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Intercultural Learning in Jazz Practice

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1) **Introduction: The Duality of the Jazz Musician**

Jazz musicians often face a role dilemma. As the jazz musician is expected to be able to spontaneously improvise with any jazz musician he sits down and plays with, his role is complicated by the need to realise the acceptable limits of action prescribed by these roles within the context of a group performance – a never-ending process in which a musician constantly experiments with what he can and should do, and what he cannot and should not do in live performance. With time and more familiarity with each other, the band could become "tighter" as a group. Should less experienced audiences observe such a band, the band might be perceived to be telepathic, as the individual members of the band would seem to be able to, without any normative guidelines, predict and respond instinctively to what the other members of the band are doing at any given moment during improvisation. The band, in such circumstance, would have successfully fulfilled the requirement of spontaneity in improvisation, as they, despite not knowing what they were going to play before the performance began, somehow managed to play in a coherent manner that resulted in the final musical product of collective improvisation being greater than the individual contributions of the jazz musicians that produced it.

In reality, however, jazz performances are far less spontaneous than in the popular imagination. Interaction on the band-stand is structured by principles of social organisation invisible to a lay audience. In the context of jazz, for instance, a certain form of etiquette that requires adherence to the assumption that everybody's musical contribution during improvisation is unconditionally equal is identified by Chicago sociologist Howard S. Becker (2000). The standard for courtesy in jazz performance practice is, in his view, listening closely to what the other members of the band are playing instead of playing what one simply will. While this could be frustrating for virtuosos, this allows for a jazz performance to be otherwise coherent to lay audiences as the music is laid out in a familiar structure. He notes that if jazz musicians "are not courteous to each other ..., do not listen carefully and defer to the developing collective direction, the music just clunks along, each one playing their own tired clichés" (p. 173). It follows that if jazz musicians are courteous to each other, the music sounds more like a product of a unified band than an arbitrary selection of individuals. The appearance of telepathy between jazz musicians during performance is then something that is achieved through the players developing a "collective direction" (ibid) in practice that is mediated by courtesy.

On top of courtesy, the jazz musician's principal instrument is another mediating factor with regards to his relation to his band and himself on the jazz band-stand. When jazz musicians improvise in a group, the individual musicians that make up their band are required to perform musical roles prescribed by the historically interpreted role of their instrument in order for the

music to sound like music. For instance, a drummer indicates time and rhythm, a pianist or guitarist outlines harmony, a saxophonist plays solos, and a bass player bridges the gap between rhythm and harmony. These historically prescribed roles also limit the nature of participation and the significance of a jazz musician's contribution to the band during live performance. This is achieved in terms of prescribing what a musician should be doing during a live performance of jazz in the absence of over-riding normative guidelines dictated by a leader or an external, non-jazz audience. An example of this is interaction with the drummer of a band limited to groove dictations and all matters of timing and timing alone. In a band-leader's practice, this "role segregation" (Goffman, 1956) is justified, as drummers stereotypically do not understand music theory pertaining to form, structure, and harmony. The opposite could be said for a pianist who might know too much and has to restrain himself from discursively dominating improvisation with his ten fingers. Both instrumentalists' experiences and practice of jazz are nevertheless mediated through identification with their instrument – the principal medium through which they interact with each other during improvisation. As such, the nature of participation and relational dynamics between self and group are mediated through perceptions of role prescribed by an individual's instrument of identification. A failure to accept the prescription on an individual's part could lead to, in milder cases, "flustering" (ibid), public castigation by senior musicians (Wilf, 2010), and in more extreme cases, withdrawal from the setting entirely. Choice during social interaction in a jazz setting is therefore a dialectic between the musician's perception of self (identity) that is mediated through his instrument and the group's perception of his relation to it. It is thus mediated through a mutually enacted hierarchy of roles that allow for the groups to improvise in a "collective direction" (Becker, 2000) during improvisation and perform telepathy to an audience. The development of this collective ability is argued in this thesis to be a function of musicians familiarising themselves with each other. During this process of familiarisation, the nature of the immediate performance setting is constantly negotiated by the various individuals that constitute the jazz musician's circle. As Becker (ibid) argues, notions of etiquette specific to jazz are a key structuring principle with regards to jazz practice.

With every instrument, the jazz musician has to perform potentially conflicting roles depending on the instrument's historically interpreted role, the immediate setting, and the appropriate etiquette therein. To illustrate the relation between etiquette and practice in jazz settings, observing members of the rhythm section are particularly useful. In a typical jazz quartet (drums, bass, piano, saxophone or trumpet), a pianist or a drummer both have to alternate between subservient and dominant interpretations of role with respect to instrument, invoked by etiquette. In a subservient role, the drummer simply plays time so that the rest of the band has a solid rhythmic structure upon which to improvise. Here, the drummer is courteous in accepting his role and allowing for the smooth progression of a performance. Jazz courtesy, hence, in its extreme form, could restrict improvisation by restricting potential action therein to a small locus that is perceptible to all improvisers present on the band-stand and the audience. An authentic jazz performance, however, requires that the band both fulfils the requirement of enacting egalitarianism and individual distinction. This is so, despite the previously identified demands of etiquette in the aesthetic translation of the musical object into a form intelligible to a potentially lay audience. In its most crude form, courtesy requires a jazz performance to at least allow everybody to showcase their ability as an individual during a "solo" section which breaks from the rest of the song. Jazz performances therefore require the jazz musician to enact potentially paradoxical roles during jazz performance that apply across both "conventional" and "experimental" (Becker, 2000) jazz settings. As such, jazz musicians are required to acquire a "practical mastery of the transformational schemes that allow the shift from the dispositions associated with one position to those appropriate to the other" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 75) during performances as the music, in order to be identified as jazz music to an audience, demands that the jazz musician also fulfil the requirement of spontaneous improvisation through, in its most elementary form, the structural provision of an opportunity to break from their prescribed roles in the consideration of the performance's structure.

This role-switching embedded in jazz performance practice is principally opposed to classical music, where the musical content of performances is usually already written out, interpreted, and rehearsed before the actual performance. Ideally, content is not spontaneously created through mutual agreement, unlike in jazz. The practices in both genres necessarily differ in terms of differing requirements of performance that govern frames of interpretation and practical dispositions. In this light, classical music pedagogy directly applied to the education of jazz music is potentially detrimental to the tradition of creativity in jazz improvisation not only in terms of constraining "embodied practical mastery" (Wilf, 2010), but also dominant notions of it, restricting creative options available to jazz musicians whose practice of jazz is largely a function of the socialisation that they are receiving in these institutions. Without a boundary separating

performance practice in jazz and classical music, jazz could become the victim of its own success.

In the context of the education and practice of creative jazz music, a unique dilemma thus develops where educators need to confront paradoxical demands set forth by both a need to maintain or improve jazz's position and a need to preserve genre boundaries and autonomy of practice. As jazz has become more and more institutionalised and formalised as a genre of music that aims to share or challenge the position of classical music in conservatories and concert halls worldwide, it is also threatened with musical extinction as it has also become more creatively restricted in terms of the jazz world becoming more accessible to "square" (Becker, 1951) audiences, necessitating artistic compromise on the part of the jazz musician, and the introduction of a necessarily streamlined and standardised syllabus engineered to feed this increasingly popular and lucrative industry. This syllabus and educational practice both emphasises and at the same time excludes certain points of jazz aesthetics and history (e.g. in Lewis, 2008; Piekut, 2014b) at the behest of formal-bureaucratic requirements of technical competency or "embodied practical mastery" (Wilf, 2010), which were formulated along the lines of a formal-classical paradigm (Folkestad, 2006) that could prove to be fatally detrimental to the transmission of a creativity rooted in the jazz tradition. As such, students of jazz schools are socialised differently depending on how they learn to play and practice jazz music on their instrument and identify as a jazz musician. It follows that they go on to "bear the mark", in a similar sense to how Bourdieu asserted that the literary works of Mallarmé and Zola each bore the mark of the ''socially constituted dispositions of its author'' (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 19; as cited in Lahire, 2003, p. 333), of the "jazz socialisation" they received in their professional training during university in the professional and academic world of jazz.

This thesis, an ethnographic study of two student jazz quartets from the LaSalle College of Music in Singapore and Codarts School of the Arts in Rotterdam, seeks to further explore how students of jazz collectively learn to navigate tensions pertaining to jazz practice by asking, "how is inter-cultural learning related to cultural dispositions in the social practice of jazz?". If students' practices of jazz are a result of their increasingly standardised education, how are they to be creative during improvisation? If all examinations are evaluated on the basis of one aesthetic or discursive paradigm, then how does creativity look and sound like after school is over? How does intercultural learning look like in practice? In adopting a broad view of culture relating individual practice to its network of effect, this thesis posits that students have unique cultural dispositions that determine familiarity and identification with certain jazz practices, and unfamiliarity with others. These practices come into conflict during social encounters common to the jazz musician such as jam sessions and professional projects, with the successful completion of collaboration in jazz

influenced in large part by the successful mediation of conflict in the social encounters that constitute band interaction. Peer-to-peer learning is here found to be effective in terms of allowing for a practical approach to intercultural learning in jazz education, with students learning through "mimesis" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 73) rather than theory.

The etiquette of jazz improvisation (Becker, 2000) both potentially constrains and enables the employment of creative improvisation to overcome cultural differences pertaining to jazz improvisation. The core research questions can be further interpreted in terms of theoretical, empirical and methodological permutations of a discursive tension between structure and agency. How do individuals express agency in practice? How is individuality expressed in a group in the face of constraining criteria for social behaviour? How does one methodologically illuminate the agency of the individual acting in the face of uncertainty of outcome and durable structural constraints on appropriate behaviour? Cultural interpretations of etiquette and tradition, while restrictive in terms of constraining behaviour and musical expression, can also be enabling and freeing, as it can provide a means of confronting uncertainty and surmounting potential misunderstanding in social interaction and improvisation. This thesis explores the paradox of creativity in jazz practice from a symbolic interactionist viewpoint, providing critical insights in terms of exploring the dynamics of jazz improvisation and its social determinants in terms of analysing how cultural boundaries are both potential causes of misunderstanding and "fertile meeting grounds" (Piekut, 2014b, p. 772) among dispositionally opposed students in different countries.

2) **Theoretical Framework**

In unpacking the relationship between intercultural learning and cultural dispositions in jazz practice, a relational approach to understanding jazz music as a set of relations governing culturally distinct practices by social actors geared towards specific objective ends is first required. It is through understanding the objective demands on a jazz musician's practice that are imposed by the structure of these relations that agency can be observed in practice. The works of Bourdieu (1990) and Becker (2000) help to provide relational frameworks of social organisation that structure jazz practice in aiding the charting out the field of jazz and its positions.

2.1) **The Field of Jazz**

In applying field theory to the analysis of jazz practice, it is first necessary to explore the genre of jazz's relation to other genres in a hierarchy of genres competing for institutional legitimacy. Jazz music's institutional relation with classical music will hence first be explored in constructing the framework by which practices are governed by ideals of mastery enacted in practice, only significantly differentiated at the level of creative improvisation.

Practices in the field of jazz can be further classified to achieve "mastery" (Bourdieu, 1990) on two fronts: technical ("practical") and interpretive ("symbolic"). On a technical level, skill in jazz is framed differently from skill in classical music. Evidently, jazz as a genre of music has since been formally institutionalised as a genre of music that now warrants a place alongside classical music in fine art academies and conservatories. What aesthetically warrants this inclusion into the realm of fine art, and how is jazz culture and the idea of jazz as a globally-recognised genre of music communicated? The university has, with jazz's professionalisation, become an important theatre of professional socialisation, attracting students with all sorts of cultural dispositions. To explore the environment in which the student of jazz acquires jazz practices, constructing a relational field within which jazz practice can be situated is first needed to map out the broad objective criteria of evaluation structuring relations within it in its generic settings.

Becker (2000) notes that jazz performance is not as spontaneous as it is made out to be. Solos that sounded "really different and original" could well turn out to be "something that we had spent a week working out in private rather than something invented on the spot" (p. 171). Yet, jazz is qualitatively different from classical music in terms of performances of it requiring displays of authenticity and spontaneity – objective ideals governing practice in jazz. These ideals pertain to jazz in a different way than in classical music as the boundary between jazz and classical music is drawn at the level of spontaneous improvisation. Although classical music can be seen as a form of "selective improvisation" (c.f. Igor Stravinsky) in which the composer improvises with ideas during a compositional process, actual musical content is not spontaneously produced during the moment

of performance by its musicians. In classical music, the composer is characterised as someone who sits at a desk and fusses over what he should be making his musicians play, with a strict division between composer and performer made on the basis of practical "role-segregation" (Goffman, 1956) in the classical field. As such, performance in classical music is determined by strict guidelines set by a composer pre-performance. These guidelines are expressed in musical notes to be played, as well as symbols demarcating what and how each instrument should be playing at each point of time. The classical composer is therefore not spontaneous in his composition, only improvising selectively with the benefit of time. Improvisation by performers of classical music is hence restricted to interpreting the composer in terms of the execution of pre-determined written sheet music, and not in terms of altering the musical notes themselves.

The idea of composition, however, differs in the jazz world. While there are many intricate and elaborate pieces of music written by people like Duke Ellington and Wynton Marsalis, there also exist other canonised composers who, upon first listen, do not seem to be doing enough to warrant compositional credit. Thelonious Monk in "Evidence", for example, writes a seemingly piecemeal melody that sounds, on first listen, disconnected (Mehldau, 2006, para. 27). Miles Davis too, in "So What", takes composition credit for the song, which consists, in actuality, of two alternating suggestions for modal improvisation over a repeated cycle of thirty-two bars – the musical equivalent of patenting a business idea. Objectively, then, composition in jazz is generally more ironically distanced from its content than in classical music in the sense that the composer has to accept that he can only control so much in actual performance practice. After canonisation, the only agency the music has left is in its demands on its performer in practice. While consistency of performance of the musical object across space (inter-culturally) and time (inter-generationally) is achieved in classical music through dictation, this is done in jazz through principle. Practice in both genres are thus structured by different normative guidelines that generate culturally different dispositions and practices.

Composing with an awareness of how the composition affects the manner in which it will be improvised over differentiates the idea of composition in jazz from its twin concept in the classical world. The jazz composer, as a rule, has to allow for segments of improvisation to occur within his compositions for it to be sufficiently defined in opposition to classical music, or other non-improvised musics where the performer has less interpretive agency and is less responsible for interpretations of etiquette expressed in action. The agency of the composer in jazz could, in this sense, be said to be shared in a relatively more egalitarian manner than in the classical sense. As Becker (2000) notes, this is due to a specific jazz etiquette governing performance practice in jazz in relation to its institutionalised settings. In defining jazz practice in terms of creative

improvisation, jazz music at the level of university education has retained a certain-level of autonomy in relation to classical music that is preserved at a practical level. With this in mind, it follows that a programme of education in jazz would have to produce certain objective indicators of practical mastery in order to retain enough formal-institutional recognition to continue operating legitimately while, at the same time, maintaining enough distance from classical music to retain autonomy. In this light, jazz education practices have had to negotiate between fostering creativity and adhering to the discipline required of formal music education in universities (Wilf, 2010).

2.2) **Practical Mastery in Jazz**

As with composition, practical mastery also differs in subtle but important ways in jazz practice. Nevertheless, its possession allows for greater autonomy in practice and constitutes "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1983) that can be used for claims to distinction in the field (ibid). Technical competency, or being able to manipulate an instrument better than non-musicians, is arguably a common requirement of excellence in both genres. It is, however, framed differently in both genres. In classical music, one practices an instrument to be able to play what is demanded of oneself by a composer, or at least one's interpretation of what a composer wants even if the composer and the performer are the same person. Even in an orchestra or a quartet, it is only the manner in which one executes the pre-determined musical notes that matters, and not the musical notes themselves. In jazz music, one practices to be able to play both what is required of him by not only the composer, but also the music at hand at any given moment during the act of performance. The objectives of practice in jazz are therefore significantly more ambiguous than in classical music, as one has to be able to practice in such a way in which one's individuality is developed and not repressed despite playing in a group despite the musical situation not being clearly laid out by an external authority such as a composer. In other words, the autonomous practice of jazz requires, on top of technical competency, an interpretive mastery that accounts for context in the expression of distinction in a social setting.

Even then, those are still rather vague guidelines and it would still not be totally clear to a jazz musician what exactly he should be practising on any given day or situation, as, ideally, he would not even know how the music would be played and anything – even handphone ringtones – could be considered as inspiration. The daily practice of the jazz musician would hence be geared towards dealing with uncertainty of outcome in musical performance. Virtuosity would also be defined differently in the sense that apart from technical virtuosity ("practical mastery"), or the ability to play one's instrument competently and fulfil the technical requirements of pre-determined music, there also exists the requirement of formal dexterity, or improvisational virtuosity ("symbolic mastery"): the ability to be able to meaningfully navigate the lack of pre-determined

music set before them on the band-stand in the social context of the band-stand. Improvisational virtuosity would hence require that the jazz improviser distances himself from the idea that there is only one correct way to perform the song in being able to break from it.

Virtuosity or mastery in its various manifestations is hence revealed as a form of cultural capital that jazz musicians can exploit in the field as a means of expressing claims to distinction and legitimacy in practice. Its invocation, however, is limited by the etiquette corresponding to the setting in which it is expressed. Depending on the context of its invocation, those that wield the cultural capital of skill appropriately can significantly influence the "collective direction" (Becker, 2000) of the music that is being improvised, as well as disproportionately influence the overall setting through being able to manoeuvre stylistically. Without symbolic mastery, however, one's "contribution" (ibid) could become meaningless, as due to a lack of experience with the language of jazz, the improvisation might lose its relevance and coherence to both audience and other musicians – the musical object ceases to be an identifiable object in the pursuit of creative distinction without skill. The setting hence frames the interpretive context of the invocation of practical or symbolic mastery. These aesthetic considerations are interpreted differently in different settings and are manifested through two broad approaches to an etiquette that governs it identified by Becker (2000).

2.3)   **The Duality of Jazz Etiquette**

Practices in jazz can be interpreted between two differing interpretive frames belying two different conceptions of participation. Two broad cultural dispositions are therefore identified, classified loosely into two ideal schemes: communal or industrial. These dispositions affect the manner in which jazz musicians interpret the demands of egalitarianism as required by jazz etiquette, which, as Becker (2000) suggests, is "a way of providing for the systematic, formal expression of recognised and accepted relations of rank" (p. 172). On one hand, the field could be conceptualised along the lines of a competitive industry in a similar fashion to Bourdieu (1983), wherein participants compete for various forms of capital and distinction. On the other, the field of jazz could be conceptualised along the lines of a professional community along the lines of Becker (1951), wherein jazz musicians "feel themselves to be different from their audiences – people who lack understanding and who should have no control over their work but who in fact exert great control" over it (p. 136). Depending on the context, either disposition could dominate. The setting is hence determined by audience composition.

According to Howard S. Becker (2000), social situations in jazz settings are classifiable into two types of settings variegated by audience composition: conventional and experimental, with each requiring substantially different interpretations of jazz etiquette and its associated ideas of

egalitarianism. An example of a commonplace jazz setting is the jam session – a globally recognised institution of jazz with a durable, almost ritualistic structure. Behaviour at jam sessions was observed by Becker (ibid) to be governed by two potentially conflicting frames of interpretation pertaining to jazz etiquette, with the distinguishing factor being the composition of the audience, which can be classified into three configurations: 1) lay, 2) knowledgeable, and 3) no audience. The resulting permutations of aggregate dispositions of the audiences and musicians present theoretically determine the general ethical frame of practice during it that characterises the overall setting, which can then be classified further into "conventional" or "experimental" (ibid) settings.

2.3.1)   The "Conventional" Setting

In conventional settings, defined by the presence of a predominantly lay or non-professional audience, etiquette regulates rather than directs creativity. Instead of directing creativity in the direction of the skilled and persuasive soloist, creativity is regulated to preserve the "occupational myth of equality" (p. 172). In such settings, relations of equality prevail as everybody is to play and behave as if everybody is equally important to the music and is equally skilled, even though the reality is that "not all players play equally well" (ibid). Another distinguishing characteristic of a conventional setting is the requirement that "everyone pay close attention to the other players and be prepared to alter what they are doing in response to tiny cues that suggest a new direction that might be interesting to take" during improvisation (ibid). Nobody's individual sound sticks out as particularly special, and in good cases, "the players develop a collective direction that characteristically – as though the participants had all read Emile Durkheim – feels larger than any of them, as though it had a life of its own" (ibid). A unique aspect, however, of the jam session that one might not observe as often in experimental settings is "allowing the bad to play with the good" (p. 173). At a jam session, for instance, there is usually a resident band who "hosts" the session by playing a couple of starting tunes. The band then opens the floor up to people who want to jam, and, ideally, everybody has his or her turn to play on stage. The musicians in the band, however, are not always fixed, resulting in random situations where weaker musicians sometimes play with stronger ones. Although a friendly and inclusive atmosphere is usually maintained, there are layers of activity at the jam session not apparent to all present. The enactment of the jam session is hence dependant upon the dispositions of those present.

