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September 1998
Being Musical:

Teachers, Music, and Identity in

Early Childhood Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Sally Bodkin

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Otago, Dunedin,
New Zealand

Date: April 5, 2004
Abstract

The early childhood centre is a meeting place of many different musical threads. Teachers bring with them their own conceptions of music and also have to contend with musical influences from both within and beyond the centre, for example, the children, parents, the community, the curriculum. All of this takes place within the overarching cultural influences that make up Aotearoa/New Zealand: issues of Pākehā identity, Māori identity, biculturalism, and multiculturalism. This study combines perspectives from education, ethnomusicology, and ethnography in its approach and examines the early childhood teacher's development as a teacher of music within this context. It applies Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems framework to show how early childhood teachers are influenced musically by participation in a series of settings. The format of this thesis follows the presentation style of research in the discipline of music, and more specifically ethnomusicology, in terms of presenting data and results.

Chapter 1 provides a background to the study and introduces the subject area. The second chapter focuses on the microsystem level of the teacher contributing to music in the early childhood centre. Chapter 3 examines the mesosystem connections between the centre itself, and other microsystems that the teacher participates in. The focus of Chapter 4 is the exosystem level, what is brought into the centre musically by others, such as pop songs from the children's homes. Chapter 5 looks at the macrosystem level of nation and culture, and how these influence the developing teacher musically. Finally, Chapter 6 draws together the different threads of the research and discusses the findings and outcomes of the study.

Research was carried out in twelve different early childhood centres throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand. Forty-five teachers from five kindergartens, three childcare centres, and four language groups (two kōhanga reo and two a’oga amata) were interviewed and observed. The centres represent the three largest providers of early childhood education in Aotearoa/New Zealand and three different cultures: Pākehā, Māori, and Samoan. Particular attention is paid to the influence of
cultural concepts of music and musicality: on the way that music occurs within the cultural context of the centre, and on the musical self-concepts that evolve.

The results of the study show that Pākehā early childhood teachers have a significantly lower level of musical confidence than their Māori and Samoan counterparts, and have identified certain inhibitors and stimulants that contribute to these outcomes. Inhibitors influence the teachers’ abilities to see themselves as musical, and consequently affect the amount and kinds of musical experiences that occur in the early childhood setting. This research deconstructs the concept of being musical, and provides a model for the formation of musical identity. The findings of the study suggest an approach to the musical professional development of early childhood teachers that focuses on two levels: the practical and the personal. It argues that the most significant factor for teachers is their musical identity: in order to contribute most effectively to music in the early childhood centre they need to be able to think of themselves as being musical.
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My warmest thanks to Helen Willberg, for her encouragement, as well as for helping to organize my fieldwork in Wellington. Thank you also to Chris Haig, a fellow post-graduate student in the Music Department, who kept in contact with me during my years in the Chathams and made me feel like I wasn’t totally isolated. Thank you to Dene Allen for his alphabetizing skills. I would like to thank my friend Nicola Swain-Campbell, who did this herself once and has been an excellent source of inspiration. I really appreciated our morning teas and lunches in the student union in the early days, as well as her advice by email in the later ones.
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Chapter 1: Introduction and Context

1.1 Aims and Objectives

This research examines the development of teachers' concepts of and attitudes towards music in the context of early childhood centres in Aotearoa/New Zealand. A particular focus is the development of teachers' ideas of musicality, and how these are related to cultural constructs of music. Cultural concepts of music combined with teachers' beliefs about musicality influence the development of the children's musical selves. Each has a musical identity that is influenced, as well as being influential, within early childhood contexts.

Musical identity, how people feel about music and see themselves in musical terms, is nurtured within many overlapping spheres. As an educator, the teacher often builds on ideas brought to the centre by the children themselves and others. The early childhood centre is a meeting place of many different possible musical influences: from the personal experiences of the teachers themselves, to the music of the mass media often brought to the centre by the children, to involvement of parents and other members of the community, through to political expectations. All of this takes place within the context of culture, where attitudes towards music and musicality are conveyed through cultural beliefs and values.

The early childhood centres that were involved in this study come from three different cultures: Pākehā, Samoan, and Māori. The kindergartens and childcare centres are examples of Pākehā early childhood education, while the a’oga amata is a Samoan form and kōhanga reo is from Māori culture. One of the objectives of this research is to show how in Aotearoa/New Zealand there is a difference between the way musicality is conceptualized in these cultural contexts. This affects teachers' approach to music on a personal level and the way that music occurs in the daily routines within centres. The concept of music being approached differently in these cultural contexts is one that permeates this study at virtually every level.
In early childhood education in Aotearoa/New Zealand music, like all areas of the curriculum, is not typically an area taught by teachers who are specialists. Rather, every teacher in every early childhood centre is expected to contribute to musical experiences within that context. Teachers bring with them their own attitudes towards music, influenced by their musical experiences. Many enjoy contributing to music; others find it an obstacle to be overcome. Some individuals see themselves as ‘musical’ while others see themselves as ‘nonmusical’. These identities are created by musical experiences during childhood and are carried into adult life. An objective of this research is to explore the consequences that labeling of individuals as ‘musical’ or ‘nonmusical’ can have on a teacher’s ability to contribute effectively to a music programme within the learning context.

Teachers’ professional experiences influence their development as teachers of music. However, training experiences might not always be positive ones, and ongoing professional support in the form of music courses might not reach the teachers who most need it. Teachers are not influenced as much by their professional musical experiences, as might be assumed. This research will also reveal that training experiences reinforce cultural musical ideals and values.

The early childhood centre is a musical meeting place of influences from parents and the community. Parents can be involved in music within the centre, and there might be musical links with the community that the centre is situated in. A further aim is to show the musical influences from parents and community within the centre, and how this affects the development of teachers’ concepts within that context.

Children bring music into the centre, usually in the form of pop songs or music from films or television. Teachers must decide whether to incorporate this music into the programme at the centre or not, and how the music is to be used. One of the greatest influences on children’s musical identity is music from the mass media. The presence of this music in the early childhood centre is a cause of contention amongst many early childhood educators. Another objective of this study is to explore the role of popular music in early childhood education. Should pop songs, often
accompanied by explicit music videos, be banned from early childhood centres? Or should they be viewed as the children making their own musical choices?

Finally, the national and cultural context of Aotearoa/New Zealand itself affects the music that occurs within early childhood centres. *Te Whāriki*, the early childhood curriculum, mentions the use of music in its strands. The issue of biculturalism is one that influences early childhood education most markedly at a musical level. The final aim of this study is to examine the overarching influences of Aotearoa/New Zealand on the musical activities within early childhood centres. Teachers are influenced by political objectives, not just musical ones, when contributing to music in early childhood education.

This research suggests a new approach to early childhood music teaching. It suggests that what teachers learn during their training forms only a part of their development as teachers who contribute to music in early childhood education. Teachers are affected by their previous personal musical experiences and musical influences also come from the world outside of the centre, brought in by children, parents and the community. The metaphor of the whāriki, or woven mat, formed the basis of the early childhood curriculum. It is also an appropriate one to use here. This study shows that the early childhood environment is a bringing together of many different musical threads.

1.2 Theory

This study is based within the fields of education and ethnomusicology. While drawing on aspects of educational theory, this thesis does not follow the typical format of theses in this field. The structure of this thesis follows the presentation style of research in the discipline of music, and more specifically ethnomusicology, in terms of presenting data and results. Ethnomusicology examines musical processes and behaviour, the activity of ‘musicking’,¹ not music per se. In the words of

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¹ Sociologist Christopher Small (1998: 9) uses the term to describe taking part, in any capacity, in a musical performance. This may be by listening, performing, practicing, dancing, composing, even taking tickets at the door.
ethnomusicologist Jeff Todd Titon (1997: 91), it is the study of people making music, or experiencing music. However, being situated in an early childhood educational context, this research also draws on the discipline of education. The model which structures the thesis and around which the study is based is derived from Urie Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model for human development (1979).

Bronfenbrenner’s concept of human development is a model that conceives a developing person as being influenced by a series of different environments. This model is conceptualized as a set of nested structures, each inside the next like a set of Russian dolls. The innermost level (microsystem) concerns the immediate setting of the person. A microsystem is a pattern of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given face-to-face setting. The next level (mesosystems) concerns the links and processes taking place between two or more microsystem settings in which the developing person participates. Mesosystems are effectively, a group of microsystems. The third level (exosystem) encompasses the connections between the immediate setting and other settings in which s/he may never enter but in which events occur that affect the person’s immediate environment. Finally there is the fourth level, the macrosystem, which concerns ideological patterns, the overarching organizations common to a particular culture or sub-culture.

Bronfenbrenner’s framework provides a model that allows for the examination of the influences of many settings, which makes it conducive to this research. The early childhood teacher’s development as a teacher of music is what is being investigated here. The microsystem at the heart of this research is the teacher contributing to music within the context of his or her early childhood centre. The mesosystems are the links between environments teachers participate in outside the centre, which affect the way they contribute to music within the centre. Teachers participate in a number of microsystems which influence their musical selves: the musical experiences which occur in their home/family life, their schooling, their teacher training. Mesosystems are the musical connections between these microsystems and the microsystem of the centre.
Bronfenbrenner has defined the exosystem as comprising:

the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings, at least one of which does not ordinarily contain the developing person, but in which events occur that indirectly influence processes within the immediate setting that does contain that person. (e.g., for a child, the relation between the home and the parent's workplace; for a parent, the relation between the school and the neighbourhood group). (Bronfenbrenner 1992: 227)

In this thesis the immediate setting being examined is that of the early childhood centre, and the 'developing person' within that setting is the teacher. Settings that do not normally contain the teachers that are pertinent here are: the children's homes, the community within which the centre is based, and any educational institutes that send individuals to the centre. The 'linkages and processes' under examination here are musical ones, specifically songs and musical tapes. What is significant here is that the musical events taking place in the children's homes, a setting in which teachers do not normally participate, indirectly influence musical processes within the centre and their development as teachers of music within that centre. A specific example of this is the child who listens to the Spice Girls in his or her home, and brings a tape of Spice Girls songs to the centre. The teacher is then placed in the position of deciding if and how to utilize this music within the setting of the centre. There are two possible paths of connection between the settings of centre and children's home; the children themselves and the parents, and these are examined separately in Chapter 4, together with other aspects of the exosystem: connections with the community, and influences from adults associated with educational institutes, such as student teachers and myself.

Finally, influences on music at a national level are encompassed in level four, the macrosystem: factors such as the early childhood curriculum, and Aotearoa/New Zealand's emerging bicultural identity, and their effect on music within the centre. The difference between the third and fourth level is that level three is concerned with musical influences directly from people, whereas musical ideologies and cultural structures are the focus of level four.

Bronfenbrenner defines development as the person's evolving conception of the ecological environment and his relation to it (1979: 9). A significant part of Bronfenbrenner's model is that what is pertinent for development and behaviour is 'the environment as it is perceived' rather than how it might exist to an objective
reality (1979: 4). Thus, it is important not to lose sight of the perspectives of the individuals under scrutiny, and how they perceive their own environment. In this study one way the individual’s perception of his or her environment has been promulgated is through the use of narrative excerpts throughout the thesis in the words of the participants themselves. However, describing the setting in terms of the participant’s own sense of meaning applies to the micro- and meso-systems only. The exo- and macro-systems are “made up of influences or real social forces, something totally different from the subjective meanings of the micro- and meso-systems”2 (Linzey 1991: 248). Linzey suggests that Bronfenbrenner’s model contains elements of two very different perspectives; that while the original metaphor for development is participant-centred and stresses how the participant makes sense of the wider environment, “the second, hidden metaphor stresses a quite separate yet equally powerful set of developmental processes that work from the outside in, and not from the inside out” (1991: 248). Bronfenbrenner’s model is conceived as a set of nested Russian dolls suggesting that the holistic context influences development in the inner settings.

The exo- and macro-systems in some sense ‘contain’ (influence and determine) all the little meso- and micro-systems . . . In fact, Vygotsky and Bronfenbrenner are not all that far apart in this respect. Most ecological researchers would strongly resist this conclusion because they believe that Bronfenbrenner’s emphasis is exclusively on the child’s own construction of reality. This is a mistake because he does implicitly acknowledge that ‘reality’ also constructs the child.3 (Linzey 1991: 248)

While the micro- and meso-systems of the model should be examined from the perspective of the participant, at the same time it is important to acknowledge that the inner levels are encompassed by the exo- and macro-systems and these outer levels are also a significant influence on the scope of meanings that a participant can hold.

A further crucial aspect of Bronfenbrenner’s framework is the concept of development in context, the ‘systematic understanding of the processes and outcomes of human development as a joint function of the person and the

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2 Emphasis in original.
3 Emphasis in original.
However, as Bronfenbrenner himself has acknowledged, this duality is not always equally present in the research. He cites 'a striking imbalance' (1992: 188) in the body of ecological research emphasizing the environment context at the loss of the perspective of the developing person. Bronfenbrenner accepts part of the blame for this scenario himself, suggesting that his own early writings (1979) have much more to say about the 'nature and developmental contribution of the environment than of the organism itself (1992: 188). This led to the reformulation and elaboration of his earlier ideas. The definition of the microsystem, for example, was amended to include more abstract concepts about the setting and its participants:

A microsystem is a pattern of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given face-to-face setting with particular physical and material features, and containing other persons with distinctive characteristics of temperament, personality, and systems of belief. (1992: 227)

Thus, the definition develops the concept of the setting being far more than a physical or geographical space. It recognises the developmental context as being one dependent on relationships with others, and the characteristics and beliefs of those others.

The following diagram illustrates the model of the thesis based on Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework:

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4 Emphasis in original.
5 Italics in original and denote addition to the definition.
As well as being mentioned explicitly in Te Whāriki to describe a child’s learning environment (1996: 19), Bronfenbrenner’s model has been used for other studies in Aotearoa/New Zealand educational contexts. Indeed, Bruce McMillan suggests that this framework, as well as the model of another educational theorist, Vygotsky, provide a basis particularly suitable for research in this country.

Vygotsky’s emphasis on social contexts for the development of meanings, and Bronfenbrenner’s ecological approach provide an appropriate conceptual structure.
within which studies of Māori or Polynesian development could be undertaken. Both enable full recognition to be given to the particular significance of specific cultural meanings. (1991: 43)

Stuart McNaughton’s research on emergent literacy is one example of research in Aotearoa/New Zealand that draws on Bronfenbrenner. McNaughton uses the ecological model when discussing how the family lives and develops in different settings (1995: 162-177). Here, he shows how children gain literacy through the interactive and constructive processes that occur within and across activities at home and at school. In one specific case he relates this concept of connecting settings to a Māori context, that of the Māori immersion early childhood centre, te kōhanga reo, and its link to home (1995: 175-176). He showed how a four year old transferred language patterns learnt in the preschool setting to her home setting, and these were practiced and developed further within the second environment.

Tafili Utumapu, in a study of Samoan women’s roles in Samoan language groups, provides another example of an Aotearoa/New Zealand context. Utumapu cites Bronfenbrenner’s model as providing “a generative framework for exploring the various dynamics of people’s relationships and the settings that these relationships construct” (1998: 8). However, she finds its use limited because of Bronfenbrenner’s concept of culture: “He does not discuss in detail cultural processes or roles in the systems and how they function. Culture is represented as part of the macrosystem” (1998: 8).

Utumapu presents a Bronfenbrenner perspective of culture that conflicts with that espoused by McMillan and McNaughton. While the former sees culture as being excluded in the inner levels of the ecological framework, McNaughton’s research suggests that his interpretation of Bronfenbrenner is that cultural influences may be included throughout each level. McMillan’s statement is ambiguous: it could be referring to the macrosystem level of the framework or it could imply that cultural significance operates at every level.

In my study, while culture permeates throughout the framework, it is discussed fully at the macrosystem level. Cultural concepts of music and musical identity and
the ways these influence the teacher in the early childhood setting are explored in Chapter 5. I disagree with Utumapu’s suggestion that to only discuss the concept of culture at the macrosystem level is limiting. Bronfenbrenner’s model evolves from the microsystem to the macrosystem: the inner levels are encompassed by the outer levels. To place culture at the macro level is to acknowledge its significance throughout the framework. This is noted by Bronfenbrenner himself in his revised definition of the macrosystem:

The macrosystem consists of the overarching pattern of micro-, meso-, and exosystems characteristic of a given culture, subculture, or other broader social context, with particular reference to the developmentally instigative belief systems resources, hazards, life styles, opportunity structures, life course options, and patterns of social interchange that are embedded in each of these systems. (1992: 228)\(^6\)

Bronfenbrenner’s framework provides a model that allows for reciprocal relationships. Not only are the teachers developing in the context of the centre, but also the children are developing and affecting the teachers. The early childhood education environment exists for the development of the children and any research undertaken in this area needs to show an awareness of this. Influence goes both ways: between teachers and children, and also, to a lesser extent, teachers and parents. Parents have a high level of involvement in an early childhood centre because of the young age of the children. Any research carried out within this context needs to consider the influence that parents have and to incorporate their voice. Bronfenbrenner views the interaction between person and environment as twodirectional, that is, characterized by reciprocity (1979: 22). More recently Barbara Rogoff’s work has continued in this vein (Rogoff 1990, 1993). Rogoff takes the perspective that development occurs through participation in cultural systems of practice and that children and caregivers learn and extend their skills and knowledge together (1993: 1). The ecological system is conducive to the early childhood context, which is characterized by mutual relationships.

Recent research in Aotearoa/New Zealand in education has started to focus on teachers as the object of study:

\(^6\) Italicized portion in original and denotes the addition to the definition.
The past decade has seen a growing interest in qualitative research in educational studies and in particular the appearance of studies in which the teacher takes the central focus; not as the object of research, but as the subject. Studies such as in the recent book *Teachers Talk Teaching* by Sue Middleton and Helen May provide an important medium for early childhood teachers to tell their stories and have their voices heard. (Bethell 1999: 15) Two studies in music education in Aotearoa/New Zealand have followed in this vein. Boyack’s (2000) research on student teachers and their singing self-efficacy emphasizes the significance of the personal stories of the students in the formation of their self-beliefs. While Willberg’s (2001) study on the role of music in an early childhood centre has the centre itself at the basis of the study, nevertheless prominence is given to the teachers’ voices. My research continues in this way and has as its focus a group of forty-five early childhood teachers.

Like ethnomusicologist Patricia Shehan Campbell, whose study of music and its meaning in children’s lives was based around interviews with group of fifteen children and the observations of children at musical play in six scenarios, I am aware that this study does not provide the same sort of evidence as that provided by a “statistical analysis of a properly sampled large body of individuals” (Campbell 1998: 167).

I wanted to accept the notion suggested by Jean-Paul Sartre that an individual fittingly can be called a “universal singular” (1981) and that scrutiny of a handful of individual children and groups of children could bring me greater understanding of children at large. Thus, while there are variations among the children as to music’s role and importance in their lives, there are also notable patterns and commonalities among them. (1998: 167) I have adopted a similar approach in this research. I have used a handful of teachers from different early childhood centres across Aotearoa/New Zealand with the belief that their stories can provide a greater understanding of teachers and their attitudes to music in general.

This research is affected by the issue of music and identity. It explores the coming together of many musical identities: teachers, children, parents, cultural, political. This is an area that has been examined by many others in ethnomusicology also. Martin Stokes’ (1994) *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music*, for example, explores the significance of music in relation to ethnicity with a particular focus on the
construction of ‘place’. Music can be used to maintain group identity in a multicultural society (Allen and Groce 1988: 4), it can function in a way that gives people a sense of identity and promotes successful continuation of the social groups concerned (Baily 1994: 47). In this research music in the early childhood contexts of kōhanga reo and a’oga amata in particular, is seen to maintain group identity and give both children and adults a sense of their own cultural and ethnic identity.

Wade (1998) focuses on musical style as a signifier of national identity and is concerned with diversity in this sense. He objects to the tendency to interpret diversity as resulting through conflict. While it is important to grasp processes of cultural conflict he wants to get away from “a position which implicitly sets up homogenizing elites against diversifying subalterns and which sees music as simple representations of these social positionings” (p16). Wade’s theory provides a challenging perspective from which to view New Zealand society. While the situation has been one of a homogenizing majority attempting to assimilate a Māori minority, this framework is not an appropriate one from which to view music in the early childhood world. In early childhood education there has been a renaissance of Māori songs in order to reestablish a sense of Māori identity in the Pākehā world. Wade’s reconceptualization of music and national identity is pertinent here too.

Baily’s examination of the use of music to express and create a sense of unified Afghan identity takes the view that music can be a tool for assertion of ethnicity:

Music is itself a potent symbol of identity; like language . . ., it is one of those aspects of culture which can, when the need to assert ‘ethnic identity’ arises, most readily serve this purpose. Its effectiveness may be twofold; not only does it act as a ready means for the identification of different ethnic or social groups, but it has potent emotional connotations and can be used to assert and negotiate identity in a powerful manner. (1994: 48)

This approach is relevant here. The emergence of Māori and Pacific Island rock bands in Aotearoa/New Zealand today which have a specifically ‘Pacific’ sound reflect this scenario. Also there has been an attempt to encourage a bicultural identity through the implementation of bilingual songs in Māori and English, particularly in early childhood education. The emergence of songs that use the Māori language in Pākehā
early childhood centres is one way that Māori identity is being asserted in the
dominant culture in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The connection between popular music and the development of identity is an
area that has been explored by contemporary musicologists. Simon Frith (1996: 122),
for example, suggests that identity is something we put or try on, not something we
reveal or discover. As this study will show, pop songs are very much a part of early
childhood centres in Aotearoa/New Zealand, being the primary sort of music that
children bring from their homes. What then are children trying on in terms of
identity for themselves, when they bring and sing pop songs in the early childhood
setting, and how do teachers make sense of this music? A recent study by Williams
(2001) suggests that we should be wary of over-emphasizing the importance of
popular music and its role in everyday life. Williams argues that often, the way that
popular music is woven into daily life, is insignificant and mundane, that it is used in
a routine way, rather than in terms of identity construction (p240). This interpretation
could be applied to the role of popular music in early childhood education.

Gerstin (1998) outlines an approach to the identity of performers which has
three levels: the factual 'we are the x and this is our music'; the image of a
community and allegiance to that community; the speaker's position in relation to
others (pp386-7). While he believes that much ethnomusicological writing has
focused on the second of these levels, he chooses to focus on the original context, the
microcosm rather than the macrocosm. His emphasis is on the personal lives of the
performers. My study shares with Gerstin's this focus on people themselves. This
research concentrates on the personal lives of the teachers, on their development as
teachers of music. In this study also the emphasis is on the microcosm and it becomes
a magnifier for Aotearoa/New Zealand society in general.

Identity and music can also be connected in terms of musical style:

The child begins to learn the musical style of his culture as he acquires the language
and the emotional patterns of his people. This style is thus an important link between
an individual and his culture . . . . Thus from the point of view of its social function,
the primary effect of music is to give the listener a feeling of security, for it
symbolizes the place where he was born, his earliest childhood satisfactions . . . .

(Lomax 1959: 929)

Musical style can be a sign of a specific identity, not only the style of a child’s culture, but of children’s culture in general terms. In this sense a song or rhyme can evoke memories of childhood.

At the same time childhood musical experiences are significant because they impart attitudes to music. They convey musical values and beliefs. In Aotearoa/New Zealand Pākehā attitudes to music and what it means to be ‘musical’ are conveyed through musical processes and behaviour in Pākehā institutions. Pākehā attitudes to music are based on Western concepts of musical performance being at the heart of ‘musicality’ and the belief that only a talented minority can be considered ‘musical’. Ethnomusicologist John Blacking has acknowledged the ironic situation of a culture for which musical listening is an integral component, yet places most emphasis on the performance element of music: “‘my’ society claims that only a few limited number of people are musical, and yet it behaves as if all people possessed that basic capacity without which no musical tradition can exist, the capacity to listen to and distinguish patterns of sound” (1973: 8). While it is recognized that in many non-Western cultures there is no concept of musicality being a specialized area,⁷ at the same time this raises questions about the nature of musicality in any culture. “All children, to a greater or lesser degree, are musical,” suggests Campbell (1998: 169). I would purport that this statement can be extended to include adults as well.

Sloboda, Davidson, and Howe (1994) have suggested that in Western cultures, there is a folk psychology type belief about musical talent:

From birth, some individuals are supposed to have an inborn potential to be musical, or have an inaptitude for it. Beliefs of this kind are widely held by musicians, music teachers and others, and are influential in helping to decide how limited teaching resources are to be allocated. (1994: 349)

One reason for the existence of this myth of talent, they suggest, is because it is difficult to prove otherwise: “in the musical work there is no widespread acceptance of a comparable account, based on scientific research, which could provide an

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alternative view of how musical ability emerges “(1994: 351). The concept of an elite few possessing true musical talent being fundamental to Western thinking about musicality is one that has been identified by others in ethnomusicology, among them Christopher Small (1977, 1998), Henry Kingsbury (1988) and Patricia Sheehan Campbell (1998). All have suggested that such ideas may be potentially damaging to an individual’s sense of musicality. This study compares these ideas about musicality with those shown by the Pākehā, Māori, and Samoan teachers. If we accept the idea that everyone is capable of being musical, what then is the reality for early childhood teachers in Aotearoa/New Zealand?

It is necessary to define some of the musical terminology used in this research. ‘Musicality’ is a term that has tended to be used interchangeably in many Western societies with the terms being ‘musical’, and ‘musical ability’, and to only exist to any high degree in a very small number of the population (see, for example, Sloboda, Davidson, and Howe 1994). In this study the concept of musicality as it commonly exists in Western culture is challenged and redefined as an inherent quality that every human being has: our capacity to listen to and understand musical processes. This follows in the same vein as ethnomusicologist John Blacking (1973: 11) who suggests that musicality and being musical is being able to understand and respond to music and that a perception of sonic order must be in a listener’s mind before it emerges as music. Musicking has been defined earlier as “to take part in any capacity, in a musical performance” (Small 1998: 9), and is a particularly pertinent term to use in relation to children’s musical involvement, as noted by Campbell (1998: 187), because unlike ‘making music’ which denotes performance only, ‘musicking’ covers all manner of participation. The concept of ‘musical identity’ is at the heart of this thesis and is defined as how people feel about music and see themselves in musical terms. While issues relating to musical identity are discussed by Blacking (1973), Small (1998), Campbell (1998), Sloboda, Davidson, and Howe (1994), and Kingsbury (1988), the concept itself is not explicitly explored. Russell (1996) uses the term but does not actively define it. The concept of musical identity
and how it is this that is culturally constructed, as opposed to musicality per se, will be developed throughout this thesis.

Blacking posits it may be that social and cultural inhibitions that prevent the flowering of musical genius, are more significant that any individual ability that may seem to promote it (1973: 7). However, I would suggest that it is not musical genius that is at issue, but rather mere musical participation. Cultural ideals which place emphasis on talent and performance of a musical elite affect the ability of the majority of the population to believe themselves sufficiently ‘musical’ to participate in musical events at all. Small has suggested that: Western society’s system of stars and superstars lives on the assumption that real musical ability is as rare as diamonds and as hard to cultivate as orchids and consequently most of the population are actively taught to be nonmusical (1998: 210). The experiences of many Pākehā early childhood teachers and their feelings towards music support this theory.

In contrast to Pākehā culture, within the Samoan and Māori cultures in this study, a different attitude towards music is conveyed. In both Māori and Samoan cultures music is a shared event in which everyone participates. Musical experiences, such as being welcomed onto a marae in Māori culture, are processes that involve participation from everyone. In these cultures the emphasis is on group involvement and music as a shared activity. Music educators in Aotearoa/New Zealand are beginning to recognize that their Māori and Pacific Island students have been brought up in an environment built on an aural musical tradition (Henderson 1998: 35). These musical ideals can be seen in Māori and Samoan early childhood teachers’ attitudes towards music, and the way that music occurs in the daily routines in such centres.

Jenny Ritchie has examined the issue of biculturalism and education in Aotearoa/New Zealand in terms of the implications for early childhood educators. She suggests that:

- It appears to me that for many organizations, establishing a philosophical stance supporting the Treaty was merely a first step. The real struggle is to build a bridge between policy and
practice, in order to move beyond a philosophical statement at policy level to practical implementation. (1996: 80)

All of the early childhood centres in my study have also taken that first step, supporting the Treaty outwardly, but the real issue is whether teachers move beyond the policy to its implementation. My research approaches the concept of music and biculturalism with this in mind. While all of the Pākehā centres show recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi in their charters, how does this manifest itself in the practical reality of the classroom?

Joan Russell (1997) in a study that compares the differences in singing abilities in Fiji and North America focuses on the role of part-singing in the development of singing experiences. One of the questions asked is how does a culture support the development of singing talent, not of the few identified as exceptional, but of the general population? (1997: 97) Russell has suggested that Fijians are socialized from childhood into the musical languages and practices of the surrounding culture and part-singing in a variety of social contexts forms the basis of this musical socialization. Russell’s study is pertinent here in relation to how cultures in Aotearoa/New Zealand support the development of singing of the general population. Of particular significance is the occurrence of unison and part-singing in early childhood contexts.

Currently in Aotearoa/New Zealand there are other studies on teachers and music revealing similar findings. Jenny Boyack’s research concerning primary teacher students has highlighted that a number consider themselves ‘nonmusical’ (1999, 2000). Her study has shown that many individuals have suffered musical knockbacks early in life, failure to be accepted into the school choir for example, and that these have never been overcome. Boyack focuses on the concept of singing being a fixed ability trait, that in Aotearoa/New Zealand there is a myth of tone-deafness, whereas all research suggests that singing is a developmental skill. Likewise, Helen Willberg’s (2001) study into music at a Pākehā early childhood centre in Aotearoa/New Zealand, has found a similar lack of confidence towards music amongst many of the teachers. The teachers in Willberg’s study said they felt relegated to the ranks of the nonmusical because of their lack of literacy in the form
of knowledge about music or the ability to play an instrument (2001: 163). This research builds on some of the issues raised in the Boyack and Willberg studies concerning early childhood teachers' attitudes to music, particularly those concerning musical self-concepts. It explores fully the concepts of being musical and being nonmusical.

1.3 Approach

My approach to fieldwork in this area draws on the approaches of others from the disciplines of education, anthropology and ethnomusicology. The intention was to fit into each centre as naturally and spontaneously as possible. Smith stresses the importance of representing and being aware of the perspective of the child when conducting research as well as the inappropriateness of conducting interviews. As she says:

Children need the opportunity to contribute to research data without the traditional restraints and structure. They need to understand why they are participating and that we really want to hear their perspectives. This is not a quick or an instant process. Time needs to be taken to establish a relationship with a child where there is some trust and reciprocity and intersubjectivity can be established. Interviews need to be more like conversations and less like sitting an oral examination ... we need to take the time and several interviews or participatory observations to get into the child's world. One way to do this is to participate with children in their normal activities. (1996: 8)

While this study focuses on teachers rather than children, it took place within the children's world of early childhood education. It was important to be aware of their perspective and to acknowledge their presence. This research was influenced by Smith's suggestions. I applied her approach to conducting fieldwork with the teachers in the centres and immersed myself in routines of each of the centres observing the teachers as they worked.

My approach has been to view the social processes within an early childhood centre as a culture in its own right and to assimilate myself into the daily routines. Lærke (1998), when conducting fieldwork among five and six year old school
children in a small village in England, attempted to reconstruct herself on the
children’s level:

From the outset I was determined to try my best to destabilize my position as an adult
authority and to engage directly with children (rather than with adult perspectives on
children). I sought to locate myself as firmly as possible on what I call ‘the children’s
level’ (this ‘level’ being physical as well as conceptual-hierarchical). . . Like the
children I sat nicely on the floor and stood still in line, the way others told me to. Like
the children I was not involved in the decisions and plans concerning the daily
activities in the school . . . I believe I managed to make a space for myself among the
children where I could be ‘different’ from other adults . . . (p3)

Like Lærke I sat on the floor with the children or on their small seats rather than the
adult sized ones; like her I did not take part in the decision making. However I did
not go to the extremes that Lærke did, dressing like the children and eating what
they ate. Unlike Lærke’s research my study was not focussed on children but rather
on their teachers. My identity needed to be different to that of the teachers, yet not
established completely at the level of the children. I needed to be able to move
between the different groups within each centre and participate in both.

The discipline of ethnomusicology is closely related to that of anthropology,
particularly with regard to theoretical perspectives and the process of ethnography.
This research is not based on a singular ethnographic study but a series of several
ethnographic thumbsketches which have been melded together to produce one
ethnographic picture. It is an ethnography of music in early childhood education in
Aotearoa.

Anthropologist Clifford Geertz’s (1975) approach to ethnography outlines its
two facets. The textbook view of ethnography is the process of establishing a rapport,
selecting informants, transcribing the data etc. However, the significant element of
ethnography is the analysis of the data, a venture in ‘thick description’.8

What the ethnographer is in fact faced with . . . is a multiplicity of complex conceptual
structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at
once strange, irregular, and inexplicit and which he must contrive somehow first to
grasp and then to render. (p10)
Geertz’s approach is relevant to this research because it aims to not be merely descriptive, but analytical. Ethnography is about deciphering and analyzing meanings; it is the deconstruction of the raw data. Feld (1982) refers to Geertz’s approach as ‘ethnography as detective work’ and was influenced by it himself in his study of the Kaluli. The approach of this study follows in Geertz’s and Feld’s leads; it intends to examine the structures of signification. In this context it is the structures of signification present in Aotearoa/New Zealand with respect to Pākehā, Māori, and Samoan cultures. I have looked at my data in terms of discovering patterns and commonalities. When examining the teachers’ responses to my questions, particularly regarding concepts such as being musical, I have attempted to look beyond the surface level of the comments themselves to where they came from. Why do teachers have the attitudes, emotions, and feelings towards music that they do? At the mesosystem level how do experiences in other microsystems influence the ways teachers participate in musical activities in the microsystem of the centre? At the macrosystem level how do cultural constructs of musical identity shape and mould a teacher’s own sense of musical identity?

Ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger (1992) suggests that an ethnography of music is writing about the ways people make music. It is a descriptive approach to music which goes beyond the writing down of mere sounds to the writing down of how sounds are conceived, made, appreciated and influence other individuals, groups, and social and music processes (p89). This suggests a holistic encompassment of music is needed when carrying out musical ethnography.

Morton (1996) has focused on the ethnography of childhood from the perspective of ‘becoming Tongan’. As an American who was married to a Tongan and who has part-Tongan children, she can be seen as both insider and outsider in different senses. Her approach to the socialization of Tongan children uses a ‘socialization-as-interaction’ model with the idea that children contribute to their own socialization. Morton believes that the interpersonal is inextricably bound up with the personal and she is concerned with both in her study. Her examination of

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8 Ethnography as ‘thick description’ has come to be associated with Geertz although he in fact
the processes of socialization also reveals the processes of construction of cultural identity. Morton’s study shows how as Tongan children engage in social behaviour with their peers and with adults, Tongan beliefs and values are imparted. In short, it is through human interaction that they become Tongan.

Morton’s research is pertinent here because it reveals how identity is gained in childhood through cultural experiences. This is relevant to the adults in this study in terms of how their conceptualization of music has been influenced through childhood musical experiences, which, in turn, are a direct result of experiences on a cultural level.

A recent study into dance in an early childhood education setting in Aotearoa/New Zealand has elements in common with my study. Adrienne Sansom (2000: 129) also used an ethnographic approach for her research methodology. Her study examined dance experiences in three Auckland kindergartens; how they were included in the curriculum, how the children participated and what the teachers did. Sansom felt that an ethnographic perspective was an appropriate one to use because it allowed her as the researcher to personally interpret her findings and discover new meanings (2000: 129). Like myself, she was a participant observer in the kindergartens, videoing children’s activities and interviewing the teachers. Sansom used the process of interpretive analysis to find out about real people and their lives (2000: 129) in a way similar to that employed here. She viewed the videotapes many times and transcribed what was happening attempting to “create as realistically as possible what it would be like to be there and experience what I saw” (2000: 133). The teachers’ points of view expressed in the interviews were incorporated alongside the descriptions of children’s dance. Sansom was aware of her own role in the study and how that would influence her findings. She states that she attempted to put aside any preconceived thoughts and assumptions about dance and was aware of how much of a personal journey it became (2000: 129-130). This personal focus is an aspect that stands out as one reads her ethnography and no attempt is made to hide it.

borrowed the term from Gilbert Ryle.
Discourse in anthropology has examined the construction of ethnographies. Clifford and Marcus (1986) in the postmodern approach to ethnography *Writing Culture* question the tradition of ethnography as cultural truths. Clifford (1986), for example, purports that ethnography is fiction, in the sense that fiction is not a falsehood but rather something merely opposed to the truth. The suggestion is that ethnographies are texts, like all literary works; they should be viewed not as representations of cultural truths, but as partial truths or interpretations.

Another development in anthropology and also ethnomusicology continues this postmodern approach by focusing on the ethnographer's influence and presence in the field. Okley and Callaway (1992) explore the effect of autobiography within anthropology. Okley (1992), for example, challenges the tradition of anthropology that leaves out the author's voice, where ethnographic accounts are written in such a way which presents them as unbiased, impersonal and empirical. While reflexivity in anthropology has met with criticism and been considered 'mere navel gazing' or labeled 'narcissism' (Okley 1992: 2) by some, as Okley suggests:

> Self-adoration is quite different from self-awareness and a critical scrutiny of the self. Indeed those who protect the self from scrutiny could as well be labeled self-satisfied and arrogant in presuming their presence and relations with others to be unproblematic. (p2)

Reflexivity can also be seen as opening the way to a more radical consciousness of self in facing the political dimensions of fieldwork and constructing knowledge, it can become a continuing mode of self-analysis (Callaway 1992: 33). The area of reflexive ethnomusicology is one that has been explored further in *Shadows in the Field* (Barz and Cooley 1997). Cooley, for example, suggests that "we weave ourselves (or are woven by others) into the communities we study" (1997: 18). Stock, also in the field of ethnomusicology, suggests that a new theme in representational writing in ethnographic sciences is an acknowledgement that it may be necessary for the researcher to write him- or herself into the account, or more accurately, avoid writing him- or herself out of it (2001: 13). I have acknowledged my own role in this research by including my influence as part of Chapter 4, the exosystems.
Okley sees the anthropologist’s past as being relevant in terms of the way in which it relates to the anthropological enterprise. She includes in this: choice of area and study, the experience of fieldwork, analysis and writing. So an ethnographer’s past experiences affect their fieldwork in both the practical and theoretical sense.

This postmodernist approach to ethnography has affected this research in both the practical and theoretical sense. While conducting fieldwork I was constantly examining and analyzing my role and my influence in the centres. I have been mindful of how teachers, parents and children respond to me and how that might affect the data I was obtaining. Not willing to be labeled a know-it-all academic I have presented myself to my informants with a consciously constructed identity. I have focused on my family roles as wife and mother rather than the more intimidating role of ethnomusicologist. I talked about my personal life rather than my academic one in order to build up a rapport with my informants.

Being a woman also helped to establish a less threatening presence; the early childhood world is one where women predominate both as teachers and as parents collecting children. The fact that I was a female researcher no doubt influenced the outcome of the interviews with most of the teachers and the relationships I was able to build with them. It has been argued that the notion of objectivity when interviewing is a sexist notion. Oakley (1981: 40-49) for example, suggests that the accepted orthodoxy on methods of interviewing is not appropriate to female researchers interviewing other women. A detached interviewer who keeps her own opinions out of the interview is inconceivable in feminist research. Oakley found that in her work with mothers the ideal of distance and non-involvement was impossible to achieve, as well as undesirable. Her own experience and identity was used in order to develop a connection with her informants. This echoes the sentiments expressed earlier; I used my experience and identity in a similar way so that, in the interviews especially, a dialogue emerged and I was confided in. This also happened with my conversations with mothers although to a lesser extent due to there being less interaction.

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9 Only three of the teacher informants were male.
Conducting fieldwork as a pregnant woman influenced my research in its own ways as well. Again, it presented a less intimidating researcher to teachers not always well disposed to research being carried out within their centres. It helped the teachers to see me on a personal level, rather than simply as a researcher, removed from the real world. While carrying out fieldwork in reality I had two identities: woman/mother and researcher/ethnomusicologist. Each role enabled me to obtain different sorts of information.

Like Sansom (2000), I was also aware of how my experiences had influenced this study from the outset. I had chosen the area of early childhood because of having my own child who was a preschooler, and because I intended to possibly have another child during the course of my study. Not only did personal experience affect the choice of subject area but also how I conducted my research on a practical level. Having young children myself helped me to be able to relate to children, to have conversations with them and respond to their needs.

This self-scrutiny has continued through the writing process as well. It is one of the threads mentioned above which weave throughout the thesis. While each chapter examines a different influence on the development of early childhood teachers as teachers of music, it is always through the interpretation of my perspective. This study is a representation of one researcher’s findings; it is biased, it is personal and it is only the truth as I know it.

1.4 Method

Research has been carried out in three contexts of early childhood education: kindergartens, childcare centres and language groups, both Māori te kōhanga reo and Samoan a’oga amata. Centres from Auckland, Wellington, Dunedin, Alexandra and Queenstown have been involved in this study which is a qualitative one. By researching in centres in both rural and urban areas across Aotearoa/New Zealand a broader range of fieldwork experiences has been possible and teachers and centres from throughout the country have been able to be part of this study. While this
research does not attempt to speak definitively for all teachers in centres everywhere in Aotearoa/New Zealand, it represents the field of early childhood education in general terms. A total of 80.5 hours was spent in five kindergartens, 51 hours in two kōhanga and two a’oga amata, and 62.5 hours in three childcare centres. The following table shows the different centres visited, the hours spent in each centre, and the number of teachers interviewed. Each of the centres have been assigned a code, the kindergartens are numbered 1-5, the childcare centres 1-3, te kōhanga reo are numbered 1-2, and a’oga amata 1-2.

Table 1: Centres, hours, days, interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kindergartens</th>
<th>Hours Spent</th>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Teachers Interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K1</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2 teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K2</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3 teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3 teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K4</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K5</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3 teachers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Groups</th>
<th>Hours Spent</th>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Teachers Interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TKR1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3 teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TKR2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3 teachers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Childcare Centres</th>
<th>Hours Spent</th>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Teachers Interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CC1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5 teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5 teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9 teachers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Centres were selected primarily through introduction. I contacted staff at institutions and organizations that had connections to early childhood education, such as the Auckland Kindergarten Association, and approached centres that were
suggested to me. I also used my own contacts in early childhood education. For example, I had met Helen Willberg, a lecturer in early childhood and primary music education at Wellington Teachers College, at the New Zealand Society for Music Education conference in 1997 and spoken to her then about my study. She became my key person for introducing me to teachers and centres in the Wellington region. My initial contact with a centre was a telephone call to see if they were interested in becoming part of the research. If the teachers were supportive and the parents were content to have me present then it became part of the study. I then sent out information and consent forms for the teachers to distribute to the parents. Centres that had a prolific music programme were not actively sought after, nor were they excluded from the study. The main criterion was simply that I would be welcome to conduct my research there.

Conducting fieldwork in locations such as Auckland while being based in Dunedin meant that a limited time was available. As Table 1 shows, different lengths of time were spent in each centre, although the same structured period was used. In kindergartens, for example, research was carried out in the morning session, either five morning sessions or three morning sessions. In other centres one, two or three full days were spent. In this way a full day or session was observed, not merely a specified ‘music’ time. Music can occur at any time in an early childhood educational context. It is both part of the organized activities in a centre, and also occurs spontaneously throughout the day. Spontaneous music may be either teacher-directed or child-directed. All of the fieldwork was conducted on consecutive days with the exception of K1 and K2 where I carried out a preliminary fieldwork session of 2 hours some weeks before the majority of the fieldwork. The purpose of the preliminary fieldwork was to gain initial impressions of the field, and have an introduction to the early childhood world. The data from this fieldwork was not part of the final analysis.

My fieldwork in the centres was both non-participant and participant. As Creswell (2002: 200) suggests, in many observational situations it is advantageous to shift or change roles, making it difficult to classify your role as strictly one or the
other. I had a changing observational role, as a participating in some areas and non-participant in others, and engaging in both permitted me to be subjectively involved in the setting as well as to see the setting more objectively (Creswell 2002: 200). I participated in conversations with children, teachers, and parents. I participated in the daily routines, such as clean-up time, and meal times. If invited I participated in organized group sessions and music times, although in the Māori and Samoan centres my participation was limited due to my very basic understanding of the languages. During these group sessions, with a few exceptions discussed later, I participated on the same level as the children. That is, I followed the teachers who were leading the session, I did not take a dominant role myself.

I did not participate in the children’s playing and spontaneous music making. For example, when there was free dancing happening I did not join in but rather observed the children and teachers’ behaviour. A video camera was also used to augment my notebook writing and video footage was taken of organized mat sessions that involved music and occasionally of spontaneous music making, in particular free dancing.

Qualitative research provides a great many opportunities to talk with people (Ely, Anzul, Friedman, Garner, and Steinmetz 1991: 57). A major source of data, aside from observations, is the interviews with teachers. Different numbers of staff at each centre were interviewed and in most cases these interviews were audio taped. Audiotapes add the nuances of a person’s voice to the words that print provides (Ely, et al. 1991: 82). I also found, like Ely, et al. (1991: 52), that after a short while the interviewees relax and forget about the tape recorder. Thirteen kindergarten teachers, nineteen childcare centre teachers and thirteen language group teachers were interviewed, a total of forty-five in all. A copy of the questions for the interviews can be found in Appendix 2. These questions served as the basic outline of each of the interviews, and not all questions were asked of every teacher. It was unnecessary to repeat questions concerning the number of children at the centre to every participant, for example. Also, as the interviews were conducted in a chatty manner, it was not appropriate to be constantly referring to a sheet of paper. I had a
plan of intended questions but retained flexibility, allowing the flow of conversation (Creswell 2002: 208).

Wolcott considers interviewing to be any situation in which a fieldworker is in a position to, and does, attempt to obtain information on a specific topic and includes casual conversations, semi-structured interviewing, and structured interviewing among the different categories of interviewing generally (1995: 106). An approach to interviewing is outlined by Ely, et al.:

Some interviews are done 'on the hoof' during participant-observation when the time is available and the spirits are amenable. These interviews are usually quite informal. They often flow from a situation, perhaps at its tag end, and usually occur with less prior planning than formal interviews... Sometimes, in addition, they are the only interviews our participants can and/or want to give. We have had informal interviews in pizza parlours, dentist's offices, nurses' stations, around kitchen tables, on subways, and squeezed into the dress-up corner of a classroom for 2-year-olds. Other interviews, sometimes called formal, are more planned and usually carried out away from the action, so that there is a chance to talk in peace and in greater depth. (1991: 57)

Both of the kinds of interviews described here occurred in my fieldwork. As suggested above, some of my participants only wanted to give 'on the hoof' type interviews, and in some cases an informal talk was the only opportunity we had for an interview.

The teachers were interviewed in different situations. The busyness of early childhood workers meant that a certain amount of flexibility was needed. Kindergarten teachers were able to be questioned on an afternoon that was non-contact time. Staff in other centres were interviewed during the course of a working day, sometimes as they rocked children to sleep or at nappy changing time. Most of the interviews were conducted in a semi-formal manner with a tape recorder, but some were informal chats while other things were happening in the centre around us. Time constraints meant that some of the teachers were interviewed in pairs or in small groups. The interviews comprised structured, recorded one-on-one interviews, semi-structured recorded group interviews, and unrecorded, casual one-on-one interviews. All part of the interview process as outlined by Wolcott above. This approach, while being flexible and fitting in with the nature of the early childhood
environment, did have its negative aspects. I did not always ask every teacher every question, for example, only forty-three of the teachers were asked what they considered the most important outcome of a music session was.

An attempt was made to interview staff towards the end of a time period in a centre, rather than at the beginning. In this way a relationship was built up with the staff and I was no longer a stranger. Formal interviews were not conducted with the parents or children. However, data was obtained through informal contact with both. As the teachers were the primary objects of the study, formal interviews were carried out with them alone. In order to preserve the anonymity of the teachers and the children in the study the names of all participants have been changed.

My research differs significantly from the Sansom study mentioned earlier in terms of the prime source of data and analysis of that. Where Sansom used the interviews with the teachers to support her video data, in my study the reverse is true: the videotapes augment the information garnered from the teachers during the interviews. I viewed the video data after returning from the fieldwork location. They were transcribed according to who was involved and what sort of musical event was in process. Any significant comments relating to music made by children or adults heard on the tape were noted down. While Sansom transcribed and analyzed her video footage from the point of view of reliving the experience herself, in my study the videos function more as a reminder of the centre and the musical experiences that occurred there. They provide a visual and aural memento of each centre.

The process of analysis of the interviews involved looking for commonalities in the teachers' comments; for example, examining similarities between teachers' feelings towards music, their contribution to music within the centre, and their previous experiences with music (family, schooling, training etc.) The teachers' answers to particular questions were grouped into a series of categories. Through doing this themes began to emerge. Ely, et al. (1991) describe the search for themes as a widely used approach to analysis.

A theme can be defined as a statement of meaning that (1) runs through all or most of the pertinent data, or (2) one in the minority that carries heavy emotional or factual impact. It
can be thought of as the researcher's inferred statement that highlights explicit or implied attitudes towards life, behaviour, or understandings of a person, persons, or culture. (p150) This is an approach used here. As I did more fieldwork particular themes clearly developed, the connection between negative childhood musical experiences and a low level of musical confidence, for example. Following Geertz's example I deconstructed the raw data of behaviours, attitudes, and emotions, and stripped these back to their roots. This led to the development of particular themes in the thesis. Themes can be both major and minor (Creswell 2002: 272-3). The concept of being non-musical, for example, is a major theme in the data and breaks down into minor themes such as tone-deafness, inability to read music, inability to play an instrument. These themes were referred to by teachers rather than elicited. When analyzing the data initially major themes began to emerge and with subsequent analysis sub-themes developed from them. Following in Ely, et al. a theme in this data would be the inferred statement of meaning: musicking experiences influence musical identity. The use of themes primarily provided a perspective from which to read the data and subsequently a means of organizing it.

As many of the staff at each centre were interviewed as was possible; this varied from nine teachers at one centre, through to only two teachers at another. In some centres I would have liked to conduct more interviews but felt that I was interfering enough with the environment and making enough demands on the teachers without forcing them all to be interviewed. Teachers who wanted to be part of the study were interviewed, those who were not interested in it, were not interviewed. Usually when a structured interview was conducted the teacher concerned would be removed from the centre, thereby placing greater stress on those left. I was greatly aware of how busy early childhood teachers are and made every effort for my presence not to be a burden to them. This affected my research in different ways: fewer interviews were conducted than I at first anticipated, teachers were not always interviewed individually, with group and pair interviews occurring.

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10 I had originally intended interviewing all staff at every centre, but this did not prove to be feasible in terms of fieldwork practicality.
more than once, and the situations that the interviews were carried out in were not exactly textbook scenarios.

Wolcott has warned against conversational approaches in tape-recorded interviews and overcoming an urge to be casual (1995: 114). He suggests making the interview situation one that has a certain level of formality and importance attached to it. Although, this seems to be with the intent of stressing the significance of the interviewee's participation in the research, to make them aware that their contribution is valued, rather than to intimidate them with formality. At the same time he states that "if such formality seems the very antithesis of the kind of interpersonal exchange you want to foster, then follow your intuition to find a style more suitable. There is no rule against being more interactive..." (Wolcott 1995, 114). As suggested, I followed my intuition to find a style more suitable to me. Conducting the interviews in whatever circumstances presented themselves and interacting with the participants freely if the interview demanded it.

My interviewing style altered to suit the environment. Some interviews were carried out while staff were working at a task such as settling children to sleep or changing children's nappies. These informal discussions became necessary due to the busyness of the staff and my desire to make my presence in the centre less intrusive. Kindergarten teachers were interviewed at a time when there were no children present in the centre and this meant we had an interruption free period for our discussion. However, while most of the interviews were carried out with other activity carrying on either in the background or in a room nearby, I do not feel that this negatively affected the results. In fact, it may have had positive effects, as it meant that the atmosphere was less formal and constrained than for interviews taking place in a completely quiet environment with only the teacher and myself present. The hustle and bustle provided a realistic backdrop to our conversations and allowed the interviewee to relax and feel less exposed.

Most teachers reacted to the interviews in a positive way and shared their personal and professional experiences easily and unselfishly. Ely, et al. (1991: 58) have suggested that interviews are at the heart of ethnography because they seek the
words of the people we are studying, the richer the better, so that we can understand their situation in more depth. This is true for my study; the teachers’ interviews are at the centre of the ethnography and it is from their words that the thesis really develops. Some teachers astounded me with what they shared of their feelings and personal experiences in these interviews. Wolcott stresses that it is important to recognize listening as an active and creative role (1995: 111). At times I became a confidant for the teachers’ secrets and problems or a sounding board for their ideas. Like Oakley who has suggested there cannot be intimacy without reciprocity (1981: 49) I did not keep my opinions out of the interviews when asked for them. I was not a detached, removed interviewer who mechanically followed a prescribed order of questions. The interviews became frank and honest discussions, often with much laughter. In some cases teachers told me of experiences which they had not spoken of to anybody before. The interviews were dialogues in which experiences and feelings were confessed and shared.

I was aware of certain individual responses that reflected particular attitudes. Occasionally a teacher would keep telling me what he or she believed I wanted to hear. One teacher in particular repeatedly informed me that she “loved music”, that she thought music was “wonderful”.

