
Title	Enculturation
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thus removing whatever veneer of subjectivity might otherwise remain. The choice of measurements is nonetheless a subjective process, even if the measures themselves might be carried out through objective means. This affects not only the degree of precision but also biases the elements that are deemed significant. Understanding the limitations that these choices impose on empirical studies provides a frame for the conclusions that can thus be established.

To take a more specific example: an observed performance of music might be transcribed in order to facilitate comparison with similar performances. In such cases there might be general agreement that the pitches or frequencies of all sounds are important. But how should they be measured and classified? Should each note be assigned a frequency in hertz (Hz, cycles per second) or a pitch class? Which system of pitch classifications should be chosen? Should changes of octave register be taken into account or deemed equivalent? How many divisions of an octave should be acknowledged: 12 equal semitones, 24 quartertones, or variable divisions based on the predominant practice of the style or region being studied? How does one categorize an "out of pitch" note? And what about timing? Should objective standards of absolute duration be imposed, say milliseconds, or should the durations be described relative to each other (e.g., quarter note, half note) and adjusted to accommodate changes in tempo? Or should individuals rely on the subjective transcriptions of expert listeners?

The answers to these questions have an impact not only on the interpretation of the data but on what sorts of data to be collected and considered in the first place. In the physical as well as social sciences, these sorts of difficulties have at times been referred to as observer effects, indicating that the process of observation may have an impact on the object of observation. To the extent that empirical musicology can never be free from observer effects, it can never be truly objective.

Despite these limitations, an empirical approach to musicology has undeniable benefits. Empirical approaches can complement more traditional subjective approaches by enabling contrasting and possibly convergent insights. Each approach may have its own specific advantages and disadvantages, depending on the kind of question being

asked. Empirical approaches provide an especially rich means for deep investigations where data exists or can be obtained in abundance.

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See Also: Auditory System; Behavioral Measures; Case Studies; Categorical Perception; Comparative Musicology; Converging Evidence; Individual Differences; Observation Techniques, Ethnomusicology; Physiological Responses, Peripheral; Pitch Perception; Practice.

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Enculturation

Enculturation refers to the acquisition of one's own culture, including its values, behaviors, beliefs, understandings, social norms, customs, rituals, and languages. A term used in sociology and anthropology, it can be thought of as a socialization process whereby family members, peers, and other members of society help people learn normative social standards. In so doing, individuals become "insiders" of their own cultures, gain a sense of identity, and are then able to fit into and survive in their societies. Enculturation occurs as a result of both conscious and unconscious conditioning, through formal and informal means, and is often regarded as an ongoing, lifelong process.

Like enculturation, acculturation is also a socialization process; however, acculturation occurs whenever two different cultures meet. Although acculturation may result in modifications in both cultures, the changes are more likely to be felt in the subordinate rather than the dominant culture. In some cases, the minority culture may even be completely absorbed, supplanted, or acquired by its majority counterpart. Although enculturation and acculturation are conceptually distinct, it may be difficult to disentangle the two in the phenomenal world. This is especially so in pluralistic societies. As cultures and subcultures intermingle, identities are often mixed; it becomes difficult to say precisely just what constitutes one's own culture, thereby blurring boundaries between enculturation and acculturation. In some societies, acculturation may be considered a part of enculturation rather than a separate socialization process.

Musical Enculturation

From infancy through adulthood, humans are musically enculturated into the musical worlds of the cultures they are born into, grow up in, and live in. Children often form their musical identities due to initial exposure in their families; as they mature, the web of musical influences gradually increases in complexity. Through the shaping of the environment and active participation in the social rituals of music making, as well as formal and informal instruction, humans develop culturally specific frameworks and musical schemata through which they perceive music. They assimilate the values and ideals of their musical cultures, including their expressive and aesthetic norms, as well as the use of music in different social, cultural, and political contexts.

Research in Musical Enculturation and Perception

Researchers have investigated musical enculturation over a wide range of age groups and across multiple cultures. Research with Western infants has shown that infants who actively participated in a music class were enculturated to Western musical norms earlier than those who experienced music passively. In another study, children without formal music training were found to be musically enculturated into Western harmony by 4 and

5 years of age. Furthermore, qualitative research found that children from Irish American, Mexican American, Vietnamese American, African American, and Native American families became musically enculturated in the United States through musical speech, media and technology, and active engagement with ethnic cultures in America. On the Asian front, findings from research with five diasporic Chinese *xianshi* musicians in Hong Kong indicated that their musical enculturation from their homeland might have contributed to their value of and long-term commitment to making music.

Research evidence indicates possible links between musical enculturation and musical memory. For example, research involving native-born participants from the United States and Turkey found that all subjects were more adept at remembering music from their own cultures, suggesting that enculturation influences the ways in which humans process and recognize musical information. In a follow-up study involving children and adults born in the United States, all participants were better able to remember music from their own culture than music from the Turkish culture.

Researchers have also investigated links between musical enculturation and musical perception. These studies have utilized samples that compare across cultures and different age groups. With respect to intercultural studies, Tunisian and French subjects were found to tap in time with music from their own cultures better than with music that was culturally unfamiliar to them, suggesting that the exposure to music from one's own musical culture influences one's perception of music. Another study found that while Javanese musicians assimilated internal interval standards of the *sléndro* and *pélog* tuning systems, Western musicians assimilated internal interval standards of the equal-tempered scale.

With respect to studies that compared samples across different age groups, research with infants and adults suggested that the exposure to culturally specific music may in fact lead to poorer melodic discrimination. In addition, research with infants, children, and adults seemed to indicate that musical enculturation increases the influence of culture-specific conventions and decreases culture-general factors.

Finally, the relationship between musical enculturation and affective response has been investigated. Findings appear inconclusive. On the one hand, differences in European and Asian participants' affective responses toward Western classical, Indian classical, and New Age music were found, suggesting that one's affective response to music is influenced by one's native cultural tradition.

On the other hand, in a separate study Western listeners were found to be sensitive to the intended emotions of joy, sadness, and anger when asked to respond to Hindustani raga excerpts, indicating that listeners may be sensitive to emotions musically expressed from unfamiliar cultures. It appeared from this study that the listeners were influenced in their judgments by the psychophysical dimensions of music (i.e., tempo, rhythmic and melodic complexity, and pitch range), suggesting that in addition to enculturation, there may also be universal factors underlying emotions that are musically expressed.

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See Also: Cognition and Learning, Childhood; Community Music; Cross-Cultural Communication; Cultural Heritage; Cultural Identity; Development; Environmental Causes and Campaigns; Ethnocentricity; Ethnomusicology and Ethnomusicologists; Music Culture.

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