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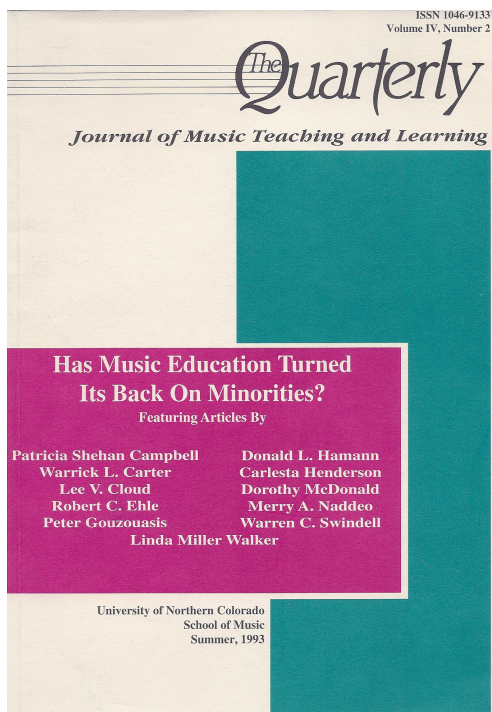
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Campbell, Patricia Shehan (2021) "Cultural Issues And School Music Participation: The New Asians In American Schools," *Visions of Research in Music Education*: Vol. 16 , Article 18.
Available at: <https://opencommons.uconn.edu/vrme/vol16/iss4/18>



Title: Cultural Issues and School Music Participation: The New Asians in American Schools

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Source: Campbell, P. S. (1993, Summer). Cultural issues and school music participation: The new Asians in American schools. *The Quarterly*, 4(2), pp. 45-56. (Reprinted with permission in *Visions of Research in Music Education*, 16(4), Autumn, 2010). Retrieved from <http://www-usr.rider.edu/~vrme/>

It is with pleasure that we inaugurate the reprint of the entire seven volumes of The Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning. The journal began in 1990 as The Quarterly. In 1992, with volume 3, the name changed to The Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning and continued until 1997. The journal contained articles on issues that were timely when they appeared and are now important for their historical relevance. For many authors, it was their first major publication. Visions of Research in Music Education will publish facsimiles of each issue as it originally appeared. Each article will be a separate pdf file. Jason D. Vodicka has accepted my invitation to serve as guest editor for the reprint project and will compose a new editorial to introduce each volume. Chad Keilman is the production manager. I express deepest thanks to Richard Colwell for granting VRME permission to re-publish The Quarterly in online format. He has graciously prepared an introduction to the reprint series.

Cultural Issues And School Music Participation: The New Asians In American Schools

By Patricia Shehan Campbell

University of Washington

Do African-American, Asian, Latino, Native American, and Euro-American students have distinctive musical needs and interests? Are all minorities equal in their involvement—or lack of it—in school music programs? Floyd (1988) underscored the absence of black participation in music programs in higher education and called for a direct and systematic way of addressing the problem of recruitment and retention of blacks into collegiate programs in music.

While the issues involving black participation in music programs at all levels are not resolved, and both research and models of successful programs are yet rare and left waiting for development, several questions on minority participation beg for attention: Are all minority students equally disillusioned with the content and context of performing ensembles and music offerings in the secondary schools? In the quest for equity as well as excellence, should schools serve

the needs and interests of individual minority groups? How? What musical and cultural competencies should teachers of student minorities possess?

This is the stuff of more than a quick do-and-be-done graduate thesis; the answers require the collaborative efforts of a broad swath of the music, arts, and education communities. These answers may also mean the survival and strengthening of music in scholastic programs well into the next century.

Hoffer's (1988) observations give a nod toward an across-the-board boycott of school music participation by minorities, noting that "minority students are not represented in anywhere near the numbers one would expect" (p. 5). While solutions are sought for greater minority involvement in general, this article

seeks to address the status in school music programs of one overlooked "silent minority:" newly arrived Asian students. Rather than grouping all Asians as one entity (and to thus imply similar cultural characteristics among such distinctive groups as the Japanese, Indians, Koreans, Burmese, Chinese, and Thai, for example), emphasis will be given to the Indochinese—the Vietnamese,

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Cambodians, and Laotians of Southeast Asia who geographically and historically constitute a related set of ethnic groups quite removed from other, more established Asian-American groups. As one of the fastest growing "minorities within a minority," the state of the new Asians in academic and social programs will be examined, along with a discussion of musical interests and involvement in school and community programs. Also, this article will address the issue of under-representation of minority students in general and suggest directions for further development through theory, research, and practice.¹