For instance, frustration could be expressed by both the better and weaker players in the immediate band. Eminent jazz pianist Brad Mehldau observed an "aesthetic poverty" in jam sessions stemming from a "weak irony" in which "the players are completely out of context with each other, each playing his or her own bag" of musical tropes (Mehldau, 2006, para. 33). Chicago

Sociologist Howard S. Becker also experienced, during his own practice as a jazz musician, moments where "the music just clunks along" during jam sessions, with "each one playing their own tired clichés" (Becker, 2000, p. 173). Possibly a defence against allegations of privilege, Mehldau qualifies that the aesthetic disconnectedness between musicians at jam sessions is "not by design", thereby implying that the musicians jamming may actually have more control over the aesthetic outcome of their improvisation than they think they do. Rather, he suggests that the perception of a lack of creative autonomy stems from a lack of distance from the self-perceived demands of the music – a kind of "weak irony" stemming from an unfortunate lack of knowledge or experience. In Mehldau's view, for a jazz musician to "transcend" the context of the composition during improvisation, he would have to recognise the irony of the whole phenomenon of the improvisation. The premise of that irony is the fact that he is not, while performing, a part of the social, cultural, or historical context from which the actual musical object over which he is improvising was borne. In other words, he is not producing the object in real time but enacting it by playing in such a way that invokes its image to an audience – a courteous imitation that appropriates the actual composer to conveniently achieve recognition. In actual reality, the musician is "commenting on the tune, removing himself from the original object, and, to varying extents, looking at it from a distance" during improvisation (Mehldau, 2006, para. 28). He is not the individual that he is referencing, although he might very well think he is during the performance. A failure to realise this could result in a lack of creativity during improvisation on, as Mehldau notes, a Thelonious Monk tune. A common improvisational strategy deployed by Monk improvisers is to play it as they think "Monk" would have, regardless of the actual social context of the performance (ibid). This is so, even though they know very well that they are not Thelonious Monk when they are playing the tune, but are still compelled to enact Monk on the piano – a courteous strategy that avoids the chagrin of both the critic and the band, impressing only a mediocre audience and certainly not Brad Mehldau.

In Mehldau's view, "to hold such a strategy up as a rule is to essentially give up improvising" (ibid), suggesting that a view of participation in jazz that belies a "romantic notion of creativity that mandates uniqueness" (Wilf, 2010, p. 584) of a musician's improvisation. Becker is revealed to possess a similar disposition in complaining about having to suffer for the sins of repetitive improvisers and wishing he could play more "interesting changes" (p. 171) upon which he might be able to improvise more creatively. Mehldau (2006), Wilf (2010), and Becker (2000) hence both seem to agree that falling back on a strategy of practicing to be able to "play like the greats" could result in a jazz musician sounding unoriginal and unexciting to more experienced audiences. The issue of social context as a practical necessity shaping improvisation is, however,

neglected by the former in his aestheticism. These complaints about jam sessions are rhetorical if taken in and of themselves, as professional jazz musicians need an audience – global or local, physical or digital – to be a professional. From a structural view, the comments of Mehldau and Becker can thus be interpreted as symptoms of a larger existential issue at play – frustrations of dignified professionals stuck in a position of no agency at jam sessions, unable to manoeuvre away from their cultural dispositions and the constraining ethical structure in which they were supposed to act. Embarrassment (potential conflict) then, as Goffman (1956) and Becker (1951) observed, could stem from a mismatch between professional identity (objective ideal) and audience expectations (practical reality) in a conventional setting. In other words, they were prevented from enacting out their romantic dispositions from the position of a regular pianist at the jam session due to an etiquette requiring the acknowledgement of possibly unknowledgeable audiences and the lack of cultural capital on the part of their peers.

As Mehldau (2006) is implying, this problem of agency can be resolved through the honing of a practice that balances the two, or, in Bourdieu's (1990) words, "practical mastery of the transformational schemes that allow the shift from the dispositions associated with one position to those appropriate to the other" (p. 75), allowing for an accommodation of more diverse audiences and musicians. Indeed, cultural breadth, or "omnivorousness" (Van Eijck and Lievens, 2008), has, as such, also creeped into jazz practice as a prestigious and revolutionary ideal governing performance practice, with covers of popular and folk music included into the repertoires of jazz heavyweights such as Mehldau. Practice geared towards performance in conventional settings thus have, at the very least, some consideration by the jazz musician that the audience might not fully comprehend what they might be playing – that the audience might lack the interpretive competency to realise their artistry. Courtesy in conventional practice is then finding the right balance between playing too little and being superfluous, with practice geared towards maintaining "relations of equality" extended to potentially non-professional audiences. Improvisation is hence, in such settings, restricted by an "etiquette of not-going-beyond-what-is-commonly-known" (Becker, 2000, p. 174) to audience and improviser. In the pursuit of translation, however, creativity is enabled in a unique form of practical mastery geared towards bridging the gap between the musician's cultural dispositions and and those of audiences present in conventional jazz settings such as jam sessions and public concerts.

2.3.2)   The "Experimental" Setting

The romantic disposition pertaining to jazz practice implicit in Mehldau's writing is revealed by Becker (2000) to be a symptom of one of two paradigms structuring jazz practice more appropriate to an etiquette in the more exclusive "experimental" jazz setting in which there is "no

audience immediately present" to impose external demands on performance etiquette and "improvisers are trying to solve a problem or perform a feat for its own sake or their own sake, because it is there to do and they have agreed to devote themselves collectively to doing it" (p. 174). An instance of such a setting is the the jam session that occurs behind closed doors, such as after the "lay audience" has left and the venue is composed entirely of like-minded, romantic jazz musicians. In such a setting, without an immediate audience, "special status" is accorded "to people who make special contributions to the collective effort (of improvisation), or are thought likely to" (p. 174). Egalitarianism is interpreted in terms of treating everyone's improvisation not only as "equally good", but as "potentially better" than their own. Upon hearing a better idea, the jazz musician is expected to drop their own ideas and immediately join in the new "collective direction". Improvisers hence "do not move gingerly, gradually converging on some sort of amalgam of hints and implications, thus respecting the fiction of equality" (p. 175). In stark contrast to the "tentative moves" (p. 172) characteristic in conventional settings, egalitarianism is enacted through a commitment to the pursuit of objective musical ideals, with role segregation between instruments taking place on the basis of contribution and not historical-traditional prescription. The "occupational myth of equality" (ibid) is thus enacted out in both conventional and experimental settings albeit in discursively different ways.

    In experimental settings, relations of equality are not enacted through maintaining a facade of an equality of participation for a lay audience. It is, instead enacted through a meticulous searching for spontaneous opportunities developing during improvisation in which creativity can be expressed. For this to be achieved in practice, familiarity with the music and with each other is required, and can be practiced through mutual socialisation through participation in multiple experimental jam sessions with the same group of musicians. Fortunately for the music, musicians in experimental settings are usually familiar with each other. Musically speaking, they can usually follow the suggestions of their fellow musicians made during performance at an experimental setting as they "have much the same idea of what the better looks like", as well as "a common criterion for knowing when it appears". In order for this to happen, a the musicians might have had a "shared past in which those criteria and their application have been worked out and applied in many cases"(p. 175). One way of achieving this is through listening to and internalising the performance practices of the other musicians. Due to the eclecticism of their tastes, experimental jazz musicians usually listen to a commonly agreed corpus of jazz legends from which they draw creative inspiration from. Common socialisation through a shared repertoire could hence familiarise musicians with each other's practices. Taste thus emerges as a possible means of overcoming cultural differences in experimental settings in which music-making is the primary objective of

practice. Regarding experimental settings, however, Becker (2000) does not discuss the possibility of unskilled musicians being present at length, explaining experimental improvisation instead in terms of an "exits and entrances" dramatic exercise. Just as a technically inferior but well-studied actor might excel at "exits and entrances", a technically inferior jazz musician with "good taste" could also excel in experimental jazz settings as long as he understands what constitutes a "dramatically interesting" (p. 175) idea. As such, symbolic or interpretive mastery is of equal or greater importance in such settings as it determines the nature of his involvement and whether or not he is ultimately included or excluded from the group.

2.4) **Dispositional Schemes and Jazz Practice**

Therefore, the cultural dispositions of jazz musicians can be classified loosely in support of schemes of practice taking on either communal or industrial characteristics. In the former is a perception of jazz musicians as a professional community that is both defined against but reliant on their audience(s), with "boundary" (Lamont & Molnar, 2002) being drawn at musician and non-musician. In the latter is a perception of other jazz musicians as fair game in both conventional and experimental settings, with the "boundary" (ibid) being drawn at technical skill. These cultural dispositions thus generate jazz practices geared towards navigating the field of jazz music and are a function of socialisation. The university has become a principal agent of socialisation for jazz musicians. Classes therein can take on a conventional or experimental setting where the dominant interpretation of egalitarianism is established and constantly negotiated during social encounters.

Becker (2000) hence observed that social situations arising from interaction among musicians that in jazz settings could be classified between two poles (p. 176) with regards to approaching the egalitarian demands of jazz etiquette. On one hand, interaction in conventional settings could "work on the basis of an etiquette that recognises and maintains a formal ideology of equality of status" (p. 176). Etiquette in this case generates conservative practices on the part of jazz musicians, so as not to disrespect their potentially weaker fellow improvisers or potentially unknowledgeable audience. On the other hand, social situations observed in experimental settings could be governed by an etiquette that "requires recognition of differentials in the contribution made to the collective effort" (ibid). If the former can be said to be "conservative etiquette" (p. 174) in which there is politeness, respect, observing "the rule in conventional improvisation ... to treat everyone's contribution as "equally good"" (p. 175), then the latter can be loosely labelled "elitist etiquette", in which a "hierarchy of ability" (ibid) according certain people special status due to ability, knowledge, popularity, or charisma is maintained and enacted in social interaction, requiring common knowledge or socialisation of musicians who wish to participate. Practices geared to this end are structured by potentially conflicting interpretations of egalitarianism. Compared to settings

in other genres of music, a peripheral level of musical involvement during professional jazz improvisation is a sign of exclusion and inferiority. A jazz musician's overall involvement is thus mediated through cultural disposition and strategies of enactment pertaining to paradoxical demands of entertaining an audience that is real or imagined, with settings potentially changing dynamically through time and the establishment of familiarity.

Having discussed the relation between musical practice and etiquette in settings common to the professional jazz musician, cultural dispositions in jazz can be narrowed down into two broad objective possibilities: 1) a communal disposition and 2) an industrial disposition. In the first case, the jazz musician's actions bely a belief that being a jazz musician is like becoming a member of a global, knowledge-sharing community of musicians, with musicians excluded at the level of egalitarian commitment to the sacred institution of jazz. In the second case, the musician believes that hard work and practice will give him an edge in a competitive industry, and that those that do not succeed lack effort or skill. These dispositions are gleaned from the manner in which actors resolve crises of etiquette in various social situations. As such, jazz practice can be classified into two objective frames of interpretation structuring it within its network depending on audience and setting. Jazz musicians with a communal disposition develop practices that allow them to perform with a wide range of musicians from various genres as an "ambassador" of the jazz profession. As such, their practice is necessarily more creative and geared towards helping weaker musicians achieve level footing in service of an global, "imagined" (Anderson, 1991) community of jazz. Jazz musicians with an industry disposition, however, develop practices geared towards distinction within the a specific field of jazz and are concerned with prestige and strategic alliances and the exclusion of the undeserving. Their practice is, as such, geared towards allowing them to either keep up with senior musicians or dominate musically in a competitive industry. Either way, practical mastery is required to distinguish oneself from "squares" (community) and "amateurs" (industry). In terms of jazz practice, the two poles of elitism and egalitarianism governing practices in conventional or experimental settings bely differing conceptions of participation in the field, thereby shaping interpretation of the cultural other's actions in a jazz setting. On one hand, membership based on egalitarianism could take on a community-based character in which exclusion happens at the level of tact and etiquette (Becker, 2000). On the other hand, membership based on elitism could result in self-exclusion by those who deem themselves unworthy of participation or castigation by senior members (Goffman, 1956). In discussing the relations between audience and improviser within the field of jazz, practice can thus be evaluated on the terms of its practitioners.

2.5)   **Theoretical Expectations**

Regarding expectations of outcome in this thesis, Bourdieu argues that actors within a field of restricted cultural production that display a disinterest in the accumulation of economic profit work according to the autonomous principle, with symbolic profit and the accumulation of cultural capital – as opposed to economic profit and capital – the primary goal (Bourdieu, 1983). According to economist Benhamou, "the accumulation of experience is the only way to determine one's chances of success" (Benhamou, 2003, p. 72 – 73) in an artistic labour market, suggesting that artists in the initial phase of their career tend to be more ambitious in terms of estimating their final position within the field and that participation in the field is one of the principal means through which younger artists – i.e. those in university – understand themselves and their place in the jazz ecosystem. Hence, each actor looking to enter or maintain his place within this field attempts to find out whether he has a chance of succeeding through participating in activities particular to this field. This idea of a field of "high" jazz as a field of restricted production has, with the increasing institutionalisation of the genre, become more and more compatible with Becker's idea of a community of jazz musicians that defines itself against an audience of "squares" (Becker, 1951). The jam session is a typical jazz setting in which such exclusive behaviour can be observed.

Returning to the jam session, jazz at jam sessions might not be as spontaneous as promoters of the genre make it out to be. On one hand, jazz music could be spontaneous, created at the moment of performance, and "not exactly like anything anyone had ever played before" (Becker, 2000, p. 171). On the other, jazz solos could be "basted together from snippets the players had played hundreds of time before", with some actually originating from the player himself, and many "slight variants of what they had heard on records" (ibid). These "collages" (ibid) were heard over and over again as every player in Becker's ideal jam session would have listened to more or less the same records. Among them, he noted that a jazz musician would do something that would sound "really different and original" to everybody else, even though it could "well be something we had spent a week working out in private rather than something invented on the spot" (ibid). Similarly, Bourdieu observed that sometimes, "the stakes are so high and the chances of a rift so great that the agents dare not rely entirely on the regulated improvisation of orchestrated habitus" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 182), suggesting that improvisation, as well as spontaneity or freedom within it, is also socially determined. After all, the music is being communicated through human beings (Piekut, 2014a; 2014b).

In his article, Becker suggests that the etiquette of jazz improvisation applies to relations of both inequality and equality. In a relationship of inequality, the dominated fraction's behaviour is restrained by a lack of power, and has to avoid an image of ingratitude. In a relationship of equality,

the dominant fraction's behaviour is restrained by the possession of power, and has to avoid an image of arrogance. Becker (2000) avoids using the terms dominated and dominant, although he uses the terms "unequal relations". He even argues that "etiquette is particularly important when people think that everyone involved in some situation ought to be equal but really isn't" (p. 172). The enrolment of students in a university, by virtue of going through the process of practising and administration required to gain entrance to that degree programme as a jazz music major in their respective institutions, suggests that students of jazz do, to varying degrees, express a desire to be a part of this restricted jazz community by learning, through formal education, how to play the music properly. A heightened awareness of ethical considerations can therefore also be interpreted in terms of varying levels of ambition within the restricted field of jazz production by the students involved, with some wanting to win competitions and become internationally famous (industrial), and some wanting simply to play with their friends (communal). Upon completion of their respective degrees, these students would have committed four years of their lives – a significant amount of time – to the completion of their respective jazz degree programmes. As such, they would be, by virtue of completing the programme, certified by the institution they enrolled in to be competent not only as a musician, but as a jazz musician. Their experience and performance in their respective degree programmes would hence be catered towards wherever they see themselves in the restricted field of jazz (industrial) or a self-segregating and vulnerable jazz musician community (community) in the future. They would also have learned more about their chances of success in the field of jazz production through participation in the rigorous programme, some later than others. The school that provides a jazz degree programme can therefore be seen as a cultural gatekeeper that endorses other potential cultural gatekeepers of jazz in their respective environments.

This degree would allow them easier entry into the restricted "field" (Bourdieu, 1983) or self-segregating "community" (Becker, 1951) of jazz musicians as they would have, by then, been equipped with the skills and knowledge required to participate as a producer of jazz music and educator. As such, graduation with a degree in jazz performance would allow them to convert their cultural capital into economic profit, as the accumulation of jazz skills and knowledge can be used to gain entry into a restricted community of jazz musicians that can earn money for playing music. Those working on the "heteronomous principle" (Bourdieu, 1983), or working for economic profit, would therefore be expected to be more comfortable in a conventional setting and would be oriented towards translating their jazz skills to lay audiences. Those working with the "autonomous principle" (ibid) would be, accordingly, more comfortable in an experimental setting, with their practices structured to achieve self-defined virtuosity. In this loose network, a market of producers exists in which some producers are more valuable than others also due to non-musical factors such

as sartorial and musical style, uniqueness and distinction, or skill and work ethic. Even then, while entering the community or industry is difficult, improving one's position within it is just as or even harder.

Hence, regardless of disposition, the denial of egoism and an enthusiastic attitude towards learning jazz music and culture is hence the attitude expected of younger musicians who are ambitious within the field of jazz and want to be professionally identified for their work, with the criteria of exclusion being a certain idea of practical mastery that is competed over by strategic musicians. This curious and passionate attitude, however, is limited by the demands of jazz etiquette, especially if one is clearly a virtuoso in relation to the others. As Becker (2000) notes, in relations of equality, such as in this research setting, jazz musicians are supposed to criticise each other without suggesting or implying that the person that they are criticising is inferior in any way. As such, the degree to which the student-musicians sugarcoated or buffered their responses to each other in performance and out of it can be seen a starting point as to how much they identified with their peers on a personal level, as opposed to their nationality, culture, or institution. This is also a clear way of seeing whether and how students become familiar with or distance themselves from each other in the learning environment in which the research was conducted.

3) Method and Research Design

3.1) Actor-Network Theory, Music, and Sociology

Having provided "an abstract model of "possible routes"" (p. 34) in the theoretical framework, the methodology of this thesis adopts a "minimal notion of agency" and fosters "uncertainty about what the actor might be" (Piekut, 2014a, p. 196), avoiding interpretive bias by couching action within a "structured structure" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53) in which participants were able to adopt differing "learning strategies" (Van den Dool, 2016) in terms of being able to craft their own learning objectives and navigate the setting on their own terms. This effectively allowed participants to determine and, through their involvement, influence the overall setting of the programme thereby not dictating the outcome of the research. The involvement of the researcher was restricted to administrative affairs such as thanking them for their contributions every week and reminding them of upcoming deadlines or notifying them of changes, avoiding any form of evaluation or instructive involvement such as providing judgment, critique, or comments about the interaction or the music. In maintaining communication discipline through out the eight weeks that constituted the "inter-cultural learning research project", the eight students involved were thus thrown into an unfamiliar social situation in which everybody became everybody else's audience, had to define the formality of the setting, and communication was structured to occur directly between participants, with the only mediating factor being Pitch2Peer, the peer-to-peer learning software that facilitated interaction across geographical boundaries. This allowed for the observation of how cultural dispositions were strategically invoked by the students (positions of limited agency) in maintaining a formal, institutional setting while, at the same time, learning about each other's culture through observing each other dealing with shared weekly assignments – artefacts that offered students a glimpse into the other's world of practice. Intercultural learning can hence be analysed through identifying and interpreting variations during interaction within Pitch2Peer and couching the findings in relation to the cultural dispositions of the participants. Evaluations of individual action will also be related to the cultural dispositions that determine, structure, constrain, or enable it in practice. This is drawn from a relational analysis of all the interaction that occurred online as enactments of the collective reality that was the research project.

A complete analysis, however, would also include an analysis of the actual musical content and the spontaneous interaction that constituted it, which occurs the moment of improvisation, audio-visually documented by video camera, published on Pitch2Peer, and presented to the other group as an archived submission within a closed online circuit of interaction. Text can thus be qualitatively analysed as artefacts from which the students' perceptions of themselves and of each other can be gleaned. Text, as structured response framing musical output, is to be related to musical

expression during jazz improvisation and vice versa in a dialectic mediated through cultural practice in dealing with potential cultural misunderstanding and the transference of practices. How, then, should one untangle music, and how should one go about it empirically? With actor-network theory (ANT), Piekut (2014a) shares a page with Bourdieu (1983), who highlights the social bases of relational dynamics within fields of restricted production, offering methodological principles that effectively bring art "back to the ground" from whence it is produced.

3.2) **An Objective Ontology of Subjective Relations**

In Piekut's (2014a) words, ANT "does not cover up asymmetries, but instead issues a realist description of associations and the hierarchies and inequalities they create; it is ontologically indeterminate, allowing the shape of the networks to emerge empirically" (p. 211). This is interpretively significant because the methodology of this thesis has to account for both time (changes resulting from sustained exposure) and space (inter-cultural dimension) if it is to analyse the process of intercultural learning – a function of familiarisation, which requires time and exposure. To illustrate, a break in patterns of interaction established over the course of the research project could be the beginning point of analysis, as it provides clues as to changes in relations between previously competing principles of social organisation invoked or promoted by certain actors. These changes in interactional patterns are effected by human or non-human actors, and the task is to determine the effect of actions within a network of other related actions and meaningful relations that both structure practice and is constituted by it. Piekut (2014a) therefore argues for an ecological approach to studying music, crudely terming his approach "historical ecology" as it identifies historically significant factors, relating them dialectically within a network of action - "a web of relations, an amalgamation of organic and inorganic, or biological and technological". An ecology hence denotes "elements that are interconnecting and mutually affecting (p. 212).

