 'wrong' urges into socially acceptable actions. In this way these urges are 'mastered', or 'satisfied'. The concept of sublimation is explained in Freud's *Three essays on the history of sexuality* (1962).

[29] In Freud's classic theory, erotic energy is allowed a limited amount of expression, due to constraints of human society (1932/1961). As a result, people develop defence mechanisms, which are "psychic procedures for avoiding painful admissions or recognitions" (Barry 2009, 94). Freud considered sublimation as a productive defence mechanism; the process "whereby the repressed material is 'promoted' into something grander or is disguised as something 'noble'" (Ibid., 93).

[30] My informants support the interpretation of Lindiwe's game as an attempt to come to terms with a traumatic event. On watching and listening to the video recording of Lindiwe's game, they suggested that Lindiwe had seen or experienced trauma in some way herself.

[31] The narrative testimonies of witnesses and survivors in South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (1996-2001) can be understood as a therapeutic way in which individuals and groups attempted to heal from the atrocities committed under the apartheid regime. The TRC referred to the importance of "narrative truth" in letting previously silenced voices be heard (Truth Commission Report 1:10, quoted in Sanders 2007, 17). Sanders states that "the Commission recognised its reparative quasi-therapeutic mandate of restoring the human dignity of 'victims' by allowing them to give their own accounts of what was done to them …" (2001, 17) (See also Ross 2003).

[32] Play theory recognises choice and control as key elements of children's play (Wood and Attfield 2005).

narrative that moves across a range of modes that the child manipulates to serve her narrative, expressive and psychological interests. Lindiwe's game is entirely self-conceptualised and directed: she creates and controls the events of her story. The development from play into the narrative mode is a more elaborated, sophisticated way in which children construct, negotiate and make meaning.

4.5.3 *Xoxisa* as narrative and performance

> *"I just talk my story"* (Lindiwe 2006).

Lindiwe's "talking my story" illustrates how human beings narrate their lives to themselves and others through story (Bruner 1994). *Xoxisa* represents a sophisticated form of children's play that has developed into a narrative performance. The game exemplifies children's affinity for narrative, which is related to the way human beings "render actions and events meaningful" (Lyle 2000, 53). Children integrate the familiar form of storytelling (whether drawn from the media or from oral storytelling practices) into their lives. The game I describe is Lindiwe's understanding and interpretation of existing, remembered or imagined experience. It represents her attempt to make sense of the world by interpreting actions, inferring motives and ascribing values and consequences to acts (Lyle 2000, 52).

The narrative mode in *xoxisa* is a way of remembering and rewriting past experiences. Children use the game to validate, or sometimes to change their own stories. Children choose whether to re-tell a real event imaginatively, or to recall it exactly in their *xoxisa* game. Phiri explains that "you can do [the game] about something that has happened in your life. If I want to recall what has happened to me last year I can draw a picture of it" (2008). In this way, children build up a library of stories (real or otherwise), which are important personally and socially amongst peers. Through playing the game, children listen to, and participate in each other's stories. Narrative in *xoxisa* functions as a "scheme by means of which human beings give meaning to their experience of temporality and personal actions" (Polkinghorne 1988, 11). Lindiwe finds meaning and satisfaction in creating, re-creating and keeping stories based on her own and others' experience.

In this context, creating stories does not necessarily imply fictional narrative but a "narrative shaping of content and life experiences" into a "meaningful sequence of events" (Rosen 1985 quoted in Lyle 2000, 53). Narrative shaping in *xoxisa* is not only achieved through oral storytelling, but by mobilising and using multimodal resources. Through "talking her story", Lindiwe confers meaning onto experience by re-imagining events and re-configuring relationships through drawing, performance and improvisation.

The performative, improvisatory aspect of both *mas'kitlana* and *xoxisa* stories is also significant. Being in a performative mode places the child in a different relationship to a traumatic experience (Pendry 2008). Performance has a therapeutic, developmental function because it allows for alternative possibilities of action and being.[33] For example, in *xoxisa* children can role-play: they can be someone else, be themselves in another way, or "act as someone they know, like a teacher who is gentle or mean" (Phiri 2008). Improvisatory performance enables the child to tell the story differently to how it happened; to choose responses, try out different plot directions, behavioural consequences or endings. In Lindiwe's game, she explores an alternative response to being rejected by a boy and betrayed by a friend, choosing to act against them in her story. Although her response is reactive and violent, the performative mode of the game allows her to experience being powerful, in charge and triumphant, rather than a victim. Because *xoxisa* is self-directed, the child is in control of narrative, actions and responses. For learners, playing *xoxisa* is a way of expressing the self performatively in relation to others. The element of choice and change inherent in *xoxisa's* improvised narrative performance becomes a way of asserting personal control, expressing identity, and realising self-actualisation.

4.5.4 *Xoxisa* as theatre

Xoxisa embodies the sense of development from play, to narrative, to performance and theatre as a sophisticated form of narrative. The way in which children incorporate theatrical and performative elements in their play highlights the game as more than therapy. Playing *xoxisa* is an artistic act that reveals the child as artist and social agent in relation to her environment.

In *xoxisa* (like *mas'kitlana*) the child adopts many theatrical-dramatic roles and manipulates multimodal resources for their expressive, communicative possibilities. Lindiwe's performance demonstrates,

> how the child becomes a cast of one, taking on multiple roles (i.e., artist, author, director, scripter, performer and narrator) and selecting when and how to play with all the available voices offered through the multimodal media – drawing, 'telling', dramatization, expressive sound effects, gesture and movement. These multiple texts involved embodied authoring – layers of visual and physical action, character development, plot scheme, scenery and running narrative working in harmony, simultaneously (Wright 2007, 1).

As Lindiwe plays *xoxisa*, she is at once the author, scriptwriter, director and actor in her story and, because the narrative is improvised, she can shape character, plot and scenery at will. Like a theatre

[33] The idea of using performance as a form of therapy in human development is proposed in Social Therapy (see Holzman 1999). Newman and Holzman advocate a performance-based methodology of development and learning as the basis for social therapy (1996).

director, Lindiwe directs the narrative, deciding on scene changes by moving her pen. She controls "voice and perspective" (Stein 2008), who is talking and how, when words are a commentary on what is happening or actual dialogue and action. She also directs characters' actions, emotions and responses. Moving between direct and indirect speech, commentary and dialogue, she shifts between being a character to being a narrator, making use of dramatic techniques like changes in pace and voice quality. Visually and aurally, she uses her pen to indicate who is talking.

As a performer, the child-narrator signals 'who she is being' at a particular moment through facial expression, voice and gesture, while the pen movement indicates narration and punctuates emotion. Like an actress, Lindiwe uses her body and voice in distinctive ways, conveying states of being and emotion that language on its own can't achieve. She uses her full vocal range, expressing contrasting emotions, varying tone and pace and using silence for effect as an actor would. She exclaims emphatically; she pauses, waits, and looks at her audience wide-eyed, keeping them in suspense as they wait to find out what happened next. Lindiwe draws her audience in and builds solidarity in her performance so that they all support her, particularly in the fight scene when they exclaim "yes, yes, hit her!"

The marks and tears are accompanied by the narrator's gestures, words, voice inflection and sounds that combine and link with each other to create a complex multimodal text. *Xoxisa* is characterised by "bodily-kinesthetic communication through 'enaction' and expressive gesture" (Wright 2007, 3). Language and voice combine with familiar township gestures that communicate and symbolise status, identity, gender and sexual politics and social attitudes. Lindiwe uses either dismissive or inviting gestures, adding to the layered meaning-making of her game. Wagging her index finger, putting her hands up to say 'no', or waving someone away, embody meanings particularly relevant to communication across genders; they indicate power or submissiveness, dismissal or invitation. Gesturing to her mouth means 'I said', but also indicates the way a girl dismisses a man she is not interested in. As "communicative resources", such gestures are significant beyond words and carry weight and meaning for adolescent girls (Stein 2008).

Lindiwe's emotive voice and character-play combine with rich metaphoric language internal to children's game practices and understood by her peers. Her use of figurative and metaphoric language, mixing Tswana and Sotho, demonstrates her command and control of language resources. "Xoxisa" narrators also use oral storytelling conventions like repetition and rhyme and the metaphoric, often alliterative language lends musical and poetic weight to her words, contributing to the game as performative event.

Lindiwe's assertion that "I'm the one who tells the story and they listen" asserts her storyteller role and her right to be heard (2006). Her statement underlines the game's function as a space where children can express themselves and their understanding of the world before an attentive, participative audience. Unlike the graphic-narrative game Wright (2007) describes, *xoxisa* and *mas'kitlana* incorporate elements of socio-dramatic play because the audience participates and interacts with the narrator.[34] The child playing the game narrates and performs different characters as a piece of theatre while children gather around to listen and participate. They are engaged in the story, following and responding to events, asking questions about characters and plot development. The audience is involved and moved in the way a theatre audience may be in a play. As the narrator:

> Sometimes you are crying when you tell the story, even the listeners, if I have a fight with someone and hurt them and they went to the hospital and her hand was broken; that person who was telling the story is crying. You imagine what is happening there (Morajane 2008).

Children are particularly invested both in playing and witnessing the game, as Morajane relates: "After you have played the game, there is something that has happened. You have made people around you understand and dream the same as you; they will want you to come and play for them tomorrow" (Morajane 2008). Children who participate in *xoxisa* share their stories as a way of validating and relating to each other.

4.6 Cross-modal meaning-making

As well as adopting dramatic roles in playing *xoxisa* the narrator manipulates a range of communicative resources. It is the simultaneous depiction of character through voice and body combined with the kinaesthetic and visual function of the pen that is extraordinary, because the child is working in and across modes to communicate and create narrative. She is "the author of a number of texts" (Wright 2007, 2; Kress 2000b): verbal, visual, performative and narrative.

Lindiwe's meanings are made in multiple ways, on multiple levels across representational and communicative modes (Stein 2008, 58). However it is the combination of modes and media she employs that is compelling. *Xoxisa* may be interpreted, therefore, as a form of graphic-narrative play where:

> Children move among sign systems and invent connections between the different forms of symbolising – drawing, storytelling, dramatising, using sound effects and gesture. The content of one sign system is mapped onto the expression plane of another (Wright 2007, 2).

[34] Wright describes an art-making task in the classroom, where children's "personal, fantasy-based experience [is] depicted on paper." Afterwards, they tell the teacher a story about it (2007).

In *xoxisa* meaning-making occurs in the ways in which modes interact. For instance Lindiwe indicates character changes both vocally and by moving her pen to another block. She simultaneously expresses emotion through movement and the resultant quality of the pen's dot, hole or mark on the page. Modes are interpreted in terms of each other, for example, Lindiwe interprets words rhythmically by beating the syllables of the word onto the page. Her pen therefore embodies character and action; it is the object that speaks her story, moves narrative along and enables her to make marks and lines. Such choice, use and control over multimodal resources in *xoxisa* suggest a particular kind of agency and autonomy in the township learner's social and school environment.

4.7 Conclusion: choice, control, agency and autonomy

Philosopher Stanley Cavell suggests that "agency might be considered as a coming into one's own powers, finding a voice worthy of the self" (1994, 135). Lindiwe's statement that playing *xoxisa* is "something to show you can do something on your own" communicates the sense of autonomy she feels when telling her stories (2006). Playing *xoxisa* enables her to find and give expression to her voice; to discover agency in Cavell's sense. By examining the way Lindiwe mobilises multimodal, cultural and media resources, it is clear that she invokes or chooses them to say something about herself and her social context. The child infuses personal meaning into the story by making willful choices about multimodal 'voices' available (Wright 2007, 3).

Xoxisa's visual framework and improvisatory mode of the game enable choice: Lindiwe directs what happens: who speaks, responds or is silenced; what they do, when and how they do it. She creates the rules and, by moving her pen, the story develops as she wishes. As integral elements of children's play, the elements of choice and control implicit in *xoxisa* generate a sense of independence and authority. As storyteller and artist, Lindiwe is in charge, unlike other spaces (at school, home or amongst peers) where she may feel out of control, or controlled by others. In such conditions of powerlessness, children find ways in which they can be in control. In Lindiwe's context, the game functions as a means of asserting individuality and power in the world, through choice and control of multimodal cultural resources.

Watching Lindiwe and other young girls like her play *xoxisa* highlights how "A young child making marks on the page is an act of agency in which she inscribes herself on the world" (Stein 2008, 23). Through playing *xoxisa,* Lindiwe's story-performance and its visual records become modes of self-representation. What is significant about the performance of *xoxisa* is that it is in the moment and witnessed by peers. More unique perhaps is the physical evidence of the way Lindiwe tells her story, and the narrative itself. Her pen "talks the story." Its movements and marks enable her narrative while

documenting her physical and embodied presence in the classroom. Lindiwe's mark-making imprints her history, meanings and understanding of the world on the desks.

The classroom is empty – silent after the noise and drama of Lindiwe's story. The traces of children's personal histories and trauma left on the desk – traces of this happening over and over – are at once poignant, alarming and hopeful. Markings gouged into the school desks are marks of youthful fears and foibles, hopes and dreams, etched into the wood.

Chapter Five: Township learners' musical games and their implications for pedagogy

5.1 Context and approach: descriptive parameters

This chapter examines the nature and functions of township children's musical games from a pedagogical perspective. Whereas the previous two chapters focused on the games as musical practices using an ethnographic approach, this chapter provides the context for investigating the implications of children's musical games for teaching and learning. It therefore represents a justification for focusing on musical games as children's 'situated practices.' My argument is that the games display elements of musical play, learning, musicality and multimodal capacities that can inform pedagogy. In contrast with the previous two chapters, the present analytical description provides an overview of a broad selection of Soweto children's games, rather than an analytical or interpretive account. I describe the games I observed at all three schools where the pedagogical innovation was later introduced, and explore how musical play functions for children. Last, I consider how the insights into learners' games relate to teaching and learning.

The purpose of developing an understanding of children's musical games in this research is to inform an application of the Multiliteracies pedagogy in music education. The games I describe represent learners' musical "situated practices", the resources for learning that teachers can potentially incorporate and develop in their teaching (New London Group 1996; 2000). Hence the description is framed in terms of what a teacher could observe for the purposes of gaining information about her learners' prior musical knowledge.

I describe a variety of games observed at three Soweto primary schools, in Jabavu, Chiawelo and Emdeni, during 2006. As the intention is to provide background information for the research and pedagogical innovation, the present description is not an extensive account, and is specific to the context of Soweto primary schools. Each Arts and Culture teacher accompanied me as I videotaped their learners playing during school break-times over a period of two weeks. These games include varieties of singing and pair-clapping games, circle dances, elimination games, chants and movement games. Afterwards, the teacher and I asked learners questions about their games. This account is based on my observations, the video recordings, children's responses and teachers' interpretations. I focus particularly on those games that subsequently informed the pedagogical innovation, identifying the elements of games that were later present in learners' compositions.

As the previous chapters demonstrate, township children's musical games are complex, especially in terms of their cultural references, embedded or hidden meanings, and figurative language. Some of the words are difficult to translate as they are constructed of slang and made-up words. The translations here, although done by Zulu and Sotho speakers, are therefore approximate.[1]

Based on the arguments presented in Chapter One, I propose that gaining insights into learners' existing artistic and cultural practices facilitates learner-centredness and that learners' musical games in particular provide such insights.

In this Chapter I view children's games in two senses: first as situated musical practices, and secondly as important sources of information about learners' musical capacities and the ways they learn through play. Because learners' games encapsulate their prior musical and everyday knowledge, and embody their investment in artistic and cultural practices, I contend that they have significant implications for pedagogy. First I explain how the description of the games is framed analytically in terms of aspects of multimodality.

5.2 Multimodal musicking

The concept of multimodality enables an understanding and analysis of children's musical games as a combination of the kinetic, sonic, musical, gestural, linguistic, performative and spatial modes. As such these games are primary examples of multimodal practices that focus on the body as a semiotic resource (Prinsloo 2004; 2008; Stein 2004; 2008). Pippa Stein emphasises that children produce different narratives and social identities in different modes (2004, 105), of which the sonic, musical and kinetic modes are most significant in this research. These modes afford learners opportunities to play with each other through sound, words and actions. Furthermore, children move between modes, interpreting sound as movement, or gesture as pitch variation in a process Kress describes as "synaesthesia" (2000a, 159).

Children choose different modes for different purposes according to their needs and interests; thus their choices are not neutral but "interest laden" (Stein 2004, 113; Stein 2008). Learners choose their resources (sounds, words or movements) for their aptness in achieving particular intentions or

[1] Teacher A viewed the video recordings and translated the words of the games in this chapter. Nomhle Qithi and Nobathembu Raedane also helped to translate some of the texts of these games.

meanings.[2] These include: synchronising clapping rhythms, communicating a narrative, communicating with each other, rhyming words and matching them to gestures, creating dance formations and adapting and using melodies, moves and rhythms from popular or traditional music. Learners' ability to choose apt modes for achieving their communicative, representational or expressive purposes indicates that they are aware of the affordances of different modes.

5.2.1 Affordance

The documentation and analyses of township learners' games in the previous chapters reveals how, "for children, musical meaning is deeply related to function" (Campbell 1998a, 175). In order to explain 'what music is good for', the concept of affordance informs an understanding of how and why children use sounds, movements and space in their games (Gibson 1977; Gee n.d.; Van Leeuwen 1999; Kress 2000a; 2000b; 2000c; De Nora 2000). Such information is further instructive for pedagogy because it alerts the teacher to the potential for developing the affordances of the musical mode in learning contexts (this is elucidated further in Chapter Three).

James Paul Gee explains that any environment in which an individual finds him or herself is filled with 'affordances' (n.d., 2-3). The playground as a free space within the school affords learners a range of meaning-making, expression and interactive possibilities. Minette Mans describes the exploratory affordance of the play mode as "an experimental musical laboratory" for children, where they play around with musics, movements and techniques that interest them (2002, 50).

Based on my observations, I suggest that the music-dance mode affords township learners opportunities for the following:

- exploring their identities: on their own, within a group, and related to family, community and society
- emotional expression
- confidence and esteem building
- dealing with difficult social issues in a safe way
- appropriating popular and traditional cultural forms
- understanding complexity and ambiguity
- relationship negotiation
- imaginative role-play

[2] The term 'resource' is used by social semioticians to describe "the semiotic resources people use in communication" (Van Leeuwen 1999, 4). In *Speech, music, sound,* Van Leeuwen explores how people use sound as a semiotic resource, to suit particular purposes (Ibid, 5).

- creating personal and group narratives
- playing with sound
- mixing and matching sound and movement resources.

Music also affords opportunities that are not present in the visual, speaking or writing modes. For many township children, playing music and performing affords opportunities to build confidence, assuredness and competence; this experience may differ from their learning experiences using written or spoken modes, especially in English and particularly at school. The prevalence of primary school children's musical games implies that musicking brings them unique benefits: "no other mode allows the kind of occasions for children's thinking and feeling aloud", and their games in particular give them opportunities to "play with and through their music" (Campbell 1998a, 175, 190). Children's musical practices, like their images, are "distilled representations" of their experiences and identities (Ibid.). Thus acknowledging learners' practices helps to validate their identities, their voices and their capacity to express these creatively.

5.2.2 Multimodal games and children's identities

As the previous ethnographically oriented chapters demonstrate, township children's games embody their social interactions; they are the locus for expressing and exploring children's personal and social identities. In addition, the documented games illustrate how "much of the identity work children do is enacted multimodally" (Pahl and Rowsell 2005, 110). As forms of multimodal expression, playing and creating musical games involves learners' active choices of modes and materials, which relate closely to their interests and the shaping of identity.

Identity is a central concern in many studies of children's texts (Small 1990; Prinsloo 2008; Davis 2005; Pahl and Rowsell 2005; Stein 2008). Speaking of children in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, Mastin Prinsloo characterises children's playground games in similar terms:

> is seen as a site of meaning-making and identity work where children draw on a range of resources and influences to take and make meaning. These resources for semiosis and interaction are seen to be multi-lingual and multi-modal, and are sourced from social domains that are local, regional and global (2008, 117).

We can understand children's musical games therefore as "motivated signs" (Kress 1997), because they carry with them "the motivation of the producer" – the choices made during the design process (Pahl and Rowsell 2005, 35). Children choose music and movement elements with which they identify, and then incorporate these into their games. Their ideas and experiences are thus incorporated into their musical practices. Hence, the choice of materials bespeaks their identity (Kress, quoted in Pahl and Rowsell 2005, 102-3).

5.3 An overview of children's games: categories of meaning

In presenting the following overview of the twenty-six games that I observed at the three Soweto primary schools, I divide them into categories of meaning and function. Different kinds of musical play have different meanings that I infer are important: some direct, in terms of making semantic sense, and some indirect, in the sense of musical, aesthetic or inter-personal meaning.

In their content, children's musical play combines "nonsensical verbal patterns" with "meaningful, highly elaborate and patterned musical and movement routines" (Grugeon 2001, 101). Some of the games concern movement and rhyme, some are nonsensical; some games operate as narratives, others connect directly to popular culture and social practices. However, the words on their own cannot offer a summation of the games I describe, as much of their meaning is located in how sound, gesture, language and movement combines.[3]

The categories and divisions of the games used for the following description are somewhat artificial, because all the games have multiple functions. Nevertheless, the typology is a useful tool to guide analysis by teachers, for determining children's prior knowledge, identifying what their musical situated practices are (in the Multiliteracies pedagogy), and how they work. I first assess games that illustrate musical, language and movement meanings. The second set of games focuses on personal identity and social relationships. The third category concerns musical games as narrative. The fourth set shows how children's games relate to their social and cultural contexts. I present a range of games, identifying those that teachers or learners consciously used in the application of the Multiliteracies pedagogy, described in Chapter Five.

5.3.1 Music, language and movement

The playground is "a locus of children's musical inventions and synthesis" where they have the freedom to play around with dance and music (Campbell 1998a). Musically, township children are fascinated with the relationships between sound, movement and language and like to adapt and incorporate familiar slang, music and dance elements into their own games.

Children perceive the possibilities afforded by language, music or dance resources by recognising the appropriateness of these elements for playing games, for expressing and relating to each other (Pahl and Rowsell 2005). For example, learners use words in different ways: for their accepted meaning; adapting the word for learners' own meanings; using words for their sounds (alliteration or

[3] Each game described in this chapter is recorded on the enclosed DVD.

onomatopoeia); using the word's movement or gestural connotations; or using words for the rhythms they suggest.

Children's musical games demonstrate their interest in movement and music for its own sake. Their choice of onomatopoeic and alliterative words, of words suggesting particular rhythms and movements, indicate children's purely musical or aesthetic reasons for playing the games.[4] Learners' musical interest and affinity for rhythmic patterns, pitch inflections and their links with personal or social characteristics highlights the "action possibilities" music affords (Gee, n.d.). The 'meaning' of the game for children is often located in word-sounds and the movement "action possibilities" these words offer (Ibid.). Children can be seen to "transform affordances into action" in their games. They recognise the rhythmic-movement potential of words and are effective in converting these possibilities into the action of a game (Ibid.).

The game-form allows children to explore their interest in playing around with word-sounds and the actions they suggest. Children's word appropriation is linked to the nature of Bantu languages' "semantic dependence on syllabic tone, alliteration and assonantal sonic parallelism" (Coplan 1994, 9). Referring to the poetic-song form *lifela,* Coplan confirms that in song lyrics "word choice may be determined as much by rhythmic patterns as by semantic content" (Ibid.).[5] The games I observed illustrate how children choose words, phrases or movements for their sound possibilities: the rhythm of words, the quality of a movement or word-sound (whether it gets higher or lower in pitch, its length, tonal variation, or whether it is staccato or smooth). In the context of children's games, the word or phrase's main purpose is to enable children to clap together, to produce further rhythmic patterns and facilitate movement and physical interaction. Consequently, learners' interest in 'pure sound' co-exists with their investment in music's relationship to the non-musical, personal or social domains.

Learners' games function, then, as spaces for experimenting and playing with sound, language and movement. "Tiny thukutela" (played at School C) and "Matasatasane" (played at School B) exemplify learners' interest in word-sound-movement relationships.

[4] The issue of 'musical meaning' is contentious across musical disciplines. Nevertheless, I discuss it here in the specific context of township children's games, and learners' interest in sound.

[5] *Lifela* is a form of praise-poetry performed by Basotho migrant workers (Coplan 1994).

"Matasatasane" (DVD1 0:54:13-0:54:52)

Words	**Actions**
Matasatasane	In a circle, arms outstretched, the four girls clap each other's hands with palm up or palm down.
Matasatasane	Repeat clapping pattern above.
The east, the west, the in my boyfriend	Clapping pattern on the beat of the chant: clap own hands, clap both partner's hands sitting to your right (hands held vertically); clap own hands, clap hands of the partner sitting to the left: clap own hands; clap both hands of partner sitting diagonally opposite, going under the other pairs' hands.
The east, the west, the in my boyfriend	Repeat clapping pattern, at the end go over the other pairs' hands.
Tsep (1 beat pause) *Tsepelep*	Each word is accompanied by a hand gesture that replaces the claps in the previous pattern.
Tsep tsep tsep tsep tsepelep	Repeat pattern to the partner on the left.
Tsep (1 beat pause) *Tsepelep*	Repeat pattern to the partner on the right.
Tsep tsep tsep tsep tsepelep.	Repeat gesture pattern to the partner sitting diagonally opposite.

"Matasatasane" was played by four girls in the School B classroom. Sitting in a square formation, they played the game by clapping each other's hands diagonally and horizontally in time to the rhythm of the chant. The word *matasatasane* means to smear paint or mud on someone, drawn from the word *tshasa* in Sotho.[6] In the context of this game it refers to a gesture that depicts a 'marking' movement. According to Teacher B, these gestures are taken from an old Sotho game, where one smears the other person with mud. Teacher B suggested that the children did not necessarily know the origins of the game, but interpreted it in their own way. As Zulu speakers, the 'busy-ness' and complexity of the game may also be associated with the Zulu meaning of *matasatasa.*[7]

The girls who played this game said that it "showed directions". On the words "the east, the west, the in my boyfriend", the girls start their clapping pattern. The pattern repeats and alternates between going under or over the other pairs' hands in the diagonal clap. The girls clap over, under and across each other in close rhythmic co-operation. The seemingly nonsensical words – "the east, the west, the in my boyfriend", and learners' inability to explain what the words meant, suggest that the game focuses on the ability of the participants to clap the rhythms together across four participants,

[6] *Tshasa* in Northern Sotho means to smear with mud, fat or oil (http://africanlanguages.com/sdp/) (Accessed 4 November 2009).
[7] *Matasatasa* means to be busy or occupied. Its colloquial meaning is to "go in many directions" (http://isizulu.net) (Accessed 5 November 2009).

successfully and fast, and the rhythmic affordances of the sounds. The game ends with a sound-word-gesture matching that learners find satisfying. The sounds *tsep, tsepelep,* accompany a pointed-finger gesture across the four-person formation (above and below the opposite pair) indicating someone who nags and talks too much.

When Teacher B and I asked this group of girls what the game's words meant, it proved difficult for learners to answer. This was the situation with many of the games I observed and recorded, and implies that the meanings of musical games, like children's social language, are often predominantly located in their practice. In his study of children's play in Khwezi Park, Prinsloo confirms that "the meaning of words and movements of reference are internal to the social-semiotic domain of play that the children construct" (2008, 123). Like language and literacy, musical language and sound-use are "situated, contextual and socio-cultural practice[s]" (New London Group 2000). Hence, many of the word-connotations, whether they refer to semantic meaning or are musically suggestive, are "only fully sensible to insiders, though the bits of language, as resources, come from outside of the play domain" (Prinsloo 2008, 123). This explains why at times neither I nor the teacher could understand what was happening in some of the learners' games.

"Are you ready?" (DVD1 1:10:49-1:07:40)

Leader's call	**Group Response/ Translation**	**Actions and movement**
Are you ready?	Yes sir!	The group claps on the offbeat of the chant.
Are you ready?	Yes sir!	Clapping as above.
I'm gonna, 1-2-3-4		
S'thombe sihle/ s'thombe sibi	Beautiful picture/ugly picture.	The leader says either phrase and children respond by making an ugly or pretty body sculpture.
		(The leader walks around to each boy, commenting on their ugly or pretty pictures, trying to make individuals move, to catch them out).
Change your style.		Boys change their body sculpture pictures.

Ambiguity and internal meanings are also present in games such as "Tiny thukutela" (described in Chapter Three). Like "Matasatasane", "Tiny thukutela" functions as a play between word-sounds and the movements these suggest. School C learners played "Tiny thukutela" and used the crossed-legs movements in their group compositions to illustrate a visual cross pattern. A similar movement pattern is found in a game School C learners played in the classroom, called "Mama in the kitchen" (analysed later in this chapter). The game also connects word-sounds with movements as the group of girls jump up and down, crossing their legs in time to the chant.

Most of the games I observed were kinetic, boisterous and loud. Township learners experience music through movement and their games display their "consistent kinesthetic involvement as singers, dancers and game participants" (Campbell 1998a, 176). Children's games often have complex dance formations and movement elements, affording opportunities for both choreographed and improvised action. For instance, a series of kinaesthetic games School C boys played demonstrates their interest in, and enjoyment of, games involving movement and dance skills. These include "Aya bampa" and "Chocolatey" (described in Chapter Three) and two 'freeze' games called "Are you ready?" and "Fire on the mountain". The boys demonstrated the latter two games inside the classroom. It was difficult to determine whether the boys had learnt these English games at school or created them on their own. But because they also formed part of children's playground play I include them for this reason.

In the "Are you ready?" 'statues' game learners walk around chanting "yes sir" in response to a leader, who tells them to create a 'pretty or ugly picture' ('*sthombe sihle*, or '*sthombe sibi*).[8] The game's purpose is to see who can hold their picture for the longest without moving and who makes the most interesting and original body sculpture. Children love 'freezing': they enjoy the challenge of standing still and the humour of the leader's teasing. The game shows children's capacity to communicate definite moods or feelings using their bodies. Like "Chocolatey", "Are you ready?" has a built-in appraisal (or reflective) component that is integral to the success and enjoyment of the game.

"**Fire on the mountain**" (DVD1 1:05:28-1:07:38)

Call	**Response**	**Actions**
There is a fire on the mountain!	Fire! Fire!	The group claps on the word fire.
There is a fire on the mountain!	Fire! Fire!	
Ho na le molo le thabeng. (There is a fire on the mountain.)	*Molo! Molo!* (Fire! fire!)	The group claps on the word *molo*.
Ho na le molo le thabeng.	*Molo! Molo!*	
Two by two/four by four/one and a half/ten by ten.		Individuals quickly get into groups according to the number the leader shouts.

During the trial of the Multiliteracies pedagogy, Teacher C used "Are you ready?" as a warm-up to his lessons. Learners in School A and C used the 'jumping' moves of "Chocolatey" in their group compositions, and learners used the idea of 'freezing' to make body sculptures illustrating their visual designs.

[8] The Zulu word for picture is *isithombe*. In order to fit the word into the rhythm of the chant, children elide the vowels so the word has two syllables, becoming *s'thombe*.

"Ho na le molo le thabeng" is a movement elimination game chanted in English and Sotho. It involves an individual's ability to get into groups according to the number the leader calls, as quickly as possible. If the leader calls "five by five", boys get into groups of five and those who aren't included are out of the game. When the leader called "one and a half", the boys got into groups of two, with one standing and one sitting down to represent the one and a half physically. This represented an interesting physical translation of a number. "Ho na le molo le thaben*g*" also requires quick teamwork as boys have to co-operate with each other immediately they hear the leader's instruction. Games of physical and musical collaboration like these relate closely to children's friendships and sociality.

5.3.2 Identity and social relationships

5.3.2.1 Names and naming

The following games focus on names, nicknames and the individual's family background. Children play with naming in an imaginative, teasing way that Prinsloo describes as "illustrative of the children's playful interactive work around names, sounds and identity" (2004, 301). The humorous, irreverent play with names and naming is intrinsic to children's interaction in general, and present in their musical games in particular.

"Gama l'am" (DVD1 1:12:44-1:14:12)

Words	**Translation**	**Actions**
'*Gama l'am',* *'gama l'am'*	I am called, I am called.	Drum rhythm overlaps with the last word of each line.
Bambeza	I am also named as …	
'Thabiso'		Individual says his/her given name.
Elinye	They also call me …	
Bambeza	I am also known as …	
'Fisho!'		The individual shouts out his/her nickname.

"Gama l'am" is an elision of *I gama l'ami* in Zulu, meaning "I am called". The words are changed to suit the rhythm of the chant. This is a naming game, where each person responds to the call "I am called" by saying their name and then their nickname. In School A children sat around a drum with one learner repeating a syncopated dotted rhythm on the drum that interlocks with the rhythmic chant, between each line. The repeated drum rhythm, sustained throughout the game, supports the name-chant and acts like a 'call' preceding individual responses. The others tap softly on the drum with the

drummer. Each learner takes turns to say the chant rhythmically, first integrating their given name into the chant and then, after "I am also known as", filling in their nicknames.

Children use musical elements to express their personalities and the significance of their names. They adapt their names to fit into the rhythmic chant and change pitch, tempo, dynamics and voice quality when shouting out their names, in order to communicate their personal character musically. Individual sounds thus distinguish each learner from each other and emphasise a personal identity. Yet this individualism is built into a group context and is related to, and supported by, their peers. The whole group shouts out well-known nicknames like "*Fisho*" and "*Spice*." The game creates the space for exploring a whole repertoire of names: children have many names they call each other, and by playing "Gama l'am" they validate and recognise each other's different nicknames.

I first observed "Gama l'am" in School A. The teacher consciously used the game during his Situated Practice exercise, asking learners to make small changes to it. Learners transformed the game into group designs that expressed their group's identity (see Appendix C).

"Two shelen" (DVD2 1:01:04-1:05:12)

Individual call	**Group response**	**Translation**
Ngake nga hamba wema	*Two shelen'*	I went for a walk
Nga fika kuleyo ndawo	*Two shelen'*	I arrived at the place
Bangibuza igama l'ami we ma	*Two shelen'*	The boys asked me my name
Ngathi mina ngingu 'Lindeni'	*Two shelen'*	My name is Lindeni
Bangibuza igamgalai wema	*Two shelen'*	They asked me my surname
Ngasho ngathi ngingo wakwa Khumalo we ma	*Two shelen'*	I said my surname is Khumalo
Individual family praise song:		
Unmtungwa umbulazi.... (individual improvises her own family or name praise song.)	*Two shelen'*	This is where the Khumalo's praise song is from ....

According to Teacher B, "Two shelen" is an old Zulu game played by Zulu girls to express personal and family pride. In the original game, girls take turns to say their family praise poems or songs, while the group responds with "two shelen" after each line of poetry. At School B, the game has set words at the beginning and is organised as a call-and-response chant with the group responding '*two shelen*' after each line. "Two shelen" refers to the old coins called shillings. At the end of the chant, the individual declaims his or her own praise song according to the call-and-response and rhythmic structure of the game.

In School B both boys and girls played the game standing in a circle with each learner taking a turn to say their praise-name phrases while walking around in the middle of the circle in time to the chant. The group claps on the beat of the chant and the response as musical support for each learner. The game operates as a narrative about individual and family identity and history, linking with traditional forms of praise poetry.[9] Boys and girls at School B adapted the game's original function as a girls' praise song to suit the township context, adding words about their age, where they live in Soweto and which school they go to. Teacher B used this game to explore the theme of identity with her learners.

5.3.2.2 Musical and social interaction

Children's games exemplify music as a social experience. The music-dance mode is apt for developing and negotiating relationships, for "harness[ing] children's social experience of one another" (Pavlicevic 2004, 10). Like Patricia Campbell, I found that "singing games and polyrhythmic activities bring [children] closer to friends with whom they play" (1998a, 3). Learners' musical interactions both reflect and create different relationships within and across gender groups and between small friendship groups. Learners' games afford them opportunities to negotiate social relationships through turn-taking, verbal teasing, participation (or sometimes exclusion), validating or critiquing each other musically and through physical bonding. Musical play "compels and challenges social interaction with a blend of competitive creativity and cohesion brought about by depending on one another for a successful and enjoyable performance" (Mans 2002, 60). Furthermore, the music-game mode creates a structure and space for children to understand or negotiate their way around boy-girl relationships. Music not only reflects relationships and roles but also helps children develop these through musical and movement interactions. "Sibidiphephe", described in Chapter Three, is a fascinating example of how children try out different relationships in a game.

Communication operates on two inter-related levels in Soweto children's games: musically and interpersonally. Learners' musical communication reflects and helps to develop interpersonal communication. Pavlicevic characterises this relationship as children's "intrinsic communicative musicality [being] 'sounded and shaped'" in their musicking (2004, 10).

Pair and group clapping games and circle or line dances enable children to interact without speaking; they 'talk' to each other through sound, communicating information about themselves and others, or interact musically. The physical interaction that is integral to musical games functions as a form of

[9] For example, Zulu and Xhosa praise poems are called *izibongo*. Naming is particularly important historically in many African cultures, especially for figureheads, chiefs and those in powerful positions. People have family or clan praise poems that emphasise the history of families and their positive attributes (Stuart 1968).

non-verbal communication, where learners use gestures and movement to interact. Clapping games between groups of girls exemplify "verbal communication turned musical" (Campbell 1998a, 176). "Banyana kidi bom bom" exemplifies the combination between social and musical communication. Played by girls in Schools A and B, the text is about family members and their favourite or characteristic actions. The synchronisation required to do pair-clapping patterns and integrate gestures into the chant at the correct time, brings girls together in a cohesive group based on musical co-operation.

"Banyana kidi bom bom" (DVD1 0:44:55-0:44:58)

Words	**Translation**	**Actions/gestures**
Verse 1 *Banyana kidi bom bom*	Girls are 'bombs.'	Clapping pattern 1: pair clapping on the pulse of the chant: Clap own hands; clap partner's left; clap own hands; clap partner's right.
Barata dekepis' (X2)	They like to wear caps.	Clapping pattern, then gesture indicating wearing a hat (*kepis).*
Kidi bom bom, kidi bom bom		Clapping pattern 2: on *kidi*, clap own hands, on *bom* clap both partner's hands, on the second *bom*, pat partner's chest.
Barata dekepis'		Gesture indicating a hat.
Kidi bom bom kidi bom bom		on *bom bom* learners clap on their partner's chest.
Barata dekepis'		Gesture indicating a hat on *–kepis.*
Verse 2		
Bashimane kidi bom bom	Boys are 'bombs.'	Clapping pattern 1.
Barata dinkauza (X2)	They like cigarettes.	Gesture pretending to smoke on the *kauza.*
Kidi bom bom kid bom bom		Clapping pattern 2.
Barate dinkauza		Gesture pretending to smoke on *kauza.*
Kidi bom bom kidi bom bom		Clapping pattern 2.
Barata dinkauza		Gesture pretending to smoke on *kauza.*
Verse 3		
Bomme kidi bom bom	Mothers are 'bombs.'	Clapping pattern 1.
Barata go 'cheeka'	They like to shout.	On *cheeka*, hand gesture to the mouth to indicate talking.
Kidi bom bom kidi bom bom		Clapping pattern 2.
Barata go 'cheeka'		On *cheeka*, hand gesture to the mouth to indicate talking.
Kidi bom bom kidi bom bom		Clapping pattern as above.
Barata go 'cheeka'		On *cheeka*, hand gesture to the mouth to indicate talking.
Verse 4		

Words	**Translation**	**Actions/gestures**
Bontate kidi bom bom	Fathers are the bomb.	Clapping pattern 1.
Bontate de 'kwai' X2	They like tobacco (literal meaning, but the sense here was unclear).	Accompanied by a sexual gesture (unclear, much giggling from the girls).
Kidi bom bom kidi bom bom		Clapping pattern 2.
Bontate de 'kwai'		
Kidi bom bom kidi bom bom		Clapping pattern 2.
Bontate de 'kwai.'		

"Banyana kidi bom bom" is a well-known pair-clapping game in Soweto. It combines pair cross-clapping, interspersed with gestures that illustrate the actions or character traits that the words of the chant communicate. In the pair clapping, each clap corresponds to a word syllable, and patting one's partner's chest in-between claps that accompany the words "*kidi bom bom*" indicates a feeling of pride (Learners, School A). Girls have to co-ordinate their gestures and clapping with each other in order for the game to be successful. In addition, the game gets faster and faster as it moves through the verses and the girls challenge each other to keep up.

Bom, bom echoes the American slang 'the bomb' – referring to something that is exciting or the best of its kind. One learner explained that the game was about "things taking place in our families" and that "you are the bomb" means "you are obsessed with something" (School A learners 2006). The game is divided into verses, each about a different person and a characteristic action that communicates their uniqueness. For example a 'salute' gesture shows a cap, and a smoking gesture illustrates something that boys and men do. A hand gesture (opening and closing one hand towards your mouth) that communicates talking or shouting loudly, references a mother figure. When asked questions about the game, learners said that they create different actions and gestures according to what the person likes to do. Learners add further verses about parents, sisters and cousins for as long as they want to play.

In "Banyana kidi bom bom" learners match words with gestures and movements to convey something about family or gender roles. The game also links with narrative games that concern family, family roles and relationships, forming part of a set of musical games that may operate as commentary about children's immediate social family experiences (for example Xoxisa and "Pelo yaka" and "Mama in the kitchen").

The words of "Mama in the kitchen" similarly concern family members and what they do. This is a group clapping game with an elimination element, played in a circle by girls in School C. The

clapping pattern here operates in the circle, rather than in pairs, so that each person has to co-ordinate their different claps with two others.

"Mama in the kitchen" (DVD1 01:08:42-01:10:02)

Words	**Actions/gestures**
Mama in the kitchen cooking rice	On the words "cooking rice", girls do an action suggesting stirring food in a pot
Father in the kitchen washing face	Washing face gesture on "face"
Girls and boys are playing soccer	Kicking a ball action on "soccer"
Coochey coochey coo- Coochey coochey coo- Coochey coochey coo- Coochey coochey coo- [You are out/I love you/How are you?]	Girls jump with their legs out, crossed over in the middle, and out again in movements like 'jumping jacks'. On the last word of the chant, the girl with her legs crossed is out of the game.

A group of girls stand in a circle, arms stretched out to the side, with one palm facing up and the other facing down so that they can clap the next girl's hand. The clapping pattern is in a triple meter, while the chant is in two. The pattern is: a 'flip flop' hand clap (right hand palms up, left hand palms down, then change over); clap each partner's hand vertically (hands held up); clap own hands. The chant and clapping pattern create a two against three cross-rhythm.

This is an elimination game where one is out of the game if one's legs are crossed on the last "coo". "Coochey coo" is chanted in a syncopated rhythm as girls jump with legs out; legs crossed over one another and out again on each beat. Like other games, children integrate gestures that communicate actions such as "cooking rice", "washing face" and "playing soccer", into the chant.

The same group of girls used the crossing-legs jumping movement pattern during a visual arts lesson given by Teacher C. Asked how they would show their wrapping paper design in a game, they interpreted their visual cross patterns in movement by drawing on an aspect of their "Mama in the kitchen" game.

Further games that illustrate the link between musical and social interactions are "Iskipa sika Jomo" and "Sibidiphephe", played by girls and boys at School C (as described in Chapter Three). Grade Five and Six learners in schools A and B played "Banyana kidi bom bom" and "Iskipa" and incorporated aspects of the games – elements of the clapping patterns and gestures – in their group compositions. Rather than copying the games directly, they drew on the gestural language and pair-clapping patterns as sound and movement resources for their new musical designs.

5.3.2.3 Group cohesion and collaboration

Research into children's musical games emphasises "the social context as an essential component of the creative process" (Barrett 2005a, 187). Children's musicking relies on group participation and co-operation to generate social cohesiveness. Their "community of fellow players is essential for musical and social support" (Harwood 1998a, 123). Children validate each other's musical and movement contributions by accompanying these with body percussion, vocal responses or imitation. Musical creativity thus occurs within the context of group support: children learn with and from each other. Like their literacy practices, children's music-making is "collaborative and shared, not an autonomous, individualized skill" (Stein and Mamabolo 2005, 27).

"Korobetsa", played at School B by about thirty learners, demonstrates how the music-movement collaboration required to play the game and sing this song brings learners together in a cohesive, co-operative group.

"Korobetsa" (DVD2 0:27:40-0:29:28)

Words	**Translation**	**Dance formation**
Me waka utile le bana bale shume	My mother came with ten children	Two lines of boys and girls stand opposite each other, joining hands and swing them in time to the tune of the song.
Tzuum, korobetsa, korobetsa X3	*Korobetsa* means to creep or to dodge away.	The last pair goes underneath each other's arms to the front of the line.
Ko-ro-be-tsa.		Joining hands, pairs continue to go under the line of joined hands until everyone has had a turn.

In "Korobetsa", boys and girls play the game in two lines facing each other. They join hands in pairs, while the pair at the end of the line bends down and goes under the line of up stretched hands. Everyone repeats the melodic phrase *tzuum korobetsa* over and over. When asked what the game was about, learners said "we just play it". Their response suggests that the group experience of interacting and following a particular pair-dance formation is what matters to them rather than the literal meaning of this game. The purpose of the game is learning to co-ordinate the same movements together. Teacher A's interpretation was that the game affords learners the opportunity to teach each other how to bend down in pairs and go under each other's arms along the line. Like most of the learners' games, "Korobetsa" is conceived of, and experienced, collaboratively.

Teacher B used "Korobetsa" as a warm-up to one of her lessons. She also extracted the rhythm of the words and asked learners to play it using body percussion.

5.3.3 Musical games as narrative

5.3.3.1 How narrative games function: framing feeling, experiences and expression

Children frequently achieve their expressive purposes through narrative. Sound, gestural and movement modes enable them to tell stories that represent "creative responses to the ongoing patterns of events in their lives" (Meinhof quoted in Davis 2005, 56). The following games illustrate how children's musical play frames their feelings, beliefs and attitudes. Narrative games in particular facilitate an understanding of music functioning as a "rich repository of children's intimate thoughts and sentiments" (Campbell 1998a, 5). I suggest that the rules and participatory conventions of each game help children to contain group and self-expression, organise relationships, deal with social issues, and teach and learn from each other in a non-threatening way. Following the internal conventions of each game ensures its success, including adhering to musical rules like turn-taking, call-and-response, appropriate rhythmic and dance accompaniments, following and co-ordinating complex clapping patterns in time, and performing dance formations together. These 'rules' frame children's expression of attitudes and feelings. Musically, learners use pitch inflection, different vocalisations, body-percussion, and rhythmic-movement responses to show how they feel or play different roles.

As a personal narrative, "Xoxisa" is the most compelling example of how storytelling and the child's deployment of a range of multimodal representational resources function expressively and therapeutically for township children (See Chapter Four). Learners in all three schools played "Xoxisa" inside and outside the classroom (School B learners' *xoxisa* game can be viewed on DVD1 1:01:42-1:03:02). Learners in School B used the game as a way to think through, and make decisions about, a musical task given to them, where they created group sound pictures. Learners also played the game quietly as they listened and watched others perform.

5.3.3.2 Games as social narrative

"Pelo yaka" (my heart) is a girls' pair-clapping game. Two lines of girls face each other in a typical pair-clapping pattern (described below). "Pelo yaka" is one of the few melodic games I heard at all three schools. Two melodic phrases corresponding with two lines of words are repeated, with accompanying clapping patterns. The last line is faster and more animated, expressing the excitement and joyful feeling at the end of the story.

"Pelo yaka" (DVD1 00:59:46-1:00:52)

Song words	**Translation**	**Gestures, clapping and actions**
Pelo yaka	My heart	Clapping pattern: clap own hands, clap partner's right hand, clap own hands, clap partner's left hand (on each pulse of the chant). Clapping continues throughout the game, with gestures integrated. On "*yaka*" the gesture is hands crossed over the heart.
Imabalabala	Is in many colours	On "*bala*", flick fingers outwards.
Injwetsa hore	It's telling me that	Gesture to the chin on "*hore.*"
Ke na ke sa jola	I shouldn't have had an affair	Gesture to the chin, indicating a man, on "*jola.*"
Na ke a jola	I have an affair	
Le moshimanyana	With a boy	One hand down to the side to indicate a child.
Le fatshe kaufela	The whole world	Indicate a circle (world) with both hands on "*kaufela.*"
Le lla ka yena	is crying for him	Point to tears falling down with two fingers on "*yena.*"
Ha ke robetse	When I'm asleep	Gesture indicating falling asleep (laying inclined head on two hands together), on "*robetse.*"
Ka tshwarwa ke mala	I have stomach ache	Both hands rub stomach on "*mala.*"
Gante a se mala	But it's not stomach ache	Both hands rub stomach on "*mala.*"
Mpa e fitlhile	Pregnancy is here/I am pregnant	Tap wrist twice (as though indicating the time) on "*fitlhile.*"
Kangwala lengolo	I wrote a letter	Gesture of holding a pen to write a letter on "*lengolo.*"
Lea ko hae	to my home/family	Point to the sky or away from the body to indicate a place far away.
Ebe ba utlwa	They heard	Half-circle hand/arm movement (indistinct.)
Ngwana bare ke Pontsho	a baby called Ponsho	On "Ponsho", downward hand gesture showing a small child.
Pontsho a hola	He grew up	Gesture showing that the child is tall.
Anyala mosadi	He married a woman	On "*mosadi*", gesture hand gesture to each breast to indicate a woman.
Mosadi wa hae	His wife	On "*hae*", gesture hand gesture to each breast to indicate a woman.

Song words	**Translation**	**Gestures, clapping and actions**
Afeyela mabala	Was sweeping the yard	Broom sweeping gesture on "*bala.*"
Atopa two bobo	She picked up two bob	Show two fingers of the hand to the partner.
A reka 'chapisi'	To buy chappies (chewing gum)	Circular motion with one hand on "*chapisi.*"
A ingwamula	She stretched the chewing gum)	Circular motion with one hand on "*mula.*"
A bina.	She sang/danced.	Instead of a gesture on *bina*, girls clap a triplet rhythm and continue to sing the melody humming or vocalising on 'ooh' or 'aah', with the new clapping pattern.

Similarly to other games, the gestures replace claps that fall on the pulse of the song. The girls do the gestures exactly in time with each other, so as not to disturb the steady pulse of the song. The gestures represent the meaning and feeling of each line; some are directly related to the meaning of the words, while other gestures convey the ambiguous sense of the words, or may mean more than the literal meaning of the word on its own. Here, children's use of township gestural language is central to the way in which the game operates as a narrative.

When asked what the game was about, one learner responded that "it is about a life" (School B learner 2006). "Pelo yaka" tells the story of a young girl who falls pregnant. It concerns issues relating to family, pregnancy, having children and naming the child: all central concerns in contemporary township life, particularly as teenage pregnancy is common. The game is a narrative told through sound, gesture and words that carry symbolic meanings. The figurative language, use of metaphor and 'hidden' meanings is particularly interesting here. For instance "picking up two bob" refers to a woman becoming pregnant. Teacher A suggested that the children themselves may not appreciate the significance of some of the words.

"Pelo yaka" makes use of language resources and literacies that are localised in the township. A typical feature of township discourse regarding issues related to relationships, sexuality and pregnancy is that these subjects are often couched in metaphoric terms, so as not to confront them directly. Gestures also communicate what language does not. The learner I asked to tell me the story of the game could not do so in English and instead said in Sotho "it's about" and pointed to her chin in a gesture that means boyfriend.[10]

[10] The use of hidden or veiled language in urban townships may relate to a similar socio-linguistic phenomenon - the linguistic practices of respect, especially by women in traditional societies. For Nguni and Southern Sotho speakers, married

Both "Pelo yaka" and "Ma Sithole" are narrative games that have been passed down through generations of children in townships, as they were well known to my informants. Unlike most games, the words have remained relatively the same through time, but the gestures are adapted to suit local township communicative practices. Teacher B transferred the familiar rhythm of "Pelo yaka" onto instruments with her class, during a lesson located in Overt Instruction in the Multiliteracies pedagogy.

"MaSithole/ MaDhlamini" (DVD1 00:46:25-00:49:50) (School B)

Words	**Translation**	**Actions and movement**
Sawubona MaSithole (X4)		Partners swing hands and arms across the two lines for each repeat of the first seven lines.
Yebo MaDhlamini (X4)	Yes, Mrs Dhlamini.	
Ubuyaphi MaSithole? (X4)	Where do you come from?	
Ngi buya edolobheni (X4)	I come from the *dorp* (town).	
Ubuyo thengani na? (X4)	What did you buy?	
Bengiyo thenga isigqoko (X4)	I bought a hat.	
Sibiza malini na? (X4)	How much did it cost you?	
Sibiza ishume lopondo (X4)	It cost ten pounds.	Clapping pattern: clap own hands three times on "*ishume lo...*" and partner's both hands on the last syllable of "*lopondo.*"
Imali engaka MaSithole! (X4)	So much money!	MaDhlamini wags her fingers at MaSithole.
Ngiya zi sebenzela (X4) (yes sir!)	I get paid for my work.	MaSithole pats her chest to indicate pride in her work.
Angisakufuni MaSithole (X4) *Changa*!	I don't want you anymore *Changa* means change your dance style.	Two lines move backwards away from each other, with a 'brushing away' gesture.
Angisakufuni MaSithole (X4).		The two lines come together; pairs join arms and dance together.