The Silent Minority

The Asian presence in the United States was considerable by the last third of the nineteenth century; some Asian-Americans trace their American roots back four or five generations. The discovery of gold in California in 1848 brought several hundred Chinese to San Francisco, but the impoverished peasants who supplied the manpower for the building of the railroads and industry constituted the greatest number of early Chinese immigrants (Thernstrom, 1980). The Japanese arrived during the late nineteenth century, settling mainly in Hawaii and California. Korean emigration to the United States began about 60 years later, during and following the Korean War (1950-53), with thousands of refugees, war brides, and orphans admitted annually since then. Following the abolition of the national-origins quota system in 1965, Filipinos arrived in the tens of thousands, becoming the largest Asian minority group in the United States (Robey, 1985). The place of Asians in the American multiethnic mosaic is secure and well established; many East Asians have longer family histories in the United States than do European-Americans.

Up and down the West Coast, in Gulf Coast communities, and in major American cities from Boston to Houston to Los Angeles to Seattle, Indochinese refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos are adding significantly to the long-established Asian-American populations of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino backgrounds. To establish total population of the Indochinese in the United States, figures must be adjusted to include

refugees as well as those who arrived before 1975, those arriving in recent years as immigrants, and children born to refugees and immigrants. The number of Southeast Asians now living in the United States may already greatly exceed the 1.2 million calculated by Haines (1989), and the 1990 census figures of 615,000 Vietnamese and 822,000 Asian "others," including Cambodians and Laotians. That population is concentrated in the states of California, Texas, and Washington, but substantial numbers live in Iowa, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, reflecting the refugee-resettlement and sponsorship programs of those areas. While the Indochinese (and Asians in general) are overrepresented in the Pacific region, there are concentrated communities even in the relatively under-represented New England and Eastern Central states, from Michigan through Alabama.

There are internally diverse groups within the Indochinese population, including four distinct ethnic populations: ethnic Chinese (mostly from Vietnam), Khmer (Cambodia), Lao (Laos), and Vietnamese. Each group has its own distinctive cultural, social, and linguistic identities. Selective data suggest that the Vietnamese tend to be the best educated, the most fluent in English, and the most experienced in professional/technical occupations prior to exodus (Whitmore, Trautmann, & Caplan, 1989). There is also a pre- and post-1975 distinction, in that Indochinese arriving before 1975 were better educated, more likely to be employed in professional, technical, and skilled occupations, and more financially stable than Indochinese refugees arriving after that date.

The Asian-origin population is the fastest growing minority group in the United States (Tsang & Wing, 1985). It has more than doubled since 1980, from 1.5 percent to 2.9 percent in 1990 and another .4 percent since the 1990 census. Projections indicate another 22 percent increase by 2000, when this group will constitute over 5 percent of the American population (Census Bureau, 1992). In the San Francisco metropolitan area, Asians constitute over 16 percent of the population, and in Seattle the Asian population tops 18 percent. In these cities as well as numerous others, clustered communities result in neigh-

borhood school populations that are predominantly Asian. This group is likely to constitute an increasingly significant part of the American multiethnic population in the decades to come.

Arrival and Acculturation

When the fall of Saigon seemed imminent in 1975 and news spread of the rise of the Pathet Laos and the genocidal war waged by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, the U. S. government organized reception centers for Indochinese refugees. These centers, or camps, located in California, Florida, Arkansas, and Pennsylvania, facilitated the assimilation of the refugees into American society. The tasks charged to the reception centers were challenging, for most of the refugees faced difficult adjustment problems. Kuntz (1973) and Montero (1979) classify most of the Indochinese in the United States as "acute refugees" who fled their homelands in the wake of political upheaval.² Like other acute refugees, those from Southeast Asia often experienced an overwhelming sense of homelessness accompanied by feelings of guilt by association with the war, dishonor because of the weakened economic and political status of their homelands, and despair over the loss of loved ones through death and separation. In the reception centers and camp schools, symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorders, including hyperalertness and startle reactions, fear of airplane sounds, recurrent dreams, and flashbacks indicated the adjustment difficulties faced by refugees (Tollefson, 1989).