Other teachers were nervous and defensive during the interview. They approached the interview process with fear and trepidation. One teacher I interviewed was extremely uptight, so much so that he could barely speak and kept stuttering. Through interviewing we risk turning any topic about which we express interest into a sensitive one (Wolcott 1995: 103). This participant seemed very ill at ease and kept saying things such as, “but we could always do more,” and “we’re very open to things like that here” when telling me that one of the children, who is Bengali, has had her older sister come in and perform some classical Indian dance for the children. This interview took place while we ate our lunch and despite attempting to make the atmosphere as relaxed as possible, he did not overcome his agitation.
Approval was granted from the University of Otago Ethics Committee for this study. In granting approval the committee expressed concern about the cross-cultural nature of the fieldwork contexts, focusing on the bicultural element of Māori and non-Māori. The Committee was concerned that the study involved some form of cross-cultural comparison between the use of music in kōhanga reo and in other early childhood centres. This is an ethical issue that has affected the way I approached the research, although it is not solely concerned with Māori, but also Samoan cultural comparisons as well. However, it is research involving Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand that has the most contentious issues. Bishop (1996) presents a framework for a Kaupapa Māori approach to research which views research as a collective journey which should benefit all participants. Bishop argues that traditional ways of conducting research in New Zealand have not been culturally sensitive:

Traditional research epistemologies have also developed methods of initiating research and accessing research participants that are located within the cultural preferences and practices of the Western world as opposed to that of Māori people themselves. For example, the preoccupation with neutrality, objectivity and distance by educational researchers has emphasized these concepts as criteria for authority, representation and accountability and distanced Māori participants from participation in the construction, validation and legitimation of knowledge. . . . Traditionally research has served to advance the interests, concerns and methods of the researcher, and to locate the benefits of the research at least in part with the researcher, other benefits being of lesser concern. (pp14-5)

and

There are a significant and growing number of Māori educators who . . . would say that Māori research should be led and undertaken by Māori people only. (p17)

Utumapu in a Samoan context suggests a similar notion, that it should be a prerequisite that all Samoan researchers wanting to work with the community are fluent in the language and knowledgeable of the culture, or else research may be seen as tokenism and disrespectful (1998: 69).

Part of this research has been conducted within a Māori educational context and part in a Samoan context. Although I am not tangata whenua I felt that to not include teachers from kōhanga reo in this study would have been to marginalize kōhanga
and deny their strength as an early childhood educational context. Like Bishop (1996: 18) I believe that to not include a Māori perspective in this study would be to abrogate the partnership of the Treaty of Waitangi. Likewise, in order to acknowledge the growing significance of Pacific Island early childhood educational centres it was necessary to include these in this research as well.

My Pākehā identity is of ethical concern. During the course of my fieldwork I found myself questioning my right to be in the Māori and Samoan centres. The initial focus of this research was to have been on the children themselves, and the construction of their identity through music. While it would have been appropriate for me to do this within Pākehā early childhood contexts, the inappropriateness of me examining this in Māori and Samoan cultural contexts became more and more obvious during my study. As Stuart Manins has pointed out, many Pākehā academics act as if they have an automatic right to investigate whatever topic they choose in Māori culture and that they are free to collect and use taonga (cultural treasures) as they please (1998: 31). This is an ethnocentric attitude that has no place in this study. Through shifting the focus from the children and the music to the teachers themselves I am using information collected directly from the individuals concerned, rather than using cultural treasures such as songs. The stories of the teachers themselves have become one of the primary sources of data. While the cultural context is still a significant one, the emphasis is on the personal, with teachers permitting their stories to be part of this research on an individual level.

Areas of concern brought up by Bishop and Glynn (1992) have been addressed in this study. ‘He kanohi kitea’, the title of their article, for example means, ‘a face seen is an argument understood.’ This refers to the belief within Māori culture of making a request in person as it is more courteous. This approach was undertaken in this study with regard to Māori contexts. The kōhanga reo in Auckland that was part of the study, for example, I approached in person, after an informal introduction through a mutual acquaintance. Bishop and Glynn also suggest that researchers should be able to show that they appreciate the importance of Māori values, such as the relationship between the spiritual and the natural world (1992: 133). To gain
better knowledge of Māori beliefs and values I undertook a university paper on Māori culture. In these ways I attempted to conduct my research within Māori centres with cultural sensitivity and respect.

Bishop and Glynn have suggested that research should be an interactive process and empowering to those being studied (1992: 126). Bishop’s earlier comments can be applied to all research contexts, not just Pākehā-Māori situations. I am very much aware of my role as a gatherer of information and I acknowledge the kindness, honesty, and generosity of the people involved in this study. I also strongly feel the need to give something back to those involved in the research. Each centre in the study was offered a copy of the video I filmed while in their centre. I have attempted to share the knowledge I have gained during the course of fieldwork through becoming involved myself in music sessions and sharing information on musical resources. The results of this study will be made known to the centres that took part through follow-up written contact. As well as this, in the long term I hope that this study will benefit all early childhood educators. As a result of the study I have gathered together many songs, musical ideas, and techniques that could be published together in a booklet.

Initial fieldwork into three centres highlighted another area of ethical concern in the study. This was the amount of involvement I was expected to have on a musical level in the centres. One of the first centres I conducted research in wrongly believed that I was there to provide musical experiences for them. It became apparent to me that I would need to reconcile the desires of the teachers, to use me as a resource, with my need to learn from them and observe music unhindered. The result of this was that I shared my knowledge of musical resources with the teachers, lending them my tapes, sharing information about new songs and dances. I also offered to lead a music session on my last day in the centre and did this in four of the kindergartens. This problem and resolution only occurred in the Pākehā centres, most predominantly in kindergartens. In the Māori and Samoan centres it was obvious to both myself and the teachers that I was very much the observer and the learner. I could not contribute to music and it was not appropriate, as a cultural
outsider to do so. However, I did participate in musical gatherings, in much the same way as a child, first starting in the language group, might do so. That there was more interest in the kindergarten context in myself as a musical resource than the childcare centres is also explainable. Kindergartens have a philosophy of using parents as a resource in whatever ways they can and parents are often involved with many facets of the kindergarten such as fundraising and parent helping on a daily basis. By contrast, the children in childcare centres are usually there while their parents are in paid employment and so the parents are able to be less involved in the daily activities of the centre.

I was conscious of how I entered each early childhood centre and presented myself to staff. I focused on my personal attributes, for example my role as a mother, instead of my academic persona. All of the centres involved in the study made me welcome, yet I was nevertheless aware of the friction I could create by my presence. Simply by being there I affected the music in the centre, either the teachers would provide more music for me to observe, or, being intimidated by my being there, perhaps they might become less involved in music.

The 'more music' response was due to teachers wanting to impress me with how much music occurred in their centre and the variety of music which occurred. It seemed that the teachers in these centres felt a sense of competition with the other centres in the study. They wanted their centre to stand out in comparison. The 'less music' response occurred because individual teachers felt intimidated by my presence. They felt their musical abilities would be judged, in particular their singing ability. Both of these responses are due to the fact that I was perceived as a musical expert, a sort of music policewoman there to evaluate them. As well as being perceived as a musical expert, I was regarded in Pākehā centres as a figure of authority in terms of education. My research was often regarded as being focused on the bicultural aspect of the music programme. Pākehā teachers expected that, as the Māori songs were the 'cultural' songs, therefore they must be the music I was studying. This attitude is at least partly related to different attitudes towards music that will be examined later in the chapter.
Being a cultural and linguistic outsider in the kōhanga reo and a'oga amata affected my role as a researcher in these centres. Although the teachers in the language groups welcomed me into their centres with warmth and enthusiasm, I was aware of myself being an outsider in a cultural sense. All of the teachers in these centres were very interested in my research and spoke freely and honestly to me in the interviews. None questioned why I, a Pākehā/Palagi, was studying their culture. Without exception the teachers in the Māori and Samoan centres were accepting of me as a researcher and unstinting in their generosity to me.

Through spending extended periods of time in each centre I was able to blend in and so often observed teachers without them being specifically aware of it. I moved around the physical environment a great deal, so again I could 'sneak up' on teacher-child musical interactions without drawing attention to myself. Informal times such as morning and afternoon tea often acted as an icebreaker, and participating in this allowed the staff to react to me less as an academic intruder.

The success of my actions is borne out by the teachers' responses when I ask if I have affected them in any way. Comments such as, “I’ve not noticed you - I don’t mean that in a bad way,” and, “there’s been times I haven’t known where you are,” reinforce to me that my approach was successful and that I have been able to observe teachers’ musical interactions as naturally as possible and be accepted in their environment.

Reflexivity, openly discussing and being aware of one’s own role in the study, is a critical facet of ethnography (Creswell 2002: 494). Occasionally I was met with suspicion and defensiveness by staff. They regarded me as a threat, as someone who was there to criticize and make judgements on their music programmes. Much time was spent reassuring teachers who felt like this and making positive comments about music in their centre.

Ultimately I ended up with four kinds of data: transcriptions of the taped interviews, transcriptions of the videos, as well as the videos themselves, and transcriptions of my field notes. The data was analyzed in terms of looking for patterns that then became themes: for example, I compared individual teacher’s
answers to particular questions and grouped similar answers together and then compared what they had said with what I had observed, and what other teachers had said. The transcripts of both the interviews and my fieldnotes were combed through to find examples of musical influences being brought into the centre and then these influences were categorized according to the Bronfenbrenner model. The video transcripts were used to ascertain lengths of music sessions, and also the songs sung and which teachers were involved. The videos themselves were referred to frequently as visual reminders of each centre. In the writing up of this thesis both description and thematic development is interwoven (Creswell 2002: 502).

1.5 A Sociocultural Historical Perspective on Aotearoa/New Zealand

This research was carried out in the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand and is affected by issues unique to this country. Consequently it is necessary to give a brief outline of sociocultural and historical events that have shaped the country that it is today. Attitudes towards biculturalism and multiculturalism in education in Aotearoa/New Zealand have undergone great changes. In this sense education can be viewed as a cultural artifact; it has been shaped to suit particular cultural, social, and political conditions and aims (Jones et al. 1990: 33). As education researchers Harker and McConnochie suggest, educating is a political activity and any interpretation of education must be within a political framework (1985: 18). For this reason the rise of biculturalism and multiculturalism in relation to Aotearoa/New Zealand’s identity in a political sense will be discussed and related directly to education.

Aotearoa/New Zealand has been strongly influenced in its cultural identity by its ties to Britain. It was never designed to be a sovereign state but was established as a colony, a place where excess British population could go without losing their national identity (Grief 1995: 8). Until the end of World War II the public life of the country was basically monocultural, notwithstanding the occasional incorporation of
cultural motifs of the indigenous Māori people into the national iconography (Brooking and Rabel 1995: 36). At that stage most of the small groups of non-British migrants who had arrived at different times had assimilated into the dominant culture and this cultural uniformity was a source of national pride (Brooking and Rabel 1995: 36). The government fostered a monocultural identity through its immigration policy, an unofficial ‘keep New Zealand white’ policy (Brooking and Rabel 1995: 23), and the primary source of migrants to New Zealand was Britain itself. While distinct groups of settlers had arrived in the country throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Chinese goldminers who came to the Otago goldfields for example, these groups were small and were soon swallowed up by the dominant culture. Their presence had the effect of fortifying settlers’ resolve to secure a White New Zealand dominion (Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 151).

Aotearoa/New Zealand was, in effect a ‘little Britain’, bound by cultural and economic ties to its mother country. Attitudes to immigration and cultural identity would only change when the country’s dependence on Britain started to decline.

In accordance with the monocultural identity being fostered through immigration, the education system followed an assimilation policy. Schools were expected to assimilate Māori children into the dominant culture by actively discouraging Māori beliefs and practices and replacing them with Pākehā belief systems and ‘manners’ (Jones et al. 1990: 137). Māori children were strapped for speaking their language at school and there was little or no respect accorded any aspect of their culture. This in turn led to a policy of integration; the best aspects of Māori and Pākehā cultures would be integrated into one unified culture (Jones et al. 1990: 137). Schools would offer selected aspects of Māori culture but there was no compulsion for non-Māori children to learn Māori culture, so the reality meant that there was little difference between assimilation and integration (Jones et al. 1990: 137).

During the post-war years a labour shortage led to a change of direction in immigration. Britain faced its own lack of labour, so Aotearoa/New Zealand turned to the nearby Pacific Islands as a means of counteracting the shortage. In the period
Immediately after World War II until the mid-1980s when the labour demand declined, Pacific Islands’ migration was high with the main migrants coming from Western Samoa, the Cook Islands, Nuie and the Tokelau Islands (Macpherson 1996: 125). The Pacific Island immigrants, bolstered by continual arrivals, were the only group to establish a community life of their own which stood apart from the British-dominated mainstream (Brooking and Rabel 1995: 41).

Another change in the public identity of Aotearoa/New Zealand occurred with the incorporation of Britain in the European Economic Community in 1973. The impact of this together with decolonization and the Vietnam war, was that implicit assumptions about the cultural superiority and British identity which was being fostered in the country began to be questioned (Brooking and Rabel 1995: 42). Britain had turned her back on Aotearoa/New Zealand in terms of economic markets. This severing of ties forced New Zealanders to redefine themselves as part of the South Pacific rather than a British outpost (Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 150). During this time a consciousness of Māori heritage was also developing.

The 1970s were a time of anger and activism for Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. As Fleras and Spoonley posit, generations of New Zealanders who saw the country as a paragon of racial tranquillity had to discover the hard way that all was not well (1999: 151). The emergence of the Māori land rights movement during this time led to the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 to inquire into Māori land grievances. The importance of the Treaty of Waitangi and the moral obligation of the New Zealand government to acknowledge both the Treaty and the status of Māori meant that Māori culture was re-established in Aotearoa/New Zealand at a public level. The origins of a new national identity emerged based on the treaty and focusing on partnership between Māori and the state.

Alongside the rise of Māoridom, Aotearoa/New Zealand’s situation as a country of cultural diversity was beginning to be realized and this opened up debate

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about the country’s public national identity. Since losing Britain’s economic support the country has been turning to Asia and the Pacific for both economic reasons and its own identity. Immigration policy has altered considerably and policy statements after 1978 make no reference to preference or exclusion on the basis of ethnic origins, however, it has been suggested that the administration of the policy still tended to favour immigrants from ‘traditional source countries’ (Brooking and Rabel 1995: 45). The 1986 review of immigration policy which was later expounded upon in the Immigration Act 1987, stated that the aim of the new policy was to: ‘enrich the multicultural fabric of New Zealand society through the selection of new settlers principally on the strength of their potential personal contribution to the future well-being of New Zealand,’ (cited in Walker 1986: 286-7). Thus the multicultural nature of Aotearoa/New Zealand society was recognized and acknowledged by the state and immigration policy changed in accordance with this.

Since the 1986 review the ethnic mix of migrants coming to Aotearoa/New Zealand has altered and there has been an increase in migrants from Asia. Asians made up 54.2% of the approvals granted by the Immigration Service for permanent residence in the country in the period 1991-1994 (Brooking and Rabel 1995: 46). However, these figures have declined since then due to remarks perceived as anti-Asian made in the years immediately after by politician and Leader of the New Zealand First party Winston Peters, who was also Deputy Prime Minister (1996–1998).

Fleras and Spoonley suggest that immigration has emerged as one of the pivotal issues of the 1990s and is about who we are as New Zealanders and what sort of society we want to become (1999: 188). Certainly immigration laws have affected the country on more than a superficial level; it has created self-scrutiny on what it means to be a New Zealander and opened up new conflicts between Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders. The anti-Asian feeling present in the country throughout much of the 1990s also revealed a racist and less than appealing aspect of

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12 See Ranginui Walker (1995) for a perspective of the negative impact on Māoridom of increased immigration.
Aotearoa/New Zealand society, it exposed a flaw in New Zealand’s ability to encompass and welcome diversity as part of its national identity (Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 152).

Different situations exist in different parts of the country. With 97% of Pacific Islanders and Asians living in cities – namely, Auckland and, to a lesser extent, Wellington and Christchurch – it is more accurate to describe Aotearoa/New Zealand not as ethnically heterogeneous, but as a largely homogenous society with nodes of urban cultural diversity (Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 235). Therefore some areas of the country remain largely unaffected by immigration patterns and the growing diversity.

1.6 Aotearoa/New Zealand Today: Monocultural, Bicultural, or Multicultural?

Aotearoa/New Zealand in the early 21st century is a country of confusion with regard to cultural identity. Most Pākehā New Zealanders reject an openly monocultural framework (Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 220) but there is ongoing debate over whether the country is bicultural or multicultural (Pearson 1996) and what in fact these terms mean. Mansfield (2002: 189) describes Aotearoa/New Zealand as being “now post-colonial or post imperialist, both bicultural and multicultural”. I suggest that Aotearoa/New Zealand is all of these things at different levels.

Biculturalism has affected society in Aotearoa/New Zealand from the bilingual naming of government departments and divisions, the increasing use of Māori language and protocol for state ceremonies and celebrations, through to commitment to the Treaty being expressed in the education curriculum and the charter of every school in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The development of a separatist education system for Māori also supports the suggestion that it is a bicultural society. Māori language immersion education programmes such as te kōhanga reo, which provide early childhood education and kura kaupapa schools have been instrumental in revitalizing Māori culture and language. The singing of the national anthem in both
English and Māori before national sporting events is another example of the emergent bicultural feeling in the country.

Multiculturalism in New Zealand society can be seen in a variety of ways, from the range of takeaway food we can buy to the entertainment at national and local celebrations. The establishment of groups such as the Dalmatian Cultural Society and events such as the Pasifika Festival and Chinese Dragon Boat races which are held in Auckland each year can sustain the notion of New Zealand as a multicultural nation.

Both biculturalism and multiculturalism have been defined with little flexibility. Harker and McConnachie define multiculturalism as a society which:

- exhibits a particular kind of pluralism. We need to distinguish between societies in which a number of different cultural fractions (or groups) exist at the local level, and those in which the cultural fractions are linked at the national level, and have an equal (or at least commensurate) part to play in the total national society. Only the latter are regarded as culturally pluralist and hence multicultural. (1985: 147)

Biculturalism has been defined in a similar way. Metge (1992) in a text used in teacher training programmes argues for the rejection of both terms. The addition of an “-ism” to a word, she suggests, does little more than facilitate its use as a catch phrase and its capacity for confusing an issue (Metge 1992: 19). Instead she advocates the use of the adjectives bicultural and multicultural with words like development or perspective.

Metge proposes two ways of defining bicultural and multicultural:

- they can be used in a simple, literal sense to indicate the presence of two or more ethnic groups or be reserved for situations in which the groups involved are accorded equal respect, have equitable and adequate access to power and other resources, and participate fully in decision making and policy making. (p18)

Metge has defined two extremes of the use of bicultural and multicultural but I suggest they represent the two ends of continuums. At one end of the continuum a bicultural society can mean two groups of people existing with little interactions between cultures, at the opposite end a fully bicultural society is one equally influenced by each culture operating at every level: legal, social, educational, private, public. A similar model can be applied to the term multicultural. Aotearoa/New
Zealand has a position on each continuum and this position is not static but one that is constantly changing.

Some Māori leaders have rejected multiculturalism in favour of biculturalism. Māori commentator and academic Ranginui Walker, for example, argues that present immigration policy is against the principles of partnership stated in the Treaty of Waitangi, and that a multicultural ideology is a direct negation of the Māori assertion of the primacy of biculturalism (Walker 1995: 286).

While it cannot be denied that people of Māori descent occupy a unique place in Aotearoa/New Zealand society, it could also be suggested that it is a multicultural nation, and indeed, has been since the arrival of the first settlers in the early nineteenth century. Harker and McConnochie's multicultural model would argue that the country is multi-ethnic rather than multicultural, as, while many ethnic groups have contributed to the population of the country, assimilation into the dominant Pākehā culture has been the prevailing result. The continuum model allows Aotearoa/New Zealand to be viewed as both bicultural and multicultural simultaneously.

I would also suggest that society can be multicultural and bicultural at different levels. While the state has focused on establishing a monocultural identity in the public world, the reality at the private/personal/community level is that many cultural identities have been established in Aotearoa/New Zealand. As time passes many of these are emerging to be publicly part of the fabric of society. The presence of a strong Pacific Island community in Aotearoa/New Zealand,13 for example, would support the concept of the country as being multicultural. These communities began to be established in the 1950s and have been strengthened by immigration in the decades following. Since the 1980s the presence of this community in Aotearoa/New Zealand has come into view from private realms into the public domain (Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 216). A’oga amata, the Samoan equivalent of kōhanga reo, for example, have been present in the country since 1983. Sports role

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13 While there are many Pacific Island communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand, they are often spoken of as one group.
models such as All Black Jonah Lomu and shot putter Beatrice Faumuina have helped to bring recognition and public notice to the Pacific Island communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand. When Faumuina won the Sportsperson of the Year Award in 1998 her acceptance of the award included a display by a Samoan group, whom she joined in a traditional Samoan dance, supported by female members of her family (Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 212).

Fleras and Spoonley in *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand* (1999) provide one of the most recent and thorough discourses on identity issues in the country. They use both terms when discussing the current environment in Aotearoa/New Zealand and raise the use of the term ‘bi-nationalism’ in relation to Treaty demands.

Inasmuch as multiculturalism is concerned with depoliticizing diversity by way of institutional accommodation, New Zealand continues to espouse a de facto multiculturalism in practice and outcomes, despite bicultural lip service to the contrary. Māori demands are increasingly articulated around the principles of a bi-nationalism, rather than biculturalism, as a basis for engagement or entitlement. The resulting discrepancy between expectations and reality is likely to generate conflict. The failure to secure a balance between the ‘isms’ has prompted the Race Relations Conciliator, Dr Rajen Prasad, to go on record in mid-1997 in pleading for ‘another way of thinking about ourselves as a multi-ethnic society with an indigenous culture, and with a founding document that regulates the relationship between iwi and Crown’. (1999: 220-1)

New Zealanders are still coming to terms with ‘another way of thinking about themselves’ and no doubt will be for many years to come. Identity issues within Aotearoa/New Zealand and the concepts of biculturalism and multiculturalism are currently some of the most contentious aspects of our society and there is no sign of these being resolved in the near future.

The public/state face of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s cultural identity is decided by immigration policy and reinforced through the education curriculum. It has moved from a British-influenced monocultural perspective, with small groups of non-British migrants losing their identity through intermarriage and being assimilated into society, as well as a denial of Māori heritage, through to biculturalism and
multiculturalism. Aotearoa/New Zealand is struggling to find its own national identity.

1.7 Identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand: Being Pākehā

Terminology is a problem for non-Māori New Zealanders. We cannot agree what even to call ourselves. There is much resistance to the label ‘Pākehā’. This is due to many reasons; it is a Māori word, the identity would be given by another cultural group, and it is a popular myth that the term originated as an insult (Bell 1996: 144). Likewise the term ‘New Zealand European’ is not universally accepted either. One wonders at the appropriateness of such a label in a country where most residents have little or no tangible connection to Europe. The Department of Statistics has acknowledged that there are significant numbers of the dominant group of white New Zealanders who object to any ethnic labels being applied to them (Department of Statistics, cited in Bell 1996: 145). To overcome this and in an attempt to minimize offence the Department uses the term ‘New Zealand European/Pākehā’ in their ethnicity questions. Although a recent development is that for the 2001 census the term used will revert to ‘New Zealand European’ rather than combined labels. This has sparked much criticism in the media and re-ignited debate over what we call ourselves.

The label ‘New Zealander’ is not appropriate when used in the sense of ethnicity. This implies that white New Zealanders are the New Zealanders, anything else would fall into the category of ‘other’. As Bell has suggested by claiming a specific identity for Pākehā New Zealanders amongst other groups of Māori, Samoan, Tongan, Chinese New Zealanders etc. Pākehā identity recognizes and names white New Zealanders as one group among many who co-exist here (1996: 153).

Michael King’s book Being Pākehā (1985) was instrumental in opening up debate both for and against the use of the term. Here King suggests that being Pākehā involves a claim to an ethnicity distinct from that of Europeans. He also defines Pākehā and Māori in relation to each other.
Māori ... denotes the descendants of the country's first Polynesian immigrants. Pākehā – a word whose origins are contentious – denotes non-Māori New Zealanders. The terms are indigenous to New Zealand, and neither is pejorative. Both offer a kind of shorthand to describe two broadly separate though not homogenous traditions: that of New Zealand Polynesians, in which information tends still to be transmitted orally, values communally rather than individually based, and prestige measured by what one distributes rather than by what one accumulates; and the originally Western and European tradition which includes emphasis on literacy, on individual rights, and on material acquisition. (King 1985: 12-13)

King defines Pākehā here in relation to Māori; the two identities form opposite sides of the same coin. However, this can be taken a step further. The use of the term Pākehā can suggest recognition of the dual partnership between Māori and non-Māori, and New Zealand's colonial history. In the years following King's discourse the term has been used increasingly in this light.

... a number of those who employ the label Pākehā do so to signal their commitment to a set of post-colonial politics. It is not simply a convenient way of describing your identity; it entails support for tino rangatiratanga, a questioning of institutions and politics and their appropriateness for a bicultural and/or bi-national Aotearoa, and a rejection of various manifestations of colonialism, past and present. It provides a nuanced, highly political conception of identity, which is attached to a particular position in the debates surrounding ethnicity and indigeneity, and the reform of policies and structures. (Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 106)

This suggests that the term 'Pākehā' is becoming a symbolic one. It has moved beyond being a label that differentiates between Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders to a term that has a very particular and specialized meaning. This shift in meaning reflects the changing attitudes towards things Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand society.

King has since rewritten Being Pākehā and in 1999 published Being Pākehā Now. In a preface to the reprint he notes the different social and cultural climate present in the country.

Then, it seemed to me, the most important task ... was to make Māori preoccupations and expectations intelligible to Pākehā New Zealanders; to make it clear why I believed that Māori had every right to be Māori in their own country and to expect Pākehā to respect them. Two decades on, with the Māori renaissance in full flow, that need has
been met. New Zealand is for the first time making a conscious effort to accommodate Māori grievances and aspirations. What I am conscious of now is a rather different but equally pressing need. It is to explain Pākehā New Zealanders to Māori and to themselves; and to do this in terms of their right to live in this country, practice their values and culture and be themselves. (King 1999: 9)

Alongside the growing awareness of what it means to be Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the question of what it means to be Pākehā has arisen. What exactly is Pākehā culture?

Pākehā New Zealanders are not only struggling to find a name but also a sense of self. As has been noted already in the reactions of certain teachers to the concept of ‘culture’ and my research, many Pākehā do not see themselves as having a culture. Culture is perceived as either being ‘high culture’, for example, classical music, or as being something which other ethnic groups have.

Majority groups in settler societies such as New Zealand did not believe that they had a culture. A prevailing view, and one that is still widely held, is the belief that majority groups conduct their public and private lives according to universally held and superior systems and values. Others are guided by culture; they are not. The institutions of which they are part, what they believe, and how they act are not culturally bound, but are viewed as natural, normal and necessary. (Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 81)

Bell has also commented on the quandary facing Pākehā New Zealanders concerning their cultural identity:

Their way of doing things, their values, their structures and aims are normal and common sense; conversely those of others are strange, not normal and not to be countenanced in the organization of politics, work, etc. but to be reserved for picturesque display and consumption in the context of leisure activity and tourism only. On the other hand the lack of recognition of Pākehā culture as culture encourages doubt about the existence of a distinctive national culture... Pākehā culture may be the national culture in terms of providing the persuasive, commonsense underpinnings for the ordering of social life, but Māori culture is the national culture when distinctiveness and ethnic exoticism is called for. (Bell: 149)

There is a sense of irony in the fact that Pākehā New Zealanders, in a situation where the national culture must be displayed through song, costume, dance etc. turn to Māori culture to represent Aotearoa/New Zealand (Bell 1996: 149).
This has resulted in non-Māori Aotearoa/New Zealand culture being defined through icons. Items such as the children’s toy buzzy bee, gumboots, and woolly sheep are regarded as emblems of our national culture. From black singlets through to hokey pokey ice-cream there is no shortage of concrete motifs of the culture in this country. However, what these symbols actually represent and stand for in terms of culture is harder to define.

Identity issues within Aotearoa/New Zealand also affect immigrants to the country. Children born here to parents who have immigrated face their own identity dilemmas. Tension can arise between children born here and their parents as the former struggle to reconcile traditional cultural values with their new identity as New Zealanders. Intermarriage can fragment connections and new forms of identity appear. An individual might identify as any one of a number of groups depending on the circumstances.

Identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand is an ongoing issue. We have not yet come to terms with reconciling our past with our future. While there is pride and self-awareness within Māori culture, Pākehā culture has yet to determine itself. In many ways Māori and Pacific Island New Zealanders have a stronger sense of the multiplicity of Aotearoa/New Zealand culture and their sense of place within it than Pākehā New Zealanders. Māori and Pacific Island New Zealanders learn to move between two worlds, understanding and coming to terms with values in both the dominant culture and the culture of their birth. By comparison Pākehā New Zealanders are able to remain ethnocentric and monocultural, as theirs is the culture of the dominant mainstream.

Identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand is indefinable in simple terms. There is no singular identity, but rather identity here is complexly woven: a dynamic mosaic of beliefs, attitudes and cultures. Biculturalism is becoming a stronger part of our identity as we move into the next century, and multiculturalism also has the potential to become more entwined within our national culture.

In this research the term ‘Pākehā’ will be used to describe New Zealanders of European descent. Pākehā provides a term to describe the dominant ethnic group
living in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the terms of that own country rather than prior connections to Europe. Pākehā is a word for the future direction of the country, ‘New Zealand European’ is a label which stems from the past.

While Māori New Zealanders are re-establishing their own sense of identity in a very public and forthright manner, non-Māori New Zealanders of a European descent are somewhat in turmoil. Māori have a very rich cultural background; language, customs, beliefs and myths that are theirs alone. Pākehā New Zealanders are struggling to come to terms with an identity which, while descended from European roots, has not yet established itself in its own sense.

1.8 Early Childhood Education In Aotearoa/New Zealand

Early childhood is defined in this research as 0 - 4 inclusive, namely the preschool age. There is more diversity within early childhood education in Aotearoa/New Zealand than any other stage of education. Smith states that there are twenty-six different types of services in this country (1992: 385).

The diversity of early childhood education is both a strength and a weakness. It is a strength because it offers parents a wide range of types of care and education. The weakness lies in the situation of having many self-governed types of early childhood care and no united management that can speak for all of early childhood education. This fragmentation of control results in small groups having limited power.

The government plays the major part in making decisions about early childhood education in Aotearoa/New Zealand, mainly through funding and regulation. Their main agents are the Ministry of Education and an organization called Early Childhood Development (ECD), a crown entity that provides advice and support on early childhood education and parenting, with a particular emphasis on funding playgroups. However, parents and community groups also have a strong role to play in determining the types of early childhood education available. Most types of early childhood education are run in close conjunction with parents and the
wider community. Parents are usually involved at many different levels: from administration and organization through to providing the educational programme. Parents and communities have the power and ability to create an early childhood programme through contact with ECD.

There are also problems with terminology within the early childhood world. There is a traditional belief that early childhood is associated with care rather than education, and that services may provide either one or the other.14 However current thinking acknowledges that all early childhood programmes aim to provide both care and education. A problem of terminology within this research concerns the use of the word ‘centre’. All early childhood institutions are referred to as ‘centres’ in this thesis, however the term ‘childcare centre’ refers to a specific type of early childhood provider.

Three contexts of early childhood education are used as the basis for this study. One context is what I have termed ‘culture-specific’ early childhood education, namely te kōhanga reo and a’oga amata. These are culture-specific early childhood education because they provide care for children (all under 5) in an environment that involves immersion in one culture’s language and beliefs. A second context is childcare centres, which cater for all children under 5, and the final context is kindergartens, these provide education for three and four year olds.

Te kōhanga reo were established in 1982 by Māori and are administered by the Kōhanga Reo Trust. They cater for children from 0 - 5 and provide Māori immersion childcare, in both language and culture. Many are located on marae. The belief behind kōhanga reo is that total immersion in Māori language and culture will revitalize Māoritanga and ensure its survival. It is revolutionary in its concept, not just capturing the traditional values and practices of the past, but it has a programme that looks to the future (Jenkins 1994: 169). In 1997 kōhanga reo were the second largest group of providers of early childhood education (18%) and 8% of children enrolled in some sort of service were at kōhanga. 42% of all Māori children under

14 For a discussion of this see Caldwell (1989) who suggests the adoption of the term ‘educare’ to describe the integrated nature of early childhood services.
five attend kōhanga. Te kōhanga reo literally means ‘the language nest’ and for this reason both kōhanga and Pacific Island language groups are often referred to as language nests. However, the terminology used in this research is ‘language groups’, the more common present usage.

Pacific Island language groups form another culture-specific category of early childhood education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. A‘oga amata are a Samoan language immersion form of early childhood service. They also cater for children from 0 - 5 and are often operated as part of a church or community group. They aim to use the Samoan language and cultural beliefs within an early childhood programme and to preserve both language and culture in this way. A Samoan language nest curriculum does not limit children to fa‘aSamoa but tries to bridge the gap between the children’s environment in Aotearoa/New Zealand society and the importance of their cultural heritage (Tanaoilelagi 1988: 11, Utumapu 1998: 31-2). In 1997 Pacific Island language groups made up 4% of all service providers and 2% of children under five who were enrolled in some form of early childhood education were enrolled in a language group.

Kōhanga and language groups have similar objectives: they both aim to provide early childhood education in an environment that immerses children in a specific language and culture. While Smith has suggested that Pacific Island centres differ slightly from kōhanga reo in that their aim is not so much to revive a dying language as to preserve already fluent languages and traditional values for immigrant groups (Smith 1992: 389), this makes for little difference in the practical reality of how the two types of education operate. Utumapu, for example has commented on the similarity of kōhanga to language groups pertaining to its philosophy, and kaupapa which include the involvement of women and the importance attributed to language and culture (1998: 22). One difference between kōhanga and a‘oga amata is that te kōhanga reo have a stated aim to have whānau development and growth through the kōhanga reo. Again this does not make a significant difference to the day to day reality of the programmes. Because of the similarities between kōhanga and a‘oga I

15 Unless otherwise stated all statistics in this section are from the Education Statistics Newsheet, Data
have grouped these two distinct types of early childhood education together in this study and together they form the culture-specific category of early childhood education. My data will support this by showing strong commonalities between music and the way it is used in these centres.

Childcare centres are the most common form of early childhood education providers. In 1997 37.6% of children under five enrolled in some form of care attended a childcare centre and they accounted for 32% of all early childhood service providers. This figure includes centres that follow a particular educational philosophy, such as Montessori preschools. However, I have limited myself to centres whose main role is to provide care for children who have working parents. While education is nevertheless a feature of these centres, I suggest that the primary aim is to provide high quality childcare for children of parents who are unable to be at home. Childcare centres cater for children from 0 - 5 and the primary objective is to provide an education and care programme appropriate to the age of the children. Each childcare centre has its own philosophy and beliefs that influence the day to day running of the centre.

Kindergartens are the oldest form of early childhood education in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the first was established in 1889 (Smith 1992: 385). Until recently kindergarten was the most common form of early childhood education, but due to more women entering the workforce the sessional structure of kindergartens is not suited to many families and this is no longer the case. Kindergartens generally provide a programme for two groups of children: three afternoons a week for three-year-olds and five mornings a week for four-year-olds. However, falling rolls have led some kindergartens to include children from as young as two and a half in their centres. In 1997 29% of children enrolled in a form of early childhood education attended kindergarten and they were the third largest provider (15%). The primary aim of kindergartens is to provide a service that is both affordable and accessible to those who want to use it.


16 In 1989 42% of children under five enrolled in care were at kindergarten (Smith 1992) compared with 29% in 1997.
This research has focused on the morning session of the kindergarten programme. This is because, being older children, they are more able to communicate their ideas. Also, because the mornings are on consecutive days, it allowed more consistent daily contact than an afternoon group would have done.

The three contexts of kindergarten, childcare centre and Pacific Island language groups/kōhanga reo represent the three largest groups of providers of early childhood education in New Zealand. Together they cater for the needs of 77% of the children enrolled in early childhood education. For these reasons these types of centres were chosen for this study.

Another reason for conducting this research in the centres outlined above is that the study focuses on early childhood teachers. While all of the contexts do have parental involvement to a certain degree, it is in a far lesser extent than an early childhood provider such as playcentre. This study wanted to avoid programmes in which parents contributed, and concentrate on the centres that had trained teachers, while playcentres have trained supervisors, they also have a very high level of parent involvement, sometimes at the supervisor level.

The three contexts used in this study cover a variety of factors. Together they represent early childhood education for children of all ages from 0 – 4 inclusive. One is a culture-specific type of early childhood education, one has as its primary aim to provide a form of early childhood education that can be available to all whom require it, and the third provides early childhood education for children of working parents. While this study cannot be said to speak definitively for every type of early childhood programme in Aotearoa/New Zealand, it nonetheless provides a general study of the majority of providers of education for young children and the contexts that early childhood teachers work in.

1.9 *Te Whāriki*
Recent reforms in the early childhood sector of education in Aotearoa/New Zealand began with the Labour Government's *Before Five* early childhood policy (Lange 1989). Where once the diversity of early childhood educational services meant that there were no consistent regulations across services, now each kind of service receives an entitlement to a sessional grant based on the age of each child. Also, requirements for quality standards and minimum regulations are the same for every type of centre. In order to qualify for government funding all centres and home-based programmes must meet regulatory requirements and develop a charter. Staff, parents and the community write the charter in conjunction with each other and it is required to outline the centre's curriculum and how it will deliver a quality early childhood programme. While the government had not previously been concerned with curriculum in early childhood, it now justified its intervention because it provides an average of 50% of the operating costs of centres (Carr and May 1993: 10).

A further development for the improvement of quality in early childhood was the decision to develop national early childhood curriculum guidelines which would assist centres to write their charters and provide quality programmes (Carr and May 1993: 10).

The idea of a national curriculum for early childhood was approached by those in the sector with some caution.

During consultation it became clear that early childhood organizations and practitioners were wary that a national curriculum might constrain their current freedom of philosophy and practice. Nevertheless they saw that there was a danger in not defining an early childhood curriculum: the new national curriculum for schools might trickle downward into early childhood curriculum, particularly as the Government was introducing more systematic assessment guidelines during the early school years. (Carr and May 1993: 10)

However, the value of such a document could also be seen if it could unite all early childhood education under an umbrella of shared beliefs and principles, but allow for the philosophies of distinct types of education to have their freedom.

Carr and May (1993) have outlined the development of the Curriculum Project. The Curriculum Development Team consisted of fifteen practitioners, trainers and nationally respected early childhood educators. The Team members led and
consulted with four specialist working groups: Māori Immersion, Curricula for Pacific Island Children (Tagata Pasifika), Including Children with Special Needs and Home Based Programmes. Carr and May stress that the partnership formed with the National Kōhanga Reo Trust was of particular importance, and the support of such a body meant that the early childhood curriculum could potentially provide a bicultural and bilingual framework for early childhood education.

The development of this document included consultation seminars throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand with early childhood educators from as many of the diverse types of early childhood education as possible, including practitioners from Steiner and Montessori kindergartens through to church based and home based programmes. Also an Advisory Group of representatives from a variety of early childhood related institutions contributed feedback on all documents throughout the process.

The result of this discourse is *Te Whāriki*, the early childhood curriculum. Translated *Te Whāriki* means ‘a woven mat’ and this is an important part of the concept of the document. It has been envisaged as being woven from the Principles, Strands, and Goals defined in the text and the idea of a whāriki recognizes the diversity of early childhood education in Aotearoa (Ministry of Education 1996).

*Te Whāriki* is significant to this research for three reasons. First, as mentioned earlier, all early childhood providers who receive government funding must meet regulatory requirements and develop an operating charter. The charter must meet the requirements of the ‘Early Childhood Education Charter Guidelines: Statement of Desirable Objectives and Practices 1996” which have been put into practice since August 1998. The Statement of DOPS is compatible with *Te Whāriki*; it legalizes the intent of the curriculum document. Therefore, in order to conduct fieldwork in the early childhood world an understanding of the curriculum document is mandatory. *Te Whāriki* has provided me with a window into the environment, it has helped to make my outsider status a little less obvious.

Second, *Te Whāriki* is relevant to this study because of the structure of the document. The weaving metaphor of Principles, Strands, and Goals and the holistic
approach to early childhood education are two ways in which it has influenced this research. The Te Whāriki model views the curriculum for each child as more like a 'spider web' or weaving. It emphasizes education for young children as being a tapestry of increasing complexity and richness, as opposed to a 'staircase' model of a series of independent steps of learning from which the child exits to school (May and Carr 1997: 228). This research regards musical activities in early childhood education in a similar way. Music in the early childhood centre comes from a variety of sources and occurs in many different ways.

Te Whāriki is structured in terms of four guiding Principles and five Strands, the Goals for learning and development grow out of the Strands. Music falls clearly into the Strand of Communication, which is subdivided into the development of verbal and non-verbal skills, as well as experiencing cultures’ stories and symbols and discovering ways to be creative and expressive.

Finally Te Whāriki is significant to this research because it has explicit music-related examples to help teachers understand what the principles and goals might mean in practice. For example:

The programme includes action songs and action rhymes in Māori and Pacific Island languages as well as English. (p75)

Children develop an increasing familiarity with a selection of the art, craft, songs, music and stories which are valued by the cultures in the community. (p80)

Children develop familiarity with a variety of types of music, art, dance and drama as expressions of feeling, mood, situation, occasion and culture. (p80)

In Te Whāriki music is seen as one of many ways that recognition can be given to different cultures. Songs and action rhymes are seen as a way of introducing both Māori and Pacific Island languages. Music is also regarded as a way of expressing feeling and emotion, as well as a child’s creativity.

Te Whāriki’s lack of explicit musical direction has come under criticism by some music educators in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Helen Willberg, a lecturer in early childhood and primary education at the Wellington College of Education has this to

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17 The four Principles are: Holistic Development, Empowerment, Family and Community, and Relationships. The five Strands have names in both Māori and English: Well-being/Mana Atua,
say about the differences between the new, more descriptive Early Childhood Curriculum, and the old prescriptive music syllabus.

The 'old' music syllabus from 1989 encompassed music education from birth to form 7 and suggested that musical development depended on people who could create, recreate and appreciate, and that teachers should work through the activities of singing, listening, moving and playing.

This is still a valid framework. The two 'new' documents Te Whāriki and the Draft Arts Curriculum are much less clear about roles, and less definite about activities. Te Whāriki offers a wonderfully holistic approach to creative arts in the early childhood programme, but music is nearly always in the service of 'belonging' or 'communicating' and seldom experienced for its own sake. A commitment to develop specific skills for their own sake is left to the musically interested teacher. (Willberg 1999a: 5)

Is Willberg right? Does the Curriculum only approach music as a tool for transmitting other cultures? Is there no mention of music for music's sake, or of developing musical skills? While Te Whāriki is a document that allows for the possibility of imaginative and diverse use of music in early childhood education, it might also result in music being used only to pay lip service to 'other cultures'. This is one of the areas addressed in this study: how influential musically is Te Whāriki?

1.10 Conclusion

This research brings together different threads of Aotearoa/New Zealand society and places them in an international context. It examines the musical development of teachers in early childhood centres and is of practical use to educators in this field. The multifaceted world of the early childhood teacher with its many musical influences is revealed, and teachers' methods for incorporating different musical activities and overcoming personal obstacles are discussed.

Chapter 2 examines the microsystem of the early childhood centre and the teacher contributing to musical activities within that setting. The third chapter looks at the musical mesosystem connections between the microsystem of the centre and Belonging/Mana Whenua, Contribution/Mana Tangata, Communication/Mana Reo and
other microsystems that the teachers participate in, such as their home and family life, and their professional training experiences. Chapter 4 shifts to the exosystems, the musical influences that are brought into the centre by other people, such as the children, parents, and other visiting adults. The macrosystem level forms the basis of Chapter 5, and the influences of culture and nation on music in the centres. Chapter 6 is a discussion of the main elements of the thesis, including implications for practitioners, a reflection on the study itself, and suggestions for future research.

Finally, this research suggests a fresh approach for the training of early childhood teachers in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The early childhood centre is a meeting place of many different musics and musical ideas. Training programmes need to reflect this and empower teachers to approach music in their centres with confidence and above all, a sense of musical enjoyment.

Exploration/Mana Aotūroa. These are not literal translations but rather equivalent concepts.
Chapter 2: The Microsystem: The Teacher and Music in the Centre

This chapter reveals the microsystem of the early childhood centre and the ways that music occurs within it. While Campbell (1998) gives narrative tales of the musical settings in which she observed children at musical play, this chapter establishes the world of early childhood music through a series of musical categories: music and group times, spontaneous music, and secondary uses of music. This chapter is about the musicking within the centre: the ways that the children and teachers engage in musical activities.

Another study carried out in an early childhood centre in Aotearoa/New Zealand examined the role of music in one early childhood centre and formulated a tripartite model: music for fun, music for learning, music for sleep time (Willberg 2001: 70).

Figure 2: Willberg's model for music in the centre

Music for Fun

\[\text{e.g. movement/dance}\]

↓

spontaneous/unplanned

Music for Learning

↓

Infants' communication

Music for Sleep time

↓

At set times/planned

While Willberg's model could have been used in my study, it was not appropriate in some of the centres, for example, in the kindergartens which did not have a sleep time. This study concentrates on the role of the teacher, and it is with this particular...
focus that I constructed a framework for discussing the ways music occurs in the different centres. It is similar to Willberg’s model, in that it separates musical activities into three distinct categories, but the three main types of musicking are further subdivided:

**Figure 3: My model for music in the centres**

Music and group gatherings

Spontaneous musicking

Secondary use of music

- General group times
- Organized music sessions
- Fragments
- Songs
- Background dancing
- Exercise

The draft of *Te Whāriki* (1993: 13) states that the curriculum includes both planned and unplanned experiences, and music occurs in both of these ways. The model used to discuss music in the centres encompasses both the planned and unplanned. Music as part of group gatherings is examined first; both music as part of general group times and sessions which have a specific focus on music. The next section looks at spontaneous music in the centres; from incidental musical fragments, through to the spontaneous singing of whole songs, and use of instruments. The final part of this chapter is concerned with secondary uses of music. The focus is on the ways recorded music is used in the centres: for exercise sessions, improvised dancing, and background music.

The data for this chapter comes from observations of music in the centres. I video recorded any group gatherings in the centres and then analyzed the videos, noting the number of children involved, and the teachers participating. Spontaneous musicking was observed and recorded in my fieldwork notes, as was the use of
background music. I also questioned teachers in the interviews about the number of times music occurred during a week and compared their answers with my own observations.

2.1 Music and Group Times

Every early childhood centre has one or more times during the day when all of the children come together as one group. Examples of this are when the children sit on a large mat or carpeted area for stories and/or discussion, or when the children gather for meals. All of the centres in the study were observed to have group times, some only one a session, others many times throughout the day. Some of these were sessions devoted solely to music, while others were general group times that might involve music, but equally might not.

2.1.1 General group times

A general group time is defined as a time in the session when all or most of the children gather in one area for discussion, learning and/or eating. Stories might be read at this time, songs might be sung, or there might simply be discussion pertaining to the present programme in the centre. Music, while often being a part of a general group time, might not always be, which is what distinguishes these times from organized music sessions described below.

While all of the centres had general group times throughout the day or session, these did not always occur at the same time. There was a slight difference of when the group time would occur in the kindergartens. Kindergartens 2, 3, 4 and 5 ended with an organized group session on the mat that involved all of the children and lasted approximately fifteen minutes. However, K3\textsuperscript{18} also had a group time at the beginning of each session, also lasting approximately 15 minutes. K1 did not end the session with an organized group time, instead K1 had a mid-morning mat time
which evolved into an organized music session. Both teachers and all of the children participated in this and it usually lasted thirty minutes. It is difficult to classify this period as specifically a music session or a group time and for this reason it will be discussed under both headings. Organized group times in the other kindergartens were almost invariably led by one teacher, except on the days when a child was turning five when all the teachers would participate.

The three childcare centres showed no strong similarities with the place of music in organized group times. In the middle of the morning at CC1 the children would be divided into age groups and music sometimes would be part of these small group times which were led by pairs of teachers. While this was reported to me, I only actually observed one musical instance at these times, the rest were devoted to reading stories. The children of this centre also frequently performed songs individually between courses at lunchtime. This activity would usually be suggested by the teachers and had become a sort of routine in the centre. The teachers themselves rarely joined in, but were observed to prompt a child if he or she faltered in their singing. These impromptu concerts had begun spontaneously but had become one of the routines in the centre. For this reason it is difficult to define and classify them as either organized or spontaneous and so they will be included under both categories.

The babies at CC3 were regularly sung to as they sat in their highchairs at mealtimes, all of the teachers present in the nursery joined in. However, music was not part of any routine organized group time for the older children in the centre. CC2 had a pre-lunch gathering on the mat that often involved music and singing. All of the children were encouraged to join in, but if they did not want to participate they did not have to. Teachers took turns to led this session individually while the other teachers tidied the centre, supervised any children who were not participating, and organized lunch.

Music had a very prevalent place during the organized group sessions in all of the language groups. TKR2 had a morning karakia (prayer) and mihimih (ritualized

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18 Please refer to Table 1 for the full list of codes and centres.
self-introduction) time. A waiata was sung after each child’s mihimihi, emulating marae protocol. Each waiata was chosen by the child who had just done their mihimihi and everybody joined in the singing. In Māori culture the singing of a song after a speech is regarded as kīnaki or relish to complement the speaker’s words (Tangaere 1997: 24). In this way the group showed their support to the child who had just done their mihimihi and the children and teachers of the centre became one group or whānau. All of the children and all of the teachers participated in this time and it was observed to last approximately twenty-five minutes. No one teacher led the session, all participated equally.

TKR1 also had a morning group time for karakia and waiata, although the mihimihi were not always done at this time. Again all of the teachers and all of the children took part. Sometimes this group session evolved into a music session with one or two of the teachers and some of the children staying in the area to continue singing songs and/or dancing. This group time for karakia lasted approximately twenty minutes but it could be much longer if it continued on into a music session. Music was also part of meal times in TKR1. A karanga was sung to summon the children to morning tea and lunch and a call and response chant from a hīkoi was observed during morning tea led by one teacher which all of the children joined in.

AA1 and AA2 had several organized group times during the day: early morning, pre-morning tea, pre-lunch, and mid-afternoon. Two or three teachers and all of the children participated in these times. Sometimes all of the teachers would join in. These were observed to last from approximately five to twenty minutes. Significantly, music was a part of every organized group gathering in all of the language groups, while it was a part of most group gatherings in the kindergartens and some group gatherings in the childcare centres.

2.1.2 Organized music sessions

An organized music session is defined as a set time in the programme of a centre designated as a group music time. These sessions might be voluntary or
mandatory, depending on the centre, and might be led by a single teacher, some of the teachers, or all of the teachers might participate. Of the twelve centres in the study, eight had a daily session for which music was the primary focus.

All but one of the five kindergartens in the study had a mid-morning music session that was part of the regular daily routine. For K3 and K5 this was a voluntary session for those children who wished to participate. It was taken by one staff member, whoever was rostered on as the ‘mobile’\(^\text{19}\) and usually lasted somewhere between twenty to thirty minutes at both centres. For K1 and K4 this was a mandatory session, all of the children in the session were expected to participate. At K4 this session was led by one teacher but the other teachers would also join in. However their role was on the periphery and they were observed to be distracted by other things, such as telephone calls and talking with parents. This music session lasted approximately twenty minutes. K1’s music session, as mentioned earlier, involved both the teachers and grew out of the general group mat time. K2 was reported to have a twice-weekly music session that involved some of the children and was led by one of the teachers, and lasted approximately thirty minutes. However, this session did not always happen, and during the week that I was observing in the centre only one music session took place.

Of the three childcare centres only CC3 had a designated music time each day. This occurred in the middle of the morning and was led by the same teacher who was regarded as being responsible for music in the centre. This session was reported to occasionally involve all of the teachers, for example for a special event such as a child’s birthday, and while it was voluntary, all of the children were encouraged to join in. The teacher who led the session stated that if a child had not participated in the music recently then she would make a point of trying to involve that child. This session was reported to last anything from ten to thirty minutes, depending on the level of interest of the children. CC1 had a weekly session in a gymnasium that began with a short group music time that involved all of the children and staff but was led

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\(^{19}\) These three teacher kindergartens divided the roles of the teachers as follows: one inside, one outside, and one who was considered ‘mobile’ and who had the freedom to go where she was needed, organizing a special art activity for example, or a different outdoor activity such as water play.
by a different staff member each week. This was observed to last seven minutes. CC2 did not have an organized music session as part of its programme.

All but one of the language groups had a daily time that focused specifically on music. Two or three of the four times during the day which the children of AA1 and AA2 gathered on the mat would be almost solely devoted to music. Most of the teachers would also participate alongside the children, and all of the children were required to be part of the group. These sessions lasted for approximately fifteen minutes, although many continued for longer if the children maintained their interest. In TKR1 the morning karakia time often evolved into a music session for those children who wanted to be involved. As well as this there was a daily music session which usually occurred in the afternoon. The time frame varied considerably, again following the interest of the children. While the session began with all of the children, they could come and go of their own volition. Most of the teachers also participated in these music times. TKR2 did not have an organized daily music session.

In two of the centres music was used to signal the beginning of these organized group times. K1 signaled the clean-up time that led to the music session by a tape of a song about cleaning. This music signified the beginning of the general group time and music session. In the Samoan language groups the *pate* almost always signaled these times. Most often a teacher, but occasionally a child, would play this traditional Samoan drum to signify the start of a mat time. The link with Samoan culture can be seen in this use of the pate. In most villages in Samoa it is used as a signaling device, and is closely associated with announcing the beginning of school (Moyle 1988: 40). In this way a strong connection with life and culture on the islands is being established in Samoan early childhood education in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The following table summarizes each centre and the place of music in group gatherings. All times are approximate.
Table 2: The place of music in group gatherings

GGT = General Group Time
OMS = Organized Music Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GGT</th>
<th>OMS</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GGT/OMS</td>
<td>GGT/OMS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K1</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30mins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K2</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>2x week</td>
<td>One/One</td>
<td>All/Some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 mins</td>
<td>30 mins</td>
<td></td>
<td>*but others join in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3</td>
<td>2x day</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>One/One</td>
<td>All/Some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 mins</td>
<td>25 mins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K4</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>One/one</td>
<td>All/All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 mins</td>
<td>20 mins</td>
<td>lead</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*but others join in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K5</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>One/One</td>
<td>All/Some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 mins</td>
<td>25 mins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC1</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>1x week</td>
<td>Pairs/One</td>
<td>In age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Music rare</td>
<td>7 mins</td>
<td>lead</td>
<td>group/All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*but others join in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*also songs performed at meals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC2</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>One/-</td>
<td>All/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10-15 mins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 The pate is a traditional Samoan drum made out of a hollowed log and played with a wooden stiker.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CC3</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Daily</th>
<th>*/One */Some</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*babies sung 10-30 mins to at meals</td>
<td></td>
<td>*same</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AA1</th>
<th>4x day 2 or 3 out of 4 GGTs 5-20 mins</th>
<th>At least 2, All often all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AA2</th>
<th>4x day 2 or 3 out of 4 GGTs 5-20 mins</th>
<th>At least 2, All often all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TKR1</th>
<th>Daily x2 Day Combined 20 mins * also another in pm</th>
<th>All/Some All/All *but free to go</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TKR2</th>
<th>1x day no 25 mins</th>
<th>All/- All/-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### 2.1.3 Discussion

What is most significant is the difference in teacher musical involvement in kindergartens and childcare centres, and language groups. While in the language groups generally all of the teachers led music sessions and groups times, or at least two teachers, almost always in the kindergartens and childcare centres these were
led by an individual teacher. In all three of the childcare centres no music sessions occurred which involved all of the teachers participating equally. While there were occasions when all of the teachers joined in, there was always one teacher who was seen as being in charge of the session and who took control. The others followed their lead. Indeed in one of the centres the music session was always taken by the same person. Likewise, in four of the five kindergartens one teacher led the music session on her own. K1 was the only Pākehā centre where the two teachers participated equally during music sessions and no individual took more control over the session.