In such an approach, "relations are the units of analysis" (p. 213). Regarding ANT as a methodology, he mentions four methodological principles pertaining to "agency, action, ontology, and performance" (p. 194) as starting points of analysis that "keep us from offering banal descriptions that mistake explananda for explanantia" (p. 193), or, in other words, conflating the description of the event for its motivation in interpreting it. Accounting for this achieves a higher degree of objectivity in countering the tendency to explain things on behalf of the participants of the research from the positions of a researcher, thereby ensuring a more rigorous approach to the study of music and its social "allies" (p. 212). This is done through considering the relations between everything that is taken into consideration, including the non-musical mediators of music, such as technology, social interaction, and the musical object of improvisation as considerations of practice. As Piekut argues, "musical concerns (such) as 'process over object', performer freedom,

spontaneity, and all the other usual descriptions ... do not float independently in some abstract aesthetic space; they are contingent upon all the other actors that practice, perform, inscribe, and localise them in concrete ways" (p. 200). In that sense, "being means 'being related' and 'being in the world'" (ibid), which is opposed to the "older philosophical meaning of ontology as a branch of general metaphysics concerned with being and existence" (p. 199). Hence, this thesis does not claim to be able to psychoanalyse its participants and understand them better than they do. On the contrary, it seeks to "follow how networks of actors constitute, or enact ... different realities" (p. 199) by considering the possibility of pre-determining the social actor's identity methodologically, thereby potentially losing "the uncertainties and volatilities of ontological formation, as well as the web of relations that support the resulting group" (p. 200). In other words, in adopting an open-ended ethnographic approach methodologically, this thesis has attempted to limit its own bias or risk losing the opportunity to observe the "habitus" (Bourdieu, 1990) in action during the process of intercultural learning, rendering the task of relating it to cultural dispositions futile.

In arguing for ANT's relevance in the contemporary study of music, he observed that "music is a special, and exemplary, case for investigating matters of social theory" (p. 191). In his view, music can be seen as a "weak" or "strong" entity – "weak" in the sense that "it requires collaborators in order to touch the world, each irreducible to the next" and "strong" "precisely because of the many entanglements that it is necessarily caught up within (ibid). In this vein, "musical sound" is strong as it "makes many differences in the world, but it is also a weak entity that requires entanglements" in order to make these differences in the world and thus "relies on many things that are not music" (ibid). Regardless, music is seen to require social actors for its continued existence as an object identifiable through its relation with human actors. As an idea, the music can be seen as a "non-human actor" (p. 200) in having "illocutionary effects" (p. 201) that act upon human actors, such as in the case of the classical music composer, whose intent is conveyed through stylistic demarcations that objectively dictate action, allowing for its survival over time as a coherent piece of music in that style. A rudimentary stylistic analysis of the music hence allows for the study and observation of the differing manifestations of these effects as practiced by the participants during the course of the research, thereby providing potential entry points into the participants' experiences of the world of digital peer-to-peer learning. As such, Piekut argues that, in applying social theory to the study of music and vice versa, "the task for scholars ... is to trace this ramshackle set of promiscuous associations that spill out across conventional parsings of the world" (ibid, p. 192), and that ANT is uniquely suited for this task in its recognition of both the human and non-human creators, agents, interpreters, mediators, and so on, of music history. With ANT and symbolic interactionism in mind, this study considers the individual's agency at the level of

"dispositional curation" (Lahire, 2003), or the structural exercise of agency in delineating possibly "dissonant" (Lahire, 2008) notions of self expressed through practice.

As this thesis adopts an ethnographic approach to interpreting the data, it is necessary to include a few notes about the interpretation of music history in attempting to use archived videos of live musical activity as cultural artefacts pertaining to the study of culturally differentiated jazz practice. Although Piekut's (2014a) principles are intended for musicologists, he asserts that the "methodological claims made here are relevant for any object of musicological study", including jazz music. Goffman (1956) stated that "events which lead to embarrassment and the methods for avoiding and dispelling it may provide a cross-cultural framework of sociological analysis" (p. 266) as instances of embarrassment are crises of interaction in which relations between participants could change, break down, or proceed normally, depending on the skill of those involved in "handling themselves" or the degree to which they did in fact want embarrassment to occur, as in "trial by taunting" (p. 267) for those who are not interested in "sustaining encounters". As actors possessing differing or opposed cultural dispositions interact, embarrassment can be linked to a breakdown in social structure linked with differing expectations of interaction. In Goffman's text, the actor either is of a disposition to sustain the encounter or not. Etiquette mediates this by both potentially causing and alleviating embarrassment, but it might be interpreted differently depending on the cultural dispositions of said actor. In the absence of interviews or direct questions, analysis is thus achieved through tracing "activities, events, procedures" in providing "accounts of the enactment of realities" (Piekut, 2014a, p. 201) in acknowledging the limitations of theory in interpreting participants' ontological frameworks.

In an online peer-learning environment such as Pitch2Peer – the software used for the course, the students involved in a module are not a physical community but an online community where one is identified through visible participation in it – a "Web 2.0" structure similar to that of YouTube. Furthermore, interaction within this community is structured through the submission of comments and videos to each other, with each band interacting with the other band purely through videos and text. Through the analysis of the data, the researcher set out to identify initial cultural dispositions, chart out changes in interaction and interpret the text and action that constitute it as strategic plays in an imagined, closed ecology. ANT is therefore relevant to this thesis because the production of the musical content therein is, as explained, governed by similar principles as those governing social interaction in the setting of its production. As such, a thorough analysis of the music produced could provide cues into what was experienced by its producer, justifying why several methods of qualitative inquiry are being utilised to establish the relational field or ecology in which social actors exist and practice. In this sense, this thesis is not restricted to Bourdieu's

(1983) theoretical framework, as field theory is here seen as homologous to ANT in that it also situates the social actor in a network of other actors. Although the focus of Bourdieu's (ibid) research was the field of restricted production in high culture and literature and not the production of improvised jazz music, it still applies as the principles within it pertain to the formation of cultural dispositions in an increasingly "restricted" (ibid) field of jazz. Cultural dispositions are hence both objective and subjective as they, on one hand, involve the subject's view of the objective conditions of success in any given moment, and, on the other, involves the actor's tendency or reluctance to react in a certain manner, thereby allowing the researcher more theoretical perspective.

3.3) **The Habitus and Learning Dispositions**

How, then, should one be maintain objectivity and still interpretively define the objectives of practice without constructing the jazz musician as a passive "structural dope" (Alexander, 1995) in research design? Bourdieu (1990), in confronting objectivism as a normative guideline structuring methodological practice, critiques it for its impracticality and neglect of class boundaries. He argues that objectivism is a "viewpoint ... taken from high positions in the social structure" and that from those positions, "the social world is seen as a representation" as in painting, or "a performance" as in theatre or music (p. 52). Significantly, he suggests that in the pursuit of methodological objectivity, the researcher might conflate a scientifically constructed world view for that of the participants of the research, and that analysis should be instead focusing on how participants experience the practical necessities of their world instead of how they might deviate from academic models in interpreting practice. In view of this, the concept of the "habitus" (ibid) can hence help to unpack intercultural learning. Inter-cultural learning in jazz can be operationalised at the level of everyday life and at a societal or communal level. In focusing on the former operationalisation, this thesis takes a view similar to Bourdieu (1990) that practice is to be defined in relation to an objective criteria or interpretive framework. As such, in attempting to delineate the notion of culture to be used in this thesis, culture is, broadly speaking, the relationship between ideals that objectively rise through repeated practice by dominant players in the field and the actions of the social actor in a given situation. In other words, culture is constructed through the practical necessities of commonly occurring situations. Cultural practice, in spite of the social actor's capacities to mould his practices, hence constitutes a reality that is objectified on a personal level and experienced at an emotional level by the social actor. It can therefore defined at the level of habitus (p. 53) – the site and "principle" (p. 52) of the formation and adoption of cultural practice that constitutes durable intercultural learning.

While intercultural learning can take place on the level of theory, the internalisation of intercultural learning is achieved in practice. As students of jazz familiarise themselves with the

genre and its associated practices and paradigms, they develop schemes or repertoires (Lahire, 2003; 2008) of dispositions that constitute a habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) – a practical matrix that forms a basis of action and experience mediated through identity. The habitus, or "systems of durable, transposable dispositions", is hereby visualised as "structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to in order to attain them" (p. 53). The objective criteria of evaluation may not be entirely clear to social actors who are themselves in positions of less agency. In Bourdieu's view, the habitus is a "system" or scheme of dispositions that the actor both identifies himself through and is identified by in the spontaneous moment, and can thus be seen as a key aspect of social identity that is "constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions" (p. 52). The social actor, in having to deal with the practical requirements of existing in any kind of social group, develops schemes of dispositions that allow him to navigate "encounters" within this social environment "smoothly" (Goffman, 1956) or, generally speaking, without conflict or embarrassment (ibid) – two different expressions of a similar principle: the incompatibility of social organisation principles embodied by the situation and mediated by one's role. Within a social organisation, one's identity is mediated through perceptions of one's role, which can be legitimised institutionally through titles, endorsements, sponsorships and the like. In this vein, claims to legitimacy can, however, also be undermined through the transgression of these roles. In a jazz setting, identity is a function of role. The enactment of the "structured, structuring dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52) which constitute the habitus are mediated through perceptions of the musician's role within a hierarchy of roles within commonly occurring jazz institutions such as the jazz quartet. The jazz musician's role within the quartet is expressed through the jazz musician's musical and social performance in a social setting such as a jam session, rehearsal, or ensemble class. Depending on audience for whom the musicians are enacting their roles, there are differing principles of social organisation governing interaction, interpretations therein, and the relations that henceforth develop. These differences in principle could be "incompatible" (Goffman, 1956) with each other, and when applied in practice, could result in misunderstanding (of intent), misinterpretation (of perception), and thereby conflict or, at the very least, embarrassment.

Conflict or embarrassment is therefore structurally interpreted as a function of competing systems of cultural dispositions that could result in the dissolution of the social encounter, or "an occasion of face-to-face interaction, beginning when individuals recognise that they have moved into one another's immediate presence and ending by an appreciated withdrawal from mutual

participation" (p. 265). Conflict or embarrassment could therefore happen despite the best intentions of the parties involved. In dealing with matters of practice, Bourdieu's habitus is thus a useful conceptual guide for helping one understand action from the perspective of the social actor "entangled" (Piekut, 2014a, p. 199) within competing frames of interpretation structuring interaction in a network of relations. In a "dialectic" struggle between the "opus operatum", or objective criteria of action, and the "modus operandi", the "generative principle" of practices, (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52) manifested in the coherent actions of the social actor, culture is produced, rather than passively recorded, at the level of the social practice of the individual, necessitating the evaluation of culture in the frame of those that produce it. From this perspective, culture is both creatively constraining and enabling in the sense that it both imposes the boundaries of social action while enabling meaningful and productive transgression to be made on the part of the individual or institutional social actor in confronting it. A relational analysis is therefore required in analysing the effective chain of interaction expessed, or the network within which action can be interpreted dialectically in relation to other actions or non-actions in a network which could extend across multiple fields in the Bourdieusian (1983) sense (Piekut, 2014a, p. 206).

Apropos dispositions, Lahire (2003, 2008), however, provides an interpretive caveat that is an important point of consideration regarding the agency of social actors in field analysis. Bourdieu's definition of the habitus contains within it a view of social life as vast and chaotic, requiring the awareness of what is expected of oneself in a given social context as well as the ability to take action bearing in mind the expectations of behaviour (when perceivable to the actor) in a given social context, the social actor's physical, economic and cultural limitations with respect to said context and the stakes at hand. The stakes involved could be the credibility of the actor, who, through a misunderstanding due to a mismatch of expectations of behaviour between himself and the other people involved in the encounter, may emerge from said encounter feeling like a hypocrite, with his integrity, honesty and authenticity of behaviour thrown into question, along with all previous interaction with said actor. To cope with the immensity and intensity of social interaction inevitably required of the social actor, he develops schemes of preferences, justifications, rationales, and such. These schemes, informed by an awareness of the actor of social context and past experience, constitute the overall disposition of the social actor. The actor's social disposition does not only define his or her "style", "character" and therefore identity, but also his approach or "strategy" (Bourdieu, 1983) with regards to social context. For instance, the culturally disposed social actor might deploy value-rational frameworks in thought, perception and action, as opposed to instrumentally rational ones. To illustrate, someone possessing an "aesthetic disposition" (Bourdieu, 1987) might be more predisposed to value-rationality in social action, which, "as an

expression of substantive rationality, operates in contradistinction to the formally rational logic that dominates modern life with its quantitative, calculative, unambiguous mode of measuring things", with said actor's social action "determined by a conscious belief in this value for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or some other form of behaviour, independently of its prospects of success" (Weber, 1968, p. 25, as cited in Stewart, 2016). It follows from here that the social actor's cultural dispositions, as an "inverted", economically "irrational" (Bourdieu, 1983) aspect of decision-making based on symbolic considerations, affect the way he approaches social interaction, and vice versa. As the practice of jazz music is social, one's cultural dispositions should inform one's musical disposition, which is also affected by physical (pertaining to the body and musical instrument), economic (pertaining to financial access), and cultural (pertaining to cultural capital) limitations unique to every musician. The performance of the music is potentially analogous to social interaction in the sense that the interaction involved in improvisation is similarly vast and chaotic, requiring the awareness of what is expected of oneself in a given musical context as well as the ability to take action bearing in mind the musical expectations a given musical context. In other words, just because one does not say it does not mean one does not mean it. This provides the basis upon which this study is aiming towards a "thick description" (Geertz, 1994) of the research data, so as to avoid "turning cultural analysis into a kind of sociological aestheticism", losing touch of "the hard surfaces of life" (p. 30). In this light, the analysis of improvised music like jazz can be exploited as a cultural artefact that, by virtue of being produced spontaneously by the diverse members of the band, might be able to provide clues about the actor's cultural dispositions, and vice versa.

In view of this, Lahire proposes the additional requirement of differentiating between "dispositions to act" and "dispositions to believe" (Lahire, 2003, pp. 336 – 337) if one is to avoid reducing social actors into "cultural dopes" that passively reproduce structure (Alexander, 1995), as a casual application of Bourdieu is wont to do, thereby necessitating ANT. As Piekut (2014a) opines, Bourdieu failed to account for "diachrony, transformation, and change" (p. 206) in his assessment of cultural production. The implications for this research are that, in the application of a Bourdieusian theoretical framework, most actors in question cannot be classified as simply possessing an "autonomous" or "heteronomous" (Bourdieu, 1983) disposition applied homogeneously in all aspects of his social universe. Firstly, one must further examine if the actor has the required legitimacy and social, economic, cultural and political resources to tangibly realise his cultural dispositions. Secondly, the invocation of a particular disposition in a particular situation may not be sufficiently representative of an actor's outlook on life. To illustrate, an "aesthetic disposition" (Bourdieu, 1987) expressed in the critique and improvisation of jazz music by an

individual might not be representative of his general approach to social life, where said individual might favour a more practical disposition in the interest of preserving his broad and pluralistic social network. It follows that, given the plurality of social life that students have to face in today's relatively cosmopolitan society, one should, at the very least, entertain the idea of a plurality of dispositions in order to preserve one's identity, expressed in both the 'what' and 'how' of social interaction in a socially meaningful way, as opposed to a meaningless bricolage of action if one is to be recognisable and relatable to as a social entity. This informs the data analysis as students' interaction within the interactive online environment setting can be seen as the site of "social encounter" (Goffman, 1956) and "disruption" (Wilf, 2010) in social practice in which their social and musical strategies of distinction were put to the test in confronting the cultural other in spontaneous improvisation (intra-band) and feedback to the other group (inter-band), allowing for in-depth comparative analysis that also allowed for the consideration of temporality and ontological shifts in the participants' practice.

3.3.1) **Learning Dispositions: An Intercultural Case Study**

This view of intercultural learning as a conscious process of acquisition of unfamiliar cultural practices by the social actor is also adopted in Van den Dool (2016). Van den Dool (2016) observed that learning strategies, or the tendencies and preferences for certain learning practices are culturally contingent, suggesting the need to explore the idea of learning dispositions vis-a-vis the conscious acquisition of unfamiliar cultural practices. The concept of intermusicality, or the "transfer [of] specific practices and learning strategies from ... local music culture into unfamiliar systems" (p. 86), was observed in the context of Nepali students who had limited exposure to extra-Nepali culture acquiring knowledge in "unfamiliar musics" in the form of "Western" rock and jazz in Nepal (ibid). This empirical study highlights the agency of the students in overcoming the structural determinations imposed by their existence in and belonging to Nepalese society. By virtue of a limited exposure to the conditions of socialisation that facilitate the organic assimilation of "Western" music, students had to improvise upon their own learning strategies to learn unfamiliar music in "using the same learning strategies they deploy in Nepali music" to "immerse themselves in jazz and rock" (ibid), which are musical contexts that these learning strategies (such as mimicking, as opposed to reading music) were not developed in.

In Van den Dool's text, it is students' learning strategies that are a product of socialisation and the focus of the study, not the students' playing styles or their attitudes towards the music. Learning strategies are related to students' playing styles as they affect the manner in which learning is enacted and therefore how students play music as learning the music would affect the manner in which students actually practice the music they play. In his study, then, intercultural learning is

achieved through an eagerness on the part of students to adopt and experiment with unfamiliar practices in spite of their unfamiliarity with them. The Nepali students in Van den Dool's study who managed to overcome cultural barriers to learning "unfamiliar" music were already interested in learning said music, leading to a core finding in Van den Dool's text, wherein "the acquisition of hybridised and unfamiliar musics does not come automatically with globalisation" (pp. 106 – 107). Rather, it is the agency of the individual acting on a "micro-level" (p. 107) that can either serve to rise to the challenge of learning the music or not. As observed in the study, the choice of rising to the challenge of confronting unfamiliar music depends on whether or not the actor has the "material and/or dispositional means of respecting, realising, reaching, or achieving them" (Lahire, 2003, p. 337). The Nepali students, in improvising on their trusted learning strategies, were able to, through sheer determination and interest in the music, overcome the lack of the material and dispositional means to fulfil their culturally-informed desires. Van den Dool's study therefore shows that 1) the habitus is indeed a "system of generative schemes" that can be consciously acquired in and through practice (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 55) and 2) "cultural diversity exists within each individual" (Lahire, 2008, p. 178).

The jazz students in this thesis, however, are in a different position from the aforementioned Nepali students, as they possess a much higher degree of familiarity with jazz, even though it can be considered "foreign" (Van den Dool, 2016) to them. This familiarity of the music is endorsed by entrance auditions through which they are admitted into jazz schools. Still, Van den Dool's (ibid) findings concur with Lahire's conception of the individual, as the social actor is still presented as possessing the agency to resist socio-cultural determination through improvisational strategy. For instance, a conscious curation of the degree to which "intermusicality", or the transference of musical knowledge which affects aesthetic evaluation and therefore improvisation, occurs within themselves by choosing what to gain from school, could thus be a practical strategy of distinction employed by jazz students navigating jazz hierarchies both within and outside the institution. Also, that learning strategies were observed to vary culturally supports the idea that social practice, in this case the activity of learning, is indeed a function of socialisation.

It is, however, the variations in the reproduction of structure in and through the individual that are significant to this thesis, as, as Lahire (2003) has noted, "social agents have developed a broad array of dispositions" that owe their "availability, composition, and force to the socialisation process in which it was acquired" (p. 329). As he posits, "the more individuals have found themselves simultaneously or successively in a variety of non-homogenous, sometimes even contradictory, situations, and the more such situations were experienced at an early stage in life, the more such individuals will show a heritage of non-homogeneous and non-unified dispositions,

habits, and abilities varying across the social contexts in which their personal development took place" (p. 345). This idea of dispositional dissonance is addressed in Lahire (2008), where dissonant (inherently contradictory) dispositions are explained vis-a-vis self-distinction strategies that deliberately blur boundary lines in practice. The use of "heritage" (p. 185) implies that individuals possess the agency to curate the social and cultural dispositions in which their learning dispositions are couched, strategically activating them as required by the context of an encounter. "Learning strategies" (Van den Dool, 2016) in which students improvise upon their own learning dispositions to familiarise themselves with unfamiliar music is thus a clear example of how culture is both constraining yet enabling, with students exercising their agency in overcoming cultural constraints to learning unfamiliar Western music through exploiting limited technology in tandem with their own pre-existing learning dispositions to fulfil their cultural disposition towards said music. This provides a justification as to why it would be useful to include a stylistic analysis of the musical output of the students in this study in the larger interpretive framework, as it, in juxtaposition to the interaction online, could provide a rich source of data possibly supporting or contradicting qualitative observations of social behaviour alone, allowing for a more nuanced portrayal of the body and musical practice as objects of socialisation to be unpacked scientifically.

Thus, intercultural learning can be loosely operationalised as the acquisition of cultural practices previously unfamiliar to the social actor. As a "process of acquisition" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 73), durable intercultural learning can occur through "a practical mimesis (or mimeticism) which implies an overall relation of identification" (ibid) to the unfamiliar other. This is opposed to an "imitation", with the actual "reproduction" of structures in practice is "a practical reactivation which is opposed to both memory and knowledge" that occurs "below the level of consciousness" and requires "total investment and deep emotional identification" on the part of the actor. As such, the body is also the site of the relationship between intercultural learning and cultural dispositions, as it is "constantly mingled with all the knowledge it reproduces, and this knowledge never has the objectivity it derives from objectification in writing and the consequent freedom with respect to the body" (ibid) that a strictly objectivist methodology tends to assume. The methodological challenge this paper seeks to take on is to offer perspectives on how jazz musicians learn and practice individuality and creativity within the ethically volatile context of formal collective jazz improvisation in which they are required to consciously switch between leading and supporting roles. This task is undertaken through a qualitative analysis of the events that unfolded and the objects that were produced during the course of the research. Analysis is therefore undertaken through a semiotic interpretation of social actors' actions occurring within the time frame and

interactional structure of the Pitch2Peer module and expressed in movement, text, and sound therein.