The resettlement camps included educational programs as part of the effort to prepare the Asian refugees to enter American society. Adults received training in language and selected skilled and semi-skilled vocations, and schooling was provided for children from the ages of 6 to 18. Educational programs emphasized assertiveness and independence, values that clashed with the Asian traditions of submission and respect for the wishes of parents and elders (Kelly, 1977).

Resettlement-camp school curricula for elementary school-age refugees did not replicate the standard American school curriculum, because the principal purpose of the camp schools was to prepare children for

American schools through intensive language instruction (Kelly, 1977). School days in the camps included the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance and the singing of patriotic songs like "America the Beautiful" and "God Bless America," along with instruction in social etiquette and mainstream American cultural practices. Secondary schools in the camps more closely approximated American schools, with defined class periods for math, art, music, social studies, and physical education; the greatest portion of time was spent on English instruction. For example, the staff at Fort Indian Town Gap, Pennsylvania, resettlement center included curriculum coordinators, language arts specialists, an expert in English as a second language, and art and music instructors.

Acculturation of refugees, including that of the Indochinese, follows a typical progression from temporary camps to private sponsorship, to the ethnic enclaves formed within cities, and finally to assimilation within mainstream American culture (Thernstrom, 1980; Tollefson, 1989). Sponsorship, an important step in the process, occurs when an entity, typically a church-affiliated agency or state or federal public assistance agency, accepts financial responsibility for a refugee family's food, clothing, shelter, and medical care. Such sponsors and their agents help heads of households find employment, enroll children in school, and provide advice and encouragement.

As was the case with earlier immigrant groups, the Southeast Asians who were settled by sponsors in small towns and rural areas reached economic independence and soon began to migrate to cities with already established Asian, and particularly Indochinese, communities. The sponsorship programs had avoided settling large concentrations of refugees in a single geographic areas for fear of economic and social problems, but many refugees, abruptly isolated from their familiar culture, sought to preserve their traditions in supportive communities (Zucker & Zucker, 1987). Thus a significant regrouping of the refugee population began in the late 1970s, and refugees were encouraged to join other Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians already living in urban centers.

Like Chinese and Japanese immigrant groups who arrived in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Indochinese sought ethnic solidarity in their new enclaves.

While vital and cohesive groups of Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians have emerged, the assimilation into mainstream American culture of these groups is yet more projection than reality. Still, their assimilation will likely be rapid. Earlier Asian immigrants lived during a time of greater hostility and discrimination than the Indochinese; many Chinese and Japanese several generations removed from their immigrant ancestors are only now assimilating into American society. For the Indochinese, the resettlement and sponsorship programs provided intensive acculturation experiences, and new perspectives on language, religion, and culture were quickly developed. Although large enclaves of Southeast Asians exist in urban areas, the full-scale ghettoization experienced by earlier groups may not occur.

Music in Indochinese Communities

In communities of Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians in the United States, traditional and popular music genres are preserved through concert performances, radio programs, televised performances, and through an array of cassette tapes and videotapes available in corner groceries and import shops. During gatherings of extended families and friends over the New Year and at other holiday celebrations, performances of folk and sometimes art music and dance traditions are followed by the dancing of young and old to the music of Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Lao rock bands.³

Like all children, Southeast Asians frequently begin kindergarten with an already defined set of sonic structures, i.e., melodic, rhythmic, and timbral elements characteristic of the traditional and popular music of their (or their parents') homeland. They know childhood songs and chants from the "old world," transmitted to them by their parents and siblings in tonalities and with intonational inflections unique to those traditions.

Older children, particularly adolescents, are drawn to the sounds of American mainstream rock and popular styles of MTV and

mega-watt radio programming, as well as to the music of ethnic rock groups. In fact, East Asian pop music in general, including the sounds of bands from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Thailand, often competes with American rock music for preferred status among the Indochinese. The amount of time spent in the United States is an indicator of the degree of preference for one style or another; longer periods of residence in the United States function to "shift the ears" of Southeast Asian students toward popular music of the American mainstream (Kelly, 1991).

Vietnamese Music

Among the Vietnamese, there are six musical genres that show great vitality in American communities:

1. *dan ca*, or short occupational or entertainment songs;
2. *nhac tai tu*, instrumental and vocal music featuring stringed zithers and lutes;
3. chants of the Buddhist *sutra*;
4. *chau van*, shamanist chants;
5. *tan nhac*, or popular and rock music with Western instrumentation and Vietnamese folk melodies and lyrics; and
6. *cai luong*, or Vietnamese opera.