The children’s involvement in organized music sessions also showed a marked difference between the language groups, kindergartens and childcare centres. In the language groups all of the children were expected to join in every group gathering and all musical activities. Of the eight other centres that had an organized music session, only three expected all the children to participate. The other five centres ran a music session which children came to voluntarily. In all of the kōhanga and a’oga it was an expectation that all of the children would be involved in music, while in one childcare centre and three kindergartens it was an expectation that all children would not want to be involved. Their staffing arrangement i.e. having one staff member take the music session while the others were occupied with different activities, allowed for this. Likewise, teacher involvement mirrors this. In the language groups, at the very least two, but usually all of the teachers participated. In only one of the seven other centres did all the teachers always participate in music sessions.

While it could be argued that these centres were allowing children to exercise their freedom of choice, it also allows certain musical values to be ingested, particularly when combined with other behaviours. In the kindergartens and childcare centres where music was a voluntary activity occurring at a time during the day designated for ‘music’ this confirms the notion that music is a specialized subject area. Children who are not enthusiastic about music, or who do not feel musically confident can avoid being involved in musical activities in the centre, thus never
extending their abilities or overcoming their fear. It was possible for a child in some of the centres to avoid participating in any musical activities at all.

The one exception to the individualistic approach of the kindergartens and childcare centres was the kindergarten K1. In this two-teacher kindergarten both teachers participated equally in music sessions. This situation had occurred because neither teacher felt that they were musically able to lead a session on their own. Knowing that it was necessary to include music in the programme of the centre, and not having a third teacher to allot music to, they decided to take music together. Through working together and making joint decisions about the music in their centre, with both taking an active role in the sessions, they were able to increase their musical confidence.

Interestingly, at this kindergarten the music session grew out of the general group time. This may have been significant in making the musical activities less threatening for the teachers as well, as it was not a specific 'music' time, but the natural progression of the group gathering. This period of time on the mat encompassed discussion, eating and music.

This session shared elements with the general group/music sessions of the language groups. As has been mentioned earlier, the kōhanga had a routine morning time for mihimihi and waiata. A similar routine was followed in the Samoan language groups, with children also being greeted individually by the teachers and the older ones responding with a speech similar to the Māori mihimihi, and this was followed by a song. These morning gatherings were a mixture of music, structured learning, and discussion, similar to those at K1. At AA2 for example, the days of the week in Samoan, English and Māori were chanted by the children. They also counted to ten in these three languages. At K1 the gathering began with a karakia, followed by a welcome song in Māori. Then the children were greeted by the teachers and responded back.

Teacher: Tēnā koutou tamariki mā.
Children: Kia ora Sonia.21

21 All teachers', children's, and parents' names have been changed.
All of the adults present, including me, were introduced to the children and greeted by them. This was followed by a set routine, all in Māori, where the teachers asked what day of the week it was, and what the weather was like, with the children giving the answers. Songs and discussion followed, and the session ended with the children washing their hands and having morning tea.

The teachers of K1 had moved beyond the individual approach to music to a shared approach, and in doing so, had embraced aspects of Māori culture. This was partly a conscious choice; they had worked with a Māori Early Childhood Education consultant to increase the Māoritanga within their programme, but also partly a subconscious one. Their decision to take musical activities together changed the focus within the centre from one teacher ‘performing’ for the children, to music becoming something that was shared. By not having a specific ‘music’ time, but incorporating songs into the general group time, music became less threatening. It didn’t stand on its own but evolved naturally out of the events. These two features: the group-teaching approach and the music as part of general group time, are examples of two musical concepts that can be seen in Māori and Samoan cultures.

The teachers in the language groups did not discriminate between organized music sessions and organized group times, only I, as an outsider categorized them in this way. In the language groups the teachers did not classify their group gatherings in any particular way. They were all part of the learning programme in the centres and involved discussion and singing. However, the teachers in the childcare centres and kindergartens did classify different gatherings of the children as music sessions or group mat times. This also highlights the difference between the two early childhood environments. In the childcare centres and kindergartens music per se is often compartmentalized into a certain period of the day. Although I observed music to be integrated into the programme as a whole as well, this was in a spontaneous rather than structured manner, and depended greatly on individual teachers. In contrast to this music is part of every group gathering in the language groups, the children do not have a specific time of the day for ‘music’. Musical activities are an integral part of both the cultures themselves, and the learning process.
In Māori and Samoan cultures the role of music in learning is a crucial one. The symbolism that is part of the group singing of waiata has already been discussed. Also of significance is the knowledge that is imparted through waiata.

All waiata have a purpose and to the Māori are not just for entertainment. Their purpose is to pass on to future generations the history, whakapapa or genealogy, events, and stories of the iwi. The singing of a waiata stating a speaker’s tribal connections or tribal history gives more life to the speech and status to the speaker. For example, the following song was taught to the children in preparation for a summer gathering of all local kōhanga reo. It tells about the kōhanga reo the children belong to, the important landmarks that they identify with, and the purpose of their kōhanga reo. The waiata reinforced the importance of the kaupapa of the kōhanga reo not only for the children but also for the Māori people. (Tangaere 1997: 24)

Greg Tata has also written of the place of music within Māori culture.

Music is seen by Māori as being a living entity with spiritual and functional qualities like a body and soul. Māori music has a far deeper meaning that just sound. It is seen as a natural part of life because it represents how people think and feel about situations they have experienced in grief or enjoyment. Māori music deals with real situations which it records in musical expression, thus preserving the taonga or treasure of te iwi or tribe’s people. (Tata 1998: 15)

In early childhood education waiata have an important role to play in the children’s learning. Through the singing of waiata the children gain an understanding not only of musical values and beliefs, but also begin to learn the stories of their culture.

Similarly in Samoan culture music is also bound up with the learning process. On the walls of AA1, for example, there was a display about the Goals of Te Whāriki. Under the heading of Communication were the words ‘Singing’, ‘Cultural Identity – Dancing, Sense of Self.’ These words were supported by photographs of the children and teachers in the centre playing instruments, singing, and dancing wearing traditional Samoan dress. In this way music is shown to be an integral part of the early childhood curriculum as well as having an instrumental role in fostering the children’s cultural identity.

In the kindergartens and childcare centres, while music did occur in a limited way at general group times, the main musical activities occurred during a time set aside expressly for ‘music’. Out of the eight kindergartens and childcare centres, one had no organized music session, one combined it with the general group time, while
the other five had a specific period of the day or week set aside for ‘music’. In these centres musical activities were one of the many different options that children could choose to become involved in. Music was more focussed on performance and music as entertainment.

The singing of nursery rhymes by individual children at CC1 between the courses at lunch is an extreme example of this focus on performance and entertainment. These sessions ran like a show. The teachers and other children became the audience, listened to the soloist, and clapped when they were finished. A teacher only joined in to prompt a child if he or she faltered.

The planning of organized music sessions in the childcare centres and kindergartens varied from highly structured to loosely structured. The teachers at K5 and K3, for example, organized their music sessions ahead of time, planning which songs would be sung, setting tapes in order, and selecting resources. The teacher who led the music sessions at CC3 organized her sessions with definite musical goals in mind; she wanted to achieve different musical objectives such as feeling the beat and teaching simple dynamics and tempos. At K4 the teachers considered the dynamics of the day and the children’s interactions when planning their music sessions. The largely non-English speaking group of children also influenced the choice of mainly English language songs, as opposed to Māori and Pacific Island songs. The teachers at K2 would often let the children themselves choose songs to sing. Whether this was due to a lack of organization on the part of the teachers, or a thought out desire to give children affirmation for their own musical choices is arguable.

Not all teachers were consciously aware of their planning. One of the teachers at K4 felt that the music planning at her centre was something which the teachers did quite subconsciously. While it might not be verbalized between teachers, each would work to vary the music programme so that it encompassed a variety of types of songs. Nearly all of the centres that had an organized music session followed a basic format that incorporated similar types of songs such as a greeting song, finger plays, circle songs, action songs and a settling down song.
The general programme of the centre also influenced the choices for music at these sessions and also all group gatherings in the language groups. A teacher at AA2 revealed that the teachers in the centre created songs for each programme. For example, while I was visiting the centre a weather theme was being studied as part of the programme. This theme was being reinforced musically through songs such as one about putting on all the clothes that needed to be worn outside in the rain. This song had been composed by some of the teachers at the centre. CC3 had been involved in a programme based around summer prior to the time of my fieldwork. Songs such as ‘You’ve got to Put on your Hat’ and ‘The Beach Song’ had been implemented in the centre as part of this theme. Music was seen as a tool for reinforcing the educational basis of the programme. Songs could be used in a didactic sense. The song ‘Ole Solosolo’ sung at AA1 is such an example. This is a song about hankies/tissues and how important it is to blow your nose correctly. It was composed by the teachers in AA1 to teach the children to blow their noses in the correct manner, in order to combat the high incidence of glue ear amongst the children.

Particular physical materials were always observed to be used during organized music sessions rather than general group times in the kindergartens and childcare centres. For example, resources such as a parachute (or fun-chute) might be used for several songs with the children all holding onto the edge and moving it up and down. Other resources such as ribbons to dance with, or shells and rocks to use as percussion instruments were used in organized music sessions rather than at other times in the kindergartens and childcare centres. Also musical instruments would be brought out and used in music sessions, not at general group times. The main musical instruments observed in the centres were simple percussion ones, such as wood blocks, drums and triangles, or shakers such as maracas and bells. In the language groups instruments were frequently used during any of the general group times/music sessions. Again this emphasizes the differences between the language groups and the childcare centres. In the language groups the use of musical instruments at any of the group times illustrates how musical activities were a part of general group activities, rather than an event which occurred at a specific time of the
day per se. In the kindergartens and childcare centres the use of specialized musical equipment occurred at designated ‘music’ times, not at the general group gatherings. This reinforces the belief that music is a specialized event.

Organized music sessions always occurred inside, usually in an area that was specified for group gatherings, with the exception of K5 and CC3. This area was accessible to the rest of the centre, so that children who might be focused on other activities could participate as watchers and listeners if they wished. At K5 music took place in a small room which was separate from the rest of the centre and out of sight of the other children, accessible through a small doorway. In warm weather the daily music session at K5 always took place outdoors in a grassy area which was quite separate from the main outdoor area and also from the indoor area. The teachers had decided to “take music outside” as they were finding children did not wish to come inside for it if they were involved in an activity outdoors. CC3 also sometimes had a music session that occurred outside. This was for the same reason as K5. Teachers at K1 and K2 informed me that at times the children would sing songs outdoors with a parachute, however this was not observed.

In the language groups the general group gatherings always took place in the same inside area of the centre. This was a part of the centre that was designated for such group times. In TKR1, for example, this area was marked by woven mats that were laid down for the children to sit on when it was time for a group gathering. These mats were a physical link with the children’s culture, as they came from Samoa.

In all of the centres the walls of the area in which musical activities took place were covered in posters and pictures which supported their musical learning. Most of the centres had lists of songs and finger plays around the walls, their purpose being to give the teachers ideas of a song to choose if they were floundering. Many of the centres also had posters with the words of songs decorating the walls of this area. At CC2 for example, the words of ‘Happy Birthday’, ‘Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star’ and ‘Baa Baa Black Sheep’ all in Māori were hung on the wall next to the musical instruments. AA2, for example, had the words of many songs including ‘God’s Love
is so Wonderful' in both Samoan and English on charts next to the mat area. Pictures of musical instruments were on the walls at some of the centres, at CC2 for example, there was a chart showing different instruments of the orchestra. Musical instruments were stored in the same area that the activities took place and were accessible to the children during other times of the day in all of the centres. The one exception to this was CC1 where the weekly music session took place in a different building to the centre. There were no references to songs or finger plays on the walls in this centre. The instruments were stored in one of the rooms that the children were allowed in only if an adult was present.  

Recorded music was regularly used in the childcare centres and kindergartens during organized music sessions. At all of the kindergartens there were instances of songs being sung unaccompanied, but these were rare at K3 and K5. The use of songs on tapes dominated the music sessions at these centres and at CC1 taped music was the only kind used at the music session. At CC2 songs were usually sung unaccompanied and a tape was used rarely. A guitar was sometimes used to accompany singing at CC3 by the teacher who led the session, but taped music was used as well. The guitar was also used to accompany songs at K4 by one of the teachers. K1 had a visiting guitarist come to the kindergarten on one occasion during my fieldwork to accompany the children's singing. In contrast to this, taped music was never used during group gatherings in the Māori and Samoan centres. Songs were sung either unaccompanied, or accompanied by the guitar, hand clapping or by the children and teachers playing simple percussion instruments. Another significant difference was the occurrence of unison and part-singing in the different centres. Singing in the childcare centres and kindergartens was always in unison, there was never any part singing of any kind heard during all of my observations. In contrast to this in the language groups singing was often in parts, with one or more of the teachers singing in harmony with the main melody. Part-singing was particularly prevalent in the a'oga amata with some songs being sung in as many as three parts.

22 The instruments had been freely available until quite recently, when it was decided to remove them to an area that was more supervised. The instruments had been "being used for things they shouldn't
Recorded classical music was observed only once being used at an organized music session. At K3 one of the teachers had made up a tape of different excerpts of classical music, Tchaikovsky’s ‘Dance of the Sugar Plum Fairy’ is one example, and the children danced and moved creatively to the music.

In the childcare centres and kindergartens individual teacher’s preferences influenced the types of musical experiences that were offered in the music sessions. Many teachers admitted to using the tapes that they knew well and with which they felt comfortable. These teachers had only a limited range of music at their disposal and there was a strong likelihood that new songs would be rarely introduced. If a teacher felt threatened by, for example, work with instruments, instrumental experiences would be excluded from the music session when they led it. Likewise if a teacher particularly enjoyed music and movement then more of this type of experience would be included when he or she led a music session. Many teachers were aware of the effect of individual tastes and some saw this as an advantage. The teachers at K5 for example expressed that while all three of them had quite different styles of teaching music, it was felt that they complemented each other well. In a centre where different teachers contribute to music this will not adversely affect the variety of music offered to the children. However, where the music programme is solely reliant on the preferences of one individual teacher, this could limit the variety of music offered.

Music used during general group times in the kindergartens and childcare centres was also highly dependent on individual teachers. In the kindergartens teachers were observed to use the same finger plays and songs suggesting a small range of these that they were familiar and confident with. Gharavi (1993: 29) found similar results in a study of the musical abilities of preschool teachers in Tennessee, USA. Her study revealed that in most preschool settings only a very limited song repertoire is used. Many of the songs used were from the teacher’s own childhood or learned from recordings. In kindergartens in Aotearoa/New Zealand a similar

have been used for such as playdough play. The staff were currently trying to work out how to have them available to the children and yet looked after.
situation exists. A static repertoire was observed, often referred to by the teachers in the study as the "old favourites".

In contrast to the structured approach to the organized music sessions, the musical choices that occurred at these gatherings were often left to chance. In the mat times that took place at the end of the session, for example, songs and finger plays were often used to fill in time while the children waited for their parents to collect them. This meant that teachers would often choose a song on the spur of the moment or sometimes children would suggest one. The songs and finger plays were not planned or pre-selected. There was little variety in the music that occurred at this part of the session. For example, in one kindergarten the same song was observed sung at every general group time that week. The music which occurred as part of group gatherings was much less likely to reflect the programme of the centre and more likely to be influenced by teachers' own taste.

Taped music was only rarely used in the general group times in kindergartens and childcare centres. The most common form of music at the kindergarten general group times were finger plays such as 'The Beehive', greeting songs, such as 'Tēnā Koe, Hello to One' and chanting games such as 'Who Stole the Cookies from the Cookie Jar?' Of the childcare centres only one had significant music at the general group time. During the time of observation there was much variety in the music that occurred with only one song being repeated at two different gatherings. This is possibly due to there being a high number of staff at the centre, each of whom had a turn at taking the session during the period of my fieldwork.

The majority of the music that occurred during organized music sessions in the childcare centres and kindergartens falls into the category of children's songs. This term is used to describe songs both by children and for children by adults that are part of the repertoire of the educational environments. It encompasses nursery rhymes, traditional children's songs, as well as recently composed children's songs.

The music used in organized sessions in kindergartens and childcare centres tended to be songs from Aotearoa/New Zealand resources. There was a noticeable difference in the resources of kindergartens in the North and South Islands. Teachers
often used resources associated with courses they had attended. In the North Island these were resources such as *Feeling the Beat* and *You’ve got to Clap*, both produced by the Auckland based Kids Music Company who had carried out training courses throughout the North Island for early childhood teachers. These workshops had not been available in the South Island. However, there were also many resources that appeared everywhere. Well-known Wellington music educator Radha’s *Musicool* series was prevalent in both North and South Island centres, most probably due to her training workshops which many teachers throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand had attended.

On one occasion popular music was used during an organized music session in a kindergarten. A song by the Spice Girls was used for the children to play a game which involved stopping and starting: dancing to the music when it was playing and then stopping and freezing in their position when the teacher stopped the tape player. The children had requested the music of the Spice Girls many times throughout the session and finally the teacher put it on, although the session was preplanned so she had already intended to use it. This was the only time I observed a pop song being incorporated into an organized music session.

Music common to the general early childhood culture was also often part of the organized music sessions in kindergartens and childcare centres. These included songs and finger plays such as ‘Open, Shut Them’, ‘Animals Live in the Forest’ and ‘Waddley Archer.’ Many of these can be found on New Zealander Linda Adamson’s *Love to Sing* series, a resource which all of the kindergartens and childcare centres had, as well as the *Singasong* series, produced by the Christchurch based Tessarose Productions. Māori songs from *Nga Pihi 1* and 2, a resource available to all early childhood centres by Learning Media, occasionally were sung during the organized music sessions. Hirini Melbourne’s ‘E Tū Kahikatea’ is an example of one of these songs and was observed sung at both K1 and K3. Other Māori songs sung included adaptations of English songs, such as ‘If you’re Happy and you know it Pakipaki’ and ‘The Hanikani’, a Māori version of the ‘Hokeytokey’.
Dancing was also an important part of organized music sessions in the childcare centres and kindergartens. At K4, for example, one of the teachers led a music and movement session based around her playing of the piano and the children’s responses to it. Another resource that dominated organized music sessions in centres throughout the country was the *New Wave Folkdancing for Juniors* resource. Again, teachers in both Islands had attended workshops on this resource.

Songs sung in the Samoan language groups included many different kinds of songs. Traditional Samoan songs such as ‘Pusi Nofo’, about a cat, and ‘Sau ta o’, a song about getting ready to go to school, were sung. Many Samoan adaptations of songs in English such as ‘Two Little Dicky Birds’, and ‘Where is Thumbkin?’ were also sung. There were also Samoan adaptations of Māori songs such as ‘Pakipaki’ which became ‘Patipati’, and ‘Tahi, Rua, Toru, Whā’ the counting song, which became ‘Tasi, Lua, Toru, Wha’. The language groups had a strong focus on developing the children’s Samoan through songs. Songs that encompassed basic language skills such as counting, days of the week, and parts of the body were an important part of musical activities in the centres. Many musical activities were sung first in English and then in Samoan which also facilitated language learning. At AA2, for example, the fingerplay ‘The Beehive’ was done in this way, as was the song ‘Row, Row Your Boat’. At AA2, some songs, such as ‘Galump Went the Little Green Frog’ were also sung only in English.

Of particular interest were songs which had been created by teachers in the a’oga. One such example, ‘O le Solosolo’ is mentioned above. There were many examples of songs composed by teachers, sometimes to pre-existing tunes, but in some cases the teachers created the melody as well as the words. These had all been written in response to a need in the centre for a certain type of song. Having a limited range of musical resources in Samoan, the teachers simply filled the gaps themselves.

Songs in the Māori language groups included traditional Māori waiata and Māori children’s songs, such as ‘Pakipaki’. As in the a’oga amata, songs relating to basic language concepts such as counting (‘Tahi, Rua, Toru, Whā’) and parts of the body (‘Māhunga, Pakihiwi’) were also sung. Waiata from the iwi of children within
the centre became part of that centre’s repertoire. Songs by contemporary Māori composers were also prevalent in the kōhanga, such as Hirini Melbourne’s ‘E Tū Kahikatea’, a song about the growth of a tree, which was seen by the teachers as being particularly appropriate for the early childhood learning environment. Waiata that the children and teachers brought into the centre themselves were sung at the group gatherings. A teacher at TKR1 for example, often brought in songs to the centre she had learned from her kapa haka group, after permission to do so had been obtained. At TKR2 one child sang a waiata after her mihimihi that was unknown to the teachers and that they surmised she had probably learned from a marae. They intended to find out more about the song.

To a lesser extent, Māori translations of English songs were also sung in the centres. At TKR1, for example, a version of ‘Ten Little Indians’ was sung in Māori, and at TKR2 a version of ‘Little Flick the Fire-engine’ was sung. Also at TKR1 a song in Māori about Batman was sung during the morning karakia session. Songs such as these were described to me by the teachers as throwbacks to the early days of kōhanga reo. They derive from those first days, the ‘transliteration period’, when the kaiako would use a pre-existing tune and put words to it. Some of the songs have stayed around and become old favourites. This echoes the current situation in Samoan language groups. However, while Samoan versions of English songs were prevalent in the a’oga amata that was not the case in the kōhanga. Cathy, a teacher at TKR2, ascribed this to the fact that the kōhanga had been around for a little longer than the Samoan groups:

SB: What about songs like the Batman song and the little flick one?
Cathy: Those are really from the very first days of kōhanga reo, when they were still in that transliteration period, and they’ve been old favourites. You know, the kaiako back then, what they used to do was get a tune and put words to it, which is what kapa haka is about, and those two have weathered the storm.
SB: So the little flick one, is that a complete translation of English into Māori?
Cathy: It’s not a complete translation but it is based on the same thing.
SB: Are they the only two songs that are like that?

23 Kapa haka is a contemporary Māori performing art involving dancing and singing.
Cathy: I can't think of any others that we use here, but there probably are.

SB: That's what I've found in the a'oga, but it doesn't seem to be as prevalent here.

Cathy: I think that's because we've just had a little more time, and we actually had and we still have the strong base, the common knowledge we have, we say 'oh we're not going to use that material, we'll use our own, that's how it happens.

The first kōhanga reo opened in 1982, whereas the first Pacific Island language groups opened in 1988, so kōhanga have been running for a slightly longer period. Cathy suggests that in the early days of kōhanga there were many songs that were translated versions of English early childhood songs in Māori. Some of these songs are still around today, but they have moved into the Pākehā early childhood centres. I would suggest that it is not only the longer history of kōhanga that has led to this difference between kōhanga and a'oga amata, but the different political situation. Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand have had to struggle to reclaim their Māoritanga and for their right to be recognized by the state. The phasing out of songs that have connections to Pākehā New Zealand can be seen as an assertion of Māori identity. As Cathy says, they have their own songs that they can sing, they do not need to borrow from a European tradition. In contrast to this, Pacific Island New Zealand has no Treaty issues, and no history of intense political struggle. The use of songs which are part of a Pākehā tradition in the a'oga amata does not have the same meaning as they do in a kōhanga. Kaemmer (1993: 159) posits that music can be used in a political symbolic sense. In this instance music works in this way; in the kōhanga the use of Māori waiata is symbolic of Māori tino rangatiratira, whereas the use of traditional European songs represents Pākehā dominance.

This is not to say that there were no songs sung in the kōhanga that used a pre-existing tune of Pākehā origins. Indeed the borrowing of tunes is a feature of contemporary Māori music and was used to popularize action songs (Katene 1989: 23). Cathy mentions the occurrence of this in kapa haka groups, other teachers also talked about writing songs and using pre-existing tunes, and in TKR1 Māori words were sung to the tune of 'The Macarena' which suggests that it still happens occasionally. However, making up a totally new song using a familiar tune is very
different to simply using Māori translations of Pākehā nursery rhymes. Through the creation of different words a new identity is stamped on the song. The lyrics can represent Māori themes and values. This is another way the relationship between language, culture, and music can be seen. While the music can be part of the Pākehā tradition, creating words in the Māori language which are appropriate to Māori culture reinvents the song.

Dance was an integral part of music in the language groups. Action songs featured strongly in all of the group gatherings. In AA1, for example, a game was observed where the children were sitting in a circle. They counted to twenty (in Samoan) around the circle and the twentieth child stood and danced, doing a siva Samoa, while the other children and adults accompanied them with hand clapping. At TKR1, for example, poi were used during one of the group gatherings.

As mentioned earlier, taped music was never used in the group gatherings of the language groups. Singing was usually accompanied by a guitar, hand clapping, or was unaccompanied. Instruments were also used to accompany songs. The pate, for example, was used in AA1 and AA2. The children and teachers also used instruments such as woodblocks, bells, shakers and drums to accompany their singing and also for their own sake. At AA2, for example, these instruments were observed in a Samoan version of ‘Listen to the Music’ with each instrument being played in turn.

2.2 Spontaneous Music Making

Children are naturally and innately musical, often intoning their conversations and individual chatter in a musical way. Campbell’s observations of three and four year olds revealed that they were exuding music in more ways than she could have fathomed and much of it seemed to be their own creative expressions (1998: 31). She surmised that they were ‘long on music’ (1998: 31) and indeed this applies to the children in this study also. Likewise, Kartomi (1991) noted that while at play children often produce musical improvisations. Since early childhood education is based on
the concept of children learning through play, in these years more than any other
time in their education children have the opportunity to express their musicality
spontaneously. As one teacher articulated, it is part of their identity as children.

The spontaneous musicking of children occurs both with instruments, and in
the form of musical utterances. The latter fall into two categories. They may be
improvisatory in nature, what Margaret Kartomi calls 'musical doodlings', musical
phrases or ditties improvised at play (1991: 55), or they may be phrases or even
whole verses of pre-known songs or music.

It was difficult not to be sidetracked by the diverse and delightful musical doodlings
of the children I was observing, but the focus of this research is on teachers.
Therefore, it was the way that teachers interacted in a spontaneous musical way with
the children that I restricted myself to. Also of relevance was providing opportunities
for spontaneous music making by having easy access to musical instruments.

While music occurred spontaneously in all of the centres in the study, I
observed much variation between centres with regard to the quantity of spontaneous
music making. There was also much variation between individual teachers. As the
time spent in every centre varied, and the observations were carried out in a
qualitative manner, these results are indicative of a general perception only.

Most spontaneous music making by children occurs in the form of incidental
fragments. Teachers' spontaneous music making was more likely to revolve around
the singing of whole songs, although there were instances of teacher interaction and
use of instruments. Accessibility of instruments had a large impact on the use of
them for spontaneous musicking.

2.2.1 Incidental fragments

I observed literally hundreds of musical intonations by the children who were
part of this study. Most of these went unnoticed by the teachers. Many of the
spontaneous musical utterances by children were associated with movement. As the
child moved, they sang or rhythmically chanted a musical 'tidbit'. For example, at
K1, Poppy sang "drawing, drawing" to soh-me as she skipped to get some felt pens to draw with, Davey sang "sprinkle, sprinkle, sprinkle" in an ascending scale as he sprinkled hundreds and thousands to make fairy bread sandwiches, and Natalie sang "I'm going high, I'm going higher than you" to soh-me while swinging on a rope in the play area. These examples are of children expressing themselves through music naturally and freely, creating music as they play.

Names were often intoned in a musical way. At many of the centres I observed children greeting the arrival of a teacher or another child with a musical call based on soh-me, "A - ro -ha" or "Li – sa." Tara, a teacher at TKR1, was observed being greeted by the children singing her name. She responded to this in a musical way, singing the children's names back to them. On one occasion Maria, at AA1 used finger puppets to greet different children as they arrived in the morning and sang for example, "Talofa Tavita." She was also observed singing children's names to get their attention.

My name also became a source of musical utterances, one child soon discovering it rhymed with belly, she created a song "Sally, belly, Sally, belly." As I was 8 months pregnant at the time I had to concede this was an appropriate coupling of words. At another centre my name was used in a song that went like this: "Sally, Sally, Sally, silly", both were based around soh-me.

Like Campbell, (1998: 31-36) I found that mealtimes were often a source of children's spontaneous music making. At CC1, for example, when pudding was served one lunchtime Phillip began chanting, "yummy, yummy, yummy in my tummy." This was copied by all of the children sitting around him. The next day at lunch a similar chant developed: "yummy, yummy in my tummy," said Kate, then "yummy, yummy in my bottom," and then Tessa said, "yummy, yummy in my forehead." Maddie, perhaps deciding that it was getting a bit silly, followed with a simple "yummy, yummy." This example is reminiscent of a scene Campbell describes, also in the context of a meal in a childcare centre (29-30). Both show children's remarkable ability to imitate and develop musical ideas amongst
themselves. The teachers at CC1 did not respond to the chant, they simply ignored it and continued with the business of getting lunch ready.

Babies were often at the centre of spontaneous incidental music making. Cathy, at TKR2 was observed humming quietly to a baby who had just woken from a sleep. She sat and held the child on her lap and gently rocked back and forth as she hummed. At the same centre another teacher, Kate, sang “Boom, boom, boom” as she carried a baby across the room, jiggling him slightly in time to the words.

Particular teachers were observed engaged in musical doodlings when communicating with the children. Donald, for example, after saying to a child, “You’ve lost your shoe again Hugh,” realized that it rhymed and repeated the phrase a couple of times singing it to a little tune. Later on Donald asked another child where her shoe was and this led into another musical doodling, “Laura where’s your shoe gone? Laura where’s your shoe gone? Where is your shoe?” In another example, Shona, a teacher at K5, said to the children, “Tidy up time.” This led into a little tune: “Tidy up, tidy up, tidy up time” that she sang through twice and was picked up by two of the children helping her tidy up. More frequent, however, was for teachers to spontaneously sing whole songs.

2.2.2 Incidental songs

The most common song, observed in almost every centre in this study was ‘Happy Birthday.’ This song was sung, usually in the sandpit or at the playdough table with a mock birthday cake and candles, with children acting out a birthday scenario. Generally it was children who were observed singing this song as they sat with a pretend cake. Three-year-olds Anna and Mikayla at TKR2, for example, sat and sang ‘Happy Birthday’ several times as they both made playdough cakes. However, two teachers at AA1, on different occasions were observed singing ‘Happy Birthday’ in English with children working at the playdough table making a pretend cake. The children continued this song after the teachers had moved away.
Again, babies were often at the centre of the singing of songs spontaneously and some kind of movement or action was involved. Teachers were frequently observed singing songs to very young children or babies, as they bounced them on their lap for example, or to comfort them if they were crying. At AA1 Rosa sang ‘Moe Moe Pēpe’ to a baby as she rocked him to sleep. Lina sang ‘Baa Baa Black Sheep’ to the same baby as she changed his nappy, as she fed him, and as she walked carrying him. Stephanie, at CC1 was observed singing the Barney ‘I Love You’ song very quietly to comfort a young child who was unhappy. The teachers sang to the babies as they rocked them to sleep in prams at CC3, there were song charts placed close by the sleeping area to encourage this.

The spontaneous singing of whole songs by teachers was observed to be triggered by particular features in the environment. For example, Deanne and Fenella at CC3 sang the song ‘Ten in the Bed’ as they read a storybook to children based on the song. Donald, at CC2, sang the ‘ABC Song’ as he sorted the children’s artwork into alphabetical name folders. Later he sang the same song as he sat with a group of children playing with magnetic letters.

Some songs were sung in similar circumstances in different centres. At CC1, for example, teachers were observed singing the Māori colour song ‘Mā is White’ as they sat with children who were doing a puzzle. At CC1 the song was associated with a particular puzzle and I heard one teacher refer to the puzzle as the ‘Mā is White’ puzzle, she sang the first line and the child she was sitting with sang the next line back to her. At K1 Sonia sang the same song as she sat with a child also working on a puzzle.

Sonia was observed using music many times to interact with the children. She was also observed relating the Māori counting song ‘Tahi, Rua, Toru, Whā’ to the artwork of a child, singing it while she counted the fingers of a person on a drawing. At this kindergarten there was a magnetic board that had many different sets of magnetic figures all associated with certain songs. Sonia sat and sang songs with the children using the magnets as cues. Songs observed in this way included: ‘Five Gingerbread Men in the Baker’s Shop’, ‘BINGO’, ‘Five Little Men in a Flying Saucer’,
and ‘There was an Old Lady who Swallowed a Fly.’ During my time in her centre
Sonia took the magnetic table outside on three different occasions and sang with the
children there, as well as using it inside on two occasions. She told me that she
regularly used this resource outside.

Children often sang songs as they played and were engaged at different
activities. At K3, for example, Kali sang ‘Human Touch’ by the Spice Girls as she
painted a picture. At TKR2 friends Anna and Mikayla sang the theme song from the
Teletubbies television programme as they cut out pictures and pasted them onto
paper. Hamish, at K4, sang the song ‘I Just Can’t Wait to be King’ from The Lion King,
and he ran around outside chasing a group of girls. Teachers were rarely observed
noticing these songs, although there were exceptions. Jenny, at K2, after walking past
Hannah and Meg who were hammering pegs into a cork board and singing the
Māori hymn ‘Te Aroha,’ complimented them on remembering the words and sang
through the song with them.

Children’s spontaneous singing was encouraged in K5 through a book that
contained many of the songs sung in the kindergarten. This book had been created
by one of the teachers, and as well as having the words of different songs, also
contained pictures related to each song. I observed different children sitting with the
book and singing through the songs, while the words could not yet be read, the
pictures served as a visual reminder of the song lyrics. In this way the songs sung in
the formal music times were reinforced.

Teachers at AA1, in particular, were observed following the musical cues of the
children. One morning at AA1 when two-year-old Tom started to sing ‘Tāmāriki ti’
at the playdough table the three children sitting by him joined in. Toni, a teacher
sitting at another table with a group of children and various musical instruments
began to sing the same song. Lisa, a teacher who was walking around the room also
started to sing along. Eventually almost all of the people in the room were singing
the song that began at the instigation of a two-year-old.

On another occasion at AA1 one child began singing the Barney ‘Clean Up’ song
as the mid-morning clean up time got underway. More and more children joined in
and so did the teachers, until most of the centre were all cleaning up and singing together. The Barney ‘Clean Up’ song featured at many of the centres in the study. Sometimes it was started by teachers in order to encourage children to join in the tidying up, at other times children would begin to sing it as they put things away.

Teachers at CC2 were also observed creating opportunities for spontaneous music making. For example, Serena was painting the children’s faces one afternoon. When four-year-old Victoria said she wanted her face painted like a rainbow, Serena asked her if she knew any songs about rainbows. Three-year-old Zeb, who was also at the face painting activity sang, “Pitter patter raindrops,” a line from a song sung to the ‘Freré Jacques’ tune that begins “I hear thunder.” While not exactly being a song about rainbows it did have a similar theme. Serena sang through the song with the children joining in. She then sang ‘The Rainbow Connection’ while the children listened. A second example concerns Sara, another teacher at the centre. After the younger children woke from their nap one afternoon she sang Radha’s ‘Hello, Kia Ora’ song to each child, greeting them individually as they woke and came out into the main room.

Teachers also used spontaneous singing to encourage children to carry out other activities or jobs. At CC2, for example, to encourage a child to wash his hands before lunch Anna chanted, ‘a little bit of soap, and a little bit of water, one paper towel, in that order.’ This was a rhyme that had been spontaneously created by her in the centre a few weeks before to combat the spread of bugs and remind the children about hand washing. On another occasion the teacher chanted the first line while the child finished off the rhyme.

Anna was the only teacher observed in spontaneously making up songs and singing them with the children. Another example of her improvisations occurred outside one morning at CC2. Anna was seated outside with a group of children in an old wooden boat. She spontaneously made up all sorts of different words about who was there and what they were wearing and doing using the tune of ‘The Farmer in the Dell.’ Here is an example of two of the verses:

We’re all in the boat
We’re all in the boat
High ho the derrio
We’re all in the boat.
Zeb is the driver
Zeb is the driver
High ho the derrio
Zeb is the driver.

The children joined in singing the ‘high ho the derrio’ line.

Spontaneous singing of full songs by teachers was observed to occur outside at this centre and others on many occasions. At K3, for example, Ingrid, at the children’s suggestion, sang the ‘Five Elephants’ song together with the children while they acted it out. The next day the same song was requested and sung, and this was followed by ‘Five Currant Buns.’ The latter song was observed being sung and acted out by teachers and children outside at both K1 and K4 as well. Outside at CC3 Christa sang the song ‘Tofa Tafa’ at the request of one of the children who was annoyed that the song had not been sung at the morning mat time. Other children joined in. Christa reported that she often sang songs outside with the children, as they would request them of her.

At CC2 there were two songs in particular which were sung frequently outside. These were the Samoan song ‘Siva, Siva’ and another song, ‘Who’s that Jumping in the Middle of the Circle?’ These songs were sung by teachers and children together, and also by children themselves as they jumped on a small mini trampoline. Both of the songs used the children’s names.

2.2.3 Incidental instrumental activities

Instruments were freely available for children to use and were always accessible at K1, K2, K4, K5, CC2, AA1, AA2, TKR1, and TKR2. Children were observed using the instruments in spontaneous music making at these centres. At most centres they consisted of purchased percussion instruments suitable for early childhood use:
plastic and wooden maracas, triangles, hand held bells, small drums, tambourines and woodblocks. The instruments were kept in boxes usually on a shelf at a low level. CC2 was the exception to this. At this centre there were two ‘sound tables’ which had all of the instruments mentioned previously, but also a variety of homemade creations and natural resources. There were, for example, plastic bottles filled with coloured water and glitter, or with rice or beans. There were different shells, leaves, rocks, and twigs. Children were observed spending long periods of time experimenting with the different sound possibilities, sometimes on their own, sometimes in pairs or small groups. Outside at CC2 there was another musical resource. Hanging from a small frame were a collection of metal objects that made different sounds, that the children could strike with a beater. Shells and rocks were also part of the instrument collections at AA1 and AA2.

At K3 the instruments were brought out for use at organized group and music times. However, they were also made available to the children for spontaneous music making at other times during the session, at the Cook Island drumming session described below for example. During the time of my observations there were also milk bottles filled with different levels of coloured water and a wooden striker placed on a table for the children to make musical sounds with.

At CC1 the instruments had been freely available but the teachers had found that they were being used in inappropriate ways, at the playdough table for instance. So the instruments were now kept in one of the rooms away from the main activity area and the children were only allowed in there if there was an adult present. A similar situation existed at CC3. The instruments were kept in a small room off the main area. While the children were allowed in the room at all times, thus making the instruments in theory freely accessible, the reality was that they were positioned so high on the shelves and on the walls that they could not be accessed without an adult’s help. Consequently at these two centres children had very limited opportunities for spontaneous musicking involving instruments.

In the centres where the instruments were accessible children were observed in spontaneous music making with them. At AA1, for example, three-year-olds Robert
and Freddy played the pate and sang the *Barney 'Clean up'* song. At the same centre two-year-old Hana banged two paua shells together, tapping out different rhythms. At AA2 four-year-old Stephen used coconut shells to make different rhythmic patterns, while at K5 Jonathon walked around the room shaking bells in time to his movements.

Inappropriate use of musical items by children was observed to result in teacher interaction. Aroha, a teacher at TKR1, took a poi off a child who was not using it in the appropriate manner, and showed a group of children how to use it correctly. Four-year-old Amelia followed her teacher’s instructions and then sang and performed a song using the poi in the proper way.

There were only a small number of teacher interactive spontaneous musical experiences observed in the centres. At K3 Penny put out several drums on the mat area and put on first the tape of *The Lion King* and then a tape of Cook Island drumming music. A small group of children began to play the drums and the teacher sat with the group and discussed the music with them and how they were responding to it. She also left them to themselves to experiment with the instruments. At K1 Jo took a number of small chimes outside and sat with a group of children in a tree while they played them and sang along. At first they played and sang songs that they knew such as ‘Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star’ but as time went on the children began to create their own songs. Danny dominated the group with his song, “Skippy, skippy, skip/Skip to town/Skip to town/To-day.”

Also at K1 a parent was involved in spontaneous music making outside. This mother played the piano accordion and on one particular day had brought it along to the kindergarten with a selection of books of children’s songs. She played a song from one of Radha’s musical resources called ‘Hello, Kia Ora.’ This is a song that uses children’s names and some identifying characteristic about the children such as their hat or trousers. She greeted each of the children around her and sang about them. It was a song that was also sung in the centre by the teachers, and was sung spontaneously in CC2 as well.
I was informed by teachers at other centres that spontaneous singing sometimes occurred during the day when they took their guitars out and sang songs with the children. Cindy at K4, Aroha at TKRI, Ben at CC3, and Deanne at CC3 told me that they sang songs spontaneously with the children while playing their guitars, although I did not observe these.

Instruments were often part of the spontaneous music making in AA1. Maria gathered up the shakers one afternoon and took them and the under-two children into the area set aside for under-twos and sang several songs. The following day she and another teacher brought out the drums from the shelves and lay them on a table. They sat on the floor with the instruments and were joined by children who came and went and experimented with different sounds.

Similar use of instruments was observed at AA2. When Lina noticed three-year-old Andre playing the pate, she brought out a large wooden drum for him to play on. This drew the attention of a group of children so she found more drums when the children outnumbered the drums brought out shakers as well. Lina then sang the song 'Listen to the music' in Samoan with the children singing along and playing their instruments. Two-year-old Marisa and three-year-old Wayne began to dance nearby to the music.

At CC2 one afternoon after lunch the instruments were moved from their regular place on two tables against a wall onto a table in the centre of the room. A teacher, Serena, sat at the table as well. This drew the attention of many of the children who shifted from other activities to the table to experiment with the instruments. Serena interacted with the children and told them the names of the instruments, encouraging them to explore the different sounds they could make. She waved around an icecream container lid with rainbow coloured streamers attached which made a rustling noise. One-year-old Sam smiled at her, watching the rainbow and lifted up his T-shirt to pat out an accompanying rhythm on his tummy.

As the previous example shows, not all spontaneous music making involves items that have been designated for musical use. Children frequently were observed to use toys or other materials to make music. Two-year-old Jake, at TKRI, for
example, banged wooden blocks together while singing a song of his own making. At AA2 three-year-old Nathan was observed to sit at a table humming, stamping his feet, and using an egg carton as a percussion instrument. At AA2 one-year-old Tom began to bang on a perspex window, using it like a percussion instrument. He was joined by Josh, also one, who came over and copied him. Teacher Cathy, who noticed their enjoyment went to the other side of the window and banged back. The teacher and children swapped bangs and smiles and then Josh tried banging the window with a feather duster to see what sound that made.

Three of the kindergartens had plastic pretend electric guitars in their collection of toys. These were a source of much musical make-believe for the children. They were observed pretending to play the guitar and making the sound effects themselves vocally. Boys were more inclined towards this behaviour than girls. At K3 Paul, for example, was observed to use the toy guitar first as a guitar, strutting about like a rock star, then to hold the guitar like a violin and pretend to play it. All the while he was singing to himself.

2.2.4 Discussion

Children in all of the centres were observed in spontaneous musical activities without teacher input. There will always be a certain level of incidental musicking in early childhood environments. When all of the centres are considered together a wide variety of spontaneous musicking is revealed: instrumental musical play, children’s own creations, teachers’ own creations, songs from television, films, pop songs, and songs from the centres’ music sessions. However, when the centres are viewed individually some show many more examples of spontaneous activities than others do. This is largely dependent on individual teachers creating opportunities for spontaneous music making; by having instruments accessible, responding to and noticing the children’s own spontaneity, and instigating spontaneous singing themselves. More so than in any other type of musical activity, music occurring
outside of the designated music times depends highly on teachers’ own musical confidence and preference.

The data shows a distinctly limited amount of use of instruments by teachers spontaneously. This is largely due to instruments being perceived as being reserved for specific ‘music times’. This was particularly noticeable in the kindergartens and childcare centres. CC2 was the exception, where the main use of instruments and indeed the main music making, occurred spontaneously. In AA1 and AA2 the instruments were used as much spontaneously as in organized music times.

Teachers’ own lack of confidence also contributes to the low level of spontaneity involving use of instruments. Take, for example, this comment from one teacher during a discussion on spontaneous music in the centre:

Sonia: I’m not confident with instruments. I keep saying to Jo, we must do them, we must.

In many of the centres I perceived the general feeling that by providing the children with access to the instruments teachers felt that that was all that was needed. Lack of confidence themselves in knowing what to do with them seemed to be what was holding teachers back. Six of the forty-five teachers interviewed made comments about their own lack of knowledge on what exactly to do with instruments. This is an issue that Willberg has raised in her study on teachers at an early childhood centre in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Willberg found that the teachers avoided the use of instruments in the centre largely because of their own diffidence in using the instruments (2001: 98).

Repositioning the musical instruments is one way to encourage children to use them. The simple act of moving them from the shelf or box where they are stored and placing them in a more accessible area was observed to result in extended spontaneous music making with the instruments, such as that occurring in CC2 and AA2.

The data reveals that most spontaneous music making which is teacher initiated occurs with babies and young children. There are two significant factors in this. The first is that adults caring for babies and young children are often involved in some
sort of movement with them, carrying them across the room for example, or changing them. It seems to be a natural reaction to accompany such actions with some sort of musical intonation. This comment about music comes from a teacher in an under twos part of the centre:

Priscilla: It's part of the day, like when we're putting babies to sleep in the pram we might sing a song, or changing their nappy we might sing a song. So it's sort of, it is really part of our day to day thing, but it's not part of our day to day order, that we sit down and have actual structured times, but it is incorporated into everything we do.

The second is that teachers might find it easier to sing in front of a very young child. A baby or toddler is not perceived as being as threatening to sing in front of for teachers who are unsure of themselves musically and who lack confidence in their musical abilities. While the different attitudes towards singing to children of older and younger ages was not something that I explored in any depth in this study it nevertheless was raised by some of the teachers. Alice, for example, at CC3 wondered if it affected her spontaneous singing in the centre. Willberg also pondered this issue in her research. She suggested that the teachers in her study "clearly felt that the infants were a less critical audience than the older children, though admitting that the older children were not really critical either" (2001: 139).

Teacher involvement in spontaneous singing is very much an individual thing, as this comment suggests:

Rachel: Yes, I think [spontaneous music occurs]. How spontaneous it happens to be depends on the staff member and how confident they are and how unselfconscious they are. I tend to sing with the kids, they’re particularly fond of the Māori colour song at the moment and I find if the children start singing I sing along with them. I sing when I’m reading stories... and the swing’s a place I sing. “Swing high, swing low, see how you go,” that sort of thing.

When questioned about spontaneous music making in the centre all of the teachers stated it did happen. One teacher commented that she had not realized just
how much spontaneous music the children made until my presence drew her attention to it. Most could only give vague affirmations of spontaneous musicking, rather than specific examples, suggesting that while they were aware of it, they didn’t actually become involved in it themselves. This supports the findings of the observation data that showed a small number of teachers who responded to the children’s spontaneity and an even smaller number who instigated spontaneous music themselves. Indeed there were only two teachers, both at CC2, who were observed in spontaneously creating songs to enhance the children’s playing. This was Anna, with her song about the children playing in the boat, and also the ‘Little Bit of Soap Rap,’ and Donald with his musical doodlings about shoes.

The outside environment was a predominant feature in teacher-involvement and spontaneous musicking. One teacher actually preferred doing spontaneous music outside with the children to the structured sessions inside.

Ingrid: Outside sometimes I do the monkeys in the tree, if there’s children in the tree, and just start singing. In the sandpit too, (I do) the mud pie, the song about the mud pie ... and sometimes the buns, that one, and the elephants balancing on the string. And sometimes if the children just start singing, just to pick up on that.

Alison Stephenson’s research (1998) into the differences between outdoor and indoor experiences for children at an early childhood centre in Aotearoa/New Zealand found that teachers interacted differently with children in the two environments. Two of the staff at the centre found it was easier to join groups outside and move in and out of their play (1998: 23). Stephenson purports that this was due to the teachers’ perception of the outside area as being open, in the sense of accepting and less controlled (1998: 23-4). In such an area there is more scope for spontaneity and creativity. This could be the reason for teachers becoming involved in spontaneous music more frequently outside than in. It is an environment where it is easier to cast off one’s inhibitions.

Names were another key ingredient of spontaneous musicking. Children’s names as well as teachers’ names were at the heart of a great deal of musical
doodlings in the centres. Spontaneous musicking also allows for children’s names to be incorporated into songs such as the instances of Radha’s ‘Hello, Kia Ora’ song and the impromptu boat song at CC2. Spontaneous musical activities involve a small group of children. It is easier and more appropriate to name children individually than in an organized group session where there might be up to forty-five children. Using a child’s name in a song affirms them as an individual and makes them feel special.

While Campbell’s observations of a school cafeteria at lunchtime revealed monitors admonishing students to curb their talking, drumming on tables, and singing at lunch time and keep it for the ‘music class’ (1998: 35), my own observations found that music at meal times was tolerated, even encouraged. The impromptu concert that often occurred at lunchtimes at CC1, for example has already been discussed. Another example comes from TKR1, where a hīkoi was chanted while the children were seated waiting for their lunch. Possibly the difference between music being tolerated and not tolerated is the ages of the children in the respective studies. The children in Campbell’s case study were older, school age children who were no doubt supposed to be developing appropriate table manners and habits. Music, as Campbell remarked, was seen as having an appropriate time and place, and music as part of lunchtime was seen as chaotic and disruptive (1998: 35). The music making of the children at meal times in my study was tolerated because of their young age, and also I posit, because music was accepted as a part of them as young children. They were not required to conform to societal expectations because of their age. Likewise, the young children referred to above who Campbell describes at musical play while eating are not told to stop their singing. Again, this reinforces the fact that the early childhood years are the time when music can and does exude from children unhindered and freely. Once children begin primary schooling, attitudes to music and music making change; it becomes compartmentalized.
2.3 Secondary Uses of Music

Use of music in a secondary sense is defined as times when music is used as a background to another activity. Music used in this sense was recorded music, either played on a tape deck or CD player, or in some of the centres, on the radio. Some of the centres used recorded music for exercise sessions and/or for improvised dancing sessions. Exercise sessions were observed in one kindergarten and one language group. Improvised dancing sessions were observed in all of the language groups and three of the kindergartens. K1 was the only kindergarten where these types of sessions did not occur. The use of recorded music as a background to other activities occurred in all of the centres in the study.

2.3.1 Exercise sessions and improvised dancing

Improvised dancing sessions are defined as times when popular music is played in the centre, almost always at the instigation of the children, and is danced to by groups of children only. In a centre of mixed ages, such as the language groups, the three and four year olds were the ones who usually participated in this. The improvised dance sessions had become a part of the routine in many of the kindergartens in the study. The key features are the use of pop music, and the involvement of groups of children copying the actions of the pop stars.

Improvised dancing such as that described here was not observed in the childcare centres in the study. While instances of improvised dancing were reported to occur in the childcare centres, and also observed to occur, these were individual responses to background music, rather than an organized group effort. For example, at CC1 one child was noted to spontaneously dance to a tape of mine playing in the centre while watching herself in the mirror. However, this is not indicative of all childcare centres in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Helen Willberg, for example, found in
her study that similar dance sessions to pop music such as that of the Spice Girls occurred regularly (2001).24

The sort of music used in this way fell into two categories: popular music such as that by the all-girl pop band the Spice Girls, or upbeat children’s music from popular television programmes such as music from the Barney television show. The use of pop music for both exercise sessions and improvised dancing sessions is why these two categories of musical activities are discussed together.

AA1 often had a daily exercise session involving all of the teachers and all of the children. The music used for this during the time of my observations was that of the Spice Girls, a song by the band Aqua called ‘Barbie Girl’ and the theme song from the Barney television programme. K2 also had a regular exercise session in the winter months for all of the children and teachers. A special tape designed for children’s exercises was used for this, it was a collection of Disney tunes such as ‘It’s a small world after all’ with a voiceover giving movement instructions. The sessions in K2 lasted approximately twenty minutes, while the exercising to music at AA1 continued for the length of three songs, or ten minutes.

AA1 and K2 were the only two centres in the study where exercise sessions were observed. Both centres reported similar objectives for these sessions; they were designed to “burn off some energy”. They were also regarded as a way that the music that the children brought to the centre in the form of tapes could be incorporated into the general programme.

TKR1 and AA2 used popular music for occasional free dancing sessions; a tape would be put on and the children could dance and move to the music if they wished. In TKR1 the music used for this was the ‘Men in Black’ movie soundtrack and in AA2 an album which I did not recognize. This type of session usually occurred in the late morning and late afternoon. TKR2 often had a free dancing session towards late afternoon. During the time of my research the music used for this was by the Spice Girls or the ‘Barbie Girl’ song as well as another song by Aqua, ‘Dr Jones’. K2, K3,

24 Interestingly, the teachers had banned the music of the Spice Girls believing it to be a damaging influence on the children. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.
and K4, the kindergartens that had free dancing sessions used similar music as well. The music of the Spice Girls, Aqua and also the Backstreet Boys featured in all three.

At K4 the music from the stage show *Riverdance*, music from the *Barney* programme, and a children’s tape of familiar dances such as the ‘Hokey tokey’ which was used during organized music sessions was also used for improvised dancing.