Like "Pelo yaka", "MaSithole" tells a story; both games' melodic nature suggests that repeated melodic phrases correspond with narrative in children's games. Boys and girls in School B and School A played the game in two lines facing each other. In the game, the line representing the *MaDlamini* character sings "*Sawubona MaSithole*" four times, addressing the line opposite them, who represent *MaSithole*. The *MaSithole* line then responds by singing "*yebo, MaDhlamini*", acknowledging the greeting. Pairs standing opposite each other join hands and swing their arms in

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women have special "languages of avoidance" that relate to respect and reverence for spouses and parents-in-law (Finlayson 1995).

time to the repeated two-phrase melody. The game uses gestures and body percussion rhythms to emphasise the meaning of the story. For example, children draw attention to the significance of "*sibiza ishume lopondo*", by clapping three times on the word *ishume*; they emphasise the importance of the money that *MaDhlamini* has earned on her own by patting their chests. The last line is accompanied by 'go away' and crying gestures as the lines step backwards and move apart from each other. Finally, after arguing, the women forgive each other and dance exuberantly with interlinked arms.

The melody of this game frames a narrative of two women conversing and arguing. It deals with issues of money, work and jealousy – all common concerns in the township social context. Both "Pelo yaka" and "MaSithole" explore relationship and social issues, such as teenage pregnancy, material wealth related to power, gender struggles, and tensions between tradition and modernity. I suggest here that music and dance mediates between the world, family, school, and the self. The games link these domains and, through musical interaction, allow learners to explore relationship issues in a safe space. The game's musical and movement structure provides an expressive framework within which children perform or comment on social and relationship issues, enabling them to deal with these indirectly.

"Ngake ngagana mngani wami" (DVD2 1:05:32-1:07:27)

Individual call:	**Group response:**	**Translation**	**Actions/Movements**
Ngake ngagana mngani wami		I was once married, my friend.	One person is 'on'. They clap and walk around inside the circle, in time to the chant.
	Wagana ubani mngan iwami?	Married to whom, my friend?	The outer circle claps on the beat of the response.
Ngagan 'uSibongile," mngani wami		Married to Sibongile, my friend	
	Wamlahlelani, mngani wami?	Why did you leave her, my friend	
Izenzo zakhe, mngani wami		Her behaviour, my friend	
	Ezithin,i mngani wami?	What behaviour, my friend?	
Azifuni wena mngani wami		It's none of your business, my friend	
	Zifuna bani mngani wami?	Whose business is it?	
Zifuna lo - *Na, lo -*		It's this one	The person who is on points to one person at a time around the

Individual call:	Group response:	Translation	Actions/Movements
			circle on the word "*lo*."
Na lo, Na lo, Na lo		and this one	
No 'kiss kiss my dali.'		And kiss kiss my darling.	"*Kiss kiss my dali*" is chanted in a faster triplet rhythm; the one who is 'on' points to the next child in the circle according to this rhythm. The person she points to at the end of the chant comes into the middle of the circle to continue the game.

In a similar vein, "Ngake ngagana mngani wami" ("I was once married my friend") tells of a woman leaving her husband "because of his behaviour". The game is a conversation between two people in call-and-response form, and like many of the games, involves choosing someone that you like. The group asks the chosen person questions, clapping on the beat of the chanted words. The game has a particularly interesting syncopated rhythmic structure. The learner in the middle points to different people on the words "*na, lo"* and then chooses someone at the end with the words "kiss kiss my darling."

Teacher B played this game with her learners as a warm-up, and linked it with other games with similar themes.

5.3.4 Connecting with musical and social practices

The way learners take on roles and play with relationship possibilities in their games illustrates their often irreverent relations with their social and natural environments (Campbell 1998a). Their exploration, humour and critique of cultural practices become ways of understanding, connecting and negotiating their own place in communities.

5.3.4.1 Reflecting the urban township

Some of the games I observed link learners with specific township social practices. By emulating and referring to different kinds of social activities in their games, learners connect with social, religious and cultural groups. Children's musical games reflect their immediate environments and often parody adult behaviour. Some games also relate to specific practices and rituals, such as "Mama ka tsotsi", a humorous enactment and role play of a township *shebeen* queen and men drinking.[11] Children enjoy

[11] A *shebeen* is an informal pub or bar in a South African township. A *shebeen* originally referred to "an illegal non-white drinking house. Female entrepreneurs developed the *shebeen* into a centre of urban African social life" (Coplan 2007, 93).

copying adults, exaggerating the gestures that accompany each line of the chanted poem in an irreverent enactment of adult behaviour at a *shebeen.* The caller directs the action and beats a repetitive rhythm on a drum, while the group stands around him. They respond vocally after each line with "*tzugutzuum, zum zum zum*", which imitates the sound of a bass guitar. The syncopated triplet rhythm and sound quality of the response may refer to the fact that township *shebeens* are historically associated with urban South African musics such as *marabi* (Coplan 2007, 114-119).

"Mama ka Tsotsi" (DVD1 1:15:51-1:17:08)

Words	**Translation**	**Actions and movement**
Mama ka Tsotsi Group response (after each line of the call): *tzugutzuum, zum zum zum zum*	Literally, "mother of *tsotsi*"	(all the movements and gestures mime the actions of the chant).
Uphi uTsotsi	Where is *tsotsi*?	
Lethani imali	Take the money	They pretend to reach for money.
Thathani isikali	Take the traditional beer container	Learners mime lifting up a traditional beer pot.
Shakani isikali	Shake it	They swirl the beer in the pot round and round.
Phuzani isikali	Drink the beer	Learners mime drinking beer from a traditional pot.
Sulani umlomo	Wipe your mouth	Learners place their hands across their mouths.
Sukumami	Stand up	They all stand.
Dakweni umlomo	Get drunk	Learners fall about in exaggerated drunken movements.
Shayanani.	Hit each other.	They pretend to start a fight.

5.3.4.2 Appropriating music-movement resources

Kate Pahl and Jennifer Rowsell argue that teachers should account for the "complex mixes of cultural traditions in their student's speech patterns" (2005, 68). This is equally true for children's musical patterns because these represent complex mixes of traditional, hybrid and contemporary music and dance practices. The series of girls' clapping games that I observed at School C (described in Chapter Three) best illustrate how children draw on a range of musical and dance resources to invent their own games and adapt existing games. The School C girls' performances of "Barbie Girl", "Mokopu" and "Poppie yaka" highlight the "interactive character of children's engagement" with music, media and dance forms, as well as school music (Davis 2005, 56). Learners interpret and appropriate mixed and hybrid music and dance styles typical of township culture. In much the same way as they use language, township children 'code-switch' between a range of musics to suit their own musicking needs. As multimodal forms, games like these are significant because they reveal children's

awareness of the affordances of different modes, and different musics; they demonstrate how learners appropriate and use multimodal resources for the purposes of playing a collaborative game. Selecting, mixing and matching according to their preferences and interests display learners' musical inventiveness. In Multiliteracies parlance, learners use available designs and redesign them (New London Group 1996; Cope and Kalantzis 2000a). The act of redesigning gives learners agency (Kress 2000c, 141).

5.4 The implications of children's games for musical learning

I now consider the pedagogical significance of children's games and propose why it is instructive for music teachers to take these games into consideration in their teaching. The implications of children's games for music teaching and learning are framed in terms of understanding the relationship between learners' musical practices and agency. I discuss how children's games provide evidence of their musical capacities and focus on the value of play as an important way in which children learn.

5.4.1 Learner agency and control over a domain and its resources

Learners' musical games facilitate an understanding of music's meaning residing in "the intentionality of its agency" (Regelski 2000, 23). Learners' creation and investment in their games suggests that one of the ways in which these games function is to give learners a sense of their own ability to act and affect their immediate environment. Learners' sense of control and influence manifests in a specific musical and play domain. Their control is demonstrated in the ways in which they recognise, select and use available music resources in an act of 'designing' a game. In the process of design, "individual action and agency is brought together" (Kress 2000a, 158).

Such an experience of agency may contrast with children's experience in the classroom, school and family domains where they often have no 'voice'. It is common in a township context (in both homes and schools) for children to be silenced – to be expected to keep quiet and not to ask questions.[12] I suggest that learners' loud, boisterous, energetic games act as a voicing of who they are, how they feel and think. Understanding and expressing the self through musical collaboration gives children a sense of agency within the group, which may differ from their sense of powerlessness in other social contexts.

[12] I use 'silencing' here in the context of the effects of the previous South African education system, some of which are still felt today as many of the present teachers were educated before 1994. In an education environment, 'silencing' has been shown to be the effect of rote-learning, particularly in the interpretation of Fundamental Pedagogics in apartheid education. Penny Enslin asserts that fundamental pedagogics "heads off the possibility of critical reflection on that system by making reflection illegitimate", and further, that the system "justified authoritarian practices and silenced teachers" (1990, 100).

The playground is their domain; children own and occupy it physically and aurally. "Xoxisa" is emblematic of learners' embodiment of space and control over action, meaning and movement. I suggest that the process of selecting and using musically different melodic or rhythmic phrases and dance fragments enables learners to 'own' these elements. Children translate cultural forms into their own expressive language by redesigning them into a game. Children's control – of sounds, narrative, self, body and physical space – represents a desired control over their environment. Through shared musical practices learners develop micro-communities in which they attempt to exert power over their world. In playground settings, children not only learn musical skills or acquire "the social and culture processes and practices of group membership" (Barrett 2005a, 189), but also exercise agency. I propose that learners' choice and control in their musical-play domain indicates that they have the potential and necessary capacities to exert similar agency in other domains, specifically the classroom.

5.4.2 Musical capacities and competences

Primarily, learners' musical games tell us that they are already musical, emphasising that "children are not simply musical embryos waiting to become musical adults but have a musical culture of their own" (Nettl, quoted in Campbell 1998a). Learners' "level of engagement and commitment to outside-school music" in general and their games in particular provide an "incentive to learning" (Temmerman 2005, 118). I suggest that it would be productive for teachers to harness these traits and the musical capacities inherent in children's musical game-playing in pedagogy.

In essence, children's musical practices demonstrate that they "bring to school considerable musicianship within a particular community of practice" (Barrett 2005a, 189).[13] By observing and analysing children's games, teachers can elicit important information about how children learn musically and how music functions for them in the context of musical play. Like Mans, I have observed that "children develop a range of performance competencies" in musical play (Mans 2002, 60). Many of these competencies are central to the Arts and Culture curriculum in the intermediate and senior phases, and some exceed curriculum expectations. For example, learners' games emphasise their capacity for musical co-operation and collaboration in creating games that combine words, movement and melody.[14] Learners' games highlight their ability to co-ordinate different rhythmic patterns through clapping, chanting and moving. Children's ability to appropriate and adapt other music and integrate it into the game mode also represents a particular musical ability.

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[13] The emphasis here is that children's musical competence operates within the context and practice of their musical games. Harwood's study in America (1998a; 1998b) focuses on children's musical competence in the contexts of their play, which is not necessarily transferable to the classroom domain.

[14] For example, the Arts and Culture curriculum recognises "Participating and Collaborating" as one of the four learning outcomes (Department of Education 2002b, 25).

Children's games thus provide important insights into their existing musical abilities, embodied knowledges and capacities. I propose that such insights, based on recognising and understanding the nature of children's prior musical knowledge, can facilitate a learner-centred approach in teaching (this is argued in detail in Chapters Three and Four). Of further interest to the teacher, I suggest, are the kinds of learning orientations inherent in children's games: musical play as learning; learning through successful experience; learning through collaboration; and learning within a rule-based framework.

5.4.3 Learning orientations: musical play and learning

5.4.3.1 The value of musical play: learning through successful experiences

Following Mans, I focus on learners' "meaning of play and embodiment within performance" in order to inform music teaching (2002, 50). Play is recognised in education theory as a fundamental way in which children learn, and therefore has important implications for pedagogy (Piaget 1962; Vygotsky 1987). Lev Vygotsky believes that "a child's greatest achievements are possible in play" (1987, 100) while Campbell emphasises the pedagogical value in activities that children do joyfully and willingly (1998a). Both the play and performative modes are important tools for learning and development as they are immediately collaborative, engage children's collective and creative capacities, and allow them to play at being someone other than who they are (Pendry 2006).[15]

One reason for children's positive and enjoyable learning experience in their games is because "in free-play meaning dominates action" (Holzman 1997, 71). Children learn and create when they are invested in the meanings of activities. The kinds of learning represented in learners' games are closely related to identity formation and social interaction, so their meanings are internal to the activities of musicking. Children's meaningful learning connects with successful co-operation and performance in the context of the game's organising framework.

A further reason for children's experience of success derives from an important characteristic of children's play – its "pleasure of mastery, what Piaget calls 'a feeling of virtuosity or power'" (Swanwick 1988, 41). It is evident from my observations that children's satisfaction and enjoyment is derived from their experience of being able to do something successfully. In the playground, children are musical experts. Margaret Barrett explains how their expertise operates in this specific domain:

[15] I draw here on ideas from education within Social Therapy, which views learning and development as a performed activity, a practice synthesized from the psychology of Lev Vygotsky and the philosophy of Ludwig Wittgenstein (Holzman 1997; 1999).

> When we speak about children's creativity as it occurs in settings where children are the 'controllers' of the 'musical community of practice,' these elements of the domain and field must be defined as part of and within the parameters of that 'community of practice.' Consequently, the field is made up of experts in that domain, that is, other children (2005a, 189).

In their games children acquire musical expertise from other children. They experience musical, collaborative accomplishment through musical communication, co-operative clapping and dancing interactions. Playing thus builds learners' confidence and enjoyment.

In music education broadly, play is recognised as a significant way of learning. Keith Swanwick, for example, argues for the close correspondence between music and play elements that was present in the games I observed: "mastery, imitation and imaginative play" (1988, 42). On the playground children are in a domain where they can master a practice through imitation, and experience their own capacities within a specific contextual practice. Swanwick proposes that in teaching children to "make and respond to music" teachers can build on the "three play impulses" (Ibid).[16] I propose that play elements be included in pedagogy particularly because playing represents a positive learning experience for learners. Accordingly, teachers could usefully base learning activities on the principles of successful participation embodied in children's musical games.

In a human development and educational context, Lois Holzman links children's free play to performing in the Vygotskian sense of "performing beyond the self", rather than acting. She sees performing as "creating new roles for yourself" (referring to children), reorganising social scenes and showing meaning-making as creative, productive activity (1997, 72-73). For education, then, musical play as performance is potentially a model of learning in music education.

5.4.3.2 Collaborative musical learning

Children's singing games and girls' handclapping games in particular, require considerable musical and kinaesthetic expertise in close co-operation with others. Riddell offers this description:

> Two children who are hand clapping are involved in a more intense situation than learning a song from the music teacher at school. They are touching one another and watching each other intently for cues and responses that are difficult to describe in terms of musical concepts. They are creating something that is fresh, something that contains surprises; the players can't predict the outcome because it depends upon another person. It is never boring. It can't be done casually; full concentration is always required. Often, its seriousness is punctuated by silliness and laughter (Riddell 1990, 391).

[16] For Swanwick, "mastery is the element of play that directs us towards the materials of art … imitation relates to the expressive, or referential character of art [and] imaginative play [has] us focus on the structure of art" (1988, 45).

The intense experience of children's musical games described here is informative for teaching because it emphasises both collaborative learning that is peer-directed and the enjoyment that children's games afford. Working in Australia, Kathryn Marsh suggests that playground singing games provide a rich context for children's creative experiences and potentially the development of compositional skills (1995). Similarly, Margaret Barrett explains how children "compose in performance"; their activity is one of co-construction, involving group processes of collaborative interaction (2005a, 186). These group processes centre on developing musical relationships through listening and negotiation. Musically, it is possible to observe learners' musical co-operation through the different kinds of listening implied in turn-taking, call-and-response, and rhythmic patterning. As they play musical games, children learn how to think and perform on their feet and communicate through sound and gesture. Campbell recognises that children's "own musical grammar arises prior to, and often without, musical instruction and is often much more complex than 'children's songs' in textbooks" (1998a, 90).

Learners' performances and play highlight how children learn through being part of a "co-operative, creative group" (Pendry 2006). In children's games, music-making and learning is a collaborative endeavour, and their co-operative musical abilities develop within a supportive learning environment. In the context of specific games, learners validate each other's contributions by acknowledging individual expression within group cohesiveness; they support each other with vocalised responses to dance moves, for example, and acknowledge individuals by imitating or developing their music-dance ideas. The games' collaborative, social character ensures a supportive frame for children's learning and exploration of themselves and others, their relationships and cultures, capacities and difficulties.

Children's collaborative learning in their games further emphasises social context as an essential component of the creative process. 'Learning through play' in their games may be characterised as "socialisation into a particular community of practice" (Pahl and Rowsell 2005, 148). Children receive support within their "communities of learners" (in this case, their friendship circles) and novices are able to participate in the "practices of the community" (their musical games), from the beginning of their involvement (Ibid.). Pahl and Rowsell stress the communal nature of learning here, thus reflecting broader theories of learning as an essentially social activity. Socially oriented constructivist theories emphasise the collaborative efforts of groups of learners as sources of learning (Brodie 2000, 131). Vygotsky stresses the importance of learning as a social activity, that "internal developmental processes are able to operate only when the child is interacting with people in her environment and in co-operation with her peers" (1978). In their play, children create "zones of proximal development" (Ibid.): collaborative learning-spaces that enable individuals to develop from

what they already do to what they are able to do in co-operation with others.[17] The ways in which children learn in their games reinforces the validity of social constructivist theories, including Vygotsky's concepts of learning.[18] I suggest that teachers can draw on the intrinsically collaborative nature of children's games as a teaching resource.

Relating theories of social learning in context specifically to children's musical games, Eve Harwood's playground studies identify the learning strategies children employ. As well as learning a repertoire of musical games, "children are learning how to learn music" (Harwood 1998b, 54). Playgrounds offer a site for social learning in groups, rather than through individual instruction; it is evident that the social, collaborative nature of musical learning is significant for skill acquisition. Furthermore, Harwood identifies freedom of movement, peer learning through apprenticeship and repeated performance as key factors in determining how and why children learn through musical play (1998b, 55). The playground as the context of social learning, then, holds important significance for formal teaching and learning and prompts the question of whether teachers can use the learning strategies evident in children's playground games, in the classroom.

5.4.3.3 The rules of the game

A final feature of children's games, which is of relevance to pedagogy, is the way the rules of each game operate. Margaret Barrett emphasises that children are able to play musically because the rules and conventions of their games are collaboratively understood. Within their "domain of musical play, individuals evidence their creativity in the ways in which they innovate, whilst interacting with the rules and practices of the domain and keeping in mind the judgments and practices of the field" (2005a, 189).

Barrett's comments suggest that the "rules and practices of the game" facilitate children's creativity. The rules of each game provide a sequential framework that helps to structure children's interactions and music-making, thus ensuring successful participation by all participants. Much of the success and enjoyment of children's musical games lies in co-operatively following the rules they co-create. During their game-playing, "children are engaged in several tasks, including the managing of social interaction and relationships, and the maintenance of rules of play" (Prinsloo 2004, 296). "They play games without knowing the rules; this is, in fact, how they come to know the rules" (Holzman 1997,

[17] Vygotsky's concept of the zone of proximal development identifies the gap between what a learner can do alone and unaided and what can be achieved with the help of more knowledgeable others (see Vygotsky 1978; 1987).
[18] For more on social constructivism and education, see Vygotsky 1978; Brodie 2000; Holzman 1998; Wells 1999.

74).[19] Thus the rules of the game ensure close co-operation and give reasons for children to work together in a "situated context where there is both contained specificity and freedom to innovate" (Prinsloo 2004, 291). The rules children create in their games point to the importance of providing learners with reasons to participate and co-operate with each other in the classroom. The way rules operate in the context of play as a motivation for learning can be applied to teaching. I propose therefore that this kind of framing of musical play be productively used in the classroom to structure children's music-making.

I propose that learning through play has important implications for teaching music. Primarily, children learn about music through making their own music, by acting in co-operative, creative contexts where the musical forms and frameworks make sense to them.[20] "Play is a means of learning, of being and expressing, one which we as educators need to rediscover, reinvent and employ" (Mans 2002, 60).

5.4.4 Questions arising from an observation of children's games

Returning to the context of this research, the educational challenge remains to connect the contexts of children's musicking with pedagogy (as discussed in Chapter One). My work in township schools has highlighted that many Arts and Culture teachers do not recognise children's musicking as cultural practices, nor do the knowledges and capacities that the games embody have any connection to pedagogy. I suggest that the majority of teachers have not considered children's play as a form of learning. Schools' failure to acknowledge the significance of play for learning and teaching indicates misconceptions or simply lack of knowledge about the way children learn. Education research indicates that such an understanding is essential for implementing a learner-centred approach (McCombs and Whistler 1997; Brodie 2000; Brodie et al. 2002).

My observations reveal both the richness of children's musical practices and the need for a deepened understanding and practice of learner-centredness. They identify a gap between "everyday and school knowledge" and practices (Taylor 1999). The discrepancies and contradictions discussed in Chapter One present both theoretical and methodological challenges for music education. What kind of approach could help to address the disparities between learners and teachers, school and children's life-worlds, and musicking in and outside the classroom? I suggest that developing a way to connect different practices requires a particular methodological intervention.

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[19] Holzman bases her ideas on Vygotsky's contention that "rather than being guided by rules that have been formulated in advance and to which we have become so well adapted" (1997, 72), free play contains rules "that stem from an imaginary situation" (Vygotksy 1978, 95).

[20] Music education approaches like those of Orff Schulwerk are based on the premise that children learn about music by making their own music. Elliott develops this notion in Praxial Music Education (1995; 2005b).

This research proceeds from observing practice: the many forms of children's musical play represented in their games. According to Vygotsky, practice does not derive from theory. Rather, it is practice that restructures science "from beginning to end" that poses the task and is the supreme judge of theory (1982, 388-389). How, then, do children's musical practices 're-structure' the way we teach? What are the implications of children's musical games for pedagogy? These challenges are addressed in the following chapter.

Chapter Six: A rationale for applying the Multiliteracies pedagogy to music education

This chapter outlines a rationale for applying a Multiliteracies approach to music education. I discuss how this approach addresses local teaching and learning issues and practices in terms of the ways in which learners and teachers interpret learner-centredness, and how it responds to the need for a coherent methodology in music education, outlined in Chapter One. Concentrating on those aspects of the Multiliteracies theory and pedagogy most relevant to music in the Arts and Culture learning area, I aim to show how this pedagogical framework accounts for children's musical practices in curriculum implementation. Finally I map how the Multiliteracies approach intersects with particular ideas and aims within music education more broadly.

6.1 Implications of children's musical play for music education

The prevalence of learners' playground musicking yields a number of questions for music education: what are the implications of children's engagement in their own music-making on the playground for Arts and Culture teaching? Why should educators focus on what is already present musically? And if they do, how should educators use these existing musical practices to promote learning? As Kate Pahl and Jennifer Rowsell ask, "how can pedagogy invite students' home experiences, and their expertise … into the classroom?" (2005, 131).

6.1.1 A pedagogical intervention

Questions concerning the implications of learners' musical games for teaching produce further methodological questions. I suggest that township learners' musical games embody children's potential and that noticing, and listening to, what learners already do musically, could be the starting point of pedagogy. Many music educators advocate for a kind of music education that not only proceeds from learners' interests and practices but also creates further opportunities for creative expression and musical growth (Campbell 1998a; 1998b; Temmerman 2005; Elliott 1995; 2005; Regelski 2000; 2004; 2005a). Developing learners from who they are musically to who they can become implies that teaching facilitates the journey from playground to classroom, from prior to curriculum knowledge and skills.

Addressing the challenges, complexities and contradictions in Arts and Culture teaching and learning, outlined in Chapter One, requires a pedagogical intervention – particularly one that engages with

teachers' and learners' practices in their socio-cultural contexts. In response to both the opportunities and constraints present in South African arts and education, and in response to international recognition of the significance of musicking as part of children's play, I propose an application of the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework to music education. As a whole, the Multiliteracies approach offers a theoretical and methodological basis for bridging the gap between children's musicking and teaching practice. More specifically, this approach firstly provides a framework for understanding the educational significance of children's own practices, and secondly, a methodology for incorporating and developing these as resources in Arts and Culture curriculum implementation. I further suggest that this approach promotes Arts and Culture teaching and learning that is both learner-centred and transformative.

The process of recognising the aptness of the Multiliteracies approach to music education has evolved from observing teachers' and learners' practices. Choosing to apply the Multiliteracies approach to music education therefore grew organically from a specific context, and the methodological and theoretical challenges posed by the practices I observed. The Multiliteracies theory similarly evolved as a response to real practices (New London Group 1996; 2000; Cope and Kalantzis 2000a; n.d.a).

6.2 The Multiliteracies theory – the 'what' of the Multiliteracies approach

The New London Group's term 'Multiliteracies' describes their two important arguments related to literacy education: the "multiplicity of communication channels and media" and the "increasing salience of cultural and linguistic diversity" (Cope and Kalantzis 2000a, 5). Given South Africa's diversity, the Multiliteracies approach is useful for examining the multifaceted nature of music in local teaching and learning.[1] This approach has much in common with music education philosophies advocating for an approach that responds to the multiplicity of life worlds encountered in schools (Regelski 2000, 8). Like Praxial and Critical approaches to music education (Elliott 1995; 2005; Regelski 2000), Multiliteracies proposes that engaging in education's social contexts "potentially changes both the nature and substance of pedagogy" (Cope and Kalantzis n.d.a).

6.2.1 Reasons for applying the Multiliteracies approach: addressing multiplicity

Further reasons for adopting the Multiliteracies approach are based on my contention that it more adequately addresses urban environments, with their attendant hybrid musical forms, than general

[1] For a precedent in applying the Multiliteracies approach to music education elsewhere in the world, see Torres and Souza 2005.

trends in African Musical Arts Education (Herbst et al. 2003). The prevalence of township learners' musicking, which draws on multiple musical and cultural sources, challenges music education based on "indigenous theories" (Nzewi 2003, 30-31). Because African musical arts education values 'pure' African music above others, hybrid township musical practices are generally not considered. To be truly learner-centred, I argue, music education theory and methodology needs, firstly, to validate learners' own musical practices as significant, meaningful forms of artistic expression. I suggest that the Multiliteracies approach enables this kind of learner-centredness by providing the framework for viewing multiplicity and diversity as a classroom resource rather than a hindrance. This framework is useful for music education because it proposes "an understanding of literacy and literacy learning to include negotiating a multiplicity of discourses" (New London Group 1996, 61). Within diverse language practices, Multiliteracies further recognises "hybrid cross-cultural discourses" and "code-switching … within a text among different languages, dialects or registers" as important skills (Ibid, 69). Comparable code-switching exists musically in South Africa: the learners I have observed mix and match musical styles, sounds, and moves. Their musical code-switching mirrors what they do linguistically as they draw on both language and sound-movement resources to create meanings and music. Because recognising and accounting for multiplicity is integral to the Multiliteracies approach, Multiliteracies is able to address culturally mixed social contexts, such as those found in townships.

6.2.2 Addressing music as social practice

Multiliteracies is built on the assumption that human knowledge is socially and culturally embedded, and is therefore relevant to an understanding of music and the arts as social practices. Substituting 'musical' for 'language' practices; and 'musicianship' for 'meaning making' in Multiliteracies discourse allows this approach to articulate music education internationally. Praxial and Critical philosophies of music education interpret music as a diverse universal practice rather than a universal language. Teaching and learning within specific language practices in literacy education mirrors music education as learning musicianship within certain practices (Elliott 1995; 2005).[2] 'Practice' emphasises music-making as "action, doing or making, rather than an object for aesthetic contemplation" (Regelski 2000, 17). In both music and language teaching, 'practice' implies many uses of knowledge (or sound), rather than fixed competencies to be learnt.[3] The Multiliteracies' view of language can be applied to music – "communities of learners engaged in common practices centred around a specific domain of knowledge" (New London Group 1996, 82). Understanding music in terms of "communities of practice" allows music education to engage with diverse musics, including the learner's own, as valid resources for teaching and learning.

[2] A Praxial view "understands art in terms of the variety and meaning and values evidence in actual practice in particular cultures" (Alperson 1991, 233).
[3] For example, focusing on learning Western notation as a 'fixed' grammar in music education.

6.3 The metalanguage of Multiliteracies

The Multiliteracies theory and pedagogy assists educators to negotiate and engage with complexity and multiplicity, through the development of a metalanguage. In this project I identify three related concepts that are helpful in understanding learners, their musical practices and the implications of these practices for music education. I then explain how the three concepts apply to music education in terms of the following: conceptions of learning as design; conceptions of the learner as agentive and resourceful; conceptions of meaning-making as multimodal and the concept of affordance; and conceptions of learner-centredness as "recruiting learners' subjectivities" (New London Group 2000, 18).

6.3.1 A conception of learning as Design

The first central concept in "A pedagogy of multiliteracies", is "designing meaning" (New London Group 1996, 2000). The New London Group's metalanguage of Multiliteracies is based on the concept of 'Design', which suggests a different curriculum, pedagogy and notion of learning to the traditional curriculum (New London Group 2000, 19; Kress 2000c, 141). Applying this notion of design in music education is constructive as it emphasises creative doing and making; it focuses on music education as praxis. There are three aspects of meaning as design in the Multiliteracies pedagogy:

> Available Designs: the available meaning-making resources; patterns and conventions of meaning, or 'grammars' of various semiotic systems.
> Designing: the process of shaping emergent meaning which involves re-presentation, re-contextualisation and never a repetition of Available Designs: Every moment of meaning involves the transformation of the available resources of meaning.
> The Redesigned: the outcome of designing is a new meaning, something through which the meaning-maker has remade themself, a new meaning-making resource (New London Group 1996, 74-6; Cope and Kalantzis n.d.a).

Design in the Multiliteracies pedagogy suggests that learning involves processes of creating and working with meaning-making resources, which are the "stuff of culture" (Cope and Kalantzis 2000c, 203). Culture, in turn, is "the accumulated and continuing expression of agency; of designing" (Kress 2000c, 140). Individuals create culture by drawing on "a complex range of representational resources at their disposal … of the many layers of their identity and the many dimensions of their being" (Cope and Kalantzis 2000a, 204). In music, individuals hear, experience and create many different sounds – all potential resources for music-making. In meaning-making, 'designing' entails drawing on and using representational resources; in music-making, it involves drawing on and shaping available

materials into sound designs. Design in meaning-making suggests an aptitude in using the resources available for making, similar to the ability to create music in improvisation and composition.

Design implies in its etymology both creating and working (Kress 2000c, 143). Learning as design is therefore a creative, active process of shaping, rather than acquiring, knowledge. Approaching music-making as 'designing' has significant implications for music education because it facilitates an understanding of musical performance as intentional action rather than learned behaviour (Regelski 2000, 31). Music 'designing' involves using any available sound as a potential resource for music-making.[4] Theo Van Leeuwen's explanation of sound design is a fitting description for learners' musical games:

> In unregulated contexts, performers and creators have their ears wide open and use any sound they can lay their hands on it if suits their purposes, frequently crossing generic boundaries, or even the boundaries between music and speech, or between music and 'noise' (1999, 5).

Music as designing characterises performers and creators as inventive and aptly describes learners' resourcefulness in sourcing musical fragments, songs and sounds and then forming them into a musical game. Furthermore, Gunther Kress contends that the materials individuals use are often "already culturally shaped", they are "semiotic modes with their own grammars" (2000c, 143). Similarly, the available musical designs that learners use have their own conventions and 'languages' that are culturally, historically and socially situated. Learners are redesigning in their games, using available designs and shaping them into a meaningful musical and play framework.

'Learning as Design' suggests a very different music curriculum to traditional models. The choice of Design in the Multiliteracies pedagogy is a deliberate attempt to avoid ideas of learning as a fixed, rule-governed grammar, which produces transmission and acquisition models of language learning.[5] Design acknowledges "change and transformation, rather than stability and regularity of grammatical rules" or, in music, of different musical literacies (Ibid*).* Designing music rather than learning it relates to music-making as an active, creative process of shaping and transforming musical materials. Applying Design to music education expands the possibilities of music-making in teaching and learning contexts. Music-making is no longer about using sound 'correctly', following compositional procedures or rules, but using a "rich array of semiotic choices" effectively (Van Leeuwen 1999, 6).

[4] Van Leeuwen uses the ideas of sound resources and 'sound as design' in his theory of sound semiotics (1999; 2005).

[5] Transmission and acquisition teaching and learning models are still very much the norm in most township schools, where learning focuses on convention and use, and curricula on grammar and form. Similarly, music education historically tended to focus on the 'grammar and form' of music (for example Western notation) as a fixed set of rules that children should learn.

Because Design refers to both structure and agency, it also relates to the ability to understand how and why something has been produced (Emanuel 2001, 20). I suggest that the learners I have observed are not yet consciously aware of the 'how and why' of music. Approaching children's musical games as Designs enables teachers to grasp learners' musical potential and capacities and identify what they have yet to learn. Proceeding from this understanding has implications for pedagogy – for designing a music curriculum according to learners' strengths and needs. Design, then, also applies to educators, who the New London Group view as "designers of learning processes and environments" (2000, 19). This group's view concurs with the current South African curriculum's vision of educators as "interpreters and designers of Learning Programmes and materials" (Department of Education 2002a, 14). 'Design' therefore recognises both teachers and learners as agentive.

6.3.2 The learner as agentive

In the Multiliteracies pedagogy, "design rests on agency; it takes agency for granted, still as work, but no longer as acquisition but now definitely as 'shaping work'" (Kress 2000c, 141). Learning as Design recognises the action and creativity inherent in agency. In music education, seeing learners as agentive implies appreciating that they already create music. Understanding learning and learners in terms of design and agency facilitates the development of learning programmes that encourage learners to "move from being passive inheritors of culture to being active participants in it" (Department of Education 2002b, 12).

Therefore, Design as a central category of the school curriculum places the student-as-learner very differently to the place she or he occupied in the traditional curriculum (Kress 2000c, 141). The Multiliteracies' conception of the learner as "intelligent, imaginative and linguistically talented" relates to philosophies of music education based on the inherent musicality of every child (Pahl and Rowsell 2005, 149).[6] Recognising learners as resourceful musical designers helps mitigate the effects of education models based on 'musical talent' which privileges selected children.

There are significant pedagogical implications to seeing children as "musically inventive and expressive individuals" (Campbell 1998a, ix). Music education's task is then to harness and develop children's musical imagination. Learners' agency and control in the musical-play domain can be extended in education to include further domains and help learners to develop as musicians, acting creatively and collaboratively in communities. For Kress, placing Design – with its implicit connotations of agency and resourcefulness – at the "centre of the curriculum and its purpose is to redefine the goal of education as the making of individual dispositions oriented towards innovation,

[6] These include Orff Schulwerk and the Kodaly approaches to music education (see Dolloff 1993).

creativity, transformation and change" (2000c, 141). I would argue that these dispositions are most effectively taught through Arts and Culture because the quality of agency as the "intentionality of human activity" is identified with artists in society (Dipert 1993). In Arts and Culture education, all learners are 'artists' in this sense.

6.3.3 Multimodal meaning-making

6.3.3.1 What is multimodality?

The second central concept in "A Pedagogy of Multiliteracies" is multimodality, which is related to the metalanguage of Design. The New London Group identifies "six design elements in the meaning making process: those of Linguistic, Visual, Audio, Gestural, Spatial and Multimodal patterns of meaning that relate the first five modes of meaning to each other" (2000, 28).

Multimodal pedagogies challenge the centrality of language in meaning making by recognising that human beings' use of culturally available modes of communication and representation is much broader than language alone. There is growing interest in, and applications of, multimodal pedagogies (locally and globally) because they acknowledge diverse, multiple ways of making meaning (Stein 2007).[7] Multimodal pedagogies are thus able to recognise the many voices, identities and histories especially of urban youth, whose meaning (and music)-making is often multimodal.

The notion of multimodality enables an understanding of learners' musicking as an important way in which they communicate, express and create meaning and feelings apart from language. The multimodal ensemble includes the aural and the kinetic modes: movement, dance and gesture (Kress 2000c, 141) and multimodal pedagogies highlight these as "important ways in which students can learn to make sense of the world" (Cope and Kalantzis 2000a, 5). Multimodality also considers how individual semiotic modes function as meaning generators, each with its own 'functional grammar' (New London Group 1996, 78).

Focusing on sound specifically, Van Leeuwen's research on sound semiotics is informative for this project as it considers what can be said with sound and how what is 'said with sound' can be interpreted (Van Leeuwen 1999, 4). Kress and Van Leeuwen's work (2001) helps to highlight the significance of children's games for education: their multimodal designs are repositories of multiple expressions, feelings and meanings, and hence potential teaching and learning resources.

[7] See Kress 1997; 2000a; 2000b; 2000c; Jewitt and Kress 2003; Street 1997; Emanuel 2001; Thesen 2001; Pahl and Rowsell 2005; Stein 2004; Stein and Newfield 2004; Stein and Mamabolo 2005; Newfield et al. 2003.

6.3.3.2 Multimodality centres on the body as meaning-making resource

Multimodality further stresses the inter-relationship of the aural-musical and body-kinaesthetic modes in learners' games, drawing attention to the way in which different modes function together as a "multimodal grammar" (Cope and Kalantzis n.d.a). The notion of multimodality is apt for describing children's "multiple musicking experiences" (Campbell 1998a, 188). Multimodality enables educators to understand how learners draw on modes in addition to sound to create their games, prompting and encouraging ways of developing the multimodal character of these games in Arts and Culture learning.

Last, the concept of multimodality identifies the body as a potential resource in meaning (or in this case, music-making). Learners' games demonstrate how the body as multimodal sign is positioned at the centre of music-making, children's musicking is seldom static: they create vocal and percussive sounds with their bodies; they dance and gesture and they interact physically. Because multimodal pedagogies increasingly recognise the body's centrality as a potential meaning-making resource, (Newfield et al. 2003, 63), they resonate more broadly with an ethnomusicological understanding of musical performance-practice as innately multimodal.[8]

As the concept of multimodality is a "given in the Multiliteracies approach" (Kress 2000c, 143), its pedagogical framework is largely based on the meaning-making potentials of different modes: the aural, sonic, gestural, spatial, kinaesthetic and visual.[9] According to Kress, each mode offers particular potentials and limitations both for representation and communication – what he terms "affordance" (Kress 2000b, 194-6).

6.3.3.3 The key concept of affordance

The notion of 'affordance' is a key concept within multimodality and, I argue, has important implications for music education. This concept is also used theoretically in music studies to describe how different musics function for people in different contexts (De Nora 2000; Regelski 2000).

Kress reminds us that human beings rely on their senses as a way to engage with the world, that the visual and sonic modes embody "whole areas of our sensory lives" that talking and writing cannot (2000b, 184). Kress's concept of affordance highlights the unique possibilities, meanings and opportunities that each mode represents. Just as "there exists a mode of representation and of

[8] Performance, as studied in ethnomusicology, usually incorporates the visual, sonic and gestural modes as inseparable components of musical practices.
[9] See Kress 1995; 2000a; 2000b and 2000c.

communication in the visual medium, independent of the verbal" (Ibid, 196), music affords a unique way of engaging with the world.

The concepts of affordance and aptness are developed in relation to music by Tia De Nora, and applied to music education by Thomas Regelski. De Nora explains that certain objects (like a ball) afford certain opportunities and these affordances are taken differently by different people (2000, 38-41). Thus "music properties that listeners attend to – and how and why – vary according to situated conditions, contexts and criteria" (Regelski 2000, 15). Kress identifies the sonic or aural mode as being one entity, but in music there are many musical affordances; music functions differently in different contexts for different people. Musical practices are similar to situated discourses: they are distinct, contextualised actions of intent. In music, musical affordance is a generative idea, as Regelski explains:

> 'Music' embraces a *multiplicity of musics*, each of which arises in recognition of different goods and goals. Each is unique in both its socially constituted conditions and regulative practices, and each deserves to be appropriated and valued on its own terms (original emphasis) (2004, 23).

6.3.3.4 Educational musical affordances

I propose that the concept of affordance within multimodality can be used in music education in three ways: firstly affordance enables a particular conception of musical learning; second, affordance facilitates an understanding of how music functions for children; and third, the term draws attention to musical affordances in unfamiliar music. Moving beyond their own situated musical practices, students can discover new musical affordances, asking "what is music good for?" in new settings (Regelski 2000). I explore the third application of affordance within Critical Framing in the Multiliteracies pedagogy (see 6.4.2.3 in this chapter).

Relating affordance to teaching and learning, James Paul Gee characterises learning as "developing effectivity towards affordances", meaning that learning involves recognising the potential or "perceived action possibilities posed by the environment, or objects in the environment", and acting in accordance with this potential (n.d., 9). In music, then, the teacher can ask what affordances are available in the environments for particular learners and what "effectivities" they have or are developing for "*transforming* these affordances" into music-making (original emphasis) (Gee, n.d.).[10] Applying this idea to music, the teacher would ask how effective learners are in developing the musical-design possibilities posed by sounds and musics in their environment.

[10] Gee uses 'effectivities' in this sense: "effectivities are the set of capacities for action which the individual has for transforming affordances into action. An effectivity means that a person can take advantage of what is offered by the objects or features in the environment" (n.d., 10).

Second, a focus on musical affordance is important especially for teachers who tend not to be conscious of the unique ways in which music functions for their learners. Teachers need to consider the "imaginative reign and possibility" inherent in the musical mode, and how children express themselves through music in a way not afforded to them in other modes (Kress 2000b, 196). Recognising the meaningfulness of music for children validates the importance of teaching it within the Arts and Culture learning area. Indeed, the RNCS emphasises the "unique features and scope" of this learning area because it provides "opportunities to nurture and develop learners' creativity" (Department of Education 2002b, 14). Musical practices are the repository for cultural and social meanings, histories and identities. Moreover, music-making affords learners opportunities to develop and imagine who they are, who they are becoming and who they can be. The question 'why, and how, are children so invested in their music-making?' is answered by attending to what music affords them, as I describe in Chapter Five.

In terms of pedagogy, focusing on affordance in musical games enables children's musicking to become the starting point for building a curriculum of "authentic interventions based on children's own thoughts and doings" (Campbell 1998a, 197). Approaching curriculum design from learners' musicking suggests that children bring something to the learning-teaching situation. Patricia Campbell's assertion suggests a particular conception of learner-centredness that the Multiliteracies pedagogy outlines.

6.3.4 Learner-centredness as "recruiting learner subjectivity"

The Multiliteracies pedagogy interprets learner-centredness as "recruiting learner subjectivity" (New London Group 2000, 18).[11] The rationale behind such learner-centredness is to make learning meaningful and relevant to learners, based on theories that show how effective learning takes place only when it "activates learners' prior knowledge" (Pahl and Rowsell 2005, 148).

As discussed in Chapter One, the problems in interpreting learner-centredness concern conceptions of knowledge related to the learner: what the learner brings to learning environments, where knowledge resides and what counts as knowledge. A comment by one of the teachers involved in this project highlights the way in which learner-centredness is being interpreted in many township schools: "I thought I just had to involve the learners in my lesson; that being learner-centred meant doing group work. I didn't realise that they already knew so much about music" (Teacher B 2006). The teacher's

[11] Music education research similarly emphasises the importance of enlisting learner subjectivity in curriculum practice. See Giroux and Simon 1989; Campbell 1998a; 1998b; 2004; Torres and Souza 2005.

comment emphasises how learner-centredness is being interpreted structurally rather than substantively.

The Multiliteracies pedagogy provides a framework which, I suggest, enables teachers like Teacher B to develop a meaningful learner-centred approach. In terms of conceptions of knowledge, Multiliteracies is premised on the view that what counts as knowledge is not only that which is sanctioned in educational institutions but also "the knowledge of the everyday" (Kress 2000c, 137). The Multiliteracies approach stresses that in order to build upon the richness and complexity of learners' prior knowledge, we need to treat 'home background' not as a deficit but as affecting deep levels of identity and epistemology" (Street 1997, 26).

6.3.4.1 Learners' subjectivities

Learners' subjectivities are their "funds of knowledge" - a term that includes the knowledge inherited through family and culture, which educators can draw on (Moll et al. 1992). In music education, learners' "funds of knowledge" are their musical experiences in diverse social and cultural sites, contributing towards what they already know and do musically. Children's identities are particularly invested in music within popular cultures. Popular culture generally constitutes a "significant basis of knowledge" and is particularly important because it "points to a category of meanings and affective investments that shape the very identities, politics and cultures of students" (Giroux and Simon 1989, 18).

In literacy education, learners' subjectivities include the way they use language and make meaning outside the classroom. The Multiliteracies approach advocates for a pedagogy that acknowledges children's home literacy practices and the social worlds where these literacies are situated (Pahl and Rowsell 2005). In Arts and Culture education, I suggest that children's musical games are one site for identity building and subjective experience. As such they encapsulate children's subjectivities and represent tangible forms of "funds of knowledge" and musical interests.

In music, learners' "funds of knowledge" are embodied. Children's musical capacities and skills may not connect to language – they are "non-verbal forms of thinking and knowing" (Veblen 2005, 319). Learners demonstrate an "active musical knowing" (Ibid) in their practices: they 'know' about rhythmic patterning, creating a game with musical rules and structure, sourcing different sounds and putting them together, improvising, creating narratives and matching sound with movement. They express what they know in what they do with their bodies in multimodal practices. Children's musical games reveal their aptitude for combining multiple ways of experiencing music across modes – the sonic, spatial and kinaesthetic.

Part of the problem in much Arts and Culture teaching is that many educators do not understand musical and artistic knowledge as distinct from scientific or factual knowledge. Because children do not name what they do, teachers assume they do not know anything. If teachers do not recognise that artistic, creative capacities can entail embodied knowledge, Arts and Culture lessons run the risk of being a series of productions, or a meaningless naming of musical or visual elements and facts about music and the arts. David Elliott warns against this, proposing that teaching and learning musicianship concerns "music-making as a matter of musical knowledge-in-action" (Elliott 1995, 72). Recognising that learners' games reveal embodied musical knowledge and skills, and being able to identify these, suggests a different kind of pedagogy.

6.3.4.2 What recruiting learner subjectivity entails

Primarily, the Multiliteracies pedagogy argues that learner's subjectivities have implications for curriculum practice: for what and how we teach. First, I suggest that recruiting, in the Multiliteracies sense, means using children's musical practices as sources of information from which to build a curriculum. In terms of curriculum content and practice, learners' games are clues to their music potential; learners' musicking can be a launch pad for their further development. Attending to what children already do musically enables the educator to build a curriculum that accounts for both what children already know and what they still need to learn. In the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework, "recruiting learner subjectivity" means using learners practices, interests and everyday experiences as resources for learning. Learners' practices demonstrate how they learn; they embody "music as action, experience and play" (Campbell 1998a, 204). Based on this knowledge of both the content and learning orientations of children's games, recruiting learners' musical subjectivities implies that educators use the *form* of their games as active play instead of literally including their games in classroom practice.

Second, "recruiting learner subjectivity" in the Multiliteracies pedagogy means bridging inside- and outside-school knowledge. Including "texts from everyday life" bridges the experiential and knowledge gap between school and home, teacher and pupil, playground and classroom (Luke 1997, 47). Drawing on Luke's ideas, Cecilia A. Torres and Jusamara Souza in their application of the Multiliteracies approach to music education, recognise that "It is this experience of everyday life that holds the key to creating a phenomenological space for children's musical creativity and development" (2005, 7). Torres and Souza suggest that connecting classroom and learners' life worlds creates a particular learning environment conducive for development and musical growth by linking new learning to what is familiar and meaningful to children.

In curriculum implementation, educators need to "cross sites" of practices, knowledge and skills (Pahl and Rowsell 2005). The Multiliteracies pedagogy interprets "crossing sites" both in terms of the space and content of teaching. 'Site' is a useful term as it draws attention to physical spaces and what happens in them. Applying the Multiliteracies pedagogy in the context of this research involves physically bridging spaces as locations of practice, where differences are particularly marked. In particular, it involves crossing the barriers between the playground and classroom as sites of practice and knowledge production. Referring to music education specifically, Robert Davis "posits a pedagogical practice where the relations between children, their playground spaces and their classrooms are dynamic" (2005, 56).

The Multiliteracies' conception of bridging sites helps educators to address the dislocation between children's experiences of music in and outside school, which Temmerman (2005) describes in her research (as discussed in Chapter One). The Multiliteracies pedagogy fulfils the critical need for a method that addresses a dislocation between different practices. The Multiliteracies pedagogy is particularly relevant to Arts and Culture learning as it validates two kinds of practice and experience: that of the learner and the teacher. Bridging sites of practice suggests that learning and development occurs at an intersection between teacher and learner; between "official and unofficial knowledges" (Rowsell and Rajaratnam 2005, 330). Consequently, music education has two concerns: "bringing teaching in line with who learners are musically" (Campbell 1998a, 196), and offering opportunities for learners' development and growth through new learning. Curriculum building and pedagogy arise from learners' subjectivities but do not end there. The Multiliteracies pedagogy enables an understanding of education not as an imposed curriculum, or simply remaining within the child's world, but uses learners' subjectivities as a basis for broadening knowledge, musicianship, skills and experiences. In curriculum implementation, the Multiliteracies framework provides a methodology for the process of integration, development and transformation.

6.4. The 'how' of the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework

> Given children's extensive engagement with music … we might marvel at the unknown: How much more music may be stored inside them, awaiting stimulation and development? What could become of children were we to pay greater attention to their ideas about music and to figure further ways to work them into their enrichment and training? (Campbell 1998a, 168).

The pedagogical challenge in this project is how to incorporate learners' practices in the classroom, how "socio-cultural worlds and local knowledge comes to be constituted in the classroom" (Stein 2004, 95). Many music educators advocate for including children's own music in the curriculum but

few offer a methodology that articulates how learners' musical practices can intersect and link with pedagogical knowledge. I argue that the process of recruiting subjectivity needs to proceed from inclusion to development, that simply re-enacting reiterating children's musical games superficially in Arts and Culture lessons does not foster new learning, because it does not develop the musical potential those games demonstrate. Campbell's comment on the implications of children's musicking is particularly relevant here as it highlights a core principle of education based on the etymology of the word education, meaning 'to draw out that which is within'. Music education's aim is then to "bring children's musicking to full flowering" (Campbell 1998a, 196).

For music education in the context of this research, Multiliteracies is particularly applicable because it addresses a pedagogical challenge that Stein identifies: "how to bring knowing to the surface of consciousness … and to transform what [learners] know, remember, sense, hear, feel, and believe" into writing, image-collage or dialogue (2004, 96). Recruiting learner subjectivity here is the basis, but not the goal, of learning because education is fundamentally about change and transformation (Kress 2000c, 140).[12]

6.4.1 What the Multiliteracies pedagogy offers as methodology

The four components of the pedagogy, referred to as the 'Multiliteracies pedagogical framework' creates particular kinds of learning environments, where the educator adopts teaching strategies based on learner subjectivity, which also facilitate opportunities for transformation and new learning (New London Group 1996; Cope and Kalantzis 2000a). It offers the teacher a 'map' for navigating the journey from prior to transformed knowledge and skills, proceeding from the known and relating the unknown to existing knowledge. The four components of the pedagogy are a 'how-to' approach for utilising learners' practices as a basis from which to extend their experience, understanding and capacities. The components represent four teaching orientations, each with a specific focus:

> The Multiliteracies pedagogy is a complex integration of four factors: Situated Practice based on the world of learners' Designed and Designing experiences; Overt Instruction through which students shape for themselves an explicit metalanguage of Design; Critical Framing, which relates meanings to their social contexts and purposes; and Transformed Practice which students transfer and re-create Designs of meaning from one context to another (New London Group 1996, 83).

Rather than constituting a linear hierarchy, each component is a learning orientation, based on different kinds of teaching tradition or approach. They are related in complex ways as "cultural

[12] According to Kress, "placing 'Design' at the centre of curriculum and of its purposes is to redefine the goal of education as the making of individual dispositions oriented towards innovation, creativity, transformation and change". He contrasts this with curricula based on theories and approaches to teaching as transmission, and learning as acquisition, where "'To learn' was not supposed to mean 'to change'" (2000c, 141).

journeys" or "ways of seeing meaning": different kinds of learning and teaching can happen simultaneously with one predominating, and although they may proceed from one to another, steps may be repeatedly revisited at different levels (New London Group 2000, 32). The New London Group argues that each aspect is necessary for meaningful, effective teaching to take place.[13]

Cope and Kalantzis' view of the four aspects of Multiliteracies pedagogy through a "cultural perspective" is instructive for music education (2000b, 241). Situated Practice honours students' cultures and life-worlds, recognising that all learning and knowing needs to be grounded in everyday experience (Ibid). Then, premised on "education as a process of transformation" (Ibid), Overt Instruction and Critical Framing "represent two kinds of journey away from the experience of the life world, a process of expanding one's cultural horizons" (Ibid). Finally, Transformed Practice "is the result of having taken the cultural journeys away from the life world represented by Overt Instruction and Critical Framing" (Ibid). Thus the learners' initial situated practices are transformed because of what they have learnt and experienced during other elements of the pedagogy. The process is circular rather than linear, as I suggest in a model of applying the pedagogy to music education in Chapter Seven.