Weekly performances of *dan ca*, *nhac tai tu*, and *cai luong* in the "Little Saigon" of Orange County, California, are well attended, while the religious chants survive in temples found in California, Texas, and Washington. Traditional musicians travel the circuit to play to audiences in regions with smaller Vietnamese populations. Vietnamese audiences will drive for two hours or more to hear traditional operas and instrumental music played on *dan tranh* (zither), *dan tyba* (lute), and *dan bau* (monochord) (Nguyen & Campbell, 1990). As for the popular dance music, Vietnamese bands often accompany their Vietnamese texts to the sounds of paso doble, tango, and rhumba as well as rock styles (Reyes-Schramm, 1986).

Cambodian Music

The status of traditional Khmer music is endangered in Cambodia as well as abroad, for only a few artists who had been formally charged with carrying on the traditions survived the Pol Pot regime.⁴ The result has been a break in the oral tradition and the loss of more than half of the traditional melodies. In American communities of Cambodi-

ans, musicians apply personal and popular interpretations to what were once sophisticated forms of art music, and many traditional pieces are known by name but no longer survive in the performance repertoire. The variety of instruments once used in ensembles have been reduced, and abbreviations or repetitions of sections of classical pieces sometimes must substitute for the complete piece. The dance traditions are faring better, for Khmer associations in several communities offer classes in the traditional choreographic arts. At parties, Khmer rock bands play not only Asian pop, but Latin American dance rhythms such as cha cha and bolero as well. Some of the most contemporary bands of young people “rap” in Khmer and in English the stories and sentiments of relocation and resettlement (Luangpraseut, 1991; Sam & Campbell, 1991).

Laotian Music

Neither of the two organized groups of Lao classical musicians and dancers are active today, despite supportive grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The group at St. Louis, Missouri, performed from the early through mid-1980s, first at summer festivals but eventually as a touring company of singers, dancers, and instrumentalists. Their instruments and repertoire were evidence of a co-mingling of Lao, Thai, and Western traditional and popular cultures. The Des Moines group performed music and dance from the Thai-influenced courts at Vientiane, Laos. As collective memory of the court music receded, so did interest in performing these genres (Campbell, 1992). The following genres of Lao music survive to some extent in the United States:

1. Buddhist chant;
2. music of *soukhouan* or *basi* (good luck) ritual;
3. *kaen*-playing (free-reed mouth organ);
4. repartee songs, called *kup* or *lum*; and
5. Lao rock or popular music that blends Laotian melodies and lyrics with Western instruments (Miller, 1985).

The future of traditional Laotian music in the United States is not bright, because it lacks the organization by Laotians that might foster its continuation. While the first four genres listed above are endangered music traditions, Lao rock bands attract the Laotian

community to Saturday night dances; this music is perceived as a symbol of progress and of the blending of the old world with the new (Shehan, 1986).

The large population of Vietnamese in the United States, as well as their greater affluence compared to Cambodians and Laotians, may offer some reasons for the greater efforts by the Vietnamese to preserve and maintain their traditional music. Yet while traditional genres have not faded from the minds or ears of any one Southeast Asian group, American popular styles influence the musical tastes of the people both here and in the homelands. Traditional melodies and lyrics in the languages of Indochina are accompanied by the guitars, keyboards, and drum sets of Western rock bands. Occasionally, a tradition instrument such as the Laotian *kaen* is amplified, fusing another layer of old-style sound to popular dance genres. The Americanization of traditional music is under way, and the musical outcome is uncertain. Will Indochinese traditional or popular “fusion” music survive another generation in the United States? The answer is largely dependent upon the musical interests, experiences, and training of the young people.

The Indochinese in American Schools

For centuries, the Vietnamese and Cambodians, along with city dwellers in Laos, have reserved for “learned” people an honored place in society. Parents have been known to spare no sacrifices for their children’s education and training. The first wave of Indochinese refugees were better educated than those arriving after 1978, but the desire for their children’s schooling was one shared by parents of various educational backgrounds (Haines, 1989).

When Southeast Asian refugees began entering public schools in about 1980, a “competency-based curriculum” was devised to lead students to mastery of “basic life skills necessary for the individual to function proficiently in society” (Tollefson, 1989). Such a definition emphasized the need for competency-based English as a second language (ESL) classes, along with computational skills for shopping, paying rent, and balancing a checkbook. As Kleinmann (1982) suggests,

however, the acculturation of the Indo-chinese may depend more upon English language proficiency than on any other factor. Within a competency-based curriculum, the accent is on what learners must do to survive in their second country, rather than on what they must know. The Southeast Asians recognize English as their principal tool for interacting with people outside the home and for raising themselves to higher socioeconomic levels.

