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As school curricula in many parts of the world are increasingly secularized, one might ask: *What does contemporary music education have to do with religion?* Yet, as we ask this question, many other fields are experiencing a newfound sense of urgency to understand and engage with different faiths and worldviews as they intersect social phenomena such as immigration and forced migration, policies of national security, intercultural communication, and community-building. In a world characterized by change and cultural diversity the once 'sober study of comparative religion' (Parel 2004, 1) is now cast as an essential component of promoting social participation and cohesion.

Music was once accepted as part-and-parcel of moral education (Keene 1982) inducting young people into majoritarian value-systems and beliefs. However, in the 1970s and 80s, *multicultural* approaches to music education foregrounded the importance of encounters with difference as a means to learn about, and with, those from different ethnic backgrounds, religions, ages, genders, socioeconomic status and exceptionalities (Volk 2004). Multiculturalism, in this sense, was not only employed as a descriptive term, but to denote 'a social ideal; a policy of support for exchange among different groups of people to enrich all while respecting and preserving the integrity of each' (Elliott 1990, 151). Such attention to cultural sensitivity has contributed towards the increasing chasm between religious institutions and state-run education that is intended to serve *all*. In many formal education contexts, religion is not seen to relate to social cohesion, but is cast as a source of social conflict. Indeed, in the wake of recent anti-immigration fuelled violence, and related public protests in Helsinki, the need to find new ways to bridge the multifaceted and complex divides between social groups, values, beliefs and worldviews is increasingly clear, and increasingly necessary.

However, the formal secularization of music education policy does not necessarily calm the storm. The religious beliefs, values, expressions, or actions of students are not simply neutralized into non-existence through secularization, but silenced into submission. As such, the appearance of consensus *through* neutrality may well be at the expense of recognition, inclusion, and agency, leaving tensions and uncertainties bubbling uncomfortably beneath the surface. *If* we accept multiculturalism as one of the guiding ideals of music education, and aim to enact this ideal in earnest, we ought to commit to an 'ongoing critique of institutions and their systemic inequity... to encapsulate the values and aspirations' of those in a community (Yob 1995, 69). This extends not only to inequalities brought about through the imposition of religious belief systems on others, but also the systemic inequity brought about by projects of secularization.

As special editor, I am pleased to offer this special issue of the *Finnish Journal of Music Education* on the topic of music education and religion, as a resource for discussion, reflection and further inquiry. As a publication part of the Academy of Finland funded *ArtsEqual Research Initiative*, the articles, reports and book reviews in this issue examine contemporary music education from the standpoint of social equity, and social justice. As such, religion is not framed as a historical matter, or one pertinent only to individuals or communities who identify as faithful, but one that is entertwined with complex processes of legitimation and exclusion in music education policy and practice. The critical perspectives put forward within the pages of this issue present us with a timely reminder that music education is *never* a neutral endeavour.

The first article of this issue is written by Dr. Cantor Evan Kent, instructor at the

Hebrew Union College, Jerusalem. This work of ethnographic fiction invites the reader to pack their bags on a historical and philosophical journey, from the world of early 20th Century German philosopher Franz Rosenzweig, to the communal songs and camaraderie of a contemporary American Jewish summer camp. Locating God in the everyday musical activities of campers, Kent proposes that this community is not only one that brings about future redemption *through* chanting and singing, but as one already living in a redemptive time.

In the second article, Peter Håkansson, Assistant Professor in Urban Studies at Malmö University, and Johan Söderman, Reader in Music Education/Senior Lecturer in Child and Youth Studies at the University of Gothenburg, explore the social environment of the non-denominational Swedish church as a context of musical socialization. Using nation-wide data from 3000 individuals obtained through the Swedish SOM-institute's survey Riks-SOM 2010, they test the hypothesis that people who are members of a non-denominational church play instruments more frequently compared to others. In finding a high correlation between identification with these non-denominational churches and playing a musical instrument, they suggest that the musical habitus cultivated within these contexts may also be seen in contemporary school education. This raises important questions with regards to whether such a religious background affords individuals a musical advantage when applying for degrees in Swedish higher music education.

Amira Ehrlich, lecturer in music education at the Levinsky College of Education in Tel Aviv, offers the third and final article of this special issue. She conducts a Critical Discourse Analysis of the Israeli school music curriculum, exploring the relationships between power, hegemony, and policy in relation to the conceptualization of *diversity*. Ehrlich argues that the language employed in the National Music Curriculum functions to preserve and reinforce a Western hegemonic power structure, even while espousing the values of diversity and change. She questions the extent to which a 'double standard' of diversity, identified through discrepancies between *what* is said and *how* it is expressed, is able to engage with the different knowledges of local musical communities in supporting and empowering diverse musicians in Israel.

Two of the reports written for this issue continue this focus on music education and religion, though all contribute towards the discussion of diversity and social justice. Writing from the University of Toronto in Canada, Hussein Janmohamed describes his experiences conducting fieldwork with Ismaili youth. Challenging the common misconception that all Muslims are prohibited from engaging in 'musical' activities, Janmohamed offers new perspectives and ideas on the meanings of both 'music' and 'Muslim'. Through expanding the gaze of music education, he suggests that music educators might work in ways that promote humility and respect, facilitating dialogic exchange. Taru Koivisto presents a discussion of the music-oriented activities coordinated by the Christian, all-female organization, the Finnish White Ribbon Union (FWRU) in third-sector educational public health and social programmes. Koivisto considers the ambitious agenda of the FWRU to '*Do Everything*' as a praxial approach to music education, with music having instrumental value in a multidisciplinary context characterized by collaborative, dialogic learning. Public healthcare interventions are here seen to bridge the divide between music education and music therapy, offering insights on music *for* health *and* learning.

Turning the focus towards broader issues relating to diversity and inequity, Tuula Jääskeläinen compels us to break our silence and take action. Through engaging John Dewey's writings she considers how we might draw upon the expertise of those who have been positioned as Others in our societies, in order to effect change *through* art and arts education. Sofia Harjanne discusses the findings of her research of a group music therapy programme run for inmates at the prison of Helsinki in 2014. Self-reports from

participants regarding their social skills, self-expression, and communication abilities suggest that such a programme might provide a number of social and psychological benefits in the prison context.

Finally the issue concludes with two book reviews critiquing *Lessons from the Arts to Qualitative Research* (Ed. Bresler 2015), and *A Brief Introduction to a Philosophy of Music Education as Social Praxis* (Regelski 2016). Marja Heimonen, reviewing Liora Brelser's edited book produced as part of her *Hedda Andersson* visiting professorship at the Malmö Academy of Music, highlights the role of the 'unknown' in both art and qualitative research —which also relates to matters of cultural and religious diversity more broadly. *How* might we, as music educators and researchers, engage with Others through an approach of 'emphatic understanding'? What might we learn—not only about these 'Others'—but ourselves in the process? Researchers Katja Thomson and Linda Toivanen review Thomas Regelski's latest contribution to praxialist philosophy in music education. His vision for an 'Action Learning curriculum model' that brings music 'from life into school -- and back into life' is a passionate call to enact change for the better in students' musical lives.

Each of the contributions to this special issue is part of an important, complex, and polyphonic conversation that asks: *what is 'good' in music education?* and *for whom? when?* Through gaining a critical awareness of our own personal convictions, epistemological stance, and values, particularly when engaging in dialogue with different, or even opposing views, it may be fruitful to consider *how* and *why* it is that music education policies and practices might legitimize certain musics, pedagogies, values and worldviews, and silence or suppress others. Overarching policies that seek to equalize individuals and social groups through the negation of difference, such as many policies of secularization, might, in practice, serve those already privileged by the normalization of certain religious values in mainstream culture (such as the singing of the Finnish summer hymn *Suvivirsi*, for example). This further positions Others on the outer margins of school or university life. As an alternative, a recognition of our day-to-day work as practitioners and researchers as fundamentally driven by ideals and idealism (Patel 2014, 373) might better enable us to enact equity and social justice through a continual questioning of *whose* 'status quo' we refute or (re)affirm, and *whose* visions of change we embrace in striving for 'better'. ■

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Artikkelit | Articles

Evan Kent

California Dreamin': Franz Rosenzweig Goes to Jewish Summer Camp

Each summer, approximately 70,000 Jewish children in North America attend sleep-away camps. The experience at Jewish summer camp—combining formal and informal education approaches—has been shown to build identity, community, and future Jewish leadership according to "Camp Works" (Cohen, Miller, Sheskin, & Torr 2011), a study that examined attitudes and behaviors of adult Jews who attended Jewish summer camp as compared to those who did not. As such, the communities formed at Jewish summer camp have been promoted as celebrating Jewish life and ritual, fostering social connections, expressing a shared destiny, and encouraging camp participants to find personal meaning in Jewish experiences. As part of the overall Jewish summer camp experience, communal song plays a central role. Campers sing before and after meals, on their way from one activity to another, and before "lights out" in the evenings. Song is often incorporated into informal education sessions, where the singing aids in the transmission of educational concepts, Judaic lessons, and messages of peace, brotherhood, social justice, and the Jewish concept of "tikkun olam"—the repairing of the world. Communal song is also featured at the daily prayer services with the highlight of each week being the celebration of Shabbat—the Jewish Sabbath. The Shabbat meal is festive, campers dress in white, as a symbol of purity, and the song-session after the meal is lengthy, spirited, and filled with spontaneous harmonies, rhythmic clapping and stomping, and choreography. In this article, I examine how the philosophy of the early 20th century Jewish philosopher, Franz Rosenzweig, is manifested and realized through music education practices at Jewish residential summer camps. I do this by imagining what Rosenzweig's reaction might be, were he transported from his historical hometown of Germany, to one of these contemporary Jewish residential summer camps where his philosophies are realized. Rosenzweig's fictional reactions not only provide us with a re-imagination of his philosophy in a contemporary context, but also will ultimately give us insight into the profound lasting effect of communal song at Jewish summer camps.

Packing our bags: Rosenzweig's Philosophy

Franz Rosenzweig's most famous work, *The Star of Redemption* (Rosenzweig 1921/2005), provided insight into how music and the communal *Shabbat* meal are part of the act of religious redemption and ultimately how we can view his theory of redemption as re-imagined for the environment of Jewish summer camp. Rosenzweig presented the philosophy of "new thinking," in an attempt to understand the connected relationships between the self, the world, and God. According to Rosenzweig, humanity's love for God is manifest as a love for fellow human beings, and in the demonstration of this love, humankind begins the process of redemption. Contemporary Jewish philosophy has considered Rosenzweig's view of redemption as one in which,

> *a community will appear, whose members, through knowing one another in full individuality, will live with one another in peace and harmony. In turn such communities will overflow to reach all human kind and then out to nature until a final concord of people, the world, and God is achieved.* (Borowitz 1993, 133)

This redemption, as imagined by Rosenzweig, would be brought about only by God at an unknown time or day with the entire community working towards this goal. That is, the redemptive experience is expressed through communal action anticipating the future. Redemption for Rosenzweig (1921/2005), did not possess the Biblical imagery of the *lion lying down with the lamb* but is instead an amorphous, undefinable, unimaginable, neo-Romantic process in which communal involvement is central to the process. Redemption is thus prefaced by acts of *creation*, as manifest through the relationship between God and the world, followed by *revelation*, made evident through God's relationship with humanity.

The community's involvement in the form of liturgical celebration and the cadence of Jewish communal life was key to Rosenzweig's vision of the redemptive process. The singing of biblical Psalms was also seen as central to the creation of community and redemption, representing the hopes, strivings, and aspirations of the Jewish collective, and epitomizing the individual's move toward the communal, and the present day melding with the future. Symbolizing the unrealized future, the singing of psalms "is the eternity in the moment" (Rosenzweig 1921/2005, 272). The ultimate objective of this is redemption, which becomes most pronounced during the observance of the Sabbath, becomes apparent to each individual,

> *in which he broadens his I renounced under the rule of Revelation to the "We all"; and it is only then that he regains his own particularity, but it is no longer his, it is no longer as his homeland, they are no longer his friends and his kin, it is now the property of the new community that God points out to him and whose miseries are his miseries, whose will is his will, whose We is his I, whose—"not-yet" is his "yet."* (Rosenzweig 1921/2005, 269)

An expansion and contemporization of Rosenzweig's (1921/2005) philosophy regarding this singing of Psalms permits us to view Jewish summer camp as particularly well suited as a redemptive environment. Rosenzweig viewed the Book of Psalms as a metaphorically redemptive song book for the community where the yearnings for redemption are amplified through the voices and actions of the community. But what if we were to understand Rosenzweig's image of a metaphoric song book as an actual song book? A song book comprised of collections that reflects the attitudes and philosophies of the camp? What if he had known about the *Shabbat* song sessions? What would Rosenzweig's reaction be if he had the opportunity to visit a Jewish summer camp?

This reinterpretation of Rosenzweig allows a consideration of group singing to be part of the redemptive process as part of the anticipated future. It is, as Rosenzweig expressed, "the event not-yet-having-taken-place and yet still-to-come-one-day" (p. 268). In the context of the Jewish summer camp, and especially in conjunction with the celebration of *Shabbat*, I propose that this communal singing of all these songs is part of the redemptive process with the camp song book serving as a substitute for the actual psalter. For music educators, this discussion of communal song as a salient force that promotes an environment where redemption is actualized should serve as a reminder of the inherent power and importance of music as an agent of change for the lives of children and adolescents. For clergy, camp administrators, and youth workers this metaphorical journey is a reminder that the Sabbath worship at camp and its associated rituals filled with group singing have a lasting impact on the lives of campers.

The Destination: *Camp Hess Kramer*

Although Camp Hess Kramer is less than 50 miles from central Los Angeles, it is truly worlds away. Situated alongside the Pacific Ocean, the camp is approached by driving north on the Pacific Coast Highway to where Los Angeles and Ventura Counties meet.

This is the "county line" made famous as a prime surfing spot by the Beach Boys in their song "Surfin' U.S.A." Summer days are often mild, accompanied by morning fog, an afternoon breeze, and an evening coolness requiring campers to wear sweatshirts and light jackets.

The 187-acre facility is situated in a wooded canyon extending approximately one mile from the Pacific shore to the local mountain range. The camp features a small creek and abounds with sycamore, oak, and eucalyptus trees. The facility includes a large dining hall, an outdoor chapel, an amphitheater with a fully-equipped theatrical stage, two multipurpose program areas, an infirmary, an arts and craft shed, assorted athletic fields, a ropes course, hiking trails, a swimming pool, a campfire area, and 28 cabins of various sizes and styles that provide sufficient housing for all campers. In addition, there are separate residential facilities for staff, administrators, seasonal employees, and guests (C. Lauterbach, personal communication, April 9, 2012).

Camp Hess Kramer operates under the auspices of the Wilshire Boulevard Temple, a 2,500-family Reform Jewish congregation in Los Angeles. The co-ed camp, which recently celebrated its 60th anniversary, is in session from the middle of June until the middle of August. At any given time, there are approximately 350 campers and over 100 counselors, administrators, and staff in attendance. A majority of campers come from the greater Los Angeles area, but each summer the camp attracts many campers from San Diego, San Francisco, Las Vegas, and Phoenix, AZ. Counselors are often camp alumni, and each summer additional staff members from Israel are welcomed into the camp community.

Camp Hess Kramer is not only a physically beautiful environment, it is an intense one as well. This intensity is created because camp operates 24 hours a day, 7 days a week and "[f]or campers, there is no going home at the end of the day, no vacations from camp, no weekends off" (Sales & Saxe 2003, 48). Meals are shared, most activities and programs are conducted in cabin groups or large assemblies, and cabins are in close proximity to each other. It is in this "total environment" of camp that campers learn to cooperate, solve problems, communicate, and forge deep and lasting friendships.

The camp's curriculum and programmatic activities are designed to help build personal identity, Jewish commitment, and self-esteem and one of the defining characteristics of this experience is the tremendous role that communal song plays at camp.

Buying a ticket: Meet David Newman, our guide

In transporting Rosenzweig to Camp Hess Kramer, we need someone to guide the way. In this section of the article I introduce David Newman through outlining the methodological approach of the study, which led to the crafting of his character.

This narrative case study focused on participants' experiences of communal singing at one specific Jewish summer camp, *Camp Hess Kramer*, offering "an experiential understanding of the case" (Stake 1995, 40). Particularly concerned with how past camp experiences and events impact the personal trajectory for camp participants, I interviewed 23 Camp Hess Kramer alumni, ranging between 25 and 60 years of age, who had spent at least three summers at Camp Hess Kramer. Alongside interview data, archival research allowed for the piecing together of the lived experience of these now-adult campers.

Through open-ended and semi-structured interview questions (Seidman 2006), participants were encouraged to fully explore their past experiences and share personal stories. Participants were asked to share their most vivid memories of camp, their experiences with music, and reflect upon these experiences in terms of their adult identities. This mode of questioning enabled a conceptual shift from the participant as interviewee to the participant as narrator (Chase 2005). Through the interview process I unveiled memories that had often been dormant or unarticulated for years. As I sat with participants

and began asking them about their experiences at Camp Hess Kramer, they often commented, "I haven't thought of that in years." Acknowledging that "reality is constructed by individuals interacting with their social worlds" (Merriam, 1998, Kindle location 149) these memories, although at times foggy or unstable, may be seen to construct each participants' reality with regards to how camp experiences influenced their lives.

This interview data, alongside archival materials such as songbooks, was approached through a thematic analysis as suggested by Richards (2009). Identified themes were:

- Music at Jewish summer camp enhances identity
- The communal experience of music at Jewish summer camp could be even more inclusive
- The practice of music at Jewish summer camp is intentional and purposeful and forms the basis of a redemptive community.

In this article, my focus is on this last theme and the analysis of this theme is presented through the use of ethnographic fiction (see Hurston 2004; Castaneda 1998; Hecht 2006). Ethnographic fiction combines the "fictional" and "true" in an attempt to create characters that "represent more than a single individual: a typical member of a social group, whether it be a music fan, an elder in a community, a customer for a product, a technology user" (Callen 2013, para. 2). In this analysis, the fictional character of David Newman was crafted, drawing together various threads of camp music experiences into a cohesive narrative. His voice, here serving as narrator of Rosenzweig's fictional journey to Jewish summer camp, is a tapestry woven from the memories of these camp alumni. The establishment of "David's" syntax, cadence, and word use was developed by using the actual transcript of one participant and adapting other participants' transcripts to match this participant's style. In order to make sure the fictionalized "transcript" sounded as if it were the recollection of one individual, I had former campers and research associates read and approve the fictionalized "transcript" as if it were an actual transcript from a research participant.

In this way, David Newman's remembrances represent "events that actually happened but the factual evidence is being shaped and dramatized using fictional techniques" (Sparkes 2002, 5). Through "David Newman's" voice, Rosenzweig's theological and philosophical presentation of Creation, Revelation, and Redemption is apparent in the liturgies and communal song at camp, suggesting that the Jewish summer camp provides a venue in which his theories of redemption are realized.