I propose that moving between the four components is particularly useful in music education because it allows the educator to continually respond to what learners are doing musically – to follow a musical course of action. The four components as "cultural journeys" (Cope and Kalantzis 200b, 241) rather than a sequence implies an evolving process: a process of growth from a central point (Situated Practice) outwards (towards Transformed Practice). The fluidity of this pedagogical framework relates to creative processes inherent in arts education, such as following a creative thought or musical idea in improvisation or composition, developing a performance, or deepening levels of listening.

The Overt Instruction component emphasises that, with the teachers' assistance, learners can develop beyond what they can do on their own. The pedagogy acknowledges the necessity for explicit instruction (musical suggestions, skill-building and extending sound possibilities) while allowing for creative application of these skills in new contexts in Transformed Practice (for example, working in a musically-unfamiliar context, or composing a new piece). The framework enables the teacher to move between the "Situated Practice of students' life world experiences" – their own music and its meanings – and engage with musical practices in different contexts in Critical Framing (Cope and Kalantzis 2000b, 242).

[13] See Cope and Kalantzis for an explanation of how the four Multiliteracies components represent different traditions of learning, and the necessity of using all four in relation to each other (2000b).

The Multiliteracies pedagogical framework offers a number of opportunities for the Arts and Culture teacher. The clarity and fluidity of this pedagogical schema enables teachers to check themselves against the ideal and to ensure that each element of the pedagogy is present over a series of lessons. Its framework is inclusive, comprising varying teaching styles and modes of learning, ranging from traditional 'teaching as instruction' to teaching as transforming, facilitating and enabling. The New London Group argues that each component is limiting on its own and that integrating all four is necessary for effective learning. The pedagogy builds on existing teaching practices, rather than negating them, allowing the teacher to locate her own practice within the framework, while encouraging new methodologies. In addition, I propose that the four components of the Multiliteracies pedagogy achieve the aims of certain approaches to music education.[14]

6.4.2 Interpreting the four components in music education

6.4.2.1 Situated Practice

In interpreting the Multiliteracies framework for music education, I propose that Situated Practice involves learners' musical subjectivities, focuses on music as familiar practice and concerns who learners are musically.

Teaching and learning arises out of Situated Practice, which is based on locating learning in students' own experience. Situated practice actively uses the learners' life-worlds as a key part of the learning programme (Andrew 2006a, 5). Situated Practice thus considers the effective and socio-cultural needs and identities of all learners (New London Group 1996, 83). In literacy education "this aspect of the curriculum needs to recruit learners' previous and current experiences, including their extra-school communities and discourses" (New London Group 1996, 85).

In music education the teacher engages with learners' musical discourses – their Available Designs – represented in the musical practices of learners as creators, performers, listeners, participators or audience, as well as sounds in their environment. Musically, children's Available Designs represent a synthesis of their personal, social and cultural experiences: a *mélange* of sounds, songs, movements and melodies they hear in their environment. In Situated Practice "students extend their experience of a particular kind of representation and generate their own language, before confronting the language of experts" (Thesen 2001, 141). Situated Practice in music represents an "immersion" in musical

[14] I refer here specifically to the aims of music education expressed in Critical and Praxial philosophies, represented by Regelski (2000; 2004; 2005a; 2005b) and Elliott (1995; 2005), and aspects of Campbell's Multicultural music education (2004a). To some extent the Multiliteracies pedagogy also articulates with Swanwick's philosophy of music education (1979; 1988).

practices that are meaningful to learners – the music they already create – before being exposed to new musical practices (New London Group 2000, 31) and involves identifying children's games as situated practices, and productively harnessing the elements of these games in the classroom.

However, learning does not end with Situated Practice. The New London Group argues that Situated Practice alone does not achieve core curricula goals concerned with cognitive and creative development, critical thinking and reflection, or applying knowledge and skills. On its own, Situated Practice does not necessarily lead to "conscious control of material, or an awareness of what one does and doesn't know" (New London Group 1996, 84). In this research I argue that, while children's musicking demonstrates considerable musical capacity, children are not aware of different kinds of music (other than those they hear in the township), nor do they have any critical understanding that what they or others do constitutes 'arts and culture.'

Their Situated Practices therefore need to be supplemented by several different kinds of learning, represented in Overt Instruction, Critical Framing and Transformed Practice in the Multiliteracies Pedagogical Framework.

6.4.2.2 Overt Instruction

> [Overt Instruction] includes all the active interventions on the part of the teacher and other experts that scaffold learning activities; that focus the learner on the important features of their experiences and activities within the community of learners; and that allow the learner to gain explicit information at times when it can most usefully organise and guide practice, building on and recruiting what the learner already knows and has accomplished (New London Group 2000, 33).

I propose that Overt Instruction involves the teacher's mediation and introduction of new skills for developing learners' musicianship, and concerns music as developing practice. This component emphasises that "certain forms of Overt Instruction are needed to supplement immersion [in the meaningful practices' of Situated Practice] if learners are to gain conscious control of what they acquire" (New London Group 1996, 85). Because Overt Instruction involves what the teacher brings to learning, it represents the intersection of learners' and educators' "funds of knowledge" (Moll et al. 1992). Overt Instruction is teacher-driven in terms of challenging learners, structuring tasks, and developing capacities to be applied when learners create their own musical designs during Transformed Practice.

In the Multiliteracies terminology, Overt Instruction concerns how we 'do' music and "describes the patterns in Available Designs of meaning: the resources we can find and use to make meaning" (Cope and Kalantzis n.d.a). In music, the process involves experimenting with musical resources and

different designs, guided by the teacher. The Overt Instruction phase emphasises that "music instruction enhances what is musically there and develops all children can musically be" (Campbell 1998a, 196). Overt Instruction also resonates with Keith Swanwick's assertion that the goal of teaching music should be to "strengthen the relationship between child and music in a conscious, deliberate way" (1979, 41). Teaching music in Overt Instruction increases attention and involvement primarily by developing listening skills.

Overt Instruction is a more 'traditional' model of teaching, but is not teaching as knowledge transmission or memorising. Rather it "includes all those active interventions on the part of the teacher and other experts that scaffold learning activities" (New London Group 2000, 33). Scaffolding is the process of associating and linking what children know with what they need to know. Scaffolding as a step-by-step sequencing process in Overt Instruction is particularly important for developing an understanding of music-in-practice. Here, the teacher scaffolds activities from simple to complex: from imitation to creation, sound to symbol, and body to instrument. Scaffolding develops learners' musical skills by creating incrementally challenging tasks in the way that Elliott proposes. He contends that "musical flow", the unique enjoyment and experience of music's value, occurs when musical tasks match musical competency within a given practice (2005, 12). The teachers' task, Elliott proposes, is to "develop and match our students' musicianship with appropriate musical challenges", concentrating on "musical problem finding and problem solving" (Elliott 2005; 1993). Overt Instruction in music concerns the way in which the teacher poses musical problems and facilitates their solution with pupils. Once learners have mastered a certain skill, it is extended in increasingly challenging musical activities.

Overt Instruction involves collaboration between teacher and students, where students accomplish tasks more complex than those they would be able to on their own (New London Group 2000, 33). The Multiliteracies pedagogy draws here on Vygotskian theories of learning as "assisted performance", which refers to what the child can do with the support of the environment and others (Tharp and Gallimore 1991, 45; Vygotsky 1978. Teaching in Overt Instruction consists of "assisting performance through 'zones of proximal development' (ZPD) – the distance between a child's development level, and their potential development under guidance" (Vygotsky 1978, 86). Highlighting the importance of teacher intervention through interaction and "joint performance" is useful in music education as a creative, collaborative activity. The ZPD as a "human activity zone" (Holzman n.d.), is an apt term for music as collaborative and performative action, or musical praxis (Elliott 1995; 2005).

In language learning, students "shape for themselves an explicit metalanguage of Design" – a way of expressing how meaning is made (New London Group 2000, 31). Musical knowing, however, is

practised and embodied through performative or listening actions. While talking about music does assist the learner to focus on musical features, Overt Instruction primarily concerns the experiencing of musical elements and musical roles in different ways.[15] Elliott emphasises that verbal knowledge about music is secondary to musicianship as a "form of procedural knowledge" –as "rich forms of thinking and knowing" (2005, 3). He emphasises "musicianship, as a form of cognition, as the knowledge we should teach." This musicianship involves experiencing music-in-action ('doing' music) by adopting different stances towards musical works, as audience, critic, performer and music-maker (Ibid, 11), focusing on depth of experience.

Through class and group music-making facilitated by the teacher, the student is made aware of greater possibilities for musical design. The environment of Overt Instruction enables existing musical skills to be developed, honed and deepened as the student gains control, individually and collaboratively, over musical resources at their disposal. In Overt Instruction, learners reflect on what they already know, thus developing a consciousness about musical practice, including their own. Learners become aware that what they already do forms part of 'culture' and is connected to other musics. This understanding then forms the basis from which to reflect on other musical cultures.

6.4.2.3 Critical Framing

Critical Framing in the Multiliteracies pedagogy asks how a design fits in with local and more global meanings (Cope and Kalantzis n.d.a). I propose that Critical Framing involves criticality and appraisal, that learners explore and investigate who other people are musically in relation to the self. Critical Framing represents the 'why' of Arts and Culture, where learners explore musical affordances in different social, cultural and historical contexts. Critical Framing relates musical designs to their function and effect in the world. There are two components: learners reflect on, and contextualise their own practices (local meanings) and then investigate and reflect on unfamiliar musical practices (more global meanings).

In the first sense, learners stand back from what they are doing and adopt a critical distance in relation to context – and then act with new understanding and awareness (Andrew 2006a, 5). By doing this "learners can gain the necessary personal and theoretical distance from what they have learnt" (New London Group 2000, 34). Critical Framing develops children (and educators) as reflective practitioners through "making strange again what students have learned and mastered" (New London Group 2000, 34). Working within Critical Framing, the classroom becomes what Elliott terms a

[15] Internationally recognised approaches to childhood music education (like those of Orff, Kodaly, Suzuki and Dalcroze) recognise that "children's practical experience of musical concepts can internalise learning without direct verbal knowledge thereof" (Woodward 2005, 253).

"reflective musical practicum" where teachers and students are engaged with what counts in [students'] developing musicianship (1995; 2005, 13). The process is one of feedback and constructive criticism involving learners in their own assessment and progress. The learner explores their own music through a reflective, investigative lens; through this process they discover what they themselves do not know they can do and become conscious of their own creative imagination. Consequently, what learners take back into a non-school context through Critical Framing is conscious, whereas what they possessed before (their own musical practices) was not consciously reflected on or understood as valuable.

In the second sense of Critical Framing, learners "interpret the social and cultural context of particular Designs of meaning" (New London Group 2000, 35). In music education, they consider how other people are musical, what constitutes musicianship in different settings, and relate their findings back to their own musical experiences. In this way they develop "an understanding of "the life-world of others", which is "an essential paradigm of music education" (Schmidt 2005, 9). In Critical Framing, learners' exploration of unfamiliar music "throws into 'critical' relief the familiar musics we take for granted" (Regelski 2000, 32). Regelski parallels the move from Situated Practice to Critical Framing: students are asked to engage with "a broad enough array of 'other' musics" in order to "understand 'their own music' *critically* in terms of its limitations and benefits as praxis" (original emphasis) (2000, 20). Critical Framing broadens learners' musical experience, encouraging them to move beyond existing musical horizons.[16] Regelski (2000) emphasises the importance of expanding musical horizons, of developing breadth of knowledge because it "increases the choices and competencies of all students for musicking" (2004, 33). Increasing students' musical options increases their potential for continuing their developing musicianship beyond school. Broadening children's musical experience in Critical Framing helps to achieve Critical Music Education's aim to prepare "students to be more fully empowered as agents of their own musical destinies" (Regelski 2000, 21).

Critical Framing also connects the two understandings of reflection, encouraging the learner to relate their own musicality to the musicality of others. The process of relating self to others in Critical Framing also facilitates an "understanding of the universality of musical practice" (Swanwick 1988 116), of the "impulse to music" as a "common human theme" (Regelski 2000, 28). As a result, learning in Critical Framing potentially deepens and changes the way learners think about their own music and that of others.

[16] Here, Regelski draws on Blacking: "Any musical horizon is understood more profoundly when it is thrown into relief or comparison with another horizon" (1973, ix-x).

Critical Framing thus articulates with many stated goals in music education – both locally and internationally – particularly "music education as critically informed practice" (Elliott 2005, 14). The RNCS recognises "Reflecting on Arts and Culture products and processes" as a separate learning outcome and core competency of the curriculum (Department of Education 2002b, 14). The Arts and Culture Learning Area Statement encourages learners to: "reflect creatively on art, performances and cultural events; identify the connections between art works and culture; understand the various contexts in which Arts and Culture emerge; and understand how the Arts express, extend and challenge culture in unique ways" (Ibid). Critical Framing resonates most clearly with the RNCS's constitution-based philosophy of democracy, human rights, tolerance and social justice. Arts and Culture in the RNCS is framed as the vehicle for engendering values and attitudes of tolerance and sensitivity, proposing that learners learn about different cultural groups through experiencing their music and arts.

Finally, I contend that the Critical Framing component of the Multiliteracies pedagogy is essential in the South African context because it encourages a particular critical sensibility lacking historically in apartheid education, and which is still lacking in both classroom practice and some of the arts and culture materials that teachers use. The lack of critical thinking skills reflects a broader deficit in reflective, critical teaching practice in South Africa, as discussed in Chapter One. Effective teaching in Critical Framing helps learners to become attuned to cultural complexity in contemporary South Africa and to explore the politics and complexities of power, identity and historical representation of Arts and Culture forms and practices. Critical Framing challenges both learners and educators to interrogate cultural meanings rather than to passively accept them. It therefore enables a depth of understanding in Arts and Culture that is likely to encourage the sensitivity and tolerance that the curriculum espouses.

6.4.2.4 Transformed Practice

> Transformed Practice represents one of two possible journeys: transfer of acquired knowledge and experience to an unfamiliar cultural context; or return to the life-world of one's original experience with fresh perspectives and newly relevant knowledge of underlying processes (the depth perspectives of Overt Instruction) or other worlds (the breadth perspectives of Critical Framing) (Cope and Kalantzis 2000b, 241).

I propose that Transformed Practice explores music as new practice and concerns who learners can become musically. Transformed Practice relates theory back to practice while continually "developing a critically reflective practice" (Andrew 2006a, 5). This component of the pedagogy exists as the result of other practices: it builds on the intuitive skills and mastery of Situated Practice through control over design in Overt Instruction and reflective interpretation in Critical Framing. Transformed

Practice represents music as new practice, carried out in a reflective manner. "In Transformed Practice, students transfer and re-create Designs of meaning from one context to another" (New London Group 2000, 31). Students apply and revise what they have learnt and create new designs. In the context of this research, Transformed Practice gives children opportunities to use their musical capacities evident in their games, plus newly developed capacities learnt in Overt Instruction and Critical Framing, in new musical contexts. It therefore entails innovation and the realisation of learners' potential.

Because Transformed Practice focuses on application, it presents opportunities for the educator to assess learning and development. Transformed Practice enables the educator to see to what extent learners have learnt and understood new skills and knowledges, as they are applied in new musical situations. In terms of musical assessment, the teacher is looking for improvements in skill, attitudes and understanding – what Swanwick calls a "growth in responsiveness to music" (1988, 127). Transformed Practice completes the circle of the Multiliteracies pedagogy, linking back to what the learners themselves create; new designs potentially feed back into original situated designs and may influence those designs. For example, children's musical games may change in the light of the new skills and capacities they develop. Transformed Practice creates new possibilities, new challenges and potentially "changes the designer" (Cope and Kalantzis n.d.a).

Transformed Practice relates to who learners can develop into musically, as they act as composers, improvisers, conductors and performers in imagined contexts. One of the differences between literacy and music education is that music relates to imagined as well as real contexts. Transformed Practice, as framed in the Multiliteracies pedagogy, relates to the learner creating for "real purposes" (New London Group 2000, 36). However artistic practices like music also relate to imagined contexts. Indeed, often the strength of artistic process is its ability to go beyond the real (for example, musical games in which learners' engage in imaginative role play). Because students apply their knowledge and skills to imagined contexts, times and places in Transformed Practice, I suggest that this component of the Multiliteracies pedagogy may facilitate the kind of "process of developing musicianship" in future contexts that Elliott envisages (2005).

6.5 Challenges of applying the Multiliteracies pedagogy in music education

The reasons for applying the Multiliteracies pedagogy to music education are, as I argue above, compelling. Nevertheless, the pedagogy does present a number of challenges when applied to music

education in South Africa. I propose that the approach needs adaptation in this country because many teachers lack the skills or training to do so (Stein and Newfield 2000, 308).[17]

6.5.1 Challenges for the music educator

The challenges in applying the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework in the South African education context more broadly, concern the "lack of a meaningful culture of learning", especially in township and rural schools (O'Connor quoted in Stein and Newfield 2000, 307). For Arts and Culture education, the challenges concern educators' capacity, as well as achieving an adequate standard of education for learners in government schools – a concern that has been widely discussed and addressed since 1994. The Multiliteracies pedagogy assumes particular dispositions in the teacher; a substantive understanding of learner-centredness; the ability to work within different teaching modes, and subject knowledge related to local and global contexts. This pedagogy also presupposes a high level of cognitive ability in teachers.

I suggest a number of pedagogical challenges related to the four components of the Multiliteracies framework. Situated Practice demands a conceptual shift for many educators in recognising learners' practices as important kinds of knowledge and embodying certain capacities. It also requires an ability and desire to work with learners' subjectivities as the starting point of learning. Working in Overt Instruction necessitates considerable subject knowledge: teachers need to be grounded in one musical practice, but aware of many others. Furthermore, the teacher needs to understand, and be able to practise, the principles of scaffolding learning. Finally I suggest that Overt Instruction in music education requires a particular artistic sensibility, a capacity for listening, developing, reflecting and creating with learners.

Furthermore, teaching within Critical Framing implies that the teacher herself has particular critical dispositions – dispositions that have not been developed historically in South African education. Although the current curriculum is intended to cultivate the critical, reflective skills required in Critical Framing, my experience is that these are generally lacking in learners, largely because teachers' own capacity is limited in this area. The educator's own critical, questioning skills and sensibilities are paramount if she is to develop critical thinking in her learners. Thinking about what one does and why one does it remains a challenge in teacher education.[18] Working within

[17] Based on responses of a number of South African educators and school principals, particularly in under-resourced contexts, Stein and Newfield emphasise that schools are often battling with issues of coping with large classes and basic necessities like proper classrooms and teaching materials. Hence, although South African education may need an approach like the Multiliteracies project, "we need to questions whether we have not only the resources but the teachers and students who have the capacity to implement such an ambitious project" (Mphahlele, quoted in Stein and Newfield 2000, 308).

[18] For a discussion of the take-up of reflective practice in South African teachers, see Adler and Reed 2002.

Transformed Practice implies that the teacher create the conditions for transformation to occur, and has a capacity to recognise moments of transformative practice in learners. Lastly, the music teacher needs to be able to recognise what active musical knowing constitutes. She needs to know that, for example, musical performance is not merely about producing but also embodies different kinds of musical understanding. The educator then has to find musical rather than verbally expressed evidence of learners' developing musicianship, making assessment particularly challenging. I suggest that such an approach requires that the teacher has considerable musical experience and training.

6.5.2 Differences in language literacy and musical practice

Further challenges concern the differences between language literacy and musical practice. The Multiliteracies pedagogy and its related fields of "multimodal instructional practice" focus on language and its relationship to meaning-making and not music literacy (Street 2005). Music education does not only involve learning 'literacy' in the strict sense of learning a musical language (vocabulary), although it may. 'Talking about language' in the Multiliteracies approach needs to be interpreted in music education as '*doing* music' (in other words, remaining in the same mode).[19] Reflecting about music using words is therefore removed from the musical mode. It is more difficult and challenging, especially with young learners, whose primary expressive or thinking mode is not the verbal or written.

In applying the Multiliteracies approach to music, therefore, I substitute 'meaning making' for 'music-making', because the music-language-meaning dialectic is so complex. There are differences in translating 'language' to music because music's relationship to meaning is not direct (where, relatively speaking, language is).[20] In music education, as with most musically-related disciplines, practitioners constantly grapple with the nature of music and meaning. In teaching music, I suggest that educators need to think about what makes music unique from other expressive forms, and encourage their learners to do so. An integral part of the rationale for music education is recognising and experiencing that, unlike language, "Every music is different, but every music is music too. There is a level at which you can talk of 'music', but it isn't the ABC level" (Cook 1998, vi). Music education differs from literacy education because we can relate to different musics as music in a way we cannot relate to foreign languages or discourses. Music education's task is to investigate how music operates as communication and "how it is (how it can be) that music operates an as agent of meaning" (Ibid., vi).

[19] Here, I concur with the Praxial music education theory that the most significant learning for a young child is not formal knowledge about music, but the practical experience of it (Woodward 2005, 253).
[20] For an investigation of the relationship between music and language see Kramer 1995.

The next chapter is an envisaged application of the Multiliteracies pedagogy in the specific context of this research, taking into account the challenges discussed above, and how such an application may need to be tempered in the context of township schools.

Chapter Seven: An envisaged application of the Multiliteracies pedagogy

7.1 Introduction

This chapter describes an envisaged application of the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework to music education within the Arts and Culture learning area. The envisaged application is based on the School A, B and C learners and their games, the three Arts and Culture teachers involved in this research and their Soweto primary school environments. The envisaged application is therefore based on the needs and opportunities present in the context of this project.

Both conceptually and pedagogically, I argue that the Multiliteracies pedagogy could potentially transform Arts and Culture teaching practice and curriculum implementation. Applying this framework to music education is therefore an ambitious project, especially for educators who are not formally trained in music and, I suggest, for those who are trained but whose practice remains within a teaching mode of 'knowledge as transmission'. I propose that applying the Multiliteracies pedagogy to music education requires a paradigm shift for any educator; one which opens up new and imaginative possibilities for learning.

Taking into account the potential challenges implied in this application, especially in the South African context, this descriptive interpretation is designed to be relevant and possible, within the context of this research. Addressed to the educators with whom I worked, this application is consciously directive in terms of offering practical ideas, activities and strategies for implementing the four components of the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework in music education. The description is also based on the training these teachers received prior to applying a Multiliteracies approach in their classrooms.

7.2 Using the Multiliteracies pedagogy

I frame and divide the application into categories with practical musical suggestions, sequenced activities, and teaching strategies for moving between the four components of the Multiliteracies pedagogy. These are:

> Basing learning in the students' own experience (Situated Practice); explicit teaching (Overt Instruction); investigating the cultural context of the Designs (Critical Framing); and applying the Designs in a new context that the students have themselves created (Transforming Learning) (Cope and Kalantzis, n.d.a).

As emphasised in Chapter Seven, teaching and learning shifts between four pedagogical orientations, which are not tied to any time-frames. Rather, the four components imply, enhance and build on each other. A teacher may move in and out of each teaching-learning orientation during a lesson or lesson series depending on what learners create, find difficult, or which musical skills or knowledge need further development. The four components provide a concise structure for teaching, but also allow flexibility and enable the teacher to respond to what her learners produce.

Methodologically, each component focuses on teaching and learning. When applied to music, the method creates space within a conceptual frame to follow musical processes like participating, sourcing, organising, creating, working and re-working, performing, reflecting and generating new creative possibilities.

7.3 The teacher as researcher in Situated Practice

The Multiliteracies pedagogy proposes that in Situated Practice "the teacher needs to be like an ethnographer, finding out what students need to know as a starting point" (Cope and Kalantzis 2000b, 237). Observing, listening, and analysing children's musical practices becomes the basis for designing a learning programme that is learner-centred, takes learners' needs and interests into account, and proceeds from their prior knowledge and skills to new designs and new learning. Kate Pahl and Jennifer Rowsell characterise the teacher's initial role in Situated Practice as "documenting the complex and multiple repertoires of children through the ethnographic method" (2005, 85). In the context of this research, children's "complex and multiple repertoires" are embodied in their musical games, as described in Chapters Three, Four and Five. "Being like an ethnographer", for the teacher, involves noticing, observing and listening to what learners do on the playground. This process implies that teachers first need to validate learners' musicking as important musical and cultural practices. The 'teacher as researcher' stage of Situated Practice is extensive here, because it is an area that I suggest is deeply lacking in South African Arts and Culture teaching. I therefore outline the rationale and implications of the initial research process in detail.

7.3.1 Reasons for the research and analysis phase

In music education research too, educators advocate a similar approach to the one proposed by the Multiliteracies pedagogy. Patricia Campbell contends that "it is one of the tasks of teachers to listen for the music children manifest and to gauge their musical interests and needs accordingly" (1998a, 169). In other words, educators need to know what children already know before we can decide what

we think they ought to know. Furthermore, the reason I suggest that teachers focus particularly on children's musical games is that "in order to find out what the child knows, it is necessary to see what she or he does in collaboration with others rather than alone (rather than the individual's ability)" (Vygotsky, quoted in Holzman 1997, 42).

7.3.1.1 Developing learning programmes based on learners' prior knowledge

Research and analysis enables the teacher to design a learning programme appropriate for learners in their socio-cultural contexts. The process facilitates a methodology for meaningfully recruiting children's existing music and dance, while promoting new learning. For the teacher, analysing learners' practices highlights what children already know and can do musically. . Furthermore, the research and analysis process enables the teacher to identify which capacities children still need to develop. Having identified potential conceptual gaps and skill deficits, the teacher can then allow these to articulate with curriculum requirements (skills, knowledge, values and attitudes)[1]. Using a research method suggests that learners' musical practices begin to inform teaching, rather than being separate from it; their prior knowledge and skills become teaching resources for stimulating further learning and development. Through analysing learners' practices in terms of affordance, as discussed in Chapter Five, teachers can begin to appreciate how and why children are engaged in musicking. It follows, then, that music in Arts and Culture learning should not only offer similar affordances, but provide new learning experiences that extend these affordances. Identifying learners' musical resources and repertoires provides the educator with knowledge of how to increase learners' repertoire, expand their musical experiences, and develop their potential.

7.3.1.2 Interpreting the Arts and Culture curriculum

Methodologically, the research process I propose assists the educator in positioning the learner, rather than the curriculum, at the centre of teaching and learning. A substantive learner-centred pedagogy becomes possible as the teacher utilises learners' capacities, interests and needs, rather than using a pre-determined set of outcomes as the basis of a learning programme. In this way, the teacher begins to negotiate the curriculum instead of enacting it literally, or on a superficial structural level. The process facilitates teaching according to learners' prior knowledge, instead of being restricted by curriculum statements.

[1] The RNCS's four Arts and Culture learning outcomes are based on the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes learners should "know, demonstrate and be able to do" at the end of the General Education and Training Band (Grades R-9) (Department of Education 2002b, 14).

A critical awareness of learners' practices enables the educator to refer back to the curriculum and determine whether or not learners are exceeding curriculum requirements. First, the curriculum may assume specific musical skills and capacities in the learner. By observing her learners, the teacher may identify, for instance, that her learners have not yet developed a capacity to listen with purpose. Second, I argue that some of the specific Assessment Standards (AS) within the four Arts and Culture learning outcomes may be limiting and do not allow for the possibility that children can learn and do more than is expected of them. Instead of being bound by the curriculum's learning outcomes and assessment standards, an analytical research process encourages the teacher to develop her own learning outcomes, based on her learners' progress. The process thus prompts the teacher to go beyond an official curriculum framework to become a curriculum designer, in the way the Multiliteracies pedagogy proposes (New London Group 1996; 2000). Such a process, involving choice and design, places the teacher as reflective practitioner, rather than curriculum doctrine, at the centre of curriculum development.

7.3.1.3 Cultivating reflective practice

Further reasons for advocating a 'teacher as researcher' approach are rooted in teacher-practice and sensibilities. In general, Arts and Culture educators (and the wider structures of Arts and Culture education) do not recognise children's songs or games as learning resources. . Entering learners' musical worlds as a researcher therefore requires a complete re-orientation in thinking and listening for teachers who have never considered learners to be creators of knowledge, or their musical play to be potential teaching resources.

Recruiting learners' musical practices calls for a deep understanding and willingness to engage with learners as "masters' of a particular practice" (New London Group 2000, 32). I suggest that if the teacher approaches learners' musical play as a 'researcher', she will gain insight into their "musical literacies" or "available designs of meaning" (Pahl and Rowsell 2005; New London Group 2000, 35). This process, although it begins the pedagogical innovation, should ideally continue because teaching involves responding to what learners are doing and creating in order to build and develop their knowledge and capacities. In other words, the innovation of the Multiliteracies pedagogy suggests that the teacher be reflective of both her own and her learners' practices.

7.3.1.4 Benefits of the research process

Becoming a researcher is beneficial for the teacher as it encourages the development of listening, observation and analytical skills. The kinds of skills teachers build as a 'researcher' in relation to

learners' practices in turn encourages a cultivation of their own reflective practice. In addition, this phase helps to clarify the difference between skills, values, attitudes and musical knowledge – as outlined in the curriculum – as well as to identify additional traits. The analysis therefore formed part of the teacher training.

The research process in Situated Practice also benefits learners. By physically entering learners' space of musical play and paying attention to their games, the teacher begins to "cross sites of practice", closing the gap between classroom and playground (Pahl and Rowsell 2005). Furthermore, talking to learners about their games, songs and dances helps them to realise that they already possess knowledge, skill and ideas; it validates children's creative, imaginative capacities and connects them with wider communities of musical practice. Acknowledging and recognising learners' musical games enables learners to experience themselves as part of a vibrant, active and living culture, rather than experiencing arts and culture as a separate entity to be learnt.

7.3.2 The research process in Situated Practice

7.3.2.1 Observation and listening

What does it mean for the teacher to become like a researcher in Situated Practice? First, I propose that this process involves developing particular skills. The teacher as researcher entails developing similar observation, listening and analytical skills to be developed in the learners themselves. Thus the teacher becomes a model for certain musical and artistic sensibilities, of which listening is paramount. Following Campbell's approach, the teacher's research process is as much about 'opening ears' as 'seeing' what is already present musically. It requires an ability to listen musically and identify the features explained below that constitute the kind of "intelligent listening" Elliott espouses, a listening *for* something (1995; 2005). Because children's musicking is multimodal, the teacher also needs to observe the ways in which learners combine sound, movement, gesture and dance in their games. Furthermore, the process involves teachers communicating with learners in a way that elicits their meanings, thoughts, feelings and methods of their games. Communicating in this way also enables the teacher to ascertain the extent to which learners are aware of their games as musical practices, how much they are able to reflect on what they already know, and can do, musically.

7.3.2.2 Analysis

Second, I propose that the teacher observe and record what they notice about children's musical games, using an analytical approach. The process of analysis I propose represents an overall

pedagogical orientation for the teacher. Noticing learners' musicking on an ongoing basis, rather than as a once-off activity, means that the teacher continuously responds to her learners. I suggest that such observation and analysis, focusing on specific learning characteristics, facilitates meaningful curriculum planning and development. In order to utilise learners' musical practices meaningfully in pedagogy, I propose that the educator become aware not only of the games' content, but also identifies the musical capacities, knowledge and skills, and meanings these games embody. The idea of using learners' musical games in the classroom runs the risk of merely repeating them in another space. Such repetition does not move through the Multiliteracies components, nor does it follow the curriculum. However, identifying the characteristics of learners' games enables the teacher to extend the musical capacities she perceives in the games.

In response, then, to the overall question, 'What do educators *do* with children's musical games?' I propose that they be recruited on three levels: content and form; skills, knowledge and capacities; and meanings or affordances. The different skills, knowledge of values outlined in each analytical category are those that learners already display in their games. The analytical categories I propose below become the levels on which the educator can "recruit learner subjectivity" (New London Group 1996) and a lens through which to view their practices, moving from specific musical elements to more general social characteristics.

Analytical categories

The following categories are the basis for the questions on the teachers' questionnaire that I used as part of their training prior to implementing the proposed pedagogical innovation (see Appendix B).

A. Musical content and form (descriptive level): genre (clapping, dance, mixed songs, chants with movement, circle interaction, accumulative game); using and organising sound (melody, sound quality, rhythm, texture, dynamics and tempo used in different forms); lyrics and word-use; sound resources (instrumental, vocal or body percussion); structure (call-and-response, free narrative, repetition and contrast); the games' formation and group dynamics (circle, line-formation, pairs, dance formations).

B. Learners' capacities

(i) Musical skills: (doing level): expressive ability; devising and following musical and game rules; improvising; musically co-operate ; keep time together; create and performing lapping patterns; cross-rhythmic ability; singing in call-and-response style; turn taking; the skill of layering rhythmic patterns through singing, clapping and moving; matching sound and movement; levels of listening; sensitivity

to sound; awareness and use of sound qualities and the ability to respond musically through movement or gesture.

(ii) Ability to design: being resourceful (learners can control and choose from a range of musical resources); drawing on available designs: selecting, mixing and manipulating sound resources to produce a song or game: combining different modes effectively in designing; and using different modes in design: aural, musical, gestural, spatial and kinetic.

(iii) Embodied musical and cultural knowledge: being aware of musical-cultural sources; demonstrating different dance elements; understanding different musical practices and functions; knowing about different kinds of performance; developing historical and contextual awareness; displaying embodied knowledge, such as participating musically by contributing to a group performance; matching sound and movement quality; building musical relationships through responding to each other; showing confidence in the performative mode; and creating narratives.

(iv)Values and attitudes: (related to the RNCS) co-operation; sensitivity; teamwork; the ability to listen and respond to each other interpersonally and appropriately within the context of the game; tolerance; respect; personal responsibility; demonstrating an understanding of equality.

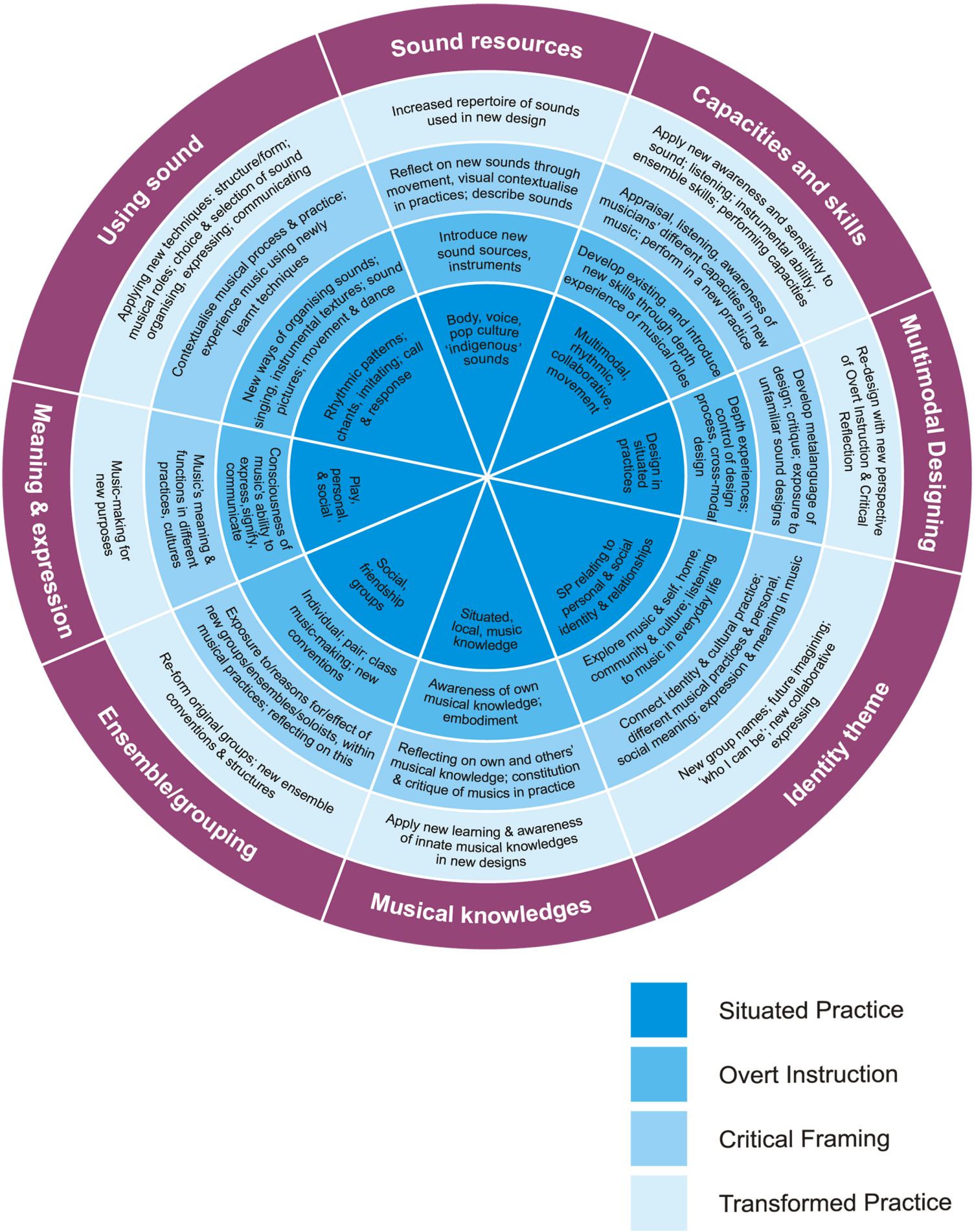
C. Meanings and affordance: musical; cultural; personal and inter-personal; relational; linguistic, visual and body-kinetic. How does meaning work for learners and how do they create it? What do the games/songs afford learners? How do the games function for them? How are the games meaningful for children and how do they reflect learners' interests? What kinds of choices do they make in creating their games?

I base the curriculum design outlined below on the New London Group's diagram of "elements of design" (2000, 26). The envisaged Multiliteracies pedagogical framework is represented as series of concentric circles, in order to illustrate its non-linear design and suggest the expansive possibilities for creative transformation and new learning. The concentric circles represent the four Multiliteracies pedagogical elements with each referring to, building on and implying the others. For example, Transformed Practice has Situated Practice as its core and is the product of periods Overt Instruction interacting with Critical Framing. Transformed Practice potentially influences Situated Practice, as the Multiliteracies Framework suggests (New London Group 2000). The 'wedge' divisions are not fixed categories but flexible conceptual frames based on my field-work observations and relevant to the local context of teaching and learning in this research. They are not necessarily of the same 'order', but provide a framework for applying the pedagogy in the context of this research. Aspects of teaching and learning relate both across categories and between the four Multiliteracies elements.

1. Sound resources
2. Using sound
3. Meaning and expression
4. Multimodal designing
5. Ensemble grouping
6. Identity theme
7. Capacities and skills
8. Musical knowledges.

The curriculum design aims to illustrate how learning is based on Situated Practice, informed by Overt Instruction, moves through Critical Framing and results in Transformed Practice. The musical application is designed with reference to the features of the learners' games, described above and in Chapter Six. These characteristics of the games I identify are by no means exhaustive, but frame an ideal application. The diagram visualises new possibilities for Transformed Practice, and allows for the development of outcomes beyond those already stated in the curriculum.

Figure Two


Sound resources
Capacities and skills
Multimodal Designing
Identity theme
Musical knowledges
Ensemble/grouping
Meaning & expression
Using sound
Increased repertoire of sounds used in new design
Apply new awareness and sensitivity to sound; listening; instrumental ability; ensemble skills; performing capacities
Re-design with new perspective of Overt Instruction & Critical Reflection
New group names; future imagining; 'who I can be'; new collaborative expressing
Apply new learning & awareness of innate musical knowledges in new designs
Re-form original groups; new ensemble conventions & structures
Music-making for new purposes
Applying new techniques: structure/form; musical roles; choice & selection of sound organising, expressing; communicating
Reflect on new sounds through movement, visual contextualise in practices; describe sounds
Appraisal, listening, awareness of musicians' different capacities in new music; perform in a new practice
Develop metalanguage of design; critique; exposure to unfamiliar sound designs
Reflecting on own and others' musical knowledge; constitution & critique of musics in practice
Exposure to/reasons for/effect of new groups/ensembles/soloists, within musical practices; reflecting on this
Music's meaning & functions in different practices, cultures
Contextualise musical process & practice; experience music using newly learnt techniques
Introduce new sound sources, instruments
Develop existing, and introduce new skills through depth experience of musical roles
Depth experiences; control of design process, cross-modal design
Awareness of own musical knowledge; embodiment
Individual; pair; class music-making; new conventions
Consciousness of music's ability to express,signify, communicate
New ways of organising sounds; singing, instrumental textures; sound pictures; movement & dance
Connect identity & cultural practice; different musical practices & personal, social meaning; expression & meaning in music
Explore music & self, home, community & culture; listening to music in everyday life
Rhythmic patterns; chants, imitating; call & response
Multimodal, rhythmic, collaborative, movement
Design in situated practices
Play, personal, & social
Social, friendship groups
SP relating to personal & social identity & relationships
Body, voice, pop culture 'indigenous' sounds
Situated, local, music knowledge
Situated Practice
Overt Instruction
Critical Framing
Transformed Practice

7.4 Focusing the application

7.4.1 Using a circular curriculum model

The circular curriculum model can be used to adapt the Multiliteracies pedagogy to music education in different teaching and learning contexts. Practical learning experiences and thematic learning programmes will differ, but the principles remain the same.

In order to demonstrate this envisaged application of the Multiliteracies pedagogy I have selected 'capacity' among the analysis categories described above, as a case study to demonstrate the model. The application highlights learners and their environment as resources in a series of lessons focusing specifically on sound design. The theme of identity underpins the suggested application because, like many children's texts, learners' musical games are deeply connected to their sense of self in relation to others.

I trace how the teacher can use sound resources and design in each component of the Multiliteracies pedagogy. Educators could, however, follow a similar process in all sections of the model. Although the chosen themes are irregularly used in each component, I apply them as an example because of their immediate relevance to the learners I studied. In the classroom, the teacher would move between each component more fluidly than the way I describe below, following a creative rather than linear process.

Working within the four Multiliteracies pedagogical components, I suggest that the teacher recruits a musical game as follows: incorporate the game, song or dance as an entity in classroom practice, and then develop it through a series of musical transformations in Situated Practice; develop the abilities, skills and knowledge of learners' musical designs in Overt Instruction; reflect on learners' designs and then relate these to different musical practices in Critical Framing; and facilitate learning experiences that introduce learners to new skills and knowledge (Overt Instruction and Critical Framing), to be applied in new contexts in Transformed Practice. The description of such an example is summarised in the table at the end of this chapter.

7.4.2 Learners' available designs

7.4.2.1 Capacities learners demonstrate in their situated designs

Learners' capacities centre around what the musical and performative modes afford them, as described in Chapters Five and Six.

I focus on learners' musical capacities, which include the ability to layer different rhythmic patterns over a beat, match sound and movement quality, and create complex cross-rhythmic clapping and stamping patterns in pairs. Their collaborative work takes place in the context of the games' rules and formations: taking turns, leading or participating, group expression through singing, and physical-musical togetherness through pair clapping and synchronised movement. In terms of curriculum learning outcomes, the learners I have studied are already "participating and collaborating" in a specific musical context (RNCS Learning Outcome Three). Learners use the sonic and kinaesthetic modes in their games, shifting between chanting, vocalising, singing, clapping, creating body sculptures, dancing and physically interacting. They also display a narrative ability and capacity for role-play in the context of their musical games.

7.4.2.2 The sound resources learners use in their designs

Learners' primary sound source is body percussion and voice. They clap their own and others' hands, in multiple ways, and often produce cross-rhythms with each other and between hand and feet patterns. The words of the games are mostly chanted, with some melodic fragments, and vocalisations. Learners also use familiar tunes and dances as resources, mostly drawn from popular culture, television, traditional forms and church music. Their musical work reflects 'location culture': it is loud and energetic, with little differentiation in quality. As such, although their use of sound is varied, their sound repertoire is limited.

7.4.2.3 The musical and cultural resources learners use

The children I studied are immersed in mostly urban musical styles and practices, as listeners and participators. They demonstrate familiarity with these localised music and dance styles, and a particular capacity for selecting and mixing melodic, rhythmic and movement elements from different sources to shape them into a game. Learners re-shape already shaped songs and dances to make them their own: for example learners from School C adapted the National Anthem to suit a drama performance for a competition. In terms of the Multiliteracies pedagogy, learners are utilising

available designs that are meaningful and interesting to them and re-designing these into a game, dance or song (New London Group 2000, 23). However, although learners show considerable capacity to design and redesign, their sound sources are restricted in terms of time, space and physical context. Their musical games reflect a reworking of the same kinds of musics and dances over and over again. It is likely that learners do not use alternative musical designs because they are not exposed to other styles.

7.4.3 The goal of the envisaged application

The teacher's analysis would reveal both the capacities and deficits described above. Based on the information gathered in the research process, I propose that the goal of an application of Multiliteracies to music education in this context would be to expand learners' sound resources in their musical designs. The teacher's task is therefore to create and facilitate new sound and design possibilities. If learners' situated designs are clues to their potential, then developing children's existing musical capacities (skills), introducing new ones (for example, soft playing and focused listening), and learners' application of new skills to different sound resources would potentially facilitate their Transformed Practice. Building on what is revealed about learners' games through studying them, in terms of sound, the teacher can expand their use of sound as a resource.

Exposing learners to new sound possibilities is similar to increasing learners' colour palette visually. In the musical games I observed and documented it was as though children were working only in primary colours – very competently and interestingly – but having not experienced any other colours, they could not use them. Part of the teacher training was therefore to help teachers to recognise that their Overt Instruction involved expanding learners' sound palette through introducing further sound and music-style possibilities (actual sounds plus situated sounds in different musical practices and styles). More specifically, the following envisaged application aims to develop children's subtle expression, which is understandably limited. Learners' games are boisterous and energetic, reflecting their natural energy and the social context of township life that is often frenetic and loud. Teacher A suggested that this is because people have to shout to be heard – literally and metaphorically – so children establish their place in the group quite forcefully.

I propose that expanding learners' sound repertoire is the kind of musical learning needed in the township context: developing musical capacities such as becoming aware of a greater range and variety of sounds (through Overt Instruction), being able to identify and describe new sounds in context (Critical Framing), then expressing and utilising new sounds in Transformed Practice. For example, at this time, learners had not been introduced to the possibility of making their own

instruments. I suggest that making an instrument in Overt Instruction would significantly expand learners' sound repertoires and musical resources, as well as the possibilities for creating new designs.

The issue of material resources more generally is particularly relevant in the context of this project, and is evident in teachers' perceived lack of material and knowledge resources (as discussed in Chapter One). Given that there are few township schools with physical resources like instruments, sound recordings, or their associated technology, I aim to show how the teacher can use available sound sources in learning experiences that move through the four components of the Multiliteracies pedagogy.

7.4.4 Exploring identity

The reason for a focus on identity in the envisaged application is because the idea of validating students' cultural practices is closely linked with identity: "by acknowledging your students' cultural practices you are acknowledging their identities" (Pahl and Rowsell 2005, 105). Part of what we discover from observing children's games is how closely their musical games are linked to their identities. The games highlight the need for children to explore who they are and develop a true sense of self, and are connected to their self-confidence, values and self-esteem. A further reason for focusing on identity is that promoting identity investment on the part of students relates to how they learn. Research relating to learning theory emphasises. The importance of "identity investment" in learning is widely acknowledged: "When students take ownership of the learning process and invest their identities in the outcomes of learning, the resulting understanding will be deeper than when learning is passive" (Bransford et al. quoted in Pahl and Rowsell 2005, 148).

Relating music to education, children's sense of identity can be explored in two ways. First, music education can contribute to developing individual identity, "especially to that sense we may have of one's expressive and creative self at the core of being" (Ross et al. 1993, 51). Music education gives children opportunities to explore their own creative capacities. Second, music education can relate to building group identity through music as collaborative effort. This application aims therefore to focus on children's sense of self, and then their sense of self in relation to a group. Learners explore personal identity through designing their own instruments with visual and sonic appeal and then move towards exploring group identity, following a musical process of working together on a new design in Transformed Practice. In terms of recognising learning, the teacher would see the extent to which individual and group identity is developed, changed or enabled through musical processes, or how group identity enables musicking in a dialogic relationship.

7.5 Example of a Multiliteracies learning programme

The overall aim in this application is to broaden learners' sound palette – the sources, and the different possibilities of using sound. I use the exploration of sound resources and develop it through the four stages of the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework. The example is framed by the theme of identity, which I develop through the four stages. The description of this example is summarised in the table that follows.

In Situated Practice, the teacher uses "Gama l'am" because it expresses individual identity. She makes small changes to the game, allowing learners to discover what happens when they play the game in different ways.

The specific intervention of the teacher in Overt Instruction is to introduce students to the idea of making their own instruments from waste and found materials. The aim is to increase the possibilities of sound to include instrumental sound. The teacher facilitates an understanding of the relationship between materials and sound qualities, and the multiple ways one can use and play an instrument. She encourages children to listen more attentively to environmental sounds, through 'sound searches'. New activities include using sound as narrative in sound pictures, and using instrumental sounds to accompany a story.

The aim in Critical Framing is first to enable learners to think about what they already do in Situated Practice in order to begin contextualising their practices in a broader context. Second, learners listen and reflect on new music and instruments in a range of ways, to explore the relationships between sounds, instruments and their meanings for people. The aim is to broaden learners' musical experience.

The goal in Transformed Practice is for students to create a new game that expresses their group's identity. The lessons have thus progressed from individual to group identity through the four components. In Transformed Practice, learners apply new musical skills learnt in Overt Instruction, which should enable them to structure and organise a new musical design, using their instruments.

Pedagogical orientation to learning: Situated Practice

Description of activities	**Identifying the stage**	**Relating the stage to identity**	**Learners' capacities**
Play "'Gama l'am'" in class. Transform the game by making small changes. Play the game: using made-up names; using a different instrument; with the class beating the rhythm. Play the game slowly; whispering; with a different rule/different grouping; performing as someone else; thinking, not singing/chanting the words; play the game sadly, gently, angrily, sleepily	**Why this stage is typical of Situated Practice**. The teacher uses an available design as a starting point. The teacher uses available sound resources: body percussion, chants and the musics children have incorporated into their games. The teacher takes into account who learners are socially and culturally.	Validating learners as musical designers. Allowing learners to perform in the comfortable space of their games.	Using learners' playful and performative capacities. Musical: using learners' ability to layer different rhythmic patterns. Multimodal: building on learners' confidence expressing and collaborating in movement, sound, language

Pedagogical orientation to learning: Overt Instruction

Description of activities	Identifying the stage	Relating stage to identity	Learners' capacities
Identify sounds used in the games as body percussion. Identify the repeated rhythm, made up of sounds and silences. Extract the game's drum rhythm; play it using kinds of body percussion. Learners imitate and create body percussion sounds, following the teacher. Learners explore environmental sounds through a sound search at home or school: they describe and record the sounds at school, on the street, at home. Making instruments: linking material and sound. Pair activities, exploring the sounds each instrument can make, and describing them. Musical conversations in pairs (question & answer) Creating a sound picture using made instruments: a sound narrative Translate the sound picture to movement. Accompanying a story with instrumental sounds.	**Why this stage is typical of Overt Instruction.** The teacher develops conscious control of sound resources in her learners. The teacher introduces new ways of using body percussion; layering rhythmic patterns; differentiating beat and rhythm. She encourages learners to pay attention to sound; to listen *for a purpose*, through sound searches. Aim to develop increased sound awareness. The teacher introduces new sound possibilities through instrument-making. She links material and sound quality; provides learning opportunities to explore the nature of sound properties and possibilities for making music on an instrument, through a range of activities. The teacher scaffolds 'musical knowledge in action' (concepts) from simple to complex. For example, structuring sounds and silences in a sound picture illustrating a street scene; a rainstorm; a taxi rank. The teacher introduces the idea of musical roles and structures that enable collaboration in a group design; enables increased conscious control of musical resources.	Exploring "who am I?" and "who am I becoming?" Body awareness and developing confidence working with one's own resources; using the body as a musical instrument. Developing learners' sense of resourcefulness in designing their own instruments. Connecting personal identity, to sound and feeling, embodied in an instrument that represents the self. Understanding and enacting musical roles helps the learner to develop personal responsibility within the group.	Developing learners' awareness of sound quality, related to material. Developing focused listening skills Introducing new sound qualities: softness, gentleness, silence. New skills: identifying, describing, analysing and performing environmental sounds. Multimodality: relating material, visual and sound components in instrument-making. Developing learners' rhythmic capacities and introducing new musical skills: beat/rhythm differentiation; ostinati; structuring a composition; Multimodality: relating new sound qualities to movement. Developing sensitivity to others: waiting turns, listening and responding to others' contributions; valuing others' ideas; collaborating and communicating musically.

