Informal learning and school activities about music: "Tell me how I do what I know how to do"

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Introduction

When we ask someone to tell us about an aspect we consider important in their lives, we presume enormous amounts of elements that play a role in the response we get. All these elements (or a part of them), in turn, are incorporated into the hypotheses, theories or arguments that we build to understand the answers that have been given to us.

In what follows we present a project we began with a series of presuppositions about the type of possible answers that a group of teenage students could give to our request for collaboration in our study about the place and meaning of music in their lives. Presumptions, questions and answers that were transformed and re-contextualized in a process of negotiation of subjectivities and intersubjectivities of all parties in the classroom where the work was conducted. The paper, especially the part where we present the results, primarily reports a dialogue between the various actors that where involved in the experience and of how this dialogue generated the transformations and insights we tentatively develop here. The main interlocutors are Marta Morgade, as main researcher/field-worker during the project, Alberto Verdesoto, the teacher and co-researcher of this educational innovation experience and the many students they have collaborated during the experience. To these ever visible voices, Juan Manuel González-Mohino (research assistant) and David Poveda (research colleague in the project) are added as collaborators in the analysis and discussion of the materials but with a smaller presence in the field and the day-to-day unfolding of the experience.

Collaborative Ethnographies about Music

Musical activities and musical culture are a fundamental part of the lives of adolescents (and all age groups) in our society. Sharing, listening, even creating music, etc. are important and intense daily practices starting in early preadolescence. Music in its various forms becomes one of the central expressive practices of young people, through which their concerns, emotions and opinions are manifested. Through music young people are socialized into and at the same time create their peer cultures, develop novel practices and explore aspects of their identities (Morgade, 2013).

The research interest framing this paper was to explore these processes of socialization through and to music in a large urban/metropolitan area (in this case of Madrid, Spain) (Morgade, 2012). The musical practices of older children and adolescents in the city of Madrid were always the target of the research process, however ethnographic work began

with other groups, and these early studies clearly influenced the type of experiences and research approach we would eventually develop with teenagers.

Our first ethnographic work began with professional and amateur musicians, as well as two music teachers of primary and secondary schools. These studies developed as 'classic' ethnographic studies, based on participant observation, building detailed field notes, and video recordings of performances and rehearsals, as well as various interviews and informal conversations. However, the artistic practices we engaged in both as audience/researchers and performing musicians at various events drew on forms of communication that included experiences articulated not only through speech or writing, but through all sorts of exchanges of sensations, images, sounds, rhythms, etc. (Morgade 2013). All this called for a move towards what is being called sensory/ial ethnography (Pink 2009; Ingold, 2015). In these new forms of registering information and building dialogue with participants, musicians move from mere informants to collaborators involved in building field notebooks, videos, recordings and even possible analyses. This transformation, articulated by artistic practice in itself and the complexity of experiences that accompany musical practices (to which digital social networks add new possibilities), allowed setting up exchange and dialogue sessions that in many cases end up being creative sessions in themselves (cf. Estalella and Criado, 2015; Morgade and Müller, 2015).

In parallel, again with a 'classic' ethnographic methodology, we approached the work of music teachers, who are also active musicians in their after-school life, exploring how they connected they teaching practices to their work as musicians. Early on, this analysis of their work in classrooms, supported by interviews with other teachers (in total 14), highlighted the profound mismatch between the wealth of learning processes and musical socialization experiences teachers participate in outside of school and report to have participated in since a young age, with their discrediting of the musical practices of their students (Morgade, 2013). Academia and school seemed to impose identities and musical cultures in young children, rather denying their own musical cultures, and imposed expressive models that in many cases are not characteristic of teacher's lives as musicians. The forms of intersubjectivity that were developed in classrooms did not allow seeing students as subjects of musical knowledge that could participate in learning events and performative musical creativity in the classroom (Morgade and Poveda, 2009 Bauman, 1979).

In this context, we saw the need to develop an ethnographic study with the double task of: (1) assuming the participation and cooperation of young people in the study of their own musical cultures, not only as ethnographic strategy drawn from sensory ethnography (Pink, 2009) but (2) from a participatory action research (PAR) perspective, seeking transformations in the place of young people regarding their musical culture and what is studied in school and sanctioned as legitimate by educational institutions (Delgado , 2015). With this dual agenda we developed workshops in which young people participate as co-researchers about their musical socialization practices and which would result in a series of products/works/results ready to be shown and discussed in different institutional scenarios (their schools, cultural centers, universities, etc.).

Initially, we though that the best scenario to build collaborative research events would be an extra-curricular/after-school space, as an environment where creativity and freedom of opinion could develop in ways that we had seen schools did not foster. However, an initial collaboration with one of the teachers that participated in earlier studies (Alberto), indicated a keen interest in incorporating these changes into his teaching practices. Thus, demanding the same action research logic as an element to promote profound changes in his teaching and students music learning experiences. Thus the project develops from the challenge of

researching students out of school musical practices from within the school and at the same time transforming the school music curriculum and music learning processes.

With this road-map in our journey we built the workshops and the questions that served to establish a dialogue between students, teachers, researchers and various artists: what is and what is the place of music in the lives of young people?. We worked with all available means to share these experiences and interpretations (photos, soundscapes, videos, field notebooks, social networks, etc.), and with all the tools we had available in the settings (smartphone of all participants, personal computers and school computers, recorders and players, notebooks, etc.) and through use that were in constant transformation from what was first imagined by the teacher and principal researcher to what emerged as relevant practices - for example, eventually using mobile phones as the main registration and later editing, share, and commenting tool. We also used Tumblr for each working group to extend the practice after hours (associating these with Twitter account or other network used by students and other participants), and field notebooks of all participants. All working sessions were video-recorded and used to tie together each individual work session. Our goal with this was to offer a multiplicity of possible channels, and let actual practices configure how tools are used combined. We took for granted that students and all other participants would come into the activity with various types and ranges of knowledge regarding these tools and media and that the dynamics of the workshop would establish what tools eventually worked and the learning paths each student/participant would follow (Milne, Mitchell and Lange, 2012).