The Destination: The Camp Environment as Redemptive Community

In the following narrative, David Newman recalls the Jewish Sabbath (Shabbat) at Camp Hess Kramer. His observations provided a contemporary presentation of Rosenzweig's paradigm of creation, revelation, and finally redemption. As stated by Kepnes (2007),

> *For Rosenzweig, each successive unfolding is a miracle in that it was predicted by the preceding stage. The individual is prepared to anticipate the future redemption because she already experienced the miracles of creation and revelation. Revelation predicts the miracle of redemption as the love that is given in it naturally overflows to the world through the person who God loves. Revelation predicts the future redemption.* (Kepnes 2007, Kindle location 1503–1506)

Each narrative section is followed by an analysis in which David's narrative serves as guide for Rosenzweig's philosophies.

Part I: Creation

Saturday morning at camp… most of my camp Saturday mornings were at Camp Hess Kramer, and they began with a lazy day breakfast of the sleeping late, the making your way back to the cabin from the dining hall, the going to get clean and showered for Shabbat service on Saturday morning, and waiting near the bridge, on the creek, not entering the outdoor chapel and being led into the chapel by someone playing guitar. That immediately—the musical experience was there and used to set the tone of our entry into the chapel, to create that kind of sacred entryway as we crossed the bridge into this beautiful worship place.

The tradition was to not just sort of walk into the chapel but to wait on the other side of the bridge and to be led in. So—yeah, yeah, it's very similar to the Friday night experience in terms of the entry into the chapel on Saturday morning. Saturday morning did feel different. Well, for one thing, because there was a Torah service, there was more Hebrew. And also on Saturday morning there was a sermon or d'var Torah. The service also felt less accessible to me—maybe it was the change of mood, but I'm pretty sure it was because of the extra Hebrew added. But I always looked forward to one of the rabbis, or rabbinic students—or maybe even one of the counselors—talking about or teaching about what had just been read.

You're asking what the Torah service was like? Yeah. Well in the early days of camp, when I had just come to camp—there was an ark—you know the place where the Torah is kept, and it was nothing special that I can remember, but later on, Gerry Schusterman and a group of campers that included me, created the stained glass ark structure. It's still there today. It was our art project elective for the summer.

Life at camp provides a heady mix that combines all the senses. A mixture of song, prayer, touch, smell, and a healthy dose of adolescent hormones successfully enables the experiences of camp to be multi-sensory. It appears as if a form of pseudo-synesthesia is created during moments of communal singing at camp that provides campers with the foundation for lifelong communal and individual memory. The Saturday morning service is especially rich in this regard with its ritual and environmental elements. It provides a synesthetic mix that, not only creates long-standing communal memory but successfully illustrates the role of Jewish liturgy, which is "to convert the Jewish past into cultural memory and the Jewish future to messianic expectation" (Kepnes 2006, Kindle location 1509). The Saturday service, as presented in the Jewish summer camp setting, presents a liturgical experience that ultimately approaches a redemption-like experience, as envisioned by Rosenzweig (1921/2005).

This first section of David's narrative presented his personal story of creation. Creation, according to Rosenzweig, is a process in which God is revealed in acts that have existed previously. David expresses both this sense of tradition (all that existed before me) and being a part of process of creation that indicated both an awareness of something existing before him and a sense that he was bestowing something to a future generation.

David initially spoke of the creation of the physical preparation for Shabbat: the meal beforehand, the showering and dressing. David then recalled the procession in which the entire community comes together down the hill to the outdoor chapel. Before entering the chapel, the song leaders hold the campers at the footbridge until all are gathered, all the time singing relatively easy songs and chants. Although the campers may come down the hill from their cabins as individuals, the singing at the footbridge converts this community of individuals into a congregation or community.

David then recalled his involvement in the building of the camp's Aron *HaKodesh*—the Holy Ark. He expressed an appreciation for the privilege to learn from the torah—the Five Books of Moses. But he also shared how he and other campers participated in the creation

of the *Aron HaKodesh*, the structure that holds the Torah itself. Through this act of artistic endeavor, they not only entered into relation with the Holy, they came into relation with each other and formed a religious and artistic community who bore responsibility for guarding tradition. God as Creator and the act of creation do not only exist in a remote moment in time, but in the everyday and these acts are a continually re-occurring process. These communal and personal acts of creation may be seen to resonate strongly with Rosenzweig's philosophy of creation, as he states, "The figure of God, until now hidden in the metaphysical beyond of myth, steps into the visible and begins to light up" (Rosenzweig 1921/2005, 124).

Part 2: Revelation

And as part of the Torah service, the Torah was taken out. It was taken out to music. I can remember, especially in the really early days, like in the early '70s, there was actually a piano set up and Chuck Feldman was still active at Hess Kramer, in those days, as the musical director. And there was a song that they would play, that I think he probably wrote, in English. It goes something like this [Singing]: It is a tree of life to them that hold it fast, and its supporters are happy, happy. Its ways are ways of pleasantness and all its paths are peace. And all its paths are peace, peace, peace, are peace. [Speaking]: And I can remember that, when we sang 'Are peace,' the Torah would be slowly lowered then, you know, onto the table. That was a clear memory of a Chuck Feldman song. It was a song I understood. It was, in this case, it was in English.

And it set this sort of, again, this sacred tone, this tone, this message of, you know, we are part of this tree of learning of wisdom and what was powerful, I think too, is that I—my relationship with that worship space is all about a tree that was—may still be in the center of the chapel—a very large sycamore tree. And the light used to come through on Saturday mornings, through the branches and leaves of that tree, in a really beautiful way. You couldn't help but feel like you were in this place where a higher presence was operating. That that's so much of what made the worship experience, for me, so powerful was this connection to the beauty and the mystery of the natural world and what we were chanting and what we were saying, in the words, and so that this idea, this imagery of the tree of life, in the Torah and in the grand tree in the center of the space, I can remember, really, almost feeling like I was singing to both the Torah and to the tree all at once.

For David, and other campers, the ritual of the Torah service is a metaphor for revelation itself. The experience of reading Torah at camp combines the ancient with the modern. The chanting, the blessings, and even the scroll itself represent antiquity in the campers' minds. Modernity, however, enters the ceremony when adolescent voices read from the scroll and a younger generation shares its interpretation of the weekly reading. This presentation of the act of revelation is all encompassing and combines the past, present, and future.

For David, the ceremony of reading the Torah is not merely symbolic. *The Tree of Life* is both the actual scroll and an actual ancient sycamore tree that is a feature of the outdoor chapel: the world of liturgy and symbol are joined with the natural world. David acknowledged the liturgical experience as transcendent and described how images of the Torah, the metaphor of the Tree of Life, and the actual trees cascaded into each other so that he lost a sense of where his prayer was directed. David's experience of revelation at Camp Hess Kramer is uniquely his and is how Rosenzweig envisioned revelation. Revelation as presented by Rosenzweig is not limited to the moment at Mount Sinai recorded in the Bible. Instead, Revelation is an on-going, personal experience of connecting with God. This Revelation, according to Rosenzweig (1921/2005) is,

no longer a testimony of the Revelation that has occurred in general, but the externalization of a Revelation that occurs "just now" at this moment—it is only that the thing steps out of the past of its essence and enters into its living present. (Rosenzweig 1921/2005, 175)

Part 3: Redemption

I have this really distinct experience of hearing Janet Kurtzman and Helen Ginsberg and a third camper, all who had amazing voices and were known for their voices, that they came up to the bima and they sang this three-part harmony. I can't remember how it starts, although it's a prayer. It's a prayer that—name of which I don't know. [He sings a few bars and I recognize it as V'shamru—words from the Torah set to music by Debbie Friedman].

It was during—at least during a certain summer or group of summers. For me, it was the sort of signature Saturday morning that was transcendent. Those three-part harmonies, and they did it—they sang it in English and they sang it in Hebrew were—was a transcendent musical experience, being in that chapel and witnessing and being part of and singing with their harmony. For me, it means that the music lifted me to a place where I felt the kind of presence of something higher, that, as a kid, you know, that's what music did for me. And the combination of music and that beautiful natural setting, you know, I mean, put me in touch with something that was bigger and higher than me, that was—that I would have called, at the time, 'God.'

And there was something that was evoked by—I mean, that kind of beauty in music is not something I'd experienced a lot, other than maybe Stevie Wonder's Innervisions album. This chapel—when we were all together—was where Jewish spiritual experience happened for me. It was not in the congregation where I grew up.

I mean, we're regular members of synagogue now and we do many rituals and ceremonies at home. And, like I told you before, my work now, I know was influenced by those years—those songs at camp. Yeah—we definitely have a Jewish home. And there's nothing as sweet as watching my kids do Shabbat together on Fridays at home. But I think the day that I left camp and the worship experience at camp, it might have been, you know, the day that I had my last really Jewishly deeply spiritual experience.

David's recollection suggests just how powerful camp music can be. For David, the liturgy created an experience in which the sacred was encountered and he sensed something beyond himself—"bigger and higher"—that he named as God. Rosenzweig's community of chant becomes manifest in moments such as this, and the Holy is encountered. I suggest that it is this instant of musical harmony and spiritual transcendence that is a moment of redemption for David. If Rosenzweig were to listen to David's recollection, he too would understand this as an experience that is a part of the redemption that is not reserved solely for the future, but is part of the present. Although Rosenzweig (1921/2005) was unable to describe precisely what redemption would look like, he was certain it was not just an event reserved for the future. Putnam (2008) explains,

Central to Rosenzweig's whole theology, his whole picture of the life of the ideal Jew is the concept that he or she experiences redemption as something both future and present now; that is to say, he or she anticipates the future redemption so strongly that it virtually is happening now. (p. 51)

In this way, the campers do not just anticipate a future redemption by singing songs and prayers of peace and brotherhood; they actually experience redemption in the present moment. All that David described leads to this redemption in the present, in which the natural physical environment, the ark created by the campers, the songs and the harmonies, and the words of the liturgy converge; the embrace of the community and the

presence of the sacred are apparent. In the *Cultural Writings of Franz Rosenzweig*, Galli (2000) noted that for Rosenzweig, "there is a connection between art, choral music or language, and redemption, or the end of all suffering" (p. 71). The environment of Jewish camp brings all these elements together.

This redemption, of which they are a part as they raise their voices on Saturday morning represents not just the present—but the future, as well. Rosenzweig (1921/2005) clearly indicated that Redemption is

> *always in the future—but in the future it is always. It is just as much present as it is in the future. Once and for all, it is not yet there. It is coming eternally. Eternity is not a very long time, but a tomorrow that just as well could be today. Eternity is a future, which, without ceasing to be future, is nevertheless present.* (p. 241)

Souvenirs: What does Rosenzweig take home with him?

In this article, through the narrative of David Newman, I have illustrated how the musical and liturgical experience of the Sabbath celebration at Jewish summer camp is a recontextualization and a reinterpretation of Rosenzweig's concepts of creation, revelation, and redemption. This raises the question: to what extent do David's experiences and memories align with Rosenzweig's philosophies? What might Rosenzweig take home from his journey to contemporary North American Jewish summer camp?

First, he leaves knowing that his philosophy of the Community of the Chant is not just theoretical. This community is comprised of hundreds of Jewish summer campers and as they sing they hasten the time of Redemption—for they not only are bringing about Redemption, they are presently living in a redemptive time. Perhaps Rosenzweig will take home a copy of the Camp Hess Kramer song book. Rosenzweig conceptualized that the Community of the Chant would sing from the Book of Psalms and this camp songbook is the Book of Psalms re-imagined for a new generation. The campers sing songs not only based on the words of the psalmist and the Bible—they sing contemporary songs that cry out for peace, justice, freedom, and harmony.

Rosenzweig would also leave a bit troubled by David Newman's last comments: David indicated that aside from the transcendent experience at camp, no recent moment in synagogue had provided him with these feelings. I imagine Rosenzweig, who had perhaps the most transcendent moment of his life in a synagogue on Yom Kippur, would find this troubling. Rosenzweig, as a philosopher and an educator, would want to inquire further as to what are the significant differences between the two environments. But this question is not just one for our visiting time-traveler. It is a question that we as educators, clergy, and liturgists must also ask. How can we bring the stirring moments of otherworldliness and Redemption that are experienced during worship at camp into mainstream synagogue worship? This is not a new question—it has been asked since the early days of Jewish camp. But perhaps, Rosenzweig—or at least his philosophy and insight can shed new light on a persistent issue. ■

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Abstract

In this article, the early 20th century Jewish philosopher Franz Rosenzweig embarks upon an imagined journey to a Jewish residential summer camp in southern California. Rosenzweig's visit is narrated by "David Newman"—a fictional camper whose recollections of the camp musical, liturgical, and educational experience were woven together from the transcribed interviews of those who had attended this camp in Malibu, California. Following in the tradition of other examples of ethnographic-fiction, David Newman's narrative presents an incredibly rich and comprehensive account of the Jewish Sabbath (Shabbat) as celebrated and commemorated at Jewish summer camp.

Rosenzweig's philosophy of Creation-Revelation-Redemption which was made famous in his magnum opus "The Star of Redemption" (1921/2005), is recontextualized and reconceptualized in the contemporary environment of summer camp with the Saturday morning worship service as the centerpiece of Rosenzweig's visit. The German philosopher encounters teenage campers engaged in communal chant and song, spontaneous harmonies, the chanting of the Torah scroll, which all leads to a true sense of encountering the sacred.

The activities at camp mirror Rosenzweig's conceptualization of how communal singing and chanting will hasten a redemptive age. Upon departing from this camp setting, the philosopher realizes that music and liturgical song, as presented in the environment of camp, not only hold the key to future Redemption, but that the campers in the present day are living in a redemptive time. ■

Peter Håkansson & Johan Söderman

The Non-Denominational Church as Fertile Soil: Musical Enculturation and Interest to Play Musical Instruments

Musical enculturation takes place in many different environments. Individuals are exposed to different types of musical experiences and according to Hallam (2001), parents play a crucial role in musical enculturation—although there might be other experiences that are equally as important. Exposure to music may take place in in different forms of institutions, for example schools and after-school programmes in music education. Outside of school environments, musical enculturation may also occur in churches. In Sweden, non-denominational churches may provide an environment that is musically fostering. According to Dzedina (2003), this musical socialization includes several parameters: performing in front of an audience at an early age, the availability of musical instruments, and support and encouragement from musical role models within the church. In an article by Gustavsson (2013) prominent Swedish popular musicians, who share background from non-denominational churches, are presented. The conclusion is that music is a tool for salvation. When these two articles are summarized it is possible to assume that congregation members are strongly exposed to musical activities. In fact, it is hard to avoid musical activity as an active member in a non-denominational church. According to Gustavsson, these environments become musical arenas, which create encouragement, cross class boundaries and offer access to musical instruments.

The majority (66% in 2013) of Swedish citizens are members of the Swedish Church, which was separated from the Swedish state in 2000. Before the separation, it boasted almost 90% of the population as members (SST 2015). Correspondingly, a rather small amount (3.8% in 2013) of the Swedish population belongs to traditional non-denominational churches (SST 2015). In a secular nation such as Sweden, a large part of the population regard themselves as atheists; however, they are still members of the Swedish Church, with regards to the Swedish church as part of the national identity and tradition. The majority of Swedish church members seldom or never attend services. On the contrary, this is not the case with non-denominational church members who have consciously chosen their affiliation (see Table 3).

The musical tradition of non-denominational churches can be explained by its position in the Swedish Social Movement that originated in the late nineteenth century. The Social Movement can be divided into three different streams: the religious revivalist movement (non-denominational churches), the labour movement (for example, labour unions and the Social Democratic Party), and the temperance movement (for example, the Good Templar organizations). From the beginning, music was an important part of the Social Movement. For example, music played a part in the Good Templar's manifestos for sobriety as well as in the Labour unions' Labour Day demonstrations and the Salvation Army's meetings.

The religious revivalist movement, as a part of the Social Movement, has meant a lot for the democratization of the Swedish society. Further, non-denominational churches and music have been intertwined from the start. Music is an important part of their different activities and it can be assumed that many people joined non-denominational churches because of the lively singing and music activities (Göransson 2010).

The aim of this study is to understand the interest of practising music (i.e. playing musical instruments) and its relation to religious affiliation. Our research question is formulated as follows: How does non-denominational church affiliation correlate with playing musical instruments?

Musical socialization

Musical socialization is an important factor informing musical interest. Nylander (2014) investigated two elite jazz education programs in Sweden, illustrating how these two programmes control the entire professional Swedish Jazz scene—both with regards to student recruitment, and the recipients of prestigious awards. An aspiring Swedish jazz musician is practically forced to attend one of these two schools if they want to succeed in their career. Furthermore, Nylander mapped how a large amount of students in these two schools live in the same district in the capital Stockholm, depite the two schools being located 700 km away in another part of the country. The majority of the students are male, and have well educated parents with upper-middle class occupations in trades such as medicine or law. One interpretation of these results could therefore be that the students' musical socialization depends on their socio-economic environment with factors such as class, parents' education, gender, and ethnicity.

Musical socialization is linked to processes of informal learning, which has been of interest for music educational research in recent decades (Folkestad 2005; Green 2003; Söderman & Folkestad 2004), however Folkestad (2006) has stated that formal/informal learning should not be regarded as a dichotomy. Moreover, most learning situations contain different aspects of learning, and in various degrees. For instance, there are elements of formal learning in autonomous, non-institutional learning environments (Söderman 2007). According to Folkestad it is possible to see how the formal and informal elements interact in most learning situations.

Brändström et al. (2012) have discussed learning in the context of the Scandinavian concept *folkbildning*, which is a movement to provide voluntary education for ordinary people. Hundreds of thousands of Swedes have learned music through such education. According to Brändström et al., music learning in religious and evangelical organizations could be considered part of the context of musical *folkbildning*.

To summarize, musical socialization and informal learning can be considered as intertwined. Learning takes place in different social environments and communities as well as through different social relations, with parents, peers, siblings, role models and teachers etc. Consequently, it is this type of informal learning that forms musical socialization.

Musical habitus

The French theorist Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of culture may help us to understand music's social functions. He developed the concept of *habitus* which can be succinctly defined as our cultural personality (e.g., Nerland 2003). Rimmer (2010) introduces the concept *musical habitus* (from Bourdieu) as an orientation towards action (practice) that reflects and is oriented by and "through our social positions and through our lives" (Hodkinson, Biesta & James 2008, 38). In this way we can understand a musical habitus as dependent on musical upbringing (Rimmer 2010). If your mother was a piano teacher, for instance, it will be acknowledged by others even if you do not follow your mother's occupational path of playing and teaching the piano. Musical taste may be different with regards to our different social backgrounds or, in some ways, taste in music is the same for those who possess similar backgrounds.