The improvised dancing sessions lasted as long as the children’s involvement kept up. The length of time varied considerably with one session lasting only three songs and another forty-five minutes. In some cases the dancing was interrupted by another activity such as the clean up period. If a tape ended, a child would ask one of the adults to rewind it or replace it with a different one.

2.3.2 Background music

Background music is defined as recorded music that occurs indirectly and is used while children are involved in another activity. Music in this sense occurred in all of the centres in this study, although the amount varied from centre to centre.

All of the full day centres used music tapes during sleep times. Generally it was instrumental music that was used in this way. The tapes used were described by the teachers as ‘New Age’ music, electronic based some were noted to use environmental sounds. The Samoan language groups also used tapes of Samoan music as background music at sleep time, and tapes of Māori songs were sometimes used in the kōhanga. The music put on at this time needed to be relaxing and calm, often tapes specifically designed for sleep were used. The teachers chose the music used at this time themselves with no input from the children.

Background music was also used in the centres when children were occupied at different activities. The frequency and selection of tapes used very much depended upon individual teachers. At K4 for example, there were two teachers who were both very committed to having background music playing and who personally enjoyed a plethora of music. A huge variety of music was observed played in this way, from a tape of children’s singing dances of many cultures, to Edith Piaf, to Celtic bagpipe
playing. This was the only centre where classical music was observed being played as background music, aside from sleep time. The teachers concerned monitored the tape player throughout the morning and regularly changed tapes. Background music ran continuously throughout the morning. At one stage background music was playing on two different tape players, one was positioned inside and one outside. The teachers' motivation for this was both personal and educational. They believed it was important to expose the children to many different types of music for their own educational benefit, but at the same time enjoyed listening to the music themselves. If, for example, one of them had purchased a new CD, they would bring it into the centre so that they and the children could enjoy it.

Background music, with one or two exceptions, always occurred inside. In many centres teachers were observed beginning the day by putting on a tape of music but when it finished, it would not be replaced with another tape. Caught up in the activities of the day, teachers would not be able to return to the machine to choose another tape.

Another common time of day for background music to be used was the late afternoon. At this winding up time of day a tape was often put on as the teachers tidied and organized the centre. This was as much for the teacher's own enjoyment as for the children's. As the centre emptied out, there was less activity and noise and it was easier for the music on the tape to be heard.

On one occasion background music was combined with an instrumental activity. At K3 a teacher put on a tape of music from *The Lion King* and put out on the mat a group of drums. Children came and went and drummed to the music playing in the background. In this example the background music was multi-functioning. It functioned primarily as an accompaniment to the children's instrumental activity but at the same time the music was used in a secondary sense as a background to the children working at different activities nearby.

In the language groups the radio was often used in a background music sense. A Samoan language radio station was playing in both a‘oga amata and a Māori language radio station was listened to in the kōhanga. Both music and language were
significant elements of the radio stations, and were reinforced through the use of the radio. Radio has the advantage of not needing constant monitoring, as in the case of tape players. Again, the radio was played as much for the teachers as for the children. The radio at AA2, for example, was situated in the kitchen, where the teachers and also parents (making themselves a cup of tea for instance) had the most awareness of it.

I was informed that music was also combined with other elements to influence the mood of the environment. In TKR2, for example, an album by Deep Forest was sometimes put on in the late afternoon while some oil of orange was burnt on an oil burner to create a calm atmosphere. This is a rare instance of music being used consciously in a way that affected the centre. More often background music was regarded as just another noise in the centre, and as such was switched off, or not used at all.

Generalizations can be made about the types of music used in a background sense. Instrumental tapes were preferred to tapes that had singing. Tapes of children’s songs were only occasionally used as background music in any of the centres. Usually they were switched off as the atmosphere in the centre got too noisy. One exception is the tapes that I took with me on my fieldwork. If I introduced teachers to new tapes they were often played in the centre the following day as background music. It was not uncommon for tapes of Māori songs to be used as background music in the kindergartens and childcare centres. Teachers who did not feel confident singing in the Māori language could incorporate Māoritanga into the programme in this way. This was observed in K1, K2 and CC2. Teachers controlled the use of background music, the quantity of music, and the type of music; all three depended very much on individual teachers.

2.3.3 Discussion

The type of music used in these instances is one area where all the centres had something in common. The music of the Spice Girls for example, very much a part of
the kindergarten culture, was equally present in Samoan language groups and also had a place in kōhanga reo. In fact, after initial fieldwork revealed it to be such a dominant presence I amended my interview sheet to include a question specifically about the music of the Spice Girls and other pop music.

I was surprised by this: not only to find it so prevalent in early childhood centres, but to see it being played in Samoan and Māori language contexts as well. However, as Iole Tanaiolelagi, in a response to the question ‘What would a Pacific Island curriculum look like?’ suggests, the role of the centre is not to confine the children to fa’aSamoa but to try to bridge the gap and adapt programmes so that the children appreciate and learn to live happily in their new environment, as well as hold on to their cultural values and language (1988: 11). The incorporation of pop music into the early childhood environment is one way that the gap between the two worlds can be bridged.

Teachers did not participate in the free dancing time, it was regarded as belonging to the children. It was seen as a time for the children to express themselves in the way that they wanted to, to be creative and free. The music used was brought into the centres by the children themselves. It was the music that they listened to in their homes outside the centre. Often older siblings had introduced them to it. One feature of the music used in this way was that it was constantly changing. The hit parade in the centres reflected the hits on the music charts. A song that had been popular was ‘The Macarena’ and this had been replaced by the current batch of ‘in’ songs.

Children’s participation in free dancing was optional. It was one of many activities available to them. In one kindergarten it was pointed out to me that when popular music was first introduced to the centre, nearly all of the children rushed to the mat area and danced to it. As time went on, however, fewer children would gather, although it was still extremely popular. Children often danced to the music in groups, copying each other’s moves. Gender segregation was noted in one kindergarten: at K3 there seemed to be an evolving mindset among the children that the music of the Backstreet Boys was for the boys to dance to, while girls danced to
the music of the Spice Girls. Sometimes the children would sing along, wooden blocks were used as pretend microphones. Not all children participated as dancers; children working nearby on other activities were observed to sing with the music and/or watch the dancers.

Teacher involvement in improvised dancing extended to putting the music on, almost always in response to requests for it. Adults were observed interacting with the children dancing to pop songs on two occasions. In the first instance a teacher briefly danced with the children, for less than ten seconds, to the Backstreet Boys’ song, ‘Everybody’. This was the only example of its kind in all of the centres I observed free dancing to popular music in. The brief length of time the teacher joined in for and her body language showed her sense of discomfort at what she was doing. It was obvious that subconsciously, if not consciously she felt she was intruding. The children ignored her participation and continued with what they were doing.

On the other occasion a teacher was observed participating with children, it was to encourage the children to have more constructive behaviour. A group of children was dancing together, rotating around in a big circle. The circle was too big and the children were falling over. The teacher intervened and suggested they dance in pairs because that was safer. She demonstrated and helped the children group themselves in twos. She was involved for less than half a minute, although the children followed her lead and kept dancing in pairs for the rest of the dance session. This example shows that while pop music was felt to be the premise of the children, when their actions did not conform to the type of behaviour required in the centre, adult intervention was necessary. The music was not turned off, instead the children were directed into a more appropriate way of responding to it. This interaction did not have a musical basis but was due to behaviour management.

In contrast to this lack of teacher involvement in the musical choices for improvised dancing, where they only had an influence on whether it occurred or not, teachers had full control over the use of music in a background context. They controlled what was played, how loud it was, and whether it happened at all.
Background music was regarded as just one more source of noise in by some of the teachers. Childcare centres are busy, noisy places. In a kindergarten with forty-five children for example, a tape of music playing can just add to the din. Stephanie, a teacher at CC1, felt that children would compete with background music rather than listening to it, and it just made the noise levels in the centre unbearable. Music was most likely to be used as a background when children and adults could move between outdoor and indoor environments. In this way fewer children would be in the inside area where the music was, and so there would be less noise.

Only a few teachers showed an understanding of using music actively to control the environment in the centres. A teacher at K4 expressed a precise knowledge of this:

Kate: We’ve found it changes their mood, so if we play hyped up music, they tend to be quite hyped up and it’s really reflected in their voices [which] are louder and their actions are more - up and out there. And if it’s more soothing music they tend to sort of go with the flow. At the end of the day we can say to ourselves, gee I think that music got a bit too much, often we say to one another and then we will perhaps change the music, but it definitely has an influence on them.

At this kindergarten background music was used consciously to influence the mood of the classroom and its use was analyzed and evaluated as a part of the teaching programme.

Links did occur between organized music sessions and background music. At K4 a tape of children’s dances such as the ‘Hokeytokey’, had been put on for background music and the children had gradually come to organize themselves and dance to it together. This is the only example I found of a crossover between three areas of musical activity: background music, an organized music session, and improvised dancing in a centre. A tape that was used during an organized music session, had been put on for background music, and was then used for an improvised dancing session by a group of children. At this kindergarten the music being played in the background was observed to trigger spontaneous music making
by the children on several occasions. For this reason it will be discussed in the next section as well.

Children were noted to sing along with music playing in the background and teachers could consciously use this in their teaching through using songs from the organized sessions as background music. At K1 the children had been taught the national anthem in English and in Māori during the group music session. When a tape of this was put on during the course of the morning many of the children began to sing with it as they continued with their activities. In another example, a new Māori song was being learnt in preparation for K3’s visit to a local marae. A tape of this song was played throughout the session in the background, while the main teaching of the song occurred at the organized group session. In both of these instances the use of the music in the background served to reinforce the teaching of the songs in the structured learning time.

Children also engaged on a purely physical level with background music. At TKR2, for example, a tape of electronic non-vocal music depicting animals and different moods was a popular choice in the centre. The children responded to this with their bodies, imitating the animals, for instance, began to hop like a frog. The first time this music had been played in the centre the children had stopped their activities and responded in this way and it had become part of the routine. It was now part of the culture of the centre to move to the music in a certain way when it was played.

Background music could also serve as a means of interaction. At K4 Cathy was observed asking the children around her if they had noticed that the music had changed. A tape of classical music had just been put on. One of the children started to sing along with it. I was also informed that a parent who was from Bangladesh, had become very animated one morning when dropping off her child at the kindergarten upon hearing a tape of Bangladeshi music playing in the background. She told the teacher excitedly, “This is our anthem,” and began to sing along with it.

The playing of recorded music in the centre functioned on many levels. Children moved to it and sang to it. They watched other children dance and sing.
They sang to it while working at another activity. Children playing at a different area were also observed to discuss the music with other children around them. Recorded music was used consciously to reinforce the teaching of songs from the organized music times, or to control the mood and atmosphere of the centre.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the microsystem level of Bronfenbrenner’s framework. It has outlined the different ways that children and teachers engage in the activity of musicking in the different early childhood centres. It has examined music in early childhood education through three different categories: music as a part of organized group times, spontaneous music making, and secondary uses of music.

It is important to note that while some centres might not have regular organized music times, this does not mean that they are musically barren. CC2, for example, had a limited amount of organized music, however, spontaneous teacher initiated songs occurred frequently in the centre, and teachers created opportunities for spontaneous child-directed music by providing easy access to a variety of instruments. The type of music programme reflected the philosophy of the centre. CC2 had a child-centred philosophy, and this could be seen in the way music occurred. For this reason the teachers created musical situations out of the children’s play, such as the song on the boat, and also gave the children many opportunities to explore music themselves through the sound tables.

This chapter has shown that there are differences in the way that music is conceptualized in language groups, childcare centres and kindergartens. This is most apparent by examining music as a part of group activities in the centres. Music was a part of every group gathering in all of the language groups. This was not the case in the other centres. Where in all of the language groups it was an expectation that everybody present would participate in the musical activities of group gatherings, this was not so in the kindergartens and childcare centres. In these centres music was
frequently taken by one teacher who took a leadership role, and music was just one of many different activities available for the children.

Spontaneous music making and the use of music in a secondary sense depended a great deal on individual teachers. Teachers who stated a strong personal commitment to music were inclined to use recorded music in the background at their centres. Specific teachers were more inclined than others to instigate spontaneous music in the centres. Conversely, it was not only teachers who professed themselves musically confident who were involved in singing songs spontaneously. Teachers such as Ingrid, preferred being involved in musical activities spontaneously outside, to involvement in organized music inside. The most significant factor is the teacher’s own level of personal comfort with the concept of spontaneous music.

This chapter has outlined the microsystem and focused on the teachers contributing to musical activities in the centres themselves. The next chapter moves to the teachers’ experiences in other settings, and the musical connections between the setting of early childhood centre and these other microsystems.
Chapter 3: Mesosystems: Musical Connections with Other Microsystems

Research carried out in early childhood music education has tended to focus on very theoretical objectives: for example, either from the children's perspective, such as the development of linguistic and musical skills and examination of pitches used in children's improvisations (Imberty 1996), or from the teacher's, for example, that teachers often pitch their songs lower than they should for the high voices of young children and should in fact be singing higher to accommodate this (Gharavi 1993: 28). The reality is that many teachers struggle to sing at all in the teaching context, let alone are consciously aware of the musical development of the children in their care. There is a growing shift towards research that examines more practical aspects of teachers and music education, particularly in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Willberg 2001, Boyack 2000). This chapter focuses on the everyday practicality for teachers, it examines real people and their teaching stories.

This chapter is centred within the second level of the ecological framework, the mesosystem. Teachers participate in a number of microsystems that influence their musical selves including their home/family life, and their teacher training. The way these settings influence their developing identity is significant to the development of their identity within the setting of the early childhood centre. Mesosystems are the musical links between other microsystems and the microsystem of the centre. I didn't have access to these settings, but drew on the teachers' reflections of their experiences there.

A further component of Bronfenbrenner's ecological model is the chronosystem, this extends the environment into a third dimension and encompasses change or consistency over time in both the characteristics of the person, as well as the environment in which the person lives (Bronfenbrenner 1994: 1646). The
chronosystem is not part of this study. While it could have been included here, I felt that there was enough flexibility within Bronfenbrenner's framework to include past experiences in the mesosystem part of the model. While in Bronfenbrenner's framework these connections were usually conceived as being external to the individuals themselves, here mesosystems connections have been developed to include external influences that have become internalized. Thus different elements that contribute to the construction of teachers' musical identity, and become part of the teachers themselves, can be included. Mesosytems can be both concrete, in the form of songs, or playing a musical instrument, and also abstract, in the form of musical concepts.

Two sets of microsystems that teachers participate in form the basis of this chapter. The first is that of personal life, the musical influences of the teachers' homes, families, and social settings such as kapa haka groups or their children's school. The second is the professional environment, the influences of training experiences and connections with the work setting, such as courses and workshops. The teacher forms a primary link between these settings and the setting of the centre itself. Each of these contexts contributes to the musical development of the teachers themselves.

The final section of this chapter builds on issues raised in sections one and two and examines the musical self-concept of the teachers. Through exploring the levels of musical confidence of the teachers different definitions of musicality are uncovered. Boyack (2000) and Willberg (2001) have also discussed lack of musical confidence in teachers in Aotearoa/New Zealand. My research builds on issues raised in their studies such as the importance of singing confidence and approaching children of different age groups differently.

Teachers' personal lives and their experiences with music in turn affect the experiences that they impart to the children they teach. A study undertaken by Adrienne Sansom into the teaching of dance in three kindergartens in Aotearoa/New Zealand also suggests this:

Children's understanding of and relationship with music is drawn from a variety of sources such as their family home (including family rituals and celebrations), parents, brothers and
sisters, their cultural heritage, and educational environments, and current phenomena such as television and radio. The teachers also pass on their experiences of music, which influences what they share with the children. (2000: 137)

My research builds on Sansom’s ideas and explores the ways that teachers’ own encounters with music, their own musical identities, contribute to their professional lives. A particular focus here is the connection between a teacher’s musical self-identity concept and their musical processes and behaviour in the centres in which they work.

3.1 Music and Personal Life

The connections between the personal lives of teachers and their teaching of music within the centre can be both concrete and abstract. The concrete connections are tangible ones such as the recorded music a teacher might bring from home to play, or the musical instrument that they play at home and that is also used in music making at the centre. The more abstract links concern the place of music in the teachers’ lives away from the centre. If music is an important aspect of their life outside, the teacher brings that focus with them to their role as teacher within. The outcome is that the enjoyment a teacher feels for music in his or her personal life is brought to their involvement with music within the centre.

Teachers were observed bringing their own CDs and tapes of music to play during the session. This is an example of a mesosystem, a musical link between the centre and the teachers’ homes. While examples of this occurred with teachers at many centres in the study, it was most prominent with Cindy at K4. Music played in the background almost continually at this kindergarten. During the period of my observations there was music playing both inside and outside on more than one occasion. Cindy’s own CDs and tapes were often used.

Cindy: I bring a lot of stuff from home. Often when I’m buying music I take into account that it is likely it will be used here... I use it to set moods. For example today it was windy and wet so I put on a fairly new agey sort of tape, just very quiet meditative music in the background
with water sounds, bird sounds, that type of thing. Sometimes if the weather is good and children are moving inside and out I'll put on really ragey Pacific Island drumming or something like that. And the other thing is I really like to expose the children to as many different types of music as possible from opera to rock to Barney and his friends. As background music we don't tend to use a lot of children's music. We tend to save that for when we are working with the children. That's why we play Bach, Vivaldi.

All of the music mentioned above (with the exception of Barney) was music that had come to the centre from Cindy's own music collection. As she had a wide range of musical tastes and styles, this resulted in the children at the kindergarten being exposed to a wide range of music as well. The statement above seems to suggest that she thought it was her role as a teacher to allow the children to experience a diverse range of music. This is possibly an outcome of her own experience with music and her own liking of a variety of types of music. Sansom's (2000) study also revealed similar links. Sansom found that there was a connection between teachers who enjoyed music in their private life and who were "passionate" about music inside the centre:

> The teachers' appreciation of music generally appeared to play a significant role in the type and range of music offered to the children as well as the personal interest they showed in music and movement or dance. Where there were strong programmes in dance, the teachers involved were comfortable and sometimes passionate about the place of music in the early childhood environment. (2000: 137)

Cindy's role as kindergarten teacher influenced her own buying of music. She explicitly mentions that she took into account the fact of the music being used within the centre when she bought new music for herself. This shows a musical connection which goes both ways: the music Cindy buys is brought to the centre, but at the same time she buys music which she knows will be suitable for the centre. Each influences the other.

The example of Cindy, together with Sansom's remarks, suggests that the individual teacher is extremely important in shaping the musical world of the children they work with. Their musical personalities, their likes and dislikes,
influence not only how much music occurs in the centre, but also what kind and how much variety there is.

Teachers who are parents themselves and become involved musically with their children have access to a possible musical link between their home and the centre in which they work. This comment shows not only the importance of music in this teacher’s life outside the centre, but the recognition of the influence of her children:

Penny: I’ve always enjoyed music, I enjoyed it at school, I was always in the choir and in the background at shows. I really enjoy singing myself and I’ve been in choirs and things outside kindergarten. You know, so yeah, it is a real interest of mine. ... Having done lots of singing and music and buying tapes and things with my own children when they were little.

The connection between the home environment and that of the centre through mention of the teacher’s children and the musical activities that she did with them is clearly illustrated. Penny learnt songs from the tapes she bought for her children when they were preschoolers. She then sang them and taught them to children at the early childhood centres where she worked.

This connection can also be seen in a slightly different way in another comment from a teacher whose child attended the centre in which she worked.

Kate: My daughter Mary ... she just about knows most songs on the radio and if we’re in the car and she hears them she sings along, and if we’re at home. I think it’s really funny, well not funny but just how she’s attuned to the songs that are familiar to me at home. I don’t take much notice of, I might hum the tunes and she’s picked them up and started to sing. A couple of other kids I’ve noticed doing that too. “Oh that’s a great song.” Picking up songs and doing the whole song and I didn’t know they [knew them].

Kate’s realization of her daughter’s pop music awareness has led her to notice the same details about other children in the centre. While Kate herself is the primary link
between the two settings, as her daughter also participates in both settings she is an example of a supplementary link (Bronfenbrenner 1979: 210). The connection between the two settings is strengthened in this way.

Tara, a teacher at TKR1, also revealed a musical connection between her children and the centre in which she worked. She had taught the children in the kōhanga a song that she herself had learned at her children’s school. Again, this was a musical connection which went both ways: she had helped with waiata at her children’s school and sung songs there that she also sang at the kōhanga, she learnt new songs at the school and brought them back with her to the kōhanga to teach the children there. Part of Bronfenbrenner’s framework is the concept that links can operate in the direction of either setting. Tara’s example is an illustration of this: the songs move between the settings.

For some of the Māori teachers in the study kapa haka groups were a part of their personal life. Kapa haka is a contemporary Māori performance art form. It involves singing and dancing, and can include traditional Māori media such as poi. It is a group activity. For Tara, for example, her involvement in kapa haka was a huge part of her life, both musically and socially. One tangible example of a mesosystem connection between the microsystem of the kapa haka group and microsystem of the kōhanga was a song that she had learnt at kapa haka and taught to the children in the centre. While it was a suitable song for the children to sing, it was important to obtain the appropriate permission first.

SB: Do you bring songs from the kapa haka here?
Tara: Yes I do. I’ve got one written on the board ready to learn. I asked permission for it because our tutor writes them and it’s about whānau.
And it’s actually a waiata we sing before we do karakia at kapa haka. We all do it with everybody. So yeah I have brought that one in. The other ones are much harder and much longer. The ones we sing for nationals and regionals, so I’m quite careful about things like that.

Another song that Tara had brought into the centre I observed before morning tea. Tara had learnt this while taking part in a hīkoi, a walk for the land, from Mechanics
Bay around Auckland. She taught it to the children and it had become part of the repertoire in the kōhanga.

SB: What did you do before morning tea? Where did that come from?
Tara: Paki, tahi, rua, toru, whā. Oh I implemented that. I did a lot of the hīkoi and when you do the hīkoi they sing chants like that so I thought it would be good for an attention thing. It’s not harmful or anything either because it is just “Tahi, rua, toru, whā, walking for your land,” and that’s all it is. The Māori people once a year, on Treaty of Waitangi [day] do the walk. ... It goes all over the place.
SB: What do the words mean?
Tara: Hīkoi motu whenua, walking for the land, remembrance for the land and the land wars, that sort of thing. Taking us back to the 1840s.

This use of this chant reveals a musical connection between the political and cultural personal life of a teacher and the centre in which she works. This example illustrates how far-reaching the links between a teacher’s personal life and their professional life can be. Of course the connection is far deeper than that as well, because the song is part of the children’s identity as Māori. Embodied within the text are symbolic aspects of Māori culture, such as the significance of land, as well as events in Māori history.

Tara participated in a special learning hui twice a year. This was a weeklong experience of full immersion in te reo with debates, discussion, kapa haka, and drama. This was another source of music for the centre. She informed me that she brought back a booklet of karakia and waiata, some of which were used in the kōhanga.

Some of the teachers in the study played a musical instrument outside the centre and some brought their instruments to work with them. At CC3, for example both Ben and Deanne played the guitar:

Deanne: Often I’ve got children that follow me round and ask me to do music, so when there’s a few of those I get on [the guitar] ... there’s a lot of asking for music.
SB: Asking you in particular? Do you think the children associate you with music?
Deanne: Yeah, and the little ones in particular associate the guitar with me. Before they come up this end they pop up and point to the guitar in Alice's office to get down and sing.

Cindy at K4 had learnt to play both the guitar and the piano and her skills on these instruments were part of musical activities in the kindergarten:

Cindy: I've played piano and guitar, neither of which you've seen this week! I don't play the guitar as much as I used to and I can't really give a reason for that. I use it more for unstructured sessions, actually it's probably a weather thing because I tend to use it outside in the summer, it's here all the time. I'll just sit outside on the edge of the sandpit or somewhere in the playground and start strumming and I'll invariably get a group of children coming along and joining in songs. I sing a lot of children's songs and some adult. And I play the piano a bit.

Teachers who played instruments used them for both informal and formal music sessions. They were not confined to use for organized music times. Cindy, for example, tended to use her guitar more for spontaneous sessions rather than organized music times. Two or more teachers at AA1, TKR1, and AA2 played the guitar within the centre and in their personal life. The guitar was the most common instrument to be brought from home into the centre, but Belinda at CC2 had also been reported to bring her saxophone into the centre on one occasion and play it to the children. The piano was only observed being used once during the time of my fieldwork, by Terry, a teacher who was relieving at K4.

Teachers who played a musical instrument in their lives outside the centre who brought their instrumental playing skills to their teaching of music within the centre illustrate an example of a mesosystem link. The playing of such an instrument in two contexts is a concrete musical connection between the two worlds of early childhood centre and personal life. However, not every teacher who played an instrument
chose to make this connection. Teachers who had played instruments in their personal lives but who did not play them within the centre are discussed later in the chapter.

The role of music in a teacher’s life outside the centre is also a significant factor. Teachers for whom music is an important part of their home and family life revealed that the role of music had a similar importance in the centres where they worked. The place of music in their lives outside the centre connected to the place of music in their teaching within the centre:

Sara: I love music, it’s a part of my life and our whole family life and coming here as well, yes it is definitely a very strong part.

Kate: I particularly like music and singing myself so I try to incorporate as much as I can.... I have music in my life a lot.... It’s something that I’ve grown up with my whole life.

Fenella: Yes I enjoy music. My partner is a musician, and my children have all played musical instruments, we listen to music and we play music [at home.]

Likewise, Sansom’s study found that attitudes to dance and music in a teacher’s home life were connected to attitudes within the centre.

Ruth commented on her passion and love for music in the following way. “I come from a very musical family and so it is a passion that I have grown up with and I think it is very important. There are some children that can’t express themselves in other ways but they can with their bodies, they can through music and dance, it is very important.” Another teacher, Jan, also talked about the importance of music in her childhood and how this led to a later immersion in dance: “I came late to dance. As a child my parents would put music on and they would watch us float around. . . . It’s like having life, it’s part of being alive. I am so excited to be doing dances from my own heritage and I’ve been dancing in fields, in buildings, in parks.” This passion and appreciation of what dance meant to Jan was transferred into supporting young children’s dance at her kindergarten. (2000: 137-138)

What comes across strongly in Sansom’s findings is the depth of feelings and strength of passion that these teachers had for music and especially for dance. This
was also apparent in my research with teachers who had a love of music. The strength of their feelings often came through in the interviews in non-verbal ways; their eyes would light up, their voices would rise in pitch and volume. Like Jan in the Sansom study, they transferred their passion and ardency into musical activities in the centres.

Those who came from home environments where music was a strong feature were aware that they were in a working environment that was also music-oriented. Some teachers saw it as an opportunity to indulge their own musical passions, while others felt that they had been influenced by the naturally musical context of early childhood centres:

Cindy: It’s one of the reasons I love the job, because I can associate myself with music and it’s not just for me. I suppose I’m making it sound like a selfish gesture but I love the fact that I can provide music of all sorts of different types for the children.

So the teachers for whom music was a strong part of their lives outside the centre brought that sense of importance to the musical elements of their lives within the centre. The outcome of this musical connection is that the teachers brought their sense of musical enjoyment from their personal lives to their work with the children.

The experiences that teachers have during their own education can also influence their professional development. One teacher, Stephanie, told me about an incident that had a huge impact on how she felt about music and consequently how she contributed to music in the centre:

Stephanie: I went to a girls’ school where they did a production and all the classes got up and had to sing . . . and I was asked to mouth the words a couple of times by the teacher so I’ve always felt I can’t sing, so I won’t. That has definitely affected the way I feel about singing, definitely. I always remember her saying, ‘Stephanie, would you mind mouthing the words,’ in front of the whole class.
Stephanie's experience at school and her public humiliation left her feeling musically inferior, a situation that carried on into her role as early childhood teacher. She struggled to sing in front of other adults:

Stephanie: I don't have positive feelings towards music and taking music, I'm not very confident. ... I'm quite happy doing music with the children but not with adults. ... I still do my share but out of ear shot of other people. I actually find, if there are no adults about, I'm fine. I come in here and shut the door. I prefer other adults don't come in. So if it's just me in here we have a really good music session ... no-one would come in and think, 'oh that's lovely music,' ... [but] the kids are really involved and it's a great music session. But if another adult comes in I normally step back and let them take over because they're better at it.

This comment reveals the long-term result of Stephanie being told she could not sing in tune. Her teacher told her this and she accepted it, still believing it in adulthood and also believing herself to be musically inferior to the other teachers at her centre because of it. She allows other teachers to take control of her music sessions because "they are better at it." This is an example of what Bronfenbrenner calls 'intersetting knowledge' (1979: 210). This refers to information or experience that exists in one setting about the other. While the examples that Bronfenbrenner gives are those of intersetting communication or external sources such as library books, I have extended this to include self-beliefs established in one setting that are carried over into another. The knowledge that Stephanie gained in the school setting that she couldn't sing in tune also affects in her musical experiences in the early childhood setting.

Boyack (1999, 2000) in her research on student teachers in a teacher training institution in Aotearoa/New Zealand has noted similar findings. In fact, some of the students in her study relate stories with striking similarities to that of Stephanie, the case study of Becky, for example, who was given a large cut-out of a tree to hold while the choir sang during a school concert (2000: 2). Boyack has related a negative musical self-image to the concept of self-efficacy: the beliefs individuals hold about
their capability to perform successfully or act effectively in domain-specific areas. It is Boyack's view that in-tune singing is the factor that is associated with the general measure of singing self-efficacy (1999: 89). If we are told by someone in a position of power such as a teacher that we are tone deaf, for example, this will affect our long term concepts about ourselves as singers. I would also suggest that because singing is such an integral part of music, it will affect our whole outlook on musical activities and their musical identity. Stephanie is an example of this.

As Boyack states, singing in tune is not a fixed ability trait, but rather a developmental skill (1999: 11). However, what has happened to individuals such as Stephanie is that they have been led to believe that they cannot, and will not, ever be able to sing. Lack of singing ability is perceived as a permanent deficiency. Small, discussing music education in the UK, relates a similar tale.

Some children do indeed have difficulty in learning to sing in tune, but the difficulty will be overcome by practice and encouragement, not by telling the child that she should open and shut her mouth and make no sound, a practice that seems to be as common today as when I was at school. The voice is at the centre of all musical activity, but it is all too easy to silence and very hard to reactivate, since those who have been silenced this way have been wounded in a very intimate and crucial part of their being. (Small 1998: 212)

Stephanie was not the only teacher to inform me that she could not sing in tune, but her story was the one that affected me the most.

Criticism of singing ability seems to have a stronger effect on crushing an individual's musical self-esteem than criticism of other musical abilities such as instrumental skills. This is because the voice, unlike other instruments, comes from within an individual, whereas instruments are played externally. As Green suggests:

The voice is the one musical instrument whose sound-production mechanisms have no intrinsic links with anything outside the body. Rather, the voice springs from the body, entirely and ... without any extraneous aid. The body is the instrument. (Green 1997: 28)

This is an opinion shared by Boyack as well:

Individual's beliefs about their singing capability appear to be particularly susceptible to the negative comments of teachers, family members and peers. One explanation for
Criticism of the singing voice can be interpreted by the individual concerned as a personal attack, because the voice is so directly linked to the person's own self. Kirsty, one of the participants in the Boyack study, for example, said when she was rejected by a teacher for a school choir that "it was like he was saying me, the person wasn't okay, it was like he was rejecting me." The devastation felt by an individual when his or her singing voice is criticized is apparent in the relaying of Stephanie's story, as well as some of the case studies in Boyack's research.

Teachers' personal lives have an impact on their lives as professionals. In musical terms connections between the centre where the teacher works and other environments he or she participates in can be both concrete and abstract. CDs brought to the centre that a teacher listens to in her own home, and the singing in the centre of a song learnt by a teacher at a kapa haka group, are examples of musical connections between the microsystem of the centre and other microsystems the teacher participates in. Perhaps what is most significant is the passion for music that some teachers feel and the importance they ascribe to it in the lives outside the centre. As Stephanie's case shows, past negative experiences with music can also have a connection with teachers' present musical activities. Comments about her lack of singing ability are always at the back of her mind when she participates in music within the centre.

3.2 Music and Professional Life

As the previous section has shown connections can be drawn between enjoyment of music in a teacher's personal life and of music in the early childhood centre. Experiences of music in teacher training can also be a significant factor. This has been noted by American educator Connie Foss More who suggests that, "if we train teachers of young children, it is essential that they experience some of the freedom and joy in music-making that their young students will later feel" (1990: 108). Likewise, an Australian educator of early childhood trainees sees as her first
priority the need to "engender a positive attitude towards music, or enthusiasm for it personally," if she is unsuccessful in this then she see little point in venturing further (Harle 1990: 156). My research uncovered a group of teachers for whom the opposite was true; their training experiences gave them no enjoyment of music, and they brought this negativity to their teaching of it in the centres.

Training of early childhood teachers in music can be a key element in establishing their musical identity. Courses have tended to focus on instrumental skills and separated music into something that happens at a set time on a specific day, rather than as a constant in the early childhood environment, as these next quotes from teachers show.

Winona: When I first went to training college . . . it was really instilled in you, if you don’t play an instrument, you can’t teach music.

Shona: College music was basically making instruments and having those awful, formal music sessions in your teaching practice where you had a tutor watching you.

Veronica: What training? We didn’t have much really. I was forced to play the piano at College. Two nursery rhymes and I passed and that was enough for me. I don’t think that’s what music is all about.

Some teachers who had been through music training programmes that emphasized the playing of instruments had been turned off music by their experiences:

Shona: At College you had to learn to pass your music. You had to play two songs on an instrument, which I learnt the night before the test from my flatmates next door ... I’d never used a guitar in my life but they got me through. Two songs, ‘Baa Baa Black Sheep’ and ‘Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star’ which are the same thing anyway!

The use of the phrase ‘learn to pass your music’ implies that music was a hurdle that had to be overcome, something that needed to be got through, rather than an area for
which learning was ongoing and full of enjoyment. Shona had no instrumental skills prior to her early childhood training. The emphasis on these skills in the music course had led her to feel musically inadequate. When she first started teaching Shona brought this lack of musical confidence to her work. She told me she “hated it and avoided it like the plague.” She felt quite unable to contribute to a musical programme in her kindergarten.

Likewise, Jo, another kindergarten teacher revealed a similar connection between her negative training experiences with music, and her attitude to music within the centre.

Jo: Well, I failed, I couldn’t play the piano, I can play a little, but not enough to pass the course. [I] tried to learn the guitar in time, and I didn’t have any time and couldn’t do that either ... not enough to pass, and they said well you’ll have to sing, and of course I couldn’t sing either and they said, ‘you’re out of tune, you’ll just fail.’

Jo confessed to me that she had almost failed her entire early childhood training due to her lack of musical skills. Her musical experiences at teacher’s college had left her feeling totally hopeless and unable to take music by herself. She revealed that she could only team-teach music and if it came time to do it on her own she would always find an excuse not to, “it would never happen.”

Instrumental performance can be intimidating for individuals because of reading musical notation and the need to practice skills.

Kara: We had to play an instrument ... and I found it really hard to read the music and it was just really scary, because they’d come and have a go at you if you hadn’t practiced the music.

Playing an instrument was not something that Kara had done in her life before teacher’s college. While Kara did show a positive attitude to some aspects of her teacher training in music, the instrumental section had definitely been an intimidating experience for her. The concept of reading music notation had made the
experience even more alien and off putting. As with Shona and Jo, Kara also brought some of the musical inadequacies she felt during her training to her work experience. She conveyed a sense of dread when talking about teaching music: "When it is actually your turn, I think that night, 'Oh my God, what am I going to do tomorrow?'"

Harle has explored some of the ideals and realities of music training programmes at the Institute of Early Childhood where she works (Harle 1990). Her first priority when training teachers is to attempt to establish a positive attitude towards music and a personal enthusiasm for it, as well as a commitment to its role in early childhood education (Harle 1990: 156). This would suggest that she can see the connection between teachers’ training experiences in music and their attitudes to music in the centres where they work. Harle equates positive musical training experiences with positive musical teaching experiences. My study has shown the converse is also true: negative musical training experiences result in negative teaching attitudes.

At the time of publication of Harle’s paper, students could come away from their training with a total of 24 hours of music instruction. Aware of her limited time restraints Harle also discussed her further priorities with her teacher training programme.

My second priority is to develop a basic level of musical literacy in my students – to overcome their fear of the symbol system of music; my third priority is to awaken some degree of musical confidence in each student in regard to musical expression including singing, playing tuned and untuned percussion instruments, and moving to music. My fourth priority is to give students a basic grasp of the developmental principles of music education. (1990: 156)

As Kara’s comments above show, the fear of musical notation is a reality with some students. However, with Kara’s training experiences the trepidation was not overcome but rather made worse. One has to wonder whether it is an appropriate use of time to teach notation to a group of teachers who are not going to use it outright in their own teaching. While Harle’s objective, the demystification of musical symbols, is an admirable one, realistically in the short time allotted to music
it may only serve to confuse teacher trainees further. An instructor in a similar course at a New Zealand institution commented that the 15 hours of training in music which early childhood teachers received was just enough to make them terrified of ever taking music.25 Certainly, in Kara’s case that is not far off the mark.

Teachers in the a'oga amata revealed an important connection between their centres and other centres. Some of the staff had relieved at Palagi (Samoan equivalent of Pākehā) centres. Many songs had been learnt in the Palagi centres and brought back into the a'oga, where they were translated into Samoan. At AA2 for example, Pip informed me that this was a common way to learn songs and introduce them to the centre. The fingerplay ‘The Beehive’ which I observed during the morning gathering came into the centre in this way and was chanted in both English and Samoan. This example illustrates a connection not only between the mesosystems of the two early childhood centres but also between the cultural contexts: Samoan and Palagi.

Lina, at AA1, informed me of the wealth of songs that she and other teachers had learned from relieving at other centres, both Samoan and Palagi.

Lina: A lot of us do relieving at Palagi centres. Songs learnt there are brought back and translated into Samoan. I worked at a Palagi centre a couple of years ago and taught them songs from Samoa and the children remembered them when I went back and did relieving last week.

Lina was amazed and delighted that the children had remembered the Samoan songs. One of the features of Bronfenbrenner’s framework is that connections can go both ways and this example shows a connection that does exactly that. The sharing of songs between Palagi and Samoan centres enriches the musical worlds of both.

Early childhood teachers have opportunities to extend their musical skills through professional development. This takes the form of workshops or courses that are offered on a regular basis. These courses are an example of another microsystem.
that teachers participate in, and the skills and resources they bring back are an example of a mesosystem.

Lina informed me of a special annual conference of a’oga amata teachers which was held throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand each year. She said that it was especially important not only for teachers to support each other, but because of the sharing of songs, stories, and resources that occurred. Lina felt that this conference was one of the main ways that songs were diffused around different a’oga amata all over the country.

The connection between the microsystem of the centre and the microsystem of the course appears to be strongest when more than one member of a staff attends.

Sonia: We got such a lot from that course, [we] came back on such a high.

Jo: We like to go to courses together so that we can actually bring back the information ... and we can share it together.

Many of the teachers showed me resources they had brought to the centres as a result of attending workshops. Jo and Sonia, for example, had recently been to a workshop based on a folksong and dance resource. They had bought the tapes for their kindergarten, and I had observed some of the songs being danced to in music sessions. These songs clearly illustrate a concrete mesosystem, but the link has an internal, more abstract aspect as well. The fun that both Sonia and Jo experienced at the course was brought back and transferred into enthusiasm and enjoyment of folk dancing in the kindergarten. The strength of the connection was increased because two of the teachers went.

Courses provide extra training and support for teachers who are not musically confident. They are an opportunity for teachers to gain skills and increase their musical confidence. However, teachers who feel musically inadequate often resist attending music workshops because they are afraid of situations they might be placed in at the course. They fear that their lack of musical ability might be publicly recognized, or that the courses might be a repeat of their college experiences.
Stephanie: There have been other music workshops since then which you can go to which I have chosen not to go to because ... you’re not quite sure what setting you’re going to be put in.

It can also limit how involved they allow themselves to be at the course.

Jo: I don’t speak out or sing or openly contribute at a music course. I will always take a very back seat.

So the irony is that music courses, often designed to develop musical skills in teachers who lack confidence, may not reach those who need them most. This is because of an apprehension towards music which affects the teachers either by limiting their involvement in the course, and consequently how much they can gain from it, or by preventing them from attending at all. Thus while my research showed that connections can and do exist between the microsystem of the centre and the microsystem of the music workshop, it also revealed that these connections may occur less than one might think. There are teachers who will not attend these courses and consequently the opportunities for links to the centre are lost.

3.3 Level of Musical Confidence

This section of the chapter examines the level of musical confidence a teacher has in the centre in which they work. This level of confidence is linked to the world outside the centre. It is connections with, for example, family members, education, schooling, colleagues, friends that help to form how confident a teacher is musically. Teachers who have a musical self-identity bring a high level of musical confidence to music within the early childhood centre. They think of themselves as being musical and having musical abilities and as such are able to contribute easily to music in the centre. While the previous sections of this chapter have focused on specific mesosystem connections between the private and professional settings, this part of
the chapter explores in more detail the different levels of musical confidence that the teachers have. These form more complex mesosystem connections between the world the teachers experience outside the centre and the centre itself.

The concept of being musical is a multifaceted one. As the teachers themselves revealed, there are many different elements. For some of the teachers playing an instrument made a person musical, for others it was being able to sing well. Teachers used words such as talent, ability, performer, and participation when discussing their musical confidence. As this chapter will demonstrate, all of these concepts contribute to the level of musical confidence experienced by early childhood teachers in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

At the back of my mind during all of the interviews was an awareness of myself as a Pākehā researcher, a self-identified ‘academic musician’, and the effect that this could have on the responses of my informants. I realized that this could make the teachers more disparaging about their own musical abilities than they might otherwise be. Wheaton, in a study into self-perceptions of singing ability for self-proclaimed ‘nonsingers’ in the US, found that the most difficult part of her project was finding enough people who were willing to sing into a tape recorder or live for her.

All of the participants were leery of singing for anyone, much less a music person [sic]. Singing under these circumstances seemed to be threatening, if not punishing to all potential subjects. In this day and age professionals are so skilled that individuals may assume that everyone who participates in music must have that same level of knowledge and expertise. (1998: 25)

Like Wheaton’s participants, it is probable my subjects considered me their musical superior and this may have affected the sort of answers they gave me about their own musical skills. Singing skills in particular were a potentially sensitive area.

I have constructed a model placing all of the teachers from a very low level of musical confidence through to a very high level based on what they told me in the interviews combined with my observations of their involvement in music in the centre.
### Table 3: Teachers’ levels of musical confidence

* denotes teacher working with children under 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kindergarten</th>
<th>Childcare centres</th>
<th>Language groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Penny, Cindy, Rowena</td>
<td>*Jean, *Fenella Anna, *Jacqui Anna</td>
<td>Tara, Maria, Lisa, Tavita, Toni, Cathy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*Deirdre, Sara *Priscilla</td>
<td>Lina, Kate, Tania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Jenny, Amanda, Veronica, Winona</td>
<td>Serena, Donald Belinda, Dearne, *Christa</td>
<td>Aroha, Pip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Denise, Sonia, Shona, Ingrid, Kara</td>
<td>Alice, Rachel, Ben, Justine, Jeremy, Sophie</td>
<td>Steven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Low</td>
<td>Jo</td>
<td>Stephanie</td>
<td>Joan</td>
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</table>

To be considered to have a high level of musical confidence teachers had to contribute musically to the centre as well as express complete confidence in their musical abilities in their interview with me. Of the eighteen teachers who make up the group with a high level of musical confidence nine are from the language groups, while three are from kindergartens and seven from childcare centres. The following selection of remarks from some of the teachers in this category cover a range of
reasons for their musical self-belief; from musical achievements and specialized training, the ability to play an instrument or sing well, through to love of music, and believing themselves musical. While not all of the teachers in this category saw themselves as performers, they did all see themselves as musical in some sense.

SB: Do you consider yourself musical?
Jean: Yeah, I mean I’ve done lots of music in my private life. I mean I learned the piano and the clarinet and sang in church choirs and school choirs and that, so yeah I do.

Penny: I’ve always enjoyed music; I enjoyed it at school, I was always in the choir and in the background at shows... At College I did it as my major, my main study, which was more looking at it from our own personal perspective, building our own musical skills up.

Anna: I’m Royal School, you know, College of Music, church choir type thing.

SB: Do you consider yourself musical?
Cindy: Yeah, yeah.
SB: Why?
Cindy: Because I love it. I mean, the fact that I can only play four chords on the guitar and only went to about grade two on the piano and would be hard pressed to remember anything doesn’t mean that I’m not musical, I feel musical!

SB: So do you consider yourself musical?
Rowena: Yes, because I mean, music is not just playing an instrument. I’ll play music and often dance to it... I don’t play any musical instruments but I do love music and it plays a rich part in my life.

Lisa: Yes I am musical because I love to sing.
Maria: My husband plays the guitar too, and it’s really good. I like music, I really, really like music. When I am cooking at home if I hear nice music, like Rarotongan music then I stop everything and I dance.

As Rowena’s comment shows, there were teachers who had a high level of musical confidence who could not play an instrument, Kate also falls into this group:

SB: So do you consider yourself musical?
Kate: Um, I can’t, I’d love to play the guitar but the love has not gone any further than that. (laughs) Maybe in the sense that I like to sing and I’ve done a lot of cultural club poi and all that, I’m rhythmical maybe, in order to give a description. But musical? in terms of an instrument. No I can’t play an instrument.

Kate considers herself musical in the sense that she likes to sing and because of her involvement in kapa haka groups. Yet in giving her answer to me, a Pākehā researcher, she is quick to define herself as not musical in an instrumental sense.

While Tania brought a very high level of musical confidence to her activities in the centre and said that she could be considered musical, there were some aspects of musical activities that she wasn’t so confident in:

SB: So would you consider yourself musical?
Tania: Would I consider myself musical? I think when I have to be, I can be. I can waiata with the kids. But if I had to get up and sing solo or even with a group I think I’d be a bit chicken... I think when I’m put in a situation I could be, yeah.

In the context of musical activities inside the kōhanga Tania is musically confident. She can “waiata with the kids.” Yet outside the centre, she would not be so confident singing solo, or even possibly with a group in a performance context. This is an example of a situation where there is a discrepancy in the mesosystem connection between the level of confidence a teacher shows musically outside the centre and inside the centre. Cathy, another teacher at a language group, shows a similar inconsistency:
Cathy: I love listening to music and I come from a huge family of ten and it was mainly my brothers who were musical, whereas the girls were just given piano lessons but that’s as far as it went. No, practically, no, but in terms of listening, I love it and all sorts of types.

SB: Would you consider yourself musical?

Cathy: Yeah I do ... but I wouldn’t get up and sing like some people can get [up] and sing at karaoke and things like that, I would never do that. But for a purpose that I know you need to do it I just do it automatically.

Like Tania, Cathy has a very high level of musical confidence inside the centre, which is “a purpose that I know you need to do it,” yet outside the centre she wouldn’t want to sing by herself. Cathy also shows recognition of the importance of the role of listener. While she doesn’t think of herself as a musical person in a practical way she still thinks of herself as musical. She regards listening to music as an important element of musical behaviour. Cathy’s comment calls to mind the words of Blacking cited earlier concerning the concept of “sonic order” (1973: 11) and that musicality and being musical is being able to understand and respond to music.

Deirdre was one of a group of teachers who worked in the under-twos part of her centre who all expressed a high level of musical confidence. Her comment reflects the attitude of the group, that singing and music was something that happened naturally with the younger children they worked with:

Deirdre: It’s part of the day, like when we’re putting babies to sleep in the pram we might sing a song, or changing their nappy we might sing a song. It is really part of our day to day thing, but its not part of a day to day order, that we sit down and have actual structured times, but it is incorporated into everything we do in the day. I love to sing. When you’re working in a centre it’s just part of a centre, so yeah, you just do it, normally. It’s something that you do, the longer you work and the more you do. You practice the songs and get more confident with music.
While Deirdre is acknowledging the role that experience has in increasing her musical confidence, I would also posit that for her and the other three teachers who worked with the under-twos and were part of this group, working with younger children contributed to their high level of musical confidence. Willberg (2001: 158) found in her study that the teachers approached the infants' music programme in her centre with a lack of self-consciousness and consequently they received a more varied programme than the toddlers and young children. Teachers perceived the younger children as being less critical and less threatening to sing in front of. I believe a similar belief has contributed to the high level of musical confidence experienced by teachers of infants in my study as well.

Some of the teachers who showed a high level of musical confidence were aware that it was a personal strength:

Tara: It's one of my high qualities is music. For me it gives me adrenaline because I know what to do, I know how important it is and I enjoy it a lot.

Tara exuded musical confidence in her interview and in her involvement in musical activities in the kōhanga. It was a dominant part of her life in the centre, her education, with her family, and in her culture.

The teachers in the second group, those who had a moderate level of musical confidence, shared some of the same self-identified musical attributes. However, what distinguishes the two groups is that the teachers with a high level of confidence did not have any doubts about their musical abilities, while the fifteen teachers in the moderate group did make some self-deprecating remarks about their musical skills or showed a lack of confidence in some aspect of their involvement in musical activities in the centre. Aroha, for example, said that she was getting more confident at taking the music for the shared school assembly.

Three of the teachers in this group were very quick to downplay their own abilities, one even apologizing for their lack of musicianship. Their disparaging remarks about their own abilities may have been at least in part due to my role as a
music researcher, and their perceptions of me as a high achiever in the field of music. Jenny, at K2, played the piano, and Veronica and Amanda, also at K2, had played the guitar outside the centre but not within it. Amanda and Veronica chose instead to rely on tapes and use them for music in the centre.

Jenny: I learnt the piano for 11 years and haven't played much since, and I'm always tempted to because I think in our afternoon session it would be marvellous. But um, because I haven't got a piano at home I don't practice and therefore I'm no good, so that's my aim, to improve there.

Amanda: I played the guitar.
SB: Do you still do that?
Amanda: No naughty! Because Mary comes here and she's a hundred times better than me. Veronica plays the guitar too thank you! Her and I both. I haven't taken the guitar out for ages. I love the guitar but I'm very self-conscious. I like it in small groups. I could never do it with parents coming in, that would blow me apart. . . . But since the tapes have come in, and I've built up tapes and each kindergarten I've been too I've built tapes and a little booklet just [by] myself and that's just the way I've got along.

Veronica: I think you can get a lot of enjoyment out of tapes through your movement, through other ways, and that can be just as enjoyable as the other way. It's a bonus if you can play the piano or guitar. I used to try and play the guitar but I wasn't any good at it so I didn't feel comfortable, so I didn't like doing it. And it used to reflect, because I was too busy seeing if the notes were right rather than looking at the children.

What is significant about these quotes is that none of these three teachers considered themselves skilled enough on their instruments to play them within the kindergarten. While they were able to play these instruments, their self-perception was that they were not good enough to bring those skills to the centre. Rather than be proud of their limited instrument skills, they are embarrassed by them. Amanda's
comment sums it up, it would “blow her apart” if her lack of ability were exposed to parents visiting the centre.

Another kindergarten teacher, Winona, expressed doubts about her singing, yet showed a moderate level of confidence and enjoyment in musical activities in the centre:

SB: Do you consider yourself musical?
Winona: Yes and no. I love music, I like doing it with the children. I like games with them. I probably sing out of tune all the time.

Pip, a teacher at a language group conveyed similar sentiments:

SB: Do you consider yourself musical?
Pip: No.
SB: Why not?
Pip: Because I don’t have a good voice. You have to train your voice like if you’re training to be a teacher, so you have to train your voice, but I like music, yeah. I can teach children’s songs and things like that but I don’t think that’s my talent.

Of the remaining teachers who form the group with a moderate level of musical confidence: Serena and Donald said they were confident singing but not so much with instruments, Belinda showed a distinct lack of interest in music in the centre (and in her life outside the centre) at the same time that she revealed a competent level of confidence, and Christa, while appearing to be reasonably confident musically in the centre, deferred to Deanne as the most musical teacher in her centre.

Perhaps one of the most interesting comments from a teacher who exhibited a moderate level of musical confidence is this conversation with Deanne:

SB: You seem to be labeled the musical one in the centre, how did that happen?
Deanne: It’s a skill I’ve developed since I’ve been here. I mean, I’ve always played the guitar for a long time, I wouldn’t call myself a guitar
player. I play the guitar at this level.... I did play the cello at secondary
school and at teacher’s college I did music as a selective study in primary
school, so I did sort of Carl Orff stuff.... I have done a bit of harmony with
‘A Ram Sam Sam’ and that’s gone quite well.... So that’s my background
really. I’m not a musician.
SB: Why do you say that?
Deanne: I’ve just got a general musical ability. I don’t play anything
particularly well. I’m not a performer.

Not only has Deanne played instruments, she has majored in music during her
training, studied Orff and is aware of and has explored basic musical concepts such
as harmony with the children. She reveals a wealth of musical knowledge and
showed a high level of musical confidence yet she still considers herself “not a
musician”. The reasoning behind this is that she has a general, all-rounder’s musical
skill, she is not particularly talented in one area. She differentiates between being
musical and being a musician, playing a guitar, and being a guitar player. Deanne’s
comments suggest that she equates the term musician with a person who has a very
high level of skill on an instrument. Her answer may have been in part due to my
role of a musical expert, yet implicit in her remarks is the concept of a special level of
musicality that qualifies for the term ‘musician’.

The overwhelming attitude towards music from the twelve teachers classified
as having a low level of musical confidence in the centre was that for various reasons,
music was not something they were strong in. Some of the teachers who did not have
a high level of musical confidence could relate it to a lack of specialized knowledge.
Sonia, for example, told me that she was “handicapped” musically because she
couldn’t play an instrument. Sophie, enjoyed singing, but like Sonia was not
confident with instruments. Ingrid had learned to play an instrument once, but had
built up a barrier to music because she wasn’t “really musical”, she hadn’t had any
special music training:

Ingrid: I actually learnt to play the ukulele at school and I used to enjoy
playing that. I’d been relieving at kindergartens before I went to College,
and I used to do music, but I still didn’t really feel [confident], it’s just a barrier that I’ve built up ... I’m aware that music’s not one of my strong things ... I’m not really musical or anything like that.

Likewise Kara also felt that she lacked instrumental skills and this affected her general musical confidence:

Kara: It’s not really a big strong point. I wish that I could play the guitar or something like that.