3.4) **Sampling**

The two institutions, Codarts Rotterdam and the LaSalle College of Music Singapore, were paired according to their global and local status. Both institutions are "colleges of music" that are more focused on preparing students for skill-based musical practice after graduation, as opposed to universities and such, which offer research-based career trajectories. Both institutions also have similar global standing as institutions of tertiary-level musical education that are not located in the United States and thereby do not possess claims to jazz heritage. Also, in both institutions, jazz education exists among a plethora of other programmes offering both artistic and vocational education in other artistic and creative disciplines, and, as such, is not the only or main programme that the schools are recognised for. The institutions also offer the highest level of jazz education attainable (Masters for Codarts and Bachelor's for LaSalle) within their immediate environment (the cities of Rotterdam and Singapore). The two institutions are hence inexorably tied to the jazz scene of their cities, with many of the local jazz heroes and veterans taking up instructor and lecturer roles and also often using students and alumni for performances and projects outside of school.

The respondents were therefore divided by geographic location, with one quartet coming from Europe (Rotterdam, the Netherlands) and the other from South-East Asia (Singapore, Singapore). While, as mentioned, jazz is not hereditary to either country or region, it is more "unfamiliar" (Van den Dool, 2016) to Singapore and Asia in general. To illustrate, LaSalle is the only institution in Singapore to offer jazz at the Bachelor's level, despite several other conservatories and schools of music existing within Singapore compared to the Netherlands, which has many jazz schools offering Bachelor's or higher-level jazz educational opportunities spread out across the country. Furthermore, jazz music, seen to have its roots in the "West", has only recently begun to make headways into the fine arts in Singapore, with the genre and its associated institutions and practitioners not deemed to be within the ambit of government subsidy – the primary source of arts funding in Singapore – until the early 2000s. On the other hand, Singapore has also recently seen an increasing number of students travel abroad to prestigious schools like the Manhattan School of Music, New York University, and, most notably, Berklee College of Music in Boston to obtain their jazz qualifications, thereby embodying and bringing jazz culture back with them. These students, upon returning to Singapore, assume important posts in the local music scene, and contribute significantly to the local music scene as gatekeepers. The cultural transmission of jazz practice can thus be said to be of an indirect and restricted nature in Singapore. Rotterdam, on the other hand, has historic links to New York City, is geographically much closer to the USA than

Singapore, and now hosts the biggest jazz festival in the world every year: the North Sea Jazz Festival. Evidently, jazz music and culture is much more entrenched as a legitimate form of culture in Rotterdam society than in Singapore.

To the end of sampling, the researcher thus adopted a snowball sampling strategy. Initially asking the respective heads of jazz in both schools for permission to use some of their students for the purposes of this research project, he also asked them if they were able to put advertisements out to the students in their respective schools regarding participation in the project. They were both supportive and encouraging, with Dr. O'Dwyer, LaSalle's Head of Jazz, saying it was easy for him to get students. The only criteria specified to Dr. O'Dwyer and Ms. Bloemhard separately was that the instrumentations of the bands were to be similar so as to allow for ease of comparison. This was due to a consideration of how jazz musicians' practices and identities, as mentioned, are structured by interpretations of role within a band. Thus, in order to compare jazz practices, the two groups of participants were paired in terms of instruments for ease of comparison and, in lieu of a means to objectively assess musical ability, year of study within the institution. The participants were hence constituted two distinct and geographically distanced jazz quartets in an historically recognised form – a guitar quartet – paired as such: two guitarists ("amphibious" or polytonal, i.e. can function as chordal accompaniment and soloist), two saxophonists (soloist; monotonal), two bass players, and two drummers (rhythm section).

Communicating over e-mail, Dr. O'Dwyer presented the researcher with the four students who would turn out to be the actual participants in the project. The researcher "met" them during a Skype session a week before the commencement of the project in order to brief them and for them to actually get to see him before consenting to participation. In the Skype session, it was made clear that anyone would be free to pull out at any time if they felt compelled to do so. Thankfully, everybody agreed to participate in the project. Having secured the approval of the LaSalle side, the researcher then proceeded to secure approval from the Codarts side. With the help of Mr. Jaco van den Dool, he was able to gain an audience with Codarts Head of Jazz, Ms. Linda Bloemhard. Meeting her with Mr. Van den Dool, they discussed the project. After some clarification, all parties were able to come to a mutual understanding. Upon finding out the researcher's Singaporean nationality, Ms. Bloemhard said that she knew a newly-enrolled jazz bass player from Singapore, Jonathan, recommending him as the Codarts band-leader. The researcher agreed and proceeded to ask said Singaporean bassist to help recruit a band for the project. A week before the beginning of the project, Jonathan thus presented the researcher with a band from Codarts with the same instrumentation as the LaSalle band. As such, none of the participants knew anything about the constitution and skill level of the other band until the submission of the first video. There was also

consent from all parties involved: the students themselves, who were enlisted by their respective band-leaders, as well as their heads of departments. Lastly, it was clear at all points during the research that the researcher was an Arts and Culture Studies Master student in Erasmus University Rotterdam conducting this research for his own purposes. As will be explained, they still found it within themselves, in spite of this knowledge, to exaggerate the significance of their participation in this research project.

Regarding year of study and seniority within the Bachelor's programme the participants were respectively enrolled in, the bands differed only slightly, with the significant difference being in the year of study by the appointed band-leader in relation to his band-mates. Joe (band-leader; guitar) was in Year 3 – the graduating year of the LaSalle jazz bachelor programme. Te and Trevin were in Year 1, and Govin was in Year 2 of the LaSalle programme. As such, in the LaSalle Quartet, Joe's position as bandleader was supplemented by his seniority in the degree programme and legitimacy was derived from his seniority in a hierarchy of formally trained musicians. In that sense, however, the leader of the Codarts Quartet was the most junior in his quartet, as Jonathan (band-leader; bass) is in Year 1, compared to the rest of the band, who were in Year 2. In any case, the mean year of study was similar for each band, as the sum of the total years of study of each band was equal (LaSalle: $1 + 1 + 2 + 3 = 9$; Codarts: $2 + 2 + 2 + 1 = 9$).

3.5)   **Pitch2Peer and Communication Structure**

Due to the intercultural setting and design of the project, communication was structured in such a way as to deal with uncertainty of outcome (as is the case with many qualitative research projects) and mediate cultural difference and bias. According to the Model of Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC), used to assess and develop intercultural communicative competency in teachers and students, exposure to artefacts from an unfamiliar culture can help to develop ICC in students of language (Byram, 1997). Musicians are required, in varying degree, to spontaneously and musically communicate their ideas to each other through their instruments during a live performance, similar to everyday social interaction in that, in spontaneous and thus improvised interaction, there are rules that may or may not be broken during social encounters with other people. As such, musical expression during jazz improvisation is mediated through a common traditional lexicon of musical responses allowing the communication of intent in jazz improvisation, or a "language" that distinguishes jazz improvisation from others.

At the beginning of this programme, the students were not familiar with both their peers in the other country, as well as with the configurations of their bands. The unfamiliar setting hence allowed for the observation of the habitus. Another justification for this method of data collection and analysis lies in the unique opportunity to juxtapose two different contexts in which Bourdieu's

concept of habitus might have been invoked: jazz practice in a guitar quartet within the bands themselves, and within the online micro-ecology of jazz students to which they belonged during this research. This not only provided participants with the opportunity to learn more about themselves and their playing, allowing for the participants to gain and learn something worthwhile through extra-cultural exposure as opposed to being uncompensated "lab rats", but also the platform upon which the construction of a micro-field of musicians was possible. This research design allowed for the sociological analysis of the domain of musical cultural output, situating the students' musical output displayed in the form of videos alongside their social (feedback) interaction in observing improvisation in jazz practice ethnographically. The analysis hence aimed to take a cross-section of their interactions within this field to explore the ideas of habitus vis-a-vis improvisation. In short, the qualitative content analysis, on top of the students' visible interaction on the online learning environment, also extended to students' interactions during the performance of music in their videos, as well as their musical output during their weekly uploaded recorded sessions, which were all archived on Pitch2Peer's database. Byram's ICC model hence applies, as the research project involved both intercultural (learning how to interact with people from anther culture as audience or band-mate) and linguistic (learning about jazz improvisation as a language) learning elements. Artefacts thus consisted of the sort of exchanges that occurred in Pitch2Peer.

On interpreting social life dramaturgically, Goffman (1959) noted that "the audience constitutes a third party to the interaction – one that is essential and yet, if the stage performance were real, one that would not be there". Rather, "in real life, the three parties are compressed into two; the part one individual plays is tailored to the parts played by the others present, and yet these others also constitute the audience". The research was thus designed such that there were only two audiences, dialectically related to each other in the sense that what one party does directly applies to the other party if it is observed, who then provides a response that is appropriately "tailored to the parts played by the others present", and vice versa. These relations differ from a theatrical audience, who is prevented from directly interacting with the performers on stage and influencing the direction of the performance (ibid). As such, a dialectic relationship between the two student bands involved in this thesis was initially established due to the research design, with the students forming a self-sustaining ecology in which the withdrawal of anyone could have lead to the abandonment of the entire programme. This dialectic relationship, occurring solely on Pitch2Peer and in the respective practice studios in which the videos were recorded resulted in a succession of events that was contingent upon everything else that had come before it, or, in other words, the communication structure which allowed for both bands to interact purely within Pitch2Peer allowed for the formation of a collective identity between all students, related through a collective narrative that

developed weekly. The following diagrams indicate the initial communication structure and information flow at the beginning of the course:

3.5.1)   **Fig. 1: Generic Communication Structure**
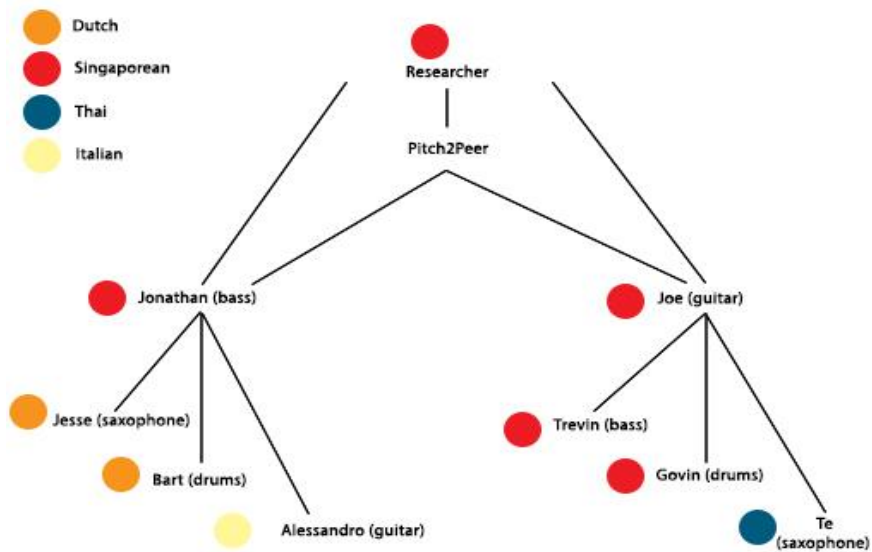
3.5.2)   **Fig. 2.1: LaSalle Video Distribution Structure**
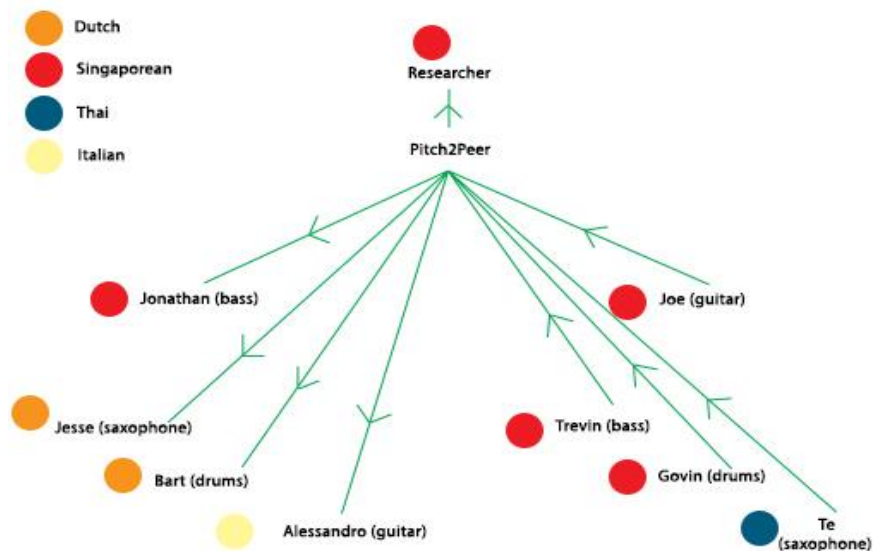
3.5.3)   **Fig. 2.2: Codarts Video Distribution Structure**
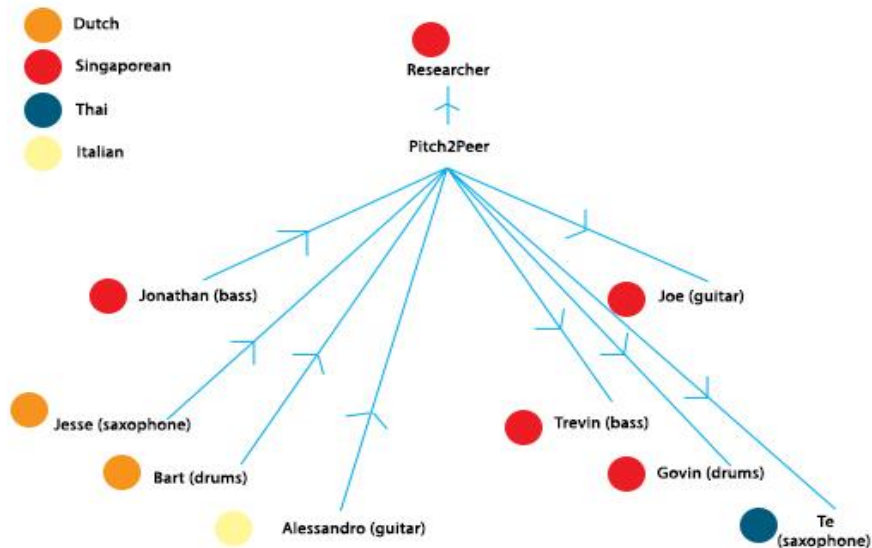
As seen in Figs. 2.1 and 2.2, this communication structure allowed everybody to be everybody's audience with every video upload. There were not enough Pitch2Peer user accounts available for all the students to have one account each, necessitating the publishing of feedback through their leaders' accounts, as seen in Figs. 2.3 and 2.4:

3.5.4) **Fig. 2.3: LaSalle Feedback Distribution Structure**
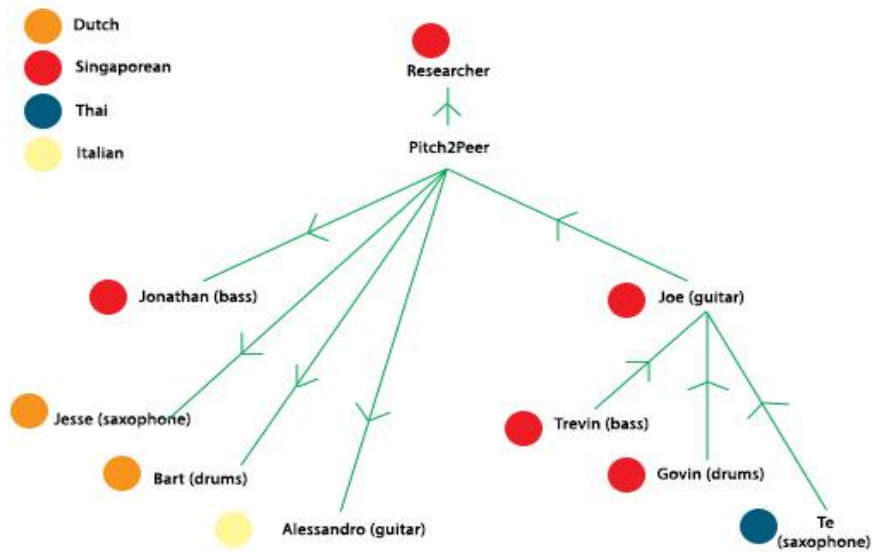
3.5.5) **Fig. 2.4: Codarts Feedback Distribution Structure**
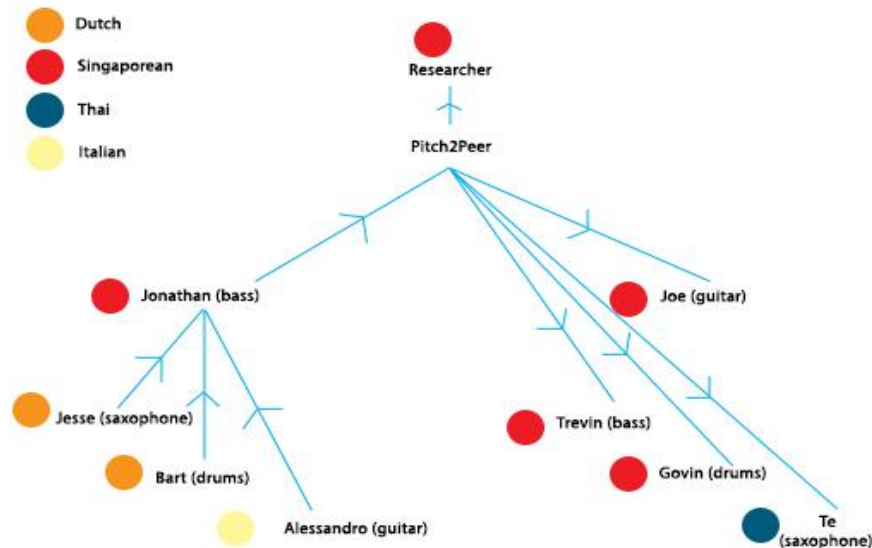
3.6) **Repertoire**

As a means of bridging intercultural barriers to learning, having a standard repertoire as a point of reference allowed both sides to translate stimuli from the other group into something familiar for reference, be it the chord progression, structure of the song, the melody, etc, communicated to each other through presenting their own unique takes on the same song week after week. As Becker (2000) notes, jazz standards allow for improvisation over something familiar by jazz improvisers and audiences (p. 173). Having everybody familiar with the tunes to be performed allowed for meaning to be accorded to variations made over the melody, harmony, form, and so on. A knowledgeable audience may know, for instance, which song the musicians are playing even if they are not playing the melody, perhaps picking up on a familiar riff, chord progression, form, or melodic fragment that is being referenced. Both spontaneous and rehearsed (even if it is just before the actual performance) variations to the jazz standard that were made can therefore be understood as improvisational choices, as they affected the "collective direction" (ibid) of the group. It follows that improvisational style deals with the general manner in which these improvisational choices are made by both the bands collectively, as well as their individual constituents.

The repertoire which the students performed during the course of the research was hence controlled. This repertoire consists of 1) Miles Davis: So What, 2) John Coltrane: Naima, 3) Sonny Rollins: Oleo, and 4) a song of their choice respectively. This repertoire was selected to allow participants' to showcase their subjective interpretations of different dominant styles (modal, medium-swing, ballad, up-tempo, etc.) and discourses (cool, spiritual and constructivist, etc.) in jazz, as well as to see what kind of music the culturally differentiated bands would choose for this

sort of setting, possibly shedding light on the overall cultural disposition of the quartet as well and its members.

3.7) **Project Description**

In short, the methodology allowed the students space to play with the the material: semi-structured interaction to allow for observation in a "natural" (Goffman, 1956) setting. It was also structured in such a way for narratives to organically develop, with their interaction structured completely within Pitch2Peer and in a relatively private, online space. The structuring of communication and activities therefore allowed for the largest range of responses possible in data collection for rich qualitative analysis.

The feedback provided by their peers from the other side allowed for, apart from their musical performances recorded on video, another means through which both sides could learn more about each other through collectively tackling a clearly defined task in uploading the videos and providing feedback about the other side's contribution, effectively "breaking the fourth wall" between the bands and giving a reason for interaction between unfamiliar people in an unfamiliar context. In Byram's (1997) model, "comparing e-mails", "face-to-face and virtual encounter projects (web cam)", "ethnographic observation tasks (sounds, images)", "negotiation of cultural misunderstandings", "role plays" and critical comparison of immigration policies all constitute activities that effectively develop ICC. With this in mind, the intercultural interaction in this research project, structured to occur on two fronts (textual and audio-visual/musical), was expected to lead to the development of higher levels of ICC (intercultural awareness) in the students, which can be seen in, among others, the willingness of the students to adapt their playing style to incorporate feedback and vice versa, bands mimicking each other, or simply in the direct application of (or resistance to) suggestions presented in the feedback by the other group.

Thus, two groups of students, one from Codarts Rotterdam (Codarts Quartet) and the other from the LaSalle College of Music Singapore (LaSalle Quartet), were enrolled in an "Inter-Cultural Research Project" (official name used in communicating the research project to all involved) lasting eight weeks in total from February to April 2017. Through the eight weeks, they were asked to upload videos of music from a set repertoire of four jazz standards, as well as critically respond to the videos uploaded by their peers from the other country. The repertoire was broken up into eight weeks, with each song taking up two weeks of the programme, allowing for students to upload two videos (one per week per band) and critical feedback (one 100-200 word feedback piece per student) per song over the two weeks. Each song represents one cycle in the eight-week programme, with each week's procedure consisting of 1) the uploading of a video, 2) critiquing the other group's video, and finally 3) personally reflecting on the feedback offered by the other group.