Frith (1998) states that speaking of music is a way to either flirt or fight, that is, in

discussing music we present our own cultural personality. Bourdieu has been rather quiet about music in his work. In an interview (1984/1991), he was asked why he seemed reluctant to talk about music. Bourdieu responded, "talking music is a way to produce yourself intellectually. Talking music, it is the foremost way of showing your cultural knowledge" (ibid. 171). However, musical habitus is not only a matter of musical taste, but it reflects the individual's whole relationship to music. Our musical habitus manifests itself in different ways of performing, playing, practising, and engaging with different music as well as in our listening preferences, even in terms of ways of talking, dressing, walking, and exercizing (Reay 1995, 354). It is a "practical sense" for how (or how not) to act in any particular social reality (Bourdieu 1998, 25).

According to Rimmer (2012) *musical socialization* is crucial to developing musical habitus. *Primary musical socialization* includes factors such as the presence or absence of musical sounds in the home, the regularity of sounds, the way music is used, and the musical sources as well as relational interactions incorporated to music. *Secondary musical socialization* includes the role of actors and factors, for example, how peers, siblings, and other family members validate, normalize, and engage with music.

The concept of musical habitus is thereby useful in relation to our study of musical practice. Music plays an extensive role in non-denominational churches, not only when it comes to the service itself. According to the concept of musical habitus, this can be considered as just such a social environment that forms its members' musical interest and practice.

Design of the study

The study reported in this article employed a quantitative methodology using data from the Swedish SOM-institute's survey (Gothenburg University), Riks-SOM 2010. The survey covered a range of issues from politics and media to lifestyle, health, and leisure habits. For the year 2010 it was implemented as three parallel surveys each comprising a systematic probability sample of 3000 people living in Sweden between the ages of 16–85 years. Swedish as well as foreign citizens residing in Sweden are included in the sample (SOM-institutet 2010). This article focuses particularly on the third parallel survey, Riks-3. It contains the relevant questions needed for this study, for example question 103: "Do you belong to any church, religious association, or religion?" and question 99 regarding cultural activity. Table 1 reports the response rates in for Riks-SOM 2010, Riks-3. As in all questionnaires there are internal missing values. If an internal missing value existed for an observation, this observation was dropped (295 observations) from the analysis, which left us with 1407 observations.

Table 1. Response rate in Riks-SOM 2010.

	Riks-3
Gross sample	3000
Natural missing values[1]	229
Net sample	2771
Number respondents	1702
Respons rate	61.4 %
Internal missing values	295
Observations in the sample	1407

From the different SOM-questions we have defined variables, which are important for our research questions, as shown in Table 2. The dependent variable "practice music" (i.e. play musical instrument) refers to playing musical instruments *at least* occasionally over the last six months (or the more frequent occasions). We have tested the sensitivity of this presumption by varying the frequency by using more often occasions, but results stay stable (but sensitivity decreases). The variable was constructed from question 99 "How often over the last 12 months have you done the following: Play a musical instrument?" The following seven response options were given: Never, occasionally during the last 12 months, occasionally during the last six months, occasionally during the last three months, every month, every week, several times every week.

The aim of the study reported in this article was to understand the interest of practising music (play musical instruments) and its relation to religious affiliation. Defining religious affiliation is therefore of particular importance. Stemming from question 103 "Do you belong to any church, religious association, or religion?", which specifically ask the respondent to answer if they belong to 1) the Swedish Church, 2) other Christian churches or associations, 3) Muslim and 4) other religions, and neither Christian nor Muslim, we defined four different variables. The two first are category variables and directly taken from the question. It looks at Swedish church and other Christian churches separately and differentiates between active (have visited church at least once over the last 12 months) and passive (have *not* visited church over the last 12 months) participation. The third variable (o_church2) measured if the respondent was a member in "other Christian churches" or not, but in this case we merged active and passive. The idea behind this was that even though a person is not active anymore, he or she has still been raised in this environment and adopted the norms (i.e., secondary music socialization, to use Rimmer's terminology). Another reason is more technical, relating to obtaining more data to yield more reliable results from the quantitative analysis.

The last constructed variable was an attempt to single out non-denominational churches. In the SOM-question the variable "other Christian churches" mix non-denominational churches with Orthodox and Catholic churches. This presents a problem due to these churches being very different from each other. We therefore construct a variable whereby we exclude persons with both parents born outside the Nordic countries from the variable "other Christian churches", as we know that, to a large extent, members in the Orthodox and Catholic churches have foreign backgrounds (Hagevi 2002). In addition, there is also a tangible correlation between Swedish cities with a large immigrant population and lower rate of membership in both Swedish Church and non-denominational churches (Yabandeh 2012). By this construction, we, to some extent, single out the group "non-denominational church"; however, we add those categorizing themselves as "not in non-denominational church" to the reference group.

Variables such as gender, age and education were also taken into account. The survey respondents were between 18 and 85. Educational level was divided into three groups. The variable urban/rural is based on question 142 together with municipality code. A respondent who has answered urban/major urban and by municipality code lives in Stockholm/Gothenburg/Malmö has been coded according to the municipality code. Country of origin may be a factor of importance for whether a person plays an instrument or not. We used a variable constructed from question 140: "Where have you, your father and your mother mainly grown up?" The variable was constructed so that *both* parents should have grown up in a country in Europe or in a country outside Europe.

The variables cultural consumption (cult_cons), associational active (assoc_active) and literature active (lit_active) are variables that were selected to estimate cultural and social capital (Bourdieu 1984), testing the hypothesis that cultural and social capital is associated with musical habitus. By specifying this variable exclusively (outside the religious

affiliation variable), we can control for cultural and social capital outside of religious affiliations.

Table 2. Definition of variables.

Variable	Type	Description
practice music	Dependent Binary	How often over the last 12 months have you done the following: Play a musical instrument? 1= sometimes the last 6 months; 0= more occasionally or never
Gender	binary, independent	Man=0, Woman=1
Age	Continuous variable	18—85 years
Edu	Category variable, independent	edu1= primary schooling or less (ref. category) edu2= secondary schooling, tertiary studies without exam edu3= university degree, research education
Religious affiliation: swe_church	Category variable, independent	Do you belong to any church, religious association or religion? Swedish church? 1= No; 2= Yes, but I have *not* visited service during the last 12 months; 3= Yes, and I have visited service during the last 12 months
Religious affiliation: o_church1	Category variable, independent	Do you belong to any church, religious association or religion? Other Christian church? 1= No; 2= Yes, but I have *not* visited service during the last 12 months; 3= Yes, and I have visited service during the last 12 months
Religious affiliation: o_church2	binary, independent	1=Yes, belongs to other Christian church (both passive and active) 0=Do *not* belong
Religious affiliation: o_church3	binary, independent	1=Member in "other Christian church" as in o_church, but respondents with both parents born outside the Nordic countries have been moved to the other group; 0=Not in traditional non-denominational church (i.e., all others)
urban/rural	Category variable, independent	Rural = 1(ref. category); Minor urban = 2; City = 3; Stockholm/Gothenburg/Malmö = 4
origin outside Nordic	binary, independent, control variable	1=Both parents born in country outside Nordic; 0=Otherwise
cult_cons	binary, independent	1=respondent has over the last 12 months at least once visited cinema, theatre, musical, ballet/dance, classical concert/opera and/or rock/pop concert; 0=respondent has not over the last 12 months done any of the above.
assoc_active	binary, independent	1=respondent takes part at least once a week in association meeting or study circle; 0=respondent takes part more seldom or never
lit_active	binary, independent	1=respondent reads, listens to audio book or/and visit the library at least once a week; 0=respondent takes part more seldom or never

Table 3 shows the descriptive statistics for all the variables analysed in the study reported in this article. As most of the variables are so called dummy-variables, the mean in these cases is reported as a value between 0 and 1. In these cases the mean can be interpreted as the rate of respondents with a specific characteristic in the sample, for example the mean 0.1628 in the variable "practice music" tells that 16.28% of the respondents have played an musical instrument *at least* occasionally during the last six months. The mean from gender tells that 54% of respondents are women. The age-variable is a continuous variable and runs from age 16 to 85, the mean is 50. Some variables are category variables; edu, swe_church, o_church1 and urban/rural. For these variables the first variable is used as reference variable, but each of the other categories become dummy-variables. For example, around 53% of the respondents have secondary education and 27% have tertiary education.

Most respondents belong to the Swedish Church (around 72%), even though they do not attend service frequently; 46% have not attended service in the last 12 months. Close to 6% of the respondents say they belong to Christian churches or associations other than the Swedish Church. Of these 6%, 4% have been to a service in the last 12 months. This distribution of the sample represents the distribution of the population fairly well. As we described in the introduction, around 66% of the Swedish population belongs to the Swedish Church. This is actually less than the share of people belonging to the Swedish Church we find in the sample (i.e., members of the Swedish Church are slightly overrepresented in the sample).

When it comes to members in other Christian churches there is, however, no significant difference between the SOM-sample and the population according to the statistics from the Swedish Commission for Government Support to Faith Communities. As described in the introduction, members in the traditional non-denominational churches represent less than 4% of the Swedish population, but in the category "other Christian churches" are also members in the Orthodox and Catholic churches included in the survey, which represent around 2.5% of the population. People with a non-Nordic country of origin are also underrepresented in the SOM-sample.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics.

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
practice music	1407	0.1628	0.3693	0	1
gender	1407	0.5366	0.4988	0	1
Age	1407	49.8593	17.5773	16	85
edu					
2	1407	0.5323	0.4991	0	1
3	1407	0.2694	0.4438	0	1
swe_church					
2	1407	0.4584	0.4984	0	1
3	1407	0.2651	0.4415	0	1
o_church1					
2	1407	0.0178	0.1322	0	1
3	1407	0.0405	0.1972	0	1
o_church2	1407	0.0583	0.2344	0	1
o_church3	1407	0.0327	0.1779	0	1
urban/rural					
2	1407	0.2047	0.4036	0	1
3	1407	0.4869	0.5000	0	1
4	1407	0.1535	0.3606	0	1
origin outside Nordic	1407	0.0981	0.2975	0	1
cult_cons	1407	0.5345	0.4990	0	1
assoc_active	1407	0.1336	0.3404	0	1
lit_active	1407	0.4556	0.4982	0	1

Table 4 shows the variables in a correlation matrix. It is important to notice that category variables cannot be analysed in a correlation matrix. However, the categorical variables edu, swe_church and o_church1 are hierarchical and the positive correlation (for example for edu) can be interpreted as the higher the education - the higher the probability to play a musical instrument. For swe_church and o_church1 the positive correlation tells that the more religious you are the higher probability is that you play a musical instrument.

However, a variable that is not hierarchical, such as urban/rural, cannot be analysed in a correlation matrix.

Furthermore, as the matrix shows, gender, age and non-Nordic origin is negatively correlated with playing a musical instrument. This means that women play less than men, old people play less than young, and people with non-Nordic origin play less than people with Nordic origin.

The variables estimating cultural and social capital (cultural consumption, associational active and literature active) are all positively correlated with playing a musical instrument.

Table 4. Correlation matrix.

	practice music	Gender	age	edu	swe_ church	o_church1	o_church2	o_church3	origin outside Nordic	cult_cons	assoc_active	lit_active
practice music	1.0000											
Gender	-0.0575	1.0000										
Age	-0.1934	-0.0744	1.0000									
Edu	0.0955	0.1076	-0.2719	1.0000								
swe_church	0.0670	0.1057	0.1997	-0.0325	1.0000							
o_church1	0.0353	-0.0091	-0.0838	0.0936	-0.2132	1.0000						
o_church2	0.0382	0.0304	-0.0186	0.0721	-0.1363	0.7574	1.0000					
o_church3	0.0922	0.0346	0.0392	0.0513	-0.0460	0.5599	0.7390	1.0000				
origin outside Nordic	-0.0677	-0.0050	-0.1297	0.0815	-0.2709	0.2393	0.2852	-0.0606	1.0000			
cult_cons	0.1683	0.1442	-0.1249	0.2546	0.0727	-0.0095	-0.0294	0.0033	-0.0659	1.0000		
assoc_active	0.0928	0.0382	0.0016	0.1064	0.0316	0.0192	0.0539	0.0570	0.0180	0.0692	1.0000	
lit_active	0.0992	0.1718	0.0179	0.2359	0.0452	-0.0221	-0.0326	0.0324	-0.0330	0.1413	0.1105	1.0000

This simple bivariate comparison is not enough to draw comprehensive conclusions. In the next section, we estimate in a full model whether or not members of the non-denominational churches are more musically active than others when it comes to playing instruments.

Method

Our hypothesis is that people who are members of a non-denominational church play instruments more frequently compared to others. However, other factors can also have an impact on playing and performing music. Therefore, we will use a logistic regression with odds ratios. This method also takes other factors into consideration when estimating the "religious effect" on playing and performing music (Feinstein & Thomas 2002). The specification of our model is as follows:

Practice music = f (gender, age, edu, rel_aff, urban/rural, origin, cult_cons, assoc_active, lit_active)

The model specification tells us that the variables *gender, age, educational level, religious affiliation, urban/rural, origin and cultural and social capital* are variables that contribute towards an individuals practising of music or not. If we were to follow Rimmer's musical habitus more strictly, it would be desirable to measure other factors like parents' education

and background, musical situation in the home, and so on, but these variables are not present in Riks-SOM 2010.

We expected that our three specified variables that measures religious affiliation (o_church1-3) would be positively correlated with the variable "practice music". Furthermore, we also expected that education level would be positively correlated with the variable "practice music", and we expected men to play an instrument more often than women, in line with recent statistics on participation in Swedish study circles (Folkbildningsrådet 2013). Also we expected that our variables on cultural and social capital would be positively correlated with "practice music". When it comes to urban/rural we had no specific expectations.

The parameter values of the logistic regression with odds ratios are outlined in Table 5. The odds ratio is an indicator of the change in odds resulting from a unit change in the predictor. It is thereby similar to the b-coefficient in the logistic regression, but easier to understand. Table 5 also shows standard error (within brackets) and significance test using z-statistics[2].

Results

We ran three different regressions that vary when it comes to the definition of the variable "religious affiliation". In the first regression, we use the variable o_church1, were we differentiate between people who belong to other Christian church and have visited church during the last 12 months and those who attend other Christian church but have not visited during the last 12 months. Table 5 shows that people belonging to other Christian churches and visit services were more likely to play a musical instrument three times. In the second regression, active and passive members (in other Christian church) were merged. This group were 2.4 times more likely to play a musical instrument (after accounting for socio-economic variables such as gender, age, and educational level) than the reference group. In the third regression, we used the third definition, o_church3, where respondents in "other Christian church" with both parents born outside the Nordic countries have been moved to the reference group. The purpose of this was to identify the Orthodox and Catholic Churches so that the variable only tests non-denominational churches. This definition of "other Christian church" gives the result that the probability for this group to play a musical instrument is 3.4 times higher than for the reference group (after accounting for other variables).

Furthermore, the results also show that other variables, besides religious affiliation, are of significance; for example, the interest to play an instrument decreases with age, i.e. the older the respondent is, the less probability that they play. This result is supported by earlier surveys; for example, the National Association of Music Merchants (NAMM) (1997), reported that 55% of all Americans stopped playing before the age of 18 and 24% stopped before the age of 35.

Respondents with a higher level of education did not have a higher probability of playing music than those who were less educated. However, the variables for cultural and social capital are positively correlated with playing an instrument. Cultural consumers are 2.4 times more likely than others to play an instrument and literary and associational active respondents are 1.7 times more likely.

According to the results, women seem to play less than men. The probability of playing an instrument was approximately 40% lower for women than for men. These findings are supported by statistics from Swedish popular education study circles. In study circles on "improvisatory music" (i.e., pop, rock, and jazz bands), it has been found that up to 89% of the participants are men (Folkbildningsrådet 2013).

The urban/rural variable resulted in fairly weak estimates. It is only category 3 (cities)

that yield some significant results, suggesting that respondents living in cities have a higher probability to play musical instruments, than respondents living in rural areas. When it comes to people with a non-Nordic origin the probability to play a musical instrument is close to 65% lower than for others.

Table 5. Results from logistic regression with odds ratios. Dependent variable: Practice music (playing musical instrument).

gender	0.4885 (0.0784)***	0.4955 (0.0791)***	0.4925 (0.0789)***
Age	0,9637 (0.0048)***	0.9640 (0.0048)***	0.9639 (0.0048)***
edu2	0.7704 (0.1975)	0.7694 (0.1971)	0,7797 (0,1997)
edu3	0,9101 (0.2486)	0.9065 (0.2475)	0,9040 (0,2470)
o_church1_2	1.4906 (0.8258)		
o_church1_3	3.0123 (1.1199)***		
o_church2		2.3969 (0.7658)***	
o_church3			3.3925 (1.2001)***
Urban/rural2	1.2221 (0.3500)	1.2177 (0,3480)	1.2338 (0,3537)
Urban/rural3	1.7694 (0.4340)**	1.7446 (0.4267)**	1.7774 (0.4365)**
Urban/rural4	0.9955 (0.3024)	0.9950 (0.3018)	0.9948 (0.3025)
Origin outside Nordic	0.3263 (0.1115)***	0.3285 (0.1122)***	0.4365 (0.1419)**
Cult_cons	2.4549 (0.4228)***	2.4440 (0.4205)***	2.4495 (0.4222)***
Assoc_active	1.7457 (0.3544)***	1,7668 (0.3577)***	1.7484 (0.3546)***
Lit_active	1.7721 (0.2889)***	1.7703 (0.2885)***	1.7444 (0.2840)***
cons	0.5410 (0.2198)	0.5350 (0.2172)	0.5262 (0.2141)
no of obs	1407	1407	1407
Pseudo R2	0.1219	0.1209	0.1241
Prob>chi2	0,0000	0.0000	0.0000
Correctly classified	83.94%	84.22%	84.29%

Standard error within brackets.
*significant at 10% level, **significant at 5% level, *** significant at 1% level.

Discussion

In general, the results confirm our hypothesis that members of non-denominational churches play instruments more frequently than those who are not members of these religious associations. The weakness of the regression might be attributed to the fact that the explanatory value (Pseudo R2) of the regression is fairly low. Accordingly, it might be assumed there are more variables that explain music practice, than can be captured by with the SOM-data alone. However, it is important to point out that in a binary logistic regression the Pseudo R2 tend to be lower than in regression where the dependent variable is a continuous variable (for example an OLS-regression). Also, the regression function is significant on an overall level, and most explanatory variables are therefore significant. The proportion of observations correctly classified is high.

This begs the question: Do non-denominational churches create an environment that fosters an interest to play music? The results of this study show this to be the case. Also, the results clarify that music practice and association with the non-denominational church is strongly connected. Consequently, non-denominational churches may be understood as an environment that fosters an interest in music, which raises further questions for future research and music education discussions: Does this type of environment create an interest to study music? What implications does this hold for participation in musical genres, or styles of pedagogy, and relations to student recruitment in various music degrees? From these results, it is possible to assume that a considerable share of the students in Swedish higher music education have a background in non-denominational churches, which was already notable in the periphery of studies conducted by Bouij (1998) and Gullberg (2002). It is important for both general education research and music-education research to gain knowledge about the learning that takes place in such educational environments and to investigate how musical enculturation is formed in non-denominational churches whose members pursue music at the higher-education level.