As said above, our starting point is to understand music as a social, cultural and expressive practice that is central to contemporary life and plays a dual role, mainly led by peers, in the socialization of adolescents. Adolescents are socialize *through* music: build their social identities and worldviews, in part through engagement with online music and expressive and communication practices (Morgade, 2014). They are also socialized *to* music: to understand, create, communicate and consume music and music media in particular ways. Also, considering how music is produced and circulated in the daily lives of adolescents, music, as semiotic artifact, can condense and make visible the multiple locations and scales (Peirce, 1902; Silverstein, 2003; Lemke, 2000) of musical experience (from the most private and intimate global collective events) and the range of media and ways through which music and musical practices are shared among contemporary adolescents (Delgado, 2015; Woodside and Jimenez, 2012). Yet, we also considered that the places and significance of these artifacts were not transparent to any participants in the experience. Thus we understood that entextualisation processes, emplacements and displacements (Comelles, 2013) we fostered in the materials we worked with generated a dialogue between the experiences and interpretations of all present in the workshop; akin to the way professional musicians in performative events such as rehearsals, jam sessions or recordings, engage in a continuous intersubjective dialogue between audience and performer that contributes to define the logic of the event.

Performance and Intersubjectivity

Folklore studies in the ethnography of communication have developed valuable tools to analyze telling stories or music events. *Performance* (Bauman, 1975) refers to presentations in which the actor attempts to deploy its verbal art, or music, so that both form and content have an effect on the audience. Consequently, the audience is the ultimate judge of their capacity, and this has direct implications for the triadic text-actor-audience structure. Probably these situations are only formalizations of more general properties of language and communication (Jakobson, 1960), which are seen more clearly in performance, when speakers face special demands regarding the organization of speech to achieve a desired effect on the audience. A key aspect of these demands is that performers have to deploy

resources to contextualize and re-contextualize (Bauman and Briggs, 1990) the meaning of each moment of speech, of how each fragment should be "centered". This involves understanding text, or music, as socially situated communicative action. As a communicative event it involves taking into account the actions of interlocutors in the story, the text, the narrator and the audience, and their interactions and forms of participation to achieve specific narrative events. It Involves introducing, or rather reintroducing, elements that had been forgotten in traditional literary studies, where text was separated from concrete social events and attention centered on the text, on formal aspects, and the search for objective references - an 'objectified' view of culture that is commonly reproduced in the interpretation of classical music works in schools and elsewhere. We had observed this enormously dynamic triadic relationship in the musical events our participants engaged but was not present in music classroom lessons of these same participants in their role as music teachers.

Our commitment with collaborative ethnography in an school setting, from its conception, highlighted the self-imposed demand to transform the curriculum (content and practice) drawing from our investigations and the limits of intersubjective inter-relationships between teachers and students with respect to knowledge and learning (we presupposed researchers and artists were closer to teachers than to students in this hierarchical epistemic relation).

Intersubjectivity is a complex and multidimensional concept. A review of the history of this concept brings us to very different discussions, and different topics under the umbrella of very different theories (Crossley, 1996). Without attempting to be exhaustive we summarize some of the dimensions around the concept 'intersubjectivity' and point out the elements we want to highlight.

Intersubjectivity is usually placed as a central concept of the epistemological problem of the validity of knowledge as communicative process, between people (Crossley, 1996). In its various forms it refers to the inter-relationships between subject and object in relationship to "other" subjects. The relational dynamics between these elements lead to various scenarios. The idea of subjectivation and/or objectivation processes and how communicative products are contemplated. We can even bring another dimension to the analysis and speak of power relations inserted in the I/you/it triad.

In our case the elements of the triad can be associated to a performer-teacher-knowledge-student space. We will try to articulate some of the dimensions of intersubjectivity through elements included in three visions of intersubjectivity (Buber, 1958; Husserl, 1991; Kojève, 1969) and link them to the vision of performance developed above.

Hurssel (1991) developed his notion of intersubjectivity in response to the problem of solipsism. Solipsism manifests itself in three ways. First, as an ethical solipsism problem, intersubjectivity emerges as the requirement for an autonomous and conscious other in an ethical relationship. It requires the recognition of an "other", a subject with rights and knowledge, independent of my own subjectivity, not reducible to the content of one's consciousness. Second, solipsism as an epistemological problem, as the necessity of others' perspective on the world and of our own, as a requirement to establish a shared world and life. Objectivity is always intersubjective. Rationality for the phenomenologist Husserl could never be individual, it is an intersubjective achievement that draws on interpersonal persuasion, reasoning, the need for evidence and the exchange of perspectives. Finally, the problem of solipsism from a social and collective point of view, because solipsism would prevents the development of all social phenomena, such as culture, community. Intersubjetivity is a condition to transcend individual consciousness.

The two forms of otherness that Buber (1958) discusses are *I-It* and I-*Thou*. The first talks of a located, situated other, mediated by the knowledge of consciousness, and the second refers to the mutual relationships, where otherness is present as a whole. In short, the first is covered by our experience and the second is the subject that is in communication with us. Thus in the first form of the otherness I is enhanced by reducing the other to objectivity, in the second case both communicate as peers.

The desire and struggle for recognition, which is part of the reading of Hegel by Kojève (1969), serves to highlight certain aspects of intersubjectivity in public, institutionalized communication relationships that are key to understanding educational events in schools, family or leisure spaces. The struggle for recognition in Hegel arises when considering the origin of self-consciousness, and involves various levels of identity development in a process with a dialectical character.