Rachel is building up her level of confidence in music, but she still has difficulty thinking of herself as musical because she can’t read music or play an instrument:

SB: Do you contribute to music sessions?
Rachel: Yes, um, which is funny considering I can’t read music and I don’t play an instrument. But it started off with an area I felt I was weak in and I went to a few workshops on it and I’ve just gradually developed my confidence, I’m still not ultra confident in it. I really enjoy singing with the children. I’m getting there, but I kind of lose my way every now and then. I’d really like to learn to play the guitar.

Likewise, the most of the teachers in Willberg’s study shared a similar lack of musical confidence, mainly due to lack of musical literacy or the ability to play an instrument (2001: 163).

This lack of specialized knowledge about music is one of the issues raised by Russell (1996) in a case study that examines student teachers’ beliefs about their own musicality. Russell suggests that generalist teachers’ lack of confidence in their musical abilities can arise from the belief that music is a specialized domain, the arena of a privileged few. There are shades of this in other statements from the teachers in my study who had a low level of confidence. Other people are seen as musical, people who have the skills and the training in that area. Denise, for example, thinks of another teacher as being musical because she can play an instrument:
SB: Do you consider yourselves musical?
Shona: No.
Denise: No.
SB: Why not?
Shona: I don’t know actually. I enjoy music but I don’t consider myself musical.
Denise: I consider someone is musical like Kathleen who can do [sic] a guitar.
Shona: At 3 o’clock on a Sunday morning after I’ve had a good night at a party I might consider myself musical.

Ben is a self-taught guitar player and because of this he doesn’t believe his instrumental skills are of a very high level:

SB: Do you contribute to music?
Ben: Probably not as much as some of the others because I’m not that good at it.
SB: That’s funny because I’ve been told you’re musical, some of the others have told me you’re musical.
Ben: I don’t think so. Like, I’ll get the guitar out and play the guitar but I don’t think I’m musical.
SB: So you don’t consider yourself musical?
Ben (laughs): No.
SB: So why don’t you consider yourself musical?
Ben: Mainly because I’ve attempted to learn the guitar and a few other instruments and I just don’t see myself as successful in that area.

One reason Ben doesn’t see himself as “successful” could be because he doesn’t have the specialized knowledge of proper training. Again, this has parallels with the findings of the Russell study. Ben doesn’t believe what he has taught himself could be musically significant, he sees himself as being “not that good” at music, even when presented with the other teachers’ positive musical opinion about him.
The ability to sing well and in tune was also a feature of musical confidence. Teachers who did not think of themselves as singers could not think of themselves as musical. Justine, for example, felt her singing let her down:

Justine: Music is not an area of strength for me ... I'm not very good at singing, I can read music and play the guitar. I'm not very musical, or musically inclined. I guess it's a confidence thing.

Justine can read music and play an instrument, yet because she does not think of herself as a good singer she does not think of herself as musical. Four other teachers who had a moderate to low level of musical confidence also were quick to put down their singing skills:

Denise: We're virtually never in tune, well I'm not.

Shona: I can't really sing in tune.

SB: Would you consider yourself musical?
Alice: No, unfortunately.
SB: Why not?
Alice: I don't sing in tune for one thing

Jeremy: I like and enjoy music, but I'm not a confident singer. I don't like instigating music in the centre.

Alice also told me that when she sang the babies to sleep they went to sleep much quicker for her than the other teachers, because they didn't want to listen to her terrible singing voice. Many of the teachers in Willberg's study were equally disparaging about their singing voices. Flora, for example, told Willberg: "I don't feel good about my singing voice. I thought I was tone deaf and read a book that says there is no such thing – there goes my excuse" (2001: 138).

The Wheaton study into self-perceptions of singing ability for self-proclaimed 'nonsingers' has issues in common with those raised by my participants (Wheaton
The nonsingers' self-perceptions of their singing ability were lower than both the researcher's and the unbiased third listener's perceptions. It seems that we are much harder on ourselves when judging our musical ability than others are. Of the 42 subjects, 18 of them had sung in a school or church choir and 35 of them had participated in music during their schooling outside of graduation requirements (1998: 24), yet they still considered themselves nonsingers. Boyack also argues that low self-efficacy in singing does not always accurately reflect singing skill (2000: 3). Like Wheaten’s participants, I believe that my participants’ self-perceptions of their singing ability were much lower than mine would have been. I observed all of them singing in tune for example, even though they had all told me they could not sing in tune.

Another aspect of the teachers’ low confidence in music was comparison to others who they perceived as being musical. Denise, Ben, Sonia, and Steven all compared themselves and their musical skills to others when discussing their musical confidence. Steven, for example, didn't think of himself as musical because he compared himself to his friends who could write music, something he couldn’t do:

Steven: When I was younger I used to play the piano and the piano accordion and recorder and those sorts of things.
SB: So do you consider yourself musical?
Steven: No, not really.
SB: Why not?
Steven: Um, through the varsity work I did, I wrote songs and had them performed and performed them as well, but I'm no: a person who can conceive tunes. So I can pick it up and do all the words and intentions and everything, but I just have friends who can’t think up words but have tunes all the time.

For Steven it was his friends who he regarded as musical, with Sonia, Denise and Ben it was another teacher who they compared themselves to. Comparison with others was also apparent in the group of teachers who had a high level of confidence;
Christa, for example, who showed that she was fairly confident musically in the centre, but thought of Deanne as being the ‘musical’ teacher in the centre:

Christa: She’s so good at it, so it’s quite hard because she is, she’s so good at it. And we have set days when we’re in certain areas of the crèche. I have a set day that I take music, it’s the day when Deanne isn’t here.

Comparison may have been an issue for Kara and Ingrid too, as they worked with Penny, a teacher with a very high level of musical confidence. It is almost as though these teachers are thinking: “I can’t be musical because she is far better at music than me, therefore I am not musical and she is.”

Three teachers had a very low level of musical confidence: Jo, Stephanie, and Jean. They shared one element in common: all three believed they were tone deaf and could not sing in tune. Boyack (1999:91) has noted that tone deafness is a myth that persists in families and schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand. My research provides further evidence for this theory:

Joan: Basically [I’m] pretty tone-deaf.

Jo: I was just about kicked out of my course because of failing my musical. They let me through by the skin of my teeth ‘cos of my music, because I couldn’t sing in tune. I’m tone deaf.

Stephanie: I normally use a tape because I’m not very tuneful or anything. I can’t sing in tune.

Unlike the teachers in the low to moderate level of confidence group, these three were profoundly affected by their self-perceived lack of vocal ability. It affected their musical self-identity and wrecked their musical confidence.

Boyack’s study into self-efficacy and singing has already been mentioned. Her research highlights the different factors that influenced participants’ singing self-efficacy (2000: 86), some of which appear among participants in my own study. Two
of the three student teachers involved in the final stage of the study could recall a single incident, the failing of an audition, which was pivotal to their beliefs about their singing ability (2000: 85). This is similar to Stephanie, for example, who could pinpoint the exact moment of when she became nonmusical as her experience with the teacher asking her to mouth the words during the choir performance. One of the findings of the Boyack study was the devastating impact of negative musical experiences on individuals. Boyack (2000: 97-8) cites a mature student teacher, for example, who, after a teacher told her she had no musical ability at a very young age, tells of years of never participating in anything remotely musical, including singing to her own children. Stephanie’s case has been discussed earlier, but Jo’s experiences at training college had left a similarly shattered self-belief.

Sonia: Did you ever feel confident, ever?
Jo: No!
Sonia: Doing music in those days?
Jo: No! So in most kindergartens I team taught music because I never felt confident doing it on my own, and if it came to do it on my own I would always find an excuse not to do it, for some reason it wouldn’t happen.
This wasn’t meant to be about me! When we go to a course or anything and we sing a song I sing very quietly.
SB: But you can definitely sing in tune.
Jo: Well, according to them, I can’t and I don’t think I can at all.
SB: I have heard you sing in tune.
Jo: That must have been just the once. So yeah, these are things that sit in the back of your head.

Jo cannot accept my statements that she can sing in tune. She makes a joke about it. The judgement passed on her by her teachers years before carries far more weight. Her comments reveal the depths of how affected she was by being told she was tone-deaf. It sits in the back of her mind always.

Joan does not attribute her lack of musical confidence to one event, but it seems to have developed as a result of a number of things:
SB: Do you contribute to music?
Joan: Me myself personally? Just as a join along, but I do not lead music in any way.
SB: So why don’t you lead music?
Joan: Because I’m not, my ability, that’s not where my strength is, my other staff are far, that’s where their strength is, so that’s their field.
SB: Is there any one particular member who you think of as being the most musical or are they all just?
Joan: All very musical, Maria plays the guitar best, but they’re all great.
SB: And what was your training in music like?
Joan: Typical Pākehā training. I had piano lessons as a child, sang in school choirs but basically [I’m ] pretty tone-deaf, I enjoy dancing.
SB: So did you enjoy the training you had in music?
Joan: No. It was, forty odd years ago. Oh my god. I was sitting at the piano and getting smacked on the fingers when you played a wrong note. My children are musical and might have got it from my Mum who was very musical and could play the piano very well but I was like my father. My father was tone-deaf and I’m the same.

Joan is the only non-Samoan teacher at her language group and she compares herself to her colleagues and sees them as being so much more musically talented than she is. Part of her low level of musical confidence stems from this comparison, but it was rooted in her past. Another element contributing to the development of singing self-efficacy noted in the Boyack study was that external appraisals of capability (from family, for example) were more influential that self-appraisals (2000: 86). Inherent in Joan’s remarks is the comparison and labeling within the family of some members being musical (her mum, her children), and other members being nonmusical (her father and herself). Stephanie, Jo, and Joan all conveyed the attitude in their interviews that they were labeled nonmusical, this was an unchangeable situation and it profoundly affected how they were able to contribute to music in the centres in which they worked.

One further element of teachers’ musical confidence in the centres was the way they perceived their musical activities: as performance or participation. Two main
factors influenced this shift: leading or organizing formal musical activities and other adults, usually parents, being present.

**Figure 2: Musical participation into musical performance**

![Diagram showing spontaneous, organized, parents watching, leading the music, other teachers, and Stephanie.]

Some of the teachers in the bottom half of the confidence table told of how being in charge of music affected their level of confidence. Take Alice and Ben, for example:

Alice: I’m a bit reserved about leading music.... I love participating. In a group it doesn’t seem to matter much.

Ben: I’ve definitely got to psyche myself into it to do it, I’ve got to push myself to do it. I don’t mind participating, [but] being the controlling factor, I don’t much enjoy that.

SB: Do you know why that is?

Ben: Well, if it’s a group activity, I find, I don’t mind doing it in small groups, but in big groups, [being] the one that’s trying to organize it, I find it stressful. I don’t find it fun, get stressed out.

Alice’s comment followed on from her telling me that she couldn’t sing in tune. Implicit within Alice’s statement is the idea that her lack of singing skills won’t be exposed in a group. There is less chance of a self-perceived nonmusical person being discovered. Ben is affected by the size of the group he is leading. He is comfortable with small groups but once the situation changes to larger ones he sees his role differently. Musical activities as part of a group, with other teachers sharing the control give Ben and Alice more confidence. Being in charge of a large group, for
both Alice and Ben, is what is most threatening about music. I suggest that controlling the musical activities shifts the role of the teacher from a participator to a performer. They perceive themselves as being a musical performer, a role they are not comfortable in because of their lack of musical skills.

Kara and Ingrid conveyed similar feelings about organized music:

Kara: The thing I don’t like about the formal thing really, is going around saying, "Do you want to do music?" if everyone says, "No!"

Ingrid: I’m sort of more comfortable doing spontaneous things rather than planned things. I don’t know why that is.

Penny: The children have organized themselves, haven’t they? You haven’t had to gather them.

These examples suggest that the different contexts of spontaneous and organized music sessions also affect the way the teachers perceive their role. In spontaneous musical activities they are participating alongside the children, in formal musical activities the teacher is the instigator and leader.

Several of the teachers were aware of doing musical activities in front of other adults, particularly parents. Jo, for example, thinks she looks “like an idiot” when she is doing music. Amanda said it would “blow her away” if parents ever saw her limited guitar playing skills, Stephanie would stop doing music if a parent came into the room and saw her. These comments suggest that the teachers perceived their singing or dancing as a kind of performance rather than participation alongside the children. I would argue that if a parent walked into the room and saw one of these teachers doing a puzzle or playing a game with a child that they would not stop what they were doing or feel uncomfortable. What is significant here is the way the context shifts from one of participation alongside the children, to one of performance when parents (or in Stephanie’s case, even other teachers) enter the setting. It is the teacher’s perception of the context that changes: the situation itself remains the same.
3.4 Conclusion

Music is a part of every early childhood teacher's professional role. It is part of their training and it is an expectation that each teacher will contribute to music in the centre in which they work. This includes both formal music sessions and music that occurs spontaneously. However, while all teachers should contribute to music, some contribute more than others. Many teachers find music a threatening part of the curriculum and attempt to avoid contributing to it in the centre. As this chapter has demonstrated, this fear of music is largely due to personal musical experiences. In this chapter teachers' concepts of their musical selves have been examined, how the teachers' musical identities were created, and the way they affect their musical interactions within the centre.

This chapter has drawn together various threads of teachers' lives outside the centre and shown the way that they influence musical activities within. Mesosystem connections between these settings take on many different forms: they can be concrete in the form of songs or CDs, or they can be abstract in the sense of concepts about music and being musical, which affect the teacher's contribution to music in the centre.

This chapter has shown how the way that teachers approach music in their personal lives is brought to their role of teacher in the early childhood setting. Cindy, for example, enjoyed music in her life away from the centre and she brought this sense of enjoyment, as well as her musical tastes and CD collection, with her to the way she taught music within her kindergarten. Likewise, musical experiences in teachers' professional lives also form mesosystem connections between the centre and the outside world. In some cases training experiences are not positive ones but serve to make music more threatening to teachers, and they bring this sense of musical inadequacy with them to their teaching of music in the centre.

As this chapter has demonstrated, there is a wide range of levels of musical confidence amongst the teachers in the study. One third of the teachers had a low to very low level of musical confidence, and most of these teachers were from the
kindergartens and childcare centres. This chapter has identified certain elements that can act as inhibitors to the development of a high level of musical confidence: the myth of talent, the concept of tone-deafness, comparison with others, perception of musical performance rather than musical participation, the need for specialized training, the ability to play an instrument, and the focus on a high level of skill. Elements that act as stimulants to high level of confidence have also been identified in this chapter. These are: a focus on group participation, rather than performance, music having a strong role in family and social life, and enjoyment of musicking.

The level of musical confidence is one of the key concepts in relation to the shaping of musical identity. Issues that influenced teachers' self-perception of their musical identity are complex. For example, with regard to instrumental skills, it was often not just an issue of being able to play an instrument, but to what level they could play, whether they were confident enough to play in front of other adults, such as parents, or if they had been self-taught or had lessons. Comparison with others is a key factor of musical identity. Many of the teachers, from those with a moderate level of musical confidence through to those with a low level, compared their own musical abilities with a person who they perceived as having what they lacked musically, and because of this did not see themselves as being musical.

While this chapter has focused on teachers' personal self-identification with music, this is only one of the many influences on the way that they develop as teachers of music in the early childhood education context. Teachers share the early childhood learning environment with others: children, parents, relievers, student teachers, and, in the context of this study, with me. The following chapter moves away from the teachers themselves to the people they interact with, within the context of the centre. It examines the musical influences from beyond the centre.
Chapter 4: The Exosystem: Musical Connections with the Wider World

The early childhood centre is a meeting place of many different musics. This chapter explores more of these connections. It examines the third level of Bronfenbrenner's theoretical model: the exosystem. These are the musical influences brought into the early childhood centre by people other than the teachers: children, parents, the community, and visiting adults in the centre. The final group is made up of short term relieving teachers, people training to be early childhood teachers, and myself. The focus in this chapter is on the different kinds of musical influences that are brought in by other people and how teachers make sense of these influences and accommodate them within the centres.

Children bring music into the centre, usually in the form of tapes of popular songs, or songs from children's television programmes. Through popular songs, they engage in a world of maturity and sophistication. They can create a sense of being grown-up through singing and dancing to popular music, through dressing like their stars and using pretend microphones. A grown-up identity is created through using popular music. As introduced in Chapter 1, identity, Frith suggests, is something we put or try on (1996: 122). Children 'try on' identities also. They experiment with defining themselves in many different ways, using different music choices. In early childhood other family members have a strong influence on children's musical choices. The influence of older siblings can be seen in children in early childhood's musical preferences for pop music.

Teachers must decide how popular music is to be used in the centre, or if indeed it is to be used at all. Where popular music is played in a centre, what do teachers think of its incorporation? Popular music is more than just a musical style; it provides children with role models, expresses social attitudes, and establishes a sense of group identity. Frith purports we enjoy popular music because of its use in answering questions of identity: we use pop songs to create for ourselves a particular sort of self-definition, a particular place in society (1987: 140). What, then, do teachers
think children are creating for themselves in terms of self-definition through their commandeering songs such as those by the Spice Girls, and how do teachers make sense of this in the early childhood education setting? Williams (2001: 240) suggests that popular culture often doesn’t have to mean anything but can be used in rather banal ways. Is this a valid way to understand the role of pop songs in the early childhood context?

To a lesser extent, parents and the wider community also have a musical influence in the early childhood centre. These connections and how they affect musical activities in the centre and the developing teacher are discussed later in the chapter. As mentioned earlier Bronfenbrenner’s model allows for reciprocal relationships: the connections go both ways. For example, while the centre is influenced musically by the parents, the centre is also a musical influence on the parents. In keeping with this, the outward connections with parents and the community are also included. Finally, the influences of visiting adults are examined, such as trainee teachers. In line with recent discourse in the fields of ethnomusicology and anthropology, I have also included myself in this category, and critically evaluate my influence in the centres I observed in.

The data for this chapter comes from observations of the musical practices within the centres and from information gleaned from teachers during interviews, as well as comments made informally during conversations with teachers throughout the session. A small amount of data comes from conversations with parents as well. Answers to questions about parent and community musical connections with the centre were compared with my observations of the centre, and answers from different teachers within one centre were also compared. Although, as my observation period was only brief, I did not discount unobserved musical connections. In this way a picture of the many diverse musical influences which are brought into the centre is created. Teachers’ responses to the way popular music is incorporated in the centres, their reasons for its inclusion, and their attitudes towards it are related to recent literature on popular music and children, and another study in an early childhood centre in Aotearoa/New Zealand.
4.1 The Children

The primary source of music brought into the centre is the children. Teachers from all of the centres stated that children brought songs from home and shared them. This might be in the form of cassette tapes and CDs, or aurally, the children would sing them. A comment from a teacher at K4 is representative of the main types of music brought into the centres by children:

Cindy: They bring things off television. They see daytime television so children will come along and sing songs they’ve learnt from Suzy Cato or Barney. Also they’ll sing for us from commercial radio and good examples are say, the Spice Girls, they love the Spice Girls, and they’ll bring those along and share with us.

Without question the majority of music brought into the centres was popular music or from children’s television, but there were rare example of other songs being sung. Penny, at K3, for example, told me that there had been two girls at the kindergarten who had sung songs from their church as they swung on the swings in the playground. Another example occurred during a morning karakia session that I observed at TKR2 when four-year-old Amy sang a song she had learnt at her marae. A discussion with Denise and Shona at K5 illustrates the sorts of music that children were bringing into that particular centre.

SB: What can you tell me about songs from home, music that they’ve brought from home?
Denise: They’re right into the Backstreet Boys and-
Shona: You should have been here last week when they had their own concert.
Denise: They know the words from all the Spice Girls’ songs and that’s not from us, that’s from home, ‘Barbie Girl’, ‘Dr Jones’.
Shona: Oh no I don’t mean that, they had a little concert where they stood up and did wee rhymes, you know, all the different versions of ‘Twinkle Twinkle Little Star’ and ‘Mary had a Little Lamb’ and that sort of thing.

Denise: Actually there were some really funny [ones].

Shona: There was some quite silly talking about your bum and that sort of thing, but that was fine. And there were some children that I had never seen stand up and speak in front of the group that did it. They did it that day so if it helped them that’s fine.

Denise: But tapes that they are bringing from home... most of the tapes we’re getting at the moment, like the Wiggles, but they want their funky tapes don’t they, they are right into their funky music.

Shona: Forget the nursery rhymes. I mean they love the nursery rhymes here, but if you ask them what they want to listen to?

Denise: And I think that’s because they are able to use that music the way they want to. And it’s good that’s what they gain.

The main popular music groups prevalent in early childhood centres during the time of my study are outlined in Denise’s comments above. Shona’s comments also portray another example of music brought into the centre via the children: silly versions of nursery rhymes. These examples show that while commercial music tended to dominate the sort of music children brought into centres, there were nevertheless other types of music being brought into the centres by the children as well.

Songs from the *Barney* television programme were mentioned by several of the teachers as examples of music the children had brought into the centre. The teachers had reinforced these songs by copying or purchasing tapes of *Barney* songs for their centres. At K4, for example, I observed a tape of *Barney* songs being played as background music which then became the focus of a spontaneous dancing session by a group of children. The children moved in and out of the area, often returning from outside when a favourite song was playing. The music acted as a unifying factor. Most, if not all, of the children knew the songs from the *Barney* programme. The children’s sense of a group came through shared knowledge of the songs. Through singing and dancing to songs from a children’s television programme, the children
established a group identity in the centre. This identity recognized the children’s shared culture outside of the centre, as opposed to that inside the centre itself.

The two songs from Barney which were most prevalent were the ‘I Love You’ song which is sung at the end of the programme and the ‘Clean Up’ song. These were observed being sung spontaneously by children and teachers alike. The ‘Clean Up’ song seemed to have been wholeheartedly embraced by the teachers at some of the centres. At AA1, for example, the song was observed sung at every tidy up time during the day (3 or 4). It was usually started by the teachers but the children were also observed to spontaneously start singing this themselves on two occasions. The song encourages group participation and good habits for tidying up. The children are instructed through the song as to what is proper behaviour in, not only the context of the centre, but in society as a whole. The song’s message is reinforced through it being used actively in and outside the centre.

Bronfenbrenner’s model allows for reciprocal relationships and this was one area that the children influenced and educated the teachers. The children provided a link to the world of early childhood television programmes. Jenny at K2, for example, told me: “I’d never heard of the Wiggles, and the Wiggles came to kindergarten.” Likewise, Jo at K1, when describing an instrumental and singing activity with a group of children outside in the trees said: “Drew was trying to share Barney with me and I had no idea what any Barney songs were but he was making them up beautifully.” My own observations of this session would suggest that after the singing the ‘I Love You’ song Drew was more concerned with the concept of Barney songs than singing actual songs from the programme itself.

Music from television programmes such as Barney offer highly contrived moral messages to children. They are an attempt to control their development as individuals in an idealized way. Firth has suggested that identity is always an ideal (1996: 123), through songs such as these, many ideals are purported for children. The Barney television series is heavily laden with morals, ideals, and with what is appropriate behaviour. Teachers can choose whether to utilize such songs in their centres, simply by including them: either through singing or playing tapes. I would
suggest that the 'Clean Up' song is an example of a song brought into the early childhood educational setting by the children which teachers condone. Its message is one that fits into the early childhood context and one that they can use, so they do. It is also possible that there are songs brought into the centres from the medium of children's television programmes that the teachers do not condone, but my research did not uncover any.

Pop songs, such as those by the Spice Girls and the 'Barbie Girl' song by Aqua, were observed to have a definite role in the musical activities at nine of the twelve centres in the study: K2, K3, K4, K5, AA1, TKR1, AA2 and TKR2. In these centres popular music played on tapes was a definite part of the routines in the centres. While it was not seen at CC3 it was mentioned in interviews. The spontaneous singing of pop songs by children was observed in all of the centres including those where it was not played on tapes, with the exception of CC1, where it was mentioned in a teacher interview. While popular music was not observed to be part of the routine in three centres, these figures show that it did have a presence in the majority of centres in the study.

The teachers who I asked specifically about the Spice Girls showed tolerance for their music and other music like it. At K4 a Spice Girls tape was "thrashed and it eventually got mangled in the machine." The teacher reported this with a sense of relief and laughter. Teachers also expressed a sense of amazement for the children's capacity for repetition of such music. This is typical of young children's needs and desires; children learn through repetition, they like familiarity. Teachers recognized and respected popular music's power in the early childhood world. As one teacher said, "they've got the recipe right, whether we like it or not." Leach (2001: 140) suggests that part of the Spice Girls' appeal is due to their ordinariness, that they started off as ordinary girls, just like their listeners. Unlike traditionally authentic rock bands, Leach posits (2001: 141) that the Spice Girls speak as their audience and with their audience, although it is doubtful the strength of their presence in the early childhood settings was due to this.
One of the issues facing teachers is how to include music brought from home in the programmes in their centres. There were two main ways popular music was implemented in the centres by the teachers. One was to use it for morning aerobic sessions. At AA1, for example, songs from *Barney* and also songs by the Spice Girls were observed being used in this way. A teacher revealed the reasons behind the inclusion of popular songs in this way:

Joan: We only use them for movement things ... to make them feel they’re contributing, everything that comes from home we try and acknowledge.

It is important in the early childhood educational context, and indeed all educational contexts, to show recognition of the children’s worth. By acknowledging the music the children bring, teachers are acknowledging the children themselves.

The second way and the most prevalent use of popular music in the centres was for improvised dancing sessions. As reported previously, children would ask a teacher to put on a particular tape and then they would dance to it, sometimes miming the words or using blocks as pretend microphones. The children organized this themselves and the teachers’ participation was generally limited to turning the music on and off.

As these examples show, popular music was always used in a physical sense in the centres, in either improvised dancing or exercise sessions the focus is on the body and movement, not on singing. The children’s enjoyment is also a factor. As Tavita, a teacher at AA1, commented when asked about the exercise session to the Spice Girls’ songs, “it gets them in touch with their bodies, they get more out of it when they are enjoying it.” This teacher viewed inclusion of the Spice Girls' music into the programme in the centre as a positive thing because of the physical benefits in terms of the children’s sense of self. Physical response is one of the functions of Merriam’s ten overall functions of music.

Music also elicits, excites, and channels crowd behaviour; it encourages physical reactions of the warrior and the hunter; it calls forth the physical response of the dance, which may be of prime necessity to the occasion at hand. (1964: 224)
While children in early childhood centres are not exactly 'hunters' or 'warriors', nevertheless the sentiment of Merriam's statement is pertinent here. Music does elicit a strong physical response from children in the early childhood context, particularly popular music. This can be seen by the way children migrate to the designated area for dancing when a tape is put on and move their bodies. Cathy, at TKR2 was "just amazed" at how many children performed and knew the actions to popular songs. Even if children are sitting and singing with pretend microphones, their bodies are moving to the music. The children respond to the music by moving their bodies. Tavita’s statement above echoes Merriam.

The concept of popular music being 'close' to the body is one that has been recognized by popular music musicologists. Middleton, for example, suggests that “popular music, like popular culture in general, is seen as physically orientated (mentally impoverished): vulgar, spontaneous, participative, involuntary, visceral” (1990: 262). While he is arguing that popular music is also much more than that, he does recognize its physical qualities. Certainly, while many of the children did sing along with the tapes, the main participation was on a physical level. Singing was a secondary element; the words helped to keep the place in the song and to get the actions right. Comments from teachers, like those above from Tavita and Cathy, show recognition that popular music evokes strong physical responses from the children. This mirrors findings in popular musicology.

Popular music as a means to channel children’s physical energy was seen as one of the two main functions. Kate at TKR2, for example, reflected on the “mad dance” sessions of the children in the late afternoon, and that such music functioned as a way of encouraging some form of physical exercise to “burn off some of their energy.” The other main function is expressed in the second part of Tavita’s statement above, the concept of enjoyment. While any sort of music could be used for the morning exercise sessions, the use of music that the children really enjoyed was seen as contributing to the outcomes of the sessions. The overwhelming response from teachers in the centres where popular music was used was that it gave the children opportunities to have fun with music that they had brought into the centre
themselves. Denise, for example, at K5 spoke of the children “taking control of their music,” and above suggested that the children were able to use popular music to “express themselves the way they want to.” A comment from another teacher at K5 typifies the general attitude towards the use of popular music.

Winona: You know, you’ll get the children who’ll say, ‘I want the Spice Girls,’ a lot. And we let them go for it.

There can be no denying that enjoyment aids learning. David Elliott’s tripartite model of music education encompasses self-growth, self-knowledge, and musical enjoyment (1995: 120-122). Elliott regards these as the aims of every music teaching-learning experience. The exercise sessions and improvised dancing to the music of the Spice Girls certainly fulfilled these three aims: self-growth through exploration of the body, self-knowledge through affirmation of music brought into the centre by the children being used, and enjoyment which was evident in the children’s reaction.

Popular music also functions in the sense of aesthetic enjoyment (Merriam 1964: 223) in the early childhood world. This concept was an undercurrent in all of the discussions I had with teachers on the presence and use of popular music. Teachers were aware of children’s deep attachment and enjoyment of such songs. Campbell suggests that contrary to popular belief, the intense emotional and intellectual enjoyment of music is not an exclusive “adults-only” experience and that children are drawn to music for its power to bring fuller enjoyment to their lives (1998: 176).

Popular music, as well as other sorts of music, can function in this way.

This is one area where popular music is not taken seriously. As Frith posits:

Can it really be the case that my pleasure in a song by the group Abba carries the same aesthetic weight as someone else’s pleasure in Mozart? Even to pose such a question is to invite ridicule - either I seek to reduce the ‘transcendent’ Mozart to Abba’s commercially determined level, or else I elevate Abba’s music beyond any significance it can carry. (1987: 134)

Frith suggests that we absorb songs into our lives and rhythms into our bodies and that there is a mystery to our musical tastes, some performers work for us and others do not (1987: 139). These concepts apply to the children’s embrace of popular
music. The songs are indeed absorbed into their lives, as can be seen by the amount of spontaneous singing of popular songs which occurs. Shona at K5, for example, spoke of one boy “losing” himself when pop music was played in the kindergarten. Their bodies respond readily and uninhibitedly to the rhythms. And it is a mystery why the music of the Spice Girls, for example, is such a dominating presence in the early childhood years. Popular music is valued in an aesthetic sense by the children.

Although this study drew on only a small group it is interesting to note that the majority of teachers who made direct reference to the use of pop songs such as those by the Spice Girls spoke of them only in terms of how they were used for exercise. Nine out of the fifteen teachers who made direct comments about the use of popular music in their centre talked about it in this way. Some of these comments are above (see Tavita, Winona, Cathy and Kate). Other responses about its physical function were:


Tania: We dance around the room.

Pip: Spice Girls’ songs are good for exercise and they really like it so we use it for exercise.

Amanda: Bring it along, we’ll listen to it and do the actions.

SB: So what do you use it for?
Jenny: For dancing. We just put them on. If we’re doing something else we’ll say, “Do you want some dance music?” and they’ll say, “We want the Spice Girls!” And we put it on and they dance around by themselves.

Six teachers had insightful observations on the way pop songs were used within their centres that went beneath the surface observations of the majority of the teachers. See Joan’s comment above, for example, that to incorporate popular music into the centre’s programme was a way to acknowledge the child and make them feel they were contributing. This shows a deeper recognition of the value of popular
music in terms of the children’s sense of self-worth. It made the children feel good about themselves to have music played in the centre that they had brought along. The use of the word ‘contributing’ is a significant one. Contribution is one of the five Strands of *Te Whāriki*, the early childhood curriculum. Its premise is that each child’s contribution is valued and that they are affirmed as individuals (Ministry of Education 1996: 16). Although the teacher did not blatantly state the connection to *Te Whāriki*, it was implicit within her statement.

Joan’s comment leads to that of a teacher at K3 who explicitly related the use of popular music in the centre to an Aim of *Te Whāriki*:

> Penny: It’s part of the Belonging in *Te Whāriki*. This is music from the children’s homes. By having it at kindergarten it makes the two places connect; they feel they can belong here.

Again, this comment reveals a thoughtful assessment of the role of popular music in her centre. It is far more than something for the children to dance to and let off some steam. Penny is effectively describing a mesosystem link in her statement. Music is part of the mesosystem between the two Microsystems of centre and home. Popular music as it relates to the early childhood curriculum will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter in the section on *Te Whāriki* and music.

Penny also drew my attention to the way in which gender division occurred with popular music. She said that she had noticed that only the girls tended to dance to the music of the Spice Girls, while only the boys would dance to the Backstreet Boys. Indeed, I observed this myself in the centre. In this way the children were recreating the gender roles they saw in the music videos that went with the songs. To return to Frith’s concept of identity and popular music (1996: 125), the girls were ‘trying on’ the identity concepts of the Spice Girls through their music, while the boys were ‘putting on’ the identity concepts associated with the Backstreet Boys. McClary posits that music serves as a public forum within which various models of gender organization are asserted, adopted, contested, and negotiated (1991: 8). Even in early childhood settings separatist models of gender organization are adopted
through girls and boys associating with distinct musics. In this way gender differences are asserted in children as young as three and four.

Ingrid, a teacher in the same kindergarten, spoke of the children in the kindergarten as being very ‘mature’ in the area of popular music. She pointed out to me the way some of the girls twisted their t-shirts around to make them skimpy like the clothes the Spice Girls wore. Ingrid said that she thought the children were very adult in the way they moved their bodies.

This brings to light the difference between boys’ and girls’ responses to popular music. Although gender identity has not been a focus of this thesis, it is significant in relation to popular music in early childhood. The boys’ experience of popular music focused on dancing, often imitating the moves of the Backstreet Boys themselves, but sometimes breaking into their own individual responses. The girls danced to the music, but also altered their clothing to imitate the singers, often used pretend microphones and talked about the bands as well. They shared knowledge of dance moves and song lyrics as they painted pictures, for example. Frith in a study of teenagers in Britain noted that while girls and boys use rock for the same things, background music and dancing, girls also focus on the pop stars themselves, on ‘gossip, clothes, possessions and pictures’ (1978: 65). This was also apparent in some of the early childhood centres in my study, as can be seen by the twisted t-shirts. An example of the importance placed on images of their idols occurred with a group of girls at TKR2. I observed a group sitting with a teacher, cutting out pictures from a magazine for collages, one picture of the Spice Girls was found, and this proved to be a source of disagreement. Everyone wanted the picture for her artwork. The girl who kept the picture proudly showed it to the other children, and to the adults in the centre. The other children had to make do with pictures of the definitely less desirable Tellytubbies. Frith suggests a girl’s identity is built on her idol, from the culture of the bedroom, the pin-up and gossiping in corners (1978: 65), there might be some truth in this for girls in early childhood as well.

Observations from the Willberg study (2001) also found similar reactions to popular music from the children. On the one occasion that Willberg observed a Spice
Girls' tape some of the girls rolled up their t-shirts to bare their midriffs while they were dancing (2001: 91). Comments from teachers also related gender distinctive behaviour of a different sort: one time when popular music was played the boys kicked at the girls and swiped at their bottoms (2001: 92). One of the teachers in the Willberg study echoed Ingrid's comments about the children responding to the music with adult moves, she was concerned with a particular child: "Gail ... has all the moves and is a vulnerable sort, a bit insecure." She perceived the young girls being at "risk if they indulged in the behaviour described above [the rolled up t-shirts and boisterous dancing] at inappropriate times and places" (2001: 92).

The teachers in the Willberg study had made a decision on the playing of such music in their centre and prohibited one tape.

Harakeke House teachers, on the other hand, had taken a moral stance, by banning a Spice Girls tape brought from home, about one week before I arrived. The reason given to the children for banning the Spice Girls' tape, by at least one teacher, was that the infants needed "their" music, and that there "should be mainly kids' stuff here". (Willberg 2001: 92)

Willberg deliberately questioned the teachers more about the use of pop tapes after attending a conference where I presented preliminary findings from this research (Bodkin 2000). The teachers at Harakeke House projected a decidedly anti stance towards the use of popular music in their centre, seeing it as provocative and inappropriate for young children. It wasn't so much the music itself that they objected to, but the visual images that accompanied the music. The majority of the teachers felt that popular music should not be regarded as the children's culture, as I had suggested in my paper, despite the fact that it was coming into the centre from the children themselves. The reaction from Willberg's teachers was that children were growing up too fast and should be allowed to be children for longer, therefore it should be mainly children's music, not pop songs, within the centre. While the Spice Girls' tape was no longer allowed, other pop music was still occasionally played in the centre. Willberg suggests that while some of the teachers did like and listen to up-beat popular music themselves, they did not really approve of it in the early childhood environment (2001: 93). Only one of the teachers, Felicity who was a young woman, showed any resistance or confusion about this. She questioned
Willberg, “I think they [the children] like to listen to up to date music at home and I’ve been told ‘don’t play this, don’t play that because of the words’ etc. Is it wrong?” (2001:93).

None of the teachers in my study expressed anything like the strong attitudes against pop music that Willberg found. The closest reaction in common came from Ingrid at K3, who commented on the “maturity” of the children and their response to pop songs, but if Ingrid had any concerns or negative reactions to the role of popular songs with children so young she kept them to herself. Willberg wondered if there might be a connection between the age of the teachers and their approval or disapproval, with younger teachers having the former reaction and older teachers the latter (2001: 93). I cannot say that my research supports this idea: the teachers in my study covered different age groups and none of them expressed disapproval. Older teachers as well as younger teachers are included in the group who made comments about the use of popular music in their centres. I would argue that it depends very much on the attitude of the individual teachers themselves.

The remaining three teachers who spoke about the Spice Girls revealed insightful observations about the use of popular music in their centres. A teacher at K4 relayed an incident concerning a child at her centre.

Rowena: They know all of the Spice Girls’ songs and they sing them, there was even one of the afternoon girls, a quiet little girl and we were outside and putting the pillows down and suddenly she turned to me and said, “I know a song.” It was one of the Spice Girls’ songs and she sang the whole song to me and this was a little girl who doesn’t talk much at all and she wasn’t shy. And what we’ve found is somehow children who are quite [shy], because they love singing, they will stand up and sing in front of everyone because they love singing.

This is a significant narrative. It shows an example of popular music being the catalyst for a child to lose her inhibitions and contribute an entire song, no doubt gaining confidence and self-esteem in the process. Rachel recognized that pop songs
had power, and were important to the children. In some cases they provided a means of developing the children’s confidence.

A similar story about a child at K5 was told to me by Shona and Denise.

Shona: That’s one of the things I do like you know. Into this Barbie and Spice Girls and stuff like that. It does, like they are really into it. Like Chris, he’s really into it, he’s blossomed through that music.
Denise: And I’ll tell you what, Chris is in time with the music, he gets the beat going like you wouldn’t believe.
Shona: Chris used to be so self-conscious. He would never get going with music, never.
Denise: Now you get him there and he’s just, he knows the words and he just, it’s like he loses himself.
Shona: It’s been good for him.
SB: So getting that popular music into the kindergarten?
Shona: Yeah, giving them what they want.

These teachers were strong advocates of the use of popular music in their centre. The teachers saw the benefits to the children, again in the areas of self-confidence and self-esteem. The above conversation and the example of Chris illustrate popular songs proving to be a hook to get a child involved with music. His enjoyment of pop songs led to his participation in musical activities in the centre. Denise and Shona’s comments outline their observations of the many positive ways that popular music functioned in their kindergarten: from development of an individual child’s sense of self (“he’s really blossomed through that music”), through to musical achievements (“he gets the beat going like you wouldn’t believe”), and recognition of it as a form of self-expression and empowerment for the children (“giving them what they want”).

As mentioned in Chapter 2, this kindergarten was observed to use popular music, not only for spontaneous dancing sessions, but also during an organized music session. It was the only centre in the study to use pop songs in this way. I would argue that this use of it in an official music session, combined with the comments from Shona and Denise throughout this chapter, suggests that the teachers at this kindergarten had given careful thought to the use of popular music in their
centre and saw it only in a positive light. They focused on the benefits for the children and their musical and social development. It is an attitude which contrasts strongly with the teachers in Willberg’s study (2001).

For many of the children contact with older family members had a great influence on their predilection for popular music. Part of their embracing of such music was because of a desire to be on the same level as their older siblings. This idea was suggested to me by two of the teachers in the study, Penny at K3 and Denise at K5.

Denise: They’ve got older brothers and sisters that listen to it too. And I suppose it makes them feel like a big grown-up too.

The experience of pop music is an experience of identity: in responding to songs, we are drawn into emotional alliances with the performers and with the performers’ other fans (Frith 1996: 121). The experience of popular music in early childhood is part of an experience with a more mature identity. Through pop songs children can act out being grown-up and more sophisticated. Through engaging in the same music as their older brothers and sisters, children can create for themselves a place in the same world as their older brothers and sisters, and also the pop stars themselves. It is the alliances that Frith mentions that the teachers in Willberg’s study are referring to: the provocative styles of dress and ways of moving.

During the course of my fieldwork I developed a definite sense of how I perceived the pop songs to function in the centres. In the centres where pop songs were used for spontaneous dancing sessions, I grew aware of how little teacher involvement occurred when the music was used in this context. While Frith suggests that we use pop songs to create a sense of self-definition he stresses that the production of identity is also the production of non-identity, the process of inclusion and exclusion (1987: 140). This was one way in which the children created a sense of identity of their own and apart from their teachers. Popular music was brought into the centres by the children, they controlled when it was played (in the sense that they
requested it and the teachers followed their instructions), they danced to it and sang to it in the way they wanted to, teachers rarely were involved.

Adults were observed interacting with the children dancing to pop songs on two occasions. In the first instance a teacher briefly danced with the children, for less than ten seconds, to the Backstreet Boys’ song, ‘Everybody’. This was the only example of its kind in all of the centres I observed spontaneous dancing to popular music in. On the other occasion a teacher was observed participating with children, it was to encourage the children to have more constructive behaviour. A group of children was dancing together, rotating around in a big circle. The circle was too big and the children were falling over. The teacher intervened and suggested they dance in pairs because that was safer. She demonstrated and helped the children group themselves in twos. She was involved for less than half a minute, although the children followed her lead and kept dancing in pairs for the rest of the dance session. The way that pop music was used for spontaneous dancing and the general lack of teacher involvement in those sessions suggests that it was regarded as the children’s music and time for their self-expression by the teachers. This concept was reinforced by the comments of some of the teachers such as Denise who spoke of the children being “able to use that music to express themselves the way they want to.”

Music stands for, symbolizes, and offers the immediate experience of collective identity (Frith 1996: 121). As indicated above, I would suggest that the children’s use of popular music in terms of spontaneous dancing was a way that the children asserted their identity in the centres as a group distinct to the adults. What Frith is arguing can be applied to the early childhood world also; popular music can act as a socializing force giving children a group definition. Many children would gather and dance to popular songs. There were sub-groups within the children but the music worked in an overall capacity. At K5, for example, while there was a core of three girls who were observed to dance to the pop songs every time they were put on, at least twenty other children also joined the dancing on the different days it occurred. So it could be suggested that while there would be distinct cliques of children who would not normally play with other children who were not part of their clique, in the
spontaneous dancing sense popular music was observed to offer all children the experience of a collective identity. Their liking of and familiarity with the music acted as a unifying factor.

The concept of pop music and group definition in early childhood is one that was highlighted by one of the teachers in the study. At K4 Cindy referred to a group of five outgoing girls who formed one of the cliques in the centre as ‘The Spice Girls’. This was because of the girls’ own identification with and liking of the band. The girls themselves were one of the dominant groups in the kindergarten in terms of using popular music. They always danced to it and frequently sang the songs spontaneously as they played. This teacher had realized the self-definition the group had with the Spice Girls and consequently identified and labeled them as such.

Popular music in the early childhood context was also observed to be significant as a source of in-group status at K3. Knowledge about groups such as the Spice Girls was a key element in the way the music functioned in the centre. Knowing the words of the songs and also the actions was important. Children were observed teaching others the dance moves and the words. These children were the leaders of the groups that responded to the music. The children who knew the most about the music were the dominant ones in the spontaneous dancing sessions. When the movement was spontaneous, rather than recreating the dance moves on the video, these children were the ones the others copied. One child in particular was the predominant leader of the popular music. When she twisted her T-shirt to imitate the skimpy clothing worn by the singer in the ‘Barbie Girl’ video, the other girls followed her. When she used a wooden building block to hold as a microphone, again, the other children copied her. It is possible that popular music could also be used to exclude children from a group, although I observed no examples of this during my fieldwork.

A recent study into teenagers and popular music suggested that we should be wary of over-emphasizing the importance of pop songs in teenagers’ lives (Williams 2001). While this was a small study involving only thirteen students at one school, its
results challenge many of the perceptions of the role of pop songs in everyday life, and what they mean to the young people who listen to them.

I have suggested that popular culture often doesn’t have to mean anything but can be handy to pass the time, to fill a silence or entertain in rather banal ways. I would argue that popular music is sometimes meaningful, in certain instances, but not always. I have argued that popular music consumption, like other media consumption, should be understood in terms of its everydayness, the ways in which it is woven into everyday life and is often insignificant and mundane. This approach is wary of the ‘fallacy of meaningfulness’ in which media use is perceived to be more significant and meaningful than it perhaps should be. The young people in this study framed the importance of popular music in their lives in terms of routine use rather than emotional investment or identity construction. (Williams 2001: 240)

Williams raises interesting issues. It is also possible that the same might be true for children in early childhood: that the role of popular music in their lives is framed in terms of routine use, such as listening to the radio in the car, dancing to it at their kindergarten dancing sessions, or singing along with their older siblings. Perhaps the teachers in Willberg’s study are assigning too much influence to pop songs, and the teachers in my study who spoke only of the children’s enjoyment of such music and how it was used for dancing and exercise recognize the role of pop music in routines that Williams is suggesting. Another possible interpretation is that it is in early and young childhood, not the teenage years, that identity construction and pop music is explored with. That by the time children grow to be teenagers, such as those in the Williams study, they have finished with ‘trying on’ identities. As my study shows, children in their preschool years are having more and more contact with popular music. More research needs to be carried out on the role of popular music in children’s lives to explore these issues.

4.2 The Parents

Parental involvement in musical activities in the centres did occur, but this was a small part of musical activities as a whole. While all of the teachers expressed an enthusiasm for getting parents involved in music, there seemed to be few
opportunities at some of the centres for this. The one time when parents were consistently involved with a musical event across all the centres was birthdays. Parents would attend a celebration at the centre and join in the singing of ‘Happy Birthday’ with the teachers and other children. At CC3 I was told that a parent who was Italian had spontaneously sung ‘Happy Birthday’ in Italian after it was sung in English. The other time that parents were involved in a musical activity at many of the centres was at the end of the year when the centre would hold a Christmas party/concert. Songs were a big part of this, and comments suggest the parents were there both as an audience and participants.

All of the kindergarten teachers could give me concrete and recent examples of parents being involved in musical activities. Jenny at K2, for example, had this to say:

SB: Are parents ever involved in sessions of music making?
Jenny: Yeah, and its not just the talented ones. Our parent helpers are always welcome and encouraged to join in, and we’ve got one parent who likes to bring in her guitar.

Kindergartens always have a parent rostered on as the ‘parent help’ and this provides a daily opportunity for one parent to join in with music and mat times. If teachers are aware that a parent plays an instrument they are invited to bring it into the kindergarten. At K1, during the time of my observations a parent called Lois was invited to bring along her piano accordion and play it with the children. When Lois was leaving at the end of the morning Sonia reminded her that she was on parent help soon and would she like to bring her instrument back then please, as the children had enjoyed it so much. While all of the kindergarten teachers had conveyed to me their keenness to have parents involved musically in the centre, it seemed to me that those teachers with self-confessed limited musical confidence were the most enthusiastic. Sonia and Jo at K1, for example, had told me that they were “handicapped” in the sense of not being able to play an instrument. Because of this
they were extremely motivated to get people who did play instruments into their
centre. As Sonia said, “we’re VERY keen to take anyone on board.”

At K5, Wendy also noted the ways that different parents made musical
contributions.

SB: Are parents ever involved in sessions of music making?
Wendy: We’ve got one Dad – loves it! He comes in when he parent helps,
straight into the music room. He’ll get out the tapes, the children might
put the skirts on, he loves doing aerobics with them so he gets that out.
We’ve got other mums who’ll just come in and get out the instruments,
so it varies, some of them are happy about it, and others don’t want
anything to do with it which is fine. We have had a mum who played the
guitar but they’ve actually moved on. She’s brought her guitar in a
couple of times.

This comment shows how teachers are accepting of parents’ role in music, whether
they choose to be involved or not.

Cindy, at K4 said that parental involvement in music in the kindergarten was
limited, largely due to language and cultural barriers.

SB: Are parents ever involved in sessions of music making?
Cindy: From time to time, not often. But certainly if we know that a
parent has certain skills we’ll invited them in playing whatever
instrument they have. One of our afternoon dads has been promising to
bring his equipment along and have a jam with the children, but it hasn’t
happened yet. It probably doesn’t happen as much in this area as it does
in areas where parents are more forward in their involvement. You’ll
have noticed that parents are really happy to be involved domestically
here, but in terms of the programme I think they feel reluctant because
they feel either not educated or not English speaking. A lot of our foreign
families are very well educated. We have doctors and vets, engineers, all
sorts of people, but they are on foreign territory and they certainly don’t
get involved. I’ve never once seen an Indian or Pakistani parent involved
in any music at all.
Cindy felt that the lack of language was the primary barrier to many of the parents getting involved in musical activities in her centre, as well as feeling out of their depth in another culture. In an attempt to overcome some of these barriers, Cindy had asked some of the families who were from another country for songs and tapes of their music. One of the Bangladeshi families had given bells worn around the ankle to the kindergarten, which were available for the children to use. The same family had given a tape of songs. It appeared that this approach was working when Cindy related a tale involving one of the parents.

Cindy: I put on the Bangladeshi tape the other day and one of our mums who is Bangladeshi and speaks very little English, suddenly became very animated and excited. She said, “This is our anthem,” and sang along and breezed around the kindergarten. Of course, the children were fascinated, it was lovely.

The playing of such a tape provides an important mesosystem connection, not only for the children who are from Bangladesh, but as can be seen in this example, for the parents as well. In this way the two worlds of early childhood setting and home country are connected and the Bangladeshi identity of children and parents is affirmed.

Penny at K3 had found that parents were more involved in music in the afternoon sessions at the kindergarten.

SB: Are parents ever involved in sessions of music making?
Penny: In our afternoon sessions sometimes they are, especially if their child is new and they are just settling them [in]. They’ll come and sit down and join in a music session, or visitors do. We try and encourage them to come and join in. But not at the morning session.

This comment suggests that music, as a shared group activity, was seen by some of the parents as a way to participate in an activity with their child, to help to settle
them into kindergarten. It provided a situation where they could join in alongside their child and make them feel part of the group.

Teachers at both K1 and K3 spoke of an event that had happened in the past at their kindergartens where parents had been involved in music. Both kindergartens had held a concert which parents had come to watch and parents had also been involved with the process itself, playing the guitar to accompany the songs, for example.

Teachers from the childcare centres revealed that parents were rarely involved in music in the centres. Specific examples of parental involvement in music given to me had often occurred years in the past. At CC1, for example, Rachel gave me an example of a parent who had played the Cook Island drums who had brought them into the centre, but that had happened “quite a few years ago.” Likewise, Alice at CC3 gave me examples of two parents, both professional rock musicians, who had come into the centre “years and years ago” and brought their guitars and played for the children. Anna, at CC2, told me: “we haven’t actually had much luck, we’ve been trying to encourage our parents who we know are musical, and they’re actually not very forthcoming which is very sad.” This lack of parental involvement in musical activities in the childcare centres can be attributed at least partly to the fact that the parents are simply too busy working to contribute musically in everyday events at the centres.

The parental involvement that teachers at childcare centres did comment on was largely ‘special occasion’ musical events, such as birthdays and end of year concerts and Christmas parties. Also at CC2 a special ‘cultural day’ had been held a few months prior to my visit and the sister and mother of one of the children had come and performed a Bengali dance to classical Indian music.

Teachers at the language groups made similar observations to the childcare centre teachers on the involvement of parents. Pip, at AA2, had this to say:

SB: Do parents ever come in and sing at mat times? Sing songs with the children?
Pip: Yes sometimes, but our parents are working parents, [we] hardly see any parents in the day because they are working. They just come in at the end of the day. But the last day of the year we have our Christmas party so the parents come along and have a sing and see what their children have done so far. The singing there is the most they do.

The Christmas party was a big musical event for the language groups. Teachers from all of them commented on how parents would come and watch and sometimes join in the singing.

Lack of time affected parents' contribution to musical activities, although parents had been observed joining in music occasionally. Tania at TKR1 told me that parents did “join in sometimes, they’ll sit and watch and sing.” Aroha at the same centre suggested that while the parents were all “rushing off to somewhere else” and thus too busy to join in musical activities, she also commented, “we haven’t given them that opportunity either.” Parents were usually seen at the start and end of the day as they dropped their children off, neither times were consistent with lots of musical activities.

One important connection at TKR1 concerned Tara, a teacher at the centre who also was a teacher of te reo courses for parents. Tara used some of the same waiata that were sung in the language group in her work with the parents, thus a connection between the parents and their children at the centre was created. The parents came away from the courses with a basic knowledge of some of the waiata that were sung in the centre.

Cathy, at TKR2, said that parents had been known to join in both informal and formal music sessions in her centre, and also to speak to the teachers about their child and music.

SB: Are parents ever involved in music in the centre?
Cathy: They will join a karakia time and they’ll join a dance session if they come in and the kids are in the middle of it, but apart from that. Oh and talking about waiata with staff, that has also been one of the things
that parents will talk to you [about], at profile time, if their child’s shown an interest in music they’ll talk to them about what they do at home.

But a comment from another teacher at the same centre suggests that parent involvement was not something that happened as regularly in the centre at present as she would like.

Kate: We did have one Dad who plays the guitar and we had a big musical session with the parents and the children, just sort of teaching different sounds. And he came and played the guitar every morning for a whole week during karakia which the kids just loved because none of us can play the guitar, and it made such a difference to the singing, the children were just really into it. But he wasn’t able to come in on a regular thing, but he still comes occasionally and plays the guitar and I’d like to maybe extend that a little bit more as time goes, to see what the parents, what instruments they can play, and put on a little bit of a show.

We get firemen in; I can’t see why we can’t get a parent in to do—

SB: Firemen?