The programme hence consisted of four cycles, one per song, through which the learning process for the programme was divided, with the premise being the fostering of creativity and a more cosmopolitan musical awareness in jazz improvisation through sustained semi-structured interaction with peers from a starkly different culture.

3.8) **List of Participants**

As a final point of ethical principle, it has to be said that not all the participants of the programme explicitly allowed the use of their names for this thesis. Some of the names of the participants in this study were therefore falsified in order to preserve the confidentiality of those participants who did not consent to the usage of their name. The names, however, of those who consented to the usage of it, remain real. As such, no faces (photos and video clips) shall be included in the presentation of results. The eight participants are hence:

1) LaSalle
    1. Joe (guitar; bandleader; LaSalle Year 3)
    2. Te (saxophone; LaSalle Year 1)
    3. Trevin (bass; LaSalle Year 1)
    4. Govin (drums; LaSalle Year 2)
2) Codarts
    1. Jonathan (bass; bandleader; Year 1)
    2. Jesse (saxophone; Year 2)
    3. Alessandro (guitar; Year 2)
    4. Bart (drums: Year 2)

4) Results and Analysis

4.1) Beginning Analysis

Due to the communication structure pre-set by the research design, everything that was done by everybody in each band would have been observable to the other, with the feedback focusing on the bands playing the same songs every week. This was supposed to allow for a learning environment optimised for intercultural learning to occur freely and organically. On one hand, the audiences could consist of the other musicians in the same room that the video is being recorded in. On the other hand, the audience could consist of the other musicians from the other country and other institution. Whatsoever, an ideal audience was supposed to consist of jazz musicians "of the same league" who each possessed unique cultural dispositions pertaining to jazz practice, allowing for intercultural learning through exposure to a diversity of individual approaches to the practice of jazz improvisation. Introducing a new, extra-cultural audience therefore introduced a whole set of unknown practical problems at the beginning of the project, as students were not prepared for such sensitive and potentially embarrassing interaction with the other, unfamiliar group. This was so especially in the diplomatic and institutional setting in which they perceived themselves to be representing their respective institutions in an international-level research project that could potentially be of large significance.

A beginning point of analysis that emerged during the first couple of weeks was hence the "embarrassment" (Goffman, 1956) of the LaSalle band expressed both in their performances and initial feedback. In following this pattern through the weeks and seeing how it changed in its expressed form allowed for a lead into the experience of the students – their "backstage" (Goffman, 1959) – and how they managed to balance the demands of participation in the course (set by the researcher) with the demands of jazz etiquette in adapting their social and musical practices. To establish whether or not their attitudes towards the cultural other changed during the course of the project, it is thus necessary to compare the interactional dynamics during the first week with that of the later weeks. Critical analysis was required as the changes in interaction were subtle, unannounced, and seemingly random as a high degree of jazz etiquette (Becker, 2000) was maintained throughout the course of the project on both sides. For instance, this adherence to etiquette was evident in the kind of feedback that the respondents provided to each other, which noticeably skirted the subject of technical ability for the entire course.

4.2) The LaSalle "Backstage"

In an unfamiliar and uncomfortable situation in which it was clear that to realistically enact out "relations of equality" in the face of a clear inequality of practical mastery would take a stretch of the imagination, a hierarchical structure familiar to both sides – the teacher-student relationship –

was quickly established after the first couple of weeks. Prior to the expression of this structure, the researcher received a concerned, unsolicited email from the LaSalle band in which they were clearly shocked by the level of playing ability demonstrated by the Codarts band in the first week. While the LaSalle band might have expected a difference in the level of instrumental mastery at the start, the level demonstrated by the Codarts band in the first week seemed to have exceeded those expectations by a long shot. In this email, they communicated, through Joe, that they were afraid that "the level difference between the Dutch group and our group is too large a gap, to the point where we do not understand most of what is going on in their playing and are struggling to come up with any constructive feedback" for the Codarts band. In the same email, they described their musicianship as being of a "mediocre level", and that "it might be better to match up another different better group from the Singapore side against the Dutch side ... and such Singaporean players might have to be sourced from outside LaSalle already" (Joe, Personal Communication, Week 1).

The LaSalle band did provide feedback in spite of this confession of embarrassment and that they did not wait for re-assurance or encouragement before actually beginning to comment, as this email was communicated after they had already begun submitting their feedback for the first week, suggesting that the LaSalle band did in fact want to participate in the project but were unsure if they had agreed to something that they did not deserve due to a perceived technical inferiority in jazz theory, jazz improvisation, and mastery of their instruments. This is seen in "me and my band members have only started picking up this craft just only one or two years back", where they seemed to have felt that the "dutch side" had an unfair advantage over them in the context of this research project, as they were "great guys who have been at it for a couple of years already, some right form [sic] a young age" (ibid). Their use of "the dutch side" to refer to the Codarts band hence suggests a conflation of Codarts' geographical location (Rotterdam, the Netherlands), and Dutch ethnicity in general. In actual fact, the Codarts band, which also contained one Singaporean bass player (Jonathan) and one Italian guitarist (Alessandro), was only half-Dutch. In the Codarts band, only the drummer, Bart, and the saxophonist, Jesse, were Dutch. This reference to the Codarts band as "the dutch side" therefore resembles the beginnings of a process of othering, in which the students from the respective bands were taken as artefacts from which conclusive remarks could be made about the entire cultures they were socialised in – stereotypical indices of the institutions and cultures they were supposed to be a part of.

Seen in the gradual change in the tone of the textual interaction (feedback) over the weeks, the degree to which the students came to see each other as individual people and not ambassadors of their school and country was a good indicator of whether or not the students did in fact begin to

establish relationships among themselves that transcended ethnicity in relating to each other personally. A change in from an initially informal tone in communication was observed to be achieved through an "audience segregation" (Goffman, 1956) that separated the eight jazz musicians and the researcher from the unknown, potentially important audience (i.e. the various institutional appointment-holders involved such as Ms. Bloemhard and Dr. O'Dwyer). In using an oppositional term ("against") in describing the pairing, Joe is therefore revealed to have perceived, at least at the very beginning, the research project as an eight-week-long competition, thereby belying pre-existing views about the "Dutch side" as a cultural level on the level of nationality. Participation thus seemed to be framed as analogous to being a representative of the country in an international-level competition of skill, such as in the FIFA World Cup, where the eleven players that constitute the national team are taken as representations of the total skill level of footballers in their country. The LaSalle band hence seemed to have expected the element of intercultural learning to be enacted through a competition of skill between evenly matched peers – a narrative that was disrupted by the "expressive facts" (ibid) of the first week's video submissions.

A heavy dose of embarrassment was hence evidenced in this email from Joe as it was clear that they feared that they were "inadequate to the task" (Goffman, 1956) of "competing" at this level, shattering the aforementioned narrative possibility. The teacher-student relationship hence seemed to be an appropriate contingent that was familiar to both sides. In this email, "discomfort" was "felt in the situation but in a sense not for it", as the LaSalle band seemed to be "anxiously taken up with the eventualities lying beyond it" (p. 264) in terms of focusing on the outcome (how they would be perceived as representatives of Singapore and LaSalle) instead of the task (peer-to-peer intercultural learning). This was evident in how he mentioned that better Singaporean players "might have to be sourced from outside Lasalle already" (Joe, Week 1), suggesting that the LaSalle band, whose general attitude was epitomised by Joe, perceived themselves as a suicide squad, with the limited international exposure of South-East Asian jazz musicians as an added source of imaginary pressure. From the embarrassment apparent in this email, it was hence clear that the members of the LaSalle quartet did not deem themselves worthy of participation due to a perceived lack of technical competency which, in their view, disqualified them from providing critical feedback to the other group. The fact that they suggested that better players could be found from outside LaSalle also suggests that they did not see themselves as accurate representations of the state of jazz music in Singapore, and that they were conscious that by being part of an European intercultural research project, they would be incorrectly perceived as undeserving and inaccurate cultural ambassadors of the country and institution. Although this was not the point of the programme, it was apparently a significant enough point to justify an unsolicited email expressing

"concern" and a wish to abandon the programme altogether, evident in phrases such as "it is a bad idea" (Joe, Personal Communication, Week 1).

To get on with the programme, the researcher responded by pointing out that the "Dutch side" might also have something to gain simply by virtue of participation in the programme, as they would be learning about an alien culture in the context of jazz music – something intimately familiar to all the students as they come from jazz programmes (Personal Communication, Week 1). Joe responded favourably, agreeing to "continue and remain in the programme till the end", provided that "the Dutch side is ok [sic] with us and if you think the level difference works out for your project", ending with a grateful "thank you for giving us this opportunity and we will try our best of our abilities to make things work better", as if to make sure that the researcher was aware of this difference in playing level and that they did not "suck" due to the lack of effort (Joe, Personal Communication, Week 1). As such, the LaSalle band members consented to carrying on participating despite being clearly uncomfortable with the difference in skill between the bands and having to critique their jazz "betters" on a regular, uncomfortable basis.

As Goffman (1956) notes, an "abrupt" burst of embarrassment such as this email could be a blessing in disguise since it happened early on in the first week as it allowed for a "glimpse of reality" – or going past the "illusion structuring ... reality" to observe "their real social activity" (Žižek, 1989, p. 32), here defined by a real, spontaneous view into the "backstage" (Goffman, 1959) of the LaSalle band. In Goffman's conception of the self and its enactments, he posits that the individual necessarily preserves an element of self as apart from society through the tailoring of one's self to take certain roles or to entertain certain audiences during social encounters familiar and unfamiliar. It follows that, for persons whose social groups are more diverse, there is a possibility that in "being themselves", i.e. in acting in such a way that ignores social context and etiquette, they might be perceived as inconsistent as individuals. As Lahire (2003; 2008) notes, in such cases, the individual embodies a "multiplicity of dispositions" that is contingent upon his socialisation and that can be "activated" or "de-activated" depending on the requirements of social context and etiquette. This strategic curation of dispositions allows the individual to maintain a level of coherence as a person with a name through altering his "performance of identity" (Goffman, 1959) subtly and in principle. As such, a "performance of identity" was hence to be expected from both sides due to their unfamiliarity at the start. In this vein, the email gave an unexpected glimpse into what the LaSalle band was actually thinking, communicated privately to the researcher, concealed from their Pitch2Peer audience. While it still maintained a formal tone, there were genuine grounds on which to believe that they were sincere in communicating their "concern", as they could have felt embarrassed for the researcher and the project itself in not living up to pre-conceived

expectations of skill and thereby being let-downs. The situation itself can hence be said to be a "non-human actor" (Piekut, 2014a) in this view, as the LaSalle band seemed to fall short of their own expectations of it, prompting the unexpected email, sent less than a day after the submission of the Codarts band's video in Week 1. This email allowed the researcher to gain an entry into the going-ons and relationships between the participants.

Goffman (1956) conceptualises embarrassment as having to do with "the figure the individual cuts before others felt to be there at the time", with the "crucial concern" being "the impression one makes on others in the present – whatever the long-range or unconscious basis of this concern may be" (p. 264 – 265). Classifying embarrassment into two manifestations, "abrupt embarrassment" and "sustained uneasiness", he argues that embarrassment can also be felt and expressed by the individual for both oneself, other people, groups, and even the situation itself, as the enactment of the situation could be perceived to have fallen short of the expectations of it. With the email having revealed the LaSalle band's "backstage" (Goffman, 1959, the analytical task was to then relate this data to their interaction with the Codarts band. Goffman posits that "there seems to be no social encounter which cannot become embarrassing to one or more of its participants, giving rise to what is sometimes called an incident or false note" (p. 265). The use of jazz parlance in "false note" and "dissonance" (ibid) suggests that situations in which embarrassment is expressed are related to improvisation as discussed in this thesis, with "false note" and "dissonance" suggesting the presence of something that should not be around, but still is, such as in the phrase "addressing the elephant in the room" which refers to groups of people in the same room ignoring a clearly pertinent issue. In this project, this "room" was the Pitch2Peer learning environment in which students were put into a prolonged period of potential discomfort that could go "awry" (ibid) at any time, with the "elephant" being the difference in technical competency. The LaSalle band's members seemed to feel like they "fell short" of the "moral, mental, and physiognomic standards" (ibid) required of participation in this international-level research project.

In Goffman's view, "the person who falls short may everywhere find himself inadvertently trapped into making implicit identity claims which he cannot fulfil" (ibid; p. 269), bearing the "leper's bell" in "every social encounter which he enters". In this vein, "the individual who most isolates himself from social contacts may then be the least insulated from the demands of society" and therefore avoid embarrassment. In Joe's view, then, "the expressive facts at hand threaten or discredit the assumptions a participant finds he has projected about his identity". The embarrassment of Joe manifested in this email can therefore be said to be resulting from the image of themselves that they had projected during the submission of the first video and their introductions, where the band appeared confident in their abilities and playful, thereby displaying

"composure" (ibid). Their realisation and perception that they were, relative to the Codarts band, technically inferior thus framed their portrayal of themselves in the first week as one of misplaced individual confidence, as, in their view, this sort of behaviour was subsequently perceived to be the kind portrayed by people who have proven themselves or who deserve to behave as such. Therefore, the LaSalle band effectively positioned themselves below the Codarts band in a positional hierarchy of bands after the first week, fearing that it would not be worth it for the "Dutch side" (Joe, Personal Communication, Week 1) as they, in the LaSalle group's eyes, did not have much to learn from the LaSalle group. The situation was hence less than ideal for Joe and the LaSalle band, who, at the beginning of the project, seemed to have perceived peer-to-peer intercultural learning as an exchange of ideas of equal status, suggesting an "elitist" interpretation of egalitarianism posited at the level of contribution quality that was internalised by the LaSalle band and applied to themselves, resulting in a mismatch between expectation ("performance of identity") and reality ("expressive facts") as to how the course would turn out. Thus, after the first week, the LaSalle situation expressed in the email framed their entire course experience as one of "sustained uneasiness" (ibid) - a "milder" version of "abrupt" and "orgasmic" embarrassment in which "flusterings" (ibid) such as those communicated in the examples above are barely apparent and where the entire social encounter could constitute a long, drawn-out incident of embarrassment, instead of embarrassment occurring as a flash in time and space. Indeed, these "flusterings" and shyness , expressed in a spectrum (or the lack) of gestures ranging from touching one's nose, being unable to perform simple tasks without being to screaming vulgarities, were more common on the LaSalle side in the first few weeks of the project.

4.3)   **The Teacher-Student Relationship**

As part of the first week's assignment, all the students were invited to introduce themselves to each other in the comments section, stating their names, ages, and a brief history of how they came to enrol in their school. The first week of assignment submissions coming before the email from Joe and the LaSalle band was thus critical as the submissions therein framed the interpretation of the students' actions in the later weeks both musically and textually. In the first week of the programme, the LaSalle band, owing to the time difference (Singapore is GMT +08:00, and was then seven hours ahead of Rotterdam time), submitted their video first, which was entitled "Intro + So What", effectively beginning the course proceedings.

Beginning with their introductions, the LaSalle students noticeably avoided stating their age, compared to the Codarts students, who all stated their age. The LaSalle students also adopted a more confessional and apologetic tone compared to the Codarts students, who all presented themselves professionally in their introductions, avoiding use of the word "hopefully", as compared

to their LaSalle counterparts, as in "I really hope I will be able to play like that in the future" (Govin, Pitch2Peer, Week 1) and "having come from a non-jazz background, I still struggle to get a grip on playing in the pocket and developing my language but I've been shredding for two years since I started playing jazz and hopefully will achieve the target desired" (Te, Pitch2Peer, Week 1). The use of "but I've been shredding for two years since I started playing jazz" and the idea of "hope" in "hopefully" again played up his diligence in attempting to overcome the perceived time lost in practising to be a professional jazz musician as, according to many jazz biographies, starting at the age of twenty is late. In general, the LaSalle band played up their relative unfamiliarity with the genre in their introduction, setting the expectations for their playing skill low. It, however, transpired that their own perceptions of the difference in skill level were not dramatic enough to reflect the reality which resulted in their email, where their main concern was that they would be seen as leeching from the "dutch side" without having anything to offer in return, thereby invalidating their participation in the programme with such a skilled band and causing anxiety as to the nature of their involvement thenceforth. Their responses and introductions hence strongly indicated an elitist disposition with regards to etiquette in which one has to "deserve" one's place through quality of "contributions to the collective effort" (Becker, 2000, p. 174).

Continuing with the textual introductions, the LaSalle band was, as a whole, courteously casual in their introductions of themselves, generally playing down their perception of their own skill level, thereby setting the expectations lower and also to be polite in case the Codarts band turned out to be worse than them. In any case, there was a visible avoidance of being perceived as arrogant, mediated with references to meritocracy, such as in "from a young age, I've always wanted to study music and as I matured through my adolescence, I listen to more jazz and hence, inspired to be in that stream" (Te, Pitch2Peer, Week 1). The LaSalle band's views on studying jazz music at the Bachelor level was, taking Te's words as an example, something to be earned through hard work and a constant desire to get better at the music. Overall, with the exception of Trevin, their bassist, their general strategy was to highlight how far they had come since their initial introduction to a long-distance love affair with jazz music characterised by their passion surviving in the cultural desert, culminating in their successful enrolment and acceptance into their respective jazz bachelor programmes.

This "success story" strategy of self-presentation is varied slightly and epitomised in Joe's introduction statement:

> I joined the jazz program in the hopes of expanding my harmonic palette and
> tools as a Pop musician actually. 2 years ago, I didn't have a single notion what

jazz was at all. I still remembered when I saw like a Bb7#9b13 chord and my mind just blanked out. But they have great teachers here and I've come quite some way from there now. Anyway, I originally had intentions to go into the mandarin pop scene in my home country after I graduate, but now things have changed obviously, haha! (Joe, Pitch2Peer, Week 1)

In Joe's opening statement of the course, he emphasised the fact that he joined the programme as a curious pop musician who thought that learning jazz music would make him play better. This can be seen in his usage of a triple negative in "I didn't have a single notion what jazz was at all", which drew attention to the steep learning curve that he had experienced in the time since his first encounter with the music. He then deferred to authority in "but they have great teachers here", crediting them for his relatively quick introduction to jazz music's culture and practice. In deferring to authority, he removed his own effort from the equation, crediting instead those higher up in the institutional hierarchy for his steep learning curve. Joe also established a boundary between jazz and non-jazz musicians in the form of being able to recognise altered chords, as he uses a "Bb7#9b13", which is a chord symbol that indicates that one should play a B-flat (Bb) chord with three specific alterations (7, #9, and b13). Here, Joe attempted to use jazz jargon – something both sides were familiar with – to attempt to establish something familiar as a base for identifying with the, as yet, cultural other. This idea of using jazz jargon or lingo to bridge unfamiliarity was expressed by both bands in the coming weeks, with students realising the usefulness of the technical jargon they were learning in school as a point of cultural reference bridging unfamiliarity and awkwardness.

After the first week, it was obvious that the Codarts band was individually and collectively the technically dominant jazz band. Critiquing the LaSalle's technical inferiority would have been mean, as it was immediately apparent that the members of the LaSalle band were weaker, through no fault of their's, in terms of instrumental mastery. However, that alone cannot explain the lack of creativity and spontaneity displayed by the LaSalle band in the first couple of weeks, as it was also obvious that they could play more than what they were playing in the first video. For instance, during the beginning of their performance in Week 1, Govin repeated the exact same figure, playing the bass drum accompanied with a crash and a cymbal catch on the 3 and 4+ of the bar in line with the appropriate accents in the lead sheet, for almost one minute – or 32 bars in song's time. Midway through, Joe noticed this ridiculous repetition and looked at Govin, who jokingly looked away as if to dismiss Joe, prompting laughter from Joe and Govin, despite the continuance of this repetition. Their arrangement was very neatly ordered, with egalitarianism being an embedded and obligatory

aspect of jazz performance that was expressed in the form of everybody having an equal amount of time to "speak" (Joe, Pitch2Peer, Week 1).

Creativity was hence initially seen to be hampered by the "etiquette of not going beyond what is commonly known" (Becker, 2000, p. 174), with the members of the band seemingly restricted. The required song for the week, Miles Davis' "So What", was performed exactly as inscribed in the Real Book of Jazz (Hal Leonard; 6th Edition – the standard for most jam sessions) and presented in Miles' "Kind of Blue" album in 1959. The only thing they added was a syncopated introduction that led up to the bass player playing the "melody" (D A B C D E C D) and with the rest of the band playing the appropriate response (...B..A). This occurred through the whole melody which lasted about a third of the performance, which was ~170 beats per minute (BPM). This repetitive performance of the "head" (melody section) was repeated in the final section, with the only real variation being Govin's playing of a "straight-ahead" swing pattern instead of simply a cymbal catch with the rest of the ensemble. In the six-minute performance, the repetition of the rigidly structured performance of the melody at the beginning and the end effectively meant that the band only had about around two minutes of time in which to perform the obligatory "solo" section, in which members of the band would get their turn to be the center of improvisation. In this section, everybody from the band only took one chorus of exactly thirty two bars each such that everybody in the band had exactly the same amount of time to "solo", no more, no less than the other. In this way, the LaSalle band's strategy seemed to be externalising their responsibility onto a pre-determined structure of the musical arrangement, with the solo sections being a necessary and obligatory feature of jazz performance practice to be exploited. This presentation suggests that the band perceived the setting as a "conventional" (Becker, 2000) setting in which the Codarts band was innocently perceived as an audience in a virtual jam session that was incapable of identifying this strategy.