At a first level we would have an isolated organism, in the next level of consciousness this is altered by the desire and consciousness begins through awareness of each other, through the experience of lacking something. But even this desire, and awareness of lack, which is already present in animals, would not lead to self-consciousness. Only the desire for recognitions, the struggle for it, makes us self-conscious, the desire to be desired, recognized allows the development of self through the mediation of the consciousness of the others. So that desire, recognition and self-awareness are three inseparable levels of identity and consciousness of the other. Self-awareness as an intersubjective phenomenon arises as through the mutual recognition between consciences.

But for Hegel this recognition is not immediate. Hegel again takes us to a dialectical process that involves various levels of struggle, a "fight to the death". Starting with a desire, the struggle for survival, then the fight for human life, and third the struggle for life, a death struggle that involves the death of the other. This somewhat obscure and metaphorical process interesting places different contexts to our goal. Hegel tells us that the death of another again leaves us without recognition, and therefore we should consider other forms of recognition and thus of self-consciousness. On could be could be surrendering to the other, returning us to the level of survival, to be located as slaves with respect to a master to be recognized. Hegel reminds us about history. From the over slave working for the master, who is used to satisfy animal needs, to the citizen, through official and institutional recognition proposed from the law and state, as citizens who are seen as consciously autonomous subjects. Citizenship would be the full recognition of self-consciousness.

Another interesting example of intersubjective spaces is documented in research on school discourses, specifically in research focused on encouraging student participation through the use of questions. Wertsch (1998) reviews studies that show how in schools there is a widespread use of examination questions, where the answers that are allowed previously defined, and that from the point of communication do not seek to establish an epistemic interaction between partners. These questions presuppose an asymmetrical relationship between teacher and student in which the former has the right to make educational questions, which assess the extent of mastery of the references managed by the teacher, but the student has no such right. In contrast, in a small number of cases questions emerge that seek specifically that student shows their creative vision, authentic question for which the educator has no concrete, correct answer prior to the question (Morgade and Poveda, 2009). A class session with a wide range of authentic questions is a strange situation in the classroom that puts into question the traditional place of teachers and students.

Our project begins by assuming the presence of intersubjective asymmetries as an ethical, epistemological and social challenge, and with the aim of constituting a community of

practice that both as a research objective as pedagogical transformation worked in developing new forms of participation.

Methodology

This paper draws from a research and educational innovation project conducted during the 2013-14 school-year in music education for Year 2 Compulsory Secondary Education (ESO) students (13-14 year old students in their 8th year of compulsory education) in a south Madrid 'subsidized' school. La Colonia (pseudonym) is a relatively large school, divided in two sections -with distinct buildings and administrative units- holding preschool (children between 3-5 years of age) plus primary education (1st-6th grade) and secondary education (from 7th-12th grade, divided in the Spanish system into Compulsory Secondary Education and pre-university Baccalaureate). The school is located in a socioeconomically and ethnically heterogeneous neighborhood of the Latina district of the city of Madrid (located in the southern part of the city), that gathers middle and working-class Spanish-origin families and migrant families -primarily from Latin America- that have settled in the neighborhood over the last two decades (Cervera, 1990). La Colonia is a subsidized school ('centro concertado'), a private institution supported by public funds, run by a well-known socially and educational progressive foundation that has several educational centers and programs in the Madrid region. Places at the school are in high demand -although entry procedures and regulations are the same as for public state-run schools- and enrollment in this school involves substantial commitment on the part of families with the educational project and philosophy of the school (including financial support from families for additional programs in the school). Yet, given the institution's educational mission, the school does have a student body that somewhat reflects the social and educational diversity of the community in which it is located (according to school data, 10% of students have an immigrant background and also the school has a program for students with developmental needs).

Procedure

During the second semester of the academic year students all three sections of Year 2 of ESO students (about 90 students) participated in a collaborative project involving researchers from the Autonomous University of Madrid (UAM), the music education teacher of the school and several professional musicians and visual artists who gave master classes to the students in the school.

The central goal of the research/innovation project was to collectively explore the meaning and place of music in adolescent's lives and do so through different procedures and media. The workshop was originally scheduled for 14 sessions and eventually lasted 21 sessions. The sessions were held once a week in the three sections (about 30 students per class) and students worked in small groups of 5 people. Each group conducted their own research, but both the process and the results from successive stages were be shared and discussed with the rest of the class through different strategies. As part of the goal of sharing the outcomes with other agents, the workshops culminated in a series of multimedia exhibitions of the works produced by each group, both at school and in other contexts and the preparation of some type of product describing the process (i.e. 'making of'). Students also registered their work through field notes, social networks, video recordings and interviews during the process, which allowed us to trace processes and the decisions that were taken during the workshop.

The experience was divided into three main parts: (1) Photographic documentation of music, first individually, then after selection and discussion within the small group groups created a photographic narrative, finally those narratives were shared through social media, allowing

them to be discussed by all participants (students, the teacher and researchers). (2) Sound recordings, which also were worked through the same steps as the photographs and led to the creation of group soundscapes. (3) Finally use various software tools to edit sounds, images or text and develop a creative group product that condensed the research findings and the experiences that wanted to be shared with the rest of the class and other communities outside the school (at the University, through social media, etc.). Additionally, as a complement to all this work, several sessions included guest professionals in photography and music to exchange perspectives and ideas about music and creativity.

The process was guided by several working rules:

> 1. As required, we secured written permission from all participants, the school administration, and the families of students to collect and make public the materials gathered during the project. However, students themselves retained during the process control over how and which materials were handled by the research team and made public or not (and how and to whom).

> 2. The process and outcomes of the workshop were excluded from academic assessment and grading of any sort. IF students were to become co-researchers their work could not be assessed within a traditional vertical and hierarchical teacher-student relationship. However, during more or less horizontal discussions of materials and the meanings generated in the research (or, for example, in discussions about particular musical groups and their creative process) participants did not shy away from evaluative commentaries and discussion.