Kate: Yeah, the firemen came in on Monday, so I can’t see why we can’t get Mum or Dad in to play a musical instrument.

It seems quite ludicrous to Kate that it is much easier to get firemen into the centre than it is to get parents in and involved musically. While parents did have musical connections with the centre, Kate saw this as an area that could be developed further.

Joan, at AA1, suggested that parent involvement in music wasn’t something that was pursued because there wasn’t any real need for it.

SB: Are parents ever involved in music in the centre?

Joan: Just if they’re here, yeah they just join in. We don’t really bring them in specially to do anything because we haven’t got a deficiency.

Joan believed that her teachers were so skilled musically that there wasn’t anything that the parents could add musically to the centre. This comment perhaps suggests
that if there was a need to get parents involved in musical activities in the language group that Joan would have done so.

My discussions with parents about music were limited, as my aim was to be as unintrusive as possible, and also as I was focusing on the teachers. The conversations I did have revealed more of the connections between the centre and child’s home. Dana, a parent of a child at TKR2, told me that it was through the language group that Tayla had been introduced to the music of both the Wiggles and the Spice Girls. Tayla had told her parents about the Wiggles and in turn they had followed up on this connection and taken her to a recent Wiggles concert, as well as buying her Wiggles tapes. Although this is a singular example, it does show how the connections can go outward from the centre and how parents can cement them. In this case a child took knowledge of a musical group home from the setting of the centre, introduced her parents to it and they reinforced the connection through getting the same musical resources for the home setting.

Other parents in other centres also gave me examples of their children teaching them songs. The parents of Maggie for example, a child at CC1 who had recently moved into that centre from the nursery for younger children, told me that she was constantly teaching them songs that she knew from her time in the nursery. Through this action they realized that the teachers in the nursery sang a great deal to the young children there. Maggie’s singing had increased their awareness of their daughter’s musicality and the music that she was exposed to. They had not noticed the same level of music happening in the centre she was now in however, and were wondering if it would affect the amount of songs that she would bring home to them.

Joan, at AA1, informed me of a very tangible connection that the parents had musically with the centre. Apparently some of the parents had told the teachers that they didn’t know the songs their children were bringing home from the centre but wanted to learn them. In response to this the teachers had taped the children singing and made copies available for the parents. In this way the parents were able to sing the songs with their children and reinforce the connection between the two settings.
Tangaere (1997) has detailed connections between the settings of home and early childhood centre, similar to those mentioned above. In a study of her daughter Rangi’s Māori language acquisition focusing on the two settings of kōhanga reo and home, Tangaere acknowledges the role of singing and sharing waiata, Māori chants, and songs (1997:1). Of particular significance to my research is Rangi’s role in teaching her mother and other members of her whānau, songs that she was learning at kōhanga reo (1997:25-26, 46-47). Just as parents in my study reported to me that their children taught them songs from their early childhood centres, so Tangaere reported that Rangi taught her songs. In Māori culture there is a specific name for this type of teaching, it is the tuakana/teina principle, where the child can become the “teacher” and shift roles from child to teacher once they acquire the expert knowledge. It was acknowledged by the teachers at TKR1 and TKR2 in terms of the younger and older children in the centres, although I never heard it referred to in terms of the children and the parents. No doubt further research in this area would uncover such connections.

At K1 two conversations with parents are worth discussing. The first concerns the only time a child brought an instrument she was learning into her centre. Although it was a musical action of a child I am including it under parental involvement because it was at the instigation of the parent, not the child. The parent contacted the kindergarten to arrange for Briana to bring her cello on Wednesday morning of my week in the centre. She knew that I was there and why and specifically wanted her daughter to bring her cello and play it to the children (and me) because of that. Briana had just begun playing the cello and was only just able to play a few notes. Once her cello was unpacked she appeared to not really want to play it in front of the children but her mother coaxed her to do it. A conversation with the mother revealed that she thought it was very important for her children to learn an instrument, and she informed me that her son was learning the violin and had been since he was four. It seemed to me that this whole scenario was more about impressing me with her children’s musical ability and potential than about sharing a musical experience with the kindergarten children.
A conversation with another parent in the same kindergarten also made an impression on me. When Stella, Drew’s mum, was picking him up one afternoon one of the teachers, Jo, made a comment to her about how much singing he did while he was working and that he was very musical. In reply Stella laughed and said that she wasn’t musical herself, nor was her husband, but that her father was quite musical so maybe it had skipped a generation. Overhearing this conversation I added that I had heard Drew make up about fifteen songs that week, and they were only the ones I heard. Stella proceeded to tell us that when she and her three sons are driving around in the car she makes up songs because she can never remember the words of any real songs, so she just makes them up and they all sing away creating them as they go. Drew’s musical behaviour at kindergarten was an extension of his family’s musical behaviour, and the discussion with his mother allowed the teachers to make that connection.

Teachers at three of the kindergartens and two of the childcare centres had approached parents for cassette tapes of music. In all of these cases it was the parents of children who had come to Aotearoa/New Zealand from another country and for who English was a second language. Cindy at K4 and the parents who supplied a Bangladeshi tape and bells, has already been mentioned above. Jo and Sonia at K1 had asked a mother of two German girls at the kindergarten for a tape and were planning on teaching the children the song ‘Frère Jacques’ which was on the tape to the children in both German and English. Anna, at CC2, informed me of how the teachers had approached the parents of two children who were from different cultures for tapes of music and had been supplied with them.

SB: Are parents ever involved in sessions of music making?
Anna: We really try and encourage them and ask for input. We have for example a child who is Bengali. Her mother has provided some formal Indian dance music, I’ve forgotten what it is called. We’ve got a child that is black British, and her father’s provided some of the music that he grew up with which is reggae type music, that the children have really enjoyed so they’ve provided tapes of music.
At CC1 the teachers had approached the parents of two children for musical resources relating to the child’s own cultural background. One of the children was Louis, who was French and his parents actively encouraged the teachers in the centre supporting his biculturalism.

Rachel: They’ve been really supportive. They’ve given us a French tape with nursery rhymes and so on, and it’s been really interesting because Louis speaks, used to speak, he used to be bilingual, totally bilingual. [Now] his parents speak to him in French and he won’t speak French. Even at home he chooses to speak in English to them, they speak to him in French and he speaks to them in English. And for a long time in the centre he wouldn’t even acknowledge our French efforts. Like we would try, you’d say ‘Bonjour’ or use the French colours, and counting and things, and he wouldn’t, just wouldn’t have a bar of it. And it’s only just recently that he’s even come to sort of acknowledge that yes, he might actually know how to count in French or he might know the colours.

While the parents and teachers are working together to incorporate some French culture into the centre; the child himself is resistant to this. However, the parents were supportive of the teachers and a musical tape was one aspect of the connections between the boy’s home and the setting of the centre. Another example from the same centre had a totally different outcome. When the teachers at CC1 asked the parents of Raymond, a Chinese boy, for some Chinese music to play in the centre it was not been forthcoming.

Rachel: It’s quite interesting talking about the Chinese boy that we’ve got. I’ve asked for resources and we’d like to learn some greetings and things and he’s absolutely adamant, he does not want it. SB: The parent? Rachel: Yes. “No, no. My son here learn English, no Chinese, learn English.” And that’s it. I think you have to respect their wishes.
Raymond's parents felt that his Chinese culture should be distinct from his identity in the early childhood setting. In this situation the teachers had followed the wishes of the parent and did not make further efforts to include elements of Raymond's culture in their programme.

At K5 there were a small but growing number of children for whom English was a second language. The teachers there had also approached their parents in an attempt to make connections between the children's homes and the centre, and musical resources were one of the connections they were hoping to foster.

While the Korean families who had been approached for musical resources and involvement in the centre were hesitant about contributing in this way, some of the Japanese parents had provided a tape, as had the parents of an Indian child at the kindergarten. The teachers had persevered with attempting to involve the parents from different cultures in the activities in the kindergarten, but the results had not been what they expected. This will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter in the section on Te Whāriki.

4.3 The Community

For the sake of this study, community is defined both in the sense of place, people or groups in the same locality, but also in the imagined sense, for example a network or shared belief system. Discussions with teachers revealed that musical connections with the wider community of schools, marae, individuals, and social groups did exist in the majority of the centres in the study. It is important to note that these categories are not black and white. There are overlaps between the different groups of people; for example, parents can also be considered part of the community, as can siblings or grandparents. When teachers answered the questions about parent and community involvement they sometimes told of family involvement in the centre when the question related to the community. This suggests that it was me who thought of the connections in this separate way, whereas the teachers tended to think of family and community as being the same or similar.
The teachers at the childcare centres gave the fewest examples of musical links with the community beyond the centre. In the case of CC3 one of the teachers said there had been no community involvement in terms of music at all that she could think of since she had been there (three years). At CC1 Rachel told me that when they took the children out on walks they sometimes saw musical buskers and stopped to listen, but that while they would like to get more community involvement in the centre, they were conscious of people being busy and taking up their time. At CC2 there was a similar lack of musical contributions from the community although the teachers did mention walks with the children as well and sometimes seeing buskers.

In contrast to the childcare centre teachers, the teachers at the language groups revealed many different types of community connections. Links with schools were foremost. Both AA1 and TKR1 were located on the same site as a school and had strong connections with the school through attending an assembly once a week and performing at it once a month. I attended such an assembly and the singing of songs together was the main focus. The same two language groups also had connections with the bilingual classes in the school. At AA1, for example, the teachers sometimes took some of the older children to the Samoan class for stories and singing together. The class would also visit the a'oga on occasion.

Kate at TKR2 related an example of a very strong musical connection between a school and the centre when telling me about what happens when a child turned five.

Kate: The child is presented with, one of the staff makes flax backpacks so the child is presented with that. And as a collective staff we take lots of photos of the child from the time they started to the day they leave and put in little funny stories about the photos that we've got in there. So they are presented with those and a graduation certificate. It depends, because we support schools that support kaupapa Māori, total immersion schools, or bilingual and if the child from here is going to that school, then the parent, we ask them to arrange a pōwhiri and we take 2 or 3 or 4 of the children from here to support that child and go there for a pōwhiri. And
you know they are welcomed on and we say look after them and pass them on.

SB: Music is a part of that? You each sing a song?
Kate: Yes, there's a song involved. In fact there's quite a lot of singing involved in that.

This comment shows an example of both a musical connection with the community and also an important part of Māori culture. The pōwhiri is a welcoming process involving kōrero and waiata. Kate is describing what could be termed a rite of passage from the kōhanga setting to the school setting. The pōwhiri and the music and speeches which are part of that make a bridge between the two settings.

Connections with other groups in the community also occurred. Joan at AA1 told me that the children had performed at the Polynesian Secondary Schools Festival as special guests the previous year, as well as performing at other festivals. Cathy at TKR2 mentioned a connection with kapa haka groups in the community. As parents and teachers could be members of kapa haka groups, this is one of those examples that it is difficult to classify as one specific kind of connection. It is actually an example of a musical connection that overlaps different settings. Cathy also discussed obtaining a song from a child’s iwi when a child was first enrolled in the kōhanga. This is an example of another connection with the community beyond the setting of the centre, in this case with an iwi.

Many of the kindergarten teachers mentioned musical connections with local schools: for example, Jo at K1 spoke of visiting the primary school down the road to see musical shows, and Andrea at K2 told of being invited to the primary school if they were having a concert with visiting musicians. At K3 the teachers did not speak of the school in terms of musical connections but were planning a visit to the local marae and were preparing some waiata which were going to be sung there. The same kindergarten had recently visited the museum and in the discussion about their trip afterwards at the kindergarten mat time the children talked about the songs which their tour guide had sung as they walked around the displays, some of which they sang at the kindergarten.
Individuals from the community were also mentioned by some of the teachers at the language groups and kindergartens as making musical contributions to their centre. At K2 a pianist and a clarinetist, both members of the community, had played for the children. Jenny, a teacher at the kindergarten, had also got her mother along to play the piano on two occasions. At AA1 a woman musician had visited the centre and played the drums and harmonica for the children and left behind a tape that the teachers used for music and movement. At AA2 a musician who was related to one of the staff had visited the centre and also taught songs to the teachers. Mary, a friend and colleague of the teachers at K1 was invited along to play her guitar and sing with the children during the time of my fieldwork in the kindergarten.

Another sense of the word community is the professional community that the teachers and centres are part of. While connections with this setting have already been discussed in Chapter 3.2, some of the teachers did make the point themselves, referring to it when asked specifically about community involvement in music, suggesting that they thought of themselves and their centres as being part of such a community. Jenny at K2, for example, referred to the teachers from a kindergarten in another rural town sending them a tape of their “cool Christmas songs” so that they could sing them in their kindergarten. Winona at K5 spoke of the importance of Kindergarten Association meetings for the sharing of resources and of the “network of teachers.” K5 was the kindergarten that Jenny was referring to earlier so it is obvious that for these teachers at least being part of a community of teachers was indeed an important facet of their job. At AA2 I was told of and witnessed a visit from a very special person in the a’oga amata legacy, Fereni, one of the instigators of the movement. The teachers told me that she often visited the centre and brought with her new songs that she had written and which she passed on to teachers everywhere. In this sense they too felt that they were part of a common community of teachers and centres and Fereni, together with her songs, was the element that connected them all.
Cindy at K4 gave an example of community musical involvement in the kindergarten but acknowledged that there were some hindrances to getting more of it happening.

Cindy: We had a drummer last term, probably last year actually, the time flies, an African drummer, um that’s all we’ve had this year, but whenever we can we drag people in.

SB: Is it quite hard?

Cindy: Yes, [that’s] something you find in a big city like Auckland, and I know a lot about this because of my involvement in the performing arts. We’ve been encouraged to value our time so much so that, unlike in smaller country areas someone might come in and give an hour of their time, here someone will do that and give you an invoice at the end! So you become a little more reluctant to come for nothing. The drummer who came in last year was a personal friend of mine and I gave him the taxi fare to get here because he didn’t have a car and couldn’t carry the drums and that was the deal and he didn’t want payment for his time here. But that does happen actually, it kind of closes doors.

Cindy may have a point. However, another contributing factor is most certainly teacher awareness and accessibility. In some of the cases the teachers had a connection to the musician who visited the centre: see Cindy above for example, and Jenny’s mother at K2. If teachers participate in musical activities outside the centre or have musical friends or family members then they have access and knowledge of musicians in the community. They can then use this to their advantage, as in the case of Jenny and Cindy, for getting musicians into the centre.

4.4 Visitors

Early childhood centres are also influenced musically by what I have called visitors to the centre. Into this category fall relievers who are in a centre for a short period of time, people training to be early childhood teachers, and also myself. Adults such as these can bring fresh songs and approaches to music in the centre, and in some cases their influence continues long after they have left the centre physically.
Relievers and teacher trainees did have a musical influence on the centres, although this did appear to be quite minor compared with the connections with children, parents and the community. Much seems to depend on the individual concerned: they bring with them their own strengths and if music is one of them then they will affect the musical activities in the centre. If the other teachers are aware of those then they can be utilized within the centre. At AA1, for example, during the time of my fieldwork there was a relieving teacher called Tavita who had his own musical strengths.

Joan: At the moment we are making the most of our reliever that’s here because he’s very good at dance and movement and things like that so we use him for that and the kids all love that, that’s great.

Tavita led an aerobics/exercise session every morning in the a’oga where he improvised movements to popular music and the children and other teachers followed him. The permanent teachers in the centre were indeed harnessing and utilizing his musical skills.

Relieving teachers were revealed to be the implementers of specific songs in some of the centres. On hearing a child sing a song about a pirate in K4 I asked Cindy where the song had come from and was informed that the song had been taught to the children by a relieving teacher some weeks earlier. Rowena, another teacher at K4 explicitly mentioned relievers as a source of songs for the kindergarten. She told me that Terry, who was relieving in the centre at the time, had brought a song about reaching up and touching the sky that Rowena had sung with the children at that morning’s mat time. Rowena really liked the song and was determined to remember it and sing it in the centre after Terry left.

Student teachers also contributed musically to the centres. Cathy at TKR2 made reference to the many students training in te reo Māori at the university who would visit the centre. It was part of the training requirements for these students that they create songs and they brought them into the kōhanga to share with the children and teachers. The other example I observed of student teacher musical input in a centre
occurred at CC1. Two student teachers led an extended musical session which began with children making their own musical instruments and ended with them playing them along to a tape of songs designed to be used with instruments. The other teachers in the centre did not join in or participate; it was an activity that the student teachers were doing on their own.

As previously discussed, self-reflection in ethnographic writing has become a recognized part of the discipline. Stock, in a paper exploring the role of biography in ethnomusicological studies suggests:

The presence of the fieldworker may itself be a factor in shaping the musical event that is subsequently documented – according to this view, an ethnography may claim to be about the members of a particular society, but it remains very much the story of the researcher. Not only is an ethnography a piece of more-or-less explicit autobiography, but the slice of social reality it claims to present has itself been recognized as contingent on the personality and experience of the researcher as a specific individual engaging with other, researched individuals. (2001: 13)

In keeping with this line of thought I was aware of my influence on my own research. Simply by being there I affected the music in the centre. My influence on a centre had the potential to swing between two extremes with everything in between: either the teachers would provide more music for me to observe, or, being intimidated by my being there, perhaps they might become less involved in music.

At one kindergarten I was alerted to the possibility of observing an unusually dense week of music by the noticeboard outside the kindergarten. Written on this was a welcome to me and then a list of all the musical activities planned for the week, including visiting musicians from the community. It was obvious that the teachers had arranged a week of music to impress me and show me all the things they did. I was under no illusion that every week in this kindergarten would be as musically rich, yet nevertheless each musical event had happened before and no doubt would happen again. For these reasons I was able to reconcile the fact that this week was both out of the ordinary and yet part of the ordinary.

I was also aware that during the course of my fieldwork some centres would put on a sort of 'musical show' for me. They would seat all the children on a mat area and 'perform' several songs for my benefit, often including many Māori songs.
Sometimes it was clear that these songs had not been sung recently because the children (and sometimes the teachers) would not know the words. Teachers revealed their attitude towards biculturalism through performances such as these. Perceiving me as an educational figure of authority they set out to impress me with a show of political correctness. The performance of Māori songs sometimes seemed to me to be bicultural window-dressing.

One teacher revealed that when first presented with my information sheet prior to my fieldwork visits the other staff had become concerned that their centre was not the right sort of centre for the study. Comments such as 'we don't do cultural music here' were made. My research was interpreted as a study of 'other' music or 'cultural' music, in other words 'non-Pākehā' music. As this informant began talking directly about Māori in the centre I believed that this concerned the issue of biculturalism. These teachers felt threatened by my presence and initially saw my study as a judgement on their centre's commitment to biculturalism.

Another response to my presence was to become less involved in music. One teacher admitted that she felt less teacher-directed spontaneous music had occurred in the kindergarten because “we knew you were here.” Another told me she would not contribute to music while I was in the centre because she would not “do a music session in front of you.” As can be seen from these examples, I possibly did not gain as true a picture of the amount of musical interactions that occurred in the centres at which these teachers taught. However, at the same time, their comments and the reasons behind them contributed to my study in far more revealing ways.

Many teachers have perceived my presence in their centres in a positive way. I was seen as someone to learn from, as a resource to be utilized. This has tended to happen more in kindergartens where the philosophy is to make the most of parental resources (and this is the sort of role I had assigned myself). Centres in rural areas where there is less access to resources also tended to respond in this way. However, I did feel at times that I could have been exploited. Occasionally centres greeted me initially with the idea that I was there to provide music for them. In an attempt to reconcile the need to observe unhindered by involvement with the need to give
something back, I found myself either offering to lead a music session at the end of my time in a centre and/or sharing information on resources which I had come across during my fieldwork in other centres. This practical involvement also helped me to become accepted by the staff, and to be regarded as less threatening.

Not every centre was interested in me as a resource; some staff were completely disinterested in my research. I found teachers who were comfortable with the songs they knew and saw no reason to extend their repertoire. They used music in the same way that they had used it all their teaching years and did not consider that there was anything lacking in their musical awareness. In my eyes these teachers seemed complacent with their teaching skills and their musical knowledge.

Some teachers confessed to me that they were envious of my position as observer in their centre. Aware of how much can be gained through observation of children and having very little time for this themselves, they may have resented my role as researcher. I attempted to make amends for this by passing on information and sharing the results of the research.

Through carrying out fieldwork in different parts of Aotearoa/New Zealand I was made aware of just how area-specific resources in early childhood music are. For example, the tapes of the Auckland based Kids' Music Company, featured in the musical activities in centres in the North Island because the teachers in those centres had attended workshops on them. After I became familiar with these resources I introduced them to centres in the South Island where I am now aware they are part of the music programme.

I also experienced first hand a direct example of my influence in the centres. K1, a kindergarten in a rural part of Aotearoa/New Zealand, particularly liked some songs that I had introduced them to that were on a tape produced by the Christchurch based Tessarose Productions. They bought the tape themselves and used them in the kindergarten. During fieldwork at K5, another rural kindergarten in the same part of the South Island, I heard a song called 'Highway No.1' that came from the same tape. When I asked the teachers where they had got the song from they told me that a teacher at K1 had given it and some other songs to them. This is a
clear example of both my musical influence on the centres and also of how different songs can filter through centres by teachers supporting each other.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has drawn together the many threads of musical influence that are brought into the centre by people other than the teachers: children, parents, community members, and visitors. Some of these connections go both ways, particularly in the areas of community and parents. At the middle point is the teacher making sense of it all, deciding if and how to utilize the many different musical influences and connections with the outside world.

Popular music has a definite presence in many early childhood educational settings in Aotearoa/New Zealand today. Pop songs are the most predominant form of music that children have been observed to contribute to the centres and teachers need to decide if and how this music is included.

As music educators we probably believe that some types of musical expression contain more cultural and artistic validity than other types. This explains the thought 'Not all music is equally valuable'. It also helps us decide on the musical context of what we teach.... As teaching material I reject things like today's popular hit, 'easy listening music' or a favourite television commercial, no matter how well known or loved by my students of any age. Occasional exposure to these things may not be harmful, but constant repetition is the first stage of learning, and I am frightened by the idea that their use in an educational setting continues to attribute more validity than they deserve. In fact, the relative lack of repetition of valuable music outside of educational settings is a serious threat to musical culture! (More 1990: 109)

More is suggesting that teachers should be the ones to decide what is valuable music and what isn't. This is an attitude that teachers in the Willberg study also shared (2001: 91-94). However, this attitude does not acknowledge the children's perspective. The children value this music; it is part of their lives and the music of their choice. If teachers denounce such music as being value-less they are effectively degrading the children themselves.
More is perpetuating the concept of popular music being of little value. Moreover, the final sentence of More's statement suggests that it is potentially harmful to 'musical culture,' namely classical or art music culture. She also posits that only 'artistically valid music' should be taught (1990: 111). Classical music is seen as being as more valuable because of its aesthetic qualities. Inherent meanings and transcendent essences are often regarded as the worthy qualities of music, whereas the delineated meanings of pop music, its language, politics, and culture, are easily dismissed (Green 1988: 105). More is failing to acknowledge the social roles of popular music and its educational value in sociocultural terms. The idea that popular music is dangerous to 'musical culture' is an elitist attitude that ignores the fact that popular music has a culture of its own.

While More has a valid point, in suggesting that teachers need to redress the balance, as children are already exposed to a large amount of popular music in their lives outside of educational settings, do teachers have the right to censor such music within the early childhood setting? Willberg has raised the issue of teacher as culture bearer (2001: 93). Is it part of the teacher's role to make value judgements on what is and isn't appropriate for the children in their care? It could be argued that teachers are making such decisions all the time as they care for and educate young children. Why should music be any different?

More suggests that using popular music in educational settings is attributing greater validity to it than it deserves. Perhaps this is so, but:

Children's musical preferences deserve to be acknowledged, however, as this is the repertoire in which they are already steeped; it is a part of their selfhood, their own identity. Their music may warrant our inclusion in a class session, lesson, or program. As we plan for our lessons and learning experiences with them, we must understand something of our children's musical selves. We need to know them in order to teach them and to acknowledge and validate them through a recognition of who they musically are. (Campbell 1998: 213)

The teachers in my study have shown that they are aware of children's musical preferences. Through incorporating the pop songs brought by children into musical activities in the early childhood setting, the children's contribution to the centre is acknowledged. The tales of individual children such as Chris show the positive
values of popular music being utilized in the centres. The teachers who have chosen to include pop songs in their centre have shown that they are able to make sense of it and can see its benefits.

Together with the children, parents also have a certain amount of musical influence on the early childhood centre. My study revealed a very limited parental involvement musically in some of the centres. The kindergarten setting is one that relies heavily on parental input, from the day to day running of the centre with a parent always being rostered on as the parent helper, through to fundraising for the kindergarten. This creates an environment that provides more opportunities for parents to become involved in the centre musically than a childcare centre or a language group. The presence of a parent in the kindergarten setting as part of the daily routine opens up the world of that centre to the parents and makes it less foreign and threatening.

While busyness is almost certainly a factor, it is also possible that parents, like many of the teachers discussed in the previous chapter, do not believe themselves sufficiently “musical” to bring their instruments along to their children’s centre or join in musical activities there. Sonia at K1, for example, had commented on Lois’ (the parent who brought her piano accordion to kindergarten and played it) lack of confidence in her ability to play her instrument initially and how she was worried about making mistakes. However, once she had done it and seen the children’s enjoyment, she enjoyed it herself, and was willing to bring it again on other occasion. While teachers almost everywhere seemed keen to have parents involved musically in the centre, opportunity and musical self-belief are needed for parents to actually achieve this.

The data revealed that there were many possibilities for community musical connections: individuals, groups, iwi, schools, institutions, marae, the professional community and festivals. The strongest connections were those with schools, particularly in the case of AA1 and TKR1 which were both located on the same site as a school and consequently had opportunities for much musical involvement.
Again, much seems to depend on the role of the individual teacher. Teachers with connections to musicians in the world outside the centre are able to utilize their involvement and invite them along. It also seemed that many teachers were unwilling to try to get musicians from the community into their centre because of a perception that it would simply be too difficult. I would argue that their lack of knowledge of people with musical skills contributed to this.

Cindy's rural versus urban argument may also have elements of truth. While this study is too small to make any serious claims in this area, it is interesting to note the sense of community shared by teachers at the three rural kindergartens (K1, K2, and K5) in the sharing of songs and tapes. Teachers at both K1 and K2 also gave me many examples of community musicians visiting their centres.

Although my data in the area of visitors is limited, I would suggest that once again the role of the individual is paramount. It depends very much on whether student teachers and relievers are willing to contribute musically to the centres, and also on how the teachers within the centre respond to their contributions. In the case of AA1, for example, the teachers recognized and utilized Tavita's dance skills and because of this he was able to contribute musically to the centre and when he was working there his aerobic sessions were an exciting and much anticipated part of the morning.

Where this chapter has focused on what people bring musically into the centre, the following chapter moves to the next stage of Bronfenbrenner's framework, the macrosystem level. It examines not people per se, but national philosophies, musical ideologies and cultural structures.
Chapter 5: The Macrosystem: The National and Cultural Level

This chapter examines the fourth level of Bronfenbrenner’s model, the macrosystem. Where previous chapters have looked at what people bring into the early childhood centre, at the macrosystem level a broader approach is taken. At this final stage of the framework belief systems and national philosophies come into significance, such as the early childhood curriculum and cultural concepts of music.

Four main areas of the macrosystem are focused on in this chapter. The first is the issue of biculturalism and music. Biculturalism relates to the development of Māori language and culture in Pākehā institutions. In this study the Samoan early childhood centres are also affected by it. While biculturalism is a thread of the curriculum, it is also an element of Aotearoa/New Zealand society and because of this is needs to be examined in its own right. In this section I explore the ways that teachers are influenced musically by the issue of biculturalism.

Multiculturalism is the second part of the macrosystem to be discussed. As outlined in Chapter 1.6, Aotearoa/New Zealand is rapidly becoming more multicultural. There are pockets of multiculturalism emerging throughout our communities and the early childhood sector is no exception. At K4 and K5 in particular there were several children who were not Pākehā, Māori or Pacific Islanders, but who had come to Aotearoa/New Zealand with their parents as recent immigrants, from countries which had different customs and languages. There were also a small number of children like this at CC1, CC2, and K1. This affects the teachers in those centres as they attempt to make connections between the environment of the children’s homes and the centre.

Te Whāriki, the early childhood curriculum is the third element of the macrosystem to be examined here. How does Te Whāriki relate to music and are the teachers aware of any such relationship? The early childhood curriculum has been
criticized for suggesting a narrow approach to music and one that often uses music as a tool to achieve other goals (Willberg 1999a, 1999b, 2001). Is the influence of *Te Whāriki* a limited one musically or are teachers perhaps unconsciously aware of its influence?

The concept of culture is the final element of the macrosystem to be discussed here. This study has focussed on early childhood education centres that are based in three cultural groups: Pākehā, Māori, and Samoan. Drawing on examples from previous chapters I will examine how the overarching influences of cultural beliefs and expectations about music can be related to both the teachers on an individual level and also the role of music in the centres.

The data for this chapter comes from the interviews with the teachers as well as observation in the centres. I have collated and compared responses to different questions and found patterns and similarities. Rather than asking the teachers explicitly about *Te Whāriki* and music, I have looked for the use of terminology from *Te Whāriki* in the teachers’ answers to questions about music. I intend to build on issues that have been raised by Willberg (2001) about *Te Whāriki* and music.

In the section that examines the concept of biculturalism I have compared what the teachers said in their interviews with what I have observed. When considering the ways Māori music occurred I constructed a continuum model and positioned each centre along it. I then examined the reasons behind the different levels of biculturalism through music in the different centres. Features such as the physical environment and the issue of spoken te reo also come into relevance. As Ritchie suggested, the challenge in implementing biculturalism is to move beyond the policy level to the actual reality of the classroom (1996:80). When exploring the role of Māori music in the centre I asked myself the questions: are Māori songs being used as bicultural window dressing? Or are they part of a broader approach to Māori culture within the centre?

Blacking (1973), Small (1977, 1998), Campbell (1998), and Kingsbury (1988) have all made reference to Western cultural ideals of what it means to be musical and the propensity in Western cultures to categorize a small group of individuals as ‘musical’
while the majority are declared ‘nonmusical’. Kingsbury suggested that musical
talent is not something that is ever proved or disproved, but rather validated with
reference to the same social process in which it first arose (1988: 75). Musical talent is
a social pronouncement. In Pākehā culture the concepts of being musical and being
nonmusical are also socially constructed. Cultural concepts of musicality constitute a
macrosystem connection between the environment of the early childhood centre and
the cultural context. The results show that many teachers feel that they lack the
talent, expertise, training, and skills that Pākehā culture requires to be considered
musical. Consequently they feel threatened by music and struggle to contribute and
in a few cases participate at all, in musical activities within the centre.

Kingsbury (1988: 60-2) and Campbell (1998: 170-1) have outlined cultures for
which music is the domain of all and the concept of nonmusical does not exist. As
Campbell states:

In these cultures, some are seen as “good at” making music, but all normally endowed
persons are as capable of doing music as they are of breathing. If they can talk, they can sing;
if they can walk, they can dance; and if they can hear or feel the vibrations of musical sound,
they can respond to them. Music belongs to many, and they engage in it because they can
and because it is a cultural expectation to do so. (1998: 171)

Music is an integral part of Māori and Samoan home life and identity, and is part of a
shared group experience. Music for Māori, for example, encompasses te reo (the
language), te whānau (the family), te karakia (prayer), te ao (the world) and ngā
tikanga (the protocol) and deals with real situations which it records in musical
expression (Tata 1998: 15-16). In the words of Campbell, it is a cultural expectation in
both Māori and Samoan cultures that everybody will engage in music. This can be
seen in the microcosm of the early childhood centre.

5.1 Music and Biculturalism

The issue of biculturalism and music in early childhood education in
Aotearoa/New Zealand is one that has not been explored elsewhere. The only
reference Willberg (2001) makes to it in her study is to say that:
The cultural origins of the music reflected the cultural backgrounds of the children and the teachers. The Māori songs, which were pinned up on the wall, were a source of new material that teachers worked hard to assimilate, supported by Felicity, in her self-imposed role as coach. (2001: 142)

Reference to the appendixes of music played and sung at the centre in the Willberg study shows that a very small number of Māori songs were sung, and a tape of Māori songs was played for background music. However, there is no discussion of how biculturalism affected the teachers at the centre, or the music programme. My study, then, is the first to consider this issue and how it affects early childhood teachers in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Teachers gave the impression that music was regarded as being one of the most appropriate ways to incorporate bicultural elements into early childhood education. Penny, for example, said that she thought songs were a “really good way to use Māori in the programme.” Songs using te reo were sung at every centre and in some centres appeared to be the main way that Māori language and culture were implemented. The amount and variety of songs using the Māori language sung in each centre varied considerably and depended on teachers’ individual commitment to Māori tanga and their level of skill and confidence in this area.

In order to make sense of the different levels of biculturalism present in the different centres I constructed a framework using a continuum model. At one end is the most basic approach to implementing Māori in the centres, where songs in the English language with additional Māori words are sung, through to the other end of the continuum where songs with more complicated language are sung, and also musical practices which reflect those within Māori culture, such as beginning each session with a karakia. As outlined in Chapter 1.6 I have represented biculturalism as existing on a continuum. This approach is carried on to the implementation of biculturalism in the early childhood setting. It is simplistic to say that a centre is either bicultural or not bicultural. Rather, there are different levels of biculturalism through the use of music. This was an issue that was raised by some of the teachers in the study who, when discussing the role of music and Māori culture made comments
such as, "we could do a lot more" (Rachel at CC1), and "I would really like to do more" (Priscilla at CC2).

Figure 3: The biculturalism musical continuum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ways Māori Music Occurs in the Centre</th>
<th>Other Ways Māori is Reinforced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Māori music tapes played less in the background.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Simple songs in English with CC1 Māori words e.g. ‘If You’re Happy and You Know it Pakipaki.’ CC3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Greeting songs, numbers songs, CC2 colour songs. K4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Using items from the natural world as instruments K5 e.g. shells, stones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Use of poi, stick songs AA2 e.g. “e tū” (stand up).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Songs using complicated language e.g., ‘Tohora Nui’, AA1 'E tū Kahikatea’. K3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Musical practices reflecting cultural practices and concepts. K1 more</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Environment reflecting Māori culture.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Te reo spoken in the centre,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Contact with Māori culture in the community.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Each of the centres in the study has a place on the continuum. Ritchie (1996: 84) has identified two levels that effect the implementation of biculturalism in educational settings: personal and structural (at the level of institutional organization). While the
model above expresses the level of biculturalism at the structural level, centre by
centre, it is important to acknowledge that this is influenced by the level of
commitment at the personal level of the individual teachers. The key element here is
the attitudes of the teachers themselves that have led to the different positions on the
continuum and the varied levels of biculturalism through music in the centres.

K1’s position at the more end of the continuum is due to combination of several
elements. The teachers at that kindergarten modeled their music session on Māori
cultural practices, starting with a karakia, before moving to other songs. They used
natural items as instruments, sang songs which embodied Māori concepts such as ‘E
tū Kahikatea’, by Hirini Melbourne about the growth of a tree, and reinforced the
presence of Māori in their centre through using spoken te reo as well. Māori songs
were sung both as part of the organized music session and also spontaneously
throughout the morning. The curriculum was what influenced Sonia and Jo at K1.
While the kindergarten was attended predominantly by Pākehā children, they still
saw the need for a high level of Māori culture in the centre.

SB: You do a lot of Māori songs, even when there aren’t a lot of [Māori]
children here, why do you feel that’s important?
Sonia: Curriculum based, probably, [because of] Te Whāriki.
Jo: Probably ‘cause a lot of it we have to do.

What is significant about Sonia and Jo’s approach to implementing Māori in their
kindergarten, is that Māori songs were used in appropriate ways, such as beginning
each mat time with a karakia. This approach reflects the stance of a music educator in
Aotearoa/New Zealand in an article on developing bicultural sensitivity, who
suggests that Māori music should be appropriate to the occasion on which it is used
and care needs to be taken to ensure that the performance of songs so that they are
used in a suitable way for the culture from which they have been taken (Manins 1998:
30-1). Jo and Sonia show recognition of this in the way that Māori music occurs in
their kindergarten.
Other teachers at another centre conveyed the same reasons for the inclusion of Māori songs. Three teachers at CC1 said almost exactly the same thing.

Sophie: We do Māori songs because we have to.

Rachel: Because we have to, that’s what it really boils down to.

Stephanie: We’re hung up on the Māori one at the moment because we have to be.

Interestingly K1 and CC1 are at opposite ends of the biculturalism/music continuum, yet the teachers at each of the centres gave similar answers when asked about why Māori songs were part of their programme. While the teachers had the same reasons for why they were including Māori culture, the outcomes were very different. The reasons for these different outcomes can only be guessed at. The feelings behind the answers seem to be quite different. Sonia and Jo seemed to approach the implementation of biculturalism in their Pākehā dominated centre as a challenge. In contrast to this some of the teachers at CC1, also a centre with few Māori children, seemed threatened by the issue of biculturalism and approached it with some resentment. Stephanie informed me that they were “meant to be encouraging Māori culture” in the centre and that because of this they were slipping up on other cultures which was a “shame.” She twice used the phrase “hung up” when commenting on Māori culture, suggesting perhaps that she saw it as being something that was imposed on her teaching and did not see its relevance to the centre where she worked.

Rachel did express a personal commitment to biculturalism, but felt her own lack of knowledge was letting her down. Her statement above continued in this way.

Rachel: I know we go on the old adage of ‘we haven’t got any Māori children’ but, I think it is really hard to promote it when it isn’t your own culture and you don’t have children whose culture it is. I am committed to biculturalism and I am aware of how important it is but I still at the same time feel it isn’t part of my heritage. So I guess that the perfectly
honest answer is because we know that it is important and it is important to Māori and that’s why I promote it.

Rachel’s answer reveals the conflict between knowing intellectually that Māori culture should be a part of her teaching practice yet feeling personally that she is unable to connect with it because of her own upbringing and lack of connection with Māori culture.

Teachers at other centres also gave answers concerning the role of Māori culture and music in their centres that related it to the children and how it was important for them growing up in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Jenny: Because we are a bicultural society, even though we only have two Māori children in the kindergarten, we’re all New Zealanders and that’s part of our culture.

Anna: We consciously promote the children’s own ethnic backgrounds and Māori music because it’s part of the children’s heritage of Aotearoa.

Winona: Because it’s part of New Zealand history and in our curriculum.

The comments from these teachers, from K2, CC2, and K5 respectively, are examples where the level of commitment to biculturalism is more than just because of the curriculum. These teachers’ statements show their understanding of biculturalism goes deeper than in terms of having to do it. All three of these centres at which they work have a position towards the more end of the continuum.

Jean, a teacher at CC3, gave a similar response, relating the issue of biculturalism to both the curriculum and to Aotearoa/New Zealand today, but she was also aware of the limited presence of Māori culture in her centre.

Jean: Well that’s probably not a strong thing. It’s an area that I think could be promoted more prominently here. We did a lot more at college and I’ve seen a lot more at kindergartens than is done here, so I think, you know, we could do a lot more. We do have the odd song in Māori,
like we sing 'Happy Birthday' in Māori at birthday parties and we sing those simple greeting songs and there's a counting song that we do a lot and there's another one that we do about a taniwha and that's a counting one as well, so there's an element there but it could be widened a little bit.

SB: So why do you promote the Māori culture?
Jean: Well it's part of the curriculum for a start, because that's the nature of the country that we're living in and it's important for the children to be aware of the dual cultural heritage even if they're not Māori, just respect and understanding really.

Based on Jean's comments and also my observations at the centre CC3 is positioned towards the beginning of the continuum model.

One teacher from K2 revealed a very strong attitude towards biculturalism in her centre:

Veronica: Because New Zealand is the home of the language, and if we don't promote that language the language dies and if the language dies the culture dies. And I think that's something we have to hold on to, because it's nowhere else and I think that's important for children to have. They are going to be New Zealanders and part of their culture is the Māori language.

SB: So is it more of a personal conviction or is it because of Te Whāriki?
Veronica: No, it's more because I've been to a lot of courses and I've been semi-anti in some respects. And I've been to courses on the Treaty of Waitangi and things like that, but there was one course in particular and it was explained beautifully. The need to retain the language, the need because when the language is lost the culture is lost and seeing it from that perspective made me see that we have a responsibility to keep that language and treat that language with respect too. That's a special part of New Zealand and if we want to be proud of New Zealand we've got to hold onto that language. It's not making a judgmental thing; "I don't like speaking it. Blah, blah, blah." Children have got to be part of it; it's got to be part of the programme. Children now have that positive attitude towards it. It will be part of their culture. It wasn't part of our culture when we were young... It should be part of our culture, and we want...
our children to be brought up that that is expected, and that's what they feel comfortable with and that will go on through the generations and it will be nurtured and respected and that's important.

Veronica’s outburst reveals her own passionate feelings about the issue of biculturalism and their origins. She admits to being “semi-anti”, an attitude that others of the Pākehā teachers possibly had felt towards Māori culture and the concept of political correctness at some time in their careers. From her comments it is clear that Veronica’s commitment extends beyond the requirements of the curriculum and is a personal conviction. Veronica is a teacher at K2, a centre located towards the more end of the continuum.

The self-scrutiny process outlined above by Veronica has been noted by Ritchie as being an important issue in the successful implementation of biculturalism in Pākehā institutions:

We need to be willing to reflect upon our own attitudes and behaviours and work on these. Acknowledging our own racism and that within our society is not just a starting point, but an ongoing process. In order to make progress we need to embrace change as offering us possibilities for positive development. (1996: 86)

Veronica’s statement reflects precisely what Ritchie is suggesting. She acknowledges her past ignorance and how it has changed, and she embraces the prospect of biculturalism in early childhood education as a positive thing. “Embracing change as offering us possibilities for positive development” is a key phrase in Ritchie’s statement. The teachers whose centres had a high level of biculturalism through music had done exactly that. Sonia and Jo at K1, for example, had increased the Māori content in their kindergarten because they wanted to add something more to their programme. The concept of biculturalism had given them the opportunity to use support staff and to develop the Māori language and music they were already doing.

Jeremy, a teacher at CC1, like Veronica, also conveyed a strong personal commitment to biculturalism. He informed me that he was enthusiastic about incorporating Māori songs into the centre but felt that he was unsupported by both the other teachers and the parents.
Jeremy: There is no point doing it if it isn’t backed up and supported. The others are not interested. They say, “why do it?” since there are no Māori children, however it is in the Charter of the centre and so they should have a commitment to it.

Jeremy went on to say that he found it difficult doing Māori songs by himself because he wasn’t a confident singer. While he liked and enjoyed music he lacked confidence so he didn’t feel able to instigate Māori songs in the centre because he would be by himself. Rachel was the only teacher who shared his commitment and together the two of them were trying to encourage the development of more bicultural elements in the centre. They were both attending a course about implementing a bicultural approach to teaching later that week.

Professional support in the form of workshops on Māori songs and language may be one of the issues affecting the level of biculturalism in each centre. As the example above from Veronica shows, a course was influential for her personally and consequently influenced the amount of Māori in the kindergarten at which she taught. Jo and Sonia at K1 also mentioned contact with an ECE Māori advisor who supported their implementation of more Māori songs and practices in the kindergarten. As mentioned above, two of the teachers from CC1 also told me about a course on biculturalism that they were about to attend. Jeremy informed me that other Māori courses he had been to were “very valuable.” Rachel said that keeping up the Māori content in the centre was “something that not a lot of the staff are confident in” so if she didn’t do it, it didn’t get done. So it would appear that courses are more effective when a significant number of staff members attend so that they can support each other in bringing the ideas back to the centre environment.

Teacher confidence in the area of Māori language is a big factor that affects the level of Māori in centres. Pronunciation was mentioned by some of the teachers. Priscilla at CC3, for example, thought it was important not to make mistakes.

Priscilla: The book that came from the Ministry with ‘Tahi, Rua, Toru, Whā,’ with the tapes, I found that really helpful. It meant that the words
were there and the tapes to support that, because pronunciation is not always easy, and it's important to get it right rather than have a stab at it. So those tapes were quite helpful.

Jean: Some of the staff are uncomfortable with it, just the language and the pronunciation of different words.

The lack of confidence in this area by certain teachers led them to use tapes of Māori songs.

Serena: Because I'm not a fluent Māori speaker, though I do consciously put on those tapes, make a conscious effort to do it, because I don't understand the words, but I think it's really important for the children to be exposed to it.

Stephanie: We've got some Māori tapes which I will occasionally put on, but I tend to use them if I'm using them at rest time. Because I'm not good at it, and I can't sing along with it so I don't tend to use them at music sessions.

Tapes provided these teachers with a way to include some Māori songs in the centres, but I would suggest that it was a rather superficial approach. They relied on tapes to provide some form of biculturalism in their centres, but unless this is reinforced through other elements in the programme and by other teachers, it is only a very limited and perfunctory approach to Māori culture. It is a way to window-dress in terms of biculturalism.

Conversely, for Penny at K3, singing Māori songs was seen as an easy way to include bicultural elements in the programme. While speaking Māori was not something she or the other teachers in her centre were confident at, singing Māori songs was not seen as threatening.

Penny: Probably Māori isn't, we're all Pākehā, and Māori isn't really a strong point of any of ours, it's a really good way to use it in the programme, and I have no trouble with singing it. It's speaking it that's
As discussed in Chapter 3, Penny had a high level of musical self-belief and felt confident with music generally so it is likely that this confidence spilled over to the singing of Māori songs in the centre as well. Likewise, Stephanie had a low level of musical self-belief, so this probably also influenced her ability to feel confident singing Māori songs. Feeling a lack of confidence in both music and Māori, the singing of songs in te reo would be doubly threatening for Stephanie. However, Serena does not fit this pattern. She had a fairly high level of musical self-belief and was confident in her own singing abilities. Jeremy’s comments are also pertinent here. He had the desire to sing Māori songs in his centre, but lacking confidence in his own singing ability needed the support of other teachers so that he didn’t feel exposed and alone. Clearly there are other factors which come into significance such as professional support, personal commitment, and knowledge, but musical self-belief must also be influential on a teacher’s own approach to singing Māori songs.

Jo and Sonia at K1 raised the issue of parents’ reactions to the growing role of Māori culture in their early childhood centre. While some supported it, others were not so enthusiastic.

Sonia: We get a bit of flack every now and again, because some parents will say, “Why do you have to do all this Māori?” They do. And then others will love it. Like Beth who said, “When are you having your sessions? Because I want to come along and be part of it.” So it’s to try and get the happy medium.

Jo: We try not to let it dominate.

As this example shows, it is not only teachers who can feel threatened by and fail to see the relevance of Māori culture in early childhood centres. Jeremy at CC1 also informed me of the lack of support from parents for the implementation of biculturalism. In this situation the teachers need to be able to justify and explain the role of Māoritanga in the early childhood centre.
Teachers at centres with a high number of children for whom English is a second language face their own issues concerning the incorporation of biculturalism through music. Teachers at K4 and K5 faced this issue where the focus for some of the children, was on developing their English language skills.

SB: How do you choose the music for your organized sessions?  
Cindy: We look at the day, the dynamics, the weather, the way the children are relating to each other on the day. Whether there are children who need to be brought out in certain areas. Whether the group is largely non-English speaking, which is usually quite often. That's why we stick more to English speaking songs more than anything else, because although we adhere to a bicultural philosophy, we only have one Māori child in the whole kindergarten.

While nevertheless maintaining a commitment to Aotearoa/New Zealand’s emerging biculturalism, Cindy was also aware of the need to foster and encourage the level of English language. This affects the level of biculturalism in the centre. Cindy herself states that it is because of the focus on developing their language skills in English that they tend to sing mainly English songs.

Teachers at three of the centres related the singing of Māori songs to the presence of Māori children. Winona at K5, Fenella at CC2, and Penny at K3 all saw the singing of Māori songs as relevant because of the children in the kindergartens who identified with Māori culture. Ingrid, another teacher at K3 also brought in the connection with the community.

Winona: And also we've got a few Māori children here and they enjoy it as well. It's not something that you're pushing on to them, just bringing in a few words and a few songs so that it's there and it's out there, that's what is important.

Fenella: I enjoy it and we get lots of Māori children.
Penny: We do mainly Māori and Pacific Island [songs] because they are the cultures that we’ve got at the kindergarten.

Ingrid: And in the community, yes.

Without directly stating it, these teachers make an inference to the Belonging strand of *Te Whāriki*, for example, Belonging: Goal 1 - Children and their families experience an environment where connecting links with the wider world are affirmed and extended (1996: 56). Penny did use the term “belonging” in an earlier statement in our conversation (see below) about Māori songs in the kindergarten so it is probable she was aware of the connection she was making. Whether Winona, Fenella, and Ingrid were influenced by the curriculum or not, these teachers make a connection between the Māori children in their centres and the singing of Māori songs. In their eyes this helps to make the inclusion of Māori songs more relevant in their centres.

As mentioned earlier, the Samoan centres in the study were influenced by the issue of biculturalism as well and both a’oga amata included Māori songs in their organized group sessions. Joan at AA1 outlined the many musical connections that the language group had with Māori songs.

Joan: Yes we do [sing Māori songs]. Most of my teachers are trained through the New Zealand Childcare Association, which is the bicultural training and they have a Māori strand and a Samoan strand and they incorporate that and also because we’re involved with the wider school and they’ve got a kōhanga and Māori bilingual [class] and we take part in pōwhiri and things like that so the children are learning Māori songs as part of the wider school and we also do them here and we do Māori stick songs and haka and things like that.

Māori songs provided an important link with the school. Training experiences also seem to be highly influential. At AA2, for example, there were many songs and finger plays, such as ‘Head, Shoulders, Knees, and Toes’ which were sung consecutively in three languages, Samoan, Māori, and English. This was directly connected to the ways the teachers had learned the songs at the music and movement course as part of their training. Māori songs were obviously a strong part
of the training programme for many of the teachers and as such were implemented into their teaching practice.

Music is just one of the ways that bicultural elements can be introduced into the early childhood centre. The physical environment of each centre, the walls, borders, posters, books, puzzles, displays etc, forms a backdrop to the music that occurs there. The physical surroundings are a way that Māori culture can be integrated throughout the programme holistically. If not, then the Māori musical offerings form a kind of bicultural musical window dressing. The surroundings were another element that I considered when examining the issue of biculturalism within a centre.

K1, a centre with a high level of biculturalism through music, also had a physical environment that reflected that the kindergarten was a bicultural centre. The first sight to greet visitors is the words ‘Kia ora’ painted in bright colours on the gate. Inside red, black, and white borders using Māori motifs outline noticeboards, attention is drawn to one that explains the principles of Te Whāriki. There are pictures on the walls of a waka with men wearing traditional Māori clothes inside. On the bookcase are books of Māori myths and legends, and the storybook Hemi Dances. There are Māori words written beside English ones on things around the room. The three budgies in the centre are named ‘Tahi,’ ‘Rua,’ and ‘Toru.’ A display in the centre of the room on straw bales includes a basket of poi and a resource book one of the teachers has made with words of the Māori songs sung in the kindergarten and pictures of Māori people.

K1 had a daily routine that used much spoken Māori language. This followed the form of a question and answer session between the teachers and the children based around what day it was and what the weather was like. The teachers asked “He aha tēnei rā?” (What is this day?) to which the children replied, “Ko Mane tēnei rā,” (Today is Monday), then the teachers asked, “He aha te huarere?” (What is the weather?) and the children answered, “Te huarere e rāhana,” (The weather is sunny). A Māori greeting began this group session, “Tēnā koutou tamariki mā” to which the children responded with, “Tēnā koe Sonia.” Māori language was also frequently used to give instructions to the children during the group session, for example, “e tū”
(stand up), sometimes with what the phrase meant in English being spoken directly afterwards, for example, ‘E noho tamariki, sit down on your bottom,’ but sometimes with no English meaning being given.

Māori language was also incorporated into spoken language used in the centre during the day that was not part of organized group times. For example, when Tanya arrived one morning she greeted her teacher with a cheerful, “Hello Sonia!” to which Sonia replied, “That’s a nice kia ora Tanya!” Māori names for different objects, such as parts of the body, or numbers were spoken in the centre often, such as when Jo asked the children to listen with their taringa. The Māori extra-musical elements in the centre were so strong that the musical elements were definitely not window dressing. They were not superficial or perfunctory but part of a bicultural approach that permeated the centre at every level.

Teachers at the four other kindergartens all used a limited amount of spoken te reo. The teachers at K2, for example, used commands in Māori such as “whakarongo mai,” or “listen to me.” In the childcare centres there was little or no Māori spoken. At CC2 and CC3 I observed no te reo at all being spoken by teachers, although I did notice songs with Māori words sung spontaneously by the teachers, such as Radha’s ‘Hello, Kia ora’ song. At CC1 the spoken te reo was always in the same situation. This occurred when a child (or children) was involved working on a colour puzzle which had the Māori names for the colours written on it. This puzzle triggered, in both teachers and children, the Māori colour song ‘Mā is white’. Sometimes the song would be sung, sometimes spoken.

The kindergartens’ environments also universally had a strong sense of biculturalism. All of the kindergartens had borders based on Māori motifs around the rooms and posters depicting people in traditional Māori dress. There were posters on the walls with Māori phrases and instructions at all of the kindergartens. These posters are more for the adults’ benefit than the children, they serve to encourage and remind teachers to use te reo during the day. The childcare centres presented a less universal picture. CC1 had one poster in one of the less used rooms that had Māori phrases on it, but no other Māori images on the walls. CC2 had a
table which displayed many natural items, sticks, stones, shells, woven mats and baskets, that the children could use to make sounds, and some pictures on the nearby walls of Māori people. At CC3 there were song charts with the words of Māori songs. All of the centres had puzzles and books based on Māori themes.

Generally the level of biculturalism in the extra-musical elements reflected the level of biculturalism in the music. CC1, for example, had one song in their repertoire which used Māori words, little spoken Māori, and a physical environment that was largely monocultural. Rachel was aware of the lack of Māoritanga in these ways in her centre but tried to include it in other ways.