When it comes to musical traditions, choice of genre, and practice, there are big differences between the non-denominational churches and the Swedish church (Thorsén 1980). In non-denominational churches, American music—for example, Negro spirituals, gospel, revival songs, and folk music—is present in the musical selection, while the Western classical music tradition is the musical cornerstone of the Swedish Church. Traditionally, music in the Swedish Church is performed (on the grand organ while the assembly sings along) by a highly skilled professional musician (cantor), who has musical training at a higher education level. The musical tradition of the non-denominational church is characterized, to a wider extent, by musical participation and a do-it-yourself culture. Thorsén (1980) has studied the function of music within one of these non-denominational churches (Filadelfiakyrkan). The study shows not only the role of the music during service, but also its underlying ideological roots, which goes back to the 19th Century revivalist movement in the U.S. Accordingly, a specific Christian music genre, with roots in American folk and revivalist music, has developed within the non-denominational churches. This tradition differs from the music in the Swedish Church, with its strong connection to the European Art Music tradition and classical music (Selander 1973; Selinder 1980).

Tønsberg (2014) describes the conflict between jazz/popular music and Western classical music at a Norwegian higher-education music department during the last decades. Today, jazz and popular music genres dominate the musical range of the department. Many Scandinavian musical departments have transformed from initially focusing mainly on Western classical music to increasingly embracing different kinds of musical genres. In music-teacher programmes, different forms of popular music dominate, which has recently been discussed in music-education literature as a problem warranting

research attention (Georgii-Hemming & Westvall 2010; Lindgren & Ericsson 2010).

According to Tønsberg (2014), popular music has already won the battle against classical music. One explanation for this could be traced back to Gustafsson's (2000) assumption that is concerned with the musical habitus of music teachers from older generations, who were trained in the music conservatory tradition; thus, teachers' personal habitus were not compatible with more recent music curriculums focusing on world and youth music. Consequently, non-denominational church members' musical habitus were more inline with genre expectations of what music in school should be about.

In social movements, such as the revivalist movement, more holistic educational ideals challenged the established educational elitist institutions (e.g., music conservatories) back in the early twentieth century. It is possible to reflect upon how non-denominational churches may have even contributed to more progressive music education thoughts in national and international music-education discussions. What Brändström et al. calls musical *folkbildning* originates from the historical social movements' holistic ideal. In a global context, this is reminiscent of the thoughts of W.E.B. Du Bois, who, like the historical Swedish educators, was influenced by German theories of *bildung*. It is possible to assume that through non-denominational churches, musical *folkbildning* has influenced Scandinavian higher education in music by encouraging a more holistic educational approach.

In conclusion, membership in non-denominational churches is highly correlated with playing a musical instrument. Thus, an important question for future research is if this lead to a dominance of students from these environments in Swedish higher music education? Furthermore, recalling Nylander's (2014) study that illustrated the effects of one-sided recruitment in jazz education programs, one might question if this could also be the case with recruitment in Swedish higher music education. ■

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Notes

[1] For example: unknown address, living/studying abroad, hospitalized etc.

[2] The z-statistic was developed by Abraham Wald and is known as the Wald statistic (Field 2013, 766).

Abstract

This study is grounded upon quantitative method, based on the Swedish SOM Institute survey and the results from the Riks-SOM 2010. In the study focus is directed towards analysis of the correlation between participation in non-denominational church and musical activity in general. The results clearly point out that the probability to play a musical instrument is higher among members in the non-denominational church than among people in general. The results still remain as clear, even after taking variables such as gender, age, and educational level into account. The study implies that music-education as well as the educational research field could benefit from gaining knowledge about learning processes based on the experiences from non-denominational church as an environment that fosters members to develop a strong interest in music. ■

Amira Ehrlich

Dictating "Diversity": A Case of How Language Constructs Policy in Israeli Music Education

This article explores the relationships between power, hegemony, and policy as constructed through the language used in the 2011 Israeli National Curriculum of Music (Israel Ministry of Education 2011). Through the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000; Fairclough 1995; Fairclough & Wodak 1997; Van Dijk 2001), I analyze the word choice and vocabulary patterns in the Foreword section of the Curriculum in order to critically reflect upon the explicit and implicit ways in which this text conceptualizes the notion of "diversity" as a core constituent of contemporary Israeli music education policy and practice. In developing a "policy language consciousness" in music education (Schmidt 2012, 60), the "structures of social control" (Van Dijk 2001, 355) can be seen to construct the values of music education in Israeli policy and practice. Such structures "enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of *power* and *dominance* in society" through language and text (Van Dijk 2001, 356). A close reading of the Israeli National Music Curriculum suggests that the language of "diversity" obscures the complex structures of power that work to reinforce a Western-Classical hegemony (Gramsci 1971) throughout the Curriculum.

Separate But Equal? Structures of Israeli Music Education

Israeli public education is structured through government mandated segregation, with each of the main socio-religious sectors of Israeli society allocated to specific institutions. These sectors include Jewish religious, Jewish ultra-orthodox, Jewish secular, Muslim Arab, Christian Arab, Druze, and Beduin, and each maintain separate school systems, curricula, and assessment, and each are appointed specific Inspectorates (Elazar 1997). While inter-religious institutions and curriculums can be found in various parts of the country, they are by no means the norm.

Although characterized by this segregation, *all* sectors of Israeli music education are mandated through the 2011 new National Curriculum of Music. Written by a team of academic music educators commissioned by the Ministry of Education's Music Subject Committee, this curriculum was the first published since 1978, and serves as the current policy text that guides teaching practice throughout the country. Published by the Ministry, the curriculum takes the form of two 63 page printed booklets—one for elementary grades, and one for secondary and high schools. Each booklet includes: (1) a rationale and introduction, (2) outlines of Curriculum contents and suggested methods, and (3) suggested bibliography and selected appendices. Also published on the National Music Inspectorate's website, the Curriculum is part of a broader communicative platform upon which policy discourse is woven and dispersed through appendices, updates, notices, and messages posted by the National Inspectorate.[1]

Although this single Curriculum for *all* socio-religious sectors of Israeli society is implemented by separate Supervisors and District Directors, the fact that there is only one Curriculum is noteworthy. Most other school subjects have separate curriculums, seen to address the needs of distinct socio-religious sectors. Furthermore, the initial rationale

section of the Curriculum is almost identical in the booklets for both elementary and secondary/high schools, defining a single set of expectations with regards to what music education is, what its objectives are, what it should include, and how it should be administered, taught, and assessed. This raises the questions: In what ways does this single Curriculum address Israel's inherent cultural diversity in, and through, music education? In what ways does this uniformity challenge the socio-religious norms of segregation? On the basis of what ideologies? What kind of practices does this standardization inspire within socio-religiously segregated institutions?

A Critical Discourse Analysis of 'Diversity'

Addressing some of these questions relating to the conceptualization of "diversity", I here attend to the curriculum as what Schmidt (2009) describes as "a top-down process of codifying values". In doing so, I apply methodologies of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) to an effort of Critical Policy Analysis (Taylor 1997; Trowler 1998; Prunty 1985), working to unfold how policy language structures enforce a particular value system. My main focus is how Curriculum language conceptualizes music education at large, and more specifically, the value of diversity *in* music education, thereby dictating the norms of both policy and practice. In my analysis of such constructs of language, I identify and "challenge policy's hidden or willfully ignored conceptualizations, missteps, implementations, and outcomes." (Schmidt 2009, 39).

With the 2011 printed booklets of the Israeli National Music Curriculum seen as key policy texts, I acknowledge that these booklet texts exist within a broader context of policy discourse. Traditions of CDA stress the importance of balancing close textual readings with contextual backgrounds and considerations, "defined as the mentally represented structure of those properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production or comprehension of discourse" (Van Dijk 2001, 356). Van Dijk included in this definition of context aspects of:

> *the situation, setting (time, place), ongoing actions (including discourses and discourse genres), participants in various communicative, social, or institutional roles, as well as their mental representations: goals, knowledge, opinions, attitudes, and ideologies.* (ibid.)

In this sense, it is worth noting that my interpretations of the analysis reported in this article are no doubt influenced by my personal knowledge and experiences of Israeli policy discourse, as accumulated throughout my 18 years of work as an Israeli music educator and music teacher educator. Nevertheless, a focus on the text and language itself opens up a space for critical reflection not always accessible or evident within daily contexts of practice.

One of the possible dangers and limitations of CDA is an over indulgence in textual and linguistic detail (Blommaert 2005, 34). With this in mind, Scollon and Scollon (2004) described the act of "circumfrencing" as "the analytical act of opening up the angle of observation to take into consideration these broader discourses (of past origins and future actions) in which the action operates." (ibid. 11) In this study, I apply the notion of circumfrencing in reference to some broader social and historical contexts of Israel education and Israeli music education that I deem crucial to the interpretation of the text at hand. In aiming for such a balance between text and context in the presentation of this study, I have begun, above, by outlining structures of Israeli educational practice, noting the National Music Curriculum as a unique case of uniformity. Following a brief methodological note regarding issues of translation in CDA, I continue contextualizing and then unfolding a close reading of two textual samples that comprise of the Curriculum "Foreword", in which I focus on the conceptualization of "music education"

through vocabulary and wording patterns. Next, I summarize some ways in which these tight examples are echoed in other portions of the Curriculum text, citing a third close reading sample, followed by summarizes of other instances that will not be fully quoted. Finally, I consider the challenge of cultural diversity in the context of contemporary Israeli music education, and of the importance of a critical awareness of matrix of language, policy, and practice that can inform further research efforts.

Critical Discourse Analysis in Translation: A Methodological Note

Israeli policy documents are written and published in Hebrew, and my initial analysis of these documents was applied to the Hebrew original. For the purposes of this article, I acknowledge that my own translation of the relevant text segments is an additional act of interpretation that warrants some explication. Furthermore, I acknowledge the intellectual paradox of presenting discourse analysis in translation, an act which Fairclough (1995) warned against. Especially since this current study focuses on aspects of vocabulary, word choice, and wording patterns, it may seem futile to try and present such findings in a language other than that in which the main text under study was written and published. However, especially in relation to discussions of cultural diversity, I write here from three deep-seated commitments: The first of these is a firm belief in the importance of cross-cultural interchange of research and ideas. The second is a recognition that the Israeli curricula is by no means unique in its conceptualization of diversity, and that communication of CDA research into such music education policies encourages a broader critical awareness of the embedded power relations and hegemonic values and ideals in many music education policies and practices. Finally, CDA as a method is a potent tool for critical readings of policy research, that are valuable beyond the immediate local context. Indeed, the Curriculum document itself is one that is read, and *interpreted*, in the different social sectors of Israeli society, each of which are characterized by different worldviews, values, beliefs, languages and socio-cultural norms. In this way, my translation of the document may well mirror how it is used and applied in the day-to-day work of many music teachers.

Looking beyond the immediate Israeli context, the selected case of the Israeli curriculum may be of *instrumental interest* (Stake 1995; 2006), particularly as diversity is by no means only a local concern. With the Ministry of Education seen as an organizational entity that serves to structure 'networks of social practices' through language (what Fairclough 2003 refers to as 'orders of discourse'), the text here can be seen as an 'elements of social events' that move 'from abstract structures to concrete events' (Fairclough 2003, 24). While a focus on the Hebrew words, and intitial analysis in Hebrew, thus reveals certain linguistic patterns and structures, what these linguistic patterns and structures reveal about attempts to define, control, and construct social action are of international relevance.

This is not, however, to say that language is a direct precursor to action, and that translation is without its shortcomings. Liamputtong (2010), for example, cautioned that "some words which are commonly used in one culture maynot transmit similar meanings when used in another culture" (ibid. 153). Liamputtong further suggested that efforts towards literal translation may not ensure equivalence of meaning. For this reason, Liamputtong advocated an approach geared toward building on linguistic similarities and focused on the conveyance of meaning, rather than seeking literal equivalents. This "interpretative flexibility" (p. 11) is thus essential to cross-cultural research, however may well endanger the precision of CDA. However, I believe that what might be gained through a critical awareness of diversity as can be revealed through CDA—even when translated—is greater than what is lost.

Aware of such methodological limitations, in order to increase the validity of this particular study, I shared my translations with one professional Hebrew-English translator with no professional knowledge of music or music education; and with two English speaking Israeli music educator colleagues. These acts of sharing and comparing included discussions of alternate interpretations and translations of: (1) the original Hebrew text, (2) my analyses of the Hebrew, and (3) my English rendition of the text and its analysis. Such discussions often sharpened the focus of interpretation, and my chosen translations reflect this.

Finally, as suggested by Fairclough (1995) in cases of CDA in traslation, I offer images of the original Hebrew text alongside my translations. Typologically, I try to remain as close to the original as possible, and all bold-face emphases are directly copied from the original. Page numbers refer to the printed high school Curriculum booklet unless specified as from the elementary edition (el).

Dictating Diversity

In what follows, I present two close-readings of the 2011 Israeli National Curriculum in music. Through Critical Discourse Analysis of these readings, I work to uncover explicit and implicit layers of: (1) *what* is being said, (2) *how* it is being said, (3) implications of this *"how"*, and (4) *what* is not being said and (5) the possible implications of such ellipses or omissions. My main focus will be on the vocabulary and wording choices and patterns, with references to other grammatical and syntactical features that reinforce such patterns of constructing meaning. Throughout this analysis, aspects of context will function as a prism for interpretation.

Conceptualizing (a Need for) Change

With no official revisions or publications of the Israeli National Curriculum in music between 1978 and 2011, one might ask what happened in 2011 to inspire such a change? When compared to the pace of vast educational reforms, and even the small curriculum revisions that characterize the Israeli educational system, the absence of any formal development in the music curriculum is astounding. In my own lifetime, I have lived through at least three overall educational reforms decreed by the Ministry, not to mention dozens of changes in Ministry assigned textbooks in subjects such as English, Hebrew language, and math, some of which included major shifts in the entire pedagogical approach.

For instance, in 2012, The Israel Ministry of Education published a booklet entitled *Educational Reform: Review of the Literature*, celebrating five years of implementation of a new major structural reform focused on teacher professionalism and professional development. In this booklet a section devoted to local education cites seven major educational reforms that took place in Israel between 1949 and 2008. Six of these seven reforms are structural, relating to the legislation, funding, and framework of teacher employment in public schools. The fifth reform, dated 2002, is the overall pedagogical and didactical reframing of the subject of Hebrew language (reading and writing) in elementary education. This incident is recalled by many contemporary Israelis as a national "aha" moment when the Ministry of Education took responsibility for a generation of students having been taught to read and write through a considerably flawed method.

Ayalon and Shavit (2004) described two other major educational reforms in the structure of Israeli secondary education, mentioning the breakdown in systematical vocational tracking of students in the 1980s, and the reduction in the number of state matriculation exams throughout the 1990s. Yunai (2008) characterized sixty years of

Israeli state education as a constant flux of change, noting broad shifts in curriculums, and other legislative changes, some of which were never called out-right "reforms". These examples of scholarly analyses of Israeli educational reform reveal a matrix of political and sociological considerations at work, and focus mostly on implications of perpetual social inequality between ethnic groups and social strata that result in a recurrent need for change.

For music, nevertheless, Curriculum dictates were revised for the first time since 1978 in the 2011 publication. Work on the new Curriculum began several years earlier, when the Music Subject Committee rounded up a group of academics from various music institutions of higher education throughout Israel. Local professionals reading the list of academics accredited in the 2011 publication can testify to an attempt at bringing together academics from very different professional backgrounds and inclinations. In fact, in personal conversations that I have had with several Committee members, they all noted the tedious effort involved in attaining the consent of all those involved as they drafted and revised for over a year. One Committee member told me that this effort was perceived most important in the formulation of the Foreword and Rationale sections of the Curriculum, which many members believed bared their main testimony of change. Indeed, the Curriculum Foreword presents a justification of the need for revision (Figure 1), translated in Figure 2:

חלק א

פתח דבר

תכנית הלימודים שלפנינו יוצאת לאור לאחר שנים רבות שבהן התפתח תחום החינוך המוזיקלי והשתנו תפיסות יסוד רבות:

א. החינוך המוזיקלי התפתח כדיסציפלינה בפני עצמה. כלי המחקר של החינוך המוזיקלי נשענים יותר ויותר על תשתית ידע מתחומי דעת החיצוניים למוזיקה, כגון פסיכולוגיה, חינוך, סוציולוגיה, פילוסופיה ואנתרופולוגיה - תחומים הנתפסים כיום כחיוניים להבנת תהליכי ההוראה-למידה ויישומם האפקטיבי.

ב. התערערה השקפת העולם שהקנתה ערך גבוה למוזיקה האמנותית-קונצרטית וערך נמוך למוזיקה פופולרית ולמוזיקה עממית.

ג. המוזיקה אינה נתפסת עוד כתחום אסתטי נטול הקשר, אלא כנטועה בתרבות, בחברה ובתקופה נתונה; כמשקפת את שלושתן ומשתתפת בעיצובן.

ד. אמצעים טכנולוגיים מתקדמים משפיעים היום על דרכי כתיבת המוזיקה, על ביצועה, ההאזנה לה והפצתה. הטכנולוגיה הפכה לחלק בלתי נפרד מהמוזיקה לסוגיה וסוגותיה.

ה. במאה ה-21, מוזיקה נמצאת בכל מקום ובכל עת.

Figure 1. Curriculum Foreword, section A, Israel Ministry, 2011.

Part One

Foreword

The Curriculum at hand has been published after many years during which the field of music education has developed and many ground assumptions have changed:

a) Music education has developed into a discipline of its own. Music Education research is more and more dependent on infrastructures of knowledge from fields external to music, such as, psychology, sociology, education, philosophy, and anthropology—fields considered crucial today in constructing understandings of teaching-learning process and in efficient administration of such.

b) The world view through which art-concert music was seen as highly valued, over the lesser musics, such as, popular music and folk music, has been shaken.

c) Music is no longer considered a detached aesthetic interest, but as embedded in culture and co-constituting social, historical, and cultural norms.

d) Advanced technological means now affect the ways in which music is written, performed, listened to, and circulated. Technology has become an inseparable part of musics of all types and styles.

e) In the 21st century, music is everywhere at all times.

(4).

Figure 2. Curriculum Foreword, section A, translation.