> 3. Finally, the research team and teacher eventually sought and secured permission to use mobile phones as the main work tool, as it brought together the possibilities of sound, video and photographic recording and editing, as well as use of social networks to share and discuss the processes and outcome.

These 'rules', as well as the major phases of the workshop, took for granted that our work would also involve creating a new and different community of practice, with different forms of participation and legitimate trajectories. Further, we knew that a major challenge would be to introduce these transformations in a school context were social relations are already organized and many of the school norms and discourses, forms and participation consistently reaffirmed since primary education would emerge as an obstacle to the changes we wanted to introduce - even when the explicit goal of the workshop was to explore students' own musical experiences.

Analysis and Results

In this paper we will focus on analyzing these processes of deconstruction of the relationship between teachers and students, and how this effort makes visible the place of students experiences and musical knowledge inside and outside school. Moreso, this deconstruction also affected how the teacher defined his place, as well as the definition of researchers in a collaborative research environment.

Openings and Resistance to the Task

The workshop started with a presentation of the goals of the experience, securing the authorizations to work, and an overview of potential discussion forums and venues were workshop outcomes could be presented (especially the visit to the university). Additionally, researchers from the university were introduced in the classroom to accompany them during

the process and working with them in smaller groups. All these elements, plus the use of mobile phones and other technical infrastructures of the school, generated excitement (even joy) in participants and students and also the rapid emergence of questions aimed at teachers and researchers about the things they could do in class (and usually could not): can sit with my friends?, can I use my phone in class?, can send you photos with Bluetooth?, etc. As most questions were answered affirmatively, these early interactions between teachers, researchers and students, seemed to create good trusting relationships, and the teacher and researchers became enthusiastic about the possibilities of the experience and disposition to change.

However, several elements in these first sessions showed us all that new forms of work could not be developed so easily, as they assumed establishing very different intersubjective relationships between teachers, students and knowledge. These situations called into question the identities of the students, and in a first instance, the main researcher and the teachers (as usual in school) were left the task of defining new ground rules.

A first set of problems was directly connected to issue with the technical infrastructure available at the school, its possible uses in the institution, which clashed with the logic of the workshop. For example, students could not access the wireless network of the school and had to use their own mobile data plans -which given their costs were limited by parents- and work with very slow connection to work with media. This situation was not initially known by the main researcher (Marta) and was eventually solved when some students 'hacked' the network. However, students asked the researcher to hide this circumstance from the teacher (Alberto). Further, some of students in "section C" (the group with more diversity in both their academic performance and the socioeconomic origin of families) explained they had teachers that knew that the network was hacked, and some of them even provided the passwords, but Alberto -the music teacher- was not one of them.

These technical problems and the limitations in the use of available technologies in the schools, which halted in school uses of technology students frequently engaged in outside of school, spread more generally to the use of computers, the access to media through their mobile connections, etc. The consequence of this is was that the teacher and the researchers had to previously sanction each possible use, and review when and how networks were used and how multimedia materials were shared through them.

This dynamic was not expected, as the school gave initial permission to use fully their technological set-up. Yet, this set-up seemed to be configured under premise of distrust towards the students and constant supervision by a teacher of legitimate uses for students (Lave and Wenger, 1991) was always necessary. Consequently, these initial experiences generated doubts and skepticism in students in relation to their 'freedom' in relation to their work and on what roles as co-researchers they would really be able to adopt in the workshop.

So when work with the first materials (photographs) began, students shared with teachers their images through e-mail (a communication option they do not use outside of school to communicate among themselves and was associated exclusively with communication with teachers and school uses). Students left in the hands of teachers and researchers the task of sharing photos on the social network they were using, and quickly sought the approval of teachers regarding the content of their images. A dynamic that led to one of the most repeated questions and answer pairs in the first months of the workshop, and will most probably be one of the key lessons learned by all in this experience. Students repeatedly asked "Is this right or is this wrong?", to which they always received the answer: "is this (photograph) important to you? "Does it represent the music for you?"

These dialogues, in addition to the difficulties for students to handle directly sharing photographs or media, made explicit the place of teachers and students, redefining the project as "strange school/homework" that puzzled participants and did not allow students to situate clearly their role or that of the teacher/researchers. The teacher and researcher tried to find technical resources/solutions that would return leadership to students. For example, they tried to connect mobile phones to computers in school and allow students to upload materials during class time. But most computers has restrictions on what files could be uploaded by users and other that did allow this had compatibility issues (as the school used a Linux-based platform) with students mobile phones. Students ended up saying they did not know how share and exchange files, something they do often in their day to day, transferring the problem and its solution to the teacher and the researcher. In turn, the teacher and researcher were perplexed by these responses, as they did not matched what they knew students do and are capable of doing outside of school. Informal conversations with students before and after class indicated that these solutions and strategies were indeed available but that students doubted they would be permitted in school or were what was expected from them.

Excerpt 1: Field-notes (by Marta Morgade), February 2014[1]

Alberto says that students are puzzled, that they think they are not progressing and do not know what we want. We talked about how to solve the technical problems that prevent students from participating in an autonomous way, we think about buying headphones and cables so that they can use their phones, but we know this takes time and we only have 45-50 of class a week. We thought about asking them to upload the files from their homes, but we are not sure that everyone would do it so we decided to talk about it after the session and find solutions. Before entering class I talk to a group of students who are watching videos on a mobile phone, I ask them if "I can see it, that sounds familiar", they hesitate but then let me watch it, I listen and say its "pretty cool". I suggest they upload it on Tumblr, one tells me that at home the home computer belongs to his father and he is not allowed to do those things in the computer, that they share videos through Whatsapp. I ask if they could send it to me via bluetooth and then I can upload it through Alberto's computer, but they doubt the two phones will be able to connect. Students say that at school they can only use pen-drives, and they do not have one now. One kid suggests doing it with the phone SD card of one of them, that maybe I could use it if the school computers allow to do so. As we walk into class I say, we need to think how to do share this is very interesting that video. (...) While each group is working on their computers I discuss with Alberto the possibility of buying and SD memory pen-drive adapter. He tells me that he has bought one but has not arrived yet, although it would only be one for 90 students and we would have to again monitor how it is used.