Rachel: We try to include it in books and puzzles, we don’t always succeed, but the Māori culture is valuing the natural materials and things, so we tend to try to follow their values as far as you know, using natural materials where possible in collage even outside in the sand we try to use resources, like shells and encourage the children if they want to use sticks in the sand. I guess you are mindful of those sorts of values. It’s not as widespread as, some other centres do it much more than we do, but we try to.

The issue of biculturalism was one that I was highly sensitive to. The current atmosphere of political correctness combined with the comments of some teachers when I began my fieldwork such as “we don’t do cultural music here,” made me acutely aware of teachers’ reactions to my presence and the role of Māoritanga in their centres. I suspected that some might attempt to present their centre as one that was strongly bicultural, to show me all the right things. I was somewhat skeptical when the teachers at K2, for example, on my second day in the centre, sat all the children down and sang through a number of Māori songs, most of which the children appeared not to know. I asked myself if these teachers were trying to impress on me that they were ‘bicultural’, if they were showing me what they thought I wanted to see. Did they think they were competing with other centres in the study to be the ‘best’ in terms of biculturalism? While the way in which it was done, the “let’s do our Māori songs” approach of the teachers led me to have no
doubt that these teachers were trying to show off and make their kindergarten and themselves look good, when I looked at the whole picture of the kindergarten, the data did present a picture that was complete and not just superficial. The environment reflected biculturalism, te reo was spoken by all of the teachers, and while all three spoke about the relevance of biculturalism because of Te Whāriki, two of them expressed a strong personal commitment to it as well. I questioned the teachers about why the children appeared not to know some of the songs they sang in that session. I was told that one of their regular staff members, who was away on leave, used to play her guitar for those songs and they had been a regular part of the kindergarten repertoire. However, as she had been away for some time they had not been singing them as often as they used to.

5.2 Music and Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism was an issue for teachers at many of the centres. At K5 there was a growing number of Asian children attending the kindergarten due to their parents moving into the surrounding area for work. At the time of my fieldwork there were nine children at the kindergarten for who English was a second language and who had come to Aotearoa/New Zealand, five from Korea and four from Japan. The teachers had approached many of the parents in order to become involved in the kindergarten and share elements of their cultures, including music. While the Japanese families had been enthusiastic about participating and had given the kindergarten posters and tapes, the Korean families were not. The teachers did not speak positively about the experience, Shona said that she felt they had actually offended the families in the end and that it was not something that they would repeat.

Shona: I would never, ever, ever do it again. I don't think I would and get them to participate with their culture as much as we tried because I felt that they weren't comfortable with it. . . . We really just work at making
those families feel comfortable in the kindergarten setting and we don’t want kindergarten being seen to be threatening.

Shona had said earlier that the Korean parents did not want to make their presence strongly felt in the kindergarten.

Shona: They don’t want to be seen. That’s why they want their children involved in an English speaking kindergarten and they want their children learning English. They don’t want to influence the kindergarten setting with their culture. . . . They purposely send, and they tell us this, they send their children to kindergarten so that they can learn the New Zealand way as far as the language, everything.

The teachers at K5 were trying to help the Korean families to feel welcome in the kindergarten community by sharing elements of their culture there. In the end the teachers had to respect the wishes of the parents who did not want to become involved in that way with the kindergarten. The parents’ attitudes suggest that they saw the centre as being an environment distinct from that of their homes and culture.

Learning the English language is an important aspect for children developing an identity as a New Zealander. Speaking English gives them the ability to communicate and participate in activities, to succeed in Aotearoa/New Zealand society. The attitudes of the Korean parents in the example above, as well some others, suggest that they believe their children will learn English faster if their own language is not allowed to be a part of their early childhood centre. Another example of this comes from CC1. Rachel’s comment about Raymond and his father’s reaction to suggestions of including elements of his Chinese culture in the centre has already been cited (see 4.2). Another teacher at the centre also discussed this situation with me.

Stephanie: I’m thinking of Raymond, and we really don’t, I mean we don’t have any Chinese music which we could have, but then we come up against whether we decide what we want for the children, or whether
the parents decide. And Raymond’s father does not want anything like that at all. He wants Raymond to be a little New Zealand boy, and he’s told us that quite firmly. So what do we do? Encourage that or not?

While teachers can try to incorporate elements of a child’s home culture into the centre to make those connections and value the child’s first language, if a parent does not want it, then what other choice do teachers have than to respect the parent’s wishes? Like the Korean parents at K5, Raymond’s father did not want his cultural identity becoming part of his identity at the childcare centre.

A second example from the same centre raises different issues. In the case of Louis, a French boy who attended CCI, the parents had been encouraging of the teachers’ efforts to acknowledge Louis’ cultural background. Rachel’s comment, regarding Louis and his attitude to the teachers attempting to include his French culture in the centre has already been cited in 4.2. Stephanie also told me that Louis did not enjoy the limelight and being singled out in terms of his French culture and connections. In this example, while the parents are keen to make the links between the home and centre settings, the child himself is not. It made him feel different from the other children, and the teachers had to be careful not to make an issue of it. Stephanie went on to suggest that the way to deal with this situation was not to single Louis out but simply have the music there for all to enjoy, which is an insightful comment. That way the music of Louis’ home and culture would be a part of the centre and the connections would be made, but the emphasis would not just be on one child.

A similar example with a totally different outcome occurred at K4. At this kindergarten approximately 75% of the children were English Second Language students. The teachers were extremely aware of this and had made an effort to learn greetings in the different languages of the children attending the kindergarten. I asked Cindy about a greeting song she sang at one of the organized music sessions.

Cindy: I’ve changed it around a bit. Depending on the children there. In the afternoon session we’ve got more Arabic children so I add Hello in Arabic we can go through all the languages but I choose five.

SB: So you choose ones of the children who are in the group?
Cindy: For example, this morning with Henry, the Asian child, who’s Chinese, I sang Hello in Chinese and looked directly at him and he grinned and he felt really special. It had been used especially for him and he knew.

This song was a way that children’s ethnic identities were positively recognized through a combination of language and music. This example shows a child’s identity and sense of self being affirmed. Henry, unlike Louis, was one of many children in the centre who spoke another language and identified with another culture. In his case being singled out like this made him feel special and different in a positive way.

As mentioned above, teachers at centres with a strong multicultural presence are faced with different challenges with implementing biculturalism. Teachers in such situations may question the appropriateness of teaching children Māori language, when the priority, from the perspective of the children’s parents, is that they learn English. Raymond’s father, for example, as discussed earlier, was adamant about wanting his son to learn English. Learning Māori phrases alongside English ones may take away the focus from English for some children. At K5 the teachers drew my attention to the fact that there were ESL children who could count in Māori, and knew their colours in Māori before they knew them in English. Somehow the teachers must reconcile the two perspectives: the parents’, which focuses on the acquisition of the English language in the early childhood educational setting, and the principle of biculturalism, which is part of the curriculum and the charter of every early childhood centre. Furthermore, learning about Māori culture and language is also a part of these children developing their identity as New Zealanders.

Winona: Well, it’s part of the curriculum that’s here in the kindergarten and they have come to this country. You fit in at times. I mean, if you went over there you’d have to fit in. But still they come, and it’s great, I mean they really do try and fit in.

Winona sees it as part of the children “fitting in” to the kindergarten. Biculturalism is an aspect of the early childhood educational environment that is approached
carefully by teachers in centres with large numbers of children who are learning to speak English. Teachers are aware of the need to balance the adherence of a bicultural philosophy with the need to focus on development of English language skills.

5.3 Music and Te Whāriki

Only eight of the forty-five teachers interviewed made explicit references to me about Te Whāriki and music. Of those eight, seven referred to the curriculum in the course of discussing the role of Māori culture and music in the centre. The issue of biculturalism has been examined separately above, but it is significant to note that almost the entire small group of teachers who did relate Te Whāriki to music did so only in relation to Māoritanga.

The one teacher who made a purely musical connection to the curriculum has already been introduced in Chapter 4. Penny at K3 related music to Te Whāriki when discussing the use of popular music in her centre.

Penny: It’s part of the Belonging in Te Whāriki. This is music from the children’s homes. By having it at kindergarten it makes the two places connect; they feel they can belong here.

The first Goal listed under the Strand of Belonging – Mana Whenua is this: Children and their families experience an environment where connecting links with the family and the wider world are affirmed and extended (1996: 56). This is exactly what Penny is describing; the pop songs are one of the connecting links with the world outside the centre and their family. Penny’s remarks illustrate clearly an example of music being used as a tool to achieve one of Te Whāriki’s aims. The pop songs do indeed form a link between the setting of the children’s homes and the setting of early childhood centre. Penny saw this connection as being a positive one for the children, making the environment of the centre less threatening and alien.
However, when I presented this example as part of a paper at a conference of music educators in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Bodkin 2000) I was met with an outcry. Many of those present were horrified at the growing role of pop music in early childhood centres and were outraged that the early childhood curriculum could be used to mitigate its presence. They saw this case as an example of a teacher using *Te Whāriki* to justify the playing of pop songs. Popular music was perceived as an undesirable form of musical influence and the curriculum was being used (ab-used?) in order to make the playing of such music validated.

I would argue that Penny’s justification is a sound one. The pop songs did form a connection between the home and the centre. *Te Whāriki* is a deliberately loose framework, allowing early childhood educators and parents the control over its implementation. Penny’s interpretation of the role of popular music in her kindergarten is in the spirit of the document. However, at the same time *Te Whāriki* is intended to be used for planning, assessment, and evaluation in early childhood education and in this situation the curriculum has not been used to plan for music, as such, but rather to justify a musical situation that has arisen in the kindergarten. There are two issues here, the first is whether or not it is appropriate to apply *Te Whāriki* in hindsight, to use it to make sense of something which is already happening. The second concerns the issue of popular music itself. I cannot help but think that if the same situation had arisen with a teacher applying the principles of the curriculum to a situation that didn’t use an ‘undesirable’ type of music the parents and educators at the conference presentation would not have been concerned at all. The real issue then, is not the use of *Te Whāriki*, per se, but the presence of pop songs in the early childhood world.

While only a very small number of teachers made an explicit reference to *Te Whāriki* and music, it was implicitly present in the comments of many others. Joan, for example, who talked about the importance of acknowledging the children’s contribution when playing their tapes of popular music has already been mentioned in relation to the Strand of Contribution – Mana Tangata. Tavita’s remarks about

26 See, for example, Wendy Lee (1996).
how exercising to pop music in his centre helped children “get in touch with their bodies” bring to mind Strand 5, Exploration – Mana Aotūroa and the Goal that: “Children experience an environment where they gain confidence in and control of their bodies” (1996: 16). Alice, on the subject of the bringing of musical tapes from home told me: “It’s an affirmation of that child and their culture and also to help them feel less estranged and more at home.” In one statement she makes reference to and encompasses two of Te Whāriki’s Strands: Belonging, as discussed above, and also Contribution and the Goal that: “Children experience an environment where they are affirmed as individuals” (1996: 16). Joar, Tavita, and Alice are just three examples of teachers who used the language and concepts of Te Whāriki in their remarks about musical activities. This could suggest that while the curriculum and musical activities may not appear to be linked in the teachers’ approach to music at face value, it nevertheless is apparent when one penetrates the surface. It is possible to take teachers’ comments about music in the centres and make direct parallels to the curriculum document.

Where Te Whāriki made its most notable impact musically, was in terms of teachers developing a multicultural approach to music in the centres where there were a number of children from different cultural backgrounds. There are three Goals from Te Whāriki that are especially pertinent here:

Belonging: Goal 1 – Children and their families experience an environment where connecting links with the family and the wider world are affirmed and extended. (Ministry of Education 1996: 56)

Communication: Goal 3 – Children experience an environment where they experience the stories and symbols of their own and other cultures. (Ministry of Education 1996: 78)

Communication: Goal 4 – Children experience an environment where they discover and develop different ways to be creative and expressive. (Ministry of Education 1996: 80)

The learning outcomes under these Goals and others also are significant here. For example, under Communication: Goal 2 – “Children develop confidence that their
first language is valued" (1996: 76). Communication: Goal 4 is further expounded in the section marked ‘learning outcomes’ to explain “children develop an increasing familiarity with a selection of the art, crafts, songs, music, and stories which are valued by the cultures in their community” (1996: 80). Te Whāriki then, is directing teachers towards acknowledging and including the cultures of all the children in their centres.

As discussed above, teachers at centres with children from different cultural backgrounds, in pursuit of these Goals and learning outcomes had actively sought after music from the homes of children who were from other cultures, with varying results. In the case of the Korean families at K5 the teachers were unable to follow the directions of Te Whāriki in terms of showing value for the symbols and signs of the children’s Korean culture, valuing their first language, or make connecting links between the family home setting and the centre. Instead, they had to show a different sort of acknowledgement, they had to respect the beliefs of the parents who wanted their children to be educated in an environment that was purely ‘Kiwi’ and not influenced by their own culture. Similarly the teachers at CC1 had to acknowledge the wishes of Raymond’s father, who wanted his son to learn to speak English, and did not want Chinese culture to be a part of the childcare centre.

These are examples of where the theory of Te Whāriki conflicts with the practical realities of teaching. It would appear that some parents do not want to establish connecting links between the settings of home and centre. They see the early childhood centre as being a place distinct to that of the home, a place where their child can learn to be a New Zealander. Their culture is regarded as part of their home and as such, private and not part of the public world.

Willberg’s (2001) reaction to music and Te Whāriki has been a strong one. As a lecturer in music of early childhood teachers she has been unable to sense a secure place in the document for the role of music for its own sake: the development of musical skills and musical appreciation. Instead, Willberg suggests that music is given too much of a role as a tool for other learning.

Music is included among the wide range of examples that illustrate the goals and is seen as a means to achieve some of the important outcomes in children’s development. For example,
using the cultural music of the child’s own heritage can reinforce that this place is one which values the child as an individual and as a member of a particular community, adds to the child’s feeling of belonging and also to a sense that she has something to contribute. Playing instruments, creating melodies and chants, or moving expressively to music, can be powerful means of communicating and expressing feelings, problem solving and taking on another’s point of view. Music is identified as an enjoyable way to connect with people and can foster feelings of competence and confidence in expressing ideas that reinforce aspects of learning. However, *Te Whāriki* does not strongly articulate the idea that music is worthy of study for its own sake and that there are developmental imperatives for the development of music skills in early childhood. (2001: 36)

Willberg goes on to note the importance of learning such skills in early childhood as singing in tune and hearing melodies internally.

To examine Willberg’s ideas in relation to my own study I combined the answers to two questions about musical outcomes for children and looked at what the teachers actually thought they were achieving through music in their centres. The two questions were:

1) What do you expect from children during sessions of music making? For example, do you expect them to sing in tune or follow the actions?

2) What is the most important outcome for children from music making? What are the other outcomes you can think of?

I deliberately planted musical outcomes in the first question to bring these into the minds of the interviewee. I combined the answers to these two questions to give the broadest view of the teachers’ ideas about the role of music in their centres.

Forty teachers were asked these questions. The answers covered a wide range of outcomes and expectations. I grouped the answers together into fourteen different categories. A similar question was asked of one hundred preschool teachers in India in a study by Jaya (1988) who asked the teachers to indicate the scope of music in helping children individually and in groups. The teachers in Jaya’s study gave the following eleven responses: calm down, enjoy rhythm and movement, develop motor co-ordination, acquire concepts, concentrate, receive recognition, sense of
belonging, participation, avoid crying, overcome anxiety, get rid of shyness (1988: 179). The teachers in my research covered a far wider range than those in the Jaya study. These are listed and explained in more detail where required below:

Table 4: Outcomes and expectations of music for children

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>enjoyment</td>
<td>musical participation, group work</td>
<td>self-expression, exploration</td>
<td>feeling good about themselves and their actions</td>
<td>being able to choose whether or not to participate</td>
<td>aiding language development and skills</td>
<td>music as a sign of cultural identity</td>
<td>music as an aid to soothe the young children</td>
<td>increasing body awareness and skill</td>
<td>encouraging development of these</td>
<td>concepts such as counting, colours</td>
<td>to experience success and gain an enthusiasm for music</td>
<td>to be exposed to many different kinds of musical styles</td>
<td>for example, beat, rhythm, dynamics</td>
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As the table shows, collectively the teachers covered a multitude of learning possibilities from music. Willberg’s teachers expressed many of the same outcomes
as those given above (2001: 117). The numbers of teachers who gave each answer in my study are shown in a graph format in the next figure.

Figure 4: Number of teachers who suggested each musical outcome/expectation

The graph illustrates clearly that almost all the teachers felt that enjoyment and fun were the key outcomes of music in early childhood education. The teachers placed more importance on fun than anything else; they expected the children to enjoy themselves. As Cindy stated, “Enjoyment, you can talk till you’re blue in the face about all the skills that they gain and that sort of thing, but the underlying importance of enjoyment, we’re allowed to enjoy.” It is interesting to contrast this expectation with the teachers’ own feelings towards music in the centres. As discussed in Chapter 3, many of the teachers experienced negative feelings towards music themselves, often expressing a distinct lack of enjoyment. It is somewhat ironic that these same individuals want the children to experience musical enjoyment.
Perhaps, though, it is in face of their own lack of enjoyment of music, and particularly their own experiences when they were young, that these teachers are so focused on musical enjoyment. Because they were put off music at a young age they are determined for that not to happen to the children in their care. Another factor might be what is inherent in Cindy’s comment, that if the children don’t first have that enjoyment, then nothing else will follow, the musical skills, the language skills etc, none of these will get through if the child is not simply enjoying music.

One of the responses that I found the most unexpected was “Musical success”. For eight teachers it was important that the children were not put off music by their musical experiences in the early childhood centre. They wanted the children to succeed in their musical activities. This follows on from the previous paragraph and the level of importance placed on enjoyment. But for some teachers it wasn’t enough that the children just enjoyed themselves, fostering a real sense of enthusiasm for and success in music was also an issue. Again, this is possibly linked to their own musical experiences when they were growing up and not wanting the children to go through the same negative musical self-belief.

One of Willberg’s teachers referred to music as “a tool in developmental learning” and suggested that you can be “quite manipulative with music, all music in the centre is not just for children’s education, art, etc. It can be used to get attention, distract if upset, settle them” (2001: 117). The graph shows clearly the different ways that the teachers in my study felt that music was used as a tool for learning and other things in the early childhood environment. Teachers are aware of the many ways that music is used in a non-musical sense: for example, how it supports language development, how it can function as a means to allow children to be creative and explore different sounds, or how it can be used for exercise.

As an outsider I am able to look at the teachers’ responses to the role of music in early childhood education and apply the Principles and Strands of Te Whāriki to their answers. For example, connections can be made between the Guiding Principle of Empowerment and the three teachers who answered that music was significant in terms of self-esteem, that it gave children opportunities to feel good about
themselves. The importance of experiencing musical success, another outcome expressed by eight of the teachers can also be linked to this Principle. Creativity, an outcome suggested by eleven teachers, can be linked to the Strand of Exploration, most specifically to the learning outcome that: Children develop the confidence to choose and experiment with materials, to play around with ideas, and to explore actively with all the senses (p88). As well as the Strand of Communication, Goal 4: Children experience an environment where they discover and develop different ways to be creative and expressive (p72). Music as social experience, an expectation brought up by twenty-five teachers, can be related to the Strand of Contribution, particularly the Goal: Children experience an environment where they are encouraged to learn with and alongside others (p64). Likewise, the response of exercise as an outcome can be linked to the Strands of Well-being: Children experience an environment where their health is promoted (p48), and Exploration: Children experience an environment where they gain confidence in and control over their bodies (p86).

It is easy from the perspective of researcher to put the Te Whāriki into music within the centres; to look at the teachers' responses and make the correlations between Principles, Strands, and Goals of the curriculum, and answers about music's role. But this raises the question: are teachers unconsciously aware of its influence? Am I applying the curriculum to their answers or is the curriculum inherent within their approach to music in the centre? The lack of explicit references to Te Whāriki when discussing music would suggest that teachers rarely linked the two. However, as discussed above, the language and concepts of Te Whāriki were implicitly present in conversations I had with teachers about music. Furthermore, when examining the teachers' responses to questions about the outcomes and expectations of musicking it is possible to see distinctive elements of the curriculum within their answers. Willberg herself suggests that the document does not set out to suggest the full range of music that should be happening in early childhood education, leaving the interpretation of its goals to teachers (2001: 153-4). The document has a holistic approach to education and indeed its approach to music is
consistent with this. It has “resisted telling practitioners what to do by ‘forcing’ each
programme to ‘weave’ its own curriculum pattern” (May and Carr 1997: 230). The
approach to music suggested by the teachers’ responses is also in keeping with the
holistic and integrated perspective. The teachers’ responses to my questions about
the role of music in terms of expectations and outcomes can be interpreted as being
consistent with Te Whāriki and reflects how they are indeed, ‘weaving’ their own
musical patterns.

This brings us to Willberg’s main criticism of the document: that from the
perspective of music educators there are consequences from this holistic approach to
music that cause concern.

Musical skills such as singing in tune, listening with focus and using playing and moving
techniques to express ideas and feelings, suggested as a curriculum by music educators, are
subsumed in the strands and goals of Te Whāriki, and may struggle for a place in the centre
programme. (2001: 154)

Willberg is suggesting that Te Whāriki’s neglect of music for music’s sake may lead to
eyearlly childhood teachers leaving behind developing musical skills in favour of using
music as a tool in other areas.

Responses to the questions about musical outcomes and expectation in my
research would tend to support Willberg’s accusations. My data shows that the
majority of teachers in my study did not place an importance on the children gaining
musical skills in early childhood education. Only 10 of the teachers, twenty-five
percent of those questioned, gave musical skills as one of their answers. This may
have implications for children’s future musical abilities and skills. Research has
shown that learning to sing in tune, for example, is an important part of young
point of saying no; they didn’t expect the children to sing in tune. Only four teachers
remarked on the importance or showed any awareness of children learning to sing in
tune in their early childhood years.

There were also responses that bordered on the fringe of musical outcomes. The
seven teachers, for example, who considered the development of listening skills
important and the three who mentioned exposure to many different kinds of music,
these answers are musically focused. The ten teachers who saw music as a means of self-expression and exploration also expressed a goal that might be perceived as a musical skill.

However, I am not convinced of *Te Whāriki*’s relevance to this lack of pure musical objectives. I would posit that teachers’ individual musical knowledge and sense of self is as much to blame. Four of the six teachers who said they didn’t expect the children to sing in tune went on to make disparaging remarks about their own lack of tunefulness, for example, “I can’t sing in tune so I can hardly expect the children to, can I?” This shows again how so much depends on the teachers themselves. These teachers, who did not have musical confidence or musical self-belief, could not see past what they perceived as their own musical shortcomings. Chapter 3 discussed the level of musical confidence and highlighted the low level of many of the teachers. I believe that teachers who do not perceive themselves to be musical are unable to believe themselves capable of passing on musical skills to the children they are teaching. Willberg also, when discussing the curriculum and the teachers’ own awareness of their music programme, suggested that the teachers’ lack of confidence in their own knowledge in musical activities affected the delivery of music in the centre (2001: 156). With regard to this she saw *Te Whāriki* as not being “forthcoming with helpful suggestions” but I would challenge whether it was the role of the curriculum to provide information in such an area.

While *Te Whāriki* certainly does not push musical skills or knowledge, music is nevertheless an integrated element of the document. Willberg suggests that “some musical expertise is required on the part of the teachers, to draw together the principles, strands, goals and suggested learning outcomes of *Te Whāriki* into a music education curriculum” (2001: 154). I would argue that teachers are already using the document and making sense of the music in their centres in terms of *Te Whāriki*’s language, spirit, and intent.

I can find the music in *Te Whāriki*. To me it appears as one of the many threads that run through the document both explicitly and implicitly. *Te Whāriki* mentions children developing “an increasing ability to keep a steady beat through speech,
chants, dances, or movement to simple rhythmic patterns” (1996: 80). It suggests that children moving to school from early childhood centres are likely to “enjoy making music, and be developing a feeling for rhythm, singing, and improvisation” (1996: 73). Perhaps music’s position in the curriculum could be strengthened to increase teachers’ awareness of the importance of laying strong musical foundations in early childhood, but I suggest that the real barrier to early childhood musical experiences lies within the teachers themselves.

5.4 Music and Culture

Robert Walker has suggested that the enormous edifice of Western musical theory and practice is a cultural artifact, a product of a learned belief system (Walker 1990). While he applies this in relation to musical theory and performance, it can be extended further into what shapes ideas about musicality. I suggest there are learned belief systems in Pākehā, Samoan, and Māori cultures that contribute to the musical identities of their members. A person’s culture’s musical beliefs, behaviours and expectations shape an individual’s belief system. It moulds how a teacher feels about themselves in musical terms and contributes to defining their musical identity.

Chapter 3.3 identified certain elements that contributed to the creation of an individual’s level of musical confidence, and their subsequent musical identity. Some of these elements acted as inhibitors to the development of a strong level of musical confidence, while others acted as stimulants. The inhibitors were classified as being: the myths of talent and tone-deafness, a belief in the need for specialized training, comparison with others, instrument skills, a high level of skills (virtuosity), and a focus on musical performance, often on an individual level. The stimulants were found to be a high level of musicking in family and social life, a focus on group participation rather than performance, and a strong enjoyment of music. These elements can be regarded as being related to cultural constructs of music and musicality.
The attitudes and beliefs about music of Pākehā, Samoan, and Māori cultures can be illustrated by the behaviour of teachers within the context of early childhood education. At the same time these values are propagated and passed on to the children attending the centres. As Morton (1996) found with her study on becoming Tongan, the process of socialization is bound up with the process of cultural identity. In this case the musical values that exist in Pākehā, Māori and Samoan cultures are imparted through the way that the adults in early childhood centres interact musically with the children. Of particular significance are the roles and behaviour that adults model during group gatherings that involve music in the centre.

These differences between cultures are reflected in the microcosm of the early childhood centre. The ways that music occurs together with the ways that teachers and children participate in musical activities in language groups, kindergartens and childcare centres provide evidence that contrasting attitudes towards music and musicality exist within these cultures. For example, in the language groups one individual was never observed taking a musical activity by themselves. There was always at least two teachers involved, both of whom took an equal role. Most of the time all of the teachers in the centre joined in the musical activities at group gatherings. Significantly, no one teacher had a stronger role in the music session, song choice was shared, as was beginning and ending the session.

This group approach to music in the kōhanga and a'oga reflects the approach to music that exists in the cultures generally. In Māori culture, for example, musical activities revolve around group activities, the focus is not on an individual, but on group participation and involvement:

The place of waiata in the Māori culture is of extreme importance not just for the messages that they contain but also because they are a part of a session such as the whaikōrero and a part of the speech process which complements the speaker and enables the people of that iwi to support the speaker by singing, thus reaffirming their tribal oneness. . . . Waiata are learnt in a group with other members of the whānau, rather than in isolation. (Tangaere 1997: 25)

Music reflects societal beliefs and concepts and the importance of the group, rather than the individual, is a recognized part of Māori culture, see for example King (1985: 12-13) already cited in 1.7, who referred it as having values that were communally,
rather than individually based. Similarly, in Samoan culture the emphasis is on the group not an individual. An important feature of Samoan society is that individual and personal development is regarded as secondary to the interests of the community as a whole (Linkel 1995: 17).

In contrast to the group approach to music of the teachers in the a’oga and kōhanga, with one exception, music sessions were led by an individual teacher in the kindergartens and childcare centres. While other teachers might participate also, they were not equally responsible for the session but on the outside. They were bystanders to the musical leadership of one teacher. This individual teacher chose the music, gave the instructions and organized the session. I posit that this is indicative of attitudes towards music in Pākehā culture, where ideals focus on individual excellence, talent, formal training, and performance. The individualistic attitude towards music of Pākehā culture can be seen in the approach to music found at CC3. In this centre, out of a group of nine teachers who worked there, the same person always took the organized music session. Only on the day when she did not work in the centre did someone else take responsibility for the running of the music session. Another centre, CC1, which held mini concerts at lunchtime where individual children stood and ‘performed’ songs for the other children also provides an example of the performance approach to music present in Pākehā culture.

It is not only teacher participation that is significantly different between the language groups and the other centres in the study, but the participation of the children and the role of music in the centre generally. As Chapter 2 showed, it was an expectation in all of the language groups that all of the children would participate in musical activities. However, only three of the eight kindergartens and childcare centres had a similar expectation of full participation, in the other five centres participation in music sessions was voluntary. Music was a part of every group gathering in the language groups, while it was often a part of group gatherings in the kindergartens and childcare centres, it did not always happen. Songs were just one element of general group gatherings in the Pākehā centres and often were replaced by stories, general discussion, or news sharing.
The teachers' levels of musical confidence, as discussed in Chapter 3, can also be related to cultural concepts of music. While only a small study there was a clear difference in attitudes towards music between the Pākehā, Māori, and Samoan teachers. The data showed that, as a group, the teachers at the language groups had a higher level of musical confidence. Eleven of the thirteen language group teachers were placed in the high to moderate range, and the only language group teacher to have a very low level of confidence was Pākehā. In contrast to this, six of the thirteen kindergarten teachers, and seven of the nineteen childcare centre teachers had low to very low musical confidence. A similar result was found in the Boyack study which noted that Māori students were significantly more positive about their singing self-efficacy than Pākehā students (2000: 86). Again, I posit that this is due to different attitudes and beliefs about music that can be found in Pākehā, Māori, and Samoan cultures.

The elements, identified by teachers in the kindergartens and childcare centres which contributed to the construction of their musical identity, can be regarded as key aspects of Pākehā, or Western, musical culture. Instrumental skills, the concept of being tone deaf, the issue of talent, and of being a skilled performer on an instrument, these were all raised by Pākehā teachers with low levels of musical confidence. All of these concepts have been discussed by Small (1977, 1998), Campbell (1998), and Kingsbury (1988) as being influential in Western musical culture.

One of the issues raised by teachers who could play an instrument (such as Amanda, Jenny, Ben, and Veronica) was whether or not they were sufficiently skilled to play in the context of the centre. These three teachers, while having a moderate level of musical confidence, did not feel confident playing their instruments in the kindergarten, because they did not think they were good enough. While Kingsbury’s ethnography of an American conservatory of music is set in a context quite different to my study it nevertheless raises a similar issue. While the level of musical ability and awareness is on a completely different scale, the students still had trouble believing themselves truly musical.
Conservatory life is about talent. Musical talent is at once the most pervasive phenomenon and the biggest issue in conservatory life. While everyone in the conservatory “has” talent (that is, everyone feels that she or he is talented and is perceived by certain others, such as various teachers and admissions committees, as having talent), it is also the case that very nearly all of them, or at least nearly all students, are very much concerned with how much talent they have, and sometimes with whether they “really” have talent at all. (Kingsbury 1988: 59)

So it seems that the teachers experiencing a lack of confidence concerning their own limited instrumental and musical skills in early childhood centres in Aotearoa/New Zealand have something in common with Kingsbury’s students studying at a conservatory of music in America. In both cases it is a matter of self-doubt and self-perception. It is also not simply a matter of being musical or nonmusical, it is a question of being musical enough in comparison to others. For the teachers mentioned earlier who did not think they were musical because they didn’t play an instrument or read music, it was a matter of having those skills. For the teachers who could play an instrument it was a question of not being more skilled or “successful” enough. Yet, even at the highest level of instrumental skill, as the example from Kingsbury’s study shows, self-doubt about the level of musical talent still exists.

To a lesser extent, the attitudes of Amanda, Veronica, Ben, and Jenny to their limited instrumental skills also reflects the concept of musical virtuosity. The focus is on a high level of achievement and skill, rather than on participation and enjoyment:

... we should recognize that our own methods of training musicians do sacrifice elements of the essential musicality of man, in pursuit of the ideals of individual virtuosity and standardization of technique. It could be that we have something to learn from other cultures. Virtuosity, it must be understood, does exist in other musical cultures (hear Louis Armstrong and Jimi Hendrix!), but it is a by-product of the pursuit of music; it is only in traditional western culture that it is an end in itself, and we should be aware of the price we pay for it, especially in terms of musical communality, in terms of the ability of all to take an active part, not just as listener or even as one who realizes the ideas of others, but in the creative process itself. (Small 1977: 198-99)

Small’s statement rings true for the example of these teachers. Jenny, Veronica, and Amanda have indeed stopped taking an active part in musical activities in the centre with their instruments, because they believe themselves not skilled enough.
Comparison to others was identified in Chapter 3 as being fundamental to many of the teachers' ideas about being musical; they did not see themselves as being musical because they compared their own abilities and skills in music to someone else who could do the things that they could not. This raises the question: why compare at all? Why did the teachers think it was necessary to compare themselves to others? Why could they not think of themselves as musical without making reference to anybody else? I argue that it is because in Pākehā culture, as in Western culture, there exists the concept of musicality being an attribute of a select few.

Of all the phrases that have gelled into a kind of common usage, few have been as devastating to children's musical development as that of "talent." This Eurocentric concept of musical talent evokes thoughts of Mozart, the wunderkind, composing at five and performing in the grand European courts as a schoolchild. It creates images of musical participation for the very few: richly endowed geniuses who manifest enormous musical memories while still in the nursery, virtuosic performers with their pyrotechnic displays of athletic agility in top speed passages, and composers who think profound and "universal" musical thoughts and structures to commit to paper. These images of musical prodigies bring to mind the rare and enormously gifted individuals and set them up as freaklike and marginal to society; these prodigies may be seen as so distinguished as to possess superhuman abilities that separate them from the "norm," the mainstream. (Campbell 1998: 169)

What Campbell is saying is that a Western perception of being musical focuses on an elite group of individuals who have the talent: the great composers, or virtuosic performers. I believe that this perception can be seen in the beliefs and attitudes of some of the Pākehā teachers in the study, who had difficulty using the term 'musical' to describe themselves, because it is a term they associated with an elite few.

The concept of being tone-deaf, or unable to sing in tune, is another that was particularly prevalent among the teachers who had a low level of musical confidence. Significantly, none of the Māori or Samoan teachers told me they were tone-deaf or couldn't sing in tune, while several Pākehā teachers did. Boyack (1999: 91) suggests that tone-deafness is a myth that persists in families and schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This is a concept, I would argue, that is present in Pākehā culture only, not Māori and Samoan cultures. Small acknowledges that it is a very real issue in Western musical thought:
If the number of young people of student age who have passed through my classes is any indication, there must be millions of people in Western industrial societies who have accepted the judgement passed upon them and classed themselves as unmusical and even as something called "tone-deaf." Where that odious term came from I do not know, and what it can really mean I am not sure. (Small 1998: 211)

Like the students Small refers to, the teachers in my study who had been told they were tone-deaf also believed they were nonmusical. Stephanie, Jo, and Joan, all three struggled with music. Stephanie and Jo found music particularly threatening and could relate this directly to their concepts of themselves as tone-deaf, nonmusical, and untalented.

Concepts of musicality in Western culture are reinforced through publications as well. Mary Renck Jalongo, a teacher of undergraduate and graduate courses in early childhood education in the US, has twice published articles in the journal Young Children (1985, 1996) which use the label 'nonmusical'. The most recent opens with a definition of what it means to be nonmusical:

If you can't play an instrument, you never learned to read music, you think that your voice is below average, you're convinced that you are tone deaf, somebody told you that you had no musical talent or asked you not to sing, or if your background in music is limited to listening to the radio, then this article is written for you-- you are a nonmusician! (1996: 6)

This paragraph practically summarizes all of the comments from the teachers in my study who do indeed consider themselves to be nonmusicians. In terms of their musical identities and the elements leading to their construction, Jalongo has personified them perfectly. However, this does not mean that she is right to do so. From the outset the nonmusician is labeled in a very negative way. While the basic argument of her writing is a positive one: that it is not necessary to have formal performance skills in music to have a successful music programme at the early childhood level, nevertheless the way in which the article is written and the tone set at the outset is a damaging one. She is reinforcing the image of the nonmusician. The concept of nonmusician needs to be challenged.

Ethnomusicologist John Blacking, for example, in How Musical is Man? addresses many of these issues, particularly those equating musical performance with musicality.
Children are judged to be musical or unmusical on the basis of their ability to perform music. And yet the very existence of a professional performer ... depends on listeners who in one important respect must be no less musically proficient than he is. They must be able to distinguish and interrelate different patterns of sound. (1973: 9)

Blacking focuses on music as a form of communication. Musicality and being musical is being able to understand and respond to this humanly organized sound. Different cultures have different systems and ways of organizing those sounds. Blacking uses the term ‘sonic order’ (1973: 11) and suggests that a perception of sonic order must be in a listener’s mind before it emerges as music.

Jalongo’s articles are an example of how cultural concepts of music and musicality can define people in terms of those who are musical and those who are not. It exemplifies what Blacking is challenging nearly 25 years earlier. You are musical if you learned to read music or play an instrument, if you did not, then you are nonmusical. I define ‘musical’ in terms of Blacking’s work. You are musical if you enjoy and can respond to music, if you can understand and relate to the messages it is expressing; therefore no-one is ‘nonmusical’.

Perhaps what illustrates the difference between Pākehā and Māori constructions of musicality most clearly is a comment from a teacher at TKR2. Cathy, like many Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand grew up in an environment where Pākehā culture dominated, but as she got older the presence of Māori culture in her life got stronger:

Cathy: Also important for me was linking where the waiata actually fits into the cultural aspect because I was brought up in a family that was Māori but was brought up white, and that was the way we were going to get ahead, to be educated and that sort of thing. I don’t begrudge my parents that, because it was a sign of the times, but it’s really nice to go back and pick up things that I’m actually really close to but hadn’t known it before.

SB: What sort of things?
Cathy: Well, you know, getting up and doing a waiata supporting someone after a mihi was sort of a threatening [thing]. I felt threatened
doing it. Now, it's just become second hand because it's a process ... and it's just part of what I do.

For this teacher the rebirth of her Māori identity affected the way she related to music. While singing a waiata had made her feel threatened, with an understanding of the cultural meaning and significance of the situation, it now was something that felt natural to her. It was something she had discovered was part of her musical and cultural identity. When Cathy related to the singing of waiata through Pākehā eyes she saw it as being a threatening performance. Once she could understand what the behaviour meant in Māori culture, that she was supporting a speaker, and that it was part of the process of marae protocol, it became second nature to her.

I would suggest that in Māori and Samoan cultures the focus musically is on group participation. This is borne out by the existence of musical forms such as the kapa haka. This is a Māori traditional dancing and singing art form where groups of males and females sing together. There are regional and national kapa haka competitions and it is a strong part of Māori culture, as can be seen by the number of references to it in comments from Māori teachers. In addition to this there are Polynesian Festivals that also feature Māori and Pacific Island singing and dancing groups, the Auckland secondary schools’ annual Polynesian Festival of Arts is one such example. The point here is that while a high standard of skill and expertise is part of these events, the emphasis is on a group, not an individual. Participation is a key element and the audience often participates alongside the performers on stage, by clapping and stamping in time to the music.

The importance on group participation in Māori culture is also reinforced by the role of waiata in marae protocol. As previously discussed, waiata are part of the process of entering a marae. They are sung after a kōrero (speech), and in this way the members of the group show support for the speaker and his speech by singing together. Waiata are learned in a group situation, not taught individually. Perhaps this concept is best summed up in the words of Greg Tata, a vibrant and charismatic music educator in Aotearoa/New Zealand who died in 1998. “Māori music has its own strength. Its strength is not in the individual but in the corporate effort” (Tata
Likewise, Boyack (2000: 72, 74) found that her Māori subjects related their high level of singing self-efficacy to aspects of the approach to music within their culture, such as kapa haka, and the role of music in supporting a group.

I posit that a connection can be made between the beliefs about music in Samoan, Māori, and Pākehā cultures, and the teachers’ levels of musical confidence. The emphasis placed on musical participation in Māori and Samoan cultures has resulted in the high number of teachers in the language groups who are musically confident. In Māori and Samoan culture it is expected, not only that everyone will participate in music, but that everyone will be able to, that everyone is musically talented. Whereas the pursuit of musical excellence, combined with the concept that only a limited few can be musically talented, ideals present within Pākehā culture, has led to the development of a number of teachers in kindergartens and childcare centres throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand who believe themselves musically inferior and inadequate.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the final level of Bronfenbrenner’s model, the macrosystem. Four different concepts within the macrosystem and how they affect the developing teacher musically have been explored here: the issues of biculturalism and multiculturalism, the early childhood curriculum, and the influence of culture.

The issue of biculturalism is one that affects kindergartens, childcare centres, and a’oga amata alike. This chapter has shown the differences in the level of biculturalism throughout the centres. It has demonstrated how so much depends on teachers within a centre sharing the same approach to implementing biculturalism. The importance of courses and training in te reo, as well as having resources that teachers are confident using, is fundamental to the role of Māori culture in early childhood centres.

Teachers, parents, and children can all have different perspectives on inclusion of a child’s home language and culture in the daily activities of the centre. Teachers
usually see inclusion of a child's own culture as an important part of acknowledging their identity, and a way to make connections between the home and the early childhood centre. Indeed, *Te Whāriki* demands such acknowledgement. Yet parents might not necessarily agree with this, seeing the early childhood centre as a place for learning English and becoming a New Zealander. Children might see attention being given to their language and culture as being unnecessarily singled out, particularly in centres where there are a small number of children in this situation. However, inclusion of a child's first language and culture can also make them feel acknowledged and valued, and, as intended in *Te Whāriki*, affirm their sense of self.

The connections between *Te Whāriki* and music are not always explicit, and it has been criticized for using music as a tool to achieve other means. Yet teachers generally showed an awareness of the curriculum in relation to music and used its language when talking about musical activities within the centres. *Te Whāriki* is descriptive rather than prescriptive. It gives teachers to freedom to interpret the document in their own way, to weave their own musical patterns.

Finally, this chapter has examined culture as a part of the macrosystem. It has discussed cultural concepts of musicality in Pākehā, Samoan, and Māori cultures and how these affect the developing teacher. It has shown how the group participation approach to music that can be seen within Māori and Samoan cultures has led to the development of more musically confident teachers in the language groups. In contrast to this, the musical ideals of virtuosity, performance, talent, and the concept that only a talented minority are musical has led to a number of teachers in the kindergartens and childcare centres feeling musically inadequate. Cultural beliefs about music and musicality affect the microsystem of the early childhood centre, from the way music occurs through to the way individual teachers approach the teaching of music.
Chapter 6: Teachers' Musical Identity

This chapter draws together the main threads of the thesis. The first section discusses the principal elements of the study, making reference to other relevant research. The second part of the chapter is an examination of the practical implications of the research and how it may help teachers approaching music in the early childhood setting. Finally, there is a reflection on the study and its limitations, followed by suggestions for directions for future research.

6.1 The Teachers' Whāriki

This research has focused on the development of early childhood teachers' concepts of and attitudes towards music. Using Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, it has examined teachers and music using an evolving framework: the microsystem of the early childhood centre itself, the mesosystem connections between the centre and other microsystems the teachers participate in, the exosystem connections with the wider world, and finally the macrosystem level of nation and culture. While Bronfenbrenner's model is usually associated with the development of children, he himself has explicitly stated that the ecology of human development is the study of development "throughout the life course" (1992: 188) and this research successfully applies the model to the study of adults: the development of early childhood teachers as teachers of music. Titon (1997: 91) referred to ethnomusicology as "the study of people experiencing music," so this research has studied early childhood teachers in Aotearoa/New Zealand experiencing music in their centres and throughout their lives. The key element of Bronfenbrenner's model is the concept of settings: the immediate settings in which the developing person exists, and the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded (1992: 188). Development occurs in context and as such should not be separated from its setting.
The picture of the teacher developing as a teacher who contributes to music in the early childhood educational context is one that is built from different levels. At one level the teacher contributes to the centre as an individual: he or she sings, dances, turns on background music, brings along CDs from home, or plays an instrument. Yet each individual is influenced by many contributing elements arising from settings in which they participate. There is the influence of others who attend the centre. The musical experiences of teachers' lives outside the centre: their home/family, their schooling, teacher training, professional development courses, all contribute to the musicking that teachers do within the setting of the centre. Most significantly they influence the perception that teachers have of themselves and their musical identity. The experiences within these settings contribute to the development of a teacher's self-perceived musical, or in some cases, nonmusical, identity.

It is not only the settings teachers participate in that affect and influence their development. Bronfenbrenner's framework shows how influences extend beyond the primary context, how settings that do not contain the developing person can nevertheless still influence them. This occurs musically in the early childhood centre through people bringing in music from other settings, such as the children bringing songs from home, or relievers introducing a new song. The most significant example of this in the early childhood context that affects the developing teacher is the children bringing in pop songs to the centre. Teachers must decide if and how such music is to be used in the centre. While none of the teachers in this study had banned popular music in their centres, this did occur in a centre in another study in Aotearoa/New Zealand that prohibited the playing of songs by one particular band (Willberg 2001). Pop songs are one of the ways that children 'try on' identities (Frith 1996), yet this raises moral issues on the use of pop songs and their appropriateness in early childhood. Are pop songs a dominant influence on the lives of young children, or are they, as Williams (2001) suggests, less significant that we might think? Although teachers might not be aware of it, they are forced to take a stance on the role of popular music in the early childhood centre. By condoning it or disallowing it they are making a moral judgement on such music and its place in the
early childhood setting. Without question, teachers are influenced musically by that which occurs in settings outside the centre itself, and in which they do not participate, such as the children’s homes.

Teachers are also influenced at the macro level of society and culture. In Aotearoa/New Zealand this can be at a bicultural or multicultural level. Bronfenbrenner’s model allows the consequences of belief systems and ideologies at this level to be explored. This research has explored the ways that teachers are influenced musically at the macro level; how issues of biculturalism and multiculturalism affect the musical choices that they make. It has also revealed how cultural conceptions of musicality influence the teachers and their participation in musicking in the centres. Most of the Māori and Samoan teachers had a high level of musical confidence, and this can be related to the approach towards musicality and musicking that can be found in these cultures, where participation and togetherness were key concepts of musicking. In contrast to this a significant number of Pākehā teachers exhibited a low level of musical confidence, many finding it a threatening part of early childhood education. This can be related to a self-perception of not measuring up to the high standards of musical achievement that exist within some spheres of Pākehā culture.

The following diagram expresses the analysis of the research in graphic form. It combines the different systems from the Bronfenbrenner model with some of the key musical concepts discussed in the thesis:

Figure 5: Musicality, musicking, and level of musical confidence

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Musicality → Musicking ← Level of Musical Confidence
Figure 5 illustrates what this study has shown. While we all begin with an inherent musicality, our level of musical confidence comes about through musicking experiences in the different settings we participate in. The level of musical confidence is directly linked to musicking experiences, the two concepts have a symbiotic relationship. A high level of musical confidence results in more involvement in musicking, for example, Anna, who had a high level of musical confidence and was actively involved in many different musicking experiences in the centre, even improvising songs about the children and their play. A low level of musical confidence is usually associated with less participation in musical experiences. This was illustrated in the examples of Jo and Stephanie: Stephanie, having been told she could not sing in tune, stopped singing at all, and Jo, who likewise believed herself tone-deaf and nonmusical, did not actively participate at music courses.

A basic assumption underlying this research has been the notion that we are all potentially musical. Blacking (1973), Small (1998), Campbell (1998) and others have drawn attention to the differences in approach to musicality in Western and some non-Western cultures. As Small asks, “but if everyone is born capable of musicking, how is it that so many people in Western industrial societies believe themselves to be incapable of the simplest musical act?” (1998: 210). This research has provided answers to that question in relation to Pākehā culture. As discussed in 3.3, our musical experiences give rise to a certain level of musical confidence. The musical concepts and beliefs that we encounter in our musicking can stimulate our level of musical confidence or inhibit it.

The following diagram explores the formation of musical identity, as revealed in this research. It represents my understanding of the way musical identity is shaped, based on the data and my analysis of it:

27 Emphasis in original.
As Figure 6 shows, musicality, both our inherent sense of ‘sonic order’ (Blacking 1979) as well as our culturally constructed sense of musicality, are part of our musical identity. Our musicking experiences are another influential factor and these help to form our level of musical confidence. There are particular beliefs and concepts that play a role in the formation of this musical confidence. They are beliefs about what it means to be musical. Elements that act as inhibitors to the development of a high level of musical confidence together with those that act as stimulants were identified in Chapter 3. Beliefs and concepts that stimulate and inhibit musical confidence are connected to cultural constructions of musicality. Small answered his own question (see above) by suggesting that it is because people have been actively taught to be unmusical (1998: 210). This research has explored some of the ways that early childhood teachers in Aotearoa/New Zealand have been actively taught to be unmusical, it has identified key factors that influence how teachers see themselves musically, and how some concepts about music inhibit the flowering of musical identity. Our musical identity is internalized through participating in our musicking
experiences. It is how we see ourselves in a musical sense. It is also reinforced externally, as illustrated by the example of Stephanie who avoided attending music courses, or for example, through articles such as those by Jalongo (1985, 1996), until it becomes, to a certain degree, a permanent part of the way we see ourselves. The implication is that the only way to change musical identity is to provide new musical experiences.

As Morton (1996) examined the processes of socialization and how they were related to the construction of children’s cultural identity, so my research has explored the ways that socialization in Pākehā, Māori, and Samoan cultures constructs our sense of musical identity. Morton found that it was through human interaction that children became Tongan. The same can be said about being musical. It is through social interactions that people come to see themselves as more or less musical. Likewise, Russell (1997) showed how Fijian children are socialized from childhood into the musical languages and practices of the surrounding culture. Of particular interest in Russell’s findings is the significance of part-singing. Part-singing occurs throughout many musical practices in Fijian life and is a particularly prevalent feature of church singing. Russell posits that part-singing, as opposed to unison singing, provides an environment where singing flourishes:

I think it is reasonable to suggest that the widespread ability of Fijians to sing is not only an indication of the value that they place on singing and on community, but that it may also be functionally related to the practice of part-singing. Part-singing accommodates different vocal registers and keeps the vocal range for each voice fairly narrow. These features are ideal for the untrained voice, the voice with a narrow pitch range, or the voice that does not “fit,” like a woman’s low voice, for example. When singing is in unison, those whose comfort range is outside the register or range of the melody are excluded, because there is nowhere for them comfortably to place their voice. People who try to sing but cannot find a place for their voice may quickly come to believe that they cannot sing. It does not take many such experiences for people to be discouraged from singing altogether. Part-singing provides places for all voices and thus permits all those who wish to sing to do so. Because part-singing lets every voice sing, it serves as a ground for the further development of singing expertise. (1997: 107)

This may also be of significance to the findings of my study. Part-singing occurred in none of the Pākehā centres, yet it was a feature of the language groups, particularly
in the Samoan centres. It is pertinent to mention here a music workshop for women training to be teachers in a'oga amata which I was privileged to attend during the course of my fieldwork. At the workshop eight individuals sang together in improvised harmony. I counted as many as five different parts during one of the songs. I would suggest that as in the case of Russell’s study in Fiji, part-singing is a strong element of Samoan culture, and also of Māori culture, in kapa haka groups, for example. As Russell posits, part-singing offers a ‘place’ for every voice (1997: 107) and it is this approach that encourages and fosters singing in these cultures. This in turn develops individuals with a strong sense of musical confidence, such as the majority of teachers in the language groups in my study. While the young children in the centres did not sing in many parts, they nevertheless are exposed to the part-singing of their teachers, and it is, as Russell suggested earlier, one of the ways that they are socialized into the musical languages of their culture.

My research has revealed the potent influence of singing experiences on an individual’s formation of their musical identity. While the prevalence of part-singing may be a significant factor in developing confident singers in Māori and Samoan cultures, the myth of tone-deafness together with the myth of talent may be equally influential in developing the low level of musical confidence shared by many of the Pākehā teachers. This is an area explored by Boyack (2000: 87) who found that for many of the participants in her study, the process of learning to sing had been curtailed by experiences which undermined self-efficacy at a time when it was vulnerable to negative outside influence.

Boyack (2000: 87) has drawn attention to the role that experiences play in the development of teachers’ musical self-beliefs. She suggests that teacher educators need to pay explicit attention to the prior experiences and the belief systems about singing that student teachers bring to curriculum courses. My research suggests that it is not only vocal development, but all musicking experiences and musical concepts that need to be considered. It is indeed an area that teacher educators should be aware of, as well as teachers themselves. Like Boyack’s study, my research shows recognition of the negative effects of such concepts, the shattering of musical self-
belief for some individuals. I would suggest that: educators need to go further than merely paying attention to prior experiences and belief systems: there is a need for a re-education about musical thinking, to wipe out the concepts of tone-deafness and musical talent elitism.

Willberg (2001: 165) concluded that the gap between the ideal picture of music in an early childhood centre and the reality of the centre that she observed were largely due to teacher competence, confidence, and self-concept as teachers of music. My research supports and adds to these findings. It has shown that on every level, a teacher’s own sense of musical identity influences the way he or she contributes to musicking in the centre and therefore the musical identity of children. This study has also related teacher competence and confidence in music to cultural concepts of musicality. It has explored how teachers’ musical self-concept develops in relation to experiences within cultural contexts.

The connections made between music and its political use in terms of national identity made by Baily (1994) and Wade (1998) have parallels within this study. As Baily (1994: 48) suggests, music is a very potent symbol of identity, and, like language, it can be used to assert identity and its emotional connections give it a power all of its own. This has been shown in my study with regard to the way songs function in the Samoan and Māori centres. A particular example is the hikoi observed in one of the centres that embodied aspects of Māori culture and history: the importance of the land, reference to the land wars, protest against monocultural domination. The use of the pate in Samoan language groups to signal the start of mat time is a way that connections with Samoan society and culture are made in the early childhood setting of the a’oga amata in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The sound of the pate is, in the words of Baily, a very potent symbol of Samoan identity.

Wade (1998: 16) suggests that, while an understanding of cultural conflict is needed when looking at music as a signifier of national identity, he wants to move away from a position which implicitly views music as a simple representation of a dominant culture set against minor ones (1998: 16). Wade challenges how we perceive cultural diversity and conflict in musical terms. This provides a thought
provoking perspective from which to view music in Samoan and Māori early childhood centres. The presence of songs in the language groups that are Māori and/or Samoan translations of songs that were originally in English present an interesting juxtaposition of cultures. In Wade's view we should not automatically examine this in terms of conflict. However, as Cathy at TKR2 informed me, Māori early childhood centres have moved away from using songs such as these. Songs that have a stronger connection to Māori culture are seen as more appropriate. I believe this is largely because of the assertion of Māori identity and culture. It is related to the past (and to a certain extent present) conflict between Pākehā and Māori cultures. The songs that are used in kōhanga reo are signifiers of a strong, self-reliant Māori identity, one that focuses on tino rangatiratanga. Songs that are Pākehā derivatives have overtones of the monocultural domination that Māori culture has fought to avoid.