These five justifications for the need of revision are formulated as changes in ground assumptions that constitute music education as a field:

a) The first point notes both the growing recognition of music education as a field, constructing an intrinsic/extrinsic dichotomy between practice, and study. Research in music education is conceived as "external" to the field itself—as "extra-musical". The development of such research is justified in the dependence upon external frameworks in the cultivation of teaching/learning processes. Music education research is thus conceived as reliant on external tools, and as geared toward teaching/learning practices. Such a conceptualization of this field of research interprets research as instrumental to teaching/learning, and thereby limits both the aims and the essence of what has been described at the start of (a) as "discipline of its own".

b) The change of conceptualizations of "value" is expressed through the notion of a "worldview" that has been "shaken". Other possible translations of the main verb here might have been "subverted", "destabilized", or "undermined". I have chosen "shaken" as it fits in with the colloquial structure of a "shaken worldview". No matter which translation you may prefer as a reader, the main point here is that the shift of value sets is depicted through the language of trauma. Change here is not neutral; it is revolutionary rather than evolutionary. The passive voice implies that the agent of this revolution is not the speaker, and may perhaps even suggest that the author positions themselves in opposition to such change.

c) Especially when contrasted to (b), the change indicated in (c) is represented as fact rather than opinion. By stating what "is no longer considered", there is no mention of worldview, or that music is considered as such by who or whom. The implication this time is an overall generalization. Whereas (b) allowed a conceptualization of "value" to be a function of "worldview", (c) conceptualizes the cultural versus aesthetic approach as a universal consensus, non-dependent on philosophical stance or opinion.

d) The recognition of technology as "inseparable" to contemporary musical experience is the only broad stroke of change mentioned in this section that addresses extrinsic historical change as affecting intrinsic experience of music.

e) This final brief statement is represented again as irrefutable fact. However, within the context of the entire section, this statement can read as a negation of the existence of music "everywhere" and "at all times" *before* the 21st century. This serves as another broad generalization, that contributes to the overall conceptualization of change established through the choice of these four points.

When read as a coherent section of text, (a) through (e) present a conceptualization of change devoid of agency or agents, and modulates between over-generalized "facts" and ownerless opinions. Stating that music is considered socially embedded, no mention is made of social changes that may be central to the conceptualization of change to bridge a gap of 33 years, aside from the mention of technology in point (d). Indeed, the focus of the text is on outlining the ground assumptions of music education, rather than tracking movements of change that have effected the broadest contextual conceptualizations of music as an art, an experience, an act, and a school subject.

Addressing the Needs of Contemporary Israeli Music Education

The second half of the Curriculum Foreword (that fills the second half of page 4), states precisely what needs the Curriculum hopes to address, beginning with the need to find a "balance between the expression of diversity", and the design of a curriculum that serves as "a common core for all":

תכנית הלימודים החדשה מתייחסת לשינויים הללו ושואפת לתת להם מענה באופנים הבאים:

- התכנית מנסה לאזן בין **ביטויי השונות** הקבוצתית והאינדיבידואלית לבין הצורך ליצור **ליבת לימודים משותפת** לכלל התלמידים במערכת החינוך בישראל.
- התכנית מעודדת **ספקטרום רחב ככל האפשר של תרבויות מוזיקליות** ותציע למורים קריטריונים מסייעים לבחירה מושכלת של רפרטואר איכותי, אתגרי ומגוון.
- התכנית מתייחסת **לשילוב הטכנולוגיה** בתחומי הוראת המוזיקה.
- התכנית מציעה **זיקות ותחומי השקה בין המוזיקה לדיסציפלינות אחרות** ואת השלכתם על תהליכי ההוראה-למידה.
- התכנית מדגישה את היות המוזיקה **תחום מעשי, דינמי וחי**, הנחווה באמצעות פעילות אינטנסיבית בתחומי **ההאזנה, הביצוע והיצירה**. זאת מחשש לפסיביות ול"אגביות" שאנו עלולים לשקוע בהן כתוצאה מנוכחותה וזמינותה של המוזיקה בכל מקום ובכל עת.

4

Figure 3. Curriculum Foreword, section B, Israel Ministry, 2011.

The new Curriculum relates to these changes and aims to address them in the following ways:

(1) – The Curriculum aims to balance between **expressions** of group and individual **difference** and the need for **a common core curriculum** for all students in the Israeli educational system.

(2) – The Curriculum encourages **the broadest possible spectrum of musical cultures** and provides teachers with criteria for selection of quality, challenging, and diverse repertoires.

(3) – The Curriculum addresses the **integration of technology** in teaching music.

(4) – The Curriculum offers **connections between music and other disciplines**.

(5) – The Curriculum emphasizes that music is a **practical, dynamic, and living** essence, to be experienced through intensive activities of **listening, performing, and creating**. This is important in the face of passive and "incidental" characteristics of music, as a result of the presence and accessibility of music everywhere and at all times.

(4).

Figure 4. Curriculum Foreword, section B, translation.

In serving as a response to the first section, the five points of this second section suggest a numeric parallel between the change factor/ground assumption/problem presented in section A of the Foreword, and direction/solution for action presented in section B. The function of this second section of the Foreword is indeed indicated in its title as meant to "relate" to the problems aforementioned in section A. Nevertheless, no strict logical parallel is created between the five problems of section A and the five responses of section B. This is most evident in ordering of the sections, for example, in the mismatch of "technology" in (d) of section A, but (3) of section B; and the "detached" nature mentioned in section A's (c), and the "connections" suggested by section B's (4). Further indication that there is no direct parallel is evident in reading section B's point (1): Nowhere in section A was there mention of "group and individual difference" as a need, or as a factor of change, in Israeli society or elsewhere. As such, there is a logical gap between the cultural embeddedness mentioned in (c) of section A, and apparent cultural challenges of contemporary Israeli society that emerge from (1) in section B.

(1) The boldface type, as it appears in the original document, stresses that "**difference**" and "**common**" are on opposite ends of the proverbial see-saw, with the word "balance" mediating between the two. This structure recalls Thompson's (2002) findings that music education discourses constructed a binary between "World music" and Western music, which uncovered a bias towards Western music and a pesistant "othering" of anything non-Western. In the current text, binaries of "diversity" versus "balance" recur repeatedly throughout later sections of the Curriculum, suggesting balance should act as a regulator of diversity, as will be considered further later in my analysis.

(2) The boldface in the second point expands upon the previous "**difference**", qualifying what counts as "**difference**" to include "**the broadest possible spectrum**"—a structure that opens wide ("broad"; "-est"; "spectrum"), even as it collapses in upon itself in evocation of undeniable limits evoked by the addition of

the word "possible". Explicit reference here (avoided in the previous statement) relates this "spectrum" to "**culture**" in its intrinsic form of "**musical cultures**", rather than, say "worldviews".

While not emphasized, and lacking boldface, the flipside of "**difference**" and "**broadest spectrum**" emerge in this statement not through "balance", but through "criteria", qualified by "quality", "challenging", and "diverse". Such diversity and broadest spectrums become a function of "repertoire", implicitly guarded by criteria of quality and complexity, even as difference is balanced by commonality.

(3) Section A previously framed "technology" as "inseparable" to musical experience, and as having "affecting" all aspects of music. Rather than consider ramifications of such change in conceptualization, the response structured here is basic and practical: "integrate" technology in the music classroom. By what means, and to what end, and any breakdown of the meanings of such means and/or ends is lacking. Furthermore, if technology is indeed "inseparable", whence the need to "integrate"? Implied here is a possible disconnect between the inseparable nature of technology and music and school music.

(4) As an independent statement, it is unclear what relevance this point has to aforementioned problems. Looking for parallels between section B and A, this statement may be interpreted as an explicit response to the word "detached" in (c) of section A. Rather than discuss or address possible responses to the shift in aesthetic theories, this point focuses on grounding music education on extrinsic ties with other school subjects. In trying to establish music's connectedness, school subjects, rather than cultural contexts are proposed. This fits in with other themes of distinction of school music rather than music, and the tendency to avoid explicit cultural and contextual implications.

(5) This is the most extensive and complexly constructed statements of the entire Foreword that functions as a summative expression of the Curriculum's conceptualization of music education. The statement includes an expression of (i) what music is, and (ii) how music should be experienced. These definitions, however, are constructed through an explicit differentiation between school music and music, through which experiences of music outside of the music classroom are criticized as "passive", and "incidental". Even the word "accessible" adopts a negative connotation here, as the culmination of this final statement aligns with section A's (d): "music is everywhere at all times". This generalization previously noted as characteristic of the 21st century, is now, however, constructed as a problem. The intersection of the phrase "in the face of" within this structure of distinction connotates "everywhere" and "all times" (alongside "passive", "incidental", "accessible") as a nuisance or even a threat to music education, rather than a benefit. "Passive" and "incidental" become opposites of "intensive activities", even as music is decreed to be "practical, dynamic, and living".

Differentiating the school music experience from the out-of-school music experience in such a critical way works to (re)enforce the hegemony of school music as *more* intellectual, *more* valuable, *more* important. Underlying this hegemony are the binaries of "diversity and "balance", and of "detached" and "incedental", alongside an all but textual neglect of deep cultural change processes that include "diversity" and "technology" as major constituents of musical experience in the 21st century, as challenges in ground assumptions in their own right, and not just responses or pinpointed pedagogical "needs".

Rotten at the Core?

In contextualizing these interpretations of the 2011 Foreword of the National Curriculum in Music, I now refer to analyses of other sections of the document that may offer additional insights. The first of these is an excerpt that is unique to the high school booklet, appearing within the two and a half page overview entitled "The Music Major Programme of High School" (pp. 16–18) that introduces "Part Two" of the high school booklet presenting content outlines. Page 17 opens with the subtitle: "The Programme Structure", and focuses on the importance of a "common core" for all high school music programmes. Before looking closely at how this is structured in the Curriculum text, it is useful to briefly consider implications of other "common core" discourses.

The notion of a "common core" is a recurring theme in debates of cultural diversity and social cohesion, and in contemporary education at large. The common core discourse in the United States, for example, is being presented as a benchmark of democracy as enabling standard benchmarks that can broaden equal opportunity. At the same time, such benchmarks in the United States are being critically debated as a cover for ethnocentricity and inequality (e.g Eppley 2015; Krashen 2014; McPartland & Schneider 1996). In Israeli society there is much public debate about self-segregated sectors, like the Jewish Ultra Orthodox community, who deny mandated core curricula, and in doing so, seemingly deny social and economic concepts of equal opportunity (e.g. Ayalon & Shilav 2004; Carter 2007; Cochran 2011; Semyonov & Tyree 1981).

Contextually speaking, it is hard to consider any "common core" structure without exploring implications for educational democracy and equality. The Music Curriculum's High School Music Programme Structure is divided into two main constituents: 1. a common core for all programmes, and 2. specialized additional contents that can be chosen by each school. The function of the following introductory paragraph is in the justification of the need for a common core, albeit the initial opening declaration of diversity:

מבנה התכנית

תכנית הלימודים במגמת המוזיקה תשקף קשת מגוונת של תרבויות מוזיקליות, סגנונות וסוגות (ז'אנרים). לכל מגמת מוזיקה בכל בית ספר הרשות לעצב גוון משל עצמה בתמהיל שיכלול, בדגשים שונים, מוזיקה אמנותית ("קלאסית"), מוזיקה פופולרית ומוזיקה עממית (ממורשת קהילות ישראל, עמי האזור ותרבויות שונות בעולם). בכל מגמה יהיה רכיב־יסוד מסוים של מוזיקה אמנותית־קונצרטית ("קלאסית"), ולצדו קשת של תרבויות וסוגות מוזיקליות לבחירה. חשיבותו של רכיב־היסוד היא, בין השאר, במערך המקיף והשיטתי של מושגים, שיטות הוראה ומתודות שהתפתחו סביבו. מערך זה יקנה תשתית מיומנויות איתנה לכלל התלמידים, גם אם אחר כך יבחרו להתמקד או להתמחות בסוגי מוזיקה אחרים.

Figure 6. High school Music Programme Structure, p. 17.

Programme Structure

1 The curriculum of the high school music major programme will reflect a diverse range of
2 musical cultures, styles, and forms (genre). Each music major programme in each school
3 has the right to design an inclination of its own in a mix that will include, in differing stresses,
4 art ("classical") music, popular music, and folk music (from the heritage of Jewish
5 communities, local peoples, and cultures from around the world). Each music programme
6 will include some fundamental component of art-concert ("classical") music, alongside an
7 array of selected musical cultures and genres. The importance of this fundamental
8 component is, amongst others, in the vast systematic set of concepts, pedagogies, and
9 methods that have been developed in this field. This system will equip all students with a
10 solid infrastructure, even if later some of them choose to focus on or specialize in other
11 types of music.

Figure 7. High school Music Programme Structure, translation.

Anything but "Western"– but Western First:

In the Israeli high school music Programme Structure (figures 6 & 7), it is Western Classical music—or, what Drummond (2010) has termed "North-west Asian Court Music"—that is explicitly mandated as a common core for all high school students. The word "Western" is perhaps notable for its absence in the curriculum text, with no less than three alternate adjectives used: "art", *"concert"* and (note the parenthesized and inverted commas around) "('classical')". These word choices are notable. This overt avoidance of the word "Western", alongside the insistence on the inverted commas surrounding "classical", resonates with the "shaken worldview" of the Foreword, where changes in the valuation of musical styles is implicitly conceptualized as traumatic—something that cannot even be mentioned straightforwardly. In lieu of a language of trauma, there seems to be considerable effort spent on (re)establishing the value set of the past that has been "shaken", without arousing explicit dispute. Implying that something qualified as "Western" is superior or "core" is less politically correct than hinting at some supposed internal objective value such as "art" or "concert"-worthy. This avoidance of the word "Western", while it does possibly open up a pretense of space for non-Western "art" or "concert" music, nevertheless goes out of its way to avoid the implication of "culture" as a source of diversity, tension or dispute.

The notion of a common core is suggested here to serve as "a firm foundation of skill for all students, even those who may later continue to develop expertise in other musical styles." (lines 10–11). This statement goes to length to propose that some students ("even those") "may" (perhaps) "later" pursue "other" musical styles and expertise, thereby implying that no matter what your musical goal, the essential and valuable Western Classical training *must* come first. Further justification for this mandatory inclusion of "the fundamental component of art-concert ('classical') music" (line 6) is found in "the vast systematic set of concepts, pedagogies, and methods that have been developed in this field." (line 8–9). This explicit advocation of Western Classical music for its "systematic" approach, not only enacts an overt hegemonic structure, but also entails severe colonialist implications in a failure to recognize, let alone embrace, methodologies and pedagogies eminent in Jewish and Arab musical traditions and cultures. Although worth noting, these are perhaps too complex to discuss within the pages of this article, and warrant further exploration.

This enactment of a conceptual hegemony reveals how the Curriculum text becomes a dictate of policy, translated into key attributes of practice. Such a consideration of Curriculum as policy differs in the Israeli context of high school music versus elementary school music, with the enforcement of worldviews and values bearing more concrete ramifications in high schools than in elementary contexts. While school music in Israel is an elective subject in both primary and secondary school systems, the high school music track culminates in an act of formal and official assessment in the form of a Ministry mandated matriculation exam. The participation of high school music majors in this State exam thus makes adherence to Curriculum content and recommendations more crucial than in elementary settings.

Nevertheless, the dissonance of justifying Western music as a common core for high school can be questioned through the juxtaposition the culminating sentences of the Curriculum Rationale—a sentence that appears in the elementary school booklet, but is omitted in the high school version. Indeed, the Rationale chapter of the Curriculum, like the Foreword, is identical in both booklets, excepting one additional paragraph added to the elementary version on the bottom of page 13. This additional paragraph of the elementary Rationale is self-celebratory, in bold face letters stating that "**Indeed, Israeli music education is characterized by its multiplicity and conceptual pluralism.**" (el, 13). Such an overall declaration does not seem to account for the discrepancy, even in the curricular texts, between elementary and high school directives, let alone the variations in how such directives are implemented in various, segregated, socio-economic communities. If so-called "pluralism" is indeed "conceptual", it should reflect a pluralistic mindset beneath all subject matter, including the common core allocated to high school music programmes. Furthermore, elementary level subject matter outlined later in the booklet, similarly to the high school booklet, attempts to list and specify the "multiplicity" at hand, raising questions as to whether such a statement is truly welcoming of diversity, or only predetermined diversities that do not 'shake' the hegemonic worldview.

Name that Tune: Specifying "Diversity"

My analysis of wording patterns in the high school Programme Structure exposes the hegemonic function of the common core, implicated through contrived ethnocentric language that resonates with language constructs of diversity analyzed in the Foreword section. Seeking further evidence to validate this interpretation, I will now present some aspects of both the elementary and high school Curriculum Rationale, and Content sections which exemplify specific ramifications of the general conceptualizations analyzed above. Because the Content sections of the Curriculums are the most extensive section of each booklet (spanning 22 pages in elementary and 17 pages in high school), in the scope of this article I will present only general findings of this section. My focus continues to be on wording patterns, but I will pay additional attention to text proportions and levels of specificity in the delineation of teaching content and repertoires.

After all but ignoring the cultural context in the Forward, The Curriculum Rationale describes Contemporary Israeli society as a musical matrix, entitled "Circles of Identity in Israeli Society". A circle shape diagram depicts all citizens of Israel as embodying general Israeli, community-specific, and universal attributes (p. 11). Music is depicted as a three-pronged nexus including art, folk and popular segments.

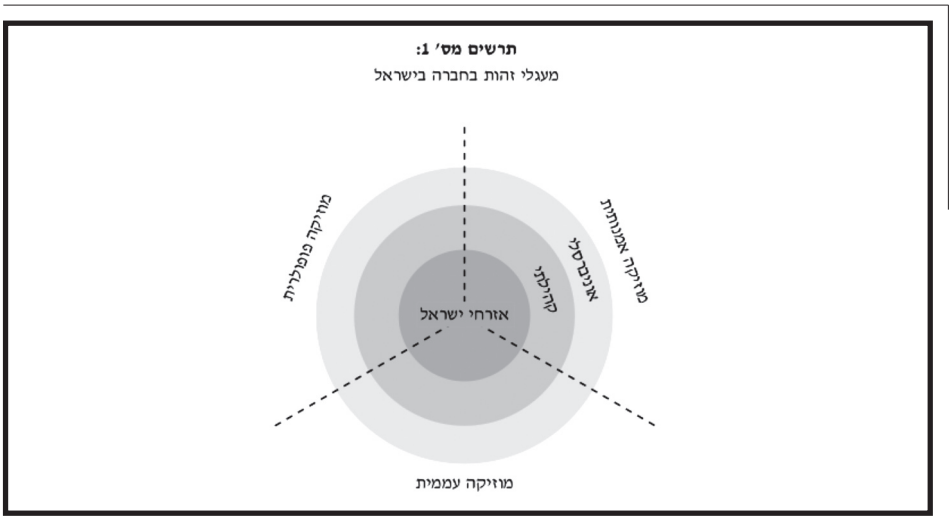

Figure 8. Circles of Identity, p. 11.