Such situations returned control to the teacher control of over exchange and communication practices and also put in place a teacher-evaluation of the materials that were to be shared and discussed. So this raised again questions from students: "Is this what you want?", "Is this right?" Questions that multiplied during in the sessions, in the corridors, or in other class periods students shared with the teacher. Yet, in parallel to the main activity, students still used computers to search for videos and photos in secret, trying to hide these searches, and when we did see their findings and asked them to share them they would say "no, this does not work for this". Also they stopped writing personal field notes, and only annotated the class summaries that teachers-researchers provided and not their own decision processes. Meanwhile, our assistant researchers jotted down parallel conversations in their field-notes:

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[1] All interactions and activity in this project take place in Castilian Spanish and all the materials generated in the project (field-diaries, interviews, recordings, etc.) are also in Spanish. They are translated and adapted into English by the authors for this paper.

Excerpt 2: Field-journal from "Section C" (by an assistant researcher), February 2014

> *Marta is working with a group and tells them that what is important is what they decide, that the goal is to see what music is for them, because they were not sure whether Alberto would like their photos. Marta then moves on to another group, and a member of group of students that was sitting next to this group and listening into the conversation says "you'll see, they will make us repeat it".*

So the initial enthusiasm with which the project was initially received was increasingly replaced with distrust. The workshop had evolved into a series of decisions we were imposing on students, and these doubted these decisions would not be eventually assessed without warning. This led to various interpretations on our part: lack of motivation, unwillingness to share with us, lack of interest in the project... But we soon realized we would need to change the relational structure of the project and the support we provided, even if we did not in what way.

Excerpt 3: Field-notes (by Marta Morgade), February 2014

> *Alberto tells me students keep asking questions in their classes, that they do not know what to do, that they do not usually do these things at school. I comment that in school tasks are often closed and pre-defined, and that we are also exploring very intimate issues in some cases, so its reasonable that it takes some time and effort. Alberto and I are constantly talking about this (...) at the end of one session, some students we have spoken to privately share musical tastes and activities that are not visible in their group photographs and we are not aware of. Alberto says "it's amazing how school tames students, what have I been doing that students are not able to experiment freely, they don't even know how to work in groups, when in their daily lives they are constantly exchange views on these things (...) I can't continue working as before, next year I am going to change everything from year 2 so little by little we can learn how to work differently, doing this starting in primary school will be difficult, but it is something that needs to be done".*

In short, problems, questions, concerns, and frustrations over the lack of progress in the process accumulated (e.g. students and teachers saw that we were not able to upload on time all photo-selections from each group and that these photographs did not generate much commentary), produced a sense of crisis and lack of confidence in the project by all, and all type of attributions regarding responsibilities over this emerged:

Excerpts 4:
4a (Marta Morgade's field-notes, March)
Alberto: "They don't know how to work in groups and take personal responsibility, no one has taught them in school"

4b (Video-recording of session in "section B, February 2014):
Students in a work-group: "This is for sure wrong, they will make us repeat us (...) but tell us if it's right!"

This feeling was repeatedly captures in field-diaries and videos of the sessions in small-group talk. More so, during the final stages of the workshop, almost everyone remembered this initial crisis, in interviews between students, during the presentation of the project at the University or even in the footage of a documentary made about the project by Spanish public television (RTVE, 2015).

Excerpt 5: Transcription of a roundtable session between project students, university students and faculty at the University (November 2014)

At first we were lost, we are used to having teachers telling us what to do, as ultimately it is teachers who evaluate us, but then everything changed (...) the most interesting thing is that we gradually started making our decisions, learning to do things on our own, doing our work and in the end we did not need the teachers (...) also with artists we saw that things could be done in many different ways, even things we never thought could be done and it gave us a different perspective.

The musical identities that adolescents can be put into play at school, determined by their place as students, limited greatly the research practices we wanted to develop. The procedures we wanted to open up, which involved exploring various alternative research strategies, sharing personal activity spaces outside of school, extending learning process both inside and outside school, all called into question the usual practices regarding who can or should ask questions and who can or should respond to them in classrooms.

Intersubjective Scaffolding and New Forms of Participation

So the highpoint of the workshop is remembered as the initial crisis in which we all participated and the changes that we had to incorporate as the major achievement of the experience. Probably one of the sessions that crystallized best both the staging of this crisis and the possible ways to tackle with it were the large group presentations of "work in progress".

In the first phase, presenting the selection of photos of each of the groups and discussing them in a large group was seen as a way to exchange points of views, enrich the projects of each group and collectively explore and learn about the narrative potential of image and sounds to represent their musical experiences. These sessions were initially planned for in smaller groups (two 15 student semi-groups with three work-groups of students per classroom). We considered this arrangement would allow more comfortable and productive dialogue and would fit well into the 50-minut class periods we had available. In addition, we thought the social networks we used (Tumblr) would allow for everyone to comment and have a more open discussion among the 90 students.