In an examination of the scholastic achievement of Southeast Asian refugee students, Whitmore, Trautmann, and Caplan (1989) found higher scores in mathematics than in reading and language. Almost two-thirds of the refugee students placed in the top 30 percent nationally in the mathematics portion of the California Achievement Test (CAT). Many of these students attained high academic marks in low-income urban schools—those considered to be less fortunate economically and associated with less motivated students. Reasons for high academic achievement were derived from a survey of refugee families' opinions regarding cultural values: 99 percent cited "educational achievement" as highly important, followed closely by "a cooperative and harmonious family" (95 percent), and "a belief in the value of hard work" (90 percent). While more than half the families surveyed were classified at lower socioeconomic levels, their children were achieving academically through concentrated study and parental support.

The Indochinese are not without social problems, although such problems are not so often manifested in schools as on the outside. Children raised in unstable environments may eventually become "symptom bearers" for the dysfunctional family. Unable to tolerate the pressures of a family whose traditional structure may be changing, if not disintegrating, children turn to other children for support. The formation of gangs is a growing phenomenon among Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian males in urban areas (Tollefson, 1989). The gangs do not cross cultural backgrounds; ethnicity is one qualification for membership in these gangs. In Los Angeles and Seattle, gang members generally attend school and may even excel in courses in which they have an interest

(Luangpreseut, 1991). These adolescents tend to show traditional signs of respect to their teachers and to confine their gang activities to after-school hours. Nonetheless, the possession of weapons, sale and use of drugs, and physical abuse of members of other gangs is not uncommon. Teachers and administrators who hold themselves responsible for the social and academic well-being of students in and out of school are developing school programs resembling social services, including classes in "intervention," counseling, and therapy (Costa, 1992).

Indochinese Student Involvement in Music: A Case Study

Beyond their performance in the academic areas, what is the level of involvement by Indochinese students in curricular offerings in music? What are the musical interests and pursuits of these students beyond the curriculum? As an illustration of the involvement and dispositions of Indochinese students toward music, the case of one secondary school is profiled below.

Cleveland High School is one of Seattle's 16 high schools, located in a high-density minority residential area. The 681 students in grades 9 through 12 are ethnically, culturally, and linguistically diverse. The population includes African-Americans (12 percent), American Indians (1 percent), Asians (53 percent), Latinos (5 percent), and whites (29 percent). Of the Asian students, more than half were born in Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos. Other Asian students are from China, Taiwan, Philippines, and the Pacific Islands, including Samoa. Bilingual students comprise 16 percent of the population, with Indochinese languages the most frequently spoken native tongues.

Cleveland High is ranked eighth in Seattle on the California Achievement Test's Total Reading and Total Language scores, and second in Total Math. The average dropout rate is 11.9 percent compared to the district average of 15.9 percent. Disciplinary action in short- or long-term suspensions and expulsions is also below the district average. Approximately 59 percent of the students do not live with both parents. Pregnancy, child abuse, drugs, alcohol, and gang affiliation are aspects of the school social milieu that require constant attention. Forty-three percent

of the students are eligible for either free or reduced-price meals.

The music program at Cleveland High School consists of four course electives: steel drum band, keyboard, choir, and guitar. A pep band meets during the morning “opportunity period.” The lone music teacher has ten years experience in urban settings and advanced training in music, education, and counseling. About 15 percent ($n = 105$) of the school population participates in music instruction. Only 5.7 percent of all Asian students within the school are registered for a music course, and about 6.6 percent of the Indochinese students. Of the students who participate in music instruction, one-third are Asian, with Indochinese students making up 22 percent of the total group of students engaged in music instruction.

Figure 1 shows the participation of Indochinese students in the Cleveland High School music program as compared to Asian student participation in general. Percentages given are the ratio of student participation to total school populations of Asians and Indochinese. The choir has the largest mem-

bership of any of the music classes, but Asians represent only one-fifth of the choir, including three (of 30) Indochinese students. The school’s steel drum band, widely known throughout the city through public and televised performances, includes no Asian students. Neither are there Indochinese or Asian student participants in the guitar class or pep band. Keyboard is the most popular music elective of Asians; they comprise 60 percent of the keyboard students, and 12 of the 15 Asian students are Vietnamese, Cambodian, or Laotian.⁵

What is the interest and involvement of Indochinese students beyond the offerings of the school music program? A survey was administered to Indochinese students at Cleveland High School during winter, 1992. Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian students enrolled in both music and ESL classes comprised the survey group ($n = 96$). Results are briefly noted in Table 1 (next page).