Pedagogical orientation to learning: Critical Framing

Description of activities	**Identifying the stage**	**Relating the stage to identity**	**Learners' capacities**
Learners describe and reflect on their games as musical practices, through: Body sculptures Visual representation Writing and talking.	**Why this stage is typical of Critical Framing.** The teacher 'makes the known strange', by asking questions, letting learners describe what they do and why, and helping to think about how their practices fit into larger cultural and musical practices.	Developing a sense of self in relation to the group, and how the learner's music and play reveals something about them.	Developing a capacity to stand back from learners' own practices and recognise them as music and dance. Developing analytical ability through description.
Learners experience new musical designs, reflecting through listening, accompanying, visual making, moving and writing, on how and why other people make and use instruments, in unfamiliar contexts. The focus is on the relationship between a person, or group, and specific instruments.	The teacher introduces new music, focusing on the relationship between a person, or group, and specific instruments. For example, exploring the significance of the *mbira* in Zimbabwean musical cultures. The teacher facilitates learners' contextual understanding and experience of music as a practice in culture. The teacher relates music's meaning and function to the self and then to its meaning and function for others.	Exploring who other people are, through listening to, and learning about their instruments. Musical experiences relate personal identity to other people through their musical practices. Asking, "what does this instrument and music tell us about those people?"	Developing a reflective, critical capacity and an awareness of different musical cultures and forms of expression. Developing an understanding of the relationship between music and cultural meaning.

Pedagogical orientation to learning: Transformed Practice

Description of activities	**Identifying the stage**	**Relating the stage to identity**	**Learners' capacities**
Group-work: an instrumental ensemble using made instruments. Learners create a song with accompanying movement about our group and our future. Using new ways of organising sound, varied accompaniment, melody and rhythmic patterns to express the group's character and a vision of the future, aiming to communicate specific feelings.	Applying the new skills learnt in Overt Instruction to a new, imagined situation. Learners use concepts of structuring a composition (beginning, middle, end, cyclical, call-and-response); using ostinati; layering rhythmic patterns; assigning musical roles to group members.	Imagining a future: "Who or what do I want to be?" Expressing a new imagined self as part of a group, through sound. Performing as someone new.	Sourcing and using a range of sound quality and showing an ability to manipulate sound in new ways. Developing a performance over time: working with a group, rehearsing, honing a performance; focusing on depth of design; sustaining a creative process.

Chapter Eight: Findings: describing the pedagogical innovation in three Soweto primary schools

8.1 Introduction

I introduced three Arts and Culture teachers to the Multiliteracies pedagogy in a short training programme that focused on using learners' musical practices as resources in an Arts and Culture programme. Each teacher implemented what they had learnt during the training during an eight-week period in their schools. This chapter outlines the pedagogical innovation of applying a Multiliteracies pedagogy to Arts and Culture teaching and learning. I consider each of the three schools as separate case studies and describe both teachers' and learners' practices. The description highlights evidence of choice, change and development in musical learning, based on my observations of the lessons in each school. I also assess the extent to which the teacher was able to work within the Multiliteracies pedagogical components.

I first present the teacher's practice in each school and then describe learners' musical designing and their designs resulting from the teacher's potentially changed approach to music education. I identify the signs of a transformed pedagogy in each case and the evidence of both teachers' and learners' changed practices. I illustrate specific instances of the four pedagogical components, how each of these was implemented by the teacher, and what learners produced within the different orientations to learning. The description highlights the conscious choices teachers made arising from suggestions given during their training, and the choices learners made in their process of designing. I further outline some of the problems that the teachers encountered. The description aligns with the envisaged application in Chapter Seven and therefore centres on the goals of recruiting and developing musical capacities, extending sound resources and expression in design, and exploring the theme of identity.

The findings in the three schools vary considerably because of a number of factors: differences in school culture, teacher's individual sensibilities, their previous training and musical skills, and physical and practical constraints such as time spent in the classroom. According to the RNCS, Arts and Culture represents eight per cent of teaching time in the intermediate and senior phases (Grades Four to Nine) (Department of Education 2002b, 18). Schools are therefore meant to devote two hours a week to Arts and Culture, although in many schools this is seldom the case.

The differences between schools in the following description are also underscored by the varying applications of the Multiliteracies pedagogy in each case. Based on my field notes and video recordings, I focus on moments of transformation and successful pedagogy, identifying the important

characteristics and kinds of learning specific to each school context. Although there were many instances that cannot be recounted here, I have selected musical moments that best exemplify aspects of the Multiliteracies pedagogy in practice, and relate them to the appropriacy of this pedagogy for music education in township schools.

8.2 School and Teacher A

School A is a primary school of 770 learners situated in Chiawelo in Soweto. The school draws its learners from the immediate surroundings, including large numbers from Protea South (a nearby informal settlement). Most learners speak Zulu or Tswana. The principal has led the school since 1987. The Arts and Culture educator teaches Grades Five and Six, and chose a class of forty-two Grade Five learners for this project. Generally in township schools, the pupil-teacher ratio is extremely high, sometimes with classes of 50-60 learners. The large numbers of children represent a significant barrier to learning and place huge demands on teachers. In Arts and Culture lessons in township schools, the situation is often made worse, as classes are combined in groups of over 100 learners. The explanation of the pedagogical innovation in this chapter needs to be understood with this factor in mind – that it is often very difficult to do any group or class activity given the constraints of pupil numbers.

Teacher A began teaching Arts and Culture in 1998, received formal music training at FUNDA Community Centre in Soweto (in guitar and music theory), and attended the ACE programme at the University of the Witwatersrand. Teacher A is also a performing musician who has his own gospel band. Although the concept of bringing learners' outside-school musical literacies and practices into the classroom was new to him, he implemented what he had learnt in the training assiduously.

School and Teacher A as a case study represent the best scenario of 'take-up' of the Multiliteracies pedagogy. I therefore consider what occurred in School A in more detail than in the other two schools. First I describe Teacher A's capacities working within each component of the pedagogical framework and the activities he did with his learners.

8.2.1 The teacher's capacities

Teacher A showed evidence of understanding the purpose of each pedagogical component and based his carefully planned developmental learning programme on this understanding. There was clear evidence of his 'taking up' the training and a willingness to try a new approach (Adler and Reed

2002). Overall, Teacher A began with learners' Situated Practices and intervened with sessions of Overt Instruction, which then stimulated children's Transformed Practices in groups.

8.2.1.1 The teacher's capacity in Situated Practice

Working in Situated Practice, Teacher A incorporated learners' games in the classroom in two ways: first as the basis for a series of musical transformations, and then recruiting specific musical capacities he observed in the games. He used a number of games in different ways, according to specific learning goals. Because the teacher had observed and listened carefully during the teacher-as-researcher phase of the training (described in Chapter Seven), he was able to analyse the skills learners had already developed in their games, and ascertain what they still needed to learn. More broadly, he used children's games, prior knowledge and experience as the basis for their new designs, referring back to their playground games and using these as musical examples during Overt Instruction.

The first way that Teacher A used learners' games was to make small changes to them. He began by asking learners to teach him "Gama l'am" (described in Chapter Five, 5.3.2.1). Teacher A's participation in his learners' games, shouting his own nickname, 'Sparks', elicited enthusiastic responses from the class. He linked children's 'playing with names' in "Gama l'am" to his own names, helping to bridge the gap between teacher and learner. The teacher then transformed this game with learners by conducting it slowly or softly, and changing its form from a circle formation for few participants to a class activity. Once learners had experienced small changes as a group, they were asked to "add something new and exciting to the game" and "show your character" (Teacher A). The teacher's goal here was to begin extending learners' expressive experience by playing the game as different characters, which he demonstrated by performing the game as though he were *kwaito* star Mandoza.

In groups, learners made small changes to "Gama l'am", drawing from familiar movements and sounds present in their playground musicking. One group translated the game's drum rhythm into a foot rhythm; another group performed the game as a march; a group of boys added their own ending-movement, shouting *"tiba!"* (a vocalisation and corresponding movement drawn from *kwaito* music). The 'Spice Girls' group of girls went beyond the expected outcome of the task by developing the game from an expression of individual to group identity. They communicated individual personalities through individuated dance moves and by chanting their nicknames. Next the Spice Girls group created a group name, accompanied by unison movement and chanting. Teacher A recognised their transformation of the game, saying "you girls are ahead of me" (see Appendix C1 for the words of the Spice Girls group's transformed game).

The second way that Teacher A used his learners' games was to recruit them on three levels: by building on identity expressions; by developing the capacities and skills that learners' playground games revealed; and by using the games as resources in Overt Instruction by extracting specific musical elements like rhythmic and movement patterns (described in 8.2.1.2 below).

On the first level, Teacher A used naming, nicknames and individual identity as a starting point for developing group identity. He enabled learners to move from experiencing individual to group identity musically. The teacher made clear connections between children's prior knowledge and experience, and new tasks. For example, he used the idea of a slogan to communicate the concept of group identity for the school, school sports teams and for professional soccer teams. He linked sports slogans to a Zulu walking-chant, "Vuka we Afrika" which he performed, demonstrating how the same idea can be transferred to different musical contexts (see Appendix C2 for the words of this chant). Learners were asked to create a slogan or chant for their groups. Learners then created rhythmic poems about their groups, which were called 'All Star Boys', 'Spice Girls', 'KB Pop Stars', 'White Stars' and 'Tsotsi'.

On the second level of recruitment, Teacher A used specific capacities that his learners' games demonstrate: learners' competence and confidence as performers; their ability to work across different expressive modes, and their ability to follow the rules of a musical game by playing different musical roles in group performances. Based on his research, Teacher A then identified new skills children needed to learn. He did not only transfer the games into the classroom space. Rather, his practice revealed careful thinking and planning on the level of deciphering the skills, values, attitudes and knowledge children already possessed, which elements required developing, and which were completely new to his learners. He thus carried out the process described in Situated Practice in the envisaged application (Chapter Seven), demonstrating a deep understanding of what it means to use his learners' musical games as resources in pedagogy.

8.2.1.2 The teacher's capacity in Overt Instruction

Teacher A's strengths in Overt Instruction relate to his being a practising musician. His particular artistic sensibilities allowed him to create a space for listening and exploring with his learners, clearly demonstrating how expert knowledge and skill can intersect with learner's existing knowledge to create new learning. As a result, the period of the teacher's Overt Instruction in this case was much more substantial than in other schools, and is described in detail.

8.2.1.2.1 Extending learners' expressive range

Teacher A showed an awareness of "the teacher's intervention [in the music-making process] by scaffolding learning activities" (Pahl and Rowsell 2005, 82). He introduced his learners to new sound possibilities, focusing on extending their use and awareness of dynamics, tempo and timbre. He used a number of musical forms as examples: learners' games; a recorded story read by South African storyteller Gcina Mhlope; his own poem; and a poem written by Mongane Wally Serote (see Appendix C2). Teacher A related the use of sound to expressing emotion, mood and meaning. Introducing each lesson with body percussion rhythmic echoes, the teacher enabled learners to experience different dynamic and timbre possibilities in body percussion. Teacher A effectively sequenced learners' understanding and experience of beat and rhythm differentiation, ostinato patterns, 'filling the gap' rhythmically, and improvising new rhythmic patterns. Although learners demonstrate rhythmic ability in their games, they are not aware of how they use beat and rhythmic patterns. The teacher's Overt Instruction in this regard gave learners a sense of control and consciousness needed to create their new designs. Thus, Teacher A gave learners the tools to design, instead of just telling them to design. In his Overt Instruction, Teacher A recognised how his learners learn step by step, and he explored what these building blocks are.

Teacher A made effective use of children's games in order to 'overtly instruct'. For example, he linked soft-playing to the purpose of a game. Using "Gama l'am" again, he made it possible for learners to experience the reason for playing more softly in performance: one child chanted his or her name and nickname, while the class played the game's rhythm and drew attention to the importance of playing softly in order to hear the name. Because the reason for playing softly made sense to learners – it connected to something they knew – they were able to do it. The teacher therefore gave his learners an experience of extended sound range which was meaningful in the context of their Situated Practices.

Using a new game called "Top Seven", the teacher drew attention to how learners played a specific body-percussion rhythm (loudly), and why (because the game is boisterous). He connected the same "Top Seven" rhythm to a familiar hymn usually sung during school assembly, reflecting with his learners how softly they were playing the same rhythm in order to hear the hymn words. Teacher A integrated reflection into his Overt Instruction by asking questions like, "How did you sing this song? How should we sing this song and why? What if we were to shout this song?" Learners were able to associate the way they sing or play to the intention of a piece, probably for the first time. The teacher showed a particularly effective connection between two Situated Practices, and how dynamics are connected to meaning and mood.

In addition to learners' musical games, Teacher A used several stories and poems as a method for developing purposeful listening skills and identifying how musical elements contribute to the meaning of a narrative. He continued to extend learners' expressive range while showing children how instrumental sounds add to a story. Recognising the familiarity of the narrative mode for learners, the teacher used storytelling as an effective method to gain full class participation and involvement.[1] The recorded stories and teacher's questions gave learners a clear reason to listen, focus and participate. Through copying or adding sounds and words to the sound recording, learners experienced how sound added to the story. The repetition of sounds and chants in the recorded story gave learners an experience of structure – of repetition and contrast – and many chances to join in. The teacher helped learners to identify musical elements like timbre, dynamics and pitch, and related their use to meaning and character in the stories. Learners who were usually shy or quiet responded enthusiastically and interacted actively with the music and story – laughing, smiling, imitating sounds and answering questions.

Of further significance were moments of informal or unplanned learning that occurred during Teacher A's Overt Instruction lessons. Often a teacher-driven activity (usually a poem, story, or his performance) stimulated children to start exploring what they could do on their own. The task of illustrating a poem with appropriate sound effects created a space for learners to experiment with the sounds they could make. When asked "What sounds can you use to illustrate this poem?", the class immediately began experimenting with their instruments, tapping on the desk, using clapping rhythms, bird whistles and 'talking' to each other using gestures. They were inadvertently creating an interesting sound–picture, having been shown what the possibilities were.

Overt Instruction pivoted around learners using percussion instruments they had made from waste or found materials. Making their own instrument increased sound possibilities, thus extending learners' expressive range and enabling them to explore new sounds in new ways. Further, learning how to play instruments represented new skills for learners. Teacher A suggested different methods of playing by saying that "instruments can talk". Personifying the instrument as communicative was a particularly effective way of introducing the idea of word-rhythms, which children could then apply in their own compositions.

Continuing to draw on learners' Situated Practices, the teacher used one group's new designs to demonstrate different word-rhythms and ways of accompanying group poems on their instruments, for example "Tsotsi, tsotsi ruling the world" (see Appendix D for this poem). Teacher A demonstrated a

[1] Many learners' games concern storytelling or personal narratives, for example games like "Xoxisa," described in Chapter Four, and "MaSithole" and "Pelo yaka" described in Chapter Five.

range of possible instrumental accompaniments using the word-rhythms from the "Tsotsi" poem. His method was different to that of Teachers B or C, who were not able to explain or show learners how to play an instrument.

8.2.1.2.2 Musical roles, agreements and structuring

Teacher A recognised how to develop children's group performance capacities by focusing on learners' musical collaboration within the practice of their games. He identified the different musical roles learners adopt in their playground games and extended this idea as a method for structuring a performance. Learners co-operate musically in their games because they are following set rules governing turn-taking, part singing, clapping patterns and dance movements. Teacher A recognised that what can be recruited is learners' ability to co-operate within a musical or dance structure; and that musical 'rules' ought to be in place within which learners can operate. Teacher A made learners' musical roles and rule-following overt for his class so they could later transfer the idea to their new designs.

The teacher facilitated learners' experiences of different musical roles in three ways: by identifying them in a familiar game; performing different roles himself; then letting learners experience the same roles while performing the song "Meadowlands".[2] These roles included: solo and performer; listener and audience; conductor; instrumental accompanist; improviser; singing the call or response of the song, and group roles (leader, dancer, singer, instrumentalist playing either a beat or different rhythmic patterns, or combinations of these). Using the game "Mama ka Tsotsi," Teacher A helped learners to distinguish between the leader's and followers' musical functions in the context of the game (see Chapter Five, 5.4.3.1). For example, the leader chants loudly while the followers respond softly with "*tzugutzuum*", emulating the sound of a guitar. Teacher A pointed out that the leader controls the volume and speed of a performance. He then extracted the game's rules and applied it to his learners' group performance task, encouraging the understanding that musical knowledge and skills can be transferred to different contexts. The way in which Teacher A enabled children to experience different musical roles exemplifies what David Elliott proposes are important ways children learn about music (1995; 2005a).

The second way Teacher A developed the idea of musical roles was to model different roles himself. He played his guitar and reed pipe, and performed as a poet. He used different voice and instrumental qualities and demonstrated the range of expression possible on one instrument. The children were

[2] Composed in 1955, Strike Vilakazi's "Meadowlands" became an "anthem against the Sophiatown removals" (Coplan 2007, 176). It was sung in response to the destruction of Sophiatown, when the state forcibly removed black residents to Meadowlands in Soweto.

focused and interested when he did this and began copying him, using their ballpoint pen tubes and bottles as instruments. As Teacher A blew his pipe, some learners were already designing, using their hands to make bird sounds and their pens to make sliding and whistle sounds. His performing stimulated the children's exploration of their own instruments. Through exposing learners to different instrumental sound possibilities, he encouraged them to widen their own sound repertoires. Moreover, modelling different musical roles enabled learners to differentiate between roles and discover the meaning of each in musical performance. The teacher used his reed pipe to 'talk' and instruct, for example, as a sign to begin a group's performance or in order to get learners' attention. He realised that using a musical technique to get the class to focus worked more effectively than talking, and he increasingly used this strategy in the classroom. The teacher's modelling of musical behaviour revealed his understanding that children often learn by imitation.

Third, Teacher A assigned different musical roles to different parts of the class. He introduced the concept of having 'musical agreements' as a method of working effectively together as a group of musicians. Learners were given clear musical frameworks within which to work and were encouraged to identify the criteria for a successful performance. Using "Meadowlands", he showed how a piece of music is structured (in this case, verse and chorus) and its different instrumental and singing sections. Moving from experience to reflection, the teacher then identified the number and levels of musical agreements necessary to perform the song successfully. Involving the whole class, in this instance, proved to be effective as children began to structure their own designs, applying concepts like 'beginning, middle and end', verse-chorus layouts, call-and-response singing, and singing with soft accompaniments.

8.2.1.2.3 Teacher A's teaching method

Teacher A's particular strength was his ability to divide a musical task into steps and communicate these steps effectively to his learners. Instead of saying 'make up a song', he analysed the instructions and ensured that his learners understood by asking questions. Significantly, he emphasised originality rather than copying, making the learning outcome – designing something original – explicit to learners. Teacher A also connected each lesson, reflecting that "we are building on what we did last time" and highlighting for learners that creating is a process and not a once-off event. He stressed the craft of making an instrument, requiring time and attention to detail. This method helped to move children beyond experiences of instant success to the concept of artistic processes developing over time. The teacher recognised that his learners had little experience of designing as a process and therefore emphasised that the process of creating is as important as (and influences) the product. While his learners were preparing their new designs, he helped groups sustain and develop their musical ideas.

8.2.1.2.4 Challenges for the teacher in Overt Instruction

There were, however, some problems and missed opportunities, for instance, where Teacher A could have involved the whole class in music-making. I suggest that it would have been more instructive to allow the whole class to experience a chant, poem or different instrumental accompaniments instead of observing them, because children are then actively experiencing how instrumental accompaniment work. However, the large number of children in the class made it difficult to encourage group concentration. Nevertheless, I suggest that Teacher A had not yet fully understood the importance of musical "knowledge-in-action" (Elliott 1994), that a concept or skill is not 'known' until it is experienced physically and aurally. For the most part, the teacher tended to tell rather than allow his class to actively make music. For example, learners could have experienced how to illustrate a story with instrumental sounds by dividing the class into different roles. I suggest that because the teacher talked about the activity, rather than letting the class experience it, he had to repeat it so that the idea of musical roles could later be applied in learners' new group designs.

Teacher A's practice in the classroom revealed that a key component of working within Overt Instruction is the ability to listen musically to how learners are responding, whether they are 'on task' or not. Moments when learners began improvising on their instruments could have been developed musically. I maintain, though, that this is a particularly advanced teaching skill, taking into account township school educators' training and subject knowledge.

8.2.1.3 Teacher A's capacity in Critical Framing

Critical Framing in School A took the form of standing back from learners' work or class activities and commenting on them. The teacher embedded reflection in the learning situation, often reflecting during the Overt Instruction phase by asking questions like, "What did you like, or not like? What did we do? How did we do it?" He encouraged learners to discuss the effect of music in different contexts by identifying different sounds in recorded music or a story, reflecting on how sounds enhanced a story or the effect of adding instrumental accompaniment to a poem. He focused on the 'why' of music, asking, "Why do we play instruments? What effect does it have? What can an instrument do?" He enabled learners to understand their instruments, and themselves, as vehicles for expression. Teacher A modelled this when he played his reed pipe, explaining that "When I tell a sad story, I use my pipe, I can blow in a sad way", thus connecting sound with emotive expression. The teacher also developed a consciousness of learners' own reflective practice by acknowledging when they noticed how music was used or when learners commented constructively on each other's work.

I suggest, however, that Teacher A could have developed further ways of reflecting using other modes like writing, movement or visual reflection. Class discussions tended to be about the teacher talking, rather than a dialogue, and because the group was so large the teacher lost some of the learners' attention. I suggest that he could have involved learners more in the reflection process by getting them to talk or write responses in pairs or small groups. In further lessons, the teacher could also have begun to develop a vocabulary for talking about music, as responding verbally in English remained a challenge.

As was the case in Schools B and C, Critical Framing in the School A case study constituted reflecting about musical activities, rather than adopting a critical stance in relation to either learners' own, or others' musical practices. However, given the short period of time available, the extent of the project did not allow for wider contextualisation or critique of familiar or new musical practices as products of history, culture and society, but I suggest that this could have been the next step.

8.2.1.4 Teacher A's capacity in Transformed Practice

Observing Teacher A's lessons clarified the relationships between the four components of the Multiliteracies pedagogy. It was particularly evident in this case how the teacher's work in Overt Instruction informed learners' transformed practices. For instance, the poems Teacher A used during Overt Instruction became examples from which the groups could draw in terms of developing instrumental accompaniments and a range of sound possibilities using their voices, bodies, footsteps and instruments. The teacher guided each group individually in how to apply new skills, and use new sounds and techniques.

Teacher A also drew attention to moments when learners had gone beyond expectations. He recognised when learners were doing something new – either using new sounds, a range of expression, or particularly interesting words and movements. He demonstrated the importance of identifying how, and when, groups had developed their compositions into transformed practices. Pointing out original musical characteristics, and why they were interesting, helped learners to become conscious of their musical actions, and encouraged them to create further.

Next, I describe 'the teacher as performer' as an example of a critical learning moment, which David Tripp defines as "an interpretation of the significance of an event; lacking closure, needing continual revision and [is] never a final draft" (1993, 24).[3] Teacher A's guitar-playing shifted the level of

[3] Art educator David Tripp defines "critical learning moments" as "critical incidents or events" – important components of an arts educator or researcher's reflective practice (1993, 24). For the educator-researcher, Tripp sees critical moments as an

listening and concentration in his class. Every child was involved: listening and focusing attentively, tapping on the desk, emulating the teacher's guitar-playing, or singing. Many of the quiet, less confident learners were fully engaged in the activity. These moments exemplified Patricia Campbell's characterisation of children's responses in a listening class:

> Learners' aesthetic enjoyment was evidenced in their gestures, bouncing and tapping to rhythms, listening focus and pretending to play imaginary instruments … They were clearly delighted to be riding the music's energy and flow (1998a, 176).

Teacher A recognised the above as a critical learning moment, and was able to build on this experience. He used his own playing (on guitar, pipe and drum) as a teaching tool: to focus learners' attention, encourage concentration and learners' full participation in the learning process. His performance also acted as a model of being a musician, which learners began to emulate and try out with their own instruments. I suggest that through his performances the teacher enacted some learners' musical aspirations.

8.2.2 Evidence of School A learner's musical learning

8.2.2.1 Tracking the development from Situated to Transformed Practice

I focus on two groups here, tracking their development from beginning design to redesign at the end of the six-week period. I describe what each group took from Situated Practice, what they gained in Overt Instruction and Critical Framing, and how they applied new ideas and skills in Transformed Practice. These examples demonstrate that learners' end designs resulted from the merging of knowledge and skills from two sources: their own and their teacher's.

8.2.2.1.1 'KB Pop Stars'

Members of the girls' group called 'KB Pop Stars' were the same girls I observed playing "Xoxisa" whenever they could. It was particularly evident how this group drew on the multimodal aspects of "Xoxisa" in their new musical design. For example, while working out the name of their group, the girls used the gestural language and declamatory vocal style of "Xoxisa", emphasising the extent to which many learners 'think' in the gestural and sound modes. Rather than having a verbal discussion, the group worked out their new rhythmic poem using the declamatory narrative style and accompanying gestures drawn from "Xoxisa".

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alternative to the diagnostic method used in the scholarly and academic field. For the educator recognising critical learning moments it is integral to reflective teaching and can assist in improving professional development. Rather than drawing on specialist theoretical knowledge, these critical moments are used as a basis for the educators' judgment (1993).

The KB Pop Stars group began with their poem, chanting: "Our name is KB Pop Stars; we rock this country. We are a supporting group." They used bottles, a shaker and a plastic lunchbox as a drum. They then changed their poem because they said it was "too difficult". I showed them how to blow across the top of a glass bottle to create a wind sound. I suggest that this sound prompted them to compose a song connected to the blowing sound, which they called "The air is cold" ("*L'omoya lo umakasa*") (see Appendix D). When I asked what these words meant, the girls said that "the coldness of the air made the boys fall down" and indicated something about hardship. This group used metaphorical language and communicated meaning through sound. Furthermore, creating a new melody to new words was unique to the KB Pop Stars group.

The KB Pop Stars group worked carefully on their song over a number of lessons. They introduced their performance with soft singing and used a drum-beat as a signal for the beginning of subsequent sections of the song. Following their leader (Lindiwe) in call-and-response style, they practised a dance formation with different groupings, side-stepping, and moving in a circle. They structured their performance as an ABA form, beginning and ending with the song and its accompanying dance. In the B section, the group hummed the *L'omoya Lo* tune softly, surrounding one learner who said her poem:

> I am a girl; I am an expression of beauty, joy and love … I have a face, but I'm not my face; I have a body, but I'm not my body … deep in my heart I am the most important thing … I am the light, I am the joy the world is waiting for.

The learner who performed the poem said that some of the words were from the television programme *Soul Buddies*. They concluded with the song again, ending clearly and together, listening to and following their leader. It was evident that the group was applying some of the skills learnt during Overt Instruction: soft expression, structuring (beginning, middle and end), and clear musical role-playing. The group mostly worked without the teacher's intervention. There was a real sense of co-operation and sensitivity to each other, through singing, moving and listening. The girls in this group also showed interest in other groups' designs while they were rehearsing.

8.2.2.1.2 Tsotsi group

The group chose the name 'Tsotsi' in recognition of the South African Oscar award-winning film of the same name. Their words "*tsotsi tsotsi G.A.B.*", communicated their group identity as "girls and boys." The learners' co-operation as boys and girls in this group was remarkable as this is often not usually the case in township schools.[4] The group worked out carefully how many times to repeat each

[4] I suggest that the group's co-operation here was significant as learners I have observed in township schools generally find it very difficult to work in mixed-gender groups. Boys and girls usually socially separate. Girls commented that "boys don't

line of the poem, structuring it into a complete chant, writing the words down, and beating the word rhythms on the desk. Teacher A used their chant as an example in Overt Instruction, which clearly helped the group to develop their design as they applied the idea of "talking instruments" (using word rhythms). Because their chant had been used to illustrate beat and rhythm differentiation, the Tsotsi group demonstrated this in their separation of beat and rhythmic patterns according to instruments (see Appendix D for the words of the "Tsotsi" poem).

Although the boys and girls in this group initially argued, they began to work together more effectively once they had learnt how to structure and develop their piece through Overt Instruction activities. The group applied the idea of musical roles learnt in Overt Instruction in their design. Three boys played different percussion parts: one keeping a beat; the second playing a drum ostinato pattern, and a third scraping across a corrugated tin with a ruler, repeating his sound to "fill in the rhythmic gap." The girls explored different dance and clapping patterns sourced from their games. The group further developed their poem by adding on "the name of the group, *haus, haus* … is *tsotsi, haus, haus*", using a vocalisation associated with "*toyi-toying*" and its matching movement.[5] Working in an outside space allowed learners to be vigorous and dynamic in their movements, dance steps and chanting. They organised their group spatially and musically, showing clear planning and thought. In their rehearsals, the group displayed concentrated focus and the ability to sustain a creative process. Their final performance began with instrumental sounds that built up in layered rhythms, and then developed into clear sections of clapping, dancing and singing. The leader shouted "change-a" to indicate a change to another section. The group also included gumboot dancing steps and ended with an impromptu instrumental conclusion, chanting *"woza, wena, woza"* (meaning, "come here you, come here"). Their last rehearsal revealed the extent to which they applied their new skills: it was long and focused, with an intense sense of collaboration and ability to stay with the design.

8.2.2.2 Noticeable shifts in learners' practice

In order to depict the changes I noticed in learners' practices from the beginning to the end of the eight-week period, I describe below specific instances of Transformed Practice. The learners in School A showed a range of emotional expression not present in the other schools and communicated feelings and thoughts about difficult social problems, violence and poverty through the combination of music, words and movement.

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understand our language or games" and boys said "the girls tell us what to do." For this reason, the unity of the Tsotsi group was particularly remarkable.

[5] *Toyi-toyi* is the dance-march movement generally performed in mass protest marches in South Africa.

In a group calling themselves 'The All Star Boys', one learner created a short story about an accident resulting from drunk driving, which ended with the words, "He had a pain and his eyes were full of tears." Although this group of boys struggled to know how to connect their instrumental playing to the poem, with assistance from the teacher they structured their design into an ABA form, with the poem forming the B section, and a familiar Soweto song called "Jole" forming the A section. This poem communicated difficulties about the dire consequences of lying. The boys created a body sculpture while one learner read his accident poem and then the group returned to the sad song at the end. They sang quietly, with heads bowed, and used gentle movements that were very different to the ways in which they had moved before (see Appendix D for the "Jole" song and accident poem).

A further example of Transformed Practice was the 'White Star' group's performance of a poem about an orphan "Going from dustbin to dustbin" asking, "Where is my mother? Where is my father?" (See Appendix D for the "Orphans" poem). The group said they chose this subject because "there are many street kids in Chiawelo". The group showed an understanding of how to link sound, movement and meaning. Asked why they chose to play a shaker and drum softly, one of the learners responded "the instrument feels like the song". When asked about the mood and movements of their song, the learners said that "we were dancing showing a sad feeling". The new learning here was not only to reflect on what they were doing verbally but to express a particular mood through integrating instrumental sounds, song, a poem and movements. This kind of connection was not present before the lesson series. This group's performance demonstrated how learners had applied the ideas gained in Overt Instruction regarding how sounds can illustrate a story or enhance its meaning. Their poignant mood expressed through melody, words and movement, showed signs of a metaphorical understanding of the way in which sound and movement operates. They moved slowly, heads down and bodies turned inwards as they sang a Zulu funeral song called "Mzalwane" as background accompaniment to their poem. Their choice, although probably not conscious, linked the suffering individual to a wider social context and was particularly moving. My reason for identifying this group's performance is that before the pedagogical intervention, there was little evidence (in any of the three schools) of learners being able to extend their expressive range to include softness, slowness and gentleness.

Last, I focus on a 'weak' learner, who struggled to concentrate and participate in class.[6] There were noticeable shifts during the lesson series as he became more and more interested in the possibilities of sound design. Designing in a group gave this learner the opportunity to contribute his own musical

[6] When I first observed this class, this learner was part of a group that sat at the front of the class but was not involved in the lessons at all. They found it very difficult to focus or listen and did not participate in answering questions, or working together during group tasks. Teacher A indicated to me that this group of boys all had learning problems in most of their classes.

and dance ideas, especially a pair-dance with intricate footwork which he drew from a playground game. Given the opportunity to make sound using an object, he immediately began experimenting with his pen, using it as an instrument to emulate the whistling sound of the teacher's pipe. Instrument-making opened an avenue of exploration and creating for this learner, who usually found it difficult to participate in class activities.

His group called 'Super Stars' struggled to create in the verbal or written mode (they did not write a poem). However, with the teacher's assistance, they managed to create a design with repetitive words and a triplet ostinato pattern played on instruments. Having struggled to work together at first, this group performed their poem with the girls dancing and clapping and the boys playing their instruments and adding their own foot movements. I imagine that it was the first time some of these learners had experienced musical co-operation and collaborative creativity in a classroom learning context.

8.2.3 Unique signs of a pedagogical innovation in this school

In School A, I identify two signs of a pedagogical innovation that were particularly relevant to investigating the appropriacy of a Multiliteracies approach in music education. First, the changes in learning spaces affected children's designing significantly, and second, a particular moment at the end of the lesson series was illuminating in terms of illustrating how Transformed Practice potentially influences Situated Practice.

8.2.3.1 Crossing sites of practice: the space of learning

Teacher A organised pedagogical components spatially, placing Overt Instruction and Critical Framing in the classroom and facilitating Transformed Practice on the playground. Hence teacher-driven activities were bounded by the classroom and learner-driven activities took place outside. The two spaces articulated different kinds of pedagogy, namely the formal discourse of the classroom and the unbounded space of creativity away from the judgement associated with formal classroom teaching. The effect of moving learning to the playground was to give learners the freedom to explore in their own 'space of play'.[7] The playground space allowed freedom of movement and helped learners to hear each other and focus on developing their own performances, instead of copying each other. Being in the space of play connected learners' new designs to their Situated Practices. They constantly drew on rhythmic, melodic and dance elements from their games, incorporating them into

[7] The teacher reflected that "the open playground allowed learners to find a suitable patch – away from others, including their teacher – for them to express their creative spirits" (Teacher A questionnaire, Appendix E).

their new compositions. But because lessons usually started in the classroom with teacher-directed activities, learners could bring newly learnt skills and ideas into the playground to try out. Furthermore, groups and individuals moved around the playground and showed interest in each other's performances, wanting to participate. There was a sense of real listening and observing what their peers were doing, rather than feelings of jealousy or wanting to copy which, according to my observations, is very often the dominant dynamic in the township school context.

8.2.3.2 Informing Situated Practices

The Multiliteracies pedagogy contends that Transformed Practice potentially influences learners' Situated Practices: "designing changes the designer" (Cope and Kalantzis 2000b, 248). The final performances in School A conveyed the generative process inherent in learners' Transformed Practices, how they gave rise to uninitiated sound exploration and began to influence learners' informal musical play. Just after each group had performed their final compositions on the playground, without any prompting from Teacher A, his class continued to make music together, playing their instruments, adding new rhythms to their games, forming little instrumental or singing groups. Learners' transformed practices had generated a creative, explorative environment. The teacher recognised this as a 'transformative moment' – how the creative process was continuing and potentially informing learners' original musical games. This moment provided evidence of continued musical development, of learners potentially taking their newly learnt skills and capacities and applying them in different musical contexts, relating to both in-school and outside-school practices.

8.3 School and Teacher B

8.3.1 Introduction

School B is a senior primary school (Grades Five to Seven) of 300 learners in Emdeni-Zola. This area of Soweto was previously known as 'Beirut' during protests and political unrest of the late 1980s and early 1990s and is subsequently known for its strong gang culture and township musical forms, especially *kwaito*. The Emdeni area is also characterised by strong church and *sangoma* traditions, which came through in children's Situated Practices and their existing experiential knowledge of music and dance.[8] Teacher B teaches Arts and Culture to Grades Six and Seven, and chose a Grade Seven class of fifty learners for this case study. By 2006, she had taught Arts and Culture for three years, coinciding with her training in the ACE programme.

[8] A *sangoma* is a traditional spiritual healer in South Africa.

School and Teacher B represent the ‘medium scenario’ of take-up of the Multiliteracies pedagogy in this project. Although Teacher B is not formally trained in music and is not confident about her musical teaching skills, she adopted the Multiliteracies pedagogy and worked effectively with her learners’ musical games. She designed a programme based on the training and was not hampered by having to follow a pre-determined school learning programme. She showed a willingness to experiment and work with what her learners produced and was particularly effective in creating a learning and creative environment where groups could work on their musical designs over time.

8.3.2 Describing the Multiliteracies application in School B

The learning goal in Teacher B’s series of eight lessons was for learners to use elements of their games to design a music and movement composition, using made instruments and body percussion to accompany their own poem about identity. Instrument-making formed the central component of Overt Instruction and illustrated the theme of ‘me and my sounds’ in Teacher B’s learning programme.

Teacher B adopted the Multiliteracies method of moving fluidly between the four pedagogical components. Overt Instruction and Reflection informed children’s designs, building and deepening their music and dance compositions. She referred back to their Situated Practice, encouraging learners to use game elements in new designs. The process of interspersing moments of musical suggestion, description and reflection prompted learners to develop their work. This resulted in marked changes to children’s group designs from the beginning to the end of the series of eight lessons.

I frame the description of this case study in terms of beginning, middle and end experiences, in order to convey the shifts in the practice of both learners and Teacher B. In addition, because Teacher B’s active intervention in the learning process was less overt than Teacher A’s, I concentrate on the learners’ group-work in this description.

8.3.3 Beginning experiences

The teacher worked within Situated Practice, Overt Instruction and Critical Reflection, interspersed with group composition rehearsals in a lesson series overtly based on children’s conceptions of identity. I describe the process in terms of the challenges and successes for the teacher and students.

8.3.3.1 Recruiting learners' musical games

Beginning with the game "MaSithole", Teacher B asked the class to play the game differently (see Chapter Five, 5.3.3.2, for a description of this game). She asked learners to "sing the song inside and do the rhythm on your instrument", which began a process of developing internal musical memory. Playing a familiar clapping rhythm on their made instruments represented learners' primary experience of creating purely instrumental music, which they later transferred to their compositions.[9]

The teacher continued to work within Situated Practice by entering learners' space of play. She participated in playing "Two shelen" (see Chapter Five, 5.3.2.1). Teacher B connected the theme of identity with her learners' Situated Practice and, by entering their space and participating in their games, she facilitated a connection between classroom and playground. The context of play gave children the freedom to request to play another game "Ngake ngagana mngani wami" ("I was once married my friend"), which is about gender, identity and relationships (see Chapter Five, 5.3.3.2). The playground became a space where play and learning intersected, within a learning frame that the teacher provided. Because the teacher began many of her lessons with a familiar musical game, learners made connections between what they already knew musically and the tasks they were set. For example, when learners were asked to make up a poem in groups, they used the criss-cross foot patterns from their games and incorporated them in their designs. The teacher thus recruited specific capacities already present in her learners' games, and built on their ability to layer rhythmic patterns using body percussion. These skills were then transferred to learners' instrumental playing.

8.3.3.2 The teacher's Overt Instruction and Critical Reflection

In School B, I consider Overt Instruction and Critical Reflection together as they mostly occurred simultaneously. Teacher B's Overt Instruction aimed to develop a wider range of musical expression in her learners, exploring the kinds of sounds they could make both with instruments and body percussion. She encouraged learners to listen to what they were doing, and to listen to others' performances carefully in order to describe and reflect on them. Although she struggled at times to scaffold activities, and was not able to offer enough practice in teacher-directed activities, there were marked differences in learners' musical designs in terms of dynamic levels and evidence of children learning to listen to each other more deeply.

[9] My assertion is based on learners' comments like "I didn't know I could make music on my own with my instrument", which implies that playing music on an instrument was new for these children.

Children first made instruments at home and then reflected together in class on what their instruments meant to them, in an activity the Teacher called 'getting to know your instrument.' She related learners' instruments to their sense of self, and modelled this connection by personifying her made instrument and connecting herself to the object and what it represented. Many students described the meaningfulness of their instruments in terms of memories, or linked their instrument to *sangomas* and ancestors, revealing their experience of a musical instrument connected with spiritual practices. This reflective process highlighted the fact that children are likely to draw on the song and dance repertoire they hear around them. Because School B is used regularly as a church venue, and learners are therefore exposed to church music, instruments were associated with spiritual and religious contexts. Furthermore, many of the learners' family members are *sangomas* – this came through very strongly in their designs and reflections about music. (See Appendix F for learners' visual and written reflections about their instruments).

Although the reflective process was visually rather than musically based, it nevertheless linked children's sound-makers to their identities. The learners became invested in their instruments as meaningful objects, and showed increasing interest in the personal value of being able to play music individually. A group of boys who had made decorative and functional guitars explored their sounds informally and demonstrated a deep level of personal engagement with their instruments as musical and visual objects. The teacher developed learners' reflective abilities through visual reflection and description. Learners drew 'myself as an instrument', and 'making connections between my sound and my personality', and analysed how they made sounds on their instruments.

8.3.3.3 Teacher B's challenges in Overt Instruction and Critical Framing

As Teacher B is not formally trained in music, she lacked the subject knowledge necessary to 'overtly instruct' effectively. This lack of experience and knowledge became apparent particularly in her inability to remain within a musical or sound mode in her teaching. Some lessons focused more on language than music, probably because Teacher B's training is as a Zulu teacher. The challenges inherent in reflecting musically were particularly evident here because the teacher lacked a metalanguage for describing sound. Critical Framing therefore tended to occur on a visual or verbal level. The teacher lacked the skills to provide class learning experiences where learners could experiment with their instruments' sound possibilities and qualities. At this stage, learners were not given tools for playing their instruments in different ways, for example: keeping a beat, playing an ostinato, creating rhythmic patterns, accompanying a song or dance.

8.3.4 Middle experiences: shifts in practice

8.3.4.1 Shifts in the teacher's practice

As Teacher B experimented with the Multiliteracies pedagogy through trial and error, there were noticeable shifts in her own and in her learners' practices. Moving the classroom to the playground created an enabling environment for learners to begin new designs. Combined with her own involvement in learners' games, Teacher B's challenges to learners to listen and try out new sounds elicited interesting group designs. She also allowed learners the space and time to work on their designs over a number of lessons, highlighting the importance of experiencing artistic creation as a process of crafting.

Teacher B's own practice shifted as she recognised the importance of process rather than product. She encouraged her learners to stay on task, offering small interventions and suggestions as they developed their designs. She also began to ask learners for feedback on each other's designs, asking them to write about and assess each other's performances. Teacher A's strength resided in her ability to support and praise learners' work, encouraging learners to acknowledge each other in the same way.

8.3.4.2 Shifts in the learners' practices

I trace three group performances in School B in order to illustrate how learners' designs developed over time. I then outline how learners' sound pictures developed in order further to illustrate the progression of learners' designs in Transformed Practice.

Working with a word mind-map in Overt Instruction, Teacher B asked the class to think about the relationship between themselves, their family and community. A group of girls immediately started to use "Xoxisa" to create a poem. The methods of "Xoxisa" enabled these girls to express and communicate something about the topic. They applied the skills they used in a known game and their familiarity with the narrative mode to a new task.

During the middle series of lessons, there were marked changes that the teacher recognised and developed. The class dynamics changed from very noisy and chaotic to more focused. Learners' quality of listening changed as they paid more attention to sounds. As a result, learners were also able to work more quietly together. Furthermore, being able to work outside enabled groups to focus on their own designs. They began adding melodies to their poems and integrated these with instrumental

sounds. In their groups, learners began to co-operate. They watched, followed and listened to each other more effectively, whereas they had argued and shouted at each other before. Learners also began to use the musical vocabulary learnt in Overt Instruction and Critical Framing, and were increasingly able to describe sounds as hard or soft, gentle, fast or slow. Individual learners developed a sense of control and confidence in making and using their own instruments and an increased interest in being able to produce instrumental sounds.

During the middle series of lessons, groups were asked to make up a poem that had something to do with themselves, and use sounds or movements from their games. Once each group had made up a poem, Teacher B asked them to "make your poem into a game". When the 'Ancestors' group first performed their poem, it elicited feelings and memories from the class about their families. The group created a definite mood through body percussion, vocal sound and words, and began to connect ideas about feelings and music. The group began by working out pair clapping rhythms in time to their poem. (See Appendix D for the Ancestors' poem). The Ancestors group practised, saying their poem very softly and gently, humming "Nkosi Sikelele i Afrika" in the background. The group connected meanings with sound, linking the words of their poem – "our ancestors, people who died long ago because of apartheid" – with the South African national anthem, and expressed a solemn mood through quiet humming while one learner recited their poem.

The 'Attitude' group started with two boys chanting the poem and accompanying it with complex foot movements, tapping each other's feet on each side. The sounds produced by their feet fitted in between the words, "Your attitude … tests your mind …" To begin with they were unsure how to start and end their composition. Next, they added shakers to accompany their poem and developed the words rhythmically to produce a rap. They played around with the words, interspersing the words "attitude" and "test your" with shaker beats. The group also started to differentiate between levels of sound, making their foot movements quieter so that the audience could hear the words of their poem. When Teacher B asked why their performance had become quieter, one learner displayed an understanding of the relationship between sound and the meanings they wanted to convey, by responding, "because our attitudes aren't wild, so we did it softly." (See Appendix D for the Attitude group's poem).

The 'Life' group in School B took pair clapping patterns from a clapping game and transferred it to their rhythmic poem with the words, "Life, life, what is life exactly?" They struggled at first to clap the rhythms together, but managed to make the poem's words and rhythms fit together. Next, the group added their homemade guitar sounds to the poem, beginning to create a repeated motif using the interval of a fifth, played on their guitars (See Appendix D for the words of the poem "Life").

8.3.5 Ending experiences: Transformed Practice

In their last performance, the Ancestors group used a wider range of sound resources than in their initial design. They applied skills they had learnt in Overt Instruction, such as control and conscious use of instruments and voices to convey the poem's feelings. Learners added movements associated with church songs (movements backwards and forwards) and used dynamics sensitively to match the meaning of the words (for example, a crescendo on the words "because of wars in South Africa", and a diminuendo on the words "We will always remember our Beloved ones"). A further addition was the repetition of the word "ancestors" as an ostinato throughout the performance. The group hummed softly so that their audience could hear the poem. They also organised their musical poem into a beginning, middle and end (ABA structure). Individual members played clearly differentiated musical roles: using instruments (to keep a beat or play different rhythmic patterns); call and response roles in singing; and one learner reciting the poem. They responded according to their roles, listening carefully to each other, following and co-operating musically and sensitively.

The group of boys, who had started their poem "Life" loudly, changed their performance and began to explore the different sound possibilities afforded by their two drums and home-made guitar. One learner recited the poem softly, while the other three played the guitar, one rubbed the drum head and the other beat his drum softly. They ended by chanting "life, life" together. This group of boys clearly showed a shift over the eight lessons in the way they used dynamics and instrumental sounds to express the mood and meaning of their poem. Their playing was particularly gentle and sensitive.

In their final performance for the class, the Attitude group showed how they had worked together to match their movement and words. Each repeated line of the poem corresponded with the groups' back-and-forth movements. The learners' feet produced a counterpoint rhythm to the words and shaker rhythms. This group showed increased co-operation and sensitivity to each other, working very well to synchronise their movements, words and sounds. The group watched and listened to each other, and began and ended together (whereas they had not done so before).

The last performance of the Attitude group was for the researcher, where the group created a sense of structure and development of their music. They began with one learner tapping his feet, then others joined in one by one with the same feet rhythms, creating an accumulative effect. Then the shaker added to the texture, followed by their repeated chant. The group added their instruments as before, and used a drum rhythm to fill the gaps (silences in the musical phrase). In their final performance, the Attitude group ended their poem with instrumental sound only, dying away one at a time. Their development in sensitivity, listening and co-operating with each other from the first to last

performance demonstrated a real transformation in the sense of using the available sound resources effectively and creating a new design.

8.3.6 Sound pictures

Creating sound pictures was unique to School B. The teacher worked with learners for a week developing the idea of creating a picture using only vocal, body percussion and instrumental sounds. The learners' increasing sensitivity to sound, and their experiences of how sound can communicate, was transferred to their group designs. I describe how children's first attempts at creating sound pictures developed into sophisticated, detailed performances that showed clear application of skills learnt in Overt Instruction and Critical Framing.

Teacher B introduced the idea of sound pictures by telling each group to illustrate a place through sounds using body percussion and voice. As this was done in the classroom, the class of over forty learners couldn't hear each other. Most groups acted out a scenario (most of which were very loud and boisterous) rather than using sounds only because the concept of a sound picture was new. . The fact that learners did not initially create sound pictures emphasised the necessity for the whole group to experience a sound picture first in order for successful application in group designs. Nevertheless, the teacher used the opportunity to reflect back to children about how they could do their sound pictures differently.

Teacher B then moved the process outside, where groups could concentrate on their own sounds. She suggested that they pretend to do their sound pictures for someone who is blind so that "only the sound will count". This enabled learners to focus on sounds, rather than acting and movement and work out how to organise their pictures. In the second attempts, many of the sound pictures included game elements, *kwaito*-style in a soccer game, and different kinds of rhythmic chants. Musically, learners' designs were complex in their combination of melody, chant, foot and hand sounds, and the imaginative use of their voices. For example, one group created a taxi rank sound-picture layering melodic and rhythmic textures.[10] One learner created a rhythm to depict a car hooter, which she repeated on one pitch; others provided the background noise of conversations in the taxi; others illustrated peoples' footsteps; and a few learners sang a *kwaito*-type melody of the radio in the taxi. The teacher reflected and described the different sounds and how they were made. The process encouraged learners to remember and describe what they had just heard. Learners were becoming

[10] Most people who live in South African townships travel by minibus taxi. The taxi industry is an unregulated form of transport, and in Soweto particularly, huge taxi-ranks are important sites of informal industry, social mixing, gambling, hustle and bustle, as thousands of people gather in one place to take transport to and from work. Thus, the taxi rank was chosen as a familiar place for learners to depict through sound.

conscious of what they were doing. They began to describe sounds accurately, showing the development of a musical metalanguage and increased conscious engagement with music. Teacher B's comments demonstrate her recognition of a new sense of reflection that her learners were developing: "In their reflections, they were able to use the basic elements in music, when describing their instrument" and "When I did 'myself as an instrument' they were able to think about sounds" (Teacher B).

For the third sound picture lesson, the teacher began by playing the pair line-formation game "Korobetsa", and then asked learners to play the game's rhythmic pattern on instruments. (For a description of this game, see Chapter Five, 5.3.2.3). Children began to experiment with clapping the game's rhythm in pairs, then on their instruments. Teacher B suggested that learners add instrumental rhythms to their sound pictures, thus adding to their sound range. Groups started to experiment with the sound possibilities of their instruments, with the clear purpose of illustrating a place through sound. Being given the opportunity to re-work their sound pictures enabled learners to produce more detailed, expressive sounds. Groups showed greater co-operation: children listened and looked at each other, responding with their sound that fitted into a bigger sound picture, rather than all making sounds at the same time. Some groups used quite complex rhythmic layering, having been encouraged to explore the sound possibilities of their voices and instruments. The new exercise clearly connected Situated and Transformed Practice, through the teacher's intervention in Overt Instruction and Reflective practice.

For example, one group evoked the sounds and mood of a soccer match. They demonstrated carefully chosen sounds, with each learner playing a different musical role. They left spaces between their sounds, looked and listened to each other. Theirs was a combination of imaginative vocal sounds (a repeated "aaaahh" to illustrate the crowd's reactions), instruments like a *vuvuzela*, shakers and drums playing overlapping rhythmic patterns, a high-pitched referee whistle, and an underlying driving beat. Together this created a sound picture that communicated the feeling of excitement and movement of a soccer match, but also developed something that sounded more like a composed piece.

The fourth performance of learners' sound pictures formed part of an evaluative, feedback process with the researcher, who gave them an opportunity to perform their pictures without assessment by peers or the teacher. Giving them this space elicited surprising results. The group who had performed the "Attitude" poem re-performed their sound picture for the researcher. Their ability to work together and co-operate musically, which they had learnt doing the poem, came through strongly. Their sound picture combined spoken words, body percussion, instruments and vocalised sounds. The group watched and listened to each other as they made the sounds of footsteps, a ringing phone, someone coughing, ambulance sirens, a machine beeping, and announcements in the hospital. Sounds had

tended to happen together before, but now the group collaborated closely to create a textured piece, which they developed and sustained for a long time. There was a sense of their being able to improvise together because they had learnt how to listen to each other. Both groups who performed their sound pictures for the researcher (one illustrating a farm, the other a hospital) performed compositions that lasted for over five minutes, in sustained examples of working closely together. Learners began to improvise rather than remaining with their rehearsed designs. They began to move, matching sound and movement quality, watching and listening to each other intently. Learners' designs highlighted how creating a learning environment that gives learners long periods of time and unrestricted space substantially influences children's creative work.

8.4 School and Teacher C

School C is a Sotho primary school of 350 learners, situated in White City Jabavu in central Soweto. As the school has comparatively few learners, it prioritises marketing and recruitment, using learners' successes in Arts and Culture competitions as a marketing tool to gain new learners. One of the effects of the prioritisation of Arts and Culture competitions is that the teaching I observed in this school seemed largely to be concerned with preparing for district dance and music competitions. In addition, teacher-overload was adversely affecting Arts and Culture teaching and learning in this school. Teacher C did not attend some of the training and lacked the time and capacity to engage with the idea of 'teacher as researcher'. Because Teacher C attended so many education department workshops and meetings during the eight-week period, and the school sent children home early on a number of occasions, there were considerable constraints in the implementation of a new methodology in this case study.

Nevertheless, the learners at this school demonstrated a particularly marked ability to express themselves in multiple modes, and to appropriate musical material from a range of sources for their designs. Despite the difficulties that Teacher C experienced, his learners re-designed their games when given the opportunity to do so.