But the continuous questions, doubts and requests for help who and that very few completed tasks had been uploaded to the network, made us return to a whole-class format to have a session in which we could refresh the objectives, and share concerns and solutions. The session, therefore returned to a "regular classroom format": 30 students sitting at their desks, with the teacher fronting the class, guiding the process and moderating interventions, giving voice and also silencing others while using an increasingly high speaking volume. This was a known scenario to everyone, were it was more comfortable to identify and adopt know positions in the activity. The teacher and researcher asked for volunteers to present their work in progress, but not came forward giving various explanations: "I do not have it ready", "It's not finished", etc. However, the researcher and teacher did know what groups had materials that could be presented so these were encouraged and supported to step-up.

In all three sections (A, B and C) these sessions followed the same steps but there were major differences in how these unfolded. In sections A and B, the more homogeneous groups (with normal to high academic performance and mostly Spanish-origin middle class families), the following sequence unfolded: (1) Encourage one group to present to the class; (2) Help solve the technical problems so they can present their work in public -a (i.e. not "knowing" how to put photos from their mobile, identify folders in the computers, etc.) - a

process that consumed much of the session time, (3) A presentation to the class marked by nervousness and insecurity.

Excerpt 6: Field-journal from the main researcher (Marta Morgade)

No on wants to present as the first group, eventually we all encourage one that come to me trembling, one students says he does not know if it's right, and does not know what to say. I calm him and tell him not to worry, that is just to share ideas, that its right because its his pictures and that was what mattered. I explain how to open folders in the computer, at one point I ask him if he knows where look for the main file folder, because I work with Windows and do not understand Linux too well, he shrugs and tells me to ask Alberto. Then: (1) We finally manage to see the photographs; (2) One student in the groups describes each picture and explains why it was chosen while the rest of the group stands quietly; (3) When he is done, the class claps; (4) Alberto asks questions to the group but they hardly participate; (5) The researcher and the teacher insist again on the objectives of the project and encourage discussion; (6) some say the photographs are good and others start to talk and joke among themselves causing disruptions; (7) the teacher asks for silence and that students share their commentaries in public to the whole class.

As can be seen, this is quite typical in classroom interactions where materials become exercises and where student's views will also be assessed by the teacher (Wertsch, 1998), yet here the goal was to discuss experiences in which students are protagonists and dealt with their out of school life. To break with this situation, the teacher and researcher stage a possible discussion of the materials, scaffolding talking to each other about how they see the images, discuss between them how they would do it, an how they could incorporate the work of these students. With each intervention they encourage students to do the same, but these only timidly added some observations. Side conversations (captured in the video-recordings) show some commentaries but also questions suggesting students materials will also end up being evaluated. The researcher even reminds students that she has put up her photographs, and that some are very similar to theirs. But the sequence only timidly breaks the traditional idea of "correction" of homework.

The time that was spent in the two groups attempting to scaffold (Bruner, 1983) the process of discussion and sharing within the conventional structure of a classroom, I highlighted the schizophrenic intersubjectivity we were navigating. The teacher and researcher looking for and requesting participation and discussion, not knowing how this could be done, but not wanting to re-impose a regular academic task ("homework") and students demanding from the teacher guidance as to how to participate and an evaluation of their work. By the end of the session only one group has presented, so students are invited to continue the dialogue via social media at home, which is seen as a home assignment and not as an extension of the research process to their informal contexts.

After this session, the researcher decide to move up in the timing the invitation into class of a photographer - to see if this would help break these academic and relational structures. The photographer is relatively young (22 years of age), but well known and respected in musical media, and his task would be to share his photographs, musical preferences and experiences with the students.

The organization of the session in "section C" was similar to the above but unfolded in a quite different direction at one point. "Section C" is the most diverse group in terms of socio-economic class of families, foreign origin students, more varied academic trajectories and also includes several students with identified educational needs. Also, up to this point, it was the section that by far had done more parallel work with mobile phones and computers during class, that had exchanged and uploaded more photographs and had exchanged impressions with researchers on their musical interests and tastes.

After a group presented to the class their images and the group was invited to comment, this invitation was quickly uptaken and agreements and disagreements and elaborate debates between students began. The topic of the discussion was precisely how and why an image can talk about sound and music. The teacher and the researcher did not have to model or scaffold the conversation. More so, it was the students themselves who called for silence to be heard, or even reminded that all opinions had to be respected when they saw that the teacher tended to agree more with the point of view of particular students or groups. The discussion became even quite heated when the question was raised regarding if photographs can, in fact, represent musical experiences. The researcher and teacher simply acted as moderators but did not have to animate or model the debate, and even had to bid for their own turns to express their views and opinions - but more like an additional participant, rather than to establish criterion. The session also ended abruptly and students were invited to continue the discussion via social media, but in this case the recollections in the field-diaries were completely different:

> **Excerpts 7:**
> **7a: Field-diary from assistant researcher in "Section C" (February 2014)**
> *The session has been very intense, everyone is still talking about it as they leave, saying that they will upload examples of what they were saying in the project web, Alberto and Marta are smiling*
>
> **7b: Field-diary from Marta Morgade of "Section C" (February 2014)**
> *Alberto is happy, and we talked about how this group works very well, are much freer to speak their mind. We just have to supervise that they are not offensive to each other, we have to respect the views of all. I said that was quite a profound discussion about sound and its expressive capabilities. Laughing I tell him it was more interesting than many of the discussing about semiotics I have had with my University students and that they gave very "cool" examples.*

In interviews conducted with students from "Section C" almost a year after they indicated that these discussions were probably what they enjoyed most the project and that talk about these things with peers allowed them to learn a quite a lot:

> **Excerpt 8: Interview with Alba (June 2015)**
> *(...) the best, the discussions, I have never participated so much in class, also we learned a lot with all the things we talked about, I wish we could have done it more, even if I did not agree with others, it was interesting to listen to them, this is how we talk about things in WhatsApp groups (...)*