The general tension observed in the first few weeks thus seemed to have resulted from attempts by the participants to balance the two poles of egalitarianism in jazz etiquette due the uncertainty as to how serious the setting should have been. In an attempt to maintain a mutually acceptable standard of etiquette in their weekly interaction. In view of this, the LaSalle side's attitudes towards the 'other' – their peers from Codarts – can be said to have changed during the course of the project. Their performance of "So What" conformed to the conservative etiquette mentioned above. An enactment of this conservative etiquette can be seen in the how respect for seniority was initially shown between members, as Joe, the most senior member in the band by year of study, silenced the unruly band before introducing himself and "the LaSalle Quartet" (Joe, Video, Week 1), suggesting a mechanical performance of identity in view of an unknown audience to be

entertained. From the second week onwards, there ceased to be any more visible effort to maintain a professional image in the face of the recognition that they were clearly inferior terms of skill on the instrument and familiarity with the jazz language compared to their counterparts from Codarts.

4.4) Breaking the Ice

4.4.1) Fig. 3: The Singlish Bridge
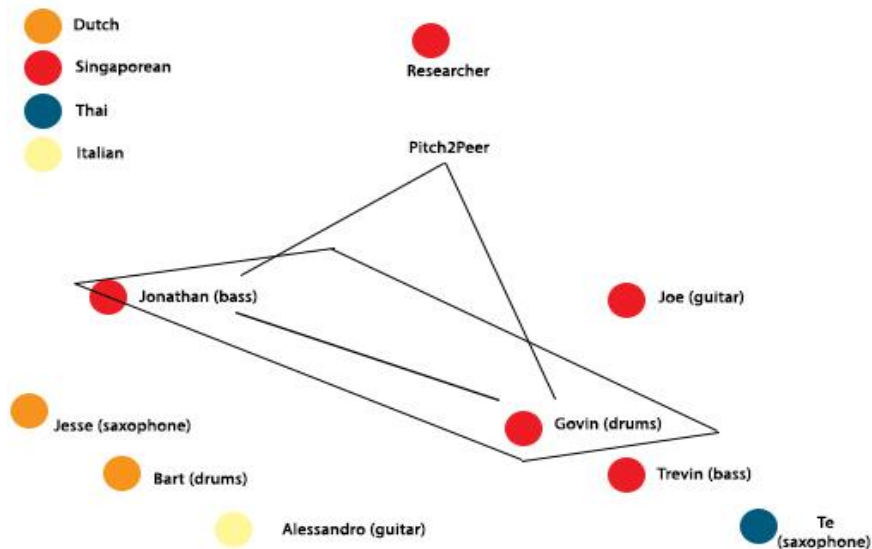
From the beginning, the use of Singaporean slang was employed by Govin and Jonathan. This reached a peak in Week 6 before ceasing altogether. In an elaborate introduction speech, Joe used the term "yours truly" (Joe, Video, Week 1) to introduce himself, which prompted sniggers from Govin (drummer) and Trevin (bassist), who were also Singaporean, including the phrase "wah, yours truly sia" (Govin, Video, Week 1), which is Singaporean slang used almost exclusively among Singaporeans of the current generation. As such, the use of Singaporean slang can be said to be an act of inclusion, as well as a mark of identification, as if to showcase something unique and authentically Singaporean, as opposed to simply Asian, or South-east Asian. The use of Singlish was interpreted as an attempt at initiating a literal cultural exchange through giving the unfamiliar other a taste of authentic Singapore – the country of Jonathan, Govin and Trevin's socialisation. Te, LaSalle's Thai saxophonist, however, did not visibly partake in the collective sniggering seen in the video, maintaining an expressionless face and a "ready" position throughout, suggesting an exclusion of Te as another member of the non-Singaporean audience to which the performance of Singlish was also intended for. Nevertheless, the LaSalle band was found to be collectively balancing each other's contributions, improvising in dealing with an unfamiliar social situation through enacting Singaporean vernacular in the form of inside jokes in a bid to represent Singapore

and LaSalle authentically, or to hopefully give the Codarts band, the cultural other, an "insider perspective" (Van den Dool, Zwijnenburg, & Low, forthcoming).

This pattern of using Singaporean slang was hence strategic in allowing for the acknowledgement of the Singaporeans' identity, allowing for a "breaking of the ice" separating the bands which provided the basis upon which an informalisation of the setting took place. This was a recurrent pattern in the feedback as well. At the peak of their conspicuous use of Singlish, Jonathan, the Singaporean bassist in the Codarts band, was observed to be liberally using Singaporean slang such as "limpeh leik!" (literally "my father likes it very much" or "it is so good that even my father likes it") in public response to Govin, for instance in:

> I love that you are dancing in your bass, but your shoulders ar! Last warning. Hahahaha! Actually very cool la! Jon you very cool la!Bart, you are on fire man! Burn burn burn burn! I don't really know what to say, but all I can say is that I love that your lines which feel so confident and intentional, and you never skip a beat with the rhythm section. It makes your whole solo sound great! Great trio work guys! Awesome! Thank you (Govin, Pitch2Peer, Week 5)

The Singlish allowed for Govin and Jonathan to express themselves as if they were in Singapore, hence allowing everyone a glimpse into their "natural" (Goffman, 1956) behaviour which allowed for a greater degree of familiarity to be established on a personal rather than formal or institutional level. In being able to express their "natural" linguistic identities, they were hence able to shift the frame of interaction to a more personal, comfortable level – representing and communicating where they came from while also establishing familiarity and downplaying cultural anxiety. In this excerpt, Govin responded to both Jonathan and Bart after seeing the Codarts saxophone trio version of "Oleo". What he was basically saying was that Jonathan really should not have looked like he was enjoying himself that much on the bass if he was in Singapore ("last warning"), as it seemed irreverent and possibly discourteous given the formal setting (between schools) he was perceiving and the potential institutional significance of that their involvement. Govin, however, later, in the same comment, conceded that he enjoyed it, expressing it in Singlish, before cutting to proper English to communicate his admiration for Bart, thereby addressing two audiences simultaneously through switching between Singlish and English in the same comment. At the end, he again expressed his gratitude, as the others in the LaSalle band were also doing. The ideal of authenticity in communication, held by both sides, was hence achieved by the LaSalle band through being granted the ability to use Singlish in their communication. This was confirmed later

in Week 6, where Joe and Govin both wrote again unsolicited personal comments on the Codarts band's Pitch2Peer page to thank the Codarts band, singling out Jonathan for using Singlish to make them more comfortable, as well as re-assuring the rest of the Codarts band that "we will always take what you and the rest say in serious consideration!" (Joe, Pitch2Peer, Week 6) and "I really feel like I am getting to know y'all in person, but not in person." (Govin, Pitch2Peer, Week 6).

As such, the relationship progressed from the students related as representatives of their institutions to the students being related on a personal level. Both Joe and Govin said in Week 6 that they were learning more from participation in the project than from their own curriculum and peers in LaSalle, which can be interpreted as an effort to emphasise how much they appreciated the Codarts band putting aside or "sacrificing" the time to help them, despite the fact that they in similar years of study and were supposed to be their peers of equal status. Nevertheless, the strategic employment of Singlish by the Joe or Govin in the Pitch2Peer description of their second performance of "So What" (Week 2) had the noticeable effect of reducing tension due to the Singaporean members feeling more comfortable in being granted the option to use Singlish – the parlance the Singaporean "backstage" (Goffman, 1959) – as the tone of the Joe and Govin in the LaSalle group gradually became less defensive over the weeks, opting to reduce the amount of set-ups such as in "pardon me on my ignorance" (Govin, Pitch2Peer, Week 2) before delivering their points of critique for the week, thereby mimicking the kind of straightforward feedback that was provided by the non-Singaporean members (Alessandro, Jesse, and Bart) of the Codarts band from the beginning. The use of Singlish by Govin and Jonathan was hence a successful attempt to bridge the gap between the two bands through introducing exploiting their common cultural dispositions through the mutual expression of Singlish, whose expression provided something familiar in an otherwise unfamiliar and uneasy setting, thereby alleviating the tension resulting from uncertainty of outcome in social interaction and the unfamiliar ethical context of the setting.

4.5)   **The Codarts Band**

As for the Codarts band, it was more difficult to ascertain the nature of their experiences due to their initially limited contributions during feedback. While it became easier over the weeks as their stockpile of contributions-to-be-analysed became larger, accessing the band's "backstage" (Goffman, 1959) and gleaning an insider perspective from the position of an outsider was better achieved through focusing on their video contributions, where an experimental setting prevailed in the first couple of weeks with them offering two performances of "So What" that were almost polemically different from each other, as if to prove their ability to play competently at both fast and slow tempos without rehearsal. From their first two videos, it was also hence apparent that the Codarts band members were consciously aware that the other side could be better than them,

interpreting egalitarianism in "experimental" (Becker, 2000) terms through not dumbing down and offending the audience in obscuring the "melody" of "So What" in both performances of the song, only referencing the iconic motif that defined it during improvisation, thereby constructing their audience as knowledgeable – a strategic gesture of goodwill. The songs in the first two weeks were hence more vehicles for the showcase of virtuosity than for collective musical expression. This was understandable as the musicians in the Codarts band were faced with an unfamiliar leader with an unfamiliar style of leadership, and therefore wanted to see if he knew what he was doing or not. As such, the Codarts band seemed more aggressive during jazz performance in the first two weeks than in the rest of the videos that followed.

The "experimental" (Becker, 2000) setting, largely Jonathan's doing through his insistent lack of eye contact and refusal to repeat musical ideas, was gradually altered over the weeks to become a "conventional" (ibid) setting in which the LaSalle band was the "less knowledgeable" audience at which the Codarts band's performances were pedagogically aimed. In the first week, the Codarts band was able to play the song at a much faster tempo (~230 BPM) than the LaSalle band (~160 BPM) while still playing together throughout the song with a high level of reactivity (spontaneity) and a relatively sophisticated and expressive command of the jazz language (familiarity). With this noticeable difference in playing skill evident just from the first video, the Beckerian (2000) jam session relationship between the "professional" jazz musicians (Codarts) and the "lay" audience (LaSalle) at a jam session was established with regards to etiquette, in which the stronger or dominant parties (in this case the members of the Codarts band) had to choose whether or not to play it nice and encouraging a la "Coach Carter" (2005), or cruel and dismissive a la "Whiplash" (2014). This would have had a difference in whether or not their counterparts from LaSalle, as well as their bandmates and fellow students, would have evaluated their character and authenticity as international jazz musicians. On one hand, sounding too encouraging could have come across as patronising and inauthentic, with the consequence being that everyone would have been wasting their time as nobody would have been learning anything, possibly discrediting the LaSalle band and conflicting with jazz etiquette. On the other hand, being too critical could also have come across as arrogant and mean. This was so because their counterparts from LaSalle, in being aware that their peers paired by year of study and hence supposedly of the same level in the jazz hierarchy), could still have surprised them in terms of skill or already have been aware of their weak points, thereby risking getting trolled and possibly framing their feedback as a form of nagging.

With the LaSalle band members admitting to technical inferiority and strategically assuming a position of lower expectations, the Codarts band was hence put into a role dilemma in which the

enactment of either pedagogical style could have fulfilled the requirement of intercultural learning. It was then the style in which intercultural learning was achieved that mattered more to the Codarts band, as they were also acutely aware that their behaviour could have been judged along the lines of the etiquette required of an international, inter-institutional cultural exchange programme. In any case, due to the setting, the Codarts students were, in spite of their technical advantage, markedly uneasy and unable to cope with the requirement of criticising the music of someone from another culture whom they had never met before. While they were tactful and conservative in their feedback, fostering a narrative of improvement and development such as in "I think you guys played way better on this version than on the last version (Bart, Pitch2Peer, Week 6), as well as providing timely encouragement, it was on the band-stand that the "teaching" and intercultural learning could be observed.

4.6) **Changing Interactions and Relations between Participants: Singlish and Audience Segregation**

Along with the teacher-student relationship came another broad and related pattern in which the students came to identify with each other as a group against the researcher and the institutions they were part of. The general decrease in formality was hence also related to a conscious testing of boundaries by the students as a collective group. It became increasingly apparent towards the end of the programme that the students, in collectively handling the awkwardness and "sustained uneasiness" (Goffman, 1956) of the programme' setting, were working towards a less serious and formal setting by testing the waters every week – a phenomenon that developed in tandem with the use of Singlish and the gradual informalisation of the setting. For instance, Govin would get more and more agitated and animated at the end of their performances during his post-performance expressions of embarrassment, which culminated in the use of vulgarities in the videos themselves such as "aiyah fucking shit" (Govin, Week 5) to express the extremity of his frustration with his playing abilities, suggesting that, by the second half of the course, he was not afraid to vent out his embarrassment through reacting, in full view of the camera, with antics after the end of performances. The "chipping away" at the seriousness and formality of the setting hence began in the second week of the programme, carrying on and culminating in around Week 6, where the students were observed to become familiar in each other's presence, as seen by the lack of "flustering" (Goffman, 1956) in the constant touching of the nose (e.g. Govin and Bart in earlier weeks), in "tenseness of the muscles" (e.g. Govin), as well as other "objective signs of emotional disturbance (p. 264) observed despite visible and audible mistakes being made during performance.

In the second week, the LaSalle band's description ended with "Haizeeee...", a Singlish expression for exasperated sighing ("Sighhhhh..."). It is unclear who decided to include the term in

the description, which can only be edited by the band-leader or administrator, since everybody was participating through a representative (it could have been either Govin or Joe), but it seemed to prompt a response from Jonathan, the bassist-administrator from the Codarts side, who invoked a Singaporean-Chinese expression in making fun of the title of the repertoire due in the next week. Throughout the project, Jonathan consistently provided extensive and detailed feedback beyond and above what was required. His immense contributions suggest that he was, at least initially, compensating for the initially tardy, vague, and apprehensive feedback provided by the Codarts side. This was be observed in the increased enthusiasm and informality in the second week where, compared to the first week in which he maintained a neutral, critical, and detached tone in his feedback, he progressed to a more encouraging tone, using expressions like "keep on grooving, guys!" (Jonathan, Pitch2Peer, Week 4) in contrast to "the good: .., the bad: ..." (Jonathan, Pitch2Peer, Week 1). In encouraging the LaSalle band to participate and in anticipation of the next week's video assignment, Jonathan said "don't let your Nai Ma down (Nai ma means "nanny" in chinese)" (Jonathan, PitchPeer, Week 2) in Week 2 in response to their exasperated comments ("Haizeeee..."). This pattern of interaction was continued for a few weeks, before both Govin and Jonathan stopped using Singlish (Week 6). Jonathan hence, from the second week, seemed to want to establish rapport with Trevin, Govin and Joe – the other Singaporeans in the research project. Trevin and Joe, however, declined to participate, with the Singlish exchanges going on chiefly between Jonathan and Govin.

As such, there was indeed intercultural learning progress on both intra- and inter-band fronts by the mid-way point of the programme. If intercultural learning is to be defined as learning about the cultural other from an insider perspective, the Codarts students were definitely learning about each other's improvisational dispositions, i.e. familiarising themselves with each other's lexicons of action, achieved through interaction and reflection on the errors or miscommunication that resulted in the slightly more "tentative" (Becker, 2000, p. 172) performances of the last few weeks. Having physically experienced improvisation with the other, observable through logging in online, watching the videos (both their own and those of the other band's) and comparing it with the feedback received, they would have had around three weeks' worth of reflection time on their experiences by then. Having become slightly more adjusted to the quartet format and each other's tendencies during improvisation, their practice was again disrupted by a new format in the fourth week– the saxophone trio – in which they had to perform in. This was due to Alessandro being unavailable for two weeks. As such, in an effort to maintain a symmetry of total assignments given to each band, two saxophone trio assignments pertaining to the relevant songs (one week of "Naima" and one week of "Oleo") were added for both sides over and above their existing

assignments for the programme. The same method was applied later on when Te from the LaSalle side was also required to leave Singapore for a week, resulting in an additional guitar trio assignment pertaining to "Oleo" added to the existing assignments over and above all the assignments, including the saxophone trio assignments. As such, there was a total of 24 videos (8 x 2 + 3 x 2 + 2 = 24: 12 for each side) including their final performances, which were published on YouTube.

In the course of the programme, logistical problems surfaced in the form of two instances in which students were unavailable to record the video of the required tune that corresponded to the week. In the first case above, it was Alessandro who was suddenly unavailable, leaving the Codarts band without a guitarist for two weeks (Week 3 and 4). In the second case, Te disappeared, leaving the LaSalle band without a saxophonist for a week (Week 6). Only after the first logistical problem did the Codarts band begin to loosen up, which was ironic, considering that they were the ones who were telling the LaSalle band to loosen up in the first place. Jesse, for example, wore a hoodie for the saxophone trio version of "Naima". This was contrasted to the blazer and more formal attire that he wore in the first couple of videos. There was also significantly more smiling and laughing before the beginning of the song, which was contrasted to their first couple of videos in which they did not smile, maintaining serious expressions throughout. Bart, too, at the end of the song, stood up and smiled broadly after their saxophone trio version of "Naima", where he was finally able to musically connect with Jonathan at the end of the song and in the weeks to come, having had difficulty doing so in the last few weeks. Without the help of an unsolicited confessional, it was more difficult to access the Codarts band's "backstage" (Goffman, 1959) environment. These logistical problems hence proved to be another blessing in disguise as they provided opportunities in which students were not able to hide behind arrangements or the contributions of their band members due to the smaller, more economic format (i.e. the saxophone trio) in which they were suddenly required to work in. In the following paragraphs, a critical narration of one of these trio performances is provided along with a running analysis relating the effort to access the Codarts "backstage" (Goffman, 1959) to the general and significant developments in the course of the programme.

At the beginning of Codarts' second "Naima" video (Week 4; saxophone trio), Jesse was seen to not be wearing the blazer that he wore in the previous weeks, and was instead wearing a fleece hoodie. Jonathan was smiling at him, and so was Bart (00:00). They settled down, and Jonathan began the song with a syncopated bass motif beginning on the 4th 16th note of a 2 bar phrase in 4/4 under the melody of Naima, containing the notes Eb (16th note) C Bb Eb Eb (four 8th notes in succession). This seemed to be the "topic of improvisation" for the week, as, by then, the

Codarts band's setting had been established by Jonathan, who would not make much eye contact nor give clear performance directions, preferring to lead musically and through his role as a bass player by consciously subverting "conventional" improvisation through playing "experimentally" (Becker, 2000), resulting in visible discomfort and frustration from his band members, who were forced into applying familiar performance practices such as constantly maintaining eye contact and mutually emphasising the beginning of the bar, phrase, or section simply to maintain a coherent and familiar musical structure. As such, Jonathan was the cultural other of the Codarts band in the sense that his practices were unfamiliar to his band-mates as they seemed to be geared more towards his interpretation of the research setting as an "experimental" (ibid) setting whereas the rest of his band seemed to interpret it more as a "conventional" (ibid) setting in which they were supposed to balance their virtuosity with a consideration of the LaSalle audience.

In the music that came in this week and the weeks to come, there were more instances of this happening, with Jonathan sometimes almost completely left out of the musical developments during performance, thereby having to conform to the "collective direction (ibid), as, by virtue of his "experimental egalitarianism" (ibid), having to treat everybody else's ideas as "potentially better" (ibid) and therefore at least be able to respond to them as a bass player and creatively conform to the majority's decision in order to remain consistent in character over the weeks. As the students were still going to interact with each other in their respective schools (with the exception of Joe, who was graduating) after the module, it was also important for the participants to remain on friendly terms at the end of the project. His lack of physical cues and positive direction giving can hence, in abiding by an ethical framework appropriate in an experimental (ibid) setting, can be interpreted as an effort against fostering an impression of favouritism through the removal of his own cultural identity from the situation and not identifying as part of the group, leading and following according to how he perceived the situation.

Therefore, in later weeks, Jonathan was also, in a way, dominated by his band members, who would set the "collective direction" (ibid) of improvisation in the manner they so pleased in spite of the pre-determined structure of improvisation. An example of this was when Bart simply decided to play a backbeat groove over "Oleo" (Week 6) – the most technically challenging and thereby potentially embarrassing jazz standard in the set repertoire – in their later performances of the song, thereby successfully eking out some semblance of a conventional setting. The other students in the Codarts band hence can be said to have learned how to lead and interact musically in the absence of a familiar style of leadership, on top of their own physical interaction in the form of eye contact and bodily cues. In any case, an experimental setting was set during this performance for the Codarts band through Jonathan's "aggressively egalitarian" style of musical leadership in

spite of knowing that the LaSalle band and their Year 3 leader was not technically able to describe or "understand most of what is going on in their playing" (Joe, Personal Communication, Week 1). As such, Jonathan would consciously attempt to disrupt the "conventional" (Becker, 2000) interpretations of jazz standards, thereby constructing the LaSalle band as still capable of understanding everything. Jonathan therefore lead musically as the bassist in a jazz band in refusing to establish eye contact or acknowledging the cultural other(s) in his own band, resulting in tension and frustration with his band-mates trying to figure out if he was indeed simply enthusiastic or he was trying to be funny with them. There was hence an awkwardness that resulted from Jesse and Bart's unfamiliarity with the setting, and their need to also maintain composure and preserve the semblance of the "conventional" setting that they seemed to be familiar with. In the first couple of weeks, it was therefore apparent that the jazz practice of the rest of the Codarts band was not geared for the kind of setting that Jonathan was doggedly attempting to establish through his aloofness and unpredictable bass playing. The incongruence between Jonathan's behaviour in the feedback section and his musical behaviour in the studio could hence explain the dark side of the laughter and apparent cheerfulness in the beginning of the video of that week, as it was also the first time that Bart and Jesse were alone in the room with Jonathan and without Alessandro's mediation.