I observed the combined Grade Four classes, a total of 40 learners (aged about nine or ten years). Lessons took place in the larger space of the hall, rather than the teacher's classroom, while groups prepared their performances on the playground. The lessons I observed were part of a learning programme planned before the pedagogical innovation, based on the theme of 'birthday parties' in a prescribed Arts and Culture textbook. The theme potentially presented constraints, but also offered opportunities to apply the Multiliteracies pedagogy to music. I first documented learners' games during two break-times for ethnographic description (Chapter Three) and then observed four formal

lessons. My final observation took place without the teacher, where I gained feedback from learners in the form of further performances rather than written or oral feedback, as the School C learners do not easily express themselves in English.

8.4.1 Situated Practice: incorporating and changing musical games

The experience at School C highlighted the difference between recruiting learners' musical practices consciously in pedagogy, as opposed to learners naturally using their prior musical and dance knowledges in new designs or musical tasks, without the teacher recognising that this is what they were doing. There were particular problems in this case because Teacher C could not recognise critical learning moments, or any kind of learning that was not pre-determined by his textbook. Despite the problems in this case study, Teacher C attempted to bridge the divide between formal classroom learning and informal play, thereby developing a potential dialogue between two kinds of practices.

Teacher C consciously incorporated learners' musical games by using them as warm-up activities to start a lesson. At times these games were overtly used to intersect with pedagogical knowledge, potentially linking to the tasks outlined in the textbook, and children's Situated Practices. At other times, learners used elements of their games without the teacher facilitating this, because learners' musical games represent their musical and dance repertoires. In general, the School C learners used the content of their games and their formal drama and music competition performances when asked to create a new group performance.

Teacher C made changes to learners' games by using "Sibidiphephe" as a musical example to experience different tempi and dynamics. ("Sibidiphephe" is described in Chapter Three, 3.2). Children were asked to play the game at different speeds, but needed guidance in Overt Instruction to keep together musically as a changed tempo was something completely new for them. The teacher also used 'freeze' games like "Are you ready?" to experience different moods. (See Chapter Five, 5.2.1). Learners expressed contrasting moods most clearly and meaningfully in the freeze-frame body pictures they created, depicting a happy, sad or angry mood. I suggest that the teacher's conscious use of this game encouraged a meaningful response from learners because he was building on a particularly developed capacity of his learners. As a result, there was a range of distilled expression in their body sculptures.

Continuing to work with Situated Practice, Teacher C asked learners to "show different moods in your games". Learners found it quite difficult to change their games in this way because, I suggest, they did not have enough experience of how music can express different moods (either through listening or

active music-making directed by the teacher). When learners did express contrasting moods effectively, the teacher was unable to describe how they had done this or what constituted "changing your game well". I suggest that had he been able to describe how they followed a conductor in one instance, or demonstrated contrasting mood in a familiar song, learners may have been able to apply this knowledge in their new designs. The teacher often commented on how creative his learners were. He praised and encouraged them, but lacked the capacity or musical metalanguage to describe what it was that made them 'creative'.

8.4.2 Overt Instruction

The challenges for this teacher in implementing the Multiliteracies pedagogy were located in Overt Instruction. His lack of musical confidence, experience as a musician, or musical training inhibited his ability to provide learning experiences that extended children's use of sound sources, quality of expression, or their conscious control of or understanding of musical material.

Rather than preparing a lesson series based on the training he had received from the researcher, he followed the pre-determined learning programme literally and uncritically. The textbook had become his resource to 'hold onto', but this was very restricting as it did not allow space for creative processes. Because the teacher lacked methodological experience in music education, he was unable to scaffold tasks effectively. He tended to name rather than let learners experience musical concepts. I suggest that his learners needed to experience, for example, slow music in various ways (by doing and listening) in order to be able to apply the slowness in their game successfully. Although a range of expression was named, and enacted briefly, children did not apply the new experience of slowness or softness to their designs. The inability to scaffold musically led to an expectation that children would be able to apply the concept too soon. The teacher expected a new design without sufficient work in Overt Instruction or Critical Framing

Building on his capacity to work in the visual mode, however, Teacher C did make musical instruments with his learners, using a range of materials in interesting ways. Given opportunities to use these in performance, however, learners needed guidance in how to play the instruments, the potential sounds the instruments could make, and different ways of playing. Because the teacher lacked the capacity to introduce any new music or dance, children tended to draw on the same elements all the time. I propose that, had the teacher exposed his learners to new music, sound resources and ways of using sound, his learners would have created interesting new designs because of their particularly developed ability to source, mix and manipulate sound and movement.

Nevertheless, there were some successes in the teacher's Overt Instruction, which his learners transferred to varying degrees in Transformed Practice. The teacher embedded reflection and description in his teaching by asking questions about what learners had just done musically. Children learnt to name musical elements (tempo, rhythm and beat) and moods. Teacher C also established the appropriate behaviour of different musical roles as a performer or audience member, asking for quiet and attention when a group was performing to show respect for each other's performances.

8.4.3 Critical Framing

Teacher C asked his learners many questions about their performances and was effective in eliciting responses that demonstrated learners' growing awareness of their own practices. He asked his learners to describe what they had done in their drama performance, for example, "What did you do in your birthday party? What did you make? Was that a happy or sad mood? How did we beat – slowly or fast?" When children used a range of songs and dances in dramatic performances, the teacher enquired about their source and how children had learnt these songs and dances. Children were unaware that they were sourcing musically from a range of practices: television, film, traditional cultural groups, and songs heard from other children or on the radio. Given more time and training, the teacher might have investigated children's existing musical knowledge and enabled them to develop a consciousness of musical origins and contexts. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that Critical Reflection on a Grade Four level should preferably begin with developing the learners' ability to become aware of what they are doing, before asking them 'how' and 'why'. I suggest that at this level, the beginning of this consciousness would be to explore questions like "Where did you hear that music? Where do you think it comes from? Is this music you have heard before or is it new?" Such questions would enable learners to develop an understanding of the difference between copying and making something original.

8.4.4 Transformed Practice

I focus here on one lesson that had a moment of surprising and unexpected transformed learning in School C. Although the teacher was not aware of it, my interpretation is that he unconsciously provided a critical learning moment by asking his learners to illustrate a visual design through movement. His framing of the task facilitated a creative space for learners to create a particularly developed multimodal design that demonstrated Gunther Kress's conception of "synaesthesia" in action: interpreting or understanding one mode in terms of another (2000b).

What was particularly interesting in this lesson was how the teacher's competence in the visual mode was translated into the musical mode. The teacher's confidence, skill, knowledge and experience in the visual mode enabled him to facilitate a transformative learning moment in the context of visual designing – deciding how to design wrapping paper. He asked learners to show the design of their gift wrap in movement, working in groups. Each group used movement elements from their games to illustrate visual shapes: a cross, diamond, horse and stars. One group made short staccato jumping movements to illustrate stars; another used leg-crossing movements (drawn from a game) to show a visual cross; other groups created group body sculptures of an aeroplane and a horse to illustrate these pictures. Each group also added short musical chants to match their movements. Learners collaborated and co-operated musically, performing their multimodal designs in unison, combined with chanting. They transferred their ability to work across modes to a new context – illustrating the visual through movement.

In another lesson, learners presented wrapping paper designs they had produced in groups, explaining to the class what they had done in an extended reflective session. The teacher then asked them to "think again about your designs and your games and this time show your design by means of dance and music in your games."[11] Given the opportunity to return to these compositions, after designing their wrapping paper, learners applied their movement-visual understanding to different shapes: they illustrated circles moving with their hands and feet and sang, "I can see the round, I can show the round." This group demonstrated a further understanding of the connections between spatial, movement and visual modes in a design that far exceeded what either the learning programme or learning outcomes for their grade expect.

Another group made an interesting connection with English language learning, incorporating a chant and using it in a newly created game where each learner danced in the middle of a circle, while the group chanted "I. E. A. O. U.". When asked what they wanted to show, the learners in this group said "We are showing the vowels." The group which had showed a cross with their foot movements redesigned their performance to include a version of the Xhosa song "Jikele Maweni", which they had heard in the film *Sarafina*. They created an offbeat foot rhythm, crossing their legs and substituting "*crossa*" for "*ndiya hamba*" (meaning "we are going") in the song.

The children's ability to create these unique multimodal designs can be attributed to their musical, kinaesthetic and visual understanding embodied in their games. The teacher provided a critical learning moment, not through musical intervention but by making a link between their games and a

[11] The teacher created an opportunity for a transformative learning moment here, I suggest, because the researcher had shown particular interest and enthusiasm for learners' multimodal designs in the previous lesson. My suggestions prompted him to develop learners' skills in this area.

visual design. He facilitated these significant moments in a visually creative space. Learners translated their visual abilities into new multimodal designs using their experience and skills of their Situated Practices (rather than applying any new skill or knowledge learnt in Overt Instruction or Critical Framing, in the Multiliteracies sense).

8.4.5 Conclusion: the teacher's practice

The disparity in this school was between the learners' and Teacher C's capacity. Although the teacher provided the opportunity for unexpected new designs, this did not relate to his ability in Overt Instruction, or any newly learnt skill. The children seemed to create on their own, but unfortunately the teacher lacked the capacity to harness or develop their musical potential. I suggest that although the teacher did not take up the Multiliteracies pedagogy in any conscious way, the findings in this case study pose important questions about whether this pedagogy can be taken up in the context of South African township schools. The particular constraints presented by the school culture, teacher's practice, and opportunities presented by the learners in this case study prompted me to consider under what conditions the Multiliteracies pedagogy can be applied effectively to music education. I outline this in Chapter Nine.

In the next chapter I interpret the findings of each school case study in terms of what they illuminate about the appropriateness, effects on learning, as well as the challenges inherent in adapting a Multiliteracies approach in music education.

Chapter Nine: Interpreting the pedagogical innovation

9.1 Applying the Multiliteracies pedagogy to music education

In this chapter I analyse the findings described in Chapter Eight in terms of coherencies in pedagogical outcomes in each school. I focus particularly on what each case study reveals about the efficacy of the Multiliteracies pedagogy in music education in the Soweto primary school context, given the parameters of the project. The analysis intersects with the broader questions and themes of this project, namely: learner-centredness, the issue of resources, reflective practice and methodology. My interpretation reflects on existing theory and extends this theorising of the musical mode within multimodality in order to develop an understanding of the Multiliteracies pedagogy in music education. Of the many themes that arise, I interrogate four that emerged: time, space, methodology and interpreting learner-centredness.

9.1.1 Interpreting how the Multiliteracies components work in practice

This research reveals how the practice of Multiliteracies pedagogical components is context-specific. It highlights differences between an ideal application, as envisaged in Chapter Seven, and real practice. For example, levels of Critical Framing differed widely in each case. If musical reflection was new, simply introducing a reflective awareness to learners represented the beginning of working within Critical Framing. When learners had experienced reflection (for example in the visual mode), they were more able to transfer their skills to music. Based on what the teachers understood from their learners' games, Overt Instruction in the three case studies focused on extending learners' sound and expressive repertoires, whereas in different schools it may have comprised a more formal musical literacy. The range of Overt Instruction also depended on each educator's subject knowledge and their responses to learners' designs. Applying a Multiliteracies framework in this research required an interpretation of each component with particular learners in mind; it therefore demanded a high level of musical awareness and reflective capacity in educators. The case studies demonstrated that "expert teaching involves making situated, interpretive judgments" (Morrow et al. 2005, 6) and that implementing Multiliteracies pedagogy requires the ability to interpret the four components in specific teaching and learning situations.

9.1.1.1 The efficacy of the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework in practice

The case studies emphasise the intersection of each Multiliteracies component, how they build on each other, and the necessity for all four components of the Multiliteracies pedagogy to be present for

deep, transformative learning to occur. The case studies further reveal what occurs when one of the components is not present. Although the implementation in School C was problematic, this case study is informative in highlighting discrepancies between 'multimodal learners' and a 'monomodal' teacher.

The educator's practice demonstrated the clarity and efficacy of the Multiliteracies pedagogy as a methodology: how learners take what they know, acquire new learning in Overt Instruction and Critical Framing, and apply it in Transformed Practice. Learners' changing designs illustrate the circular journey from Situated Practice, via Overt Instruction and Critical Framing, to Transformed Practice, which in turn potentially re-shapes learners' Situated Practices. Although in practice the phases are not consecutive, the case studies emphasise the inseparability of the components. Educators move in and out of the four modes of teaching and learning according to what is happening musically in the class. In practice, components 'bounce off' each other in a generative process; teaching within one component gives rise to problems, ideas or challenges in another. The components respond and converse with each other, particularly if the educator is able to focus on learners' musical development processes and their potential for transformation. Consequently, using a Multiliteracies approach suggests a conception of teaching as managing the teaching and learning situation rather than teaching as transmitting a body of knowledge to the learner.

9.1.2 Working in Situated Practice: bringing learners' practices into the classroom

The case studies highlight the significance of learners' Situated Practices as the basis for further learning, emphasising David Paul Ausubel's comment that frames this thesis: "The most important single factor influencing learning is what the learner already knows. Ascertain this and teach him accordingly" (1978). The key element in Ausubel's statement on learning is, I suggest, the word "accordingly". Understanding the implications of this word in Ausubel's theory represents the difference between recruitment as repetition and recruitment that facilitates transformation, as the three case studies demonstrate.

9.1.2.1 Incorporating children's games into the curriculum

The first level of recruitment, I suggest, is incorporating children's games into classroom practice, without necessarily using or developing any elements or capacities of the games. This was the level of incorporation achieved in School C where the teacher observed and recorded the games but did not analyse them in terms of musical-dance elements, skills or capacities. While acknowledging his learners' resourcefulness and their games as creative practices, Teacher C did not work with their

situated practices in any sustained way, choosing rather to remain with a pre-determined learning programme. Hence Teacher C tended to repeat rather than recruit his learners' musical games in his teaching. He did, however, briefly use two games to express different moods, but did not consciously use any elements of the games or develop the skills his learners showed in their games during Overt Instruction.[1] Although Teacher C's recruitment was superficial, I suggest that the process of bringing the games into the classroom helped the learners make connections between their own practices and curriculum knowledge (in this case textbook content). This connection enabled learners to apply specific cross-modal links to a new design. In addition, Teacher C was able to provide a performance space, giving his learners many opportunities to perform their own songs and dances. Although he lacked the capacity to develop or extend these designs in any way, he managed the classroom space to facilitate their creativity.

9.1.2.2 Crossing domains of practice: the educator as learner and learner as expert

In all three schools the teachers appreciated the pedagogical value of their learners' musical games, "using their knowledge as the basis of teaching" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). Whether they repeated the game in the classroom, or developed and recruited the games in depth, each teacher acknowledged, in different ways, children's musical practices as significant forms of musical 'knowing'.

Incorporating learners' music-dance practices in the classroom exemplified the "teacher guid[ing] the learner as a 'master of practice'" in Situated Practice (New London Group 2000, 32). To begin, learners "came forward to share their knowledge or simply to teach me – their educator" (Teacher A questionnaire, Appendix E). All three educators played musical games with their learners, asking them how to play it successfully, making mistakes and acting as the learner. Teaching the educator their games empowered learners to realise that they already possess musical knowledge and skills and have something to offer. The teacher-as-learner underlined the importance of bridging the gap between classroom and playground, enabling learners to experience their games as valuable musical practices. Bringing the games into the classroom (or the classroom to the playground) represented a rapprochement between learners and teachers and their perceived positions as 'novices' and experts respectively.

[1] As Teacher C did not attend any evaluative sessions or complete a questionnaire, it is difficult to ascertain whether he consciously recruited children's practices or recognised their moments of transformative practice. My assumptions are based on what I observed during four lessons.

During the research phase, the educator's and researcher's analysis and documenting process revealed how learners' embodied musical knowledge is located in their practices. Learners construct their own meanings, bringing unexpected and interesting interpretations to the learning situation for potential exploration and development. Children's sound-sourcing, manipulation and construction, their use of language, gesture and dance actions, are functionally connected to their games. Learners often use words for their sounds, rather than their accepted meanings; they extract dance steps from original contexts and adapt them for their game; their melodic and rhythmic patterns are chosen to facilitate interactive clapping and dancing. Although it was difficult to access these meanings, the process of asking children to explain, demonstrate, repeat and verbalise proved an important learning experience for the educators and researcher. The research phase within Situated Practice (described in Chapter Seven) elicited important information about learners' practices from which to develop learning programmes. Learners' participation and enthusiasm in this research process confirmed how meaningful it was for them to have their games recognised. Learners commented that, "I like it when you come to see our games", "I want everyone to know about our games so we can play together with other children", and "I must teach others the games" (Learners' oral responses, October 2006).

Being a 'master of practice' in the context of their musical play gave learners an enhanced sense of their own music and dance capacities – an experience I suggest was very different from those before the implementation period or in other learning areas. Playing and learning different games together as part of their formal lessons helped to acknowledge learners' subjectivities and build musical and performance confidence to respond to new musical tasks. Furthermore, the educator and researcher's exploration of children's games with learners underlined their generative nature; the more games we played, or asked about, the more there were to discover. During the implementation phase children remembered many more games than were initially documented, revealing the richness and depth of their practices and attendant capacities.

9.1.2.3 Recruiting learners' situated practices on different levels

Case studies in Schools A and B confirmed that recruitment occurs on the level of capacity, musical content, skills and multimodal resourcefulness, as suggested in the envisaged application (Chapter Seven). However, this research revealed a further level – utilising the framework of children's games in order to learn about musical form and structure.

First, Teachers A and B recruited the collaborative, co-operative abilities evident in learners' games. Educators developed the idea of 'the rules of the game' to introduce musical structuring.[2] Significantly, Teachers A and B recognised that children "learn, remember and interact spontaneously because the context is meaningful" (Strauss quoted in Jaffurs 2006, 6). Children's games are group-orientated, framed by rules in the form of musical and performative roles that make sense to learners because they ensure the games' success. When an activity's rules are meaningful and connected to expression, exploration and play, children are able to follow them and work together effectively. Teachers A and B built on the kind of collaboration intrinsic to learners' games, and developed their abilities to work together more consciously in the musical mode. Teacher A in particular employed the idea that musical rules create a frame for creative expression. He showed an understanding of how rules function in the way he transferred this concept to another context in Overt Instruction: learning about musical structure, form, performing musical roles and coming to musical agreements. Teacher A then developed this element of recruitment through the four Multiliteracies components. Working with Situated Practice in this way revealed how learners' collaborative efforts themselves can function as sources for learning.

A second level of recruitment was on the level of music and dance content. Teachers A and B used musical elements (rhythmic patterns or melody) or movement elements (units of action in dance) drawn from children's games and transferred them to new musical contexts, making connections between sound, movement or gesture and expressive purposes and effects. For example, children played familiar rhythmic patterns of specific games on their instruments; they were encouraged to use a clapping pattern in a new design, and learners took dance steps from their games and incorporated them into their group compositions.

On a third level, educators recruited particular musical skills present in the games. For example, they developed learners' use of body percussion to keep a beat and overlay different rhythmic patterns. In classroom activities, body percussion was used as a tool for developing control over rhythmic patterning, differentiating patterns and identifying musical roles (for instance who keeps the beat, or who plays an ostinato pattern). Teacher A also developed children's ability to link pitch and expressive quality (apparent in "Gama l'am"), utilising the way their language works tonally. He extended this idea in a series of lessons during Overt Instruction, exploring the illustrative, expressive qualities of sound.

The final way in which educators recruited learners' musical games was to build on their resourcefulness and multimodal capacities. The resourcefulness that learners bring to the learning and

[2] I describe how the rules of children's musical games function in Chapter Five.

teaching situation focuses on the senses as repositories of meaning, of history, culture and feeling (Stein 2004). Learners' games demonstrate the ability to source sounds, dance moves and words from a variety of cultural contexts and combine these in a new design. Recruiting such resourcefulness in the case studies manifested as developing children's ability to identify and choose appropriate sounds for particular design purposes. Educators used learners' capacity to create new musical or movement ideas from what they have at their disposal: their sound environment, made instruments, bodies, voices, and each other. Learners' resourcefulness in this context was connected to how they work in and across modes. Thus the pedagogical innovation placed learners' resourcefulness at the centre of recruitment, both in the sense of the way learners operate, and the range of multimodal resources they naturally use (Newfield et al. 2003, 61).

9.1.2.4 The intersection of Situated Practice and Overt Instruction

The case studies revealed how Situated Practice and Overt Instruction intersect in a music education context. In Schools A and B educators "worked productively and sensitively with indigenous forms of knowledge," (Prinsloo and Stein 2005, 138), using their learners' available designs to 'overtly instruct', thus operating within two Multiliteracies components simultaneously. Learners' games, songs and dances became materials to use in Overt Instruction. What Teacher B referred to as a "starting point or methodology" for Overt Instruction proved an effective method for developing ways of extending learners' expressive range and awareness (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). The success of this strategy was verified by learners' skill-transference in their new designs.

Teacher A and B's method stresses the importance of connecting new learning to something already known, so that it is meaningful learning to learners (according to Ausubel's understanding of "meaningful learning").[3] Learners are therefore active in constructing new knowledge through a process of making connections. Teachers A and B demonstrated an understanding that new knowledge must be linked to specifically relevant concepts (Ausubel 1978). Teacher A in particular demonstrated awareness (through trial and error) of how his own methodology influenced the depth of learners' new learning. He also specified the challenge of Overt Instruction as methodological: "The issue is *how* to share (the teacher's) knowledge with the learners, deducing from what they bring into the classroom" (original emphasis) (Teacher A questionnaire, Appendix E).

[3] I draw here on Ausubel's theory of learning as constructing knowledge. Ausubel's "reception learning paradigm" concerns meaningful learning, a conscious and deliberate effort on the part of the learner to relate new knowledge in a self-consistent way with relevant existing concepts in his or her cognitive structure (1978).

9.1.3 Working in Overt Instruction

9.1.3.1 Developing conscious understanding

This research clarifies that Overt Instruction "involves developing systematic, analytic and conscious understanding" through teaching "overt rules and conventions" (New London Group 2000). It reveals how most learners are unaware of their "rich knowledge"; they "do it unconsciously" (Teacher A). Teacher B played learners' games and reflected with them, encouraging learners to "think deeply about their games and the sounds they made" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). Building on learners' prior knowledge, the teacher "helped to make explicit what was formerly vague" (Street, quoted in Ross et al. 1993, 165), confirming that children must first know *what* they do before they can understand *how* they do it (original emphasis) (Ross et al. 1993, 165). Once they know how, they are in a position to either apply their musical methods to new contexts in Transformed Practice, or reflect on them in Critical Framing. During Overt Instruction, educators facilitated an understanding of 'what and how' by making learners skills and capacities explicit. Teachers A and B did this by connecting music or dance elements to expressive intention and ways of structuring and controlling musical material.

9.1.3.2 Interpreting affordance

Making musical instruments was central to Overt Instruction in the case studies as it exemplified learning as "developing effectivity towards affordance" (Gee n.d., 10). Instrument-making also reflected Thomas Regelski's notion that "objects afford certain things … such affordances are appropriated" (2004, 15). In this section I describe how learners "appropriated affordances" and how effective learners were towards the affordance of instrumental musicking.

Primarily, the instruments learners made afforded a greater range of sounds and therefore offered increased expressive, communicative potential. For many learners, making instruments was a new experience and became the catalyst for exploring and using new sounds: a turning point in the process of sound designing. Teachers A and B "became aware that learners need to develop away from the loudness of 'location' culture", and therefore focused their Overt Instruction on exploring sound possibilities (Teacher A questionnaire, Appendix E).[4] Experimenting with instruments enabled learners to discover gentle, quiet, subtle sounds. Teachers A and B then introduced learners to ways of using these new sounds in composition by developing instrumental skills: accompanying in different ways, keeping a beat, creating an ostinato pattern, 'filling the gap' rhythmically, and improvising.

[4] 'Location' refers to any South African township. See Chapter Three, footnote 7 for further explanation.

The success of instrument-making in this context can be attributed to its meaningfulness as "multimodal text", functioning as a visual, tactile and sound-making object (Kress 2000b, 187). Instrument-making in Overt Instruction represented a methodology of working with the senses in multimodal pedagogies, developing a "deepened awareness of the roles of the senses in the everyday life of the classroom" (Stein 2004, 103).

9.1.3.3 Connecting musical learning and the Multiliteracies approach

As well as extending learners' expressive range, Overt Instruction in School A and B concentrated on musical rules and agreements and epitomised working with "organisational meaning (design as morphology)" in the Multiliteracies framework (New London Group 1996; 2000). Educators made learners conscious of the conventions of their games, of the ways they co-operate in order to play the game. Learners' "procedural knowledge" (Elliott 1995, 2005)[5] was developed by introducing musical structuring and then allowing learners to experience different musical roles. Educators encouraged learners to think about the form of their compositions and the musical agreements necessary to create and sustain a musical design, "guiding learners in preparing an organised performance" (Teacher A questionnaire, Appendix E). Teacher A's method here reflects David Elliott's emphasis on procedural knowledge as "knowing how to make music musically and to listen musically" (1995, 53-68), which can be likened to "organisational knowledge" in the Multiliteracies pedagogy (New London Group 2000). Experientially, learners became aware of listening as fundamental to "knowing how" musically, that "you can't make music without listening" (School A learner's written response, Appendix F). Learners then applied newly-learnt listening and musical-knowing skills to their new designs. In some cases, groups created their own musical rules, including turn-taking (musically and in movement), differentiating solo and group expression and applying the idea of 'statues', sourced from their games, in new designs.

9.1.3.4 Challenges for the educator in Overt Instruction

> Perhaps some interpretations of OBE and the valorisation of 'learner-centred education' have contributed to the under-emphasis on content knowledge, and the ability to make it accessible to learners. But whatever the reason, it is clear that no-one can teach something they themselves do not know, and a re-emphasis on the key importance of content knowledge, especially in the formal qualification phase … is needed at this time (Morrow et al. 2005, 13).

[5] "Procedural knowledge" is "knowledge-in-action", in other words, "knowing how" in a specific musical practice (Elliott 1995, 2005). According to Elliott, procedural knowledge is one of several kinds of "musical knowing" that make up musicianship (2005, 9).

The recommendations of the Morrow report on South African teacher education stresses educators' subject knowledge and its contribution to learning, which is represented by Overt Instruction in Multiliteracies framework. I suggest that an important component of the educators' intervention in the three case studies would have been to introduce children to new musical conventions of practices different to learners' own. This aspect of the pedagogical innovation could have been developed further by all three educators.

In all three schools, there were absences in teachers' competence in Overt Instruction. It may have been more effective if teachers had exposed learners to some unfamiliar music and dance practices, and then reflected on them in Critical Framing. Hearing and practising new music would assist learners to move beyond their immediate cultural environments and become aware of, understand, and experience the music of others. Introducing an unfamiliar song or dance may have increased children's musical and movement repertoires and therefore expanded the musical and movement possibilities from which learners could draw in new designs. To some degree, Teacher A began this process by introducing new stories and poems during Overt Instruction. However, I acknowledge that this stage requires an extended period of time and needs to be developed throughout a learning programme.

One of the challenges for the educators in this research was a lack of subject knowledge in Overt Instruction. Because Overt Instruction involves the teacher's "active intervention" in the learning process, the quality of this intervention can determine whether or not children learn anything new (New London Group 2000, 33). The case studies emphasise how musical depth in Overt Instruction – learning new musical skills and experiencing new music – hinges on each teacher's subject knowledge, strengths and expertise (be they in music, drama, visual art or dance). The findings in each school highlight the importance of periods of Overt Instruction in teaching, how Overt Instruction completes the cycle of learning in the Multiliteracies pedagogy that results in transformative learning. In music education, I suggest that Overt Instruction depends on teachers' understanding of "music-as-action", rather than a conception of musical knowledge as verbal knowledge *about* music.

9.1.3.4.1 Learning musically and musical learning

> By musicking, one learns musically, as one learns a language by speaking and communicating (Gruhn 2004, 110).

To varying degrees in each school this research emphasises the challenges of working in the sound mode as teachers tended to talk and instruct verbally instead of musically. Although there were small shifts in Teacher A and B's practice, each case study shows the difficulty in overcoming an

entrenched mode of teacher-talk and verbal instruction. The problems experienced in Overt Instruction derive from a lack of awareness that "musicianship and 'listenership' (Elliott's term) are not a matter of verbal knowledge" (Koopman 2005, 81). David Elliott and Constantijn Koopman propose that musical understanding occurs in the action of music and not necessarily through spoken words.[6] Teachers' inability to grasp the difference between experiencing music and talking about music was particularly apparent: telling a learner to play softly or verbally recognising softness does not necessarily translate into the learner's expressing softness in her own design.

While Teachers A and B were aware when their methods were not working, they mostly did not understand why. For example, Teacher A was concerned that initially his learners could "not attempt adapting to slow or fast tempi and dynamics" (Teacher A questionnaire, Appendix E). He changed his lesson plans to include more overt teaching activities where learners listened to how sounds could enhance a story or poem. Teacher B also began to identify when "her outcomes were not achieved" and shifted her practice (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). She recognised that she "struggled" in Overt Instruction but did not identify that the reason why learners did not initially communicate softness in their designs was because they had not experienced new sound qualities aurally. Nevertheless, Teacher B's introduction of sound pictures (using body, voice and instruments), enabled learners to experience sound as a mode of communication and means of expression.

In the third case, Teacher C seldom went beyond 'teaching as telling,' with the children copying him. He repeated textbook content, identifying 'sad, angry or happy' verbally, for example, but did not give learners physical aural experiences of mood and feeling. He was not able to scaffold tasks in a way that developed musical concepts, evolved new ways of working together musically, or extended learners' knowledge. Nevertheless, during one lesson his strength and expertise in the visual arts was evident, and this elicited interesting visual designs that were later translated aurally and kinaesthetically.

9.1.3.5 Scaffolding in Overt Instruction

The case studies demonstrate that the teacher's success and confidence in the musical mode is directly related to her ability to scaffold in Overt Instruction. Scaffolding entails an understanding of children's collaborative learning as well as how knowledge is constructed rather than acquired. Scaffolding reflects a learning process of "continual differentiation" in which a concept is never

[6] In order for a new concept to be "assimilated" in the learner it needs to connect with something already known. It has to "make sense" to the learner in order to be learnt (Ausubel 1978).

'known' but in the process of becoming differentiated (Ausubel 1978).[7] In music this means providing learners with step-by-step activities in which they experience new musical ideas from simple to complex. It follows that the teacher needs to be aware of her learners' existing musicality and skills in order to develop them effectively. Musical scaffolding entails matching activities with learners' present skill-level and then introducing new skills of incremental difficulty in a series of musical encounters and experiences, as Elliott suggests (1995; 2005). For the educator, scaffolding therefore requires considerable methodological expertise, competence as a reflective practitioner, and implies a particular kind of musical training and background.

Teacher A had some success in scaffolding activities for his learners. He used his own musical skills and his knowledge of the learners' practices gained in the research phase. He worked from known designs to new designs, challenging learners to do things in different ways, work together more closely, listen attentively in order to respond musically, and express mood and feelings.

9.1.3.6 Educators' ability to hear, recognise, identify, analyse and decide

> The Multiliteracies pedagogy reiterates the need for periods of 'Overt Instruction' where the mediating role of the teacher is fore-grounded. (Andrew and Brenner 2006, 3).

In their analysis of using a Multiliteracies approach in visual literacy, David Andrew and Joni Brenner conclude that "it seems that improved writing and intellectual achievement results from the combined forces of creative doing and Overt Instruction" (2006, 3). In the present research Teacher A similarly identified when Overt Instruction was necessary in his teaching, when learners' work did not meet outcomes or produce anything original. Andrew and Brenner's conclusions suggest that implementing the Multiliteracies pedagogy requires an ability to know when and why to use Overt Instruction in response to learners' actions and designs. The same conclusion is proposed in this research. Furthermore, the case studies highlight how working within Overt Instruction requires specific analytical listening skills and an ability to respond in the moment of creating and performance. Teacher A was able to respond to what his learners were doing and planned his teaching accordingly. He identified when and how his learners needed assistance with particular musical skills and group-work abilities, and responded with experiences in Overt Instruction and Critical Framing. For example, when his learners did not play softly or slowly he realised that merely telling them to do so was meaningless and that they needed a combination of musical 'doing' experiences and reflection in

[7] According to Ausubel, differentiation is the ability to make increasingly subtle distinctions. The distinction here is between meaningful, transformative learning and rote-learning. Ausubel argues that meaningful learning takes places when individuals consciously choose to relate new knowledge in a substantive, non-arbitrary way to relevant concepts, existing and propositions they already know. By contrast, rote-learning is the arbitrary, verbatim incorporation of knowledge into the cognitive structure (Ausubel et al. 1978). See also Vygotsky 1966, 1978, 1982 and 1986, and Holzman 2002.

order to accomplish an extended dynamic range. Teacher A was able to identify how learners could develop their designs and how to give children assistance in trying out what had been taught during Overt Instruction. He was particularly adept at recognising when his learners were not applying a particular concept (for example, exploring different tempi, or 'filling the gap' rhythmically). Appreciating that learners need to experience musical ideas physically, he devised musical activities experiences that helped learners to experience a musical idea in multiple ways. Learners' embodied understanding of a range of vocal, body percussion and instrumental sounds were evident in their final group performances. Thus Teacher A's teaching skills, and his musical and cognitive ability positively influenced his ability to apply the Multiliteracies pedagogy.

In School B, the educator realised that her initial expectations of group compositions was unrealistic, and that her learners needed more teacher intervention. She began to appreciate the importance of working with the whole class over time, reflecting that "I had to work with them as a group again and again before they could create their own performances" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). Hence, the case studies demonstrate the extent to which the teacher needs to know when and why to move between pedagogical components. Implementing the Multiliteracies pedagogy in music education therefore calls for the teacher's interpretive and reflective capacity within the micro-context of the classroom and learners.

9.1.3.7 The significance of Overt Instruction in music education

The case studies showed how the teacher's mediating role in Overt Instruction influences learners' Transformed Practice. Where the teacher's capacity in Overt Instruction was most developed, children applied new listening skills. For example, Teacher A's performances elicited moments of concentrated focus and participation, which the teacher recognised: "I played them a guitar – 'boom' – I saw a changed class with desirable listening skills that improved learning conditions" (Teacher A questionnaire, Appendix E). Teacher A's competence and time spent on Overt Instruction resulted in student compositions that showed instances of metaphoric thinking and original design.

In contrast, insufficient Overt Instruction in School C led to a reiteration of learners' situated practices. Hence this case demonstrated inadequate Overt Instruction may result in repetition, or learners' inability to create original designs, because learners have not developed new musical skills. I suggest that in School C, instances of re-design stemmed from the learners' resourcefulness rather than the teacher's. Nevertheless, the teacher's application of visual arts knowledge to a music context facilitated a transformative moment. That a teacher's capacity in one mode can influence learning in another has important implications for Arts and Culture training.

9.1.4 Merging learners' and teachers' knowledge and skills

> I came to realise that if I only know five things, I can only teach five things. But through OBE I realised that my learners can add another five things, and so we know ten things (Educator's comment, quoted in Chisholm et al. 2000, 76).

The above remark, quoted in the 2000 report on Curriculum 2005, highlights how important it is for both teacher and learners to recognise that they possess knowledge, that knowledge is not necessarily located 'out there' in a textbook, or the exclusive domain of experts. In a Multiliteracies context this comment illustrates the potential learning that occurs when Situated Practice and Overt Instruction merge. Working within Situated Practice and Overt Instruction epitomises the "coming together of informal and formal learning: peer-directed and teacher-directed" (Jaffurs 2006, 2). The merging of different knowledge and capacities reflects an understanding of Lev Vygotsky's "zone of proximal development". When the teacher prompts and gives musical suggestions, it "provokes learners' development" because the teacher is giving learners tools with which to think (Vygotsky 1978). For example, although she is not an experienced music teacher, Teacher B created a learning environment conducive to musical development. She learnt and discovered with her class, trying out her own new awareness about connecting learners' practice and curriculum practice.

9.1.5 Interpreting Critical Framing in music education

9.1.5.1 Recognising Critical Framing

> Verbal information (or formal knowledge) about music is no substitute for the ultra-specific nonverbal conception of musical works that a student exhibits when he or she performs … intelligently. Having a concept of something is not limited to the ability to match a word with a phenomenon. Knowing musical concepts is something a student evidences practically in the consistency and quality of her musical thinking-in-action (Elliott 1995, 75).

The case studies pose many questions about what constitutes Critical Framing in music education. David Elliott and Donald Schön's work in this arena is instructive in generating a theory of Critical Framing (in the Multiliteracies sense) for music education. Proceeding from an understanding of music "living as something people do" (1995, 49), Elliott advocates performance as the central means of "knowing and doing music" (1991, 23). Therefore, recognising Critical Framing (and assessing learning) occurs through learners' performances (or their processes leading to performance), rather than in their writing and talking. Elliott uses Schön's key concepts to explain Critical Framing in music:

> Like knowing-in-action, reflection-in-action is a process we can perform without being able to say what we are doing … Clearly, it is one thing to be able to reflect-in-action and quite another to be able to reflect *on* our reflection-in-action so as to produce a good verbal description of it; and it is still another thing to be able to reflect on the resulting description (original emphasis) (Schön 1990, 31).

Elliot maintains that musicking always implies "reflection-in-action", as musicians constantly make artistic choices about what they do as they are doing it (1995; 2005).

For South African educators, however, interpreting Reflection as one of the four learning outcomes in the Arts and Culture curriculum is problematic because it does not make Schön's distinction clear. As a result, reflection in the Arts and Culture learning area tends to comprise verbal description, instead of 'reflection in action.' Furthermore, the challenges of Critical Framing in music education arise from the indirect relationships between music, language and meaning (as discussed in Chapter Six).[8] The findings prompt questions such as, "When is Critical Framing happening in a musical context?" "How do educators know when Critical Framing is being achieved?" and "To what extent is language integral to a critical reflective process?" I suggest that, although Critical Framing is tied to language because it comprises describing, identifying, thinking about, contextualising, relating and analysing, there are further instances when a learner's sense of critical distance is evident. Identifying such moments is complex as they may happen in the process of transformed practices, or may be located in learners' Situated Practices, which in the township context, are often already 're-designs' in the Multiliteracies sense.

Critical Framing proceeds from developing a critical distance from personal practice to applying these newly-learnt critical thinking skills (and their attendant discourses) to unfamiliar or new musical practices. I argue that Critical Framing is crucial precisely because it links children's own music-making to that of others. For these links to happen learners first need to develop the ability to 'stand back' from their own music. In their own work "criticality takes places at the nexus between making processes and reflecting on processes that have come before" (Andrew 2006b). This may occur in conversation, writing or drawing, but may also manifest when a learner gives performative evidence of re-thinking and demonstrating a musical convention. Although verbal reflection is important Critical Framing, it runs the risk of focusing on language rather than music (as the case studies demonstrate). In Arts and Culture learning, therefore, Critical Framing needs to be validated in learners' sound-design, marks, gestures and activation of space. Significantly, Teacher A's response to my question about instances of Critical Framing concerned the way his learners listened to each other's compositions, thus emphasising critical listening as a core skill from which other reflective aspects develop.

[8] See Kramer 1995 and Regelski 2004, 13-14.

9.1.5.2 Evidence of Critical Framing

The case studies suggest three kinds of evidence of Critical Framing: performative, cognitive and conscious reflection. First, Teacher B recognised performative Critical Framing in relation to her learners' sound-picture designs when sounds were clearly related to context: "They were able to reflect in their performances, for example when doing picture sounds learners showed what kind of sounds are common in a church, school, etc." (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). Teacher B acknowledged that the process of translating the 'sounds of a place' to body, vocal and instrumental sounds and further, arranging these sounds to create an effective whole, required the ability to think about how sound functions as an expressive medium.

Second, I propose that learners' metaphorical thinking represents moments of Critical Framing in music. There were examples of either individual or collaborative "higher order thinking" in terms of Benjamin Bloom's taxonomy of lower or higher order thinking, with recall, closed answers and listing being at the lower end (Bloom 1984). Learning in the arts is often of the higher order. Metaphoric thinking is characterised as the realisation of "imaginative (depth) meaning" where surface and depth, form and feeling are fused (Ibid). Learners' 'ordering of meaning' provides evidence of an aesthetic understanding and response that, I argue, is one way of interpreting Critical Framing in music. Learners' comments, performances and visual feedback suggest cognitive learning. Their metaphoric imaging indicates their developing artistic sensibility as well as a growing musical discourse. The following learners' comments represent instances of constructing metaphorical knowledge:

> "My shaker sounds like rain falling down on the shacks."
> "My drum sounds like a person wearing boots, stepping on the ground many times."
> "My shaker sounds like money when it's in a container."
> "My drums sound like a person banging the door."
> (School A learners' written reflections, Appendix F).

Third, I suggest that a sense of reflective consciousness (in learners) is evidence of Critical Framing. However, this research emphasises that in order to achieve successful Critical Framing, it is crucial for significant moments to be recognised by teachers. School C learners revealed a conscious understanding of their own practice of extracting and reassembling fragments of music, despite the lack of Critical Framing in the classroom. In conversation with the researcher, a small group of girls showed a growing consciousness of the 'what' and 'why' of their musical choices. Asked whether they were aware of how they mix musical elements, and why they do this, one learner responded that

the song "I like the way you move" "is too small; so we add the words".[9] With her group of friends, she wanted to extend the song by adding something of her own, demonstrating not only a sense of the limits of the original song, but also an awareness of her own capacity to add interest and make it her own. The learner also linked her actions to the current popular music practice of mixing: "We want to be like Malaika because she takes some songs from other people and she mixes with her songs" (Learner's oral response, School C, October 2006). The learner was able to reflect on the 'why' of her musical appropriation, contextualising her method within the widespread use of mixing as musical technique in a range of popular musics. I suggest that Teacher C's inability to recognise Critical Framing in learners' performances and verbal responses was due not only to a lack of capacity, but to a more general problem concerning lack of time and language difficulties present in all three schools.

Further, English as the medium of instruction presents particular constraints: children's artistic reflections are hampered not necessarily by their capacity to think about what they do but by their English communication skills. Such problems indicate a need either for reflecting in a home language, or for the educator to recognise language as an inhibiting factor and to give more guidance in building a music vocabulary. Alternatively, other modes like movement and visual arts may be used as reflective tools. Movement is particularly useful because learners have to listen attentively, analytically and sensitively in order to effectively translate sound into movement. These skills then provide evidence of their criticality.

9.1.5.3 Developing a musical discourse

How then are music and language related in Critical Framing? I propose that in addition to recognising criticality in performance, Critical Framing concerns developing a musical discourse. Margaret Barrett (2004) points out that musical discourse differs from the way one thinks about something musically, because musical thinking is not verbal. Some of the most significant difficulties in this project concerned trying to get learners to verbalise their musical thinking. Developing a musical discourse, however, involves the ways in which we think and communicate about music. Giving learners opportunities to "talk about making", to critique, discuss and write about music, helps build a musical discourse (Ross et al. 1993, xi). Furthermore, having musical conversations between teacher-learner and learner-learner gives students opportunities for self- and peer-appraisal, which is largely absent or very superficial in most schools.[10] Ideally, learners' work should become part of an

[9] "I like the way you move" by the Shapeshifters was a huge rock/dance crossover hit in 2005 and was used in a cell phone advertisement on South African television that would have been very familiar to learners. The song was also reworked into a *kwaito* hit song by Arthur Mafokate.

[10] My observations are that self- and peer-appraisal remains on the level of 'good' and 'bad' judgment, and does not engage with creative making processes in any depth.

ongoing conversation between learners and teacher in relation to musical processes, and about the artistic choices and decisions learners are making (Ibid, xiii). Such an approach shifts learning from a "product driven concept of learning as information toward a process oriented concept of learning as reflective thinking" (Ibid, 51).

Engaging in musical conversations also develops learners as reflective practitioners. The progression from self-appraisal to reflecting on others' practices encapsulates Critical Framing as developing a "breadth of perspective" (Cope and Kalantzis 2000b, 241). Learners need to become "sensitive to and give voice to the broader context of meaning-making, including community/ self/ family/ culture/ nation and beyond" (Newfield et al. 2003, 79). Although this was not achieved in the case studies, the findings suggest that Critical Framing's importance in music education resides in its aim of developing the means to engage with any music with an enquiring, questioning mind.

Regelski sums up the Multiliteracies conception of Critical Framing as developing a breadth of learning. Offering alternatives and expanding possibilities "increases the freedom and ability of students to choose to be involved with musics other than those they favoured when they entered school" (Regelski 2000, 21). Regelski contends that the purpose of exposing children to different musical practices is to give them "tools to choose and use music wisely" (2004, 90).

9.1.6 Transformed Practice in the case studies

This research exemplified how "Transformed Practice results from taking the cultural journeys away from the life world represented by Overt Instruction and Situated Practice" (Cope and Kalantzis 2000b, 241). Learners' Transformed Practice depends on what the teacher introduces and develops in Overt Instruction and Critical Framing, and provides evidence for applied learning. The findings show how learners' new group compositions were directly informed by the other Multiliteracies components.

9.1.6.1 Recognising Transformed Practice

Each case study revealed the significance of teachers' recognition of transformation in the learning process. At the very least, the teacher needs to know what constitutes Transformed Practice: to listen and observe in order to distinguish when learners are "transferring their learning from one context to another" (Cope and Kalantzis 2000b, 237). Transformative moments in learners' practices can only become new knowledge if the teacher "validates and then mediates or extends these moments, thus enabling them to be captured or owned" (Andrew 2006b). This requires an ability to identify the

moment musically and develop it by posing new musical problems and prompting solutions. Therefore, recognising and developing learners' transformed practices relies on the teacher's capacity to listen and respond.

Teachers' feedback revealed their individual ability to differentiate between learners' prior and new learning, and whether learners were able to apply new skills and knowledge in their group designs. Teacher B noticed that "one group played the whole poem with instruments only, using different sounds and filling the gaps" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). However, she missed the opportunity to develop this moment, to allow the whole class to experience purely instrumental playing by building on one group's design. Teacher A singled out "softness" as the evidence of Transformed Practice because he realised at the outset that softness was not part of learners' usual sound repertoires. He identified learners' musical connection of "sad mood with the meaning of the 'street kids' poem" as transformative in terms of learners having transferred what he taught in Overt Instruction. He had discovered the "character of pupils' sensate ordering: their capacity for making meaning in the arts. This kind of evidence of transformation is available if the teacher knows how and where to look for it" (Ross et al. 1993, 55).

Recognising transformative moments is vital for assessment because Transformed Practice produces evidence of learning. The Multiliteracies pedagogy is instructive for music education in framing transformed practices in terms of transferred learning. For musical assessment, evidence of learning resides in the application of new knowledge, skills, values or attitudes in musical processes or performance. Identifying moments of transformed practices in individual and group design therefore becomes an assessment tool both for learners' and teachers' practice.

9.1.6.2 Going beyond curriculum outcomes: evidence of learners' potential

The Multiliteracies framing of transformed practices as a distinct learning orientation enables the teacher to recognise when learners have exceeded expectations. Teacher C's confidence in the visual mode was transferred to the musical and dance modes (although I maintain that he did this unconsciously).[11] The visual work his learners produced demonstrated an integration of their situated practices into curriculum knowledge, thus demonstrating what is possible when applying the Multiliteracies framework. [12]

[11] It is not clear whether Teacher C recognised either his strengths in visual art or his weakness in music as he did not participate in any evaluations or keep a journal.

[12] For their art portfolios, learners in School C made suitcases and other container objects that incorporated elements of Soweto street culture images and design. Their art portfolios were particularly rich and complex visual objects: they were functional, aesthetic, and meaningful on different levels to the children who were invested in them as designs (see the photographs of learners' visual designs in Appendix F).

For example, School C learners' synaesthetic transformation of an image into sound exceeded the stated Grade Four curriculum and textbook outcomes. However, because this kind of developed multimodal practice is not officially recognised, Teacher C did not capture these moments as a form of musical knowledge to be owned by learners. Consequently, I suggest that his learners' potential creative, productive capacities were not as sufficiently developed as they might have been.

9.1.6.3 Evidence of Transformed Practice in music

In the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework, Transformed Practice provides useful analytical frames for interpreting this component in music education: transfer, intertextuality and hybridity, recognising resourcefulness, and adding a personal voice. I also identify further elements of Transformed Practice that I suggest are unique to the musical mode.

9.1.6.3.1 Transfer

First, Transformed Practice entails taking meaning into another context and making it work. Musically this implies applying musical skills and capacities in a new composition – in this research, a group performance focusing on identity. Hence, learners were:

> ... returning to the life world of their original experiences [their collaborative playground games] with fresh perspectives and newly relevant knowledge of underlying processes (the depth perspectives of Overt Instruction) or other worlds (the breadth perspectives of Critical Framing) (Cope and Kalantzis 2000b, 241).

Newness in this context constituted the following: the fresh perspective of how music expresses thoughts, ideas and feelings; a new consciousness of creating instrumental sounds; 'newly relevant knowledge' of musical structuring and form; having musical agreements as the underlying processes of music-making; turning theory into practice; performing different musical roles; communicating musically; and an experience of process, practice, re-working, adapting and persistence. In the case studies, applying the "breadth of perspective of Critical Framing" constituted learners' connection of linguistic, kinaesthetic and musical meanings, qualities and feelings, and their experience of the expressive, communicative possibilities of sound distinct from language. Learners in School A, for example, connected the words "*L'omoya lo*" (the air is cold), to the action and resultant sound of blowing across a glass bottle. This group then used the words metaphorically to express how life is difficult and contrasted this idea with an original poem that inserted individual agency and value into the composition. All this was supported by the group-community in the form of soft humming.

9.1.6.3.2 Intertextuality and hybridity

The second framing element is "intertextualiy and hybridity: making connections and recognising influences and cross-references of history, culture and experience" (Cope and Kalantzis 2000b, 241). Although the Multiliteracies application in this context did not extend to historical or cross-cultural considerations, learners' musical redesigns did illustrate the "hybridity and fluidity of contemporary urban cultural life" and their strong investment in their surrounding cultural mix (Stein 2004, 111). Learners linked themselves to other musical practices by applying musical or dance structures and conventions in their new designs. These included: *toyi-toyi*, gumboot dance and more 'traditional' Zulu dance patterns, rap, versions of praise poetry, free verse, English poems, and versions of well-known songs like hymns and, in School C, their own version of the national anthem, Stevie Wonder's song "Happy Birthday," and "Jikele Maweni". Learners appropriated these forms, overlaying them with "their own particular street culture in creative acts of reappropriation and transformation" (Stein 2004, 100). In the township context it was important to acknowledge that the process of remaking was not reproductive but innovative and transformative (Ibid, 111-112). For example, School C learners' musical appropriation and mixing in their redesigns required a particular kind of listening: first noticing and engaging a particular dance, pop song or traditional song, for example, then identifying an interesting rhythmic, melodic or movement element, and finally extracting this element and placing it in a new design so as to be satisfying and meaningful to the group or individual performer. Learners also appropriated linguistically – changing words to suit their own meanings and using representational resources productively to create a new composition.

9.1.6.3.3 Recognising Transformed Practice: learners' resourcefulness

The concept of resourcefulness is central to Newfield et al.'s (2003) approach to multimodal assessment. Their identification of resourcefulness as an assessment category is particularly apt in this research, where learners' ability to source and use music and movement materials was evident in their transformed practices. As an indicator of Transformed Practice, "resourcefulness signals the learner's engagement in relation to his or her 'representational resources' and [includes] the extent to which students are able to recruit 'apt' resources for making their meaning" (Stein 2007, 20). Learners' musical re-designs demonstrated their use of apt musical resources – in this case sound and movement patterns – using them "generatively and productively" (Ibid).

Learners' inventiveness also involved taking risks, innovating and transforming existing designs, for example adding apt melodies, words or moves to contemporary forms to suit a dramatic performance. Resourcefulness also signals how learners used sound. Because it involves processes of appropriate selection, appropriation and imaginative use of available sound and movement resources, the

resourcefulness of learners' transformed practices becomes a useful assessment criterion for teachers. The case studies further reveal learners' resourcefulness across modes, both in terms of what they do and how they do it. In Schools A and B, groups of girls worked out their identity poems using the method of their "Xoxisa" game. Their resulting musical designs combined sound, narrative and dance. Their multimodal resourcefulness was located in both process and product; children's method of working out their group compositions was itself multimodal. Learners' transformed practices revealed the location of their imagining, proficiency and confidence in the narrative, spatial, declamatory and dramatic modes, but not in writing. Teacher A acknowledged such multimodal capacities (rather than talking and writing) as an essential part of what is valued in the Arts and Culture classroom (Teacher A journal extract, Appendix E).

9.1.6.3.4 Voice: addressing one's own interests

Malcolm Ross et al. characterise appropriation as "converting the range of expressive forms available into personal style, signature or voice" (1993, 54). This research revealed how learners' choice and use of apt resources linked to their sense of individuality. In their transformed practices, learners added their own 'voices' by interpreting familiar songs and dances to suit the needs and interests of their group designs. These included communicating a group identity, expressing or telling a story in sound, and exploring melodies, rhythms and words for their inherent musical interest (word rhythms, alliteration and tonal qualities). Learners' group compositions "communicated narratives of self and context" (Stein and Newfield 2004, 8), addressing personal and social interests such as dealing with conflict, difficult social problems, religious concerns, and their place in their communities. Learners' transformed practices demonstrated a consciousness of "expressional and representational meanings" (Elliott 2005, 8).[13] They used music and movement to communicate their stories and articulate their feelings and thoughts.