The data indicate a blend of interests held by Indochinese students in traditional and American popular music styles and activities. Students named Asian popular music (42 per-

Cleveland High School Population	681	
Asian	361	53 % (of total school pop.)
Indochinese	225*	33 % (of total school pop.)
Participants in Music Program	105	
Choir	30	
Asian	6	1.6% (of total Asian pop.)
Indochinese	3	1.3% (of total Indch. pop.)
Steel Drum Band	22	
Asian	0	0
Indochinese	0	0
Guitar	13	
Asian	0	0
Indochinese	0	0
Keyboard	25	
Asian	15	4.1 % (of total Asian pop.)
Indochinese	12	5.3 % (of total Indch. pop.)
Pep Band	15	
Asian	0	0
Indochinese	0	0
*Estimate given 4/92; population may fluctuate through continued migration and resettlement within local and regional boundaries		
Figure 1: Participation of Indochinese Students in School Music Instruction: Cleveland (Seattle) High School Profile		

Table 1: Musical Interests and Involvement of Indochinese Students. N = 96

Favorite music			
Asian traditional		14 %	
Asian popular		42 %	
Western classical		4 %	
Western popular		34 %	
Other		5 %	
Favorite performers			
1. Michael Jackson		4. Kris Kros	
2. Alan Tom (Asian)		5. Janet Jackson	
3. Boyz II Men		6. Sam Hui (Asian)	
Outside music participation by students			
Member of		Student of	
Church/temple choir	10 %	Piano (private lessons)	3 %
Traditional music ensemble	7 %	Violin (private lessons)	1 %
Traditional dance ensemble	12 %	Guitar (private lessons)	1 %
Rock band	4 %	No outside music participation	61%
Musical Interests			
Listening to music	82 %	Singing in a choir	27 %
Listening to pop/rock tapes	76 %	Playing piano (or keyboard)	18 %
Listening to music on MTV	93 %	Dancing to traditional music	16 %
Listening to music in school	53 %	Listening to traditional tapes	15 %
Attending performances of traditional music	42 %	Playing drums	15 %
Listening to music at church/temple	34 %	Attending rock concerts	6 %
Dancing to rock music	29 %	Composing/creating music	6 %
		Playing guitar	4 %
		Singing a solo in a choir	2 %

cent) and Western popular music (34 percent) as their favorite genres. "Asian traditional" trailed far behind at 14 percent, and only four students claimed Western classical music as their favorite style. When they were asked to list their five favorite musician/performers, Michael Jackson was named more frequently than any other artist. Two Asian pop stars, Alan Tom and Sam Hui, received more "votes" than any other, although 14 other artists with Asian surnames appeared on the collective list of top performers. Two rap groups, Boyz II Men and Kris Kros, appeared with great frequency, along with Michael Jackson's sister, Janet. American pop rock performers may be selected more uniformly than others, but "Asian popular" may include pan-Asian commercial artists as well as performers of Vietnamese,

Cambodian, and Laotian popular music.

Music participation outside school appears somewhat stronger than within the school music program, although not dramatically so. A number of Cambodian and Laotian students are engaged in regular rehearsal and performance of traditional dances (12 percent), and 7 percent are members of traditional music ensembles (Vietnamese and Cambodian). Nine students reported membership in a church or temple choir, and four students in rock bands. Very few students named music lessons as a means of music participation, with three reporting piano and one each for violin and guitar. Sixty-two percent of the students claimed no participation in the performance or formal study of music outside school. In total, 51 percent of Indochinese students are not actively pursu-

ing formal means of music participation.

Indochinese students have musical interests, however, and are informally engaging in musical activities outside of school. Data derived from responses on seven-point continua show greatest interest in music listening activities, from music on radio (82 percent), on pop/rock tapes (76 percent), and on MTV (58 percent), to music listening in school (53 percent). Students appeared less interested in many of the more active alternatives, such as dancing to rock music (29 percent), singing in a choir (25 percent), playing piano (17 percent), dancing to traditional music (16 percent), and playing drums (14 percent). Composing and creating music, playing guitar, and singing solo in choir drew the least interest (from 6, to 4, to 2 percent, respectively). Two activities in the figure were derived from student responses to the category marked "other:" "playing drums" and "playing guitar."