The result is 9 socio-musical categories, which I reconfigured in table format:

	Universal	Community	Israeli
Art	**Universal Art Music**	**Community Art Music**	**Israeli Art Music**
Folk	**Universal Folk Music**	**Community Folk Music**	**Israeli Folk Music**
Popular	**Universal Pop Music**	**Community Pop Music**	**Israeli Pop Music**

Figure 9. "Circles of Identity in Israeli Society" Socio-Musical Matrix Reconfigured into a Table.

The explanatory text surrounding the original circular diagram asserts that school music programmes be constructed accordingly to include musics that "represent the musical culture created in past and present Israel, the traditional musical cultures of Jewish and Arab students accordingly, and the inalienable assets of the cultures of the world" (p. 11). This section of the Curriculum culminates with an advocation "to balance between the local (particular) and the universal" (p. 11).

This binary construct is expounded upon further in Section B of the Curriculum booklets, which promises to outline the structure and content of music learning on a year by year basis, prefaced by overview recommendations:

> ***Listening Repertoire Selection:***
> *One should make sure to teach a chosen and challenging repertoire, including and representing a variety of genres and styles from a vast diversity of cultures and periods.* (el, 23).

Once again, "variety" and "diversity" are balanced here with "chosen" and "challenging".

Indeed, throughout both booklets this is a common wording pattern feature, similar to Thompson's (2002) application of Van Dijk's notion of "binary opposition". In fact, throughout both Curriculum texts, every invitation to include music beyond the Western Classical repertoire—be it local folk or pop traditions or universals of jazz and rock—is framed by the words "quality" and/or "criteria" that must guide teachers in their selections.

In terms of specification, further study of the Curriculum texts reveals just what is supposedly being balanced. The elementary Curriculum lists exactly what repertoire should be included according to age:

Grades 1–2: students should know short excerpts of:
• Western art music
• Israeli art music
• Musics of different peoples
Grades 3–4: students learn musical pieces of diverse styles:
• Western art music
• Israeli art music
• Musics of different peoples
• Jazz
• Eastern art music
Grades 5–6: students learn:
• Types of music (art, folk and popular)
• Musical styles (e.g. jazz; Baroque music)
• Genres of Western music (e.g: symphony, chamber music, opera, musicals, big bands) and of Eastern music (e.g.: longa, mawasch, sma'ai, quasida). (el, 23).

In critical consideration of this list I consider proportional dispersion of different categories, and the level of specificity evoked through the linguistic structure used to define each category: What proportion of repertoire is geared towards "art" music? Where does popular music come in? What and who are included and excluded in "musics of different peoples"? Why, in specification of "musical styles" is "jazz" just "jazz", balanced with the more specialized specificity of "Baroque"; Whereas, in terms of "genre" "big bands" are included in the example alongside "symphonies"?

Such discrepancies in the dispersion of "art" versus other categories, worsens in the high school text, where Western styles continue to be narrowed down to much more specific categories than all other musics. To begin with, high school music in Israel is structured as three sub-subjects of:

(**1**) Musical Cultures (history + literature: analysis, history, repertoire)
(**2**) Music Theory (theory, harmony, ear training, and solfege)
(**3**) Ensembles and Electives. (p. 20).

The structure itself can be implicated in ethnocentricity evident in dominance of Western terminologies in two out of three sub-subjects. Proportionally speaking, the entire subject of "Music Theory" detailed in following pages unfolds as the study of Western Classical Tonal music. In "Musical Cultures", subject matter is outlined as including:

a) An overall summary of music from ancient times to early 21st century
b) Art Music ("classical")
c) The 20th Century to Present times: "Here and Now". (p. 24).

Interestingly, more detailed outlines of category (a) and (b) take up three and a half pages of text, whereas the entire outline of category (c) is detailed within one half page.

In terms of specificity, categories (a) and (b) include full separate paragraphs on "the Middle Ages", "Renaissance", "Baroque", "Classical", and "Romantic". Category (c) includes specification of two main aspects to be included:

Aspect 1—**Art music in the 20th century** (including Israeli art music).
Aspect 2—**Popular music in the 20th century** (including Israeli popular music). (p. 28),

followed by a slightly more elaborate list for each "aspect", that cannot, however, hold up to levels of specification that characterize the previous categories.

Notwithstanding the natural status of electives versus core, it is important to remember, that in this Curriculum, electives make up one out of seven hours of yearly study, and are worth one out of five matriculation exam points. Furthermore, each school is entitled to choose one such elective, which can be substituted by in-depth re-consideration of one of the "Art Music" sub-categories listed in "Musical Cultures".

Conceptualizing Change

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) traces the formations of power hegemonies in social structures of context, text and talk (Blommaert 2005; Van Dijk 2001). Recognising, as Blommaert (2005) insisted, that "people speak *from within a position in the world system*." (p. 157), applying CDA to a policy text places broader contexts of Ministry dictates, Inspectorate decrees, and Subject Committee decisions under scrutiny of critical consideration. Such consideration aims to unveil the way in which policy-makers "can and do constrain the way we think about education in general and specific education policies in particular, through the language in which they frame policies." (Trowler 1998, 133).

My analysis of the Curriculum text exposes an ethnocentric worldview that dominates the official Israeli Ministry of Education's outline of music education as enacted through the 2011 publication of a new National Curriculum of Music. Attention to vocabulary choices and wording patterns reveals gaps between the content of the Curriculum text and some of the language used to communicate this content. Thus, even as the Curriculum text pleads for "diversity", it enacts a Western hegemonic power structure. A Curriculum designed as revision thus functions, in the context of traditions of Israeli music education, as an act of preservation rather than of change. As such, this text, that functions in contemporary Israeli music education as the main policy dictate, produces a hierarchy of knowledge, and conceptualizes "diversity" as something that must be balanced and criteria-based, and, in any case, is only secondary to Western musical thought and traditions.

Such a conceptual construct emerging from a major Ministry text can result in an overall dependency on Western proficiencies in local conceptualizations of what music teaching is about. This kind of imagined (or real) exclusive dependence as a function of personal, social, and institutional conceptualizations of professionalism in music and music education exemplifies one possible severe ramifications of hegemonic power-through-language that dominates this field of discourse. In a small country, tightly packed with diverse and mostly segregated socio-religious sectors, a vibrant future of music education may lie in the empowerment of diverse musicians representing knowledges of various local musical communities in which they work. Fixing Western proficiencies as a gatekeeper to entrance into the field of school music may limit this potential enrichment of the field.

Foucault (1972/2010) located power within discourse, and viewed history as a contingent fluctuation of power relationships. Blommaert (2005) interpreted Foucault's genealogical notion of change as occurring at moments when creativity necessarily effects change in the challenging of constraints and hegemonies. I propose that change in music education policy and practice, in Israel and elsewhere, requires an initial critical recognition of worldview and mindset constraints that serve to perpetuate cultural hegemonies, and begin in our use of language. Once we recognize and face up to these

constraints, creative effort can be conceptualized not through advocating more electives in "other" musics, and not in advocating more inclusive repertoires in core courses. Imagining alternative possibilities, I find myself resonating with Gay's (2010) questions: "How would teaching attitudes and behaviors differ if they emphasized talent, potential, and strengths of culturally diverse students, families, and communities instead of their problems and pathologies." (p. 144). For this to happen, however, music educators and researchers need to engage with critical tools of inquiry, and become aware of the dangers of language that dictate their practice. ■

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Notes

[1] http://cms.education.gov.il/educationcms/units/mazkirut_pedagogit/music

Abstract

This article explores the relationships between power, hegemony, and policy as constructed through the language used in the 2011 Israeli National Curriculum of Music (Israel Ministry of Education 2011). By applying frameworks of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to the textual analysis of the Curriculum, I analyze wording patterns that reveal how language functions in the conceptualization of the notion of diversity in music education. Israeli educational system is structured through a conception of diversity in that separate schools, inspectorates, and curriculums are government mandated for each separate socio-religious sector. Nevertheless, unlike most other school subjects, the National Music Curriculum is a single policy text that mandates music education in all socio-religious sectors in Israel. Between 1978 and 2011 there has been no official Curriculum revision in Israeli Music Education. The Foreword section of the Curriculum addresses the need for change, and therefore acts as the central focus of my analysis. Findings indicate a use of language of trauma in the depiction of change in value system of 'high' and 'low' musical styles, and a recurring insistence on the distinction between 'school music' and other changes that characterize 21th century musical experience. Following a close reading of the Foreword, further selected analyses of other Curriculum sections are presented to support and validate my interpretations. These findings include explicit ethnocentric precedence of Western musical proficiencies that construct a hegemonic power structure enacted upon a pretense promotion of diversity. A Curriculum designed as revision is thus shown to function as an act of preservation rather than of change. Conclusions implicate this Curriculum text, that functions in contemporary Israeli music education as the main policy dictate, as enforcing a hierarchy of knowledge: Diversity is conceptualized as something that must be balanced and criteria-based, and, in any case, is only secondary to Western musical thought and traditions.in Implications of such dictates include the enforcement of a dependency on Western competencies in Israeli conceptualizations of music and music education professionalism. One possible danger of such a construct is the potential exclusion of non-Western local masters of music in the development of the local field pf practice which works to minimize, rather than celebrate, diversities of local communities within school music contexts. This article suggests and exemplifies the primary importance of music educators and researchers engaging in critical inquiry of the language used to dictate their practice. ■

Katsaukset | Reports

Hussein Janmohamed

Sound, Music and Islam

Shifting the Music Education gaze

Bismillah-ir Rahman-ir Rahim
(In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful)

In Canada and elsewhere, cultures, ideologies, religions and diverse ways of understanding the world are converging through "high-velocity interaction" (Patel 2006, 22). In this technology fuelled, fast-paced world, misperceptions and misrepresentations of Islam regularly appear on global media, while politicians and and divisive Muslim voices across the world add layers of tension. In this context, global communities are also welcoming newcomers and asylum seekers from various parts of the 'Muslim world'. There is an urgent call for societies to respond with sensitivity, empathy and hospitality; and, to enable peaceful voices of Islam to speak. Canadian initiatives such as the Global Centre for Pluralism, Aga Khan Museum, Dalai Lama Centre for Peace and Education, and the Institute for Canadian Citizenship are responding by addressing the larger issues of pluralism, dialogue, citizenship, peace-building, and common humanity. In the province of Ontario and globally, educators (in both schools and community settings) are exploring plural approaches and perspectives to education that counter ignorance about Muslims and Islam, and that foster dialogue and understanding (McAndrew, Ipgrave & Triki-Yamani 2010; Niyozov 2010; Niyozov & Pluim 2009; Rissanan, Tirri & Kuusisto 2015; Zine 2004). Music educators are also enquiring how to respectfully engage diverse communities; acquire necessary knowledge on plural belief systems, cultural contexts, customs, and value systems; and, incorporate responsive methodologies that accommodate the diverse needs of Muslim students (Halstead 1994; Harris 2006; Izsak 2013). While some of this research focuses on the permissibility of music in Islam and how to accommodate needs of affected students, I will focus on where 'music' and 'musical' learning does occur in Muslim communities.

A Monolithic Gaze

A historic debate *does* exist within Islamic schools of thought as to the permissibility of music, how the boundaries of permissibility are determined, where they are blurred and what tensions arise. However, this does not affect *all* Muslims. With over 1.6 billion Muslim peoples worldwide, approximately a quarter of the world's population, Muslim identities weave nuanced interpretations of faith across linguistic, cultural, and ethnic differences. Therefore, when speaking of matters related to music, knowing which interpretation of Islam and from which cultural and political context that interpretation manifests, becomes important. It is essential for music educators to shift our gaze away from the monolithic, limited definitions of Islam, Muslims, music and who engages with it, to broader perspectives of how sonic worlds intertwine with lived Muslim experiences. I contend that by expanding our gaze in this way, we might discover possibilities for teaching and learning that we may not have previously considered. In discussing this further, I first describe the plural contexts in which 'music' in Islam emerged; Second, I introduce the Ismaili community—of which I am a part—and the cultural center where I conducted fieldwork as part of my doctoral studies in music education at the University of Toronto; Third, I highlight a specific Indic devotional literature—*ginans*—and the role it

plays in the Ismaili community. This is followed by a description of fieldwork experiences where I taught devotional recitations to two Ismaili religious education classes; and, finally, I conclude with some reflections on the directions music education might take to break down barriers and promote understanding.

Music in Islam

When considering Muslim contexts, ethnomusicologist Martin Stokes (2015) reminds us that to insist on "understanding sound and listening in terms of 'music' is to impose a European category onto people who often resist it: 'recitation' (*tilawa*), 'spiritual audition' (*sama*), 'remembrance' (*dhikr*)—terms often applied to one or another forms of sonic art, are not, for many Muslims, necessarily music." This distinction becomes even more important as we expand our gaze to broader perspectives. Sonic expression in Muslim societies flourished in a wide variety of forms within many Islamic societies "despite abiding ambivalence and orthodox condemnation" (Jairazbhoy 2004, 251). Muslim societies saw diversity as strength and acknowledged a common humanity and shared human experience when interacting with others (Karim 2011). Thus, encounters and exchanges amongst peoples of Christian and Jewish traditions in pre-Islamic Byzantine cultures also became a part of Muslim civilizations (Shiloah 1995). As Islam travelled across the Middle East, the Balkans, and via the Silk Road into China, Central Asia, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, various parts of Africa, Spain, and the Western world, Muslim peoples adopted and used local vernaculars to shape faith, worship and life (Asani 2001; Racey 2003; Schimmel 1975; Shiloah 1995). Curiosity, openness, empathy, dialogue and a quest for knowledge created an atmosphere in which sounds, rhythms, texts, poetry, languages and approaches to sound intermingled. For example, North Indian classical music developed as a merging of Persian and Indian music styles in the Moghul Empire; and, Andalusian music merged Spanish and Arab traditions. As Islam reached across the Balkans to Central Asia, parts of Africa and Spain, India Pakistan and Indonesia, Muslim peoples adopted local sonic traditions also integral to conversion, affirmation and transmission of the faith (Asani 2001; Racey 2003; Schimmel 1975; Shiloah 1995). These specific cultural influences influenced the style, mode of delivery and aesthetic language of devotional literatures: *Qur'an* recitation; the *Azan* (call to prayer of the muezzin); mystical poetry; songs of praise; remembrance (*dhikr*); expressions of adoration and supplication (*Qasida*, *Maddoh*, *Ginan*, *Git*, *Illahi*, *Nasheed*, *Naat* and *Hamd*) in a variety of devotional and social Muslim settings appear in diverse languages including Persian, Indian, Balkan, Central Asian dialects, Arabic and others. By recognizing the rich and significant sonic heritage of the 'Muslim world', I believe that music educators can attend to new possibilities for teaching and learning in and with Muslim communities.

The Ismailis

An example of how sonic life plays a role in *one* specific Muslim context in Canada is the devotional expressions of the Ismaili Muslims. Ismailis belong to the Shia branch of Islam, one of two major branches of Islam—Sunni being the other. Ismailis live in 25 countries, mainly in Central and South Asia, Africa and the Middle East, as well as in Europe, North America and Australia. The diversity within the Ismaili tradition reflects a microcosm of the larger *ummah* (Muslim community). Muslims are unified by an affirmation of the oneness of God (*Allah*) and recognition of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him and his family) as the messenger of *Allah*, across boundaries of language, culture, ethnicity, and heritage. As part of the Shia branch of Islam, Ismailis also affirm that the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, Hazrat Ali became the first Imam whose spiritual leadership

(*Imamat*) "continues thereafter by hereditary succession through Ali and his wife Fatima, the Prophet's daughter" (The Ismaili Community 2016). Ismailis pledge allegiance to a living spiritual leader His Highness the Aga Khan, believed to be the 49th direct descendent of the Prophet Muhammad. Piety constitutes prayer and worship, as well as a call to care for creation in generous acts of empathy, kindness and compassion to increase quality of life of others. Devotional literature, sung mystical poetry and diverse poems of praise—*maddoh* from Tajikistan, *qasidas*, from Central Asia and the Middle East, and *ginan* from the Indian subcontinent—have historically been a vital sonic element that shapes the "ethical soundscape" (Hirschkind 2006) of the community. The aesthetic quality of devotional expressions combined with understanding of their meaning cultivate a sensitive heart allowing individuals to "hear and embody in practice the ethical sensibilities undergirding moral action" (Hirschkind 2006, 9). Community members value the messages contained in the texts of these culturally diverse literatures along with the affect of aesthetically pleasing recitations on their imaginations and hearts. While Persian and Arabic *qasida* play a vital role in Ismaili piety, in this report I focus particularly on the *ginan* literature (and its history) to highlight one of many genres within the diverse Ismaili Muslim experience, and indeed one of the numerous and diverse ways in which sonic engagement take place in the broader Muslim experience.

Ginans

Ginan literature contains over 800 hymn-like poems that belong to the corpus of culturally diverse devotional literatures of the Ismaili Muslim community. *Ginans* emerged in the medieval Indian subcontinent as an outcome of the process of conversion to Ismailism. For many, "the *ginans* are the focus of intense veneration and embodiment of the faith" (Asani 1992, 103), a sonic medium to learn key concepts and gain esoteric understanding of the *Qur'an*. *Ginans* are not merely devotional literature, but for many Ismailis, a way of life (Gillani 2012). The ginans appear in many languages and dialects of the Indian subcontinent from Gujarat, Sind and Punjab. The word *ginan* derives from the Sanskrit *jnāna* and can be translated as 'knowledge,' 'wisdom' or 'gnosis' (Asani 2001; Allana 1984; Caitlin-Jairazbhoy 2004; Ismail 2014; Virani 2005). Contested authorship of the *ginans* is attributed to Ismaili *dā'īs* and *pirs*—"preacher-saints" (Asani 1992, 101), "revered teachers and guides" (Kassam 1992, 2) who arrived from Iran to the Indian subcontinent between the eleventh and thirteenth century. Poetry became the primary mode through which pirs provided guidance on doctrinal, ethical and mystical themes. The *ginans* also utilize vernacular poetic forms and musical modes indigenous to the Indic region. "The poetic and musical nature of the ginans, their emotional content (*bhava*), and their religious performance formed a continuum in the medieval Indic universe of devotional songs such as *bhajan*, *shabad*, *na'at*, *kirtan*" (Kassam 2013).