9.1.6.4 Further themes that extend an understanding of Multiliteracies

Apart from the standard Multiliteracies framing concepts, I propose that music promotes further markers of Transformed Practice. The musical mode promotes unique and important kinds of skills and knowledge that deepens an understanding of the Multiliteracies pedagogy in practice.

[13] Elliott proposes that "listening intelligently to music of any kind involves and yields several interconnected dimensions of meaning: affective, interpretive, structural, expressional, representational, social, ideological and/or personal meanings" (2005, 8).

9.1.6.4.1 Creative Listening

Arguably the most important affordance in music is listening; developing 'listenership' in Elliott's terms is unique to this mode (1995, 2005). Music brings to the Multiliteracies pedagogy a dimension of cultivating sensitivity through sound, of developing "listening as creative practice" (Fuimara, quoted in Kester 2004, 107). Listening as a "vital, and largely ignored skill" (Ibid) "embraces all kinds of learning" (Elliott 1995; 2005). Imitating, composing, performing and improvising always depend on listening.[14] As an all-encompassing skill in music, listening was developed through the four Multiliteracies components in this study: even in the 'noise' of the township, children demonstrate an aural ability in their Situated Practices to select and remember; Overt Instruction aimed to develop a depth of listening; providing reasons to listen in Critical Framing deepened an understanding of listening; and the latter was then applied in Transformed Practice.

Using Elliott's concept of musicianship as "knowing how to" in specific practices depends on listenership (Elliott 1995; 2005). Focusing on listening in performance, Elliott contends that:

> The performing art of music … depends on a multidimensional form of understanding called musicianship that always includes music-listening abilities. Musicianship and listenership are two sides of the same cognitive coin. The knowings required to listen effectively for the musical works of a given practice involve the same kinds of knowing required to perform, improvise, compose, arrange, and/or conduct the music of that practice (2005, 9).

Elliott's conception of listening as context- and practice-dependent suggests that different kinds of music entail different kinds of listening. In pedagogy, this conception of listening deepens an understanding of listening as a multidimensional skill children can learn that is closely linked to the musical practice being experienced.

Through collaborative processes, learners in the project developed a growing sense of the centrality of listening to music-making. The challenge of creating a composition using instruments, voice, poetry and movement entailed an "expert form of listening within the act of performance" (Cutietta and Stauffer 2005, 124). The expected outcome of performances expressing group identity gave learners reasons to listen. Because teachers made the overall performance framework clear, children experienced what they needed to create a successful composition. Creating and choosing appropriate sounds and words required expert kinds of analytic listening involving selection and discernment. For

[14] Elliott's outline of developing musicianship through "performance-and-listening", "improvising-and-listening", and so on, emphasises that listening is not separate from other musical skills such as composing, conducting, singing, performing (2005, 8-10). Conversely, the RNCS music outcomes separate listening from expressing, performing and reflecting, whereas listening is implicit in all kinds of musical learning. I suggest that the separation created by the RNCS approach can lead to the kind of reflection I have observed, which tends to concern language rather than music.

example, in order to 'fill the gap' (silence) with sounds, children had to 'find' the gap aurally in order to insert a complementary rhythm. Call-and-response, layering rhythmic patterns, and communicating a clear mood through singing and moving involved particular kinds of listening that, if not present, led to musical difficulties. Problems like all playing simultaneously (but not responsively), or not keeping the beat, challenged listeners to problem-solve through listening.

Teachers also began to acknowledge how all music skills entail listening, recognising this as an important skill in their learners' transformed practices. Learners became aware that making music stems from knowing how to listen, what to listen for, and why you are listening to it, as an embodied skill (rather than talking about it). Teachers built on the kinds of listening present in children's games in a different group-musicking context by presenting new musical challenges or tasks that necessitated more developed, focused kinds of listening. Thus, the case studies revealed how a depth and range of creative listening becomes a distinct marker of Transformed Practice in music education.

9.1.6.4.2 Indeterminacy

Music also brings to Multiliteracies an appreciation of indeterminacy, and its important place in artistic creation. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu (1990), Regelski points out that "'regulated improvisation' is the creative aspect of musical praxis we most value – the indeterminacy produces unique, creative, anomalous, or otherwise interesting results" (2004, 17)**.** In music it is often the unexpected moments that are the most interesting. The "indeterminacy" of "regulated improvisation", particularly when it is shared and based on acute listening and musical sensitivity, is a particularly developed, 'advanced' musical skill. The sound mode offers learners opportunities for structured musical play, to experiment and explore and simultaneously perform and compose (either alone or with each other) without a predetermined outcome, led by their own musical choices or communication-in-sound with others.

There were moments during this research when children's developing capacity to improvise, try out and experiment musically, came to the fore. The transformative moment described in Chapter Eight immediately after School A's group performances that elicited free improvisation by the class, demonstrated their freedom in enjoying "musical flow" (Elliott 2005, 9).[15] The unplanned spilling over of music after the performances, and learners' engagement and enjoyment of what they were doing, points to the importance of valuing indeterminacy in music education.

[15] The concept of "flow" experiences comes from Csikszentmihalyi (1990). Elliott uses "musical flow" to describe the state in which "a challenge and capacity are intertwined, creating an internal balance that facilitates self-growth" (Woodward 2005, 255). Woodward further characterises musical flow as "a lack of obstruction, a focused purposefulness, and an ease of action" (Ibid).

9.1.6.5 The effects of Transformed Practice

The last aspect of Transformed Practice I consider relates to the changes I observed in learners' attitudes and practices. The New London Group (1996) recognises how, in the activity of redesigning "the sign maker changes the available design and this action transforms both the object that is the focus of the redesigning *and the designer*" (original emphasis) (Stein 2004, 109). Thus "the student becomes a new person by being able to do new things" (Cope and Kalantzis 2000b, 241). In the envisaged application, I propose that learners' identity investment potentially forms part of what teachers can recruit in their teaching. In the application, Teachers A and B focused on personal and group identities, encouraging their learners to explore this thematically in their group designs. In Schools A and B, learners' evaluations and compositions illustrated how the musical mode afforded them opportunities to explore relationships with the self and with others.

9.1.6.5.1. Relationship with the self

The findings in this project relate closely to Elliott's central values of music education, namely musical enjoyment (or 'flow'), self-growth, self-knowledge (or constructive knowledge) and, through continuous involvements with music over time, self-esteem (2005, 9). Participating in the project afforded learners the opportunity to discover internal resources through the process of creating musically. They showed growing confidence and control over music material, consciously choosing music, language and movement elements appropriate to their compositions.

The activity "describe yourself as an instrument" in School B facilitated learners' strong personal identification with their sound-makers (for example, a learner commented that "the guitar makes me sound good about myself") (School B learners' written reflections, Appendix F). Teacher A spoke of "talking instruments", introducing learners to the idea of their instruments as a medium for self expression and communication. Learners' exploration of the instrument's sound mirrored their self-exploration and building self-esteem. Learners also addressed their own expressive interests and related to their instruments as visual, aural and symbolic objects.
School B learners wrote about their instrument in terms of its connection to family members and associations with spiritual practices (learners' written reflections, Appendix F). It is evident from learners' strong identity investment in their instruments how these instruments functioned as 'representational object'. Learners made instruments that were meaningful in multiple ways – symbolic, expressive, therapeutic and musical. Learners' comments express what their instruments meant to them: "It's not just an instrument because when playing it I feel like it is a mixture – music or a song and when the 'panicks' are going round, they are like dancing"; and "I enjoy shaking the

shaker because it makes me forget about sad things" (School B learners' written reflections, Appendix F).

Teacher A emphasised how music afforded learners opportunities for self-expression: "Arts and Culture gives this one boy the chance to express his feelings before doing formal concepts expected by the teacher." He recognised "the personal value of musical process separate from a formal discourse" (Teacher A questionnaire, Appendix E). Making instruments gave learners an experience of being able to create on their own – a sense of possibility and excitement at the prospect of using their instrument that in turn increased their confidence. This experience validated ostensibly weak learners as creative, innovative and skilled, where they had been labelled the opposite in other classes.

Learners' experience of their own resourcefulness represented a crucial shift in their learning dispositions. Realising that "I can produce things on my own" gave learners an understanding and experience of their own capacity – an experience that was probably new to most learners in the study (School A learners' written reflections, Appendix F). Learners' conscious experience of their individual creative capacity suggests that, having had a confidence-building experience of creating musically, they may be able to continue doing so in the future.

9.1.6.5.2 Developing musical relationships

Personal growth is closely linked to group development in music. Children's individual sense of their musical ability related to their growing confidence and success in group music-making: when individuals experience the value of their musical contribution, they can contribute to the group. Learners were co-creating and learning from each other in terms of knowledge and method – experiencing that both the self and others have something to offer. Developing a composition together affected the way learners co-operated: in School A, for instance, there was "less arguing, more listening and respect for each other's musical ideas". Learners' increased co-operation contrasted with their previous "shouting, competitive, non-participatory behaviour" (Teacher A questionnaire, Appendix E). Teacher A identified growing listening skills and co-operation between girls and boys as important shifts, "which was not the case earlier this year. They are now more aware of the roles they need to play in the success of a group during learning experiences" (Teacher A questionnaire, Appendix E). His comments demonstrate an awareness of how the collaborative capacity of learners' games was transferred to new compositions, how the rules of their games can operate in different contexts. Teacher B similarly recognised the significance of her learners' collaborative learning, commenting that they "began to realise that they are learning from each other's games, songs and dances" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). Children's transformed practices further showed

their developing sensitivity for each other: "We understand each other when we were doing our poems" (School A learner's written reflection, Appendix F).

9.1.6.6 Developing learners' transformed practices

The shifts in learners' musical practice during the six-week project indicate the potential for further development given a longer period of implementation. Introducing learners to unfamiliar musical practices may have expanded the range of musical resources (ideas, conventions, sounds and techniques) they could use in Transformed Practice. I suggest that if learners' awareness of alternative means of expression is not extended, their 'musical funds' are limited. Although children's re-designs were instances of Transformed Practice in this project, with some exceptions, learners were still employing the same musical elements as they do in their games. Learners' transformed practices confirm my contention that music education, while arising from children's situated practices, needs to

> Extend awareness and opportunities way beyond what might be acquired casually. Children should be given the opportunity to appropriate the expressive forms they need form the full range available in the modern world, both contemporary and traditional, and to convert them into a personal style, signature or voice (Ross et al. 1993, 54).

What children acquire 'casually' relates to their Situated Practices; 'appropriation' corresponds to Overt Instruction, while 'conversion' relates to Transformed Practice in the Multiliteracies pedagogy.

9.2 Interpreting the pedagogical innovation thematically

I now relate the case study findings to some of the themes of this research: learner-centredness, resources and agency. I discuss these themes in terms of how the transformed musical pedagogy manifested around issues of time and space and how these emerging factors relate to an interpretation of learner-centredness in this project.

9.2.1 Time: Process versus product

First, the importance of process- versus product-orientated approaches in musical learning is revealed in the case studies. This research emphasises that "the central mode of experiencing is most valued in arts learning" (Ross et al. 1993, 167). The quality of learners' collaborative work and performances reveal how significant sustained engagement is to artistic creation, confirming Elliott's advocating for children's "continuous involvement with music over time" (2005, 9).

For many learners, working on the same group performance over time was a new experience – an experience that contrasted with a pervasive culture of instant gratification, and product-driven models that are increasingly the way in which Arts and Culture education is being driven officially. The competition model underlying much Arts and Culture activity that values product, once-off performances, rewards and competition, contradicts the creative process (and curriculum policy) itself.[16] Artistic endeavour concerns a kind of rigour in practice that, I suggest, children in township schools seldom experience in formal education. I propose therefore that it is the quality of engagement with artistic processes that involves experimenting, honing, crafting and re-working, which should be valued and taught in Art and Culture education.

Furthermore, sustained engagement relates to the effectiveness of the Multiliteracies pedagogy: in order for Critical Framing and Transformed Practice to take place, other steps in learning and teaching are necessary. Learning and teaching processes like scaffolding, building knowledge and skills in Overt Instruction, and critical enquiry in Critical Framing, require experiences of sustained 'making' in order for the originality of Transformed Practice to occur. Applying the Multiliteracies pedagogy in this research allowed teachers to see how learners' imagination and creativity came to the fore when the teacher emphasised process rather than product. For Teacher B, the realisation that "Arts and Culture is not just about the end product but the emphasis is on the process that the learners go through towards the product" was particularly significant (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). In many instances, children's depth of listening and focus was more apparent in rehearsals than in performances; the pressure of performing in front of the teacher and their peers tended to make learners present shorter, less complex compositions. Teacher A remarked that the feeling of being judged changed learners' performances (Teacher A journal extract, Appendix E). The School A and B case studies show how learning and transformation occur in the process rather than in performance and, furthermore, that children's musical games represent a different kind of performance as they are not for audiences or assessment.

A sustained engagement with designing was a central element of the pedagogical innovation as it represented new learning for teachers and learners. Teacher B reflected how her learners needed to "take time and develop one game" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). Teachers recognised the importance of the kinds of learning present in musical processes and began shifting their assessment focus to seeing and hearing what children do as they practised rather than performed. Working with such a process model also encouraged teachers to see their learners' progression as a continuum from their Situated to Transformed Practices – to track their learning in continuous rather than summative

[16] In the RNCS Arts and Culture Learning Area Statement, the section entitled "Continuous Practice" emphasises that the "development and mastery of technique in the Arts is achieved through constant practice and repetition over a period of time" (added emphasis) (Department of Education 2002b, 16).

assessment (which is particularly difficult in music as there is no material 'trace', unless performances are recorded).

9.2.2 Space: the "magic of the playground and restrictions of the classroom"

Teacher A's characterisation of different spaces as "magic" or "restrictive", suggests that changing the spaces of learning in this study changed learning itself. In this research spaces as sites of learning emerge as crucial elements in applying the Multiliteracies pedagogy. The case studies thus demonstrated how the spatial mode operates: spaces have meanings for learners and teachers, and different spaces afford different opportunities and constraints (New London Group 2000, 28). In the school context, spaces represent different kinds of knowledge and pedagogical components. The playground space was associated first with children's Situated Practices, and then their Transformed Practice, while the classroom became the Overt Instruction space associated with class and more formal pedagogies and curriculum knowledge. In Schools A and B, changing these spatial domains had multiple effects: on a purely musical level, on knowledge-conception, learning styles and pedagogical issues relating to agency that imply a particular kind of learner-centredness.

9.2.2.1 Bridging sites of practice, learning and knowledge

Before the pedagogical innovation, classrooms represented formal learning, and playgrounds were associated with fun for both learners and teachers. Such discontinuity produced understandings that the playful domain was separate from learning, and that learning was only located in the formality of the classroom and entirely teacher-directed (Jaffurs 2006, 2). The case studies demonstrate the results of students being encouraged to bring their informally acquired knowledge into the formal arena; how crossing the playground and classroom as sites of practice helped to address a perceived dislocation between these spaces, as Teacher A's comment illustrates: "Previously, there was separation between classroom formal discourse and children playing. I took learners' situated practices for granted before but began to be aware that it is part of what they know, instead of disregarding it" (Teacher A questionnaire, Appendix E).

In this research, "reconfiguring spatial relations" highlights how changing the space of learning influences learning itself (Prinsloo and Stein 2005, 137). Taking the classroom to the playground enabled children to connect formal learning with their musical play. It bridged play and learning as sites of practice and "made learners aware that learning takes place everywhere" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). Teacher B's statement indicates a perceived divide between spaces of play and work. The teacher's and learners' previous assumptions were that learning was located

within the confines of a classroom and that we do not learn in our everyday lives. Changing the space of learning thus enabled a change in conceptions of learning.

Crossing the classroom-playground divide signified bridging sites of knowledge, place and practice. It facilitated an intersection between informal and formal, or academic knowledge, thus creating the conditions for transformative learning (Prinsloo and Stein 2005). Linking pedagogical knowledge to learners' games validated their practices as part of Arts and Culture. Learners realised that "their games are part of culture, and Arts and Culture does not end at school" (Teacher A questionnaire, Appendix E). Moving the space enabled learners to experience what they have to offer the learning-teaching situation, as one learner comments: "I like to play outside in the playground so that other children can learn things from us" (School A learner's written response, Appendix F).

9.2.2.2 Enabling musicking

The musical reasons why 'moving the classroom to the playground' was effective relate to learners' ability to listen. In township schools with up to fifty learners in one class, the 'box' of the classroom closed the space down aurally. Because learners couldn't hear each other properly, they either switched off or copied other groups, which worked against originality. Working on the playground, however, encouraged learners to take responsibility for their own creative processes and performance: "When learners were far apart they couldn't copy – copying in the classroom is a 'quick fix'" (Teacher A, questionnaire, Appendix E). The case study findings in Schools A and B highlight how space configures process and time, facilitating original ideas and sustained, close musical co-operation.

In response to what it was like to do music outside, one learner in School A said that "outside we make moves and we need too much space; in the classroom we couldn't move" (Learner's oral response, October 2006). His comments express how the playground space afforded learners different opportunities to make use of movement and musical resources, to those present inside the classroom. Changing the learning space enabled a particular kind of musical collaboration that worked with children's musical resources. It presented learners with opportunities to build on the skills of their games, connecting their situated practices to new designs. Because the playground is the "locus of musical inventions and synthesis", children drew on their exploratory capacities as resources for their new designs (Dzansi, quoted in Davis 2005, 56). Moving learning to the space of play also allowed teachers to investigate the choices learners make in terms of available resources for representation (music and movement) and their "interests within the specific social context of making" (Kress 1997).

The classroom space was, nevertheless, appropriate for Overt Instruction as it framed teacher-driven activities. It was appropriate for whole-class activities because it helped to focus learners' attention and listening. The classroom became the space for scaffolding and teacher-directed activities, while the playground became a free, creative space associated with the freedom afforded by play.

9.2.2.3 Enabling creative freedom

A learner's comment that "when we were learning outside I was feeling free" (School A learner's written response, Appendix F) highlights the creative affordances of the playground space. In all three schools, it was apparent that children felt criticised in the classroom; the confines of the classroom restricted their creativity, preventing what was present outside. In contrast, children felt free to explore and experiment in their 'space of play', free from the judgement of either peers or the teacher. Teacher A acknowledged the playground as enabling space: "They are able to think aloud, some to lead and others to consolidate, not to fear quick judgements by other hostile classmates and teachers" (Teacher A questionnaire, Appendix E). Taking the classroom to the playground was significant, therefore, because it created an "unpoliced zone" within the school where learners felt free to respond to given tasks with little intervention from the teacher (Stein and Mamabolo 2005, 30). Because they did not feel judged, children took creative risks and became more assertive and innovative; changing the learning space "broke barriers for some learners, I could see some of the shy ones actively participating" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E).

9.2.3 Manifesting learner-centredness

The change of space in this research articulated a practice and understanding of learner-centredness relating to different conceptions of resources, knowledge, perceptions of the learner and changes in methodology.

9.2.3.1 Resources

The case study findings address the issue of resources introduced in Chapter One. This project has highlighted a common perception in contexts of social deprivation: that only physical resources, like musical instruments and textbooks, are relevant. However, introducing teachers to the Multiliteracies pedagogy shifted teachers' focus to the strengths of their context, thus changing their conception of resources.

Furthermore, the case studies show how contexts of deprivation potentially generate resourcefulness. Structural and material deficits can produce creative opportunities – in this case learners' rich Situated Practices. Not having musical instruments or materials encourages learners to use themselves to create musical games. Both learners and teachers have been able to use available resources for music education instead of looking elsewhere. The efficacy of the Multiliteracies pedagogy in this context lies in providing methods for building on the strengths of specific learning contexts: "Using the Multiliteracies pedagogy has allowed me as a teacher to use learners' knowledge as a resource and teaching aid" (Teacher B, 2006). The case studies demonstrate how the teacher can create a learning environment that works with children's resourcefulness and the generative nature of their games. Learner-centredness in this project has therefore manifested around the learner-as-resource in pedagogy, suggesting teaching that gives learners more agency (Newfield et al. 2003).[17]

9.2.3.2 Musical knowledge resources

Learner-centredness also relates to a particular conception of knowledge. Valerie Walkerdine points out that the idea of learner-centred teaching requires the notion of an active child constructing her own knowledge (1984). The major shift in the teachers' approach in this research was realising that learners already possess 'musical knowledge' and can be active in constructing further knowledge. Acknowledging this accounts "not only for what students are saying, thinking, and feeling in classrooms, but how they are doing this: in other words the range of possibilities of representation that are open to these same students for representing their meanings" (Stein 2004, 113). "Bringing students' informally acquired knowledge" into the classroom arena changed both the teacher's and learners' conception of musical knowledge (Jaffurs 2006, 4). Participating in this research helped teachers to realise that facts about music are only part of musical knowledge, that musical learning is experiential and that learners could "create their own learning materials through songs and games" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). Thus the Multiliteracies pedagogy promoted "a greater understanding of the funds of knowledge we [as teachers] bring to classrooms, and what is more, our students bring to classrooms" (Rowsell and Rajaratnam 2005, 329).

In terms of what constitutes these 'funds of knowledge', the ethnographic studies of children's games, and then implementing Multiliteracies pedagogy, emphasises children's embodied knowledge as multimodal. Hence, in Arts and Culture education learners' multimodal capacities are among their most important knowledge resources, representing their 'knowledge of the everyday'. Learner-centredness is therefore a context-specific practice manifesting around acknowledging, incorporating

[17] Although the curriculum advocates learner-centredness it does not offer a methodology for achieving this, leading either to misinterpretations by government agencies, teacher-trainers and educators, or superficial understandings of learner-centredness.

and developing children's practices of everyday life. Michel de Certeau (1984) proposes that "everyday life itself is a comprehensive praxis that is intriguingly complex and obviously significant" (quoted in Regelski 2004, 13). The pedagogical innovation was to use 'knowledge of the everyday' as the starting point for learners' musical development.

9.2.3.3 The learner's agency

By implementing a Multiliteracies approach in Schools A and B, "the teachers tried a new approach that places human agency and resourcefulness at the centre of pedagogy" (Newfield et al. 2003, 61). The ways in which teachers worked with their learners demonstrated how practising learner-centredness depends on recognising and then facilitating learners' sense of agency and resourcefulness. Teacher B, who had previously believed learner-centredness only concerned group work, responded that applying the Multiliteracies pedagogy "made learner-centredness clearer" and changed her perceptions of the learner and the location of knowledge (Teacher B, questionnaire, Appendix D). Applying a Multiliteracies approach enabled this teacher to recognise the "richness and complexity of learners' prior knowledge" (Rowsell and Rajaratnam 2005). The shifts in Teacher B's practice underline the efficacy of the Multiliteracies pedagogy as an accessible, learner-centred methodology in South African education.

Teacher A and B's recognition of learner-agency also reflects the learners' experience of contributing to the learning and teaching situation. Understanding that their musical games linked and contributed to Arts and Culture learning led to learners' increased interest and involvement. The process of working together over eight weeks enabled learners to experience their own creative and collaborative capacities, already present in their informal play. The case studies also provide evidence of learners being more assertive and taking initiative, especially when learners taught the educator and researcher their games, requested opportunities to play instruments, asked questions and offered musical ideas. Learners began to develop a sense of directing and taking responsibility for learning. I suggest that teachers' valuing of their learners as agentive led to these changes in students' learning dispositions.

9.2.3.4 Methodology and learning dispositions

Linking school and 'everyday' knowledge and practices through crossing domains influenced teachers' overall methodology towards a more participatory, active model in which "children's histories, languages and background knowledges were incorporated" into Arts and Culture teaching (Stein and Mamabolo 2005, 29).

Further, changing conceptions of what constitutes Arts and Culture learning has influenced the methodology of the teachers in the project. Commenting on the effect of applying Multiliteracies pedagogy, Teacher B said that "a lot has changed – Arts and Culture is not just a learning area at school, but it's all around me" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). Teacher A responded that the Multiliteracies pedagogy "helped to link school knowledge with learners' knowledge and experiences, i.e. it bridges the gap" (questionnaire, Appendix E). As their conceptions of Arts and Culture, and music have changed, Teachers A and B shifted to a more participatory and interactive methodology, creating an "environment conducive for experiential learning" (Ibid).
Changes in methodology also altered learners' learning dispositions. The pedagogical innovation influenced how learners learn. Reflecting on the changes in their Arts and Culture classes during the project, learners said "we don't only sit at our desks anymore … we did not go outside before … [and] we used to only talk and write in Arts and Culture" (School B learners' oral responses, October 2006). Learners' comments suggest that applying a Multiliteracies approach moved teachers towards a more "inclusive rather than autonomous model of pedagogy" (Prinsloo and Stein 2005, 138).

The project encouraged learners' increased participation and engagement in Arts and Culture learning. For some learners it was the first time they had participated at all; shy learners became more engaged in the lessons. Also, Teacher B commented that "children are not bunking classes anymore; they want to come to class" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). Learners' increased participation and interest can be attributed to their new-found sense of resourcefulness. Teacher B's comment suggests that learners became more invested in their learning. I suggest this arises from the fact that the lessons were connected to, and built on, their own practices. Teacher B indicated that she would continue to "give learners a platform to express their feelings, knowledge and ideas, and [allow them to] participate positively and freely in their learning" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). She also indicated that she would apply the pedagogy in other learning areas. There is a sense of the continuation of the kind of learning that a Multiliteracies approach encourages in order to fulfil music education's aim of "developing students' musicianship in the future" (Elliott 2005, 12).

9.3 Conclusion

This research yields insights into an application of the Multiliteracies pedagogy to music education, particularly in terms of interpreting the four components in music education. The findings emphasise the extent to which Multiliteracies needs adaptation in the South African context, but also its aptness as a methodological approach that facilitates musical development and learning. The case studies also highlight the importance of attending to methodology: that 'what to teach' follows 'how to teach'. Furthermore, the case studies demonstrate the ways in which the introduction of the Multiliteracies

approach enhances teachers' ability to facilitate new learning. I argue that applying a Multiliteracies approach shifted the teachers towards a more learner-centred approach. Teachers' verbal and written evaluations articulate a growing awareness of their own changing practice, and indicate a wish to continue using a Multiliteracies approach in teaching Arts and Culture in their schools.

In the concluding chapter, I consider the constraints and opportunities that the analysis of each case study presents, and examine the implications of adopting a Multiliteracies approach for music education.

Chapter Ten: Conclusions and Contribution

I frame the conclusions of this research in terms of the constraints and opportunities each case study presents. In response to the question of whether, and how, township Arts and Culture teachers can recruit learners' musical games as resources using a Multiliteracies approach, I propose that the conditions for success are located in multiple domains. First I outline some of these conditions, and then the implications this research has both for the Multiliteracies project and for music education in South Africa. Finally, I discuss reasons for adopting an ethnographic approach in this research and advocate for a closer relationship between ethnomusicology and music education.

10.1 Constraints and opportunities

> Strategies are the way the powerful 'shape space and practices' through bureaucratic measures such as standardized assessments and mandated curricula. Tactics are the ways the people who live within institutionalised spaces use, manipulate and divert the space to which they are assigned. (Pahl and Rowsell 2005, 132-133; De Certeau 1984, 18).

In this chapter, I explore what conditions need to be present in a school for a successful Arts and Culture learning programme that draws on learner subjectivity. Based on the case studies, I argue that certain factors "shape space and practice" (De Certeau 1984, 18), thus influencing successful implementation of the Multiliteracies pedagogy. I discuss both the enabling and prohibitive aspects of: curriculum and education policy; school culture and relationship to education structures; and the teacher's sensibility.

In my discussion learners are viewed as 'enabling' in the sense that the Multiliteracies pedagogy presents. Multiliteracies approaches diversity and the multiple discourses of learners as potentially productive. In their introduction to the Multiliteracies pedagogy, the New London Group intimate that a Multiliteracies approach applies to all learners in all situations: "the multiplicity of cultures, experiences, ways of making meaning, and ways of thinking – can be harnessed as an asset" in the classroom (2000, 13).

10.1.1 Curriculum and education policy

Can the Multiliteracies pedagogy be implemented within current South African education policy, the Arts and Culture curriculum and the broader OBE paradigm? I contend that the Multiliteracies approach requires an interpretive, critical stance on the educator's part and in relation to curriculum

interpretation. I take the curriculum and policy as a given in this discussion and consider only its interpretation. Focusing on some general characteristics of the curriculum and policy, I illustrate some of the constraints and opportunities the curriculum presents based on my observations in the case studies.

10.1.1.1 Opportunities

The RNCS and Curriculum 2005 represent an ideal policy. While "school- and classroom-level factors are critical in shaping student learning, curriculum policy is nevertheless seen as a key factor in setting the direction for providing coherence in teaching and learning" (Taylor 1999, 107). I suggest that the curriculum's broad intentions and principles of teaching and learning enable teachers to utilise the Multiliteracies approach while operating within the current curriculum framework. For example, the RNCS's recognition of learner and teacher agency, learner-centredness and multiple literacies resonates with a Multiliteracies approach. I discuss some broad tenets of the curriculum in terms of the opportunities that education policy offers for adopting a Multiliteracies approach. This is not a critique of the curriculum itself, as I have assumed in this research that teachers have to engage with it. Teachers in government schools are required to follow the outcomes and assessment standards of each learning area as stated in the RNCS. Within this discussion, the curriculum therefore represents a non-negotiable context for educators.

The fundamental paradigm shift to OBE post-1994 places learners at the centre of learning: outcomes focus on what learners need to learn, rather than what the teacher wants to teach. Thus, OBE shifts the focus from teacher to learner. Teachers are perceived as facilitators, "not as authoritarian sources of knowledge and power" (Geyser 2000, 33). The interpretive, mediating and designing role of the teacher (Department of Education 2002a, 3) is paralleled in the Multiliteracies idea of the teacher "mediating the literacy curriculum" (Pahl and Rowsell 2005, 6).

The RNCS and Multiliteracies approach share some underlying principles. These include addressing and acknowledging cultural and linguistic diversity (Cope and Kalantzis 2000a, 5); Critical Outcome Five, "attention to multiple forms of communication through various art forms and mass media" (Department of Education 2002b, 6); the existence of multiple literacies as an organising principle in Grade Five (Ibid., 11); and the need for developing learners' critical engagement with the world.[1] More broadly, "discussion documents on OBE in South Africa stress the critical attitudes and skills to be acquired by learners" (Geyser 2000, 34). OBE aims to develop "creative and critical citizens" who

[1] See The New London Group (1996) for an outline of the context and theoretical underpinning of the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework, which articulates with some of the principles of the RNCS and OBE more broadly.

can "critically evaluate information" (Department of Education 2002a, 11).[2] The philosophical underpinnings of OBE, especially social reconstruction, concur with those of Multiliteracies. OBE's notion of "learning as a constructive process; of learners "actively constructing knowledge as they strive to make sense of their worlds" is particularly relevant (Geyser 2000, 33).

Several characteristics of the present curriculum work with a Multiliteracies approach. Curriculum learning outcomes (LOs), for example, present opportunities for using the four components of the Multiliteracies pedagogy. The curriculum's emphasis on integrating learners' everyday knowledge into learning is aligned with Situated Practice. Arts and Culture LO1 – "Creating, Interpreting and Presenting" – can be viewed as a form of Overt Instruction because it involves the "acquisition of appropriate knowledge, skills, values and attitudes to present and pursue Arts interests" (Department of Education 2002b, 5). LO1 focuses on the teacher providing "extensive exposure to, and practical experiences of Arts and Culture" (Department of Education 2002b, 13). The aims of "critique and contextualisation" in Critical Framing (Cope and Kalantzis 2000b, 239) correspond with the RNCS's Critical Outcome (CO) 1 in the Arts and Culture learning area: "the use of critical and creative thinking, decision making and problem-solving strategies when creating, presenting and reflecting on artworks" (Department of Education 2002b, 6). Further statements such as "choosing an appropriate selection of materials and the arrangement of different elements into meaningful wholes" (CO4); and "the development of creativity and resourcefulness" (CO3 and Developmental Outcome 5) articulate with the Multiliteracies pedagogy's "utilisation of available designs of meaning" (Cope and Kalantzis 2000a, 32).

More specifically, the four Arts and Culture LOs for Grades R to Nine are broad enough to work with a Multiliteracies approach. These outcomes emphasise different roles and actions children need to experience in Arts and Culture: "Creating, Interpreting and Presenting (LO1); Reflecting (LO2); Participating and Collaborating (LO3); and Expressing and Communicating (LO4)" (Department of Education 2002b, 25). The four LOs emphasise creative, collaborative processes and differentiate between reflecting, expressing and creating as actions that can be integrated into the Multiliteracies pedagogical framework.

Art and Culture LOs, rather than specific assessment standards (AS), can be interpreted in an open-ended way to acknowledge learners' potentially transformative practices.[3] Indeed the curriculum

[2] The critical and developmental outcomes of the RNCS are derived from the South African Constitution. Through promoting these outcomes, the RNCS "attempts to embody and uphold a democratic vision of the society and the citizens that should emerge from our school system" (Department of Education 2002a, 11).

[3] I do argue, however, that some of the assessment standards for music are restrictive, and sometimes arbitrary, as they are de-contextualised from the musical practices from which they are drawn. These Assessment Standards are leading to the kind of instrumental, superficial interpretation of curriculum I discuss in this chapter. For example in Grade 6, for Learning

states that the outcomes "leave considerable room for creativity and innovation on the part of teachers in interpreting what and how to teach" (Department of Education 2002a, 12). However, some of the ASs – because they attempt to quantify inherent qualities of music-making – are leading to what Geyser calls an "artificial demonstration of many intrinsic values" (2000, 37).[4] This reductionist focus on quantitative attributes in Arts and Culture assessment is symptomatic of wider obstacles to implementing innovative pedagogies: a superficial enactment of the curriculum, and paying lip-service to principles underpinning teaching-and-learning statements. David Andrew argues that "there is a tendency to interpret outcomes in a way that results in a codification leading to orthodoxy" (2006a, 11). Overcoming this tendency requires the teacher's ability to engage and interpret curriculum, requiring flexibility and reflexivity. It is encouraging that education policy envisages such a teacher: a mediator, facilitator and designer. However, the fact that such teachers are an exception signals the difficulties in curriculum implementation.

10.1.1.2 Constraints

My contention is that the challenges in adopting innovative pedagogies lie in curriculum practice, rather than the curriculum itself. I propose that the problems in curriculum implementation present obstacles to adopting the Multiliteracies pedagogy in Arts and Culture education.

First, practising the curriculum's ideals requires that teachers have considerable subject knowledge, cognitive, conceptual and reflective skills (Taylor and Vinjevold 1999; Adler and Reed 2002). As these very skills have been shown to be wanting in many teachers, implementing the RNCS becomes difficult.[5] Given the actual practice in many schools, it is apparent that many of the curriculum statements are being interpreted superficially.[6] Because there are such stark differences between policy and practice, the policy document has assumed a kind of platitudinous quality because of the considerable discrepancies between policy position and what exists in the classroom.

The constraints presented by the current curriculum for adopting a Multiliteracies approach therefore reside in its interpretation. Government reports make clear that "some of the principal intentions of policy are not being achieved" (Morrow et al. 2005, 4). OBE has tended to be interpreted superficially, procedurally and structurally both by government and teachers (Taylor 1999; Chisholm

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Outcome 1 (Creating, Interpreting and Presenting), one of the assessment standards is "reads and sings or plays the scale and simple melodies in C major" (Department of Education 2002a).

[4] A specific example of such an assessment standard is "an awareness of heritage conservation and preservation" (quoted in Geyser 2000, 37).

[5] Challenges in South African teaching practice are discussed in Adler and Reed 2002.

[6] I base my arguments regarding the superficial interpretation of the Arts and Culture curriculum on my experiences training many Arts and Culture educators in Gauteng township schools from 2004 to 2010.

et al. 2000; Malcolm 2001; Reed et al. 2002; Morrow et al. 2005). The slippage between policy and practice, particularly the misinterpretations and misconceptions that abound in the Arts and Culture learning area, were evident in School C in this research.

10.1.1.2.1 Bureaucratisation and structural proliferation

One of the key factors in this research was the extent to which broader education structures 'shape the space and practice' of teaching and learning. The situation in Soweto primary schools is symptomatic of the majority of township and rural government schools, where "teaching is hampered by policy and administrative overload" (Department of Education 2008). As a result, schools tend to focus on policy adherence rather than meaningful teaching and learning. Teacher A emphasises that "the culture of teaching and learning dies when there is too much emphasis on structures" (2006). The bureaucratisation of South African education and the resulting administrative proliferation present considerable constraints on implementing innovative, creative methodologies.[7] Teachers are constrained by demands from education departments and their officials, as well as by pre-determined work programmes that place procedure, rather than learning and teaching at the centre of education. The "strategies of the powerful" (De Certeau 1984) in many cases are shaping the practice of teaching in South Africa in a way that conflicts with what the curriculum and policy envisages.

Furthermore, when teachers or government curriculum advisors lack experience or subject knowledge, they tend to interpret stated outcomes and assessment standards restrictively. Such interpretations thwart the kind of teaching and learning envisaged in the Multiliteracies and multimodal pedagogies, where "outcomes need to be flexible" (Newfield et al. 2003, 78). Current problems and contradictions between the promise of the curriculum and actual practice demonstrate that policy "will not realise our transformation goals" (Morrow et al. 2005, 4). Recent reports recognise that deep change of teachers' practices (rather than superficial compliance, mimicry, or merely rhetorical acceptance) is a long-term enterprise.

10.1.1.2.2 The competition model and instrumental interpretations of Arts and Culture education

One of the manifestations of current Arts and Culture curriculum implementation is schools entering art, music and drama competitions. What I term the 'competition model' of Arts and Culture learning constitutes an obstacle to introducing new pedagogies. I argue that entering learners into competitions represents a counter position to what should constitute an Arts and Culture programme. The pervasive

[7] I acknowledge arts educator David Andrew for this analysis of the problems inherent in implementing OBE in South Africa, in personal communication and interviews with the author (2006b; 2008b).

culture of competitions in township schools, often driven by the district and higher levels in the government education department, negates the intrinsic values of Arts and Culture learning. Despite facilitating the development of some values (building learners' self-esteem, learning technical skills, and providing performance opportunities for learners, for example), competition and festival participation tend to reduce Arts and Culture learning to products and performances for a select number of children. Competitions therefore negate the curriculum's principle of 'Arts and Culture education for every child', dividing learners and promoting the idea of musical 'talent' that counteracts the fundamental tenets of current music education philosophy (Campbell 1998b). Furthermore, the focus on prizes teaches children that artistic endeavour is only about reward.[8] Although the prevalent competition-culture may be fundamental to specific musical practices, it is problematic in an education setting.[9] I contend that focusing only on competitions potentially prevents meaningful Arts and Culture teaching and learning because of the reward value system it inculcates. In School C, competition preparations hampered the take-up and implementation of Multiliteracies pedagogy with lessons either not taking place or select learners being taken away to practise, while others were left on their own.

The competition model of Arts and Culture learning is symptomatic of how officially sanctioned policy tends to be interpreted instrumentally in many South African schools. Other superficial interpretations of Arts and Culture teaching and learning represent further obstacles to implementing Multiliteracies pedagogy. The "Report of the Review Committee on Curriculum 2005" contained the statement that there was "an inadequate recognition of curriculum as the core business of education departments" (Chisholm et al. 2000, vii), implying that instrumental curriculum implementation is driven by officialdom. This is still evident in Arts and Culture education, ten years after this report was compiled: inexperienced officials compensate by emphasising structures and procedures; they reduce curriculum practice to buying redundant materials for schools and present workshops in which facilitators fail to model the kind of teaching envisaged in OBE.[10]

Jonathan Jansen, who questions the "desirability of OBE in democratic school systems" on philosophical grounds, draws attention to the problems of specified pre-determined outcomes: "It is

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[8] Teacher B commented that learners expect to get something for every performance they do, and that music, art and drama are being de-valued by the competition model of Arts and Culture in Soweto Schools (2006).

[9] The focus on competitions and celebration days in School C reflects a wider culture of, for example, choir and 'indigenous games' competitions. The impetus to compete is deeply entrenched in contemporary South African musical practices such as *isicathamiya* and choral singing (See Erlmann 1996; Coplan 1994; 2007).

[10] What I characterise as the '50 recorder syndrome' is an example of the Gauteng Education Department's reduction of Arts and Culture learning. The department literally 'dumped' 50 recorders and two guitars in Soweto primary schools at the beginning of 2006 without any consideration of their meaning or use to schools. In my opinion, in this instance Arts and Culture education was reduced not only to objects but objects that couldn't be used, as many teachers are not trained to teach the recorder.

sufficient to argue that this policy offers an instrumentalist view of knowledge, a means-ends OBE stance … that violates the epistemology of the structure of certain subjects and disciplines" (1999a, 203). Jansen draws attention to a tendency in OBE interpretation to focus on product rather than process in the pursuit of learning outcomes that may conflict with the nature of artistic subjects.

10.1.1.3 What Multiliteracies suggests in relation to curriculum implementation

Existing problems in curriculum implementation, as well as instances in the case studies, pose questions about how learning and teaching in the arts can take place within existing structures: can they take place within a linear hierarchy and structure? Is meaningful learning possible with a rigid lesson-plan that sees learning as a linear progression? Are there spaces between the 'strategies of the powerful' for innovative pedagogies?

Implementing Multiliteracies pedagogy entails critical engagement with curriculum, rather than literal, superficial or structural enactment. Rather than operating "within a predetermined and prescriptive cul-de-sac," (Kennedy quoted in Newfield et al. 2003) the components of the pedagogy imply a fluid, flexible methodology, suggesting artistic learning in a textured way. Multiliteracies proposes a situated pedagogy where the teacher responds to what learners bring to the learning situation, and recognises their potential for transformative learning. Multiliteracies requires an educator to be "attentive to the institutional and cultural contexts in which he or she teaches" (Zeicher and Liston 1996, 6). Such attention confirms that "teaching in South Africa is situational" (Morrow et al. 2005, 9). Therefore, I argue, much of the success of using a Multiliteracies approach depends on the teacher's ability to view teaching and learning as a contextualised, situational practice – connected to its cultural and social environments. Only then can children's practices be recognised and recruited.

An essential condition for implementing the Multiliteracies pedagogy is that schools and teachers appreciate and understand what learners do. Beginning with students' Situated Practices implies that teachers recognise learners' games as musical practices. Such recognition is equally important in Transformed Practice; educators need to be able to facilitate, or mediate moments of "opening up spaces for things to happen" (Andrew 2006a). Many Multiliteracies projects validate the significance of the teacher's ability to both recognise children's prior knowledges and create spaces for transformative learning (Rowsell and Rajarathnam 2005; Prinsloo and Stein 2005; Andrew 2003). This approach relies on teachers' ability to appreciate, identify and understand what learners are doing as they develop throughout the four components of the pedagogy. Working within a Multiliteracies framework and multimodal pedagogies more broadly further implies that learners are capable of moving beyond curriculum requirements.

I contend therefore that a Multiliteracies approach can be adopted in principle within the present curriculum, but that because of the discrepancies between policy and its implementation there are other important determining factors. I suggest that engaging with curriculum in the way I have outlined requires a particular kind of teacher and school culture. Within constraining, bureaucratic contexts, the teacher and school's 'tactics', in Michel De Certeau's sense, emerge as important aspects influencing the adoption of a Multiliteracies approach. Below I focus on school culture, the teacher's 'tactics' within schools, and then I explore how the teacher's own artistic sensibility emerges as an important condition for implementing a Multiliteracies approach.

10.1.2 The effect of school culture

What conditions need to be present in a school for an Arts and Culture learning programme that draws on learner subjectivity? Brodie et al. emphasise that teachers' take-up of learner-centred practices depends on multiple factors:

> Teacher characteristics, such as poor qualifications, reflective competence, grade level, subject knowledge and confidence, access to resources and support structures in their schools, are all implicated in their take-up of learner-centred practices (2002, 114).

Among the many factors the authors mention above, I focus on school culture and support as particularly influential, based on the findings of this research.

The New London Group acknowledges that schools need to be receptive to multiple modes for the Multiliteracies pedagogy to be effectively taken up (1996). The school as an enabling environment pivots around its recognition of the value of Arts and Culture. The case studies suggest that an environment where the school and teachers are able to negotiate space and time, and assert their own agency, enables innovative pedagogies to be implemented. I suggest that the school's receptiveness to pedagogical innovations depends on three questions: how do the school and teachers view Arts and Culture? Does the school value meaningful teaching and learning over official demands? and, how does the school deal with outside structures, the hierarchies of 'surveillance' that characterises much of the relationships between schools and government structures?[11]

[11] The term surveillance "becomes a key element of neo-liberal systems, necessitated by the heightened emphasis on the individual's responsibility and the de-emphasising of inner-values and commitment to the social good. Trust is no longer realistic or relevant. Each person no longer trusts the other to work properly, and each becomes one of the multiple eyes spying on each other. Further, reporting mechanisms for monitoring and producing appropriate behaviour are mandated" (Davies 2005, 10).

10.1.2.1 How schools value Arts and Culture learning

Much of the success of introducing an innovative pedagogy in a school depends on how the school and teachers view this learning area. It depends on whether they see Arts and Culture as peripheral or integral to the school's culture, whether Arts and Culture is viewed as a showcase and public relations exercise for the school, or as a meaningful learning area. More specifically, implementing new pedagogies depends on teachers' conceptions of an Arts and Culture learning programme. Mastin Prinsloo and Pippa Stein contend that "the pedagogic environment produces certain kinds of messages" about what constitutes a learning area (2005, 138). The teachers' understanding of what musical knowledge and skills are (discussed in Chapter Nine) further influences the take-up of the Multiliteracies pedagogy. Importantly, though, this research demonstrates that introducing a new pedagogy can shift teachers' conception of Arts and Culture, suggesting that new approaches have the potential to change attitudes.

School A recognises the value of Arts and Culture learning. Arts and Culture teachers' participation in the ACE programme elevated the status of the subject, coupled with the fact that Teacher A actively promotes the values of this learning area.[12] The school acknowledges learners' artistic achievements and supports performances and exhibitions. More significant perhaps is the sense that the school values teaching and learning more than adhering to government structures and procedures: "The teacher's ability to interpret and implement is vested in the teacher … we are more at liberty and don't follow everything bureaucratically. The school culture is to be flexible, to negotiate with the district in a '50/50 relationship'" (Teacher A 2006). The results of introducing Multiliteracies pedagogy in School A – in both the teacher's and learners' practices – emphasise how crucial overall school culture is in creating opportunities for innovation.

The School B case study demonstrates shifts from previous conceptions of Arts and Culture to a more substantial understanding of what this learning area means. Teacher B commented that previously in the school "Arts and Culture was not taken seriously, it was like we were just playing" (2006). Teacher B's comment is revealing as it indicates a prevailing notion of Arts and Culture as a trivial learning area, lacking the rigour, relevance or depth of other subjects. It highlights the extent of the gap between inside and outside school practices and conceptions of artistic value, the contradiction between the meaningfulness of art and culture in everyday life, and its de-valuation in schools.

[12] The attitude towards Arts and Culture in School A can also be attributed to the participation by three School A educators in the ACE training programme. In addition, Teacher A commented that "the attitude towards Arts and Culture has changed since I attended the ACE course" (2006).

Teacher B's change in attitude towards the Arts and Culture learning area began when she did the ACE course in 2004. Building on her training, the introduction of the Multiliteracies pedagogy changed her perceptions and the school's view of Arts and Culture from "just being fun" to something more meaningful. For example, during the eight-week period, other teachers showed interest in learners' musical games and were curious about what Teacher B was doing. As she worked with her learners' musical games, Teacher B began to understand the unique kinds of learning inherent in artistic endeavour. Participating in this project helped Teacher B to realise that "knowledge can be drawn from different sources, like the learners and their environment" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). Her comments highlight the importance of a pedagogical environment that provides learners with opportunities to draw on available resources, and supports teachers in trying out new methodologies. The changes in School B further highlight how introducing a new approach can shift conceptions of teaching and learning.

10.1.2.2 Structural constraints: obstacles to take up

The findings of this research reveal whether or not each school valued teaching and learning over structural demands. Although implementing the Multiliteracies pedagogy in School C was difficult, it is nevertheless a revealing case study. The absences in School C are informative for surfacing the potential constraints of applying a Multiliteracies pedagogical framework to music education. Based on my observations, School and Teacher C complied with the Department of Education's requirements, leaving little space for effective teaching and learning. In this analysis I use School C as an example to investigate the obstacles to implementing innovative pedagogies like Multiliteracies. I do so not to criticise but because School C is typical of many schools and thus symptomatic of a much wider set of problems in South African education.

Although Teacher C was initially interested in examining his learners' playground games, he seemed to have to acquiesce to the demands of the department, which took him away from the classroom a great deal. During the implementation period, the teacher attended workshops and meetings, constantly responding to education district demands. The school was driven by the strong impetus of a business model of education focusing on management strategies. This focus became an obstacle not only to implementing a new pedagogy but also to the quality of Arts and Culture teaching and learning.

My research in School C demonstrates how school management influences teaching practice; it is symptomatic of how the quality of teaching and learning is not being recognised as the core concern of schools. Teacher A (in a very different school), stressed that if school management does not have people who can re-direct the education department's focus, or recognise when things do not work,

"the Department dictates the terms and there is no space for educators' feedback" (2006). Generally, there was an unquestioning compliance with the dictates of the Department whether or not these interrupted classes.[13]

As a result, the richness of School C's musical games was largely missed. Although Teacher C acknowledged "how creative the learners are", he did not connect his learners' creativity and pedagogy, other than repeating their games in the classroom (Teacher C, 2006). The experience of working with Teacher C highlights the need for recommendations of the "2005 Ministerial Report on Teacher Education" to be implemented, that "the practice of teaching is the centre of gravity of the whole education system and that any other parts of the system can be justified only to the extent that they enable teaching to flourish" (Morrow et al. 2005, 6).

The constraints of school and broader education structures notwithstanding, I suggest that much depends on the teacher's own sensibility. What emerged in analysing the findings of this research is the centrality of the teacher's sensibility to the success or otherwise of adopting Multiliteracies approach. In addition, this project confirms that training is not enough for effective take-up of new methodologies (Reed et al. 2002). I suggest that teachers' individual sensibilities and how they position themselves in the school culture influences the implementation of a Multiliteracies approach in music education.

10.1.3 The teacher

10.1.3.1 The teacher's position in the school

The differences in take-up in this research may further be attributed to individual teacher's positions within their schools either because of, or despite, the school culture (Adler and Reed 2002). The case study findings distinguish between a teacher who is hampered by bureaucratic and structural constraints and one who creates an enabling teaching and learning environment despite these constraints. Drawing on both the findings of this study and other research, I propose that particular sensibilities in the teacher become opportunities for innovative pedagogies to be implemented (Andrew 2003; 2006a; Ross et al. 1993; Schön 1990).

In School A, Teacher A is respected as an artist and educator. He had established his role in the school and elevated Arts and Culture as a valued subject. As a result, the school allows time for lessons,

[13] In South Africa each province is divided into separate districts that are overseen by the Provincial Department of Education. District officials are in charge of each of the eight learning areas and communicate with the teachers of those subjects in schools in their district.

gives space for new ideas and extramural music, concerts, rehearsals and exhibitions. The school recognises achievements in Arts and Culture and supports Teacher A's professional development.[14] Teacher A has relative freedom in designing his own learning programmes, but would probably be able to implement an innovative methodology under other conditions because of his particular sensibility.

School B's attitude to Arts and Culture teaching and learning was changing at the time of this research and as Teacher B's expertise developed. The school increasingly recognised this learning area as meaningful for learners' development (rather than as a marketing tool). The principal supported Teacher B's approach and shows more respect for her since her training in the ACE course. Since this project, Teacher B has led other teachers in planning Arts and Culture learning programmes.

I discuss Teacher C's position in his school later in this chapter.

10.1.3.2 The teacher's sensibility

This research suggests that there are certain prerequisites for effective take-up of the Multiliteracies pedagogy. The differences in teacher's take-up of the pedagogy were largely dependent on teachers' individual sensibilities. The research further highlights the centrality of the educator's disposition as an enabling or constraining factor in implementing the Multiliteracies pedagogy. The depth and extent of teacher's reflective practice in particular emerged as a key factor affecting the implementation of the Multiliteracies pedagogy. Based on the results of this research, I argue that reflective practice is essential for developing the kinds of dispositions necessary in Arts and Culture education. In this sense this research confirms that reflecting on one's own and others' practice is integral to any artistic process, including arts education (Ross et al. 1993; Eisner 2002; Canatella 2004; Pike 2004; Elliott 1995; 2005).