Stokes (1994: 5) argues that music is socially meaningful because it provides means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries that separate them. The gradual phasing out of songs that have their origins in Pākehā culture from Māori early childhood centres is an example of music being used in a way that recognizes and defines boundaries. This gives the songs which have no Pākehā connotations that are used in Māori centres another level of social meaning, and the data shows that teachers are aware of this meaning.

In contrast to this, the teachers in the a'oga amata used songs from Pākehā culture without hesitation. Learning new Palagi songs was one of the positive aspects of going to music courses, Toni informed me, and the hardest part was translating the songs into Samoan for use in the centre. The way that songs were sung is significant, often in Samoan as well as English, and sometimes Māori also. Again, Wade's approach is pertinent here, because to view this cultural diversity in terms of conflict is not an adequate explanation. I quote once more Tanaioilelagi (1988: 11) who suggests that the role of the a'oga is not confine the children to fa'aSamoan, but to try to bridge the gap so that the children appreciate and learn to live happily in Aotearoa/New Zealand society, as well as hold on to their cultural values and
language. Singing songs in three languages is an example of bridge building. It should not be examined in terms of conflict, but rather cultural diversity and co-operation.

Ritchie (1996) suggested that acknowledgement of support for the Treaty was just the beginning for educational institutions in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The real struggle is to move beyond the policy level to practical implementation of biculturalism. This study has found that in general teachers in Pākehā centres are committed to biculturalism and this is reflected in the inclusion of Māori songs in the programme. However, it has also shown that there are different constructions of biculturalism in centres throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand. Many teachers state that they sing Māori songs, “because we have to”, an attitude that suggests a certain level of resistance to implementing biculturalism. This research has found that successful implementation of biculturalism in early childhood centres depends on strong professional development support, and confidence in singing and pronouncing Māori songs. It has shown that most of the teachers within one centre need to support biculturalism for it to have any impact on the centre beyond the superficial.

One of the Goals of Te Whāriki is that children and their families experience an environment where connecting links with the family and the wider world are affirmed and extended. Another goal is that children experience the stories and symbols of their own and other cultures. This research has shown how some teachers have attempted to approach these goals for children for whom English is a second language by encouraging connections with the children’s home culture, in the form of songs or tapes, for example. While in some cases this has been successful, in other examples, teachers have found resistance from the children’s parents who see the early childhood centre as the place for their child to learn to speak English and become a New Zealander. This raises challenging issues for early childhood teachers who need to reconcile the wishes of the parents, with the implementation of the curriculum.

6.2 Practical Applications and Implications
While this research has shown how many early childhood teachers struggle with feelings of musical inadequacy, at the same time it has uncovered the strategies used by teachers to overcome their low musical confidence. This part of the chapter details some of those techniques and suggests what the implications are for future professional development for early childhood teachers and music.

The most startling approach to overcoming fear of music was that employed by Jo and Sonia at K1. Both teachers felt insecure musically and yet they decided to confront their fears head-on. They deliberately focused on developing music in their programme in order to overcome the negative feelings they had towards it:

Jo: We took a whole term and we said, ‘this term we are going to concentrate on music,’ so we did a whole term and that’s what we concentrated on, music.

Where music had been a perfunctory part of the programme at K1, and one that both teachers dreaded, Jo and Sonia increased the role of music in the kindergarten. Singing became a key element of the organized group gathering in the centre and this often evolved into a full-blown music session. The teachers also took opportunities to become involved in spontaneous musicking in the centre: singing songs as they engaged with the children doing puzzles, for example, or taking musical instruments outside to encourage improvised instrumental play. Developing the bicultural side of the kindergarten was also a significant factor in this focus on music, as the teachers began to follow patterns of musical behaviour present in Māori culture, beginning each group time with a karakia, for example.

I would suggest that this focus on music had positive effects in two main ways. First, it made Jo and Sonia look at the role of music in the early childhood programme and how they could develop it. They started to think about ways they could get more music happening in the kindergarten, and extend the musicking that already occurred, for example, encouraging outdoor spontaneous musical activities. Second, because they were both involved in more singing and musicking they got desensitized to their own fears about music. They were singing and participating in
so much more music that they simply forgot to get anxious about it. By concentrating on music these two teachers turned a weakness into a strength. This is an approach that may benefit other teachers with similar feelings towards music.

The use of props is another technique used by some of the teachers in the study to help facilitate music-ing. Sonia found using a magnetic board with different sets of figures for different songs helped her:

Sonia: I've always needed props for anything I do... I have got hundreds of little finger puppets around the place. Over at the magnetic board... I have got a whole big set of songs.

Another teacher, Denise at K5, used a similar sort of prop on occasion during mat times. She had an apron with many little pockets and in each pocket were little animals or finger puppets for different songs or nursery rhymes. I observed her sitting with the children and singing a number of different songs, such as 'Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star,' inspired by what she found in her pockets. Having resources such as a magnetic board, or creature-filled apron, can increase a teacher’s musical confidence. Props such as these mean an individual does not have to be self-reliant. They provide concrete and tangible support for musical activities. Also the focus is shifted away from the teacher herself and on the items she has in her hands. This can help to make a teacher feel less threatened by music as well.

Maintaining the interest of the children was another significant concern of teachers that affected their musical confidence. It can be difficult to keep the children focused between songs, for example, especially if a teacher is switching tapes. It can also be off-putting for teachers taking organized music sessions that are voluntary when children participate and leave as they please. I would suggest that voluntary music sessions actually decrease teachers’ musical confidence because they feel that if children don’t participate, or come and then leave, they are failing somehow. If they have a low level of musical confidence it adds fuel to their self-belief that they are not musical. The best way to avoid this is simply to have organized music sessions that are not voluntary, but which all children (and teachers) must attend. However, if this
is not acceptable then it is important that teachers in centres where children are free
to come and go from music sessions, recognize that this behaviour is not a reflection
on their own musical abilities. It is rather a behaviour that occurs because it can.

Preparation was also observed to be a key element of musical activities in the
centres, particularly at group gatherings. The teachers at K3 avoided the interruption
of tape changing, for example, by having at their disposal a number of tapes that the
teachers had made up, each one a compilation of songs from different resources
constituting a music session. The tapes were matched with cards that had a list of all
the songs so a teacher could see at a glance what was coming next. In this way a
teacher could take an organized and structured music session that had a variety of
songs and musical activities, from start to finish without needing to take their
attention away from the children. This is an idea that could benefit other early
childhood teachers. While it took the teachers time to organize the tapes initially, in
the long term it meant the teachers were well prepared and could confidently take a
music session. This is an approach that limits children's own roles in choosing songs,
and thus conflicts within the broader ECE ideal for children (see, for example, the
guiding principle of Te Whāriki of Empowerment). However, as many of the centres
also had an organized group time that usually involved some sort of musicking, this
provides an opportunity for children to choose the songs that they wanted. Another
example of letting children make musical choices is the child instigated pop songs
that were played in the centres, and the centres that allowed access to musical
instruments also gave children the opportunity to choose music.

Not using tapes at all is another way to avoid the distraction of tape changing.
As the teachers in the language groups showed, simply by singing songs
accompanied by guitar or unaccompanied, music sessions flowed uninterrupted and
kept the children's attention. Teachers need to be encouraged to sing unaccompanied
and not rely on using tapes all the time. Some of the centres had charts on the walls
listing song titles and these are an effective way of promoting unaccompanied
singing. They provide a trigger for teachers. If they are sitting with a group of
children at mat time trying to think of what to sing next, all they need do is look at
the list. My observations showed the value of such charts. In K5, for example, I was aware of Denise referring to one as she took a mat time at the end of the session.

Some of the teachers found that they were more confident in spontaneous music-making, particularly outside. This is another technique that may help other early childhood teachers. Taking musical activities outside, away from the more formal atmosphere of the classroom is a way to help teachers with a low musical confidence. For example, showing teachers how songs such as ‘Five Currant Buns’ can be used as a part of children’s outside play. This is also an area where teachers’ skills can be extended and developed. I observed only one example of a teacher improvising a song to fit the activity of the children (Anna at CC2 and the song to the tune of ‘The Farmer in the Dell’). Teachers need to be shown ways of using music, such as making up words to a pre-existing tune, and singing about the children in a way that is appropriate and meaningful.

A feature that stood out was how alone many teachers felt when taking music, alone and vulnerable. One way to counteract this is to team-teach music, as Jo and Sonia did at K1. They supported each other, and took on the challenge of musicking in the kindergarten together. When all the teachers in a centre join in musical activities together it shifts the focus from one teacher leading, to a shared group approach. Singing songs, for example, becomes a group activity. This approach is strengthened if other adults present, such as parents, are invited to join in. In this way the teachers do not feel as though they are ‘performing’ for the parents. At K1, for example, my observations showed that the parents present always joined in the organized group time and the musicking that was part of it. It had become part of the culture of the kindergarten to do so.

While this study showed that music courses had a positive influence on some teachers, particularly if more than one teacher from a centre attended, it also suggested that such courses might not always reach those most in need of more musical help. Teachers with a very low level of musical confidence might actively avoid music courses, fearing their lack of musical skills might be exposed. I would argue that ultimately the most effective way to encourage professional development
in the area of music is to work with groups of teachers within their own centre. In this way:

1) All teachers within a centre can be included.
2) Teachers can support each other in the implementation of new ideas.
3) Musical development can be tailored to suit the needs of each centre.
4) At the same time the needs of teachers on an individual level can also be met.

Perhaps the most important outcome of this research, in terms of understanding how teachers develop as teachers of music, is the realization that teacher educators need to approach the teaching of teachers on two levels: the practical (musicking) and the personal/mental (musical identity). While teacher educators need to give early childhood teachers practical skills for taking music in the early childhood setting, at the same time they need to be aware of the musical identity of the teachers themselves. They need to connect with teachers on a personal level and look at musical beliefs and attitudes. Concepts such as ‘musicality’ should be discussed and deconstructed. Beliefs such as tone-deafness and the myth of talent need to be confronted. The negative assumptions about their own musical identity held by some early childhood teachers and teacher trainees need to be challenged.

Russell (1996: 249) has outlined how she approaches the primary teacher students in her programme who claim that they lack musicianship by providing them with musical experiences that bring to their consciousness the tacit knowledge of music that they hold. She argues that what they lack is awareness of what counts as musical knowledge, and tools to use that knowledge in teaching situations. Through discussion, focused listening, participation in performance, and lesson preparation, students built an articulated musical vocabulary and began to recognize and identify musical concepts and develop skills. The student teachers started to think of themselves as musical because they began to identify their tacit musical knowledge. What Russell is doing can be related to Blacking’s approach to musicality and his concept of a perception of sonic order (1973: 7-11). Blacking posits that listeners are equally musically proficient as composers or performers, because they are able to process and understand musical sounds within their culture’s concept of
music. Russell is effectively leading her students to this realization, encouraging them to see that they have a perception of sonic order. Accessing and recognizing tacit musical knowledge is an approach that could work with early childhood teachers in Aotearoa/New Zealand as well. It provides a way to work with teachers and get them to believe in themselves musically, to show them that they can think of themselves as musical.

6.3 Reflections and Future Directions

At the outset of this study I stated that part of my approach to research was to incorporate my own perspective, as per developments in anthropology (for example, Okley and Callaway 1992) and ethnomusicology (for example, Barz and Cooley 1997, Stock 2001). Throughout the research process I have been constantly examining my own position in the study. Like Sansom (2000) I was aware that my own personal experiences had drawn me to the research area in the first instance. Having a young child of my own and considering his musical experiences in the kindergarten he attended was what triggered my interest in early childhood education. This personal slant has been influential throughout the course of the research. It helped me to fit into the early childhood settings, to communicate with young children and their parents. I was aware of the need to participate in the centres on a practical level, to help with cleaning up, for example.

My gender identity was also a significant part of the research. The early childhood world is one that is dominated by women: the majority of teachers are women and it is usually (but not always) mothers who drop off and collect their children. As a woman I was able to enter the early childhood environment in a far less intrusive way than a man would have been able to. Being a mother added to this ease. It made me less of an outsider, because through motherhood and gender I was an insider in the early childhood context. This was an aspect of my own identity that I consciously used, particularly to promote a relaxed atmosphere in the interview process. As Oakley (1981) used her own experience and identity to develop a
connection between herself and her informants, so I used mine to encourage connections with the teachers in the study.

Being pregnant during most of the fieldwork process also played a role in the research. Without question it helped to establish my presence on a personal level, rather than a purely academic, research oriented one. My pregnancy became a conversation starter with many of the teachers in the centres, especially those who were mothers themselves. Through this I achieved a different level of intimacy with the teachers, some of whom shared their own pregnancy and birth stories with me. In the negative sense being heavily pregnant and hormonal meant I did not perhaps always get as much out of the fieldwork experience as I could have done, and my tolerance levels for young children diminished rapidly.

As Stock (2001:13) suggests, the presence of the fieldworker can be a factor in shaping the musical event that is subsequently documented. This was made very clear to me, as outlined in Chapter 4.4, when I heard a song in K5 that I had introduced to the teachers at K1 and which they had subsequently passed on to the teachers in K5. This example strengthens the idea that ethnography is a piece of more-or-less explicit biography (Stock 2001: 13). Once again I reiterate that this study is highly influenced by myself as the researcher: “the social reality it claims to present has itself been recognized as contingent on the personality and experience of the researcher as a specific individual, engaging with other, researched individuals” (Stock 2001: 13).

As discussed in Chapter 1, my interviewing style was flexible and teachers were interviewed in different ways, sometimes on their own, sometimes in groups. Part of my approach to the study was that I wanted to be as unintrusive and accommodating as possible and I feel that by giving the teachers some control over how and where they were interviewed I was able to achieve those aims. I usually had a list of questions with me when conducting the interviews, although some of the more informal ones were held without it. In keeping with this relaxed approach, I did not constantly refer to the pages of questions. Instead I tried to create a more casual atmosphere by only glancing at it occasionally. While this had the achieved
effect of helping the teachers to relax and making the interviews less formal, it also meant that there were instances where I did not ask every participant, every question. In retrospect I should have had a small, one page check list, which covered the most important questions that I could have referred to at the end of the interview.

This research was partly carried out in cultural contexts other than my own Pākehā culture. This raises ethical issues concerning my position as Pākehā researcher in Māori and Samoan settings. While I feel that I approached fieldwork in these contexts with respect and care, in hindsight I should have learned more of the Samoan and Māori languages before I entered the centres. This would have been another way I could have shown respect and acknowledged my role as a privileged outsider. At times I questioned whether I should have been in the Māori and Samoan language groups at all. However, at the same time, I feel that to have excluded them from the study would have been to ignore their strong presence as types of early childhood education in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

One of Bishop and Glynn’s (1992:128) main concerns about Pākehā researchers conducting research in Māori contexts is that much research, particularly historical studies, have served to undervalue Māori knowledge and learning. This is certainly not the case in this research. As has been revealed, concepts of musicality in Māori culture, and the way that music occurs within Māori early childhood centres (as well as Samoan centres), show far more positive approaches to musicality and attitudes towards music than in their Pākehā counterparts. This study does not undervalue Māori knowledge and learning but rather acknowledges the place of music within it. I believe that it shows in a highly positive light how music is used in early childhood education in Māori and Samoan cultures. This study challenges Pākehā musical ethnocentricity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It shows what Pākehā culture can learn from Māori and Samoan cultures with regard to not only music and early childhood education, but how we think about musicality in general.

A part of this study that could have been developed further is the parents’ voices. In retrospect I wish I had been more proactive in talking to parents and had
been able to get more data in this area. I could have developed a more systematic approach to instigating discussions with parents, deciding on a set number of parents at each centre to interview informally, for example, and formulating specific questions to ask of them. As it is, my data on the parents is somewhat haphazard and inconsistent. This is largely due to having focused on the teachers during the fieldwork process, but also due in part, to a lack of perception on my part of the need to penetrate more deeply into the significance of parents' musical connections in the overall context of the centre. I could also have questioned teachers more closely about parents, for example, asking if they ever felt threatened by the musical skills of a parent. The small amount of information from parents could be due partly to the short amount of time I spent in each centre. While I was able to get to know the teachers I had only limited contact with parents, and consequently it was difficult to develop relationships with them.

The role of parents musically in early childhood centres and what influences their connections (or lack of) is one area that further research could be carried out in. This research has raised questions about parent awareness of music programmes in early childhood centres, as well as parents' attitudes towards music and musicality. For example, do parents in different cultural contexts reflect similar attitudes towards concepts about music as the teachers do?

This study has only examined three different early childhood contexts in Aotearoa/New Zealand. There are many others where similar studies could be carried out: playcentre, for example, which has a high level of parental involvement, or home-based care, where the educators are often parents of young children themselves. Looking at musical concepts and attitudes in settings such as these would give a wider picture of musicality and early childhood education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Likewise, the same research ideas could be extended to the primary sector: how musically confident are primary school teachers in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and how does this affect the way they contribute to music in the classroom?
The difference between teachers' approaches to musicking with babies and infants (under twos) compared with older children is an aspect which has been touched on in this study and Willberg's (2001). This is an area that much more research could be done in. It would be extremely informative, for example, to follow a group of teachers who worked in a mixed age centre (from 0-5) and follow their musical interactions with all the children in the centre, comparing them on an age basis. Interviewing the teachers on their level of personal confidence for musicking with babies and infants compared with toddlers and young children would also be highly pertinent.

The role of popular music in early childhood centres is a highly relevant and current issue that this study has raised. The playing of popular music was one area where children influenced the musical choices in their centres. More research needs to be done on the place of such music in the early childhood world. How influential are the explicit songs and suggestive dance moves to the lives of young children? Are young girls influenced by the emaciated bodies and sexy clothing of their pop stars to the extent that they are becoming sexualized far too young? Should the early childhood sector be making a moral stand and banning such music from the educational setting? Or are we, as Williams (2001) suggests, over-emphasizing the importance of pop music in children's lives? Whatever the view, it is an area that requires more study and examination.

Finally, this research lends itself to further extension in the study of teachers themselves. While it has focused on the teachers' development as teachers of music within the early childhood setting, the next step is to focus on change. What changes teachers' musical identity? How do teachers with a low level of musical confidence overcome their fears and manage to contribute to music in the centre? Some of the experiences of teachers who have shifted their musical identity have been discussed in this study, but this is an area that could be researched in its own right. One approach could be to take a group of teachers with a low level of musical confidence and attempt to change their self-perception and encourage them to believe that they
are musical. An ongoing self-evaluation process would give indications as to what was most significant in shifting their musical identity.

While this research has focused on teachers, it is also important to recognize the role of the children. The early childhood centre is a learning environment for children. Ultimately it is the children’s development that is the focus of early childhood education. Their musical selves are affected and influenced by what the teachers contribute musically to the centre. The teachers contribute to shaping the musical identity of the children through their own attitudes and beliefs about music, together with their level of musical confidence and the amount of musicking opportunities they create in the early childhood centre.

6.4 Conclusion

This study has examined the development of early childhood teachers’ concepts of and attitudes towards music in Aotearoa/New Zealand. At one level it is an ethnographic study of twelve early childhood centres, the way that music occurs within them, and how teachers contribute to musical activities. It has shown that the early childhood educational environment is a meeting place of many voices, a whāriki of different musical threads. At another level this study has explored concepts of musical identity in Māori, Samoan, and Pākehā cultures, and how these relate to early childhood education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Most significantly, this research has challenged the perceptions of being musical in Pākehā culture, as suggested by the teachers in the study.

This research has shown that in early childhood teaching so much depends on the individual, particularly on their attitude to music and their musical self-concept. Teachers, such as Cindy, who had a passion for music brought that passion to their teaching of music in the centre. It influenced musical activities at every level: from the variety of music played in the centre, to the amount of background music, through to the sorts of experiences the children had, such as spontaneous singing outside with the guitar. Cindy “felt musical”: because of this very high level of
musical confidence she was able to encourage parents and community members to become involved in music in the centre. Conversely, teachers such as Stephanie, who had a negative attitude to music and a very low musical self-concept, brought that sense of failure to every involvement with music in the centre. If, for example, another teacher walked into a room where Stephanie was taking music, she would stop and let them take over.

One of the most important findings of this research is the difference in levels of teacher confidence towards music between the teachers in the language groups, and the kindergartens and childcare centres. That Māori and Samoan teachers have a much higher level of musical confidence than Pākehā teachers is highly significant. It suggests that there is much we can learn from Māori and Samoan cultures in their approach to both musicality and musicking. There is a very high standard of musical achievement that exists in beliefs about musicality in Pākehā culture, particularly with regard to singing and instrumental skills. When individuals are unable to meet these standards they feel musically inadequate and it can affect a person’s participation in musicking generally, as this study has shown. Music can become threatening. This is an area that music educators in Aotearoa/New Zealand need to address. We need to look very closely at the sort of attitudes towards music we are fostering. The fact that so many individuals can believe themselves musically inferior is of concern. Surely, we need to focus on musical participation and musical enjoyment, and foster the concept that while a small minority achieve a high level of musical success, that does not make the majority any less musical. Music is a part of everyone’s lives, at many different levels, and there is no reason why everyone cannot think of themselves as being musical.
References


May and M. Carr. University of Waikato, Department of Early Childhood Studies.


## Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'oga amata</td>
<td>Samoan language group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aroha</td>
<td>love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haka</td>
<td>ceremonial challenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hīkoi</td>
<td>Māori walking song about the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hui</td>
<td>ceremonial gathering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwi</td>
<td>tribe</td>
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<tr>
<td>kahikatea</td>
<td>a native tree in Aotearoa/New Zealand</td>
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<td>kaiako</td>
<td>teacher</td>
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<td>kapa haka</td>
<td>contemporary Māori performing art involving dancing and singing</td>
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<td>karakia</td>
<td>prayer</td>
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<td>karanga</td>
<td>ceremonial call of welcome, to call</td>
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<td>kīnaki</td>
<td>relish to complement a speaker’s words</td>
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<td>school</td>
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<td>marae</td>
<td>community meeting place</td>
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<tr>
<td>Māoritanga</td>
<td>Māori culture, beliefs, and practices</td>
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<tr>
<td>mihimihī</td>
<td>ritualized self-introduction</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pākehā</td>
<td>New Zealander of European descent</td>
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<td>pakihiwi</td>
<td>shoulders</td>
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<td>pakipaki</td>
<td>clap</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palagi</td>
<td>Samoan equivalent of Pākehā</td>
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<tr>
<td>pate</td>
<td>Samoan drum</td>
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<tr>
<td>poi</td>
<td>balls on rope used in Māori action songs</td>
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<tr>
<td>pōwhiri</td>
<td>ceremonial ritual of welcome</td>
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<td>English</td>
<td>Māori</td>
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<td>---------</td>
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<tr>
<td>tamariki</td>
<td>children</td>
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<td>taniwha</td>
<td>monster, often in water</td>
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<td>taonga</td>
<td>treasures</td>
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<tr>
<td>te reo</td>
<td>Māori language</td>
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<td>tikanga</td>
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<td>woven mat</td>
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<td>whānau</td>
<td>family, wider family</td>
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Information Form

Music in Early Childhood
Information Sheet for Parents/Caregivers and Staff

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully and feel free to discuss any questions you might have with the researcher. This project is one of observation in your child’s centre.

What is the Aim of the Project?
This study is being undertaken as part of the research for a PhD in Ethnomusicology. The aim is to find out how music is being used to establish and promote cultural identities in early childhood education in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

What Type of Participants are being sought?
Early childhood environments from different contexts of early childhood education (kindergartens, kōhanga reo, Pacific Island language nests and childcare centres) in Dunedin, Alexandra, Wellington, Queenstown, and Auckland are initially being approached to be part of this research.

What does the research involve?
This project is primarily one of observation; the daily musical activities of the children will be observed. As a parent myself, if appropriate, I will sometimes have my own child with me. It is as a parent/helper that I intend being involved in the centre. It is likely that vocal interactions between myself and the children and their parents/caregivers will take place. This will be in the form of casual and spontaneous interactions, not structured interviews. I also intend to be involved in music sessions myself, where, and if appropriate.

The initial observation time frame is one full day. Short interviews with the staff at each centre will also take place.
What Information will be Collected and what Use will be made of it?

All musical activities of any kind will be observed and videoed both spontaneous music by the children and structured sessions with a teacher. This information is being collected for the purpose of this researcher only and will not be used by any other individual. The researcher and her supervisor will be the only people who have access to this data. Results of this project may be published but any data included will in no way be linked to any specific participant. The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned above will be able to gain access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project if you wish.

If you have any questions about this project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Sally Bodkin (student) or Dr Henry Johnson (supervisor)
Department of Music Department of Music
University of Otago University of Otago
Ph (03) 479 8885 Ph (03) 479 8885
Home (03) 4767839

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Otago.
Appendix 2: Questions for Teacher Interviews

Interviews were structured around the following questions:

*denotes kindergarten only question
# denotes question not asked in language groups

1) *What is the donation per session at this kindergarten?/What are the fees here?
2) How would you describe the children at this centre?
3) *At what age do children start the morning sessions?
4) Is music used as a background while children are working at another activity?
5) Is music on its own part of the structured programme every day at this centre?
6) If not, on average, how many sessions of music usually occur within a week? Tell me how they happen.
7) How is music chosen for the structured sessions?
8) Is there a conscious classification of music choices for the structured sessions?
9) Do you contribute to music sessions?
10) What was your training in music like?
11) Do you consider yourself musical?
12) Does music occur spontaneously at other times? Can you give me some examples?
13) Are parents ever involved in sessions of music making?
14) What do you expect from children during music sessions? E.g. singing in tune, following the actions?
15) Where do your resources for music making come from?
16) Do you feel there is a wide range of resources available?
17) Do children ever bring songs from home and share them at the kindergarten music sessions? Can you give me examples? Is this encouraged? Have the Spice Girls made their presence felt musically in your centre?
18) #Do you consciously promote different cultures in the music that is used in this centre?
19) #Does this promotion of different cultures occur in other areas, not just music?
20) #Are you aware of different cultural identities among the children at this centre?
21) #Do you consciously promote these identities in music?
22) Do musicians from the wider community ever participate or become involved in music activities in this centre?
23) What is the most important outcome from a music session for the children? Can you list other outcomes?
Appendix 3: Papers Presented and/or Published during the Study


Appendix 4: Brief Profile of Teachers Interviewed at Each Centre

K1:
Jo - Female, in her forties. Does not consider herself musical. Trained 20+ years ago.

Sonia - Female, in her forties. Enjoys music although not especially musically confident. Trained 20+ years ago.

K2:
Jenny - Female, in her forties. Recently trained. Plays the piano and enjoys singing.

Amanda - Female, in her forties. Very enthusiastic about music. Has played the guitar. Trained 20+ years ago.

Veronica - Female, in her thirties. Has played the guitar, although doesn’t play it in the kindergarten at the present time. Trained 15 years ago.

K3:
Penny - Female, in her forties. Classically trained pianist. Very musically confident and participates in musical activities outside the kindergarten. Trained 20+ years ago.

Ingrid - Female, in her forties. Not musically confident. Enjoys outside music making with the children. Trained 20+ years ago.

Kara - Female, in her twenties. Just out of training. Not musically confident but enjoying working with the other teachers in the kindergarten, especially Penny.

K4:
Cindy - Female, in her forties. Extremely musically confident. Plays the guitar. Brings a lot of music from home to use in the kindergarten. Trained 20+ years ago.

Rowena - Female, in her twenties. Recently emigrated from South Africa. Loves to sing and dance. Trained in South Africa 5 years ago.
K5:
Shona - Female, in her forties. Growing in confidence musically. Trained 20+ years ago.

Denise - Female, in her twenties. Doesn’t really think of herself as being musical yet enjoys music. Trained in Australia 5 years ago.

Winona - Female, in her forties. Enjoys music in the kindergarten with the children. Has encouraged her children to play an instrument. Trained 20+ years ago.

AA1:
Maria - Female, in her forties. Plays guitar and enjoys singing. Training presently.

Joan - Female, in her fifties. Believes herself to be ‘tone-deaf’. Thinks of the other teachers in the centre to be much more musical than her. Trained 20+ years ago.


Lisa - Female, in her twenties. Plays guitar. Loves the musical side of working with young children. Presently training.


AA2:
Pip - Female, in her forties. Plays guitar. Enjoys the music at her church. Trained 5 years ago.

Lina - Female, in her forties. Plays guitar. Has composed songs for the children at the centre. Trained 7 years ago.

TKR1:
Aroha - Female, in her forties. Plays guitar. Enjoys participating in music. Trained 20+ years ago.

Tara - Female, in her twenties. Plays guitar. Extremely passionate about music. Has brought many songs into the centre. Trained 5 years ago.

Tania - Female, in her thirties. Enjoys music in the centre with the children. Trained 10 years ago.

TKR2:

Cathy - Female, in her forties. Plays guitar. The rebirth of her Māori identity has been a significant part of her life. Trained 20+ years ago.

Kate - Female, in her thirties. Loves to dance to music with her daughter (who also attended the centre). Trained 10 years ago.


CC1:

Sophie - Female, in her fifties. Sings with a Sweet Adelines group. Trained 20+ years ago.

Rachel - Female, in her forties. Has accepted the responsibility of being in charge of music in the centre, although perceives this as somewhat ironic as she doesn’t play an instrument or read music. Trained 20+ years ago.

Stephanie - Female, in her twenties. Not confident at all with music. Trained 5 years ago.

Jeremy - Male, in his twenties. Recently trained. Enjoys participating in music alongside others.

Justine - Female, in her twenties. Plays guitar and can read music but not a confident singer. Trained 5 years ago.

CC2:
Anna - Female, in her twenties. Classically trained musician. Very musically confident. Trained 5 years ago.

Belinda - Female, in her twenties. Has played a variety of different instruments but none to any degree. Doesn’t listen to music in her private life. Trained 5 years ago.

Donald - Male, in his thirties. Enjoys improvised musical activities in the centre. Trained 5 years ago.

Sara - Female, in her thirties. Enjoys bringing her Samoan culture into the centre in the form of songs and dances. Trained 5 years ago.

Serena - Female, in her thirties. Enjoys dancing and creative movement to music. Trained 10 years ago.

CC3:

Alice - Female, in her fifties. Lacks confidence in her singing abilities. Trained 20+ years ago.

Ben - Male, in his thirties. Plays guitar and writes songs but lacks confidence in his skills. Trained 10 years ago.

Jean - Female, in her thirties. Classically trained musician. Trained 10 years ago.

Priscilla - Female, in her forties. Very enthusiastic about music with the children. Trained 20+ years ago.

Jacqui - Female, in her thirties. Enjoys music with the children. Trained 10 years ago.

Deirdre - Female, in her twenties. Loves to sing. Trained 5 years ago.

Fenella - Female, in her thirties. Enjoys music, partner is a musician. Trained 10 years ago.

Christa - Female, in her thirties. Actively involved in music in the centre. Trained 5 years ago.
Deanne - Female, in her thirties. Plays guitar. Generally regarded by the other teachers as 'the musical one' in the centre. Trained 10 years ago.
Appendix 5: Sample Interview Transcript

SB: How would you describe the children at this centre?
Rachel: I’d probably say that most of them are reasonably bright, they come from, I mean most of their parents are lecturers and things. They’ve got good language skills, they enjoy learning, they, they’re above average. We don’t have many student families, there’s one or two but because we’ve got full time care - student families tend to prefer part time care.

SB: What about in terms of background. Do the children come from a diverse background?
Rachel: I see what you’re getting at now. We have children, a lot of our families are American, a lot of the lecturers are American or Canadian. We’ve got one Chinese, we had some from Scotland which we haven’t got any more. We had one from the Cook Islands and one that was Maori, but they’ve just left and gone to school so at the moment we haven’t got any Cook Island children or Maori children and the rest of the children are just from European, NZ European.

SB: What age of children are at this centre?
Rachel: They come over from the nursery when they’re 2 or just a little bit over and they stay till 5, so 2 - 5 is the age range.

SB: Is music used as a background while children are working at another activity?
Rachel: Not all the time but occasionally we use music for things like finger painting, water play, sometimes just straight easel painting, those would be most of the times. Sometimes we put tapes on, I put tapes on if the play is getting quite loud and I find that it either does one of two things, it either quietens it down or it makes it worse, so it’s hit and miss whether you put it on. I generally would choose sort of classical music or lullabies or things like that to quieten it down and it usually works quite well.

SB: Is music on its own part of the structured programme every day at this centre?
Rachel: We try to but it’s kind of hard. I guess we haven’t got a lot of us who are confident in music in the centre and if the person who tends to take most of the music is busy at other activities it tends to get left behind. Usually we try and do something at about 9:30, between 9:30 and 10 just before morning tea. We often do singing at lunchtime because the children have to wait between getting their main course cleared away and pudding and I often find that’s a good time to do singing and things with them. For the age range it’s better than reading stories and that tends to be part of the daily routine. And there’s, when we have group time which is before we sort of, we have a tidy up time before morning tea, and when the children are divided up into groups the younger children have a group time and there’s usually a lot of singing and finger plays and things like that at that time. I guess, other times we try to do something at morning tea. Those would be the main sort
of structured times, but it's not so structured that you have to have it
every day, we tend to be a bit flexible about it if we're doing other
things.

SB: How is the music chosen for the structured sessions?
Rachel: Um... spur of the moment. It depends on what tape I can lay my
hands on. Um, it depends on how planned the session is. Sometimes
it's a case of following the children's lead and you know what the
children like and you tend to put that on. If the children come and start
picking up musical instruments, in that case I would tend to just use
the tapes that I've got that work well with the children to encourage
their rhythm. Usually as far as the musical instruments go we do have a
programme that we're trying to develop things like familiarity with the
instruments, the correct way to play them, developing a beat and
rhythm, identifying the instruments, that's our main goal with them at
the moment so the music I choose with them at the moment tends to
reflect that. And at other times it tends to be more spur of the moment.
If, for example, they go in there and they're doing some dancing I put
on some tapes that I know work well to move to, to dance to. I forgot
to say, the other structured time we have music is, we go down to the
gym once a week, on a Thursday. And we do a warm up session before
we have the gym, before we let them run loose. And that tends to be
more thought-out. We try to do something that reflects our focus for
the centre so if we are say, looking at social cooperation in groups we
might do some sort of circle game, we might do folk dancing which
tends to involve the children working together, you know, that kind of
thing defines the focus. If we were just looking at large motor skills or
something as a focus, or gross motor skills, I'd do more things that
involve big muscle movement, like music that encouraged them to
jump or to skip or to run so that's more sort of planned, that particular
one. But other times it tends to be the sort of tapes that teachers
themselves like using and the ones that you know the children like.

SB: Is there a conscious classification of music choices for the structured
sessions?
Rachel: No, not really, I'm always conscious that I try to keep up the Māori
content. I feel that's important and again, that's something that not a lot
of staff are confident in, so if you don't do it, it doesn't get done. So I
try to... I don't plan it, maybe we should have more planned sessions
but, um, I just keep it in the back of my mind that you know that I
haven't done Māori this week so I'll do something with it.

SB: Do you contribute to music sessions?
Rachel: Yes, um, which is funny considering I can't read music and I don't play
an instrument, but it started off with an area that I felt I was weak in
and I went to a few workshops on it and I've just gradually developed
my confidence - I'm still not ultra confident in it. I really enjoy singing
with the children and I enjoy music and movement and getting the
children to dramatize in and using their imagination. That's the area
that I'm the most confident in, I'm working up to being really confident
with the instruments, I'm getting there but I kind of lose my way every
now and then. One of my goals is I really want to learn to play the
guitar because that would encourage the scope. I do a lot of work to
tapes but that makes it slightly less flexible because the words are set
down and you’re kind of, the words will say let’s play the claves, and
it’ll be -we haven’t got claves so it’d be easier to play the guitar to make
your own words up to suit whatever instruments you’ve got.

What was your training in music like?

Rachel: Well my training, I didn’t go through College, I did my training
through Playcentre and when we had to submit our qualifications I was
required to do two or three papers and then I got my equivalency to
Diploma of Teaching so I’ve got that. And as far as my Playcentre
training went, you, with Playcentre you had to have all areas available
at all times during the session and one of those areas was music so you
were expected to have the music out and you were expected to work
with the children in it. And the way that Playcentre did their training
was that they had workshops and things on things like making musical
instruments and using them and you learnt from those workshops and
working with people who were more confident at it so that’s . . . I
haven’t had any formal training so that’s the only way I’ve done it.

And since then I’ve been to workshops, Helen Willberg was one of my		
tutors, so she was in the Playcentre movement and I went to a lot of her
workshops and things and she came to our centre and did workshops
on making musical instruments and she was really really helpful ‘cos
she was on the executive so you did your training and they used to
oversee the training. So that’s where I’ve come to, so I didn’t go
through College and do formal training like that.

Does music occur spontaneously at other times? Can you give me
some examples?

Rachel: Yes I think . . . . How spontaneous it happens to be depends on the staff
member and how confident they are and how unselfconscious they are.

I tend to sing with the kids, they’re particularly fond of the Maori
colour song at the moment and I find if the children start singing, I sing
along with them. I sing when I’m reading stories. Quite a few of the
stories have songs or rhymes in them and I sing them. I sing when I’m
doing puzzles, again, colours or numbers. And the swing’s often a
place I sing, swing high swing low, see how you go, that sort of thing.

Are parents ever involved in sessions of music making?

Rachel: Um, the only time that they’re involved is, we’ve had a parent who
played the Cook Island drums who offered to come in um, because
most of our parents work, they tend not to get actively involved in the
programme anyway, they find it hard to get time off work. The only
time is if we felt that a parent had a skill in a particular area that we
wanted to work on as part of our programme we might ask them if
they would give us some time, but on this particular occasion the
parent offered, he actually had a band or a group and brought them in
and it was just wonderful.

What led to him offering to do that?

Rachel: I can’t remember actually, I think he came in off the spur of the
moment, his child was here, it was quite a few years ago. But the funny
thing is, we had a focus a while ago that we were encouraging the
children to be creative in different areas and music was one of the areas
that we were working on and we rang him up and asked if he would come in and he came in and did it again for us and it was lovely.

**SB:** What do you expect from children during music sessions? For example, do you expect the children to sing in tune, follow the actions?

**Rachel:** A little bit depends on the age of the children. A lot of two year olds will just sit and watch. I guess my expectation is that I would like the children to enjoy music and enjoy it at any level that they feel comfortable doing, so if they just want to sit and watch that’s fine, if they want to actively participate that’s fine. I guess the only expectation I have is that as they get older and I’m doing a sort of structured music session, in other words when the whole group is participating, I don’t want them disrupting it, I don’t want them you know, jumping around and talking and making noise and stopping the other children from enjoying it and taking part.

**SB:** Where do your resources for music making come from?

**Rachel:** Anywhere we can get them. We have one staff member who plays the guitar, she’s leaving, so we have the guitar. We buy some musical instruments, some we make, because of the age of the children I feel more comfortable using homemade instruments, I mean with two year olds you can’t expect them to use them in the appropriate manner so if you’ve got home made instruments and they bash and crash, ‘cause they’re at that experimenting stage, um, it doesn’t matter what they do with them, they were cheap, they’re easy to make, and it doesn’t matter, you don’t have that sort of ‘huh huh’ (intake) they’re going to break it, hanging over you, so that’s why I make some and the bought ones I tend to use more in a more structured session when I can keep an eye on what’s going on and explain how they are to be used. So the musical instruments, some we buy and some we make. We get books and tapes, if I hear a tape or I know something that works well with the children, I’ll ask if I can copy it, um we buy tapes, we get catalogues sent to us and we look through that and see what’s available. Occasionally we get people coming around demonstrating musical instruments, so we look at that and see what’s there. Sometimes we go to workshops and they’ll have stuff there, so you tend to buy something for the centre if you’ve seen it working well in a workshop.

**SB:** Do you feel there is a wide range of resources available, for example, multi-cultural resources?

**Rachel:** It’s getting better. It used to be really hard to get anything. Māori stuff, it’s not too bad, there wasn’t a lot of it to begin with and I mean that’s getting really good. Learning Media, I think it is, they put out some really good stuff and the Māori stuff is getting much more accessible. It’s still really hard. . . like we’ve got a Chinese boy here for example, authentic Chinese resources, there’s just nothing, a little bit more coming in with Samoan, Cook Island, there’s a little bit more of that, still not heaps and heaps, but then I think that’s reflected in the mix of children that you have in the centres. The other sort of European type cultures, if I could call European like French, German, Scottish, Irish, which all of us are, tend to be a mixture of, I think that’s much more available. I suppose I should have said the library’s a resource. And parents too, we’ve got parents who are French and German and we’ve
asked them for the sort of songs that they would sing at home and they’ve brought those in. So the resources are there, but you have to go searching for them, and it takes quite a bit of time. But the ones I’m finding really hard are the Asian cultures, I think there’s a bit of Indian music, but it’s really hard because what we think is appropriate’s not necessary appropriate for that family so I guess it’s like anything, you need to consult and just say... the best thing is to say to them, could you tape some of it, or could we tape some of it for use in the centre. That’s the best thing and then you know that it’s familiar to them and it’s what they use.

SB: Do children ever bring songs from home and share them at the music sessions? Can you give me examples? Is this encouraged?

Rachel: Yes, and yes, it’s encouraged. We’ve got quite a few who do ballet and who do dance and they quite often, if they’re excited about something, if they’ve got a new dance or something. Not terrifically a lot, of the twenty-five children, there’d be the odd sort of two or three who’d bring it, about that number. But we’re really delighted when they do bring it. Barbie Girl is all the rage at the moment, that was brought in and introduced to us.

SB: Do you consciously promote different cultures in the music that is used in this centre?

Rachel: We try to, I suppose Māori is the predominant other, if I can call it other culture, that sounds terrible, I shouldn’t call it other culture, you know what I mean, and I guess in saying that I would like to promote more, but you do have to go with the wishes of the family. It’s quite interesting talking about the Chinese boy that we’ve got. I’ve asked for resources and -we’d like to learn some greetings and things and he’s absolutely adamant - he does not want it.

SB: The parent?

Rachel: No, no, (imitating Raymond’s father), my son here learn English, no Chinese, learn English. And that’s it. I think you have to respect their wishes. I try to just include anything, anything that works and that’s got a good beat and that the children will enjoy and move to, it doesn’t matter what culture it is, we use it. I’ve got some Irish tapes there and some Scottish tapes and I’ve got some Samoan and Māori and European, whatever works.

SB: Does this promotion of different cultures occur in other areas of activity, not just music?

Rachel: We try to, we try to include it in books and puzzles, we don’t always succeed but the Māori culture is valuing the natural materials and things, so we tend to try to follow their values as far as you know, using natural materials where possible in collage even outside in the sand we try to use resources, like shells and encourage the children if they want to use sticks in the sand. I guess you are mindful of those sort of values. It’s not as widespread as, some other centres do it much more than we do but we try to.

SB: Are you aware of different cultural identities among the children in this centre? Do you consciously promote these identities in music?

Rachel: Yeah we try to, but you have to follow the wishes of the families.
So have some families - it’s Louis, isn’t it, who’s French, have they been very supportive when you’ve asked for...?

They’ve been really supportive they’ve given us a French tape with nursery rhymes and so on, and it’s been really interesting because Louis speaks, used to speak, he used to be bilingual, totally bilingual, his parents speak to him in French and he won’t speak French. Even at home he chooses to speak in English to them, they speak to him in French and he chooses to speak in English to them. And for a long time in the centre he wouldn’t even acknowledge our French efforts like we would try, you’d say Boujour, or use the colours, and counting and things and he wouldn’t, just wouldn’t have a bar of it, and it’s only just recently that he’s even come to sort of acknowledge that yes he might actually know how to count in French or he might know some colours and so when we tried to introduce French songs, he just, he gets really embarrassed, its like they’ve got a place at home but they don’t have a place here. But the fact that he’s now accepting the greetings and the counting perhaps now the French songs won’t be so strange.

So why do you promote Māori culture in the centre?

Because we have to, that is really what it boils down to, I know we go on the old adage of ‘we haven’t got any Māori children but, I think it is really hard to promote it when it isn’t your own culture and you don’t have children whose culture it is. I am committed to biculturalism and I am aware of how important it is but I still at the same time feel it isn’t part of my heritage. So I guess that the perfectly honest answer is because we know that it is important and it is important to the Māori and that’s why I promote it.

Do musicians from the wider community ever participate or become involved in music activities in this centre?

Up until now, no, although I guess having said that, we do have an after school programme and I guess you could call them the wider community and we often go down and visit, particularly in the school holidays and they often put a wee concert on and that kind of thing. I guess we’re just very conscious of, people from, that are sort of profession musicians or teachers are so busy and you don’t want to take their time up ‘cause the only time we could do it is during the day and you’re conscious that, so yeah, there probably are resources out there that we could make use of but again it’s being aware of them and knowing. I guess we would use them if we knew they were available and that they were willing to come in.

What about turning five - is music part of that ritual?

Yes because we always, birthdays, we always sing ‘Happy Birthday’, we’ve got a card that plays ‘Happy Birthday’, and having a birthday without the card playing would be absolutely not part of it. So yes it is a real ritual. and we celebrate birthdays and we celebrate Christmas, we actually put on a concert, the children put a concert on for the parents and that involves a lot of practice. And we sing the usual Christmas carols.

Have you been able to find a lot of New Zealand Christmas carols?

Not a lot, there’s not a lot with the New Zealand flavour, although there’s the odd one or two coming out now. We tend to stick to the
traditional sort of English, the more traditional sort of carols. That are sort of more children’s carols, ‘Jingle Bells’, ‘Away in a Manger’, ‘We Wish you a Merry Christmas’.

SB: Thank you for your time.
Appendix 6: Lists of Songs and Music Heard in Each Centre

K1:
BINGO
Carnavelito
Children’s songs tape - Puff, Morningtown Ride, Doh a deer
Clap, Click, Kick
Cleaning song
E Tū Kahikatea
Five Aliens in a Flying Saucer
Five Gingerbread Men
Five Little Kiwis
Ghostbusters
Happy Birthday
Jibidi
John Brown’s Car
Ka Kite
Kanikani
Kia Ora
Ma is White
Mahunga Pakihiwi
Mane Turei Wenerei (Days of the week song)
Metamorphasis
National Anthem - in Māori and English
Open Shut Them
Paki Paki
Poi action song
Pop Goes the Weasel
Pungawerawera
Statues
Tahi Rua Toru Whā
Tēnā Koe Hello to One
Tēnā Koe We are Glad to See You
The Bottom of the Sea
The Bubble Poem
Tohora Nui
Who’s that Nibbling

K2:
A Ram Sam Sam
Barbie Girl
BINGO
Cows in the Kitchen
Crunchy the Clown
Disney exercise tape
Happy Birthday
Hickory Dickory Dock
Humpty Dumpty
Hurry Hurry Drive the Firetruck
I Saw a Taniwha
Jibidi
John Brown’s Car
Ka Kite
Kanikani
Little Hunk of Tin
Ma is White
Mane Turei Wenerei (Days of the week song)
Moto Ka Iti Rawa E
Old MacDonald’s Farm
Paki Paki
Pop Goes the Weasel
Ring a Ring a Rosie
Skinny Marinky Dinky Dink
Tahi Rua Toru Whā
Te Aroha
Tēnā Koe Hello to One
The Pronunciation Song
The ABC Song
Tohora Nui
Twinkle Twinkle
We’re Going to Kentucky
Whakaronga Mai
Whānau is Family

K3:
A Fuss on the Bus
Backstreet Boys
Barbie Girl
Bear Hunt
Colour Dancing
Cook Island drumming tape
Down By the Sea
Dr Jones
E Tū Kahikatea
E Tū Stand Up
Flight of the Bumblebee
Give a Friend a Massage
Haka from Ngā Pihi
Happy Birthday
Hickory Dickory Dock
I am a Dragon
Ka Kite
Kai in the Basket
Marching to the Beat of the Big Bass Drum
Osa Osa
Patu Taku Poi
Pusi Nofo
Rolling Like a Pumpkin
She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain
Spice Girls
Sugar Plum Fairy
The Beach Song
The Can-Can
The Lion King Soundtrack
TohoraNui
Twinkle Twinkle
You’ve Got to Clap

K4:
Barney songs tape
Baroque music tape
Brahms Lullaby
Carnavelito
Celtic bagpipes tape
Children's Singing Dances of Other Cultures tape
Classical tape
Edith Piaf
Five Humpty Dumpties
Five Little Monkeys Jumping on the Bed
Four in the Bed
Give Yourself a Massage
Greetings song - Linda Adamson altered
Hands, Knees and Boomsadaisy
Happy Birthday
Hokey Tokey - rock version
I can Run as Fast as You
I'm a Little Teapot
It's Love that Makes the World Go Round
Little Horse Called Daisy
New Age instrumental tape
Ngā Pihi tape
Pacific Island drumming tape
Paki Ti Mai
Riverdance tape
Samoan song tape
Spice Girls tape
Stand Up (name)
Take Your Hand and Put it on Your Nose
Take Your Little Hammer
The Lion King tape
Two Little Rain Drops
Waddely Archer
Waltzing Matilda
When I was One, I Kissed My Mum
K5:
Alice the Camel
Backstreet Boys
Barbie Girl
Bear Hunt
Close Your Eyes and Go to Sleep
Dr Jones
Driving in My Little Mini Car
Five Manu
Happy Birthday
Highway Number One
Honey Bear
I am a Robot
Incy Wincy Spider
Jibidi
Little Hunk of Tin
Metamorphasis
Music and movement tape
My Hands are Shaking
Newspaper tearing to music
Out in the Jungle
Pakipaki
Ponies
Rainbow Song – in Māori
Spice Girls tape
Tēnā Koe Hello to One
The ABC Song
Train Song
When I was One, I Kissed My Mum
Where is my Thumb?
Wind the Bobbin Up

AA1:
Barney – Theme song
Happy Birthday – in Samoan
Head, Shoulders, Knees and Toes – in Samoan, using a the tune of Mulberry Bush
Maile Maile
Nofo i Lalo
O le Solosolo
Oma Rapeti – in Samoan
Paki Paki
Pati Pati o Lima
Pati Pati Tamarese Ma
Pusi Nofo
Row Row Your Boat – in Samoan
Samoan music tapes
Sau Ta o
Spice Girls – Stop
Talofa
Tami Oli Ti
Tick Tock, Tick Tock
Traditional Samoan Siva Siva
Two Little Dicky Birds – in Samoan
Where is Thumbkin – in Samoan

AA2:
AEIOU – in Māori
Away in a Manger
Bird Song – in Samoan
Counting song – in Samoan
Days of the Week Song – in Samoan, tune Oh My Darling Clementine
E tu, Stand Up, E Noho, Sit Down
Galump went the Little Green Frog
God’s Love is so Wonderful – in Samoan and then English
Hammer, Hammer, Hammer
Happy Birthday
Hey There [name], You’re a Really Good Girl
I Can Hear my Hands Go [clap, clap, clap]
I Hear Thunder – in Samoan
I Looked Through the Window to Say Hello to [name]
Kanikani (Māori version of Hokey Tokey)
Listen to the Music – in Samoan
Looby Loo – in Samoan
Mahunga, Pakihiwi – in Samoan
Māori, Samoan, and Palagi tapes for background
Moe Moe Pepe
Pati Pī – first in Samoan and then in Māori
Pease Pudding Hot – in Samoan and then English
Poko Poko Samoa
Radio in kitchen – Samoan station
Ringa, Ringa Rosy
Row, Row, Row your Boat – in English and Samoan
Sivasiva
Song about road safety – in Samoan
Talofa
Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star
Two Little Dicky Birds – in Samoan
Upoko, Rara, Tata, Iga, Iga – tune Ten Little Indians (had, forehead, cheeks etc)
We’re Going to the Zoo – in Samoan
Who Stole the Cookie from the Cookie Jar?

TKR1:
Classical tapes
Cook Island tape
Epi Tombi
Hikoi
Jazz tape
Karanga Pau
Māori tapes waiata
Men in Black tape
New Age tapes
Radio - National Programme classical hour
Te Aroha
Te Atua
Tenei Rā
Ten Little Indians - in Māori
The Macarena – in Māori
Twinkle Twinkle – in Māori

TKR2:
Ariana’s waiata
E Rau Waiwai
E Rui
E Tū Kahikatea
Haka
Happy Birthday
Jingle Bells
Ka Kite
Korero Parirau
Little Flick song – in Māori
Mama Mia
Māori Colour Song – tune Oh My Darling Clementine
Moe Moe Pepe
Spice Girls
Tahi, Rua, Toru, Whā
Tapes – instrumental dramatic music (frogs etc), Ngā Pihi, Māori singing, Pan flute
Tellytubby song
Tēnā Koe e Toka
Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star – in Māori
Uenuku
Waiata Kaute
Whakarongo Mai

CC1:
Baa Baa Black Sheep
Down by the River where the Jungle
Gorilla Dance
Happy Birthday
Hokey Tokey
I Love You Barney song
I’m a Witch – finger play
Ma is White
Pigeon House
Round and Round the Garden
Slippery Fish
The ABC Song
Twinkle Twinkle

CC2:
A Little Bit of Soap Rap
Alice the Camel
Barney Clean Up Song
Goldilocks and the House of Three Bears
Happy Birthday
Hello, Kia Ora
Hickory Dickory Dock
High Ho the Derrio – improvised boat song to the Farmer in the Dell tune
I Hear Thunder
My Puppet is Dancing Just Like This
Old MacDonald
Pat-a-cake, Pat-a-cake
Shoo Fly
Sivasiva
Tapes - Māori children’s songs, classical music
Teddy Bear’s Picnic
The ABC Song
The Rainbow Connection
Twinkle Twinkle Little Star
Who’s that Dancing in the Middle of the Circle?
Who’s that Nibbling?

CC3:
A Clown went Walking
A Ram Sam Sam
Animals Live in the Forest
Classical music tape
If You’re Happy and You Know it Clap Your Hands
Open Shut Them
Put on Your Hat
TahiRuaToruWhā
Ten in the Bed
The ABC song
The Beach Song
The Wheels on the Bus
TofaTafaTofaTafa
Twinkle Twinkle - in English and Māori
Walking Through the Jungle