These large group sessions were reduced to two others (one in which a similar presentation of collected sounds took place and then a discussion of interviews as an instrument of social research). We tried to avoid our excessive involvement, and assumed that working together with 30 students in sessions 45-50 minutes forced us to adopt a hierarchical relationship similar to "usual" academic lessons. Time constraints limited interactions and dialogue and favored defining everything that was moved to take place outside the classroom as "homework". Nonetheless, these were the first steps in changing roles in the classroom and developing different classroom dynamics.
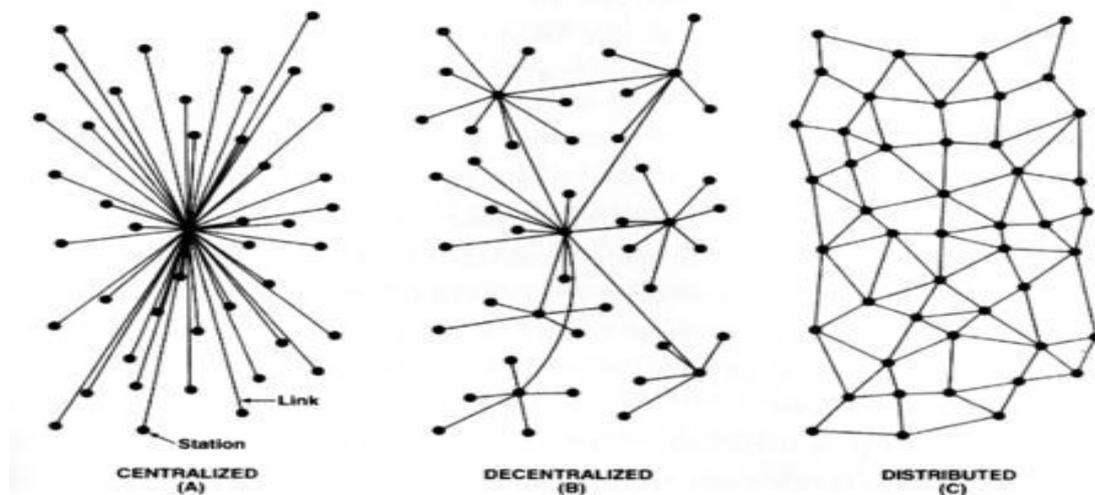
Emergent Participation Structures

This "crisis period" led to transformations and the construction of a new spaces and flows of information. These were clearly observable in the final sessions of the workshop during the 2013-14 academic year and have been implemented since the start in the workshop of the 2014-2015 academic year.

Entering a secondary education classroom is associated with the expected arrangement of plenty of tables and chairs arranged geometrically in two-seat columns. For example, when we started work with "Section B" we realized that the physical structure of this class was not different than the expected in any classroom. We were aware of the implications of this classroom structure and that information does not flow the same way if students look forward or if they are set in a circle. But we were also aware of time-constraints and it was clear that the moving around chairs and tables before and after the class would waste precious time, thus we had to leave intact the physical structure of the classroom.

So we started with the arrangement of a prototypical classroom, but as the process progressed, we realize that the educational exchanges are a more symbolic space than a physical space, defined more by uses and practices that by material and organizational dispositions. So we found different structures of communication structures that emerged independently of the organization of physical space. We identified three group arrangements: (1) small groups interact within themselves and with and other small groups, which we call *decentralized* communication; (2) another where the whole class- group is the interlocutor, whether its because the teacher addresses the whole class or a small-group presents to the whole class, which we call *centralized* communication; (3), finally, a communication pattern within the whole group where communication between individual students and teachers seems to flow with what at first glance seems to be little structure easily visible. This is a pattern that tends to emerged unplanned and gradually and allows for more movement in the classroom; we call this *distributed* communication. Figure 1 summarizes visually these structures:

Figure 1: Observed relational structures in the workshop

Centralized structures

Centralized communication is the paradigmatic form in which knowledge is transmitted and participation is organized in "classic schooling": the teacher is the one who delivers content and organizes the class. In our classrooms this if the frequent structure at the start of the session. Alberto call into the classroom the various students that are in the hall, and then talks to the class about various matters which need to be arranged with the group. These indications are given from an authority the position, and dialogue flows from Alberto to the class. This type of structure does not favor dialogue with the students. The role of students is

strictly "receptive", students have to listen and understand the explanations, even if students ask questions these are often not answered since the explanations are considered self-evident and not understanding is simply a consequence of not paying attention.

> **Excerpts 9:**
> **9a: Field-diary, "Section B" (April 2014)**
> *(...) The class begins with Alberto remembering the due date for the materials, he sets the date and explains why. He is sitting on the table, he asks "what are teaching materials?", no one answers, he continues with the reminders (...)*
>
> **9b: Field-diary, "Section B" (April 2014)**
> *(...) Two boys sit for a while with raised hands, they don't get to ask their questions and lower their hands. Questions are asked without order and these students do not participate (...)*

The second type of centralized structure happens when the work-groups are ready to present their work in the classroom. Here the same vertical communication dynamic is maintained. However, in this case the position of authority is transferred from the by teacher to the group of students. This situation introduces new ways of communicating, as it provides a space where students become protagonists and their knowledge is present, the group of students move from "receptors" to "transmitters". In this situation students are empowered, they take charge of the class and lead their peer's learning peers. We have a clear example of this transformation in a video extract from one of the sections that participated in the workshop during the second year of its implementation (2014-15):

> **Excerpt 10: Video-recording summary of class activity (March 2015)**
> *Min 1.12: Alberto leaves the classroom without any further explanation and does not return until three minutes later, again without giving any explanation of his absence or return. During this time the class work-groups have continued their work independently (These absences of the teacher seems to be something ordinary in the group that do not disturb class activity).*

Decentralized structures

Decentralized structures can been seen more clearly when students are working in their groups building their projects. This is another situation where students take charge of the educational processes and their autonomy and participation increases. In small-group work the teacher's guidance is diluted, and students have to make decisions about what type of material they will chose and the theme they will create. As captured in Figure 1, the large group structure is broken down into small groups. We interpreted this as a focusing of the activity, because while each small group might still have a central node, communication and participation is much more flexible and collaborative among members. Additionally, this arrangement increases the possibility of contact between members of different groups. Again, a clear illustration of this is how the renovated curriculum developed in the third year of secondary education (3 ESO).