10.1.3.2.1 Teacher's reflective practice

The findings of this research emphasise that "becoming an excellent music teacher depends heavily on learning to reflect in and on our teaching efforts" (Elliott 2005, 12). Teachers' reflective practice relates to how substantially they took up the Multiliteracies pedagogy. In considering the extent of teachers' reflective practice I acknowledge that the issue is more complex than the picture I present here because reflective practice depends on individual dispositions, structural constraints, teacher

[14] Further evidence of the school's recognition of the importance of Arts and Culture is their support of three teachers in attending the two-year ACE course at the University of the Witwatersrand.

training history and their own education.[15] This discussion on reflective practice focuses on two related components relevant to the present project: reflecting on one's own teaching practice and reflecting on learners' practices (for assessment and pedagogical decisions). In the first component, reflective teachers evaluate their teaching by asking the broader questions such as "Are the results good, for whom and in what ways?" and not merely the narrower, technical question "Have my objectives been met?" (Zeichner and Liston, quoted in Adler and Reed 2002, 121).

The second component of reflection comprises two elements: "reflection-in-action" and "reflection-on-action" (Farrell 1998). These kinds of reflection are closely linked to artistic processes: Schön's "artful enquiry" – the practice of "reflection-in-action" – echoes the creative reflective process in art and musical performance (1990). A closer connection is possible in relation to music education: "reflection-in-action", characterised as "hearing differently" or "seeing differently" (Russell and Munby 1992, 4) resembles the kinds of musical reflection David Elliott describes as being embedded in performance (2005). "Seeing and hearing differently" implies an ability to respond musically, to evaluate, adjust and make decisions in the moment according to what learners are doing (as discussed in Chapter Nine). I suggest that, combined with "reflection-on-action" after a lesson, "reflection-in-action" is an essential part of being both a musician and a teacher.

In terms of reflecting with learners, it is important here to distinguish between 'reflecting back' and the sense of critical reflection implied in Critical Framing. I focus here on the sense of 'reflecting back' to learners that came to the fore in this research as well as Teacher A and B's abilities to reflect on their own practice.

The critical reflection underpinning the Multiliteracies pedagogy functions as an overall principle necessary for effective teaching. Teachers' level of critical engagement with their own and their learners' practices is an essential criterion for implementing this approach. Teacher A demonstrated a certain level of criticality in his teaching, which began with reflecting learners' work back to them verbally, and developed into a deeper level of encouraging learners to think about what they were doing. The relatively deep take-up of the Multiliteracies pedagogy in this case depended on Teacher A's ability to reflect on his teaching, combined with his own musical experience as a composer and performer. During the implementation period, Teacher A devised a series of lessons based on the Multiliteracies training, rather than following a pre-determined learning programme or textbook. He

[15] When considering the possible difficulties for teachers to "write or act reflectively", it is important that researchers working in South Africa consider teachers' histories: "The very substance of reflective activity, taking seriously what one does as a teacher, validating and attributing significance to it, is a conceptualisation that is often at extreme odds with prior conceptualisations that teachers of colour in South Africa might have had about their work and role. This is because of their oppression under apartheid as well as the result of destabilisation of schools during the period of unrest and rebellion in the eighties" (Zinn 1997, 133).

was able to appraise his own teaching, so that when an activity did not have the desired outcome he adapted and changed the direction of his lessons. He tried out the new methodology, adapting it to his learners. His personal journal further reveals his understanding of his own practice. For instance he responded to his own question "Have I developed from the training and practical teaching in this project?" with "I learnt a teaching method which recognises and uses part of what learners know, but with careful consideration of concepts to be clarified, and moving to further levels of formal discourse" (Teacher A journal extract, Appendix E).

During the implementation period, Teacher B's reflective practice was developing. Her written feedback reveals a number of shifts in her thinking – primarily a sense of engaging with the curriculum rather than literal curriculum compliance. Implementing a Multiliteracies approach enabled her to realise that "Arts and Culture can be approached differently, other than relying on your textbook. Arts and Culture is not just taught but experienced too" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). Her comments suggest a capacity to create critical distance from her own and her learners' practices, and adapt her teaching accordingly.

Teacher B's written feedback also shows an awareness of her strengths and weaknesses; she acknowledged that she was most comfortable in the talking and writing modes and needed more subject knowledge and musical experiences in order to instruct musically. She realised the importance of appraisal, commenting "I am good in giving support, being patient and also creative" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). Teacher B's practice during the implementation period suggests internal take-up of the Multiliteracies pedagogy, although it was not manifested as fully as in School A. The differences in the way her learners experienced their lessons also confirms how adopting a Multiliteracies methodology changed her approach to teaching music: in response to whether their lessons were different from before, School B learners said, "this term was about games and music; last term Arts and Culture was about class work and assessment" (learners' oral responses, October 2006).

Although Teacher C's take-up of the Multiliteracies pedagogy was superficial, there was an emerging sense of 'reflecting back' with his learners. He encouraged learners to respond to and explain their own work, asking questions like "Tell me what you have done". Eliciting learner feedback involved learners appraising their own and each other's work. In addition Teacher C recognised that his learners' playground play was interesting and creative. He used their musical games as a warm-up in his lessons, thus acknowledging that learners had something to offer the teaching and learning situation. However, there was no sense of Teacher C's 'reflecting back' affecting the way his children were learning.

In terms of reflecting on his own teaching, Teacher C was not able to appraise his own practice, tending to revert to structural, superficial reasons outside the subject to explain the difficulties in adopting a new approach. Combined with the exhaustion and depression of being a township school teacher (a common experience, I suggest that because Teacher C's confidence lay in structures and procedures, rather than in the subject, this prohibited any substantive application of the Multiliteracies approach. The School C case study reveals the close relationship between the teacher's reflective practice, the ability to recognise learning and extend learning moments. Teacher C's inability to capture or mark moments of transformative learning may be attributed to his underdeveloped reflective ability. As a result, School C learners' multimodal resources were not harnessed to develop and create new learning. However, it must be acknowledged that many South African educators find it difficult to reflect on their own practice, given the constraints in their education and training. [16]

10.1.3.2.2 The Multiliteracies pedagogy and an artistic sensibility in teachers

The educator's reflective practice is linked to an artistic sensibility, which is a further factor that emerged from the findings of this research. Developing reflective practice forms part of Schön's conception of teaching as "an artistic rather than an 'applied science'" (quoted in Ross et al. 1993, 159-160). The findings of this research therefore add to the Multiliteracies-multimodality conversation by highlighting the significance of artistic sensibilities in implementing the pedagogy, and develops an argument made by David Andrew. He describes a set of dispositions that are activated in artistic processes that "warrant attention for teaching and learning" (2003). Andrew proposes that artistic dispositions are closely related to multimodal pedagogies and that the artist's sensibility "furthers the aspirations of the Multiliteracies project" (Andrew 2003, 2; 2006a; 2006b; 2008a; 2009).[17]

Many artists work multimodally and intuitively, they are attuned to the aptness and affordances available in their materials, in the possibilities for design and transformation presented by their environment (Ibid.). The kind of resourcefulness present in artists is demonstrated to be true of learners in this research. Multimodal pedagogies similarly emphasise resourcefulness as an essential quality (in both teachers and learners). Specific qualities of an artistic disposition are particularly relevant in music education: a sense of curiosity and a desire to explore, forge links and make

[16] In their research on "teachers' take-up of reflective practice" in the Wits Further Diploma in Education programme, Reed, Davis and Nyabanyaba identify significant constraints to reflective practice: the ability to ask questions of one's own teaching; questions about one's own assumptions or actively engage in curriculum development. Developing *critical practice* in the way this research suggests, then, becomes even more difficult in the light of the fact that "some teachers (taught) from a subject and pedagogic knowledge base that was so limited that it negatively affected their ability to reflect on their practice" (2002, 130).

[17] Kress (quoted in Bearne 2005) suggests a link between certain dispositions and multimodality, but Andrew is making a more explicit link between the artist's set of dispositions and multimodal pedagogies in his work (2003; 2006a).

connections; an interest in indeterminacy and unpredictability (e.g. improvisation in music); a sense of play and engagement in "game-like generative moments" (Ibid.); and a sense of dialogue exemplified in the "deep satisfaction of collaborative music-making or musical 'flow'" (Elliott 1995; 2005).

The teacher's acquisition of such artistic dispositions affects learning in productive, transformative ways. For example, Teacher A's performance and responses to his learners as a musician facilitated the beginnings of creative listening and attention to sound associated with developing musicianship. Other moments emphasise how teachers were able to model and communicate artistic qualities like self-reflexivity with their learners, such as when Teacher A and B reflected on their process of teaching with their class. Artistic qualities and ways of working with learners are often reciprocated by learners in potentially 'transformative' moments, moments that the teacher can "assist learners to understand and extend" (Andrew 2006a, 7). Andrew proposes here that the teacher's development of artistic qualities may facilitate the development of a similar repertoire in learners. I suggest further that such artistic qualities can become the markers of Transformed Practice (as discussed in Chapter Six). This research indicates the potential for reciprocity between an artistic sensibility and the Multiliteracies approach that Andrew puts forward, and is particularly instructive for music education.

Recognising qualities such "makeshiftness" in the artist's disposition is apt for music education because it highlights musical processes of improvisation, exploration and what happens in the moment. [18] The "attitude that does not insist on knowing the path beforehand, but instead acknowledges that the next step might be an unexpected one" (Andrew 2006a, 6) is significant for music teaching and learning, where learners' ability to create new music and expression, new sounds and innovative ways of putting them together represent transformative learning. I interpret the concept of "makeshiftness" in music as the musician's ability to recognise (hear and feel) and respond musically and imaginatively in a developmental, non-linear way. The same qualities in teaching enable the educator to take what learners give and respond in sound in ways that reflect, validate, develop, challenge, or extend learners musicking. The task then is both to enable teachers to "recognise these moments in the moment" (Ibid.) and facilitate learners' understanding of these moments. Imaginative musical response – both creative and interpretive – becomes an essential part of the artistic repertoire and one which has pedagogic value because it enables musical learning.

I contend that a teacher's take-up of the Multiliteracies pedagogy is linked to his or her sensibility, which in turn connects with learning and implementing previous Arts and Culture training such as the

[18] "Makeshiftness" is used by the critic Barry Schwabsky to describe the work of installation artists as "based on careful observation of what happens, however arbitrarily, to be there in a particular situation" (Andrew 2006a, 9). I propose that 'makeshiftness', understood in this way, describes the way musicians respond to each other, for example in jazz and other improvisatory musical practices.

ACE course. In School A, the teacher's openness and confidence in applying the Multiliteracies pedagogy can be attributed to his meaningful take-up of the ACE training and his skills as both a teacher and practising musician.

Teacher A's implementation of the Multiliteracies pedagogy revealed a number of sensibilities relating specifically to music. These include: a sensitivity and depth of listening skills on different levels; cognitive skills (conceptual understanding); analytical skills (the ability to identify, interpret, distinguish and recognise); an understanding of the necessity for sustained engagement with musical, creative processes; relying on intuition in teaching; an understanding of the rigour and craft involved in musical design, and the ability to interpret, critique and reflect on artistic products and processes. As a musician, Teacher A facilitated opportunities for children to learn by using his own capacities as a performer to instruct. He also embodied the value of sustained engagement with a musical process, recognising that "a good teacher needs patience"; and musical development as a "process that takes a very long time" (Teacher A questionnaire, Appendix E). His sensibility as a musician and reflective teacher enabled his own development in terms of realising the depth and complexity of listening as a skill, the importance of working in sound, and how bridging curriculum knowledge and learners' practices potentially produces new learning.

Teacher B's disposition enabled her to implement a new methodology despite bureaucratic, structural pressure from her school and district. She showed a willingness to try out something new, despite her lack of confidence in music, and was not afraid to make mistakes. The qualities Teacher B exemplified – the willingness to take risks, experiment and explore, and be flexible – are all associated with artistic practice. I stress the significance of her willingness to explore here, particularly in the context of a predominant culture of learning where 'making mistakes' (or asking questions) is not understood as a learning opportunity. The teacher's modelling of experimentation, of 'trying out', to her learners represents a shift in the 'teacher-as-expert/ learner-as-ignorant' model. Teacher B's willingness to experiment with pedagogy permitted her learners to experiment with different sounds and designing – a process that elicited particularly interesting and evocative sound-pictures.

Teacher B was also accomplished in giving feedback, praising and encouraging her learners. Although she had not yet developed musical analytical skills to describe why learners' designs were interesting, she validated what children produce musically as being creative and original. Teacher B identified that "I would like to develop listening and observation skills" (Teacher B questionnaire, Appendix E). Her comments highlight a heightened awareness of sound as a crucial skill in music teaching.

In conclusion, this research has revealed that developing a musical sensibility and the ability to teach music effectively, depended to a large extent on the teacher's conception of music knowledge and skills – of music as a set of embodied knowledges based on the notion of music as social practice. Understanding music in this way forms part of what the Praxial philosophy urges: "a comprehensive and reflective approach to music teaching and learning" (Elliott 2005, 7).

10.1.3.3 The teacher as an agent beyond prescription

> "Arts teachers need to behave more like real artists and less like bureaucrats" (Ross et al. 1993, 161).

Overcoming what Schön (1990) terms "technical rationality" in professional practice (behaving like a bureaucrat) calls for some of the skills and characteristics identified with artists: "the ability to improvise, to think on their feet, to respond sensitively and intuitively to situations that are unique, uncertain and unstable" (Ross et al. 1993, 159).

The skills and sensibilities that make up an artistic disposition, and within art and music-making itself, imply a sense of "agency as intentional action" (Regelski 2000). Agency, then, forms part of the repertoire of artistic sensibilities which supports critical teaching and learning (Andrew 2006a, 1). Further linking the artist's sensibility with agency is the Multiliteracies notion of design: design is what artists do and designing makes the designer agentive (Kress 2000a). Closer to the context of this research, the Multiliteracies notion of design underpinning the pedagogy recognises that "both learners and teachers are designers of meaning" (New London Group 1996; Cope and Kalantzis 2000a). As curriculum designers, teachers are involved in "making particular choices about how and what to teach" (Stein 2007, 4). What is critical is that teachers are conscious of, and act on, their ability to choose in their own teaching situations. The teacher's sense of her own agency, as the ability to act in response to situations, has been shown in this research to be central to implementing an innovative pedagogy. Its absence in School C clearly presented an obstacle to implementing the Multiliteracies pedagogy.

10.1.3.3.1 Teacher C: bound by prescription

In contrast with Teachers A and B, Teacher C seemed to fear flexibility and change. More significant though is how Teacher C subscribed to a bureaucratic culture; it was difficult for him to act beyond Department demands. Teacher C tended to shift blame and responsibility to structures, rather than taking personal responsibility for not teaching lessons or attending the training workshops at the beginning of this project.

Teacher C's comments reveal the extent of his powerlessness in the face of officialdom:

> Our relationship with the Department is … they are on top and we just follow instructions and give reasons why we did not follow a circular. Our heads send us circulars about different things we have to do. We are piled with circulars, meetings and workshops (Author's interview, 2006).

I suggest that his own disposition within the school, coupled with official constraints, played a role in his feeling of being controlled. I imagine that because he was not confident musically, he held onto structures. Teacher C's 'structural confidence' extended to his reliance on the textbook and an inflexible implementation of a pre-determined learning programme. Although aspects of Multiliteracies could have worked with existing teaching materials, the teacher felt unable to do this as it deviated from a pre-determined plan. When the researcher offered ideas about how to interpret textbook lessons differently, or use it as a thematic basis, the teacher felt unable to do so because this had not been officially agreed upon.

The consequences of being bound by prescription in multiple ways prevented a pedagogical innovation from taking place in School C. The teacher seemed unable to implement a new approach as the innovation of Multiliteracies was perhaps foreign and threatening. His own disposition precluded the qualities of flexibility, listening, critique and self-reflexivity necessary for implementing a new pedagogy. Teacher C was constrained thus by his own sensibility, by the school and by wider education structures. As a result, he could not recognise learning that occurred outside textbook outcomes. Within the constraints of the school culture, and the teacher's disposition, the space for implementing a new approach diminished. I conclude that, should many other teachers adopt Teacher C's position, it is unlikely that a Multiliteracies pedagogy would emerge in South African schools.

I have attempted to account for the problems encountered in School C in order to illustrate the potential constraints of implementing a Multiliteracies pedagogy in Arts and Culture education. I argue that while these constraints are formed by the school and broader education structures, the teacher's ability to "use, manipulate and divert spaces" within restrictive teaching and learning contexts ultimately creates opportunities for new pedagogies (Larson and Gatto quoted in Pahl and Rowsell 2005, 132-133).

10.1.3.3.2 Developing tactics

Regarding the implementation of policy in schools, Pam Christie reminds us that "policies always involve choices: there is nothing inevitable or necessary about them" (1999, 285). Christie emphasises here that, like teachers, schools have agency and that "though policies are powerfully

constrained by their circumstances, they are seldom 'the only thing that can be done'" (Ibid.). Christie's implication that teachers and schools have 'space to act' connects with De Certeau's interpretation of 'tactics' – of diverting space and practice (1984).

However, Teacher B reiterates how powerful the Education Department's 'strategies' are: "If things come from the Department, it's law; you have to comply and you don't question" (2006). She recognises how the constraints of wider education structures impact on teaching and learning. But despite these constrictions, School B is "trying to do things our own way," and in Arts and Culture she is driving this impetus. Her own tactics and developing sense of agency is enabling her to shape the space of teaching practice in the school, which led her for example, to "argue with the HOD not to follow the textbook literally". As a result, "artwork is now recognised in our school; parents and other teachers are also interested in these games" (Ibid.). In both Schools A and B the teachers were able to create a space for a new pedagogy to work. In the context of South African education today, the case studies demonstrate that the introduction of critical, innovative pedagogies depends on whether teachers have developed tactics in De Certeau's sense. School A's negotiation and flexibility particularly helped to "divert the space" created by officialdom, to facilitate alternative spaces for learning and development (De Certeau 1984).

10.1.3.4 Teaching and learning beyond prescription

The case studies emphasise how creating a particular environment potentially changes the course of learning and development for children. This was evident in the language Teacher B used in her evaluation: "giving children a platform" suggests the role of the teacher as a manager of the teaching and learning situation. Viewed in this light, the teacher, like the learner, is agentive and active in creating a learning environment. The teacher's sense of agency in shaping the space of teaching and learning gives her a sense of her own power to move beyond constraints. The teachers' and learners' practice in the case studies demonstrate how in education "we should take from contexts that which is a strength and move beyond constraints and deficits" (Rowsell and Rajaratnam 2005, 325).

In response to their research in underprivileged, under-resourced schools, and acknowledging the difficulties in which many South African teachers work, Stein and Prinsloo raise the question of what kind of pedagogies are most effective and appropriate for the local context (2005, 138). Their question draws attention to the necessity for pedagogies that respond to the contexts of learning and teaching, for teaching to be a Situated Practice.

Multiliteracies and multimodal pedagogies aim explicitly to address situations in schools, to respond to practice, to diversity, complexity and contradiction. Their appropriateness in the South African

education context has been shown in the work of the South African Multiliteracies Group. My research demonstrates how the Multiliteracies approach can be used effectively in an Arts and Culture context because it enables the teacher to work with available resources. This research further emphasises the centrality of the teacher's role in implementing the Multiliteracies pedagogy in Arts and Culture. It demonstrates how instructive this approach is as a methodology that works with, and accounts for, particular learning and teaching contexts, especially the learners and their music. The Multiliteracies pedagogy provides a methodology for using available resources – materials, musics, learners and teachers – in ways that achieve the aim of music education Elliott proposes: to develop learners' musicianship and listenership (1995; 2005).

10.2 Implications of this research for Multiliteracies and music education

10.2.1 What Multiliteracies brings to music education

This research demonstrates the potential of the Multiliteracies approach to enhance music education. It suggests a "re-thinking of instructional practices" (Stein 2007, 21) that develops learner-centredness in a contextual, substantive way, building on learners' resourcefulness and developing their sense of agency. The Multiliteracies pedagogy presents music education with opportunities to work productively with what learners bring to the classroom in an approach that is primarily a response to practices in specific contexts. For music education this research demonstrates that a Multiliteracies approach is able to respond to children's musicking in a way that promotes learning. It enables the educator and the researcher to recruit what is observed on the playgrounds rather than merely remarking how interesting it is. Allied with an ethnographic approach to studying children's games, the pedagogy implies that practices inform theories and methodologies in education. The Multiliteracies pedagogical framework also brings a coherent methodology to music education, adaptable in a range of contexts. This research demonstrates how the framework structures pedagogy. Multiliteracies brings to music education a clear, concise but not restrictive methodological framework which, I suggest, is instructive to Arts and Culture teachers whether they are formally trained in music or not.

10.2.2 What music education brings to the Multiliteracies project

In terms of contributing to the Multiliteracies project, this research represents a new application of its pedagogy. This study adds to an understanding of how Multiliteracies may be used in music education and reveals where the challenges and opportunities lie. This research is instructive because it

interprets the four pedagogical components in music; it adapts them, investigates the challenges, and explores what happens when a literacy theory is applied to music. For example, the case studies elicit important information about what we mean by Critical Framing in a music context and what the signs of Transformed Practice look and sound like. This research also interrogates the complexities of reflecting in a music education context: how teachers facilitate learners' reflection, and the implications of teachers' own reflective practice on their teaching and on their learners' learning.

The case studies, and particularly the research phase undertaken by teachers during Situated Practice, deepened an understanding of what it means to recruit learner subjectivity in pedagogy. A fundamental step is to do 'ethnography'; without this research step, teachers would not know what to recruit. Studying children's games in this way enabled an understanding of how recruitment could work pedagogically. My conclusions are that recruitment can occur on a number of levels: content, skills, capacities and how learners' practices embody their multimodal designing, and the sense of agency this implies. It follows that teaching can recruit this sense of agency and apply it in different learning contexts. Teachers may further employ learners' resourcefulness and their imaginative use of musical resources productively by expanding learners' repertoire of resources through the Multiliteracies framework, extending musical experiences and horizons as Thomas Regelski suggests (2004).

Furthermore, this research foregrounds the aural mode in the multimodal ensemble and, through the documentation of children's games, begins to explore the many opportunities for expression, communication, representation and learning that the aural mode affords. In future research the affordances of the aural mode could be explored further. The project also emphasises that different musical practices (including the learners' own) have different affordances and that working from this understanding is potentially productive in music education. By attending to the aural mode, and introducing the concept of many musical affordances, this research will contribute to work on multimodal pedagogies in South Africa.

Finally, this research articulates reciprocity between the teachers' artistic sensibility and multimodal pedagogies – a dialogue developed conceptually by Andrew (2003; 2006a). Although initially not an aim of this research, an artistic sensibility emerged as an enabling factor because the teacher-as-practising-artist in School A, as well as particular artistic dispositions in the other cases, influenced learners' sound designing. Furthermore, elements such as reflection-in-action, linked with creative listening, were shown to influence the nature of learners' work. Thus, this research demonstrates the importance of an artistic sensibility in being able to implement the Multiliteracies pedagogy. This study adds a musical dimension to a set of artistic dispositions already identified in the literature, highlighting the relationship between musical reflection, reflection-in-action and teachers'

understanding of embodied musical knowledge. Teachers' ability to reflect musically is seen to be a decisive aspect of effectively implementing a Multiliteracies approach in music education. Last, the idea of paying attention to sound through creative listening in both learners and teachers developed throughout the case studies, and I suggest that this notion helped to facilitate learners' transformative learning. I propose that developing such listening has implications for music education and for South African Arts and Culture education more broadly.

10.2.3 The efficacy and appropriacy of Multiliteracies for music education

This research investigated whether or not music education and the Multiliteracies approach are compatible; whether this pedagogy can be applied to music education in a productive way. While the research represents only three case studies in Soweto, these are typical of many township, urban government schools. I base my claims on my work experience teaching learners music in such schools and training Arts and Culture teachers, which confirms that the three case-study schools are representative. The following generalisations and suggested wider validity and relevance of the case study research findings are therefore based on my own experience.

Based on the findings of the three case studies, I therefore conclude that, given the conditions discussed above, the Multiliteracies pedagogy is an appropriate and effective pedagogy for music education, even in contexts where teachers are not formally trained in music. The fact that this approach was quickly and effectively trialled by three teachers (to varying degrees of success) indicates its potential as an effective methodology for music education. The case studies suggest that the Multiliteracies pedagogy can be implemented in disciplines other than literacy education. In addition to constituting a particular methodology, this approach can change the way teachers teach and how they think about teaching and learning. An important way in which this approach modifies teachers' thinking, I suggest, is that it creates possibilities for transformative learning and enables teachers to recognise when this is happening. Hence I propose that the Multiliteracies pedagogy can work with the current Arts and Culture curriculum but that, more importantly, it enables learning to transcend current curriculum outcomes. The Multiliteracies' conception of learning is generative because learners' Transformed Practices potentially inform their Situated Practice in a process that emphasises continued development and connections.

I conclude that South African Arts and Culture educators can use the Multiliteracies pedagogy, given certain conditions. This research highlights the significance of responding to the teaching and learning context, and how the Multiliteracies approach can be adapted to suit both subject content and learning environments. I suggest, then, that the approach needs to be tempered in South Africa, especially given capacities of the present teacher body and the effects of the past education system that are still

felt. Importantly, though, the Multiliteracies pedagogy accounts for context because it is premised on principles of working with what already exists – culturally, linguistically and socially – making it particularly appropriate to South Africa's diversity. Last, I contend that the pedagogy has been shown in this research to be particularly instructive because it works with a unique conception of resources derived from multimodality and social semiotics. Implementing a Multiliteracies approach identified a number of key issues for music education, as I outline below, which relate to a more sophisticated understanding of musical and knowledge resources than currently exists in Arts and Culture education.

10.2.4 Working with musical resources in education

The learners' and teachers' practices in this research have generated new ideas about teaching music in the South African context. Adopting a Multiliteracies approach enables education to proceed from what is present in local contexts, developing theory and methodology from practice. Through the stages of this research it became clear to what extent children's musical games informed teacher's teaching; how, in a music education context, "Curriculum [can] mesh with different subjectivities, and with their attendant languages, discourse and registers, and use these as a resource for learning" (New London Group 2000, 18). Returning to the question of what the implications of children's games are for teaching, I contend that children show educators how to use available resources in music-making. Perhaps what teachers actually recruit, then, is the idea of using musical resources productively. Therefore, based on what learners' musical games convey, resources are the opportunities present in the environment for music- or meaning-making. A perception that musical resources encompass what particular environments offer potentially changes conceptions of what it means to teach and learn music. Primarily, this perception fosters teaching and learning as contextual practice. Furthermore, viewing music-making as productively using what is available in the environment creates opportunities to teach and learn music in contexts perceived to be under-resourced or socially-deprived.

10.2.5 Informing Arts and Culture teaching and training

A new understanding of the potential to transform music education through focusing on music as sound design and the creative use of musical resources has implications for Arts and Culture teacher training and implies some shifts in focus. I propose that this research informs Arts and Culture music teaching and learning in three ways: first it responds to the issue of resources on multiple levels; second, it emphasises the centrality of methodology; and third, it highlights the significance of developing an artistic sensibility in teachers.

10.2.5.1 Using the concept of resources in teacher education

I suggest, first, that using the idea of working with available sound resources potentially transforms the way teachers are trained in music education. Children show educators how to work with available resources, how to use the materials in the environment and human resources as creative beings. A focus on resources in pedagogy has implications for the way teachers are trained because it implies also that teachers' cultural and musical background can be incorporated into their training. Training could proceed from educators' "funds of knowledge" (Moll et al. 1992) and crucially, enable teachers to experience that they already have musical knowledge capacities (although this experience is currently not the case). This key understanding for teachers implies that training programmes could potentially work with teachers' situated practices as a starting point and further recruit and develop their musical practices as a model of working with learners. Such a training programme would involve developing and extending the musical and cultural resources educators already use in their everyday lives, moving through the four components in the way the Multiliteracies pedagogy proposes.

Second, the relationship between using resources in sound design, and the sense of agency and control this implies, influences conceptions of music teaching and learning. A sense of agency is also central to a conception of music as intentional action in specific contexts. I suggest that training programmes could incorporate this idea, particularly in the South African context where many Arts and Culture teachers feel that they do not possess musical skills or knowledges. For many teachers, the idea of teaching music is intimidating (many teachers I have taught say "we can't do music", "I'm not musical", or "I can't read music"). However, enabling teachers to experience that they too can design musically, using themselves and their environment as resources would help to develop teachers as "designers of meaning" or music (New London Group 1996; Cope and Kalantzis 2000a).

The concept of musical instruction as sound design is significant for teacher education. Proceeding from a conception of sound design in music education shifts perceptions of what it means to teach music, of which musical practices to teach, and helps to counteract prevailing notions of teaching music as a system or orthodoxy (which the Multiliteracies and multimodal pedagogies act in response to). The notion of using any sound resource to design suggests that anyone can 'do' music. Being a musician is not only located in the domain of expertise: the expert, specialised or textbook knowledge, or the professional. There is no sense of agency in accessing such specialised knowledges. But there is a sense of agency implied in music education as sound design; any learner can make music, and teachers can learn to teach music. This approach implies that in training programmes teachers are able to start from a position of confidence, being in a world surrounded by sound that can

be used in different ways. It also implies that learning means adding to an existing palette of sounds; adding to the ways in which sounds can be manipulated, for different purposes and ends, which is what the teachers in the case studies attempted to do. It follows that training would then involve strategising how to use sound with learners.

10.2.5.2 Curriculum and methodology

This research first shows how teachers are engaging with the curriculum, and then how training can address some of the problems revealed. The issue of contradictions between curriculum versus practice were emphasised in the description of the constraints and opportunities presented by the case studies. The findings of this research demonstrate that policy, outcomes and expectations are not in line with teachers' capacities, nor are current training models encouraging what policy requires, and that this is leading to superficial interpretations of the curriculum. The case study in School C showed that children's musical development is thwarted when curriculum outcomes and textbooks are interpreted literally. More positively, this research demonstrates that it is possible to engage with the present curriculum and articulate it with a new pedagogy, if training addresses curriculum interpretation in a more critical, flexible way. This further suggests that teacher training should focus on teaching being about recognition and flexibility in managing learning situations.

This research has demonstrated how the Multiliteracies pedagogy proposes a viable method for teaching music in South Africa. As a methodology, the clarity of the Multiliteracies components and their capacity for application in music was the strength of the training in this research. The findings demonstrate the centrality of the teachers' methodology in determining the quality of teaching and learning. Furthermore, using a conception of resources and sound design in training shifts the focus away from content towards methodology. Teachers concentrate on what it means to design musically, rather than on which musical practices or knowledges to teach. In this way, this research replies to approaches such as multiculturalism and Africanism because the methodology evolves from what is present musically, rather than from an implied pre-determined set of assumptions. The methodology accounts for, responds to and develops local knowledge and practices, using available resources, and enables teaching and learning that builds democratic and learner-centred practice.

10.3 Concluding the Multiliteracies journey and looking forward

I began this research by observing the disparities between children playing on the playground and teachers teaching in the classroom. Physically, these spaces were next to each other but

metaphorically, they were worlds apart. I began by asking why this was so; what was so compelling about children's playground music, and why it generally had little connection with classroom teaching? I then investigated how the playground and classroom musical and learning domains could intersect. Aware that just repeating games in the classroom would not constitute an educational activity, I investigated whether teachers could use the games in ways that promoted transformed learning. Bridging playground and classroom knowledge and practice required an imaginative and conceptual leap for educators; one which was provided by the Multiliteracies pedagogy. I therefore tested my theory that this pedagogy would provide a means of incorporating learners' musical play into classroom pedagogy, so that the musical potential learners demonstrated in their play could be developed. This was undertaken by trying to connect the two sites of practice methodologically by implementing a Multiliteracies pedagogy in three Soweto primary schools.

An important insight that this research proposes is that methodology occupies a central position in education because teaching and resultant learning pivots around it. In the journey from the playground to the classroom and back again, the research emphasises methodology as a key element in both pedagogy and ethnomusicological research. Teaching method influences the nature of learning in pedagogy, and research method effects representation and knowledge production in ethnomusicology. Moreover, this project advocates a closer relationship between music education and ethnomusicology methodologically and epistemologically, concluding that for an effective pedagogy of recruitment, it is necessary for ethnography to precede education.

The research thus presents an argument for applying a Multiliteracies pedagogy to music education, founded on the value of ethnographic inquiry. Multiliteracies is underpinned by the notion that children's texts (whether musical, linguistic or visual) mean something, and that they are significant both as cultural expression and for teaching and learning. In order to test this thesis it was necessary to prove the value of the games through ethnography. This is because teachers and researchers need to know what learners' resources are before it is possible to recruit them for pedagogy. Adopting an ethnographic approach in this study enabled an understanding of learners' skills and knowledge prior to formal instruction.

Ethnography provides the means, first for recognising the value of children's games, and second as a method for documenting and understanding them. This thesis emphasises that in order to use Multiliteracies properly, the key tenets of ethnography as a methodology need to be recognised. Ethnographic method is premised on accessing what is actually present, which involves documentation and analysis that investigates participants' experiences and meanings, rather than confirms pre-existing theories of what music is, or who learners are. In this context, an ethnographic approach is appropriate because it aims to understand meaning from the perspective of the people it

studies. For an ethnographer, interpretive authority does not reside fundamentally in the expert critic, but rather in the people being studied. Thus the political project in the pedagogy I promote is acknowledging local context – the children and their music – not only the expert teacher. On methodological, theoretical and ideological grounds, then, this thesis promotes the value of ethnomusicological enquiry for music education.

Using learners' musical games as forms of local knowledge in this research represents a different approach to the paradigm presently dominant in South African musical arts education. Acknowledging local knowledge and practice in this research does not constitute simply 'singing ethnic songs'; it is not transplanting children's games, or other 'indigenous' practices, into the classroom and repeating them there. Africanist approaches to music education are premised on assumptions that so-called ethnic or traditional practices are part of black South African learners' lives or familiar to them. Yet this approach cannot acknowledge learners' actual contexts. The idea here is that in order to practise Multiliteracies, it is necessary to understand the children and their practices of everyday life, whether they are immersed in the cultural, musical and linguistic mix of Soweto; the more 'traditional' or neo-traditional practices of rural Venda; or pop music in an urban, privileged independent South African school. My approach concurs with that of African Musical Arts, regarding the promotion of learning 'indigenous' forms and acknowledging the local, but it differs methodologically in how such material is utilised. The Situated Practice employed in pedagogy is indigenous in the sense of locality: the socio-cultural environment of learners' identities. I propose that there is a missing step in typical African Musical Arts and Multicultural education pedagogies, and that this step is ethnographic.

Furthermore, because investigating children's situated practices happens first, the thesis proposes that applying Multiliteracies to music education is possible in any context, with any children, because one starts with what is already there. Thus this research presents a mechanism for ethnography to be used in music education with regard to any culture, and then for these local resources to be recruited through the Multiliteracies framework. By including this step, the thesis proposes a rapprochement between the ethnomusicology and music education projects. In this way this research suggests the potential for ethnomusicology and music education to develop a mutually-beneficial dialogue. This study aims to show how "ethnomusicology is a valuable resource for Arts and Culture education, when it critically engages with questions about the nature of culture" (Harrop-Allin 2005, 123). Through 'doing ethnography', it is possible to produce musical materials for schools, by sourcing them locally and then mobilising these resources for new learning.

Hence, when local knowledge is viewed as a resource for learning, under-resourced or 'poor' schools are shown to be not so under-resourced at all. When education employs this knowledge (learners'

musical games in this project, but it could be any local knowledge), and connects it methodologically to new knowledge, then there is a potential for all schooling to work from existing practices to pedagogy. It becomes possible to incorporate whatever 'indigenous knowledge systems' are present, but rather than adopt them and remain static, to develop and transform them to create new knowledge and investigate new practices.

Recruiting local knowledge for pedagogy implies that learner-centredness in music education means working with the sense of agency embodied in learners' games. The teachers in this study showed how to foster a classroom culture that begins with children's own musicking while actively promoting musical learning, imagination and growth. In this sense the teachers enacted a quality of learner-centredness that positions learners and learning at the centre of teaching.

The South African curriculum's desire for learner-centred teaching is an ideal that has yet to be achieved. Yet I hope to have shown that such ideals are achievable in Arts and Culture education. If the potential for local resources are recognised and productively recruited for pedagogy, if learners and teachers' ability to act and design are developed, there are ways of transforming education. By valuing and working with learners' expressive resources, especially by those who "have power in the classroom", (Stein 2008, 152), then creating a child-centred teaching environment becomes a possibility.

The findings of this research suggest a learner-centred music education pedagogy that may be applied in any context because it mobilises children's musical practice and the ways of learning inherent in those practices. Similar to the pedagogy Lucy Green proposes, applying a method of recruitment to music education gives value and voice to children and their music (2008, 185), enabling them to participate in building curriculum knowledge and to extend their learning.

Giving 'voice' to children's music acknowledges that children not only inherit but create culture. Arts and Culture education can, in turn, keep creating culture in a developmental, "future-orientated" process, rather than one that considers culture connected to a past (Appadurai 2004, 60-61). By focusing on the implication of children's musical games for education, the thesis demonstrates that, in the context of 'poverty' (understood both materially and metaphorically); South Africa's culture represents a rich resource. Children's musicking, their cultures and the potential of the cultural wealth of their communities can be harnessed productively for teaching and learning. In other words, "children's production of culture is a capacity worth strengthening in building a democratic culture" (Stein 2008, 43).

In his work on the relationship between poverty, culture and development, Arjun Appadurai considers culture as "the capacity to aspire" (2004). He sees people's "aspirations as cultural capacities" (Appadurai 2004, 84). In some ways, children demonstrate aspirational capacity because their musical games imply active choice and agency in their creation and performance. This research aimed to show how the aspirational quality of children's games can be harnessed, and how this harnessing can potentially transform music education, especially when teachers' choice and agency are also present in their teaching practice.

Mobilising learners' repertoires – musical, linguistic, cultural, and artistic – in pedagogy offers education the opportunity to engage with context, people, societies and cultures in flux, like those in South Africa. The quality of education Multiliteracies proposes, and which this research suggests, enables a continuous production of culture: the "expansion and enrichment of the capacity to aspire" because the teaching and learning process is generative, as it builds on existing practices (Appadurai 2004, 70).

The research is thus a contribution to theory and methodology in music education that is able to respond to socio-cultural context, to diversity, and to validate children's musical practices in ways that promote their personal and musical growth.

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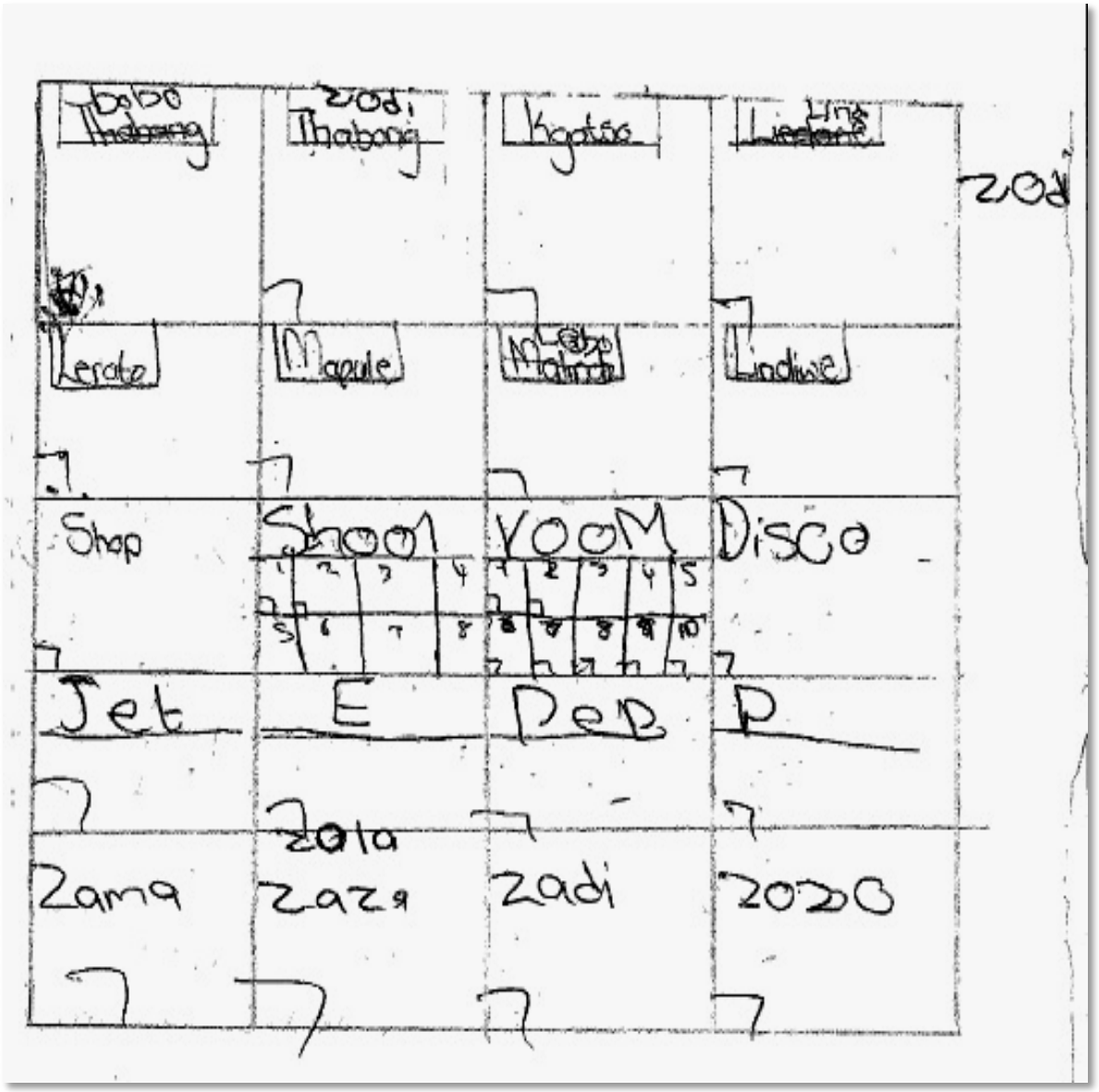
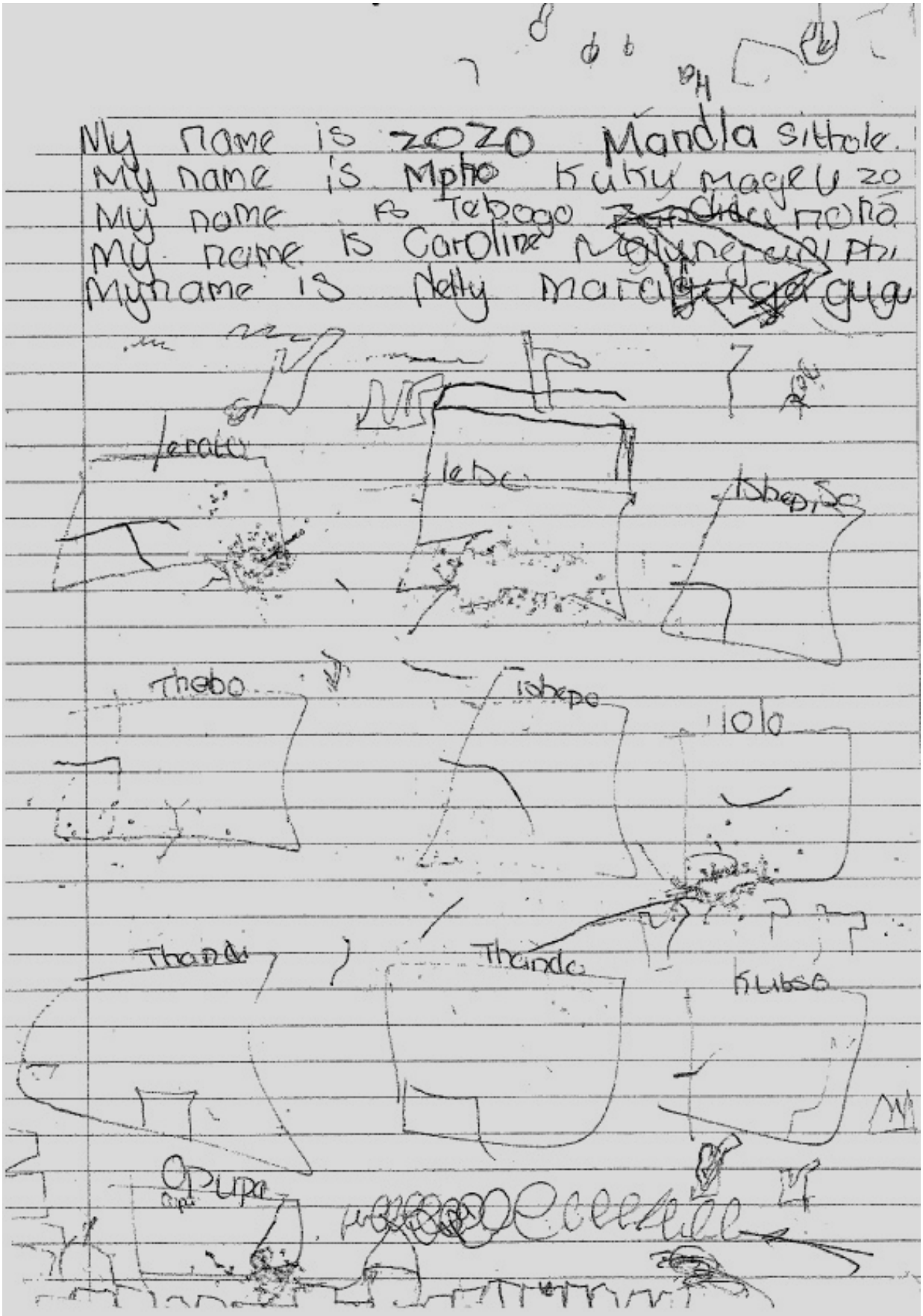
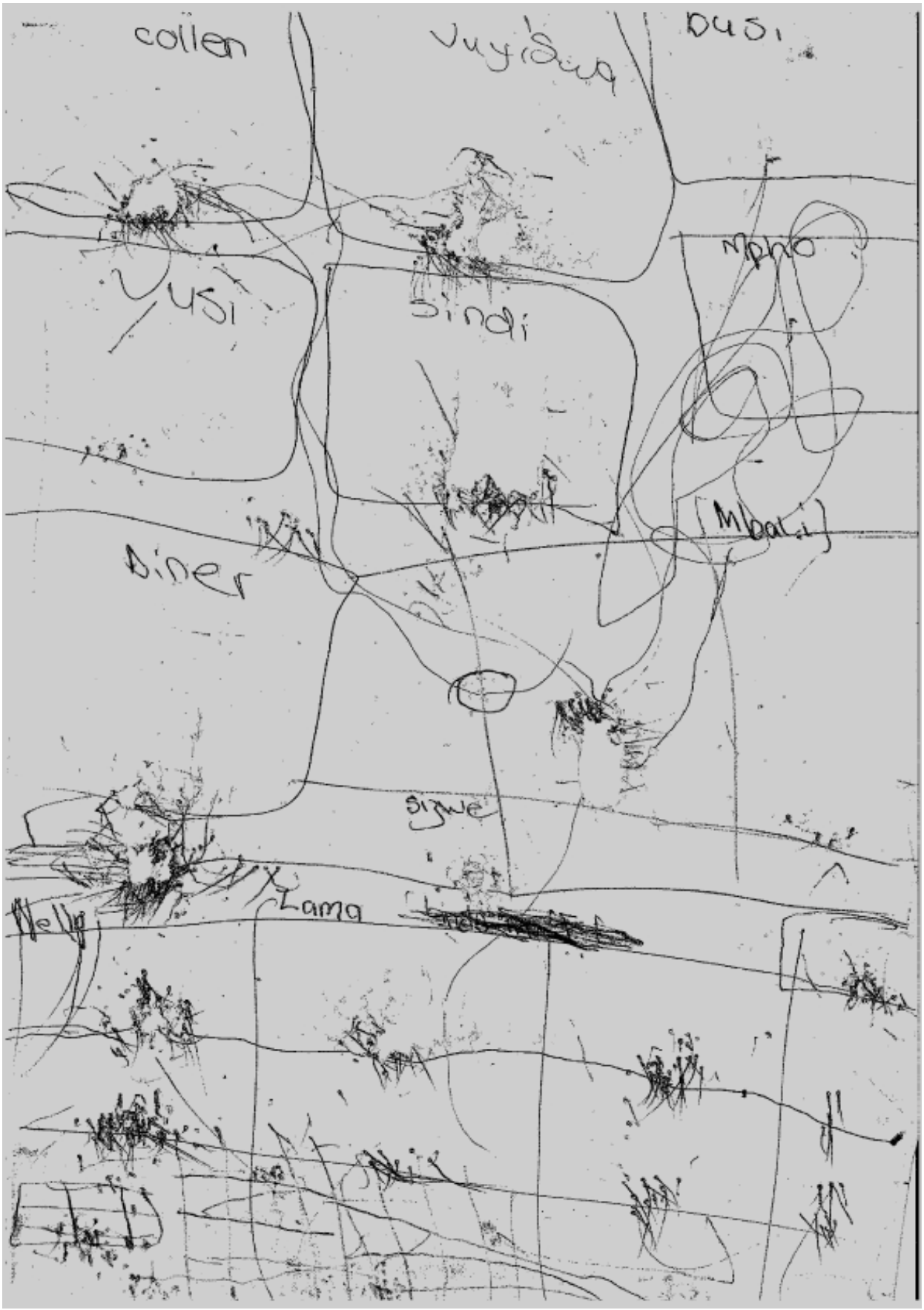
Appendix A: Learners' Xoxisa drawings




My name is ZOZO Mandla sithole.
My name is Mpho Kuku Magelu zo
My name is Tebogo
My name is Caroline
Myname is Nelly
Thebo
Ishepe
Thando
Thando
Klubsa
Opupa


Vusi
Sindi
Mpho
Mbali
Siywe
Lama

Appendix B: Materials used by teachers in the research phase of Situated Practice

Developmental Music Module for Arts and Culture education.

Teacher training materials.

Research phase: analysing learners' songs, dances and games

Choose two games that you think are musically interesting, and which most of your learners know. Describe them, drawing out specific musical and cultural features, using the following criteria. Follow the same process for game 1 and game 2.

1. General features

a. Genre

What kind of game, song or dance is it?

- Clapping game: pairs or pairs in a line formation; circle clapping game; role-play clapping game
- Circle chant , with dance moments
- Name game with rhythms
- 'Statue' game
- An elimination games (circle clapping)
- A dance (original or not)
- A marble or spinning top games (boys, not necessarily musical)

b. Musical rules

What are the rules or conventions of the games? How is it played? What makes the games successful, or not?

c. Movement and formation:

What kind of movements or dance formations do they use? (Circles, lines, facing pairs, individual use of space) What dance styles do you think they draw from?

d. Managing interaction and relationships:

Who plays the game (boys, girls, or a mixture)? How many children usually play it? Do they take turns or all do the same thing at the same time? Is there a leader? Do they watch and listen to each other to see what to do next, or is it entirely a group performance?

e. Describe the game in terms of **tempo** (fast, slow, in between, changing)

f. Structure

Does the game follow a particular structure (beginning, middle and end)? Any of the following: call and response; verse and repeated chorus; long, free narrative improvisation; repeated chant; use of pause and silence

g. Form: Change, repetition and sameness

Is the game always played in the same way or not? Does it always sound the same? Is it repeated exactly or do learners make changes? Is there an element of surprise in the game? Do learners improvise music and movement 'on the spot'?

3. Musical/movement skills, knowledge and attitudes

Look and listen to each game you have chosen and decide whether demonstrate any of the following skills or knowledge:

Musical and cultural knowledges

As far as you can ascertain, does the game draw on a particular musical style, or a mixture of styles, and what are they?

Is it a 'traditional' or urban, contemporary style? Is it specific to Soweto?
Do children mix styles?

Are the games/songs/dances passed down in schools as part of children's own culture?

Are learners manipulating different kinds of music and movement for their own expressive purposes?