In this profile of Indochinese students, many claimed strong interests in music but relatively few were engaged in the class instruction and ensembles within the school curriculum. Similarly, few were involved in formal musical training or within the structure of regularly assembled groups of singers, dancers, or instrumentalists. Why are so few Indochinese students choosing to make music? Why are they underrepresented in most music classes? Can their musical interests serve to guide curricular revision in schools? Like all social phenomena, these problems are many-layered and contain multiple variables.

Speculations Regarding School Music for the New Asians

A consideration of several theories regarding low participation by the Indochinese in school music programs may be applied as well to the under-representation of other minority groups. Principal among these theories may be the low value placed by students and their parents on specific styles and genres featured within the music curriculum. Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital suggests that students are socialized within their family and community, and that they bring to school the knowledge, skills, and attitudes reflective of their home environments (1977). Since school curricula are directed toward

the dominant culture, a conflict of values may result. Traditional choir, band, and strings programs, as well as ethnically oriented ensembles such as the steel drum band, may not attract certain minority students who do not value that particular music. Some students may perceive the contents of music classes as culturally biased and outside of their musical needs and interests. When the music of classes and ensembles is not known or is known and not valued, low participation results.

Caspar (1989) observed that proportionate minority participation may depend upon a high degree of cultural convergence between school and community. She reasoned that the degree to which "shared meanings" in the culture of the school and community "come together" may well influence the involvement of minorities in school music programs. Cultural convergence is evident when a matrix of factors are present:

- mutual respect among students, parents, teachers and administrators;
- open and ongoing communication; and
- the shared vision which parents and school personnel have for students and the schools.

In the case of the Indochinese, there is a strong element of cultural convergence as evidenced in their historical and current valuing of education in general and high regard for teachers and the roles they play in the acculturation process. Communication, on the other hand, is difficult because of the language barriers more frequently faced by parents than by their children. Likewise, the process by which parents bond with teachers and administrators, as well as with other parents, is hindered by language deficits and by long work days which many believe to be essential. Thus, music teachers who wish to recruit students by persuading parents of the importance of the goals of music classes may meet with frustration rather than success.

Theories of leisure may have a bearing upon minority involvement in music programs, as reviewed by Gates (1991). His own "typology of music participants in societies" offers six categories of music-makers, from professionals and apprentices, to amateurs and hobbyists, to recreationists and dabblers. Along with participants, he also names two other groups: music audiences,

and those who do not perceive music as holding personal benefits. Asians and other minorities who are economically stable, often through generations of acculturation, are likely to possess the leisure to elect music as a profession, as serious leisure (amateurs and hobbyists), or as play, and thus seek training in private studios and school programs. For the majority of first-generation Southeast Asians who are struggling to become acculturated and to survive in American society, such leisure time may be several generations away. When these immigrants consider school as offering them the skills for functioning proficiently in American society, music becomes a low priority when compared to the need for spoken language, reading, writing, and computational skills. As yet, few may have the leisure for formal study or training, and while the immigrants may view music as important to them, the cost in time may be more than they can now afford.

Much of the literature on refugees emphasizes that successful acculturation occurs because refugees adopt the ways of their non-refugee neighbors. Southeast Asians appear to be proceeding well in their acculturation, in part because their original cultural values are compatible with the requirements for success in the United States. Nonetheless, the Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians are in general agreement that their ethnic heritages should be maintained concurrent with their growing acculturation within American society. Nguyen and Henkin (1983) noted that 92 percent of the Vietnamese and 89 percent of the Laotians believed that children should learn their home language and culture. Given students' obligations to study, help with the family chores and often in the family business, and participation in the events of their ethnic communities, any spare time may be reserved for language and culture lessons rather than committed to after-school rehearsals of choral and instrumental ensembles. Within the school day, the new Asian students may elect a study hall over a music elective. Overall, the views of their elders in balancing the old-world with the new-world ways may steer students toward the events of their ethnic community, providing them with the neces-

sary enrichment that school music offerings might otherwise provide.

Engaging Minorities in School Music Programs

Although speculative in nature, these insights suggest the need for further theoretical development, potential curricular reform, and ethnographic studies. Meanwhile, there are practical considerations that merit the immediate attention of those working with minority students:

1. review of students' extracurricular interests and involvement in music and other activities;
2. development of competence in traditional and popular music before attempting to teach these styles; and
3. development of cultural competence for meaningful interactions with students, regardless of the music selected for presentation and performance.