Back to the performance video in Week 4, there seemed to be an improvement in terms of the relationship between the Codarts band members and their enigmatic leader. This was evident in the apparent cheerfulness and informality that was enacted in the room in which they recorded their video. Jonathan's bass motif for the Codarts saxophone trio performance of "Naima" (Week 4) was deceivingly straight as it contained four 8th notes in a row (C Bb Eb Eb) but in a displaced manner. This meant if one was not careful, one could have easily mistook the first note for the first note of the bar when it was in actual fact the fourth 8th note of the bar. This is exactly what happened during this performance, where, within thirty seconds, the smiles and cheerfulness observed at the start of the video faded to head nodding and intense concentration. Bart initially responded to Jonathan's bass motif with a tasteful two-bar groove played with brushes (possibly a nod to "Naima" being a ballad). The groove contributed by Bart constituted of 8th notes with 16th note flurries alternating between his hi-hat and snare, with the bass drum "hitting" (synchronising) on the same four beats as Jonathan every two bars – an acknowledgement of Jonathan's contribution and, at the same time, a claim to legitimacy in being able to keep up with the cultural other.

Without a back-beat or ride pattern, however, Bart had trouble maintaining the tricky groove he had set out for himself to execute as he had trouble balancing between the demands of "locking" (synchronising) with the deceptively funky bass line while also considering Jesse's fierce playing as well as the melody and structure of the song. Jonathan's bass line was hence strategic as it was both

accessible to "lay" audiences ("conventional"; LaSalle) yet challenging to play ("experimental"; Codarts), destabilising the performance practices of both Jesse and Bart, who were here forced to accommodate Jonathan in an experimental setting without the mediation of Alessandro and his polytonal contributions. Jesse and Bart were hence seen to be both visibly surprised and excited to be challenged, while at the same time slightly nervous with the prospect of potentially embarrassing themselves in front of their "students" as supposedly more senior students in Codarts. Nevertheless, it was becoming clearer that Bart was beginning to familiarise himself with Jonathan's improvisational lexicon in this week. Jonathan, during moments requiring musical intensification, would always play repeated groups of three notes (polyrhythms) displaced across the bar, continuing without pausing to check on whether the band was still on the same page and often also pushing the tempo and confusing the form, thereby not allowing the other musicians to be free from having to think about the melody during improvisation, sharing the agency (and thereby also the responsibility) of the band-leader with his band-mates in an experimental interpretation of jazz egalitarianism. This unsettled his band-mates, who were both thrilled and intimidated by the prospect of not having their roles dictated to them and the increased level of responsibility that they had over the music and trajectories of action they could pursue. As changing the tempo is a no-no in a conventional setting and the drummer is the one traditionally responsible for time, a deviation from the initial tempo set out at the beginning of the performance would have been interpreted conventionally as the fault of the drummer. As such, Jonathan's experimentation threatened to make Bart, above all, look bad. By Week 5, however, this was proved to not be the case, with Bart almost perfectly synchronising with Jonathan in their saxophone trio rendition of "Oleo", suggesting an establishment of familiarity that might not have been achieved without the logistical problem of Week 3. The LaSalle band's interaction during their trio assignments also unfolded in a similar fashion, supporting the idea that the addition of trio assignments disrupted the traces of a familiar setting that they had already achieved among themselves, both potentially increasing the chance of embarrassment or conflict to occur as well as the chance that they might learn something deeper from each other.

That said, traces of embarrassment could be observed in the Codarts band as well. While there was a lot more eye contact during this performance of "Naima", Jonathan's bass motif itself (his "topic of the week") was challenging enough conceptually for discomfort to be shown. The kind of discomfort shown by Bart and Jesse was symptomatic of embarrassment. In Goffman's (1956) words, "in the popular view it is only natural to be at ease during interaction", with "embarrassment being a regrettable deviation from the normal state" (p. 264) that is potentially caused by the discrediting of any individual in the immediate group of interaction. By the time

Jesse's solo started (01:48), the expressions were no longer cheerful with all three looking down at their instruments and listening carefully, reacting to each other in a similar way described by Becker (2000) in his description of a potentially embarrassing "experimental" (ibid) setting. Bart's accenting of the bass drum along with Jonathan was hence both an acknowledgement of Jonathan's contribution to the creative effort as well as a claim to legitimacy in communicating that he could, in fact, keep up with his band-leader by understanding and responding appropriately and spontaneously to what he was doing in that instance. The fact that he had trouble keeping his performance up, transitioning through accenting the cymbals and bass drum on the first and fourth quarter note of the bar to a more straightforward "songo" (02:25), which is a simpler "latin" groove where the beginning and end of each bar is more obviously emphasised, suggests two things. On one hand, he could have felt the increasingly obvious gap between Jesse and Jonathan's respective interpretations of time and felt like he needed to bridge the gap. On the other hand, moving to the "songo" allowed him greater flexibility in interaction as he was clearly not familiar with the decidedly off-kilter rhythm put forth by Jonathan. The problem with this musical decision was that Bart transitioned to his sticks in the fifth bar of a new form cycle, or the second "A" section (the "A" section of "Naima" was repeated twice in both the beginning and the end of the song). This "abrupt" change to his sticks and to the "songo" groove seemed to suggest the beginning of a new form cycle, which seemed to confuse Jesse as the ending of the form in "Naima" consists of identical chords to the beginning of the form. The possibility that Bart was "lost" hence emerged. As such, Jesse opted to play in such a way as to make it ambiguous as to whether he was in the "A" section or "B" section by playing over ambiguous chords that could belong to the chords in each section, such as using tritone substitutions and half-diminished scales as blanket chords until the form was clear again. This strategy, in maintaining ambiguity until a moment of clarity through playing "outside" the harmony, allowed him to play with ferocity, in a style similar to John Coltrane's "sheets of sound" concept as he was then not bound by the multiple chord changes required of someone clearly stating the form as in the reference version of "Countdown" (1960), nor was his dictated by a pianist or guitarist's harmonic and rhythmic suggestions. Jesse can hence be said to have successfully balanced the ideals of egalitarianism and distinction through the clever and creative use of ambiguous harmony in his assessment of the situation during the performance. In other words, Jesse did not have to play in such a manner that accounted for the presence of a guitarist, allowing him, in a romantic sense, more creative freedom which he seemed to relish.

It was also apparent in this video that Jonathan had realised that eye contact was not a form of cheating but, rather, a cultural practice among his band members. The idea of "cheating" also seemed to heavily restrict the playing of Govin, who would always play the "correct" groove in

spite of his unfamiliarity such as in attempting to "comp" (accompany soloists interactively) with the traditional (Max Roach style) jazz waltz pattern (hi-hats on the 2 and 3) and play the jazz ride pattern (three quick strokes on the ride cymbal) despite clearly not being able to maintain it for the whole length of the song. These actions suggested that Govin had an idea of what he should have been playing at any given moment of time in a jazz performance despite not being able to play it – something that Bart, his counterpart from Codarts, felt was unnecessary As such, the LaSalle band seemed to have learned from Codarts band how to take jazz less seriously. At the end of Jesse's fierce solo, he was seen to raise his eyebrows conspicuously. Bart looked at him as he ended his solo definitively by playing the "1" of the bar and the root note. That Jonathan noted everything suggests that Jonathan, in Week 4 and in the more intimate saxophone trio format, finally realised that eye contact was in fact a familiar practice among the European students that he was in the band with. Another way of looking at it is that he became familiar enough with the setting to not feel "unnatural" (Goffman, 1956) with them. In any case, everybody definitely looked less intimidating (and intimidated) than in the first few videos than with Alessandro around, suggesting an increasing level of familiarity that transcended seniority and nationality among the members of the Codarts band developed over the first few weeks of involvement.

As Jesse's solo ended and Jonathan's began, it was clear that both Jesse and Jonathan did not "lose the form" despite Bart's abrupt change of sticks, maintaining the structure of the form in spite of a potential disagreement over the "collective direction" (Becker, 2000) that the improvisation should have been taking. Jonathan's solo ended with him playing the displaced bass motif described above in his improvisation. This was picked up by Bart, who moved back to the original groove (not the "songo") in the next two-bar groove cycle, as in the beginning of the song. Bart's solo hence began conservatively, with him initially sticking to the groove set out at the beginning of the song, beginning without any crash, cue, or lead-in on his part – a break from previous weeks in which every section was demarcated clearly by a strike of the snare, chick of a hi-hat, or some other distinct accent, suggesting that he was indeed picking up on Jonathan's "organic" style, in which the music is seen as a living whole rather than a mechanical constitution of sections or parts to be clearly indicated. This kind of practical experimentation was also observed in his "comping" (jazz vernacular for accompaniment) of Jonathan's bass solo (03:19), where he was seen to be moving his stick towards his ride cymbal only to not hit it, visibly restraining himself from the action before stopping entirely, beginning again on the "1" of the next bar. This suggests that Bart was beginning to exercise more creative awareness in his playing in being able to conscious disrupt his "embodied practical mastery" (Wilf, 2010). As such, Bart and Jesse were, in this week, seen to be more aware of their audience's dispositions and clearer as to how they should go about navigating the setting,

resulting in less self-conscious and more organic jazz performances towards the later weeks. They were hence less inhibited by the demands of a perceived audience, instead conforming more to an experimental setting in which no (perceived) audience was present in dropping their ideas in favour of potentially better ideas immediately, as opposed to the "gingerly" (Becker, 2000) musical movements in the previous weeks, which suggested a more "conventional" manifestation of setting.

Finally, the saxophone trio video in Week 4 was significant because of how the Codarts trio, in fulfilling the requirement of adventurous risk-taking in the experimental setting, almost "lost the form", or, in English, went out of sync with each other. At the end of the relatively conservative drum solo in which Bart did not break from the groove, apparently constrained by a lack of familiarity with the motif of "Naima" set forth by Jonathan and failing to come up with and maintain a working groove, Jesse came in two beats late for the melody, or, in jazz parlance, "flipped the beat". Bart and Jonathan, however, were both clear as to where the beginning of the beat was and appeared to pay no heed while confidently maintaining the form and structure of the song upon which the trio was improvising. Jesse, realising that things were slightly odd, played in a syncopated fashion, obscuring where the beginning and the end of the bar was, only returning to the "1" proper in the "B" section, also allowing for the resolution or release of the tension (possibility that he was "wrong") that was building up due to his error. Again, through familiarity with each other, the form was maintained in spite of a potential breakdown and "collapse" of "the little social system they created in interaction" (Goffman, 1956, p. 267), allowing for the band to maintain composure during performance and proceed as if either there was no mistake, or that the mistake was intentional, thereby obscuring the mistake itself and even profiting from it musically. In other words, members of the Codarts band seemed to be learning how to provide "screens for their band members to hide behind" (p. 266) in moments of doubt so as to mediate the embarrassment through making the identification of the mistake or "faux pas" (p. 265) difficult.

This style of embarrassment mediation was also seen in how Jonathan would write jazz jargon-flavoured descriptions of the musical output of his band when it could be argued that these descriptions were only written on hindsight without rehearsal (literally being spontaneous), judging from their constant miscommunication and misunderstanding over what to do next or how the form should sound during performance. For instance, he used general statements like "trio work is all about playing with space in the absence of a lead or polytonal instrumental role". Here, Jonathan slyly acknowledged Joe's contribution in Week 4 as in Week 3, Joe described his instrument as "polytonal" (Joe, Pitch2Peer, Week 3), using the musicological term instead of the vernacular term "chordal" in his feedback apparently in an effort to showcase his "cultural capital". Jonathan then

used it in a general statement about "trio work" to set up his description of the performance such as in:

> In this trio version of Naima, we have decided to start with a vamp consisting of the first four notes of the melody. Trio work is all about playing with space in the absence of a lead or polytonal instrumental role. It forces every musician in the group to be more upfront and confident in their individual playing, but also to play even less at the same time, and ultimately find each other's trajectory to either fill up the space, or to make it even more sparse in a, nonetheless, more structured manner, since the premise of the trio concept is already one of freedom. One could also go the other way, to make an already-free premise even freer by ditching all concepts of structure, and just playing free for freedom's sake, but that would be too literal in my opinion; unless the musicians intend to reconstruct some form of structure upon the post premise of deconstructed freedom through the use of free tempo and harmony and building something back up from nothing.
>
> Anyway, on that note (ha ha), we deconstructed the melody line and selected choice notes to use as the root note of our 'chords' throughout the tune. Rhythmically speaking, we chose to start the groove on the 2nd beat of every two bars since the first beat is originally taken up by a 3 and a half beat long note of C. Yet another instance of call and response. In the case of the beginning vamp, we sped up the original tempo of the first four notes of the melody by 4 times and used that as the bassline as an anticipation of the melody that is to come. The rest of the song is basically a variation on the rhythmic vamp of 4 straight 8th notes (Jonathan, Pitch2Peer, Week 4)

Jonathan hence, in an effort to communicate his band's interest as "someone who sustains encounters" (p. 267), would meticulously describe his band's videos, deliberately confusing the "explananda for explanantia" (Piekut, 2014a, p. 193) in framing their description as if his band had intended to achieve the objectives set out in it when the description was merely a generalised explanation of what happened during a jam session. This allowed him and his band to fulfil the pedagogical role required for the successful enactment of the teacher-student relationship, which allowed for the LaSalle band to perform under lower expectations, but also required the Codarts band to perform in an exemplary fashion, which was also exhausting for them as evident in their

abrupt breaking of the formal setting set by their serious performances occurring in the later weeks of the programme. It can hence be argued that the Codarts band was indeed fulfilling a teacher role for the most part of the programme. As such, the participants, in general and within their bands, were seen in this week to be working more in tandem with each other (moving towards a community disposition) rather than against each other (industrial disposition) in being creative, with the principle of creative interaction being quality of collaboration in the former and quality of competition in the latter. In pursuing musical objectives such as spontaneous interaction, the involvement of the Codarts band members hence became less governed by their musical role than by pedagogical role, something that they initially felt that they, too, did not deserve to enact as they were still students.

That Alessandro actually confessed in his comments that he was afraid of giving comments because he thought that he would be perceived as "arrogant" and because he "sucks" (Alessandro, Pitch2Peer, Week 6), suggests that he was not only indeed enacting out a pedagogical role, but that he was also uncomfortable in doing so. This admission hence seemed to be an act of inclusion by Alessandro that was a long time coming. This breaking of character on Alessandro's part hence suggests that the participants had, by then, achieved a level of familiarity that allowed for the "smooth" (Goffman, 1956) exchange of critical feedback and joking relationships to develop. The fact that the LaSalle side also openly confessed that they were learning more from this experience hence confirms the participants' identification with each other as a group separate from their potential "outside" (out of Pitch2Peer) audience. As such, the students can be said to have progressed from a mechanical teacher-student relationship put in place to mediate anxiety and embarrassment at the start, distancing themselves from the research project and formal setting in defining themselves (the eight students involved in the programme) instead as a group of colleagues.

As such, the industry-based dispositions that seemed to grip the students with anxiety in the beginning progressed to relatively community-based dispositions in which they were less afraid to make mistakes, playing and interacting freely by the end of the programme. With the successful culmination of the project at hand, however, Te, saxophonist from the LaSalle band, was suddenly unavailable for action, prompting the addition of a guitar trio assignment for "Oleo", which happened to be both the song of the week and the most technically challenging song in the repertoire. This seemed to prompt the complete withdrawal of Trevin, the bassist from the LaSalle band, from the activity of providing critical feedback as he, from then on, only restricted his involvement to playing the bass.

4.7) **Denouement and Routinisation**

The climax of the teacher-student relationship was hence evidenced in Week 6, in which students were required to submit a guitar trio performance of "Oleo". Week 6 was the beginning of the end of the project, as just as the students seemed to be getting familiar with the mutually determined setting of their involvement, the project was already coming to a close. The withdrawal of Trevin, the disappearance of Te and the introduction of the additional guitar trio assignments seemed to have a chilling effect on participation. Trevin's withdrawal was hence in line with a general trend towards an acceptance of the "expressive facts" (Goffman, 1956) seen in the resigned tone of Joe and Govin's contributions from this week after, observed as in "I think you guys are like a whole different level from us" (Joe, Week 7) and "you guys have a certain mastery over your instrument already ... so everything y'all play sounds solid" (Govin, Week 8). In those comments, Govin was also seen to be at a loss as to how much more he could continue complimenting the Codarts band sincerely. The withdrawal of Trevin from textual activities was hence in line with the overtly expressed gratitude on the part of Govin and Joe and the closure of the teacher-student narrative. They were both extremely grateful for the patience that the Codarts band had showed them, in particular Jonathan, who, in overshooting the word limit every week with useful and practical tips tailored to their learning, was able to gain their trust. The other half of the LaSalle band (Trevin and Te) however, were less dramatic in their expression of gratitude, simply saying thanks such as in "thank you for the music" (Trevin, Week 4). As such, the communication, by Week 6, resembled something like the following diagram, with the members pairing up in terms of instrument and identifying with each other as individual students in a collective group as opposed to individual students in a classroom.

4.7.1) **Fig. 4: Audience Segregation**
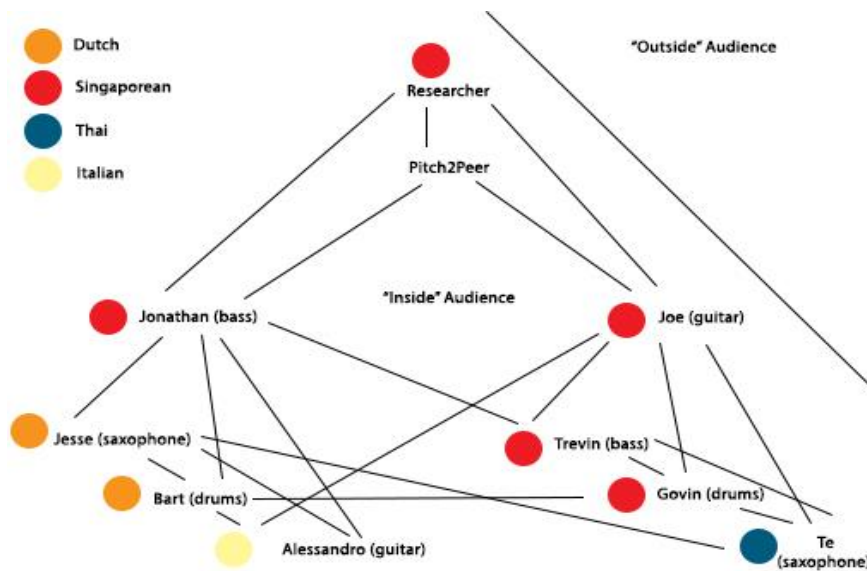
From Week 2, the students had gone beyond a cordial and formal style of interaction to a relatively casual and informal one in which, inter-band, first names were used to communicate with each other, direct and uninhibited criticism was given in a non-defensive manner, and, intra-band, there was less awkwardness, with students seen to be "natural" (Goffman, 1956) and at ease instead of anxious as in the first few weeks. Leading up to Trevin's withdrawal, Jonathan from the Codarts side had already singled Trevin out several times for being uncreative as a bassist. Prior to Week 6, it had reached a point where Jonathan was giving Trevin direct instructions as to what he could be playing "instead of repeating the same lines over and over again" (Jonathan, Week 6). In the week of Trevin's withdrawal, Jonathan actually requested him to play the melody of "Oleo", something he had not done in the previous performance of it. In the guitar trio video ("Oleo") corresponding to that week, Trevin was seen to actually "play the melody" as per Jonathan's outright request. In the later videos, Trevin was also observed to have listened to Jonathan's suggestions and practiced them as they were repeated during subsequent performances such as the final performance of "Oleo" in Week 8, where Trevin actually varied his walking bass line in the "A" section of the tune from "Bb Bb B B C C Db Db D D Db Db C C F F", which was the bass-line which he repeated ad infinitum during the performances of "Oleo". In view of the fact that he did indeed take Jonathan's suggestions to vary his bass-lines seriously – a claim that Govin and Joe had made in their confessions on his behalf in using the term "we" in "we always take your feedback seriously" (Govin, Week 6) – it seemed that he was simply withdrawing from the textual interaction as he seemed to feel like he had nothing much else to offer in terms of critical feedback (especially in view of Jonathan, the other bassist, dominating the discussion) and was tired of the whole "relations of equality" charade, opting instead to participate in the course on his own terms. In his

introductions, he did curtly state that he went to LaSalle to "get better at the bass" (Trevin, Pitch2Peer, Week 1) and not to get better at entertaining audiences or playing experimentally. His withdrawal from the exercise of providing critical feedback in the later part of the programme can hence he said to be the beginning of a process of "routinisation" (Becker, 2000) in which potentially hostile situations were "routinised" into more "formal and polite" (ibid) versions of themselves. This "routinisation", or extrication from the online peer-to-peer ecology that they had virtually existed in for eight weeks, was assisted by the fact that they were finally allowed to choose their own songs, removing the point of reference and familiarity that was the set repertoire.