Musical skills

Indicate whether the games require any of the following skills:

- Listening: what kind of listening? Are they listening to each other? What are they listening to? Do they respond to each other in terms of what they hear? Is the game based on listening to each other?
- Improvisation
- Accompanying
- Musical leadership (conducting/leading the game
- Matching movement and sound in terms of their *qualities*
- Ability to use different musical elements: dynamics, tempo, rhythm, melody
- Singing ability: is it in tune or 'shouty'? Why do you think this is? Is there more than one melody sung at the same time? Do they sing or vocalise individually or as a group?
- Ability to participate in call and response forms
- Taking turns and following the game's rules
- Keeping a beat and creating a rhythm at the same time
- Doing more than one rhythmic pattern simultaneously (e.g. feet and hands; vocalising and body movement)
- Dance ability: how do they use their bodies? What do they demonstrate with their movement and dance (levels, direction, movement quality, using different body parts, physical interaction with others, imitation other dances)
- Role-play: are they pretending to be someone else, or being themselves?
- Narrative ability – the ability to tell stories and incorporate sound elements

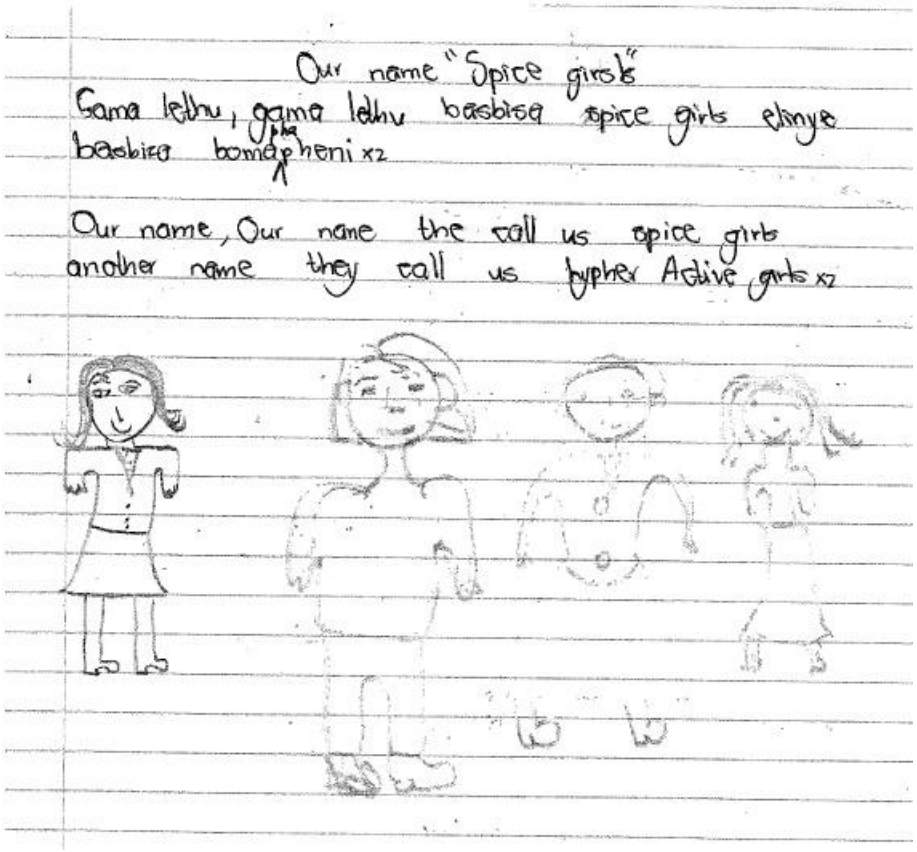
4. What values or attitudes do these games demonstrate?

Relate this to what the curriculum envisages: competencies like co-operation; teamwork; respect for each other; tolerating difference; respect for other cultures; sensitivity to others; empathy and compassion; showing an understanding of equality; demonstrating personal responsibility.

Identify what kinds of values and attitudes you think need to be developed in your learners. What do they need to learn how to do, or be?

Appendix C

1. Transformation of "Gama L'am" by the 'Spice Girls' group, School A.



2. Poems used by Teacher A during Overt Instruction

Teacher A's poem: "Vuka we Afrika"

Vuka we! Vuka we!
Uma ngicabane ngawe Afrika,
Ngizwa kucunuka umcabango,
Kuqhaqhaze! Uqhoqhoqho,
Kuqubuka iqunga

Wake up, wake up!

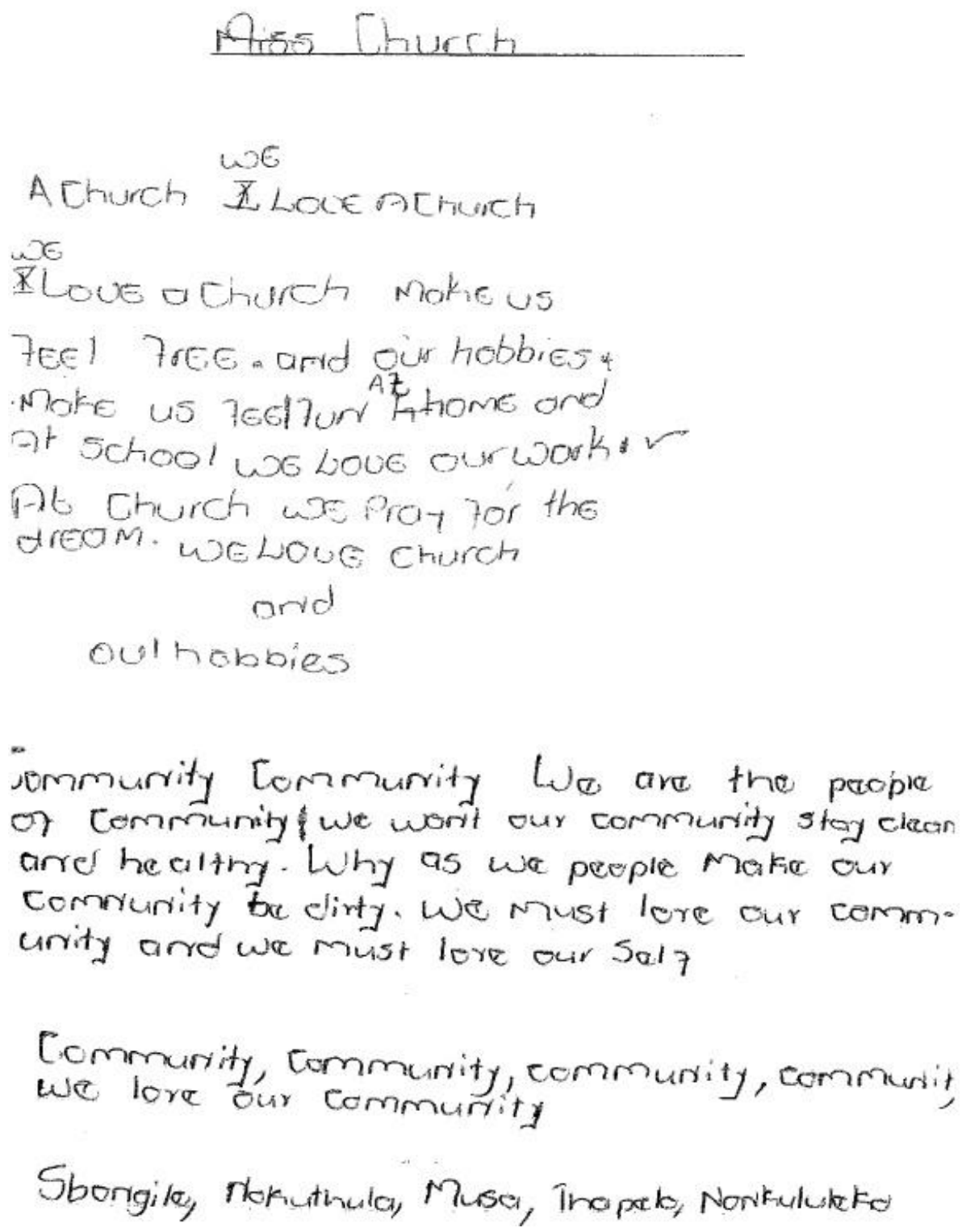
When I think of you Africa

A thought is aroused

"What's wrong with people?" by Wally Serote

I saw a man
Come, walk, limp,
Fall like a branch being sawn
His eyes flickered like flame
Blown by wild wind
People stood to look
I was amongst them

3. Initial group poems created by School B learners



Miss Church

A Church We Love a Church

We
Love a Church Make us
Feel Free and our hobbies
Make us Feel fun At Home and
at School We Love our work
At Church We Pray for the
dream. We Love Church
and
our hobbies

Community Community We are the people
of Community we want our community stay clean
and healthy. Why as we people Make our
Community be dirty. We must love our comm-
unity and we must love our Self

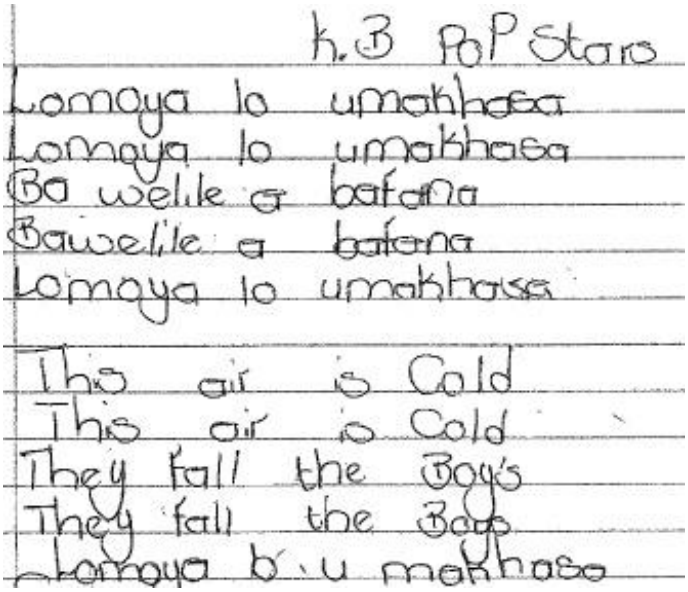
Community, Community, community, Communit
We love our Community

Sbongile, Nokuthula, Musa, Thapelo, Nontululeko

Appendix D: learners' new group musical designs

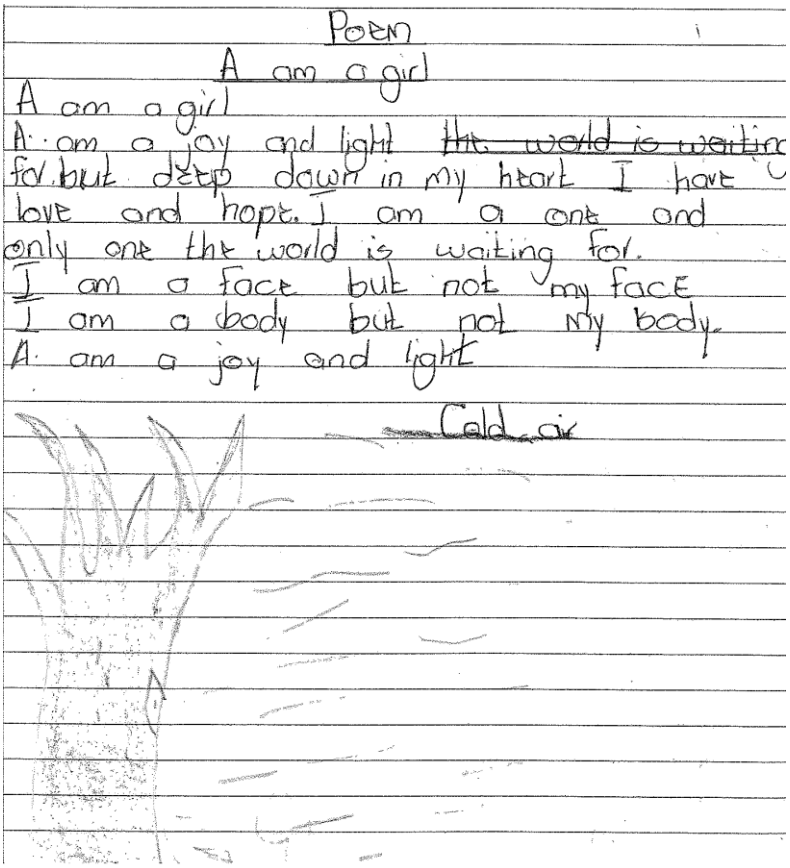
1. School A learners' group poems

a. KB Pop Stars group; "*L'umoya lo amakasa*" and "I am a girl"



K.B Pop Stars
Lomoya lo umakhaba
Lomoya lo umakhaba
Ba welile a bafana
Bawelile a bafana
Lomoya lo umakhaba

This air is Cold
This air is Cold
They fall the Boy's
They fall the Boys
Lomoya b.u makhaba



Poem
I am a girl
I am a girl
I am a joy and light ~~the world is waiting~~ for but deep down in my heart I have love and hope. I am a one and only one the world is waiting for.
I am a face but not my face
I am a body but not my body.
I am a joy and light

Cold air

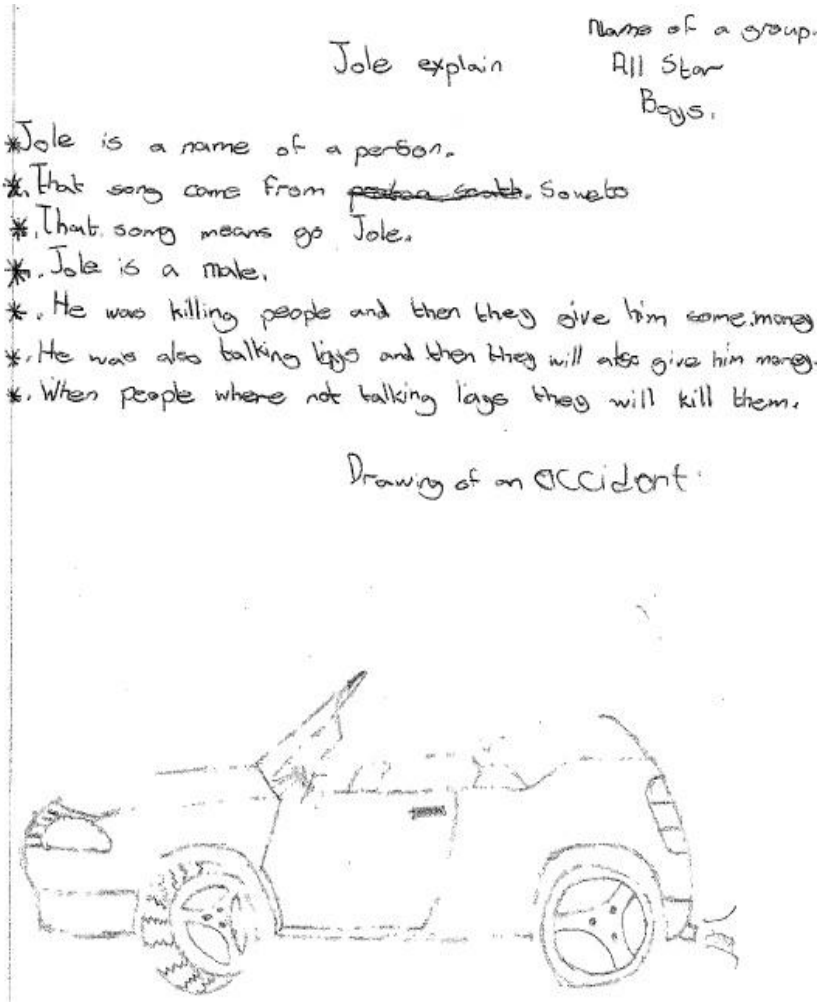
b. Tsotsi group

Tsotsi tsotsi
Ruling the world
Tsotsi tsotsi
Ruling the world
Tsotsi tsotsi G.A.B. ruling the world, ruling the world
Tsotsi tsotsi G.A.B. ruling the world, ruling the world
Tsotsi tsotsi has won oscar award
Tsotsi tsotsi has won oscar award
Tsotsi is exciting

c. The All Star Boys Group: Accident poem:

One day I was walking in the street. I saw a person driving a car, he was drunk and got an accident. He had a pain and his eyes were full of tears, and his head had a pain.

Jole song (Learners' explanation and drawing enclosed)
Jole hamba jole
Jole bab hamba jole
Wibuza harebuwan?
ite baresupa ka di thunya habuwa maka baretshepisa chelete



d. White Stars Group: "orphan's poem"

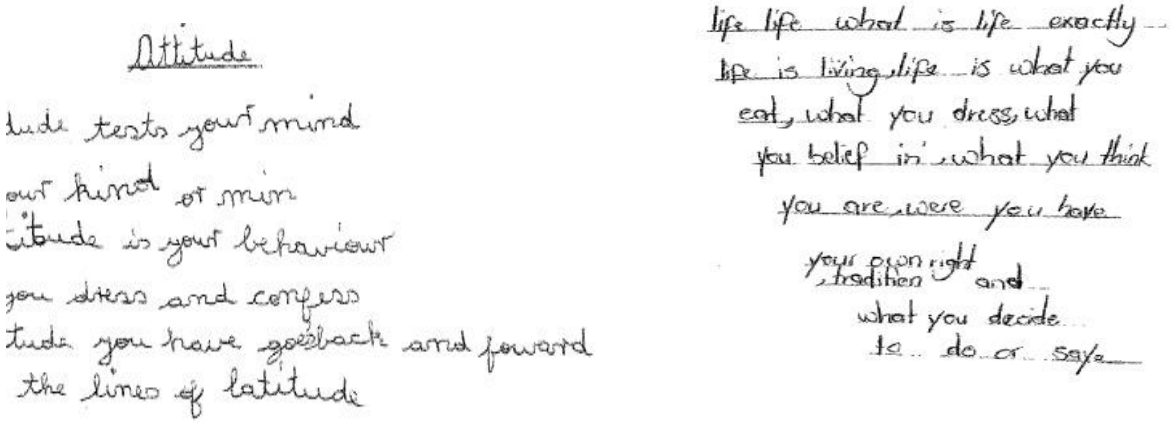
Where is my mother? Where is my father?
I come from side to side looking for something to eat
I come from dustbin to dustbin
Why, only God knows.
One day I will know my mother and my father.

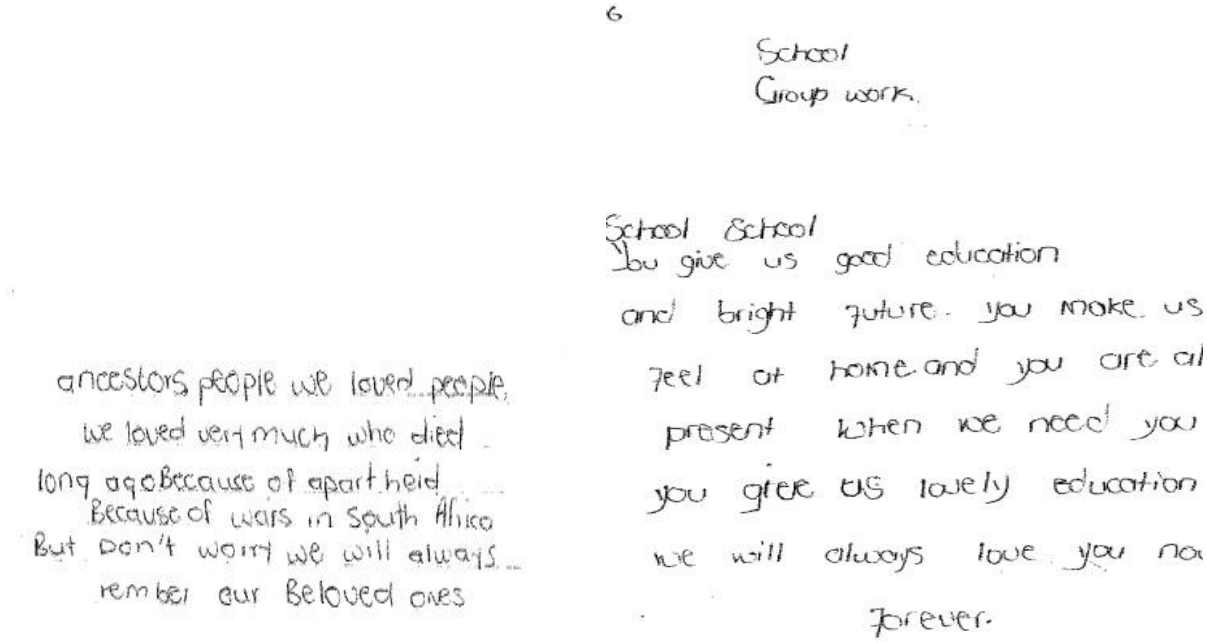
e. Attitude poem

f. Ancestors poem

g. Life poem

h. School poem





Appendix E: teachers' questionnaires and journal

1. Teacher A questionnaire

Teacher training programme: incorporating learners' cultural practices in arts and culture teaching. 26 June 2006

Evaluation and feedback

Explain in what way you have incorporated your learners' "situated practice" in the series of lessons over the last two months.
Be specific about what exactly you included and why.
Explain to what extent you think it worked or didn't worked.

Part of what they already knew like Name games, body percussions, body movements and some instrumental playing like Drums, scrapers, etc were utilised in the songs, poems, chants, etc which they created.

I also had to remind them of the importance of having leaders in their groups in order to facilitate the process of ensuring tolerance amongst group members. In fact, it worked very well as every group had its own exclusive theme or subject matter in their new songs, poems or chants.

According to what you have noticed, what effect do you think it has on the learners, to have their own songs/games/dances recognised as "curriculum knowledge", i.e. validated as part of arts and culture lessons? Any comments or moments you've observed?

It is much more meaningful and makes them creators of developers of Arts & Culture learning area. They are free, exploring, incorporative, creative and subconsciously reach higher levels of experience as opposed to stiff conceptualisation.

Describe some of the instances of "overt instruction" (teaching new musical knowledge' your input as a teacher) in the series of lessons.

Implementing concepts such as: Dynamics, improvisation, Beat, Rhythm, ostinato, body movements, singing a round etc I did not bring them as raw as are mentioned above but I would make learners, in their own composition, think about structure and form, filling in gaps and keeping of steady beat as important roles that each group member had to choose to play. 1

What evidence was there of "reflective practice" – learners standing back and critically appraising what they or others have been doing? Was it difficult to do this? If so, what do you think are the skills and abilities that need developing in your learners?

Learners, at first, found it difficult to listen to each other to some groups but later all the groups were able to create own compositions, make body movements, play body percussions, sing and play instruments.

My learners need more of listening skills as they always go for loud stuff and find it difficult to ever go softly.

MOST IMPORTANTLY

Where and when were there moments or performances that you thought demonstrated evidence of a "transformed practice"? When learners demonstrate that they are doing something NEW and applying some of the musical skills and knowledge they have learnt from you? Please describe some of these, remembering to focus on MUSIC

A) During lessons 7th and 8th, all the groups would have a player (an instrumental player) who would keep up a steady beat of which was exciting to see.

B) Some evidence of softness in the group that created and performed a poem about "Street Kid" really created a sad mood and rightfully so linked quite well with the meaning of the poem

1. What has changed, in terms of your thinking about what arts and culture teaching means, since we first started working together?

A) More an experience of using what the learners already know.

B) Awareness of controlling my class musically, that is, instead of always telling to keep mum but I can sing to them, play them my guitar, Dance to them, clap rhythms, play them a tape. I'm more successful in this regard.

2. Since the introduction of the multiliteracies approach, how has your conception of arts and culture KNOWLEDGE (WHAT we teach) changed? Think about what COUNTS as arts and culture knowledge and what doesn't, according to the RNCS and now, what you have learnt.

(A) The interconnectedness of Movement, listening, observation, singing, visual literacy such as sculpting or drawing or painting can be utilized as accumulated experience that clarify concepts

B) Learner-centredness approach as a concept has been further clarified as incorporation of what learners already know rather than grouping them and forging social relation

3. How did the training that introduced the four phases of the multiliteracies approach, or my input as a teacher trainer, affect the WAY you teach? In other words HOW, not what you teach?

(i) The "situated practice" has reminded me to be a researcher who is quite observant and use learners knowledge for formal discourse.

(ii) The "overt instruction" has also reminded me to patiently scaffold learners to more formal discourse in order not to simply take what they already know and repeat it as it is. This stage will assist them to move to new levels of knowledge, skills and values – which I can call experiential learning.

4. **In what way has the training and my input benefited your teaching?**

A) I'm a researcher now, able to use and recognise learners "situated practice."

B) The use of space like school playgrounds sends sense of freedom for an active formal lesson.

5. **What do you think you will CARRY ON doing, in your lessons, from what has been new in the past 6 weeks?**

A) Use of playgrounds for some critical lessons.

B) Use of Multimodal approach to use experience before concept.

C) Situated practice can never be ignored, again but to always have careful discourse. "overt instruction" for formal

6. **What are the challenges in implementing this new approach?**

A) Learners might look down on important formal concepts and concentrate on what they are used to.

B) Our scholars always want a "quick fix" kind of a solution to their learning as their games are always played.

C) The process of building on experiences before concepts demands careful planning and enough knowledge from an educator.

7. **What have you found the most difficult in teaching these lessons?**

A) Patience of awaiting learners to grasp the concepts and practise them correctly is truly demanding.

8. **What teaching skills and knowledge would YOU as a teacher like to develop? What do you need more of? Has the process helped you to recognise your own strengths, and what are they?**

A) LEARNER-CENTREDNESS IS REALLY GETTING FULL-STRENGTH NOW, WITH the notes (ACE Arts and Culture NOTES) I ALREADY HAVE, I'M ONLY SUPPOSED TO REFER AND PRACTICE MEANINGFUL "SITUATED PRACTICE".

9. **Do you think this new approach (the four stages of the Multiliteracies pedagogy) is appropriate for your teaching situations? Give reasons for your answer. What works and what doesn't?**

A) OF COURSE IT IS APPROPRIATE AND RELEVANT TO GIVE OUR LEARNERS NEW LEARNING EXPERIENCES FROM WHAT THEY WOULD TAKE AS UNCHALLENGEABLE CULTURE.

10. **What aspects (they may be small parts/changes) can you practically carry on doing; what parts of the training are really workable given the nature of your school and learners?**

NONE TO WORRY ABOUT AS SMALL, INFACT I'M ABLE ALREADY TO JUXTAPOSE THE MULTILITERACIES AND NOT TO TAKE THEM AS STIFF ENTITIES THAT HAPPEN FAR SEPERATELY - SO I'll BE AT LIBERTY TO USE NOTES AND EXPERIENCES gained to enhance my teaching experience.

11. **Please give any further comments and feel free to be honest about this whole process.**

A) TO BE ABLE TO SUCCEED IN IMPLEMENTING MULTILITERACIES, THE TEACHER MUST HAVE UNDERGONE SOME TRAINING. S/HE MUST BE RESOURCEFUL OR KNOWIEDGEABLE IN ORDER TO SKILFULLY SCAFFOLD LEARNERS FOR AN INFORMATIVE FORMAL LEARNING EXPERIENCE.

B) FOR "OVERT INSTRUCTION", AS MUCH AS THE TEACHER HAS KNOWLEDGE BUT THE ISSUE IS HOW TO SHARE THAT KNOWLEDGE WITH THE LEARNERS, DEDUCING FROM WHAT THEY BROUGHT WITH THEM IN THE CLASSROOM. THIS IS THE MOST CRUCIAL CHALLENGE THAT REQUIRES CAREFUL PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION WHICH LEAVES INDUSTROUS EDUCATORS TREMBLING WITH EXHAUSTION BUT PRIDING THEMSELVES OF QUALITY RESULTS OF THEIR TEACHING. THERE'S LITTLE ROOM FOR LAZYBONES TO MAKE SUCCESS OF THEIR TEACHING IN THIS REGARD.

2. Teacher B questionnaire

Teacher training programme: incorporating learners' cultural practices in arts and culture teaching. 26 June 2006

Evaluation and feedback

Explain in what way you have incorporated your learners' "situated practice" in the series of lessons over the last two months.
Be specific about what exactly you included and why.
Explain to what extent you think it worked or didn't worked.

I started using their knowledge as the basis of my teaching i.e. I used their games as a method or a starting point because I realised that they have rich knowledge in terms of musical stuff but they are not aware of it. They do it unconciously and this worked positively for me because they were forced to think deeply about their games and sounds they made.

According to what you have noticed, what effect do you think it has on the learners, to have their own songs/games/dances recognised as "curriculum knowledge", i.e. validated as part of arts and culture lessons? Any comments or moments you've observed?

Initially it was not easy to notice anything, to them they were just playing and having fun, but later they began to realise that they are learning from each other's games, songs and dances. They realised that Art and Culture is not just about drawing and it does not end at School, also that the games are also part of their culture

Describe some of the instances of "overt instruction" (teaching new musical knowledge' your input as a teacher) in the series of lessons.

I think that is where I struggled most, At first I felt like I was not doing enough, I was frustrated because learners were not doing what I expected/wanted them to do i.e. my outcomes were not achieved. I think it is the part where I as a teacher prepare my lesson thoroughly, know where I want to take my learners, give encouragement and support all the time, but later I began to relax because my learners ~~the~~were getting used to this approach they started coming up with amazing stuff and using the basic elements in music eg loud and soft, fast and slow also creating structure without me telling them that this is how a structure is created.

What evidence was there of "reflective practice" – learners standing back and critically appraising what they or others have been doing? Was it difficult to do this? If so, what do you think are the skills and abilities that need developing in your learners?

Initially Reflecting was difficult ie reflecting on the other group's performance or their own performance which made me realise the importance of repetition i.e not jumping from one game or song to another but take time and develop one game, also the importance of listening. What made reflecting even more difficult was the lack of conceptual knowledge in music or sounds. I had to work with them as a group again and again before they could create their own performances. But later towards or during 5th and 6th lesson. They were able to reflect in their performances e.g when doing picture sounds they showed what kind of sounds are expected or common in church school etc

MOST IMPORTANTLY

Where and when were there moments or performances that you thought demonstrated evidence of a "transformed practice"? When learners demonstrate that they are doing something NEW and applying some of the musical skills and knowledge they have learnt from you? Please describe some of these, remembering to focus on MUSIC

I think there were instances where evidence of "transformed practice was displayed. One group played the whole poem with instruments only using different sounds and filling the gaps. Others were able to create an ostinato in their poems and games. Though it was a bit difficult for them to use instruments together in their games but there was evident improvement. I remember one group used their pencil game to keep the beat and rythm on their poem on "Ancestors" without anyone telling the to do that It was very interesting to see, or watch that

1. What has changed, in terms of your thinking about what arts and culture teaching means, since we first started working together?

A lot has changed. i.e Art and Culture IS not just a learning area at school only but its all around me. Music is not just singing d r m f s l t d but is very wide and includes a lot of other things. I also realised that Art can be approached different way other than relying on your textbook an its not as hard as I thought.

2. Since the introduction of the multiliteracies approach, how has your conception of arts and culture KNOWLEDGE (WHAT we teach) changed? Think about what COUNTS as arts and culture knowledge and what doesn't, according to the RNCS and now, what you have learnt.

I think it has in a sense that I realise that knowledge in A+Culture is not just taught but experienced too. It is not just about the ead product but the emphasis on on the process that the learnes go through towards the product. Art and Culture knowledge can be drawn from different sources eg: environment, experiences, exposure etc.

3. How did the training that introduced the four phases of the multiliteracies approach, or my input as a teacher trainer, affect the WAY you teach? In other words HOW, not what you teach?

It affected My teaching in a positive way and made me understand what is "learner centredness" actually mean i.e. learner centedness is no group work or research, but also Working from learners knowledge while giving support so that they are able to apply what they have learned. I also ealise that I can draw out a lot from learners themselves. I now know the importance of 'direct instruction" in leading learners towards achieving their out comes. I don't always tell them anymore t to do or how, but give guidance and support where needed en pull back and let them work on their own. I'm also trying to use this approach in the other learning areas that I teach at school.

4. **In what way has the training and my input benefited your teaching?**

- It has increased confidance in my learners and myself.
- Positively improved my teaching Methods or techniques
- Assisted me in reducing disciplinery problems in my class eg learners don't bunk classes)

5. **What do you think you will CARRY ON doing, in your lessons, from what has been new in the past 6 weeks?**

- Using their knowledge as a starting point
- Scaffolding them through "Over instruction"
- Allow them (learners) to reflect on their work
- Incoporate their games in my teaching

6. **What are the challenges in implementing this new approach?**

- The main challenge is working (or implementing this new approach) against time and many deadlines at school
- Lack of resources and support from Seniors'
-

7. **What have you found the most difficult in teaching these lessons?**

I struggled in scaffolding learners (over instruction) i.e asking the relevent questions towards achieving the outcome of the lesson, but later got the hang of it.

- Periods were too short and the break in between the periods made it difficult to link. e.g. one period on Monday the other on Friday
- Lack of resources like Recorder etc...

8. **What teaching skills and knowledge would YOU as a teacher like to develop? What do you need more of? Has the process helped you to recognise your own strengths, and what are they?**

- I would to develop the listening and observation
- I realised that I' good in giving support, being patience and also creative

9. **Do you think this new approach (the four stages of the Multiliteracies pedagogy) is appropriate for your teaching situations? Give reasons for your answer. What works and what doesn't?**

- I think it is appropriate in a sense that it give learners a chance to what they know to learn more
- allows me as a teacher to use learners knowledge as a resource and teaching aid
- help learners to link School knowledge with their knowledge and experience i.e I bridges the gap in knowledge.

10. **What aspects (they may be small parts/changes) can you practically carry on doing; what parts of the training are really workable given the nature of your school and learners?**

- I'll carry on bringing the playground into the classroom i.e. make learner aware that learning takes place every whare.
- Incoporate their knowledge in my teaching as a whole
- Give learners a platform to express their feelings, knowledge, ideas . ie. make them participate positively and freelly in their learning allow them to create their own learning Material through games, Songs etc.

2. Extract from Teacher A's journal

FIRST LESSON OBSERVATION (15 MAY 2006)

USING THE SITUATED PRACTICE AND ADAPTING NEW FORMAL CHANGES (PERSONAL MOVEMENTS, TEMPO, DYNAMICS)

CHILDREN IN THEIR DIFFERENT GROUPS OF BETWEEN 4 and 6 WERE FIRSTLY STIMULATED TO USE THEIR NAME GAME GAMA LAM' GAMA LAM', SOME WERE ALSO ASKED TO COME FORWARD TO SHARE THEIR KNOWLEDGE WITH ME OR SIMPLY TO TEACH ME (THEIR EDUCATOR). THIS NAME GAME. MY FIRST TAKE WAS FAULTY AND IT CAUSED LOUD LAUGHTERS THAT BROKE OUT FROM ALL LEARNERS AS THEY COULD NOT EXPECT AN EDUCATOR TO MAKE MISTAKES.

Subsequent to using this game that all learners knew, I had already prepared instructions (formal discourse) for them to follow while doing this name game. They went outside the classroom (specifically - the school playground) to adapt three important changes in the game, viz; (i) Tempo, Dynamic and (ii) own dance units of action. All groups did well in dance but all again could not attempt adapting to slow or fast Tempo, and or Dynamics (simply soft and loud). This became a cause for concern to me.

2nd Lesson observation (19th of MAY 2006)

GROUPS CREATED (CHANTS / POEMS / SONGS) ABOUT THEMSELVES

EACH GROUP WAS ASKED TO NAME ITSELF AND TO WRITE A CHANT, POEM OR SONG THAT PRAISES THEMSELVES. THEY WERE GIVEN LEAFLETS (A4 PAPERS) TO RECORD THEIR NAME AND COMPOSITION. GOOD STUFF CAME OUT OF THESE YOUNG MINDS EXCITING NAMES AND COMPOSITIONS, SOME NAMES SUCH AS TSOTSI TWINKLE STARS, LITTLE ANGELS, C.A.T., etc.

3rd LESSON OBSERVATION (22 MAY 2006)

LISTENING EXERCISE TO RECORDED WORKS SUCH AS STORIES WITH SOUND PICTURES AND MUSIC, POEMS AND A SONG WITH DIFFERENT TEMPOS ABOUT NAMES OF CITIES IN RSA.

Using another form of Media to teach these children excites them and makes them pay more attention. This improved their understanding and listening with stillness and interest. I did not struggle to control the class this day and some usually shy quiet learners were very actively interacting with the tape – smiling, laughing, imitating, raising hands quicker to respond to my questions or predictions.

4th Lesson observation (26 MAY 2006)

The Magic of open playgrounds and Restrictions of a Classroom

It is amazing to discover that the restrictions or limiting experience by the 4-walled classroom to children's creative experience to artistic lessons have a huge impact. Formal, the classroom is, seems to squeeze away the energy, freedom, informality that children would wish to express because of its culture that emanates each time teachers wish to maintain control of these learners as well as learning activities are also run daily.

The magic of open playgrounds allowed learners to find a suitable patch - away from others and including their teacher, for them to express their creative spirits. They are able to shout, think aloud, some to lead and others to consolidate, not to fear quick judgements by other hostile classmates and teachers. More groups became more creative with their instruments (self-made or some are environmentally found or picked as makeshift instruments). One group though has always been ahead of times - that is "Tsotsi". They could incorporate body percussions, improvised in their instrument playing, other games movements of which I still wanted to give formal instructions on.

5th Lesson (29 May 2006)

The main focus of this lesson was on the meaning of some important words in a song which will inform the learners of importance of honouring dynamics such as soft & loud. My learners' culture reflects too much of Loudness as it is evident in the games they play, especially song games.

I used at least one song which they sing very often during prayer sessions that take place in the mornings before classes start — song "Morena utlwa dithapelo" — Meaning — "the Lord listens to prayers". Questions based on where to sing loudly or softly and why I were making the order of the day. It worked out well.

6th lesson (09 JUNE 2006)

This lesson achieved amazing results as I particularly aimed at developing musical skills such as Beat, Rhythm, improvisation or filling in gaps (Rhythmic Conversation). To my amazement when I played them a guitar — "Broom" a listening skill was an emergent feature which surpassed the ones mentioned above. Singing a round became much easier as the song "Meadowlands Sthadwa sami" There I saw a changed class with desirable listening skills which improved learning conditions.

7th & 8th lessons (12 JUNE 2006 & 19 JUNE 2006)

A reversal to created songs, chants, poems, body movements and instrumental playing was entered into. Learners had to be guided once more on PREPARING for an organised performance. Then on the 19th of JUNE, the groups had to display their

multimodal performances which they had been busy with for some weeks in their little corners of our school playgrounds.

(25/06/2006) FINAL REFLECTIONS ON THE WHOLE MUSIC DEVELOPMENT WITH SUE.

(A) Understanding of the word "Development"

Without a proper use of Dictionary-Meaning of the word "Development", I hope not to deviate from the framework within which this word is used. In short, I understand "Development" as referring to "change" or "growth." Now, the question I wish to pose is: HAVE I developed from the training and practical teaching of Music Development project as proposed by Susan Hallam-Allin in her thesis?

To answer the above question, I wish to provide the following list of gains I already pride myself about for having been part of this Music development project with Sue: (i) Some skills of research gained through means of observation, recording, interviewing, planning, experimentation & reflecting

(ii) Teaching method which recognises and uses part of what learners know, but with careful consideration of concepts to be clarified and moving to higher levels of formal discourse.

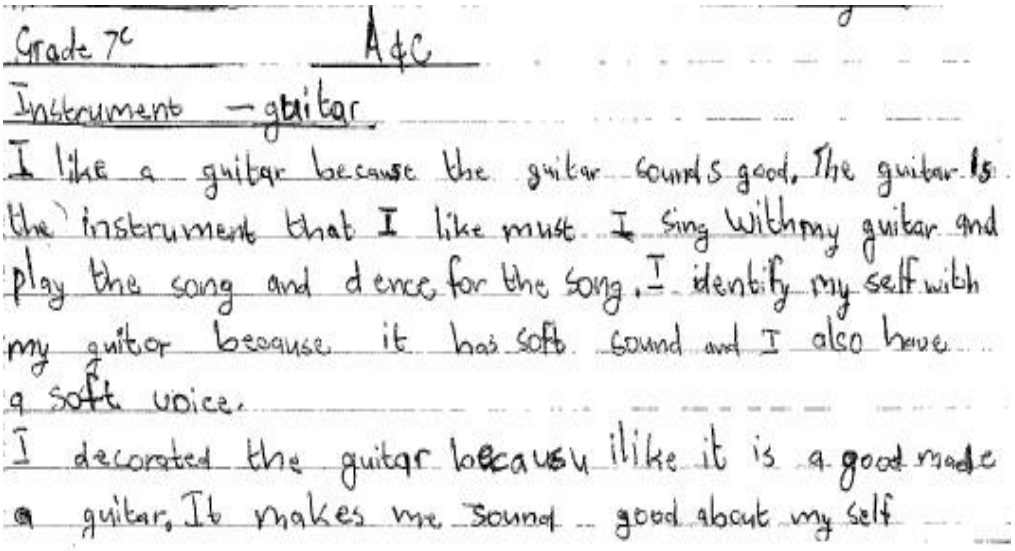
(iii) Arts and Culture as my focus learning area,

its boundaries have been extended - as my teaching experience has been stretched much further to realise the importance of playgrounds as informal places where freer, more expressive learning experiences can be exercised. This is where I have seen some shy and less achieving learners actively participative, and I was proud to have created a conducive environment for them to have experiental learning with fortified hope for a place in Society as future Musicians, dramatists, singers, etc.

The other point which I wish to reveal is that My learners have also shown signs of development in terms of listening skills and working well as groups of both boys and girls - ever creative Music and no more chaotic Jam no more fighting, which was not the case early this year - Meaning from January to April 2006. I'm seeing a freer but compliant group of learners rather than a shy and chaotic group of learners, they are now more creative and aware of what roles each individual need to play in the success of a group during learning experience. As this took several weeks to shape up these learners and their educator, this proves to be a process that needs patience especially from the educator.

Appendix F: Learners' written and visual responses

1. School B learners' written reflections about the instruments they made

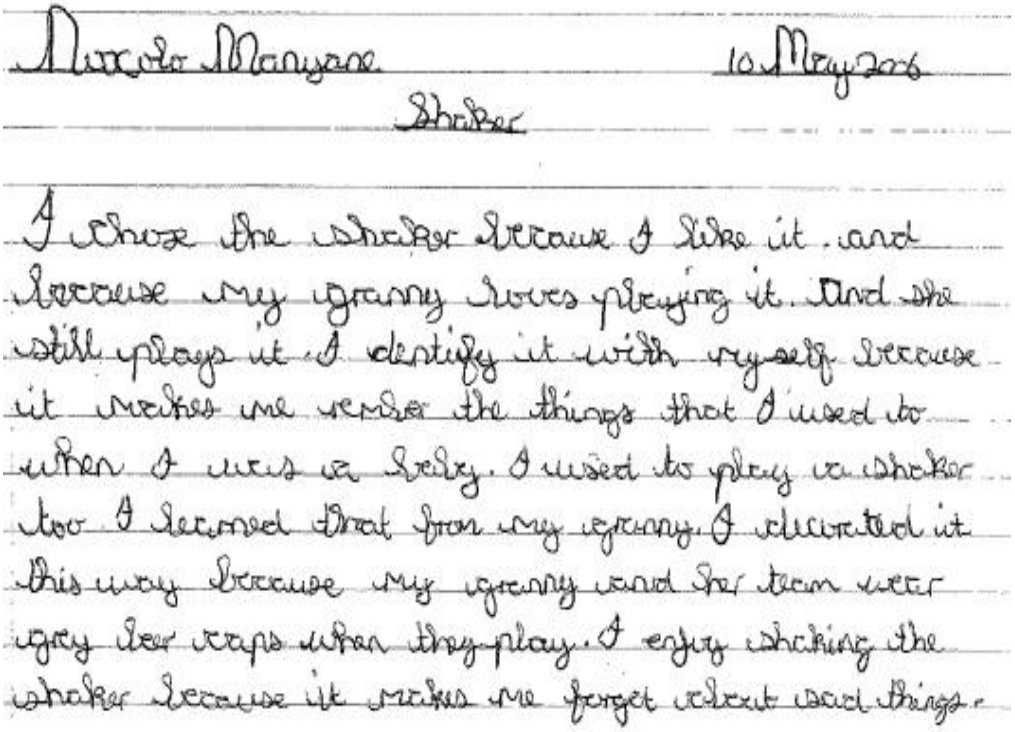


Grade 7C A&C

Instrument – guitar

I like a guitar because the guitar sounds good. The guitar is the instrument that I like must I Sing Withmy guitar and play the song and dence for the song. I identify my self with my guitar because it has soft sound and I also have a soft voice.

I decorated the guitar because ilike it is a good made a guitar. It makes me sound good about my self



Nwabo Manyane 10 May 2016

Shaker

I chose the shaker because I like it and because my granny loves playing it. And she still plays it. I identify it with myself because it makes me remember the things that I used to when I was a baby. I used to play a shaker too I learned that from my granny. I decorated it this way because my granny and her team wear grey tear caps when they play. I enjoy shaking the shaker because it makes me forget about sad things.

7c

Gjuitar

I chose a giuitar because it has a soft and loud sound/giuitar and I also have a soft and a loud voice.
I have two sides kind mean (when I am angry) and it also has two sides (guitar) the soft guitar and the electric giuitar.
I am very full of imagination and artistic colours are my doings that's why I coloured the way I did. Mostly I enjoyge playing music, its my best hobie.

Veli Mahlaba

10 May 2025

The name of my instrument is

A flute.

I have choosen a flute as my instrument because my grand father was attending church in the church called de Shembe. When my grand-father had nothing to do, he makes lot of different kind of flute's. At night he would tell us lot of stories and play the flute for us to sleep. This kind of instrument I identify my self with it because it is shot like me, it makes a lot of noise and I make noise too

Reflection on music instrument Drum.

Grade 7 "seven"

I chose the drum because it makes a loud noise and I like to make loud noise too at school I identify my self with a drum it is short and I am so short too. I decorated it because I wanted it to look nice. ~~and when I play it, it makes me~~ if I am sad I used to play it, it make me feel very happy. but when the sangoma plays a drum it make me feel shock because the sangoma beat it hard.

Grade 7 6 to May 2006

I choosed this kind of instrument because It ~~was~~ makes a lot of noise and I have to much noise too and to me its not just an Instrument because when playing it I feel like is a mixture a music or a song and when the paniks are going around They are like ~~dancing~~ dancing and I love dancing because Its my tobbie. I had decorated it they way I wanted because I did not have things to decorate it nicely.

My Instrument

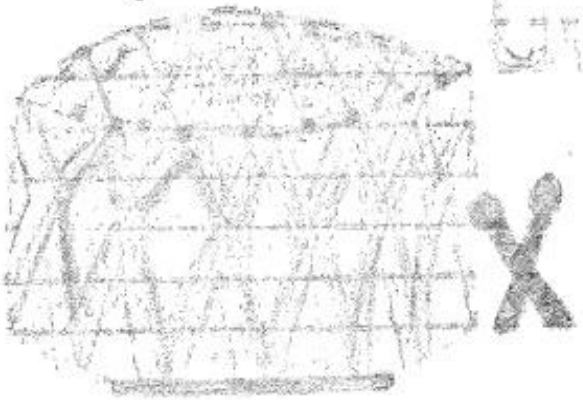
I choose this gitta because. I love music that come from gitta. a gitta is a thing wich makes me feel happy. It makes me remember my grandfather because when I go to mpumalanga. He was playing it and now that is why. I make a gitta but now he died. I love a gitto because it makes noise when it sing and I like to make noise when I sing. It is imo-rtant to me. I make it tall because I am tall to. I make it slender be-cause I am slender.

I love a gitta because of the noice that I like ~~in~~ noice. That is why I make a gitta.

2. School A written and visual responses about their instruments and lessons

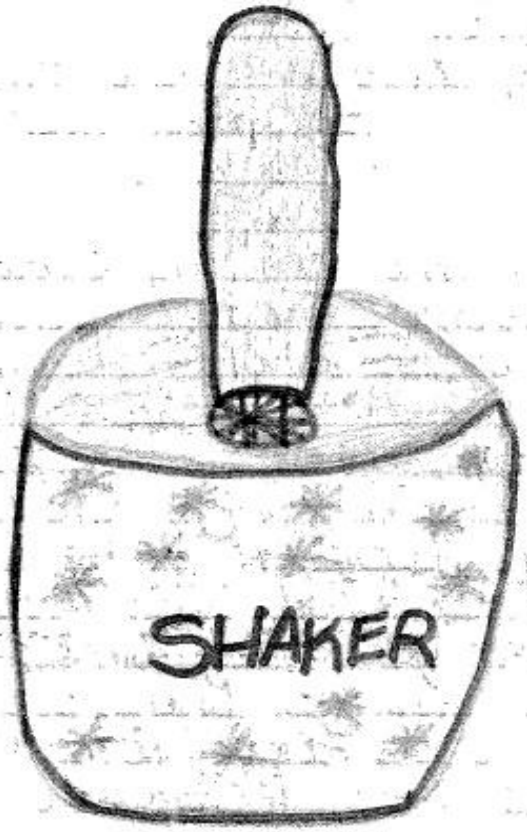
Groupname: Tsotsa SAB
Our poem and song

A) I learn that you cant make music without listing.
B. I liked playing music with my ~~fas~~ group.
C. Making music and dance on our own.
D) The thing that we did new was making instruments.
E) What we did that was new was playing our instrumants.
F) I also learned that if you make music you also have to fill up the gaps in music.
G) I liked susan teaching us everything that we didnot know.
H) In our group we made a drum.
I) I liked my drum it makes me happy.



J) my drum sounds like a person weering boots and steping in the ground many times.

my intrument was the shaker



my intrument sounds good it saands Louder soft.
I like my intrument because ti makes my heart feel happy and happiness.
my shaker sounds like a person pour sand in the tin.
~~I wish like you can take it.~~
I wish there my be a teacher like you making us to touch things

2 Group2name: Angel Stars

3 Our poem and song

4 I learn to how to make music with different instruments

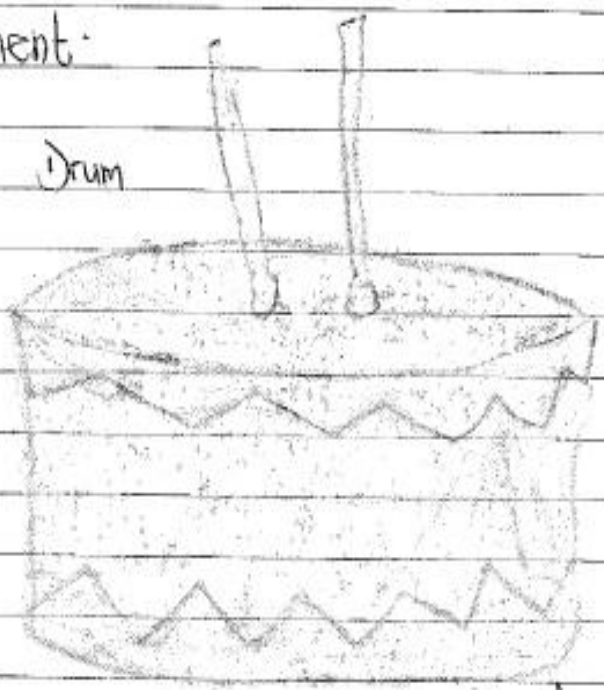
5 I liked playing games

6 My teacher is different when he change his face and he bits us

7 We did our own music with a different groups

8 My instrument:

1) Drum



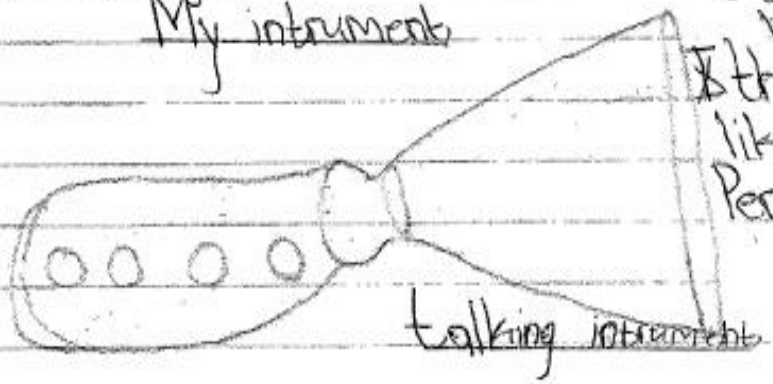
Sounds like a person steping louder

Name of groups: All star boys.
Our poem and song:

Jole hamba jole jole baba hamba jole wibuza
hare bawamnibe baresupa kia di tumya habuwa
maka bareteshepisa ti chelete.

I learn to produce things on my own.
I liked what i did like dacing, singing.
The new thing is last year on Art & Culture
we didnt go out side on Grades with anothe
teacher.
the sound of my intrument. i think is changing my voice

My intrument





NAME of Group: C.A.t.
Learning Area: Arts and culture for Susan
our Poem and Song

(1) I learn to that you connot make music ~~whi~~without intrumants

(2) I liked to make music.

(3) Learning outside made me feel free

(4) The ~~a~~ things that we did new was making Intrumants

(5) Drawing a Drum



(6) My Drum Sounds like a person banging (on the door)

Group six k.b pop stars
Our poem and song
Grade 6

Art and Culture for
Susan

*I learn to sing, and play ~~one~~ other games" we learn how to make music and how to do music instrument. We learn many things that I din't no, it was very exciting.
*. I liked when it come to music and dancing. At a first time when you come and say play your game in a class, I thought it was crazy but when come to music it was ~~wh~~ wow!!.
*We did many thing that are new that we dint no about them, that was making music intruments, music. ~~Wh~~we make our songs and poems we also learn how to make beat, rhythms.
*Me my self I think our teacher teach like you other things
*Things that our teacher did't teach us is to make music intrument he dint's teach us that. He teach us dances and music all that ~~stuff~~.

*It sound shakey and bit louder I really dont know how it sound. It sound like money when it in a container
*My sound is like ta, ta ____ ta ta and ~~w~~ I also read that we are musican
*I also read that in music the must be ~~place~~ space that is left on.
*We learn that there must be somewhere that is louder and somewhere it must be
*I learn to change music with my instrument and my self
*I feel very happy and enjoment. my oelf as Gugu.
*I wish I could see other children makeng their own song

Learning Area Art and Culture for Susan

Our poem and song

Our name in the Group Six is K-b pop Stars

I learn how to make music it was so exeeting

my teacher is different when he change his face and bits us.
(beats)

we did our own music with different group

The thing that I don't like is it when people don't listen to other.

I liked ~~making~~ poems that people did and ~~making~~ music

My Singher



It Sounds like a rani falling down in the Shacks