If one believes music to be a pan-human need that spreads across age, socioeconomic, and cultural groups, then it is highly probable that students are involved with music that functions in a meaningful way for them, whether in school or outside of it. Music educators, weaned on the music and performance practices of traditional choral and instrumental ensembles, may wish to examine the musical tastes of the student population to determine whether current curricular offerings deserve modification. For example, a significant number of Indochinese students at Cleveland High School were enrolled in piano class and/or expressed interest in playing the piano; these interests might be met at school through the formation of additional class sections.

For the overwhelming majority of students who favor popular and rock styles, a course in the history of popular music, or in world popular styles, might be worthy of development. Music programs might consider the inclusion of group instruction on preferred instruments, percussion ensembles, ethnically oriented ensembles such as gospel choirs, steel drum ensembles, and mariachi bands, advanced placement courses in music theory and history for college-bound students, and courses that integrate music within the study of other arts and the humanities. The challenge is to gauge the musical interest of students and then to determine the ratio of tra-

ditional music offerings to other types of music instruction.

If the music style selected for the classroom is one in which the teacher has had little experience or training, it cannot be assumed that the teacher's musical skills will be adequate for good instruction. In order to teach a musical style, the music teacher must develop aural—if not performance—competence in that music. Were a traditional Laotian singing group to be formed, it would require the direction of one who is proficient in the performance of that song style; the introduction of one Laotian song within the context of a traditional school choir also necessitates competence by the teacher in knowing the appropriate stylistic nuances. Minority students are sensitive to gospel choirs that sound “white” and mariachi bands that miss the musical flow and may resist participation for the lack of authentic sound product. For teachers who wish to involve minorities in ensembles, intensive training may be critical to a successful sound. Lessons, workshops, and large amounts of listening produces singers and musicians of Western European art music; why should one expect short-cuts to gaining competence in other traditions? Within the rehearsal or class itself, recordings of appropriate performance practices may serve marginally as models. Far better are contractual agreements that bring the community's performing artists into the classroom, in the same manner as instrumental specialists are sometimes hired.

A key factor in effective teaching is the cultural competence necessary to deliver information to students of various cultural and ethnic groups (Banks, 1988). The successful teacher functions as a cultural mediator in such settings; this role requires cross-cultural sensitivity and social skills for facilitating interaction, teacher to student and student to student. Argyle (1979) suggests the presence of seven skills for engaging in social transactions such as those of instruction:

- perceptive skills;
- expressive skills;
- conversational skills;
- assertiveness;
- emotional expression;
- anxiety management; and
- affiliative skills.

Cultural competence may be acquired through careful observation of ways in which groups of people communicate, followed by practice in using verbal and nonverbal behaviors that are consonant with those of students. With cultural competence, the teacher's knowledge base can be successfully transmitted. Without it, students sense a dissonance between themselves and the teacher and may resist receiving information. The fulfillment of instructional goals requires in teachers a competence in communicating within the cultural domains of their students.

Given the appalling under-representation of minorities within school music programs, research of a comprehensive and collaborative sort is urgently needed. The search for solutions will require music educators to abandon myopic positions that have encouraged the continued transmission of the school music traditions of the nineteenth century. Sensitivity, flexibility, and clarity of thought will allow music educators to understand and address reasons for the boycott by minorities of our music programs.

As for the new Asian students, each is striving to balance two cultures: the culture of their homelands and that of mainstream American society. They will require patience, “wait time,” and individualized attention from their teachers. As we seek to turn minority students toward music and into sensitive performers and listeners, music educators would do well to include the broad spectrum of cultural issues that can inform teaching.

Notes

1. “New Asians,” “Southeast Asians,” and “Indochinese” are terms used interchangeably in this article to designate refugees and immigrants from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

2. Acute refugees who flee from political and military upheaval are distinguished from anticipatory refugees, who prepare for departure from their homeland in an orderly fashion. See Montero, 1979.


3. Descriptive information regarding Indochinese traditional and popular music among the Indochinese in the United States was gathered from sources as noted and from ethnographic observations by the author.

4. “Khmer” is the ethnicity of the majority of people living in Cambodia, as well as of those sometimes called Cambodian-Americans.

5. For the Indochinese as well as other East Asian groups, the piano is a symbol of the West

and of American (and European) middle-class values. See Richard Curt Kraus, *Pianos & Politics in China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

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