Choosing their own songs meant that they were, as a band, collectively responsible for the outcome of the song. As such, both bands agreed to play songs that were familiar to everybody in their respective bands, with the LaSalle band opting for Clifford Brown's "Sandu" (1955), a classic twelve-bar jazz blues and the Codarts band opting for Cedar Walton's "Bolivia" (1976), a heavily structured bop precursor to jazz fusion. This also meant that they were no longer playing in a jam session context and setting, where they were all "jamming" in terms of exchanging performances of the same song. As such, there seemed to be not much else to say in critical feedback, resulting in, with the aforementioned considerations in view, a dying down of enthusiasm, joking, and other niceties, with the feedback being focused squarely on music itself. An example of the de-personalisation or professionalisation of relations observed in both bands at the end can be seen in the following comment, in which Te, who was previously nervous and shy, did not seem to enact any apprehension in his critique:

> I like the new groove that you brought in. We don't really hear much of this groove where [we come from] here and it's really enjoyable to have a contrast from the usual swing feel. I like how Bart is always complementing all the soloist, creating an overall vibe in the band. However, I think that the song is a bit flat, dynamics wise. Although I did observe a change in motion at the end of the piece, I feel as though the soloist are dragging the piece quite a bit. Maybe, you can make your solo more interesting, add more intensive climax and resolution. By no mean [sic] is this a bad performance though. (Te, Pitch2Peer, Week 7)

Te's tone is here contrasted to the previous weeks, in which he was either overly apologetic or overly enthusiastic, seen in the use of expressions like "gadgadgadgad" (Te, Pitch2Peer, Week 6) to exaggerate reactions. Here, he was not seen to be apprehensive in providing compliments or

criticism to the Codarts band, completely shedding notions of a teacher-student hierarchy in directly providing what he honestly felt in a concise manner, even providing suggestions as to what they could be playing. As such, Te and the LaSalle band can be said to, by the end of the course, have exhausted their repertoire of action in the arena of providing critical feedback.

Similarly, on the Codarts side, there seemed to be a withdrawal back into their respective bands and institutions from the cross-band group the students had established in the form of the cessation of first-name usage such as in the following two comments:

> Intro and theme are cool, nothing to say about it, sounding good. Just the
> entrance of the saxophone, make sure you always prepared your breath to start
> (Jesse, Week 7)

> Nice idea to play it in 3/4. I think it works well. When the solo starts I notice
> that at a certain point its starts to lose the intention and energy you guys had in
> the theme. Nice solo Govin! (Bart, Week 7)

From these comments, it was clear that the "experimental" requirement of the course (providing critical feedback that could impinge on other's ideas) had been routinised (Becker, 2000) as a "more formal and polite version" (p. 175). Having practiced a new set of responses (cultural dispositions) with a new group of audiences (intercultural), the students thereby collectively transformed a potentially "awry" (Goffman, 1956) situation into a "routinised" version where, if everybody played their part convincingly, the mutual critique could proceed without fear of insult or injury. The only name referenced in the above two comments was Govin, which was expressed by Bart, Govin's counterpart on the drums, suggesting a return to the style of not using first names as in the beginning. Having been holding back on compliments in the previous weeks, Bart here finally complimented Govin's drumming directly – providing both the peak and the beginning of closure to the teacher-student relationship between them, which was steadily developing over the weeks with Bart even looking into the camera during Week 5 as if to make eye contact with Govin through it. However, it was also clear from these comments that they were returning to their initial style of feedback, which was short and to the point, without the peppering of pleasantries.

As such, in their final video (Week 8), the Codarts band was also seen to be at ease during interaction with each other despite the camera being on. The video was about eighteen minutes, with an average of five to six minutes per song, returning to their initial style of presentation in which no eye contact was made with the camera, with the camera simply documenting what seemed

to be an ordinary rehearsal. The songs were played without mistake with regards to tempo and form, and with members not looking ill-at-ease, awkward, or intimidated. The Codarts band's players hence, having familiarised themselves with Jonathan, as well as having familiarised themselves with each other's playing styles and cultural dispositions over the weeks, were able to learn how to play with each other through adhering to the etiquette appropriate in the "experimental" (Becker, 2000) setting initially set by the presence of Jonathan – that of treating everybody else's contribution during improvisation as "potentially better" (ibid) than one's own. In having been obliged to enact out this experimental setting to a potentially unknowing audience, the members of the Codarts band, in dealing with both the demands of etiquette and their cryptic leader, had to quickly learn how to collaborate with each other to preserve structure instead of competing with each other to break it so as to avoid potential misunderstanding. In tackling the weekly task of uploading these videos as well as participating in all the activities, both bands hence seemed to have developed a greater sense of confidence and "poise" (Goffman, 1956), or the ability to handle oneself in unfamiliar and embarrassing situations, resulting from a better knowledge of their unfamiliar audience – i.e. people from abroad that they would not have met if not for this project.

As Goffman (1956) noted, "instead of permitting the conflict to be expressed in an encounter, the individual places himself between the opposing principles" and "sacrifices his identity for a moment", thereby preserving the principles of interaction in said encounter at the expense of participation or involvement. At the beginning of the programme, this level of intimacy with the cultural other caused discomfort on the part of both bands that was mediated by a teacher-student relationship established between the bands. This discomfort was manifested in different ways in the individuals of both bands. In the Codarts band, discomfort was, for the most part, successfully concealed, largely in part due to their dominance in terms of superior practical mastery on all their respective instruments. The adoption of a learning structure familiar to both sides was hence quickly established in Week 2, wherein the Codarts band adopted a pedagogical role and the LaSalle band a docile role. This "role segregation" (Goffman, 1956) allowed for a mutually accepted structure that accommodated the skill differential, allowing for the "smooth" (ibid) and courteous procession of events in the completion of the course by each of the students with nobody fully withdrawing from participation or outrightly rebelling against the proceedings. In this relationship, the Codarts band enacted the role of the teacher, with their leader strategically framing their submissions as educational material by fostering an experimental setting through a lack of eye contact and an ambiguous performance of role. From Week 4, however, a mutually acceptable interpretation of egalitarianism and etiquette was achieved through Jonathan conceding in terms of making eye contact and "acknowledging" his band-mates more and Jesse taking a supporting role

despite being a tenor player to work with Bart in collectively controlling the romantically disposed quartet. By week 6, this relationship culminated in confessions by the Singaporeans in the LaSalle band that what they were learning more through participation in this programme than in their actual lessons in school. In Week 6, Jonathan was asking the LaSalle band members to "just whack us" (Jonathan, Pitch2Peer, Week 6) with critical feedback, which seemed to prove to be too much of a demand for Trevin – Jonathan's instrumental counterpart. Also, by this week, Bart was already well into his role as drummer-pedagogue (as opposed to simply "the drummer"), even staring into the camera at length during their performance of Oleo (Week 5) while connecting perfectly with Jonathan and performing polyrhythms at 200 b.p.m. (beats per minute), as if to check if the LaSalle band (Govin in particular) was paying attention. It was from Week 7 that the Codarts band finally began to visibly subvert the research setting, performing a very short rendition of Bolivia (04:43) in which most of it was arranged, hilariously breaking into a spontaneous rock version of the song and laughing uncontrollably on video. In their final performance, the presentation of themselves in the video was hence plain but professional and with no antics whatsoever, where they were simply shown to be discussing practical considerations of performance such as harmonic structure or form. The teacher-student relationship hence culminated in Week 6 with the withdrawal of Trevin, who stopped participating in the feedback part of the assignment from that week, leaving it open as to whether or not he was disinterested or simply out of things to do or say.

Following this was a routinisation of relations, where both bands withdrew back into their "local" environments and original (pre-experimental) style of interaction from the "routinised" and "experimental" (Becker, 2000) virtual Pitch2Peer environment that they were participating in for eight weeks, albeit with a heightened familiarity ("face to face" interaction) with both an "international" audience as well as their own, previously unfamiliar, band-mates. In the end, it seemed that the students, through interacting with their "imagined", global audience with their school-mates in a virtual setting sustained for eight weeks, learned about themselves and their own practice of jazz in a more global, cosmopolitan context. This was achieved through a mutual sharing of practices and a determination to help each other through the programme, as well as the establishment of a mutually negotiated and agreed upon structure in which to enact "the occupational myth of equality" (Becker, 2000) in identifying with each other as potentially professional jazz musicians, as opposed to identifying themselves as representatives of their respective institutions. This was seen in how they would completely break character after playing what they were supposed to, despite knowing that the camera was still recording. Only in the last week did the Codarts band include more documentation of their interaction before the song, as opposed to only including awkward responses at the end of the song. Students, at the end of the

course, were hence observed to be "further down the road" to ICC (inter-cultural communicative competence; Byram, 1997), having familiarised themselves with the cultural other through spontaneous interaction and improvisation and surviving the drawn-out uneasy situation resulting from the skill difference and cultural unfamiliarity. As such, they were all, including Te and Trevin, observed to be at ease with each other despite the camera being switched on in their final videos (Week 8), suggesting that they were not only more comfortable with each other in the room, but also with each other in general despite going through the course. This can be seen as a result of considering not only the musical in the design of the course's structure, but also the social aspect of jazz practice in order to balance individuality with structural discipline in creative jazz education.

Intercultural learning can hereby be said to be achieved through a "wild coupling" (Piekut, 2014a, p. 213) of students' with different cultural dispositions, achieved through sustained interaction with the cultural other in the pursuance of clearly defined and meticulously thought-out objectives that were considered in the terms of the experiences of jazz musicians themselves as opposed to relying on the convenient transplantation of a practically alien formal pedagogical model. In relating intercultural learning to the concept of cultural dispositions, digital peer-to-peer tools is here seen as potentially leading to higher levels of intercultural awareness (or ICC) in students. This was mainly achieved through the identification of practical objectives in jazz music, designing the environment to facilitate, not dictate, students' interaction within the virtual classroom and allowing them to come up with their own interpretations of learning objectives, allowing for the tailoring of learning strategies (Van den Dool, 2016) to occur on an individual level, on an individual's terms. In familiarising themselves with an unfamiliar situation, the students improvised both individually and collectively during the course in establishing a division of roles that meaningfully justified the skill differential in the face of the demands of critical feedback and identifying as an immediate group apart from their institutions in order to finish it smoothly without losing out on the opportunity to be curious and experiment with ideas from afar. In navigating this environment in an informal, distanced, and virtual setting, both bands were able to meaningfully communicate with the cultural other and break from the familiar practices normally required in their immediate environments of socialisation. As such, they were less bound by familiarity of practice during musical and social improvisation in the face of the cultural other's presence by the end of the course.

The "smooth" procession of a social encounter can hence here be defined as the completion of the course as planned, with nobody feeling outrightly "discredited" (Goffman, 1956), uninvolved, or overtly embarrassed. Although Trevin withdrew from the textual activity, he still maintained a professional attitude, at times musically taking the lead in the saxophone trio

assignments that they had to fulfil in the later weeks without their leader, Joe. In not taking immediate action as the course facilitator, the researcher was able to avoid coming to a pre-mature conclusion about the nature of his behaviour in the programme. As such, the programme can be said to have unfolded in a smooth and tactful manner, or a manner in which a level of jazz etiquette was maintained through role and audience segregation. All things considered, this thesis cautiously concurs with Goffman (1956) in that "embarrassment, especially the mild kind, clearly shows itself to be located not in the individual but in the social system wherein he has his several selves" (p. 269; Lahire, 2008) and, correspondingly, the several audiences for whom he performs. As he states, regarding the expression of embarrassment and its social effects, "social structure gains elasticity; the individual merely loses composure" (p. 271). What then could possibly go wrong with a controlled doses of it in the pursuit of intercultural learning?

5) **Conclusion**

To conclude, in picking apart the relationship between intercultural learning and cultural dispositions in the context of jazz practice, this thesis applied a broad ANT-styled analysis that allowed for supplementation by various strands of symbolic interactionist theory and method. As such, the analysis was supplemented by Bourdieusian (1983; 1990) concepts of the field and practice, the concepts of embarrassment (Goffman, 1956; 1959) and jazz etiquette (Becker, 1951; 2000), as well as musicological analysis due to the unique requirement of spontaneity and authenticity in jazz performance that allowed for the relation of musical output to social interaction and through a "thick description" (Geertz, 1994) of events: a multi-layered, multi-dimensional analysis of jazz practice in students. These theories and concepts of social interaction allowed for the provision of rigorous explanations of how cultural dispositions could be related to intercultural learning in practice, here analysed as "enactments of realities" (Piekut, 2014a) constituted by the individual contributions of the students that made up this Pitch2Peer module. These realities – the experiences of the students in the peer-to-peer project – were expressed in the interaction and the lack thereof by the students, with their experiences of intercultural learning being mediated by an etiquette of jazz egalitarianism that both constrained and enabled intercultural learning. The band-leaders, in putting the tactful procession of the course above their individual identities, were able to break the ice and establish a working relationship between the two bands which allowed for the course to proceed as planned despite minor logistical problems. Towards the end of the course, interaction and relations within and across bands routinised, with participants slowly diminishing in activity and enthusiasm from Week 6. This relationship hence allowed for the mutual transmission of cultural knowledge and practices resulting in the expected outcome for this thesis, but not quite in the way it was expected to unfold.

From the theory, it was expected that the bands would learn from each other through competing with each other week after week, thereby learning from each other through attempting to discredit and top each other's cultural practices. Rather, because of the unexpected skill difference, intercultural learning occurred here through the mechanisms of the jazz etiquette (Becker, 2000) that was both a cause of embarrassment and "sustained uneasiness" (Goffman, 1956) and a mediator of cultural unfamiliarity – enacted differently in all the different students who, not entirely through consensus, managed to collectively establish a working relationship that was durable. Intercultural learning was hence achieved not through the fostering of an environment of competition through processes of symbolic exclusion, but the fostering of a micro-community in which the mutual sharing of critical information and best practices prevailed over cultural stereotyping and where learning and teaching each other was a responsibility that they had primarily

to each other. The potential for embarrassment was hence both constraining and enabling intercultural learning and creativity in this thesis as while it made everyone uncomfortable in the beginning, allowed for a banding together of the students who took responsibility for their own learning in the absence of a professionally and formally endorsed instructor. Embarrassment was hence mediated through the need to get the job done as in an "experimental" (Becker, 2000) setting and make the experience meaningful, which allowed for students to distance themselves from the task of performing jazz music and look at it from a broader perspective. With the students identifying with each other as a group apart from their institutions, an elitist and hostile setting was avoided, with students instead focusing on helping each other get through the programme through improvisation.

All in all, everybody completed the programme successfully, with the non-participation of Trevin not indicative of his attitude towards intercultural learning. In tackling the requirement of uploading one video and one assignment (and then some) per week, both bands were able to learn from each other through observing, reflecting, and experimenting with what the other side was saying and doing in feedback and music. Through sustained interaction in a virtual environment, intercultural learning, as theorised to occur as a function of a broadening of cultural dispositions (Bourdieu, 1990; Lahire, 2003) through exposure to the cultural other in an unfamiliar setting, students' practices were disrupted (Wilf, 2010), allowing for strategic collective improvisation to occur in re-establishing a familiar, working structure in which to enact out the course. As Goffman (1956) notes, when someone expresses embarrassment in an unfamiliar situation, "he and his flustered actions block the line of activity the others have been pursuing". In such a situation, "the others may be forced to stop and turn their attention to the impediment" and "the topic of conversation is neglected", with "energies ... directed to the task of re-establishing the flustered individual, of studiously ignoring him, or of withdrawing from his presence" (p. 266) instead of the immediate topic or setting at hand – a waste of precious resources, time, and effort and a hindrance to creativity. Etiquette (Becker, 2000) and embarrassment (Goffman, 1956) emerged as latent variables governing interaction in the analysis of the data, where they were found to be potentially disruptive but also potentially enabling with regards to intercultural learning, suggesting that these two factors are key considerations in designing and preserving a mutually acceptable jazz learning environment. In view of this thesis, the planning of intercultural activities pertaining to jazz should take the potential for embarrassment embedded within their design as a key point of consideration in dealing with sensitive, ambitious, and passionate students of the unique genre. Considering this in the educational practice in jazz allows for the accommodation of and continued involvement of jazz students who might be of a lower skill level than their peers. Evidently, intercultural learning is

not simply a function of cultural exposure, but also involves the strategic management of setting and mediation by culturally aware actors in practice. These "intercultural practices" can be acquired (Bourdieu, 1990) through the maintenance of etiquette to mediate embarrassment and conflict resulting from incompatible frames of interpretation of the setting, which is contingent upon the management of potentially competing cultural dispositions that are exposed during improvisation and embarrassment therein in unfamiliar settings. The habitus of the students was trained through the experimentation with and selective adoption of practices suited to both the ends of wanting to learn something about the cultural other and maintaining an etiquette of egalitarianism in a jazz setting.

As such, the data supports Byram's (1997) and Çiftçi's (2016) recommendations regarding the use of online learning tools vis-a-vis intercultural learning. Firstly, the online module was meticulously planned, with tasks clearly defined. This allowed the students to continually focus on the same tasks from week to week, allowing them to get into a kind of weekly "flow" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996) where uploading the video, providing critical feedback and reflecting on the feedback was integrated into their weekly routine, allowing for proper socialisation and sustained interaction despite the geographical (it was not possible for them to physically meet up for intercultural learning), technical (technically unmatched), and logistical (two students being unavailable) limitations of the project. Secondly, it was necessary to continually update and check on the students from week to week, which was achieved through a simple email every weekend thanking everybody for their contributions and reminding them of their upcoming assignment(s) for the next week. This way, they were able to update the researcher on any new logistical developments, such as a member of a group not being available for the week, and so on. This allowed the researcher to monitor and intervene in or adjust the programme promptly, preventing a break in "flow" (ibid). Thirdly, the length of the course was not too short so as to risk being perceived by anyone involved as a superficial exchange, and not too long as to risk becoming boring, repetitive, or tedious. Eight weeks therefore seemed like an appropriate amount of time for the inculcation of some level of authentic ICC among the jazz students involved in the research. Finally, the data suggests that intercultural exchange is optimal when 1) an informal setting is invoked organically and taken responsibility over and 2) students feel responsible for their actions, which requires patience, flexibility, and the willingness and discipline to hold back from managing the risk of students not learning anything on the part of the instructor whose project is peer-to-peer, intercultural learning.

That said, however, the structuring of communication can said to be key in avoiding more violent eruptions of embarrassment that could occur had everybody have an individual account to

log-in with, instead of simply sharing a password. This would allow for a more authentic experience in interaction with the cultural other, as well as for students to be more distinctive. This was the most common complaint from both sides in their evaluation of the programme at the end. Another complaint was that the course should be even more structured as they were lost as to what they were supposed to do. To this end, in balancing the fostering of an informal learning environment with some level of discipline, course designers, educators, and researchers, like jazz composers, should keep in mind the need to balance a meticulous structuring of the course with the possibility that the students could, in fact, be able to learn by themselves or from each other.

Future research on this topic should hence continue to bear in mind 1) the skill level, familiarity with jazz and the ICC of its samples, 2) the potential for embarrassment embedded in the learning environment, 3) the skill level and familiarity with jazz, music and ICC of the researcher . While the skill difference and the lack of individual accounts (thereby necessitating an administrative representative who was interpreted by both bands as a leader of sorts) was a thorny issue that threatened to result in the pre-mature end of the project, the students were able to overcome the difference in skill in their own way. Replications of this study or programme should therefore attempt to balance the skill level and provide individual accounts from which students can log in themselves so as to further alleviate the uncertainty and unfamiliarity experienced by the students at the beginning of the course, as well to see if relations and interactions might differ in relation students possessing different dispositional schemes from those in the study and in a situation where nobody is clearly the teacher or the student. As this thesis analysed how "relations of inequality" turned into "relations of equality" (Becker, 2000) through students learning from each other how to enact these relations, further research should attempt to balance the skill level of the participants to see how actual "relations of equality" manifest themselves in such a peer-to-peer learning environment, and whether embarrassment and etiquette operate and function similarly therein. Overall, the results of this thesis suggest that creativity is a function of an intercultural awareness that can be trained through the systematic exposure of students to the practices of the cultural other in overcoming unfamiliar learning settings. In learning about the cultural dispositions of the cultural other through interaction and play, the intercultural learning of creativity was achieved here through learning about jazz in a broader, more cosmopolitan setting. The conduct of this project over Pitch2Peer turned geographical distance and cultural unfamiliarity into a resource as it allowed for the preservation of composure to be achieved through structuring interaction with the cultural other to occur in controlled, physically isolated doses, allowing for students to reflect and strategise for the next week and the rest of the course to come. The asynchronous communication of Pitch2peer hence, in allowing ample time for the important task of reflection,

which is here also revealed to be a key element of course design in jazz education, distanced students from emotional responses to each other that could have marred the the programme.

In this thesis, allowing for ample reflection time seemed to allow the students to preserve a "backstage" (Goffman, 1959) area and compose themselves before the following week's interaction, with embarrassment occurring mostly off-the-record, if at all. Students were hence able to regain composure and recalibrate their learning strategies (Van den Dool, 2016) on a weekly basis, allowing for time to be spent on other activities during reflection as well. Empirical research on the topic of jazz education and practice could also hence focus more on the act of reflection and how it could be systematically operationalised as a key consideration in educational practice within universities. For instance, one could ask "how could the act of reflection be incorporated into a formal jazz syllabus realistically?" Through reflection, the students were able to define their own learning objectives in both exercising their agency and taking responsibility for their own learning in the face of unfamiliarity and uncertainty of outcome. Through exposure to their peers from another country, the students' gained in ICC having confronted the cultural other in practice and in the relatively safe educational environment provided for them that allowed for reflection on their experiences and experimentation in practice.

6) **References**

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