The Aural/Oral Dimension of Ginans

The greatest impact of the *ginans* is "on the ear"—the oral/aural dimension (Allana 1984; Asani 1992; Gillani 2012; Kassam 2013). Like recitations of the *Qur'an* and mystical poetry, the aesthetic quality of the *ginan* and its vocal presentation can leave a deep emotional and sensual affect on the listener. In a telling account, venerated poet and Ismaili elder, Ghulam Ali Allana (1984) of Pakistan describes the affect of ginan:

> *I see…my mother, Sharifabai, start singing a* ginan. *Her voice was unmatched. Every body, listened to her bewitching voice, singing a* ginan. *No other person, as is normally customary, dare join his or her voice with hers to sing in chorus, whether she sang a stanza of a* ginan *or*

the refrain of the ginan*. The fragrance of that spiritual atmosphere still linters in my mind. One seemed to live and be so near to the presence of the Omnipotent and Omniscient One.* (p. 2)

This sentiment was echoed in recent conversations I had as part of my ongoing doctoral research on choral music and Muslim expression, with three South Asian Ismaili Youth—two of whom were Canadian born and the third a recent immigrant to Canada from Pakistan. One Canadian born youth reported that, "when the *ginan* is sung well, you really feel it." When I asked her to explain further, she noted that, "The *ginans* are part of our culture. They are part of my culture. When I hear them I just feel it. I can't explain the feeling. I just feel it" (S.T., personal communication, September 23, 2016). The youth from Pakistan explained that hearing a smooth and flowing recitation at the prayer hall one evening helped him go deeper into a meditative state. He spoke in intimate detail about the sound and its affect without knowing the meanings fully. The second Canadian born youth spoke about the 'beauty' of *ginan* meanings.

Rahima[1]*:* Ginans *are so important, and their meanings so beautiful.*
Me: You know the meanings of ginans*?*
Rahima: My mom tells the meanings to me. The ones I know are so beautiful.
Me: And does it matter then how they are sung?
Rahima: Yes, when the singer recites them well there is an impact
(R.G., personal communication, September 23, 2016).

Undoubtedly, *ginans* play an important part in shaping the everyday lives of many Ismailis, be it in worship practices marking festive occasions, funerals, offers of supplication, praise and adoration. *Ginans* can be quoted as proverbs or sung to invoke blessings in family gatherings and often provide a sonic background around the house or in the car during a commute.

The Teaching and Learning of Ginans

Ginans (not considered 'music') have primarily been taught through oral transmission and rote memorization. Allana (1984) describes his experience of how *ginan* learning was acquired by aural proximity to their sounds and commitment to memory (his mother singing, at *jamatkhana*, in religious schools). The traditional view is that the *ginans* are recited "by heart truly to have effect…only when *ginans* are directly issued from the heart…memorized and internalized would ginans manifest the power of the *śabada* (sacred word)" (Kassam 1994, 3). Religious historian, Tazim Kassam (1994) emphasizes the importance of the role of the listener, receptivity and capacity to hear the *ginans* for maximal affect. Stories by elders often relate examples of learning as a child, hearing *ginans* around the house or in the car, or absorbing them by listening to them in congregational settings. Resonating with my own experiences, Ismaili community members whom I met during my fieldwork spoke of orally learning the *ginans* from their parents or religious education teachers. Community members also passionately spoke about the meaning of the *ginans* and shared recordings of their favorite reciters. Often, it was the quality of delivery and recitation *combined* with the meaning that had the greatest impact. What I also discovered in my fieldwork project was that the *way* in which devotional literature was taught also had an aesthetic impact.

I conducted my six-week fieldwork project at an Ismaili religious education centre located in Toronto, Canada. The centre holds weekly classes for kindergarten to grade 6 students run by dedicated volunteers from the Ismaili community. Classes take place in

the morning with time for refreshment, and, a short assembly of the entire student body (approximately 100 children) before classes begin. The volunteer teachers of all ages, supported by professional teaching staff, teach a worldwide civilization-based curriculum developed centrally by the Institute of Ismaili Studies in England. The curriculum also includes regionally developed teacher activities and resource guides. While the curriculum does address Ismaili poetry and devotional literature there are no specific guidelines for orally transmitting them. This becomes important when teachers are called upon to prepare students to lead *ginan* or *qasida* at the assemblies. What struck me during my fieldwork at this centre was that although there was a commitment and enthusiasm for teaching devotional expressions, many younger teachers felt inadequate with regards to knowing *how* to teach them. Limited resources, language barriers, not having learned them as children, and negative perceptions of their own singing voices contributed to their perceived teaching challenges. From a music education standpoint, I began to see the potential for professional development and multi-vocal approaches to teaching and learning in this kind of community setting.

An Aesthetic Shift

The centre's teaching staff invited me to teach devotional expressions to grade five and grade six classes (10–11 year olds) to prepare them for leading recitations at a weekly assembly and an end of the term 'Celebration of Learning' for peers, teachers and parents. I emphasize that that these devotional expressions are *not* referred to as 'music' in the way it is understood from a Western point of view. The grade-five classroom of fifteen children was learning a *qasida* (in Arabic) from Syria. The children used printed 'lyric' sheets with transliterated texts as a visual guide. The students had already learned the devotion, so I taught voice techniques and approaches to phrasing, tone, and communication. I taught the *qasida* as I would a choral song. I applied kinesthetic learning methods (Orff, Laban, Kodaly) to shape phrases, explore dynamics and articulations. The students participated eagerly and seemed excited to learn. Throughout the process, students and teachers talked about how learning in this way gave the *qasida* a new kind of life and more expression. I noted an aesthetic shift in the learning space. With a palpable sense of uplift and vibrancy, students' body language, faces, and sound changed. They were smiling, cooperative, and more engaged with each other.

The grade-six class I taught was learning a *ginan* (in Gujarati) for a presentation at the year-end 'Celebration of Learning.' The students had spent very little time learning it before I arrived. The poetry was difficult to pronounce and the transliteration did not enable the children to master the text easily. I therefore taught two phrases at a time, singing the vocables '*da da da*' at first, and later adding the text. I used call and response—an oral methodology familiar to the students, and I highlighted repeating sonic patterns to help students memorize and learn the tune. Additionally, at the 'dress rehearsal' for the celebration of learning I drew on choral experiences to demonstrate effective ways to hold up the 'words' ('lyric' sheets), to project to the 'back of the room' and to sustain a unified group sound. The children began to stand taller, and with smiles of approval, teachers continued to encourage the students to work towards their artistic goal. Again a spirit of uplift filled the room—an aesthetic shift. It was becoming very evident that 'musical' pedagogies could impact the teachers and students, their relationship with each other and the historic devotional literatures themselves.

Shifting the Gaze

In both classes teachers expressed satisfaction and increased interest to teach their students

how to present devotional literature with vocal beauty and cohesion. They asked me to return to their classrooms; they sought professional development to learn the techniques themselves; they spoke of opportunities for older students who recited well to mentor the younger student body. I was touched to see this joy for learning and teaching that emerged from my pedagogical approaches, because, as I mentioned earlier, these devotional expressions play such an important role in shaping Ismaili identity, fostering connections to cultural histories, building community and contributing to worship. This fieldwork illuminated the possibility, not only for me as a music educator but also for the community itself, that while not considered 'music', there is a potential for sonic teaching and learning of devotional literature in this space. I must clarify here, that this specific, Canadian, local Toronto-based fieldwork is not generalizable to all Ismailis, their activities or global contexts; nor is the fieldwork generalizable to broader Muslim societies, interpretations of faith, cultural heritages, and expressions of life and piety. This illustration, however, does raise new questions about what we may learn by expanding our understandings of Islam, Muslims and 'music.'

As music educators continue to expand their perceptions of Muslim societies beyond the limiting views spurred by layered and shifting political, social, historical, cultural, economic and religious contexts, we might be able to offer humble gestures of respect for the ways in which diverse peoples participate (or not) in *their* sound worlds. Moreover, in the same spirit of cultural encounters in which music and sound in the Muslim world thrived, music educators may find ways to work with Muslim communities even outside the school setting to ensure that multiple voices are present at one another's musical and sonic tables so dialogic exchange can happen. Shifting the gaze to the possibility that sound worlds *do* exist in diverse Muslim contexts—of which we may not be part—allows us to rethink how to shape musical and sonic conversations so that break down barriers of understanding and ignorance. It is through working with communities sensitively and expanding our thinking of diverse sound worlds and sound makers that I believe we can collectively shape the sonic lives we live. ■

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Taru-Anneli Koivisto

Walking on the High Heels of the Finnish Education System:

Possibilities and Challenges for Music Intervention Programmes Implemented by a Christian Values-Based Third Sector Organization

This report presents the experiences and development efforts pertaining to music programmes and music-oriented activities implemented by the Finnish White Ribbon Union (FWRU) in recent years. The report also considers the past and present of work based on Christian values and its synthesis with contemporary forms of third sector services. The many opportunities and challenges encountered when combining arts, education and public health are reflected upon so as to contribute to the ongoing discussion on how the education system could benefit from this kind of health promotion and learning strategies. The report is based on the author's interdisciplinary work as a music therapist and music educator in collaboration with the FWRU and its local associations, also drawing upon key studies, reports and publications in the field.

Navigating the spectrum of operative environments in FWRU music programmes

As in many other countries, public education in Finland has its roots in the educational work of the Church. An independent national school system was established in 1866, and a supervisory board was formed three years later for the purpose of inspecting, monitoring and governing the system. Since gaining national independence in 1917, there have been increasing efforts to make education available everywhere and to everyone in the country, free of charge (Finnish National Board of Education 2016). In addition to compulsory, vocational, and higher education, Finland has a long history of participation in and promotion of *adult education* and *citizenship education*. Equity, social cohesion and a competent labour force are among the main objectives of adult education, which encompasses liberal adult education, degree and certificate programmes, human resource development, and other forms of training. The goals of this kind of education include supporting lifelong learning and strengthening multiculturalism (Finnish National Board of Education 2016). Of particular relevance to the issue of citizenship education is, of course, the term *citizenship*, which has been defined by sociologist Marshall (1964) as encompassing civil, political, and social citizenship. Seen from this perspective, the discourse on citizenship can be considered to have developed from the 18th-century emphasis on individual civil rights, such as freedom of speech, to the 19th-century emphasis on political aspects, such as the right to participate in the political process, and finally to the 20th-century emphasis on social aspects, such as universal access to the healthcare, education, and welfare required to lead a fulfilling life as a member of one's community. Banks (2008), a specialist in multicultural education, proposes that the corresponding discourse of the 21st century should, additionally, include *cultural citizenship* and *cultural democracy* in an effort to increase equality and social justice.

Public health has been defined as "the art and science of preventing disease, prolonging life and promoting health through the organized efforts of society" (Acheson 1988). Promoting "public health" is therefore not only about eradicating particular diseases, but more generally about creating conditions that facilitate the efforts of people to improve their health and wellbeing holistically and sustainably. Public health services may be

focused on various activities at the population or individual level, such as health campaigns, behavioural counselling or health advice, in order to strengthen integrated public health services and reduce inequality (WHO 2016). *Health promotion* is defined in the WHO Bangkok Charter for Health Promotion in a Globalized World (2006) as "the process of enabling people to increase control over their health and its determinants, and thereby improve their health" (p. 10). Like public health, health promotion is considered to be multi-layered and, importantly, something that is carried out *with* the public rather than *for* it. Health promotion improves the ability of both individuals and groups to take action and influence the determinants of their health. To achieve these requirements, however, there is a need for innovative responses, partnerships, networks and collaboration (WHO 2009).

On average, only three percent of the health sector budgets of European countries is spent on public health and prevention. In some countries, many public health programmes and interventions have been reorganised or continued on a smaller scale. Public health services face such risks in many areas even though interventions targeting the environmental and social determinants of health have proven highly effective; efforts that build resilience and mental health, prevent violence or promote healthy behaviour can, indeed, be cost-effective and lead to both short-term and long-term gains. The summary of interventions found to be cost-effective includes many interventions relevant to the operative environment at hand: family support projects, social emotional learning, bullying prevention, mental health in the workplace, prevention of postnatal depression, psychosocial groups for senior citizens, parenting programmes, depression prevention, preschool programmes and detection of and care for victims of intimate partner violence (Nurse et al. 2014). Figure 1 illustrates the most cost-effective and health-improving public health interventions according the WHO Regional Office for Europe.

Figure 1. Cost-effective public health interventions (WHO 2013).

The Finnish White Ribbon Union is an all-female temperance and support organization founded on Christian values. The target group of its preventive and remedial work is the entire population, but particularly women, families and young people. Everyone is welcome to join the activities, and participants include people of different backgrounds and health status. People come of their own accord as no referral is required. In recent years, there has been an increasing focus on elderly people who are at risk of becoming isolated and losing control of everyday life. The work consists of family therapy and counselling, courses, seminars, group activities and various kinds of projects, including ones for helping those suffering from co-dependent relationships and alcohol abuse. In Helsinki, the FWRU has established a consultation centre, a student home, and a home for women recovering from substance abuse. Ten local associations organise volunteering at, for example, nursing homes and prisons. The work is mainly financed by Finland's Slot Machine Association, but donations are also made by foundations, funds, cities and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland (Koivisto 2015; www.suomenvalkonauhaliitto.fi/in-english).

How did Christian suffragists become a third sector public health and education resource?

"What are you gonna do? Lock us all up? We're in every home, we're half the human race, you can't stop us all." These words of 24-year old laundress Maud Watts in the film *Suffragette* (2015) convey the gist of a social justice movement that eventually led to the rise of many international women's organizations in the late 19th and early 20th century. The World Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WWCTU) was among the first such mass organizations devoted to social reform. During the winter of 1873–1874, women across North America took action to battle alcohol abuse and the sale of alcoholic beverages. There were many reasons for the rise of the temperance movement: legislation protecting women and children was inadequate, and the rapid social changes associated with industrialisation and urbanisation brought not only positive changes, but also had a negative impact on certain aspects of general wellbeing. At the same time, as the middle and upper classes grew, there were now great numbers of conservative women who were able and prepared to act. In Hillsboro, Ohio, around 150000 women went on a crusade against alcohol by praying, singing and marching, demanding that local taverns stop serving alcoholic beverages and townspeople stop drinking them (Eskelinen 2005).

Under the leadership of its chairwoman Frances Willard, the WWCTU became the most widespread international women's organization of its time. One of the key principles Willard brought to the White Ribbon movement was that the members were to *"Do Everything"*. This was a social reform programme divided into six categories of work: prohibitive action, education, evangelisation, social activities, influencing legislation and organising joint efforts (Bordin 1981; Eskelinen 2005). The *Do Everything* programme empowered the movement to address the issues at hand on a deeper level and helped the White Ribbon gain supporters from different social classes. This flexible vision of the work provided opportunities for all members (e.g. radical, conservative, conventional, and innovative ones) to serve the movement in ways that suited them best (Eskelinen 2005). In its heyday in the 1920s, the union had more than 766000 members worldwide (Tyrrell 1991). Today, the WWCTU has significantly fewer members; in the United States, the powerhouse of the movement, the amount of WCTU members has dropped from more than 400000 to around 5000, and some observers consider it to be "struggling to survive". The White Ribbon looks somewhat different across countries and cultural settings, but overall, the fairly liberal and progressive movement has eventually adopted a more traditional agenda (Hamill 2004).

The Finnish White Ribbon Union, like many other third sector organizations, works with multiple groups of stakeholders, including individuals of both sexes and all ages as well as groups of various sizes. Indeed, like the White Ribbon movement throughout its history, the FWRU even strives to influence entire communities, ranging from the local level to the entire nation—and beyond. The *third sector* can rightly be considered one of the most perplexing concepts in modern political and social discourse due to the tremendous diversity of such institutions in different countries and cultural settings. Some observers have proposed a broad definition of the third sector, arguing that not only organizations, but also individuals engaging in "third sector" activities and, additionally, commonly held values fostering such activities should be included in the definition. Other definitions of the third sector focus on, for example, "non-governmental", "non-profit" or "charitable" organizations. Another popular approach is to consider third sector activities to be built on an underlying ideological foundation of individual autonomy and freedom as opposed to policies imposed on society by the state (Salamon & Sokolowski 2014). Moreover, third sector organizations usually operate with limited resources and are dependent on external funding, conditions that constantly guide the work done in this sector of society (see e.g. Evers & Laville 2004).

As the FWRU approaches the 2020s, it must strive to understand the growing diversity among citizens and the rapid social changes of contemporary society so as to properly adapt to these trends. Those working with the FWRU constitute an interprofessional network of therapists, social workers, teachers, supervisors and health care professionals. Supervision and training for these professionals is organised on a regular basis. In recent years, there has been increasing emphasis on multidisciplinary understanding of and approaches to the underlying twists and turns in the everyday lives of people in need of support. Topics of discussion have included changes in working life, an emerging field of diverse sexual identities, and the relationship between compassion fatigue and professionality. Moreover, an important question has been to what extent the FWRU, being an organization based on Christian values, should let spirituality be a visible part of work that is to a great extent funded by religiously unaffiliated donors. Due to the ambivalent role of religion and spirituality in contemporary society, references to "Christian values" are much more common than attempts to thoroughly explain the significance of these values for the work of a given organization. According to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, the main strategic values in its societal work are *responsibility* and *justice*. The main principle of the Christian outreach is the Golden Rule of the Bible: "Do to others whatever you would like them to do to you." Beyond the justice and responsibility issues, the purpose of the ethical foundation is to facilitate the application of principles of truthfulness and respect for the sacred (The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland 2016).

Do everything—music, education and wellbeing as a vision

It can be argued that the historical roots of drawing visions from extended sources inspired the FWRU to include art-related practitioners in its team. The functional methods offered by these practitioners help the FWRU to reach out holistically and inclusively in every department of its services. This work can be considered from a *praxial* perspective (Regelski 2016): art and music is serving powerfully as *praxis*, that is, being instrumental in creating value rather than merely having aesthetic value in itself. The operative environment consists of interdisciplinary elements of practice and, simultaneously, is based on collaborative, dialogic learning among participants and practitioners (see Wenger 1998; Engeström 1987). This practice and learning takes place in many areas: music education, music therapy, public health, health promotion, social

citizenship education and liberal adult education. The activities can also be perceived as a category of work carried out with individual participants, groups and societies in the form of projects. Interestingly, it seems that the further this work has been developed over time, the more informal and less tied to a specific place and space it has become.

The FWRU has implemented the following music interventions during the period 2000–2016:

1. Music interventions with roots in music education, liberal adult education and social citizenship education

2. Music interventions with roots in music therapy

- The White Ribbon Choir
- Vocal Guidance Groups
- Collective singing groups for senior citizens and those nearing death
- Peer support groups
- Music sessions for small children and their families within the project "Family resources in taking care of a chronically ill child"
- The White Ribbon A Cappella Group
- Groups for people with social anxiety
- Collective singing groups for people in mental health rehabilitation
- Concerts
- Music sessions for small children and their families within the framework of family work

3. Music interventions with roots in public health and health promotion

- Trauma peer support groups for victims of bullying
- Individual counselling
- Groups for people with multiple disabilities
- Music groups for helping adults and adolescents suffering from depression, loneliness, social anxiety of exhaustion
- Collaborative groups in retirement homes
- Empowerment groups
- Groups for kindergarten students with special needs

Projects implemented in the present decade include the following:

- Health promotion events
- Culture-sensitive groups in kindergartens
- Publication of materials relevant to the work
- Community music concerts
- Projects managed by the FWRU or by partners
- Art-related workshops
- Campaigns organised together with partners

A Backpack Full of Songs (2013–2015) was a project for promoting the wellbeing and social inclusion of senior citizens. This work turned out to be a true "horn of plenty"; a wide range of groups were integrated and created together with the participants to enhance the social inclusion of senior citizens (including ones with multiple disabilities) as well as interaction between children and the elderly. The project included musical memory circles, music ensembles, voluntarily performing senior ensembles, collective singing groups, intergenerational groups, groups for people with memory disorders (called *Stream of Memories*), lectures, and production of materials.