> **Excerpt 11: Summary of interview with Luna (May 2015)**
> *She describes the process, each group had chosen a musical genre to work on and give examples, in addition they designed activities to see if the class had learned well or had doubts. She says that the topics are chosen by each group, each group specializes in something. And groups developed their own evaluation instruments and had their peers answer several things.*

Distributed structures

We refer to distributed structures in the sense that everyone has the possibility to relate to everyone and exchange information not only in moments and places that are supposedly

reserved for this. These situations occurs simultaneously to group work, as it is in this space where students can move about to seek help from a partner or simply socialize without asking permission to do so. Its a situation that is closer to the forms of sociability among adolescents outside these contexts, as students talk about things from outside the classroom, similarly to how in non-formal situations they talk about what happens to them in class. Interactions approximate more to ways of being and working in informal settings, although its always clear that the goals and nature of each situation are different.

> **Excerpt 12: Interview with student (May 2015)**
> *(...) It is important not only to have what is on social networks, but some concepts and things that you know and can try to somehow share, so not everything is what we can find in internet" put that Internet is not everything (...)*

In addition, we also found this structure in some of the presentations. When some of the groups presented their projects tot the class, questions emerged which were usually related to their tastes and interests, which would lead to a dialogue between students in which Alberto basically acted as a moderator but where all other responsibilities are managed by students.

These structures converge in relation to the forms of participation they support. In the interviews that were conducted, students themselves gave us the answer about which forms of participation were generated and preferred. They express that they felt very engaged, because they could talk, do something as simple as giving their opinion, be heard and taken into account, in short, experience a more democratic form of dialogue that was not observed in large group work. Drawing on Lave and Wenger (1991) we identified various forms of legitimate participation, defined by whether decisions were made at the institutional, classroom or work-group level. Each of these distinctions helped identify diverse practices within the classroom community and the range of possibilities and forms of action they afford.

(a) Participation in the construction of knowledge

Here students feel they can contribute with their knowledge to the classroom, they can participate in the construction of shared meanings. It refers to the possibility of creating knowledge that goes beyond the individual, something co-created, shared, from definition that is not written in books, which is written and re-written in classroom interactions. Here it is not so much the academic definition of knowledge but he ability to feel like an active part in the creation of meanings. It occurred frequently in group presentations, the explanations led to a dialogue between presenters and audience, and in many cases when there is difficulty in continuing with the presentation, the students in the classroom help the group through their explanations and comments, leading to a final presentation different form what was initially planned and is the product of classroom interactions.

(b) Participation as a work-creating activity

Here students feel that the learning process is not bound to going to class, sitting and listen passively, repeating and correcting exercise and seeing if they're right or wrong. Rather, these classes, in contrast to others, are seen as an active process requiring finding information in class and working on it. As we can see from the excerpts below, we see how students appropriate the learning activity, do not wait for homework to be dictated and then turned in correctly, they are given tasks and organize among themselves, and create something new. Key aspects in this process is that they do not feel judged and that that they feel they have autonomy, which legitimizes how they participate:

Excerpts 13:
13a: Interview with student (May 2015)
(...) The difference between participation here and other classes? In mathematics things are right or wrong and in these classes even if your opinion is not correct, you can express it

13b: Interview with student (May 2015)
(...) In other subjects they lecture and you do homework. In music you do have work, but not in the same way and also have you have more autonomy, you have to organize yourself.

(c) Participation as collaboration

Here we refer to situations in which students can help their peers, beyond their own groups or assigned tasks, promoting a "collaborative ethos". This allows for support situations to emerge, maybe not so much to construct new meanings or creating new products, but where there is space to help one another, even in simple things like those described by Nerea:

Excerpt 14: Interview with student (May 2015)
(...) There is a difference between music and other classes, you can help your classmates even if they are not in your group, we have more relations, if they need your mobile phone or a missing group member you can help them (...)

Conclusions

The hybridization of forms of learning internal and external to academic learning time is a daunting deconstruction and construction effort, that involves new relationships forms of intersubjectivity (Morgade and Poveda, 2009). Traditional forms of intersubjectivity are called into question, and students call to re-signify (Bauman and Briggs, 1990) their daily uses, practices and out-of-school expertise. Even for an experience that can be centrally intense in their lives, such as musical experience, school works usually interpret their knowledge, and the meanings adolescents build in in their lives, as useless, if not as simply wrong. The challenge, therefore, is not only to invite students to share those parts of their lives but also to give them a place in educational processes.

School infrastructures and persist in reminding who is who is in school. The intersubjective task of building forms of legitimate participation (Lave and Wenger 1991) based on the experiences of all present must be a joint effort, since the identities of students and teachers are co-dependent and are mutually constituted in each performative event in the classroom. However, it is clear that an initial deconstruction of these conventions is only possible when teachers take the first step and accept it as a goal. Evidently, there will also be moments of distrust and resistance to change in students, who work within classrooms where they are usually told how to be good students, and now they are only accompanied in their learning, and teacher even learn from and with them.

Finally, it is again necessary to indicate that this experience also led to the deconstruction of the place of the traditional ethnographic researcher, from an engagement with sensory ethnography and the establishment of collaborative forms of registration and analysis of the experience. It also assumes as a research objective change through action, which open up interesting possibilities within a full collaborative ethnography (Estadella and Sanchez, 2015).

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