The Friendship Cone (2012–2015) is a practical therapeutic-pedagogic tool and creative

approach to helping children under school age improve their social skills so as to prevent social isolation, exclusion and bullying. The process introduced a five-step plan: introduction of the project materials, interactive workshops, concerts, creative work of independent groups, and evaluation.

Self-Made Everyday Life (2016–) is a collective cultural sensitivity art project that promotes equality and access. People of different ages and backgrounds gather in a number of Finnish cities to create art from recycled materials. The project will continue with discussion and collaboration during the celebration of 100 years of Finnish independence in 2017 (Koivisto 2015; 2016).

Conclusions

He who pays the piper calls the tune, as the adage goes. But if so, whose music are practitioners playing when implementing music interventions in the context of third sector educational public health and social programmes? Although music education and music therapy in this setting are influenced by various factors, it can be argued that the approaches discussed in this report offer many opportunities and, indeed, constructive challenges that a rigid framework of well-defined boundaries would set unnecessary limits to. *Do Everything* has been the guiding principle for the low-threshold plural, functional and interactive music work of the Finnish White Ribbon Union, which, throughout its history, has been a small organization considering its ambitious mission in society. Many questions remain to be addressed, many arguments to be made, and many discussions to be conducted. The topics are numerous: To what extent can this kind of work be considered to be music therapy or music education, respectively? Or could it, perhaps, be fruitful to engage in plural and collaborative discourse beyond current paradigms? What kind of professional competence and core skills should art practitioners and other professionals strive to acquire when navigating in the realm of wellbeing and health promotion?

Antonovsky (1979) has introduced a *salutogenic* approach to considering *health as a river* (see also Eriksson 2008; Lindström & Eriksson 2010). Health and wellbeing can thus be seen as a river of life where one has to learn how to swim and how to help others stay afloat, survive and become empowered. This way of looking at life gives practitioners an opportunity to reach out as a complement to biomedical understanding of disease, illness and risks. It helps the emerging field of therapeutic and educational initiatives move "upstream" this river to the very foundations of health and, importantly, toward resources and processes for building overall wellbeing and quality of life. Questions of particular relevance include: How are the traditional discourses of learning and wellbeing changing? Are we able to reach beyond the traditional place-oriented and supervisor-centred therapy and education services? Should we be able to respond with greater resilience to continuously accelerating cultural changes regardless of our own diverse motives and convictions? ■

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Tuula Jääskeläinen

Vahvistanko hiljaisuudellani rasistisia rakenteita?

Toiseuden kokemuksen tunnistamisesta kohti toiminnallista tasa-arvon edistämistä

Meidän pitää aina valita puolemme. Neutraalius auttaa sortajaa, ei koskaan sorrettua. Hiljaisuus rohkaisee kiusaajaa, ei koskaan kiusattua. Joskus meidän täytyy puuttua tilanteeseen. Kun ihmiselämät ovat vaarassa, kun ihmisarvo on uhattuna, kansalliset rajat ja herkkyydet ovat merkityksettömiä. Missä ikinä miehiä ja naisia vainotaan heidän rotunsa, uskontonsa tai poliittisten näkemystensä takia, siitä paikasta täytyy tulla sillä hetkellä maailmankaikkeuden keskus. (Wiesel 1986, suom. Tuula Jääskeläinen.)

Miten ihmisten toimintaa voi edistää niin, että jokaisella yksilöllä olisi yhdenvertaiset mahdollisuudet hyvään elämään moninaisuuden ja erilaisuuden keskellä rodusta, uskonnosta ja poliittisista näkemyksistä riippumatta? John Dewey (1859–1952) on filosofisessa ajattelussaan etsinyt ratkaisuja yhteiskunnan demokratian edistämiseksi ja tässä esseessä pohdinkin hänen ajattelunsa mahdollisuuksia toiminnalliseen tasa-arvon edistämiseen tieteen, taiteen, yhteisöllisyyden ja koulutuksen avulla peilaamalla hänen ajatuksiaan rasistisen toiseuden kokemusta näkyväksi tehneiden asiantuntijoiden ajatuksiin.

Rasistisesta toiseudesta kirjoittaessaan on hyvä kysyä, mitkä ovat taustalla vaikuttavat motiivini siihen, että haluan työskennellä rasismiin liittyvän aiheen parissa (Ahmed 2016b). Työskentelen ja opiskelen tällä hetkellä Taideyliopistolla monikulttuuristen ja tasa-arvon edistämiseen tähtäävien projektien parissa, joiden myötä eriarvoisuus ja syrjintä ovat tulleet itselleni yhteiskunnan ilmiöinä näkyviksi. Samaan aikaan on noussut ajankohtaisena esiin keskustelu rasistisesta toiseudesta Suomessa taiteen kentällä (Lindfors 2016a). Tämä on nostanut pintaan epämukavaa syyllisyydentunnetta aiheuttavaa tietoisuutta omasta etuoikeutetusta asemastani ja saanut minut pohtimaan, miten voin työssäni ja opiskeluissani taiteen ja koulutuksen parissa, neutraaliuden ja hiljaisuuden sijaan, tunnistaa ja muuttaa rasistisia käytäntöjä ja edistää tasa-arvoisemman yhteiskunnan rakentamista.

Rasistisen toiseuden kokemuksen tunnistaminen

Minkälainen toiminta sitten edistää kaikkien yksilöiden yhdenvertaisuutta ilman vastakkainasettelujen vahvistamista tai radikaaleihin ääripäihin ajautumista? Vaikka vakuuttaisin vastustavani rasismia, samanaikaisesti usein huomaamattani osallistun yhteiskunnan rasististen rakenteiden ja käytäntöjen ylläpitämiseen (ks. esim. Holloway 2015). Rasismin tunnistaminen onkin tärkeä lähtökohta yhteiskunnan tasa-arvon edistämisessä. Sen lisäksi tarvitaan rasistista toiseutta kokeneiden asiantuntijuutta, sillä ilman sitä toiminnalliset tasa-arvon edistämisyritykset saattavat hyvästä tarkoituksestaan huolimatta vain vahvistaa rasistisen toiseuden kokemusta. Näin on käynyt esimerkiksi Iso-Britanniassa Brexit-ilmiön yhteydessä syntyneessä Safety Pin -kampanjassa, jossa valkoiset voivat hakaneulaa puseron rinnuksessa pitämällä kertoa rasismista kärsiville olevansa turvallisia liittolaisia (Bell 2016).

Toiseuteen[1] perustuva syrjintä eriarvoistavana valtarakennelmana, esimerkiksi rasismin eri muodoissa, ei ole vain yksilön kokemus vaan se on osoitus institutionaalisesta, systemaattisesta ja historiallisesti muotoutuneesta rakenteellisesta ongelmasta (Järvinen 2016).

Rasismi kytkeytyy historiallisesti biologisen ja sosiaalisen rodun käsitteeseen ja piileytyy yhteiskunnan käytäntöihin, lakeihin ja instituutioihin rakenteellisen rasismin lisäksi esimerkiksi arkipäivän rasismina (Puuronen 2013). Valkoisuuden kokijan on helppo sanoa, että hän ei näe koko rotua (Hallikainen 2016). Silloin kun itse hyötyy etuoikeutetusta asemasta, helposti sokeutuu ja unohtaa, että etuoikeudet eivät ole itse ansaittuja vaan ne on saatu muiden oikeuksien riisumisen kautta (Abdulkarim & Lindfors 2016).[2]

Ahmedin (2016a; 2016b) mukaan rakenteellisen rasismin käsittelyn ohittamista tapahtuu silloin, kun rasismi rinnastetaan muihin syrjinnän muotoihin esimerkiksi kutsumalla sitä koulukiusaamiseksi tai kun vähemmistöjen esittämä kritiikki typistetään tunteeksi tai subjektiiviseksi kokemukseksi ja toimintatapojen muuttamisen sijaan instituutiot pitävät heränneen mielipahan pahoittelua riittävänä. Myös suvaitsemiseen liittyy ongelmallinen sisäänrakennettu valtarakennelma, jossa on niitä jotka suvaitsevat ja niitä joita suvaitaan. Etuoikeutettu haluaa, että toiseuden kokija poistaa historiallisen eriarvoisuuden ongelman, jotta se ei aiheuttaisi hänelle epämukavuutta, kun taas toiseuden kokija haluaa poistaa ongelman siksi, että häntä ei enää syrjittäisi ja kohdeltaisi alempiarvoisena ihmisenä (Hubara 2016). Koska rakenteellista rasismia on vaikea havaita, sen vähentäminen edellyttää jatkuvaa tutkimustyötä ja tutkimustuloksiin perustuvia muutoksia rasismia tuottavissa ja ylläpitävissä yhteiskunnan lainsäädännössä ja institutionaalisissa käytännöissä (Puuronen 2013).

Toiminnallinen tasa-arvon edistäminen

Tasa-arvoa ja yhteiskunnan rakenteellisia muutoksia edistävälle tutkimukselle löytyy hedelmällinen lähtökohta Deweyn pragmatistisesta filosofiasta, joka rakentuu sille keskeiselle ajatukselle, että muutos ei mahdollistu pelkän uudenlaisen ajattelun kautta vaan edellyttää myös toimintaa. Tällainen ajatus tukee sitä näkökulmaa, että syrjinnän vastainen ajattelu ilman muutokseen pyrkivää toimintaa ei välttämättä edistä yhteiskunnan rakenteiden ja käytäntöjen muuttumista vaan jopa vahvistaa niitä. Vaikka Dewey oli amerikkalaisena akateemisena valkoihoisena filosofina oman aikansa etuoikeutettu, hänen pyrkimyksenä oli parantaa ihmisten toimintaa käytännöllisten, moraalisten ja yhteisöllisten ongelmien ja jännitteiden keskellä tasa-arvoisen yhteiskunnan rakentamiseksi. Hän tavoitteli perustavia muutoksia ihmisen suhteessa moraalisiin ihanteisiin sekä uudenlaista tapaa ymmärtää tieteellisen tutkimuksen merkitys moraalisille kysymyksille sen sijaan, että perinteet, uskontojen opit ja monenlaiset uskomukset hallitsisivat yhä käsitystä ihmisestä ja hänen hyvästään (Alhanen 2013). Koska ihmiset eivät luonnostaan saa tasa-arvoisia lähtökohtia, demokraattisen yhteiskunnan merkitys on keskeinen tasa-arvon edistämisessä (Dewey 2003, LW 11: 219-220).

Alhasen (2013) mukaan Deweyn ajattelussa esiin nousee vahvasti yksittäistä poliittista hallinnollista toteutustapaa laajempi demokratian ihanne, jossa jokaisen ihmisen kokemuksen prosessi on tärkeämpi kuin kenenkään ihmisen yksittäin saavuttama tulos. Tällaisessa ajattelussa kokemus sisältää sekä yksilön että hänen ympäristönsä, jolloin se on aina yksilöä laajempi ja moniulotteisempi kehittyvä tilanne. Onnistuneessa demokraattisessa yhteiselämässä tiede, taide, yhteisöllisyys ja koulutus laajentavat ja rikastuttavat kaikkien ihmisten kokemusta sen sijaan, että ne lisäisivät yhteiskuntien sisäisiä vastakkainasetteluja esimerkiksi jakamalla ihmisiä välineellisen työn tekijöihin ja talouden, politiikan, tieteen, taiteen ja uskonnon päämäärien tavoittelijoihin.

Tiede

Vaikka tieteellinen tutkimustyö on keskeinen keino rasismin tunnistamisessa ja siten toiminnallisessa tasa-arvon edistämisessä, se toimii samalla myös osana syrjintää ylläpitäviä

valtarakenteita. Tieteelliset tutkimuskäytännöt erityisesti monikulttuurisessa kontekstissa ovat olleet osana poliittista vallankäyttöä kytkeytymällä historiallisesti kolonialismiin, jossa valtio hallitsee toista valtiota tai aluetta omien alueellisten rajojensa ulkopuolella, ja imperialismiin, jossa tavoitteena on ollut siirtomaiden valtaaminen ja niiden hallussapito sekä pyrkimys luoda omasta maasta imperium (Mirza 1998; Smith 1999). Monikulttuurinen tieteellinen tutkimustyö vaatiikin eettistä harkintaa, kulttuurisensitiivisiä menetelmiä ja sen varmistamista, että tutkimustulokset eivät marginalisoi tutkittavia vaan hyödyttävät heitä esimerkiksi edistämällä heidän hyvinvointiaan (Liamputtong 2010).

Myös Dewey korosti, että tutkimiskäytäntöjä on jatkuvasti muokattava vastaamaan vallitsevia olosuhteita ja tiedoksi voi kutsua vasta sellaisia merkityksiä, joiden yhteydessä on selvitetty niiden varassa toimimisen käytännön seuraukset (Alhanen 2013). Deweyn (2003, LW 12: 72-73) mukaan kokemusta ei tule käsitellä ensisijaisesti tietämisen näkökulmasta, joka jaottelee subjektiivisen mielen ja objektiivisen maailman. Toiminnalla on ratkaiseva merkitys kokemisessa ja jokainen kokemus on ainutkertainen tapahtuma elävän olennon ja sen ympäristön välisessä vuorovaikutuksessa.

Taide

Dewey uskoi, että nimenomaan taide kykenee yhdistämään tieteen takaisin välittömään kokemukseen luonnosta ja että taiteen keinoin voidaan ilmaista uudenlaisia ihanteita, joihin sisältyvät sekä tieteen selvittämät faktat että kulttuuriset arvot (Alhanen 2013). Taide tulisikin vaikeaselkoisuuden sijaan kytkeä ihmisten arkisiin kokemuksiin tuottamaan esteettisiä kokemuksia (Dewey 2003, LW 10: 9, 16-17).

Myös taiteen tuottamiseen sisältyy syrjintää ylläpitäviä rakenteita ja käytäntöjä. Abdulkarimin ja Lindforsin (2016) mukaan suurin osa Suomen taideinstituutioista on valkoisia ja keskiluokkaisia ja tämä vaikuttaa olevan normaalitila, jota ei aktiivisesti pyritä muuttamaan, jolloin keskustelu monikulttuurisuudesta, pois sulkevista valtarakenteista sekä toiseuttavista kuvastoista ja ilmaisutavoista on usein olematonta. Näin ollen myös monelta taiteen kentällä työskentelevältä puuttuu ymmärrys siitä, miten he omalla työllään ylläpitävät eriarvoistavia valtarakennelmia tai vahvistavat rasistista tai toiseuttavaa kuvastoa (Lindfors 2016a). Kieltäminen, vaikeneminen ja vähätteleminen ovat tavallisia keinoja normalisoida rasismi esimerkiksi toteamalla, että ”se on mennyt ilmiö, josta on jo päästy eroon”, ”se on vain mainos”, ”taide saakin provosoida” tai ”jokainen on vapaa tulkintoihin omista lähtökohdistaan” (Al-Nawas & Korvensyrjä 2016). Ahmed (2016a) kysyykin, missä menee raja taiteen tekemisen vapauden ja vähemmistön stereotypioiden vahvistamisen välillä.

Monikulttuurisen diskurssin puuttuminen näkyy esimerkiksi koulutusinstituutioiden valinta- ja koulutusprosesseissa ja vaikuttaa siihen, ketkä saavat taiteellista koulutusta ja keillä on siten mahdollisuus työllistyä taiteen ammattilaisina. Tästä johtuen mustia ammattiesiintyjiä nähdään esitystaiteessa harvoin ja suurimmaksi osaksi teoksissa, joiden aiheena on toiseus tai rodullistettu kokemus (Hallikainen 2016). Valkoisten kirjailijoiden tarinat saattavat tavoittaa uskottavasti ja vieraannälkää tyydyttäen sen, millaista on olla rodullistettu ihminen, mutta historiallisesti ne määrittävät, mikä on kirjallisuutta ja mikä ei ole, ja samalla anastamalla pönkittävät omaa etuoikeutettua asemaansa (Hubara 2016).

Taiteilijalle taiteen tekeminen vähemmistöstä käsin tarkoittaa, että hän joutuu käsittelemään omissa teoksissaan toiseuttamista ennen kuin pääsee eteenpäin käsittelemään muita aiheita (Ahmed 2016a). Vasta kun mustaa ääntä ja kehoa kuunnellaan mustuudesta huolimatta ja muusta kuin toiseuden aiheesta, voidaan keskustella rodullisuudesta toissijaisemmin (Hallikainen 2016). Taidekentän kuvastot ja ilmaisutavat osallistuvat yhteiskunnallisten valtasuhteiden ylläpitämiseen ja rasismi yhteiskunnallisina suhteina mahdollistuu yksittäisten taiteellisten käytäntöjen kautta (Al-Nawas & Korvensyrjä 2016).

Deweyn mukaan ihmiset pitävät liian tunteenomaisesti kiinni perinteisistä uskomuksis-

taan ja tunteistaan ja siksi tieteen lisäksi taiteessa on tärkeää ymmärtää uudella tavalla arvojen ja faktojen ero ja käsittää ihanteiden muotoutuminen ja vaikutus (Alhanen 2013). Taide laajentaa ihmisen kokemuspiiriä ja purkaa keinotekoisia vastakkainasetteluja, jolloin ihmiset kykenevät oppimaan itselleen vieraiden kulttuurien elämästä ja niihin sisältyvistä kokemuksista syvemmin ja laajemmin kuin pelkästään suvaitsevaisuutta ja yleissivistystä lisäämällä (Dewey 2003, LW 10: 111).

Yhteisöllisyys

Deweyn mukaan merkityksen uudenlaiset kehitysmahdollisuudet ilmaantuvat aina aluksi yksilöiden tietoisuuteen ja demokraattisissa yhteisöissä yksilöiden kehittyminen ja heidän kokemustensa yhteinen kriittinen pohtiminen voi johtaa koko yhteisön päämäärien ja ihanteiden muuttamiseen (Alhanen 2013). Dewey (2003, LW 14: 228-229) ei kuitenkaan nähnyt oman vapauden kasvattamisen olevan yksilön yksityisasia, sillä kaikkien yksilöiden tulisi työskennellä myös yhteisönsä muiden jäsenten kokemusten kehittymisen hyväksi. Ristiriidat ja epäselvyydet ovat niin yhteisölle kuin yksilölle mahdollisuuksia arvioida kriittisesti omia uskomuksia ja arvoja.

Mahdollisuus yhteisön uskomusten ja arvojen kriittiseen tarkasteluun ei välttämättä toteudu kaikille yhtä helposti. Esimerkiksi suomalaisella kulttuurikentällä mustat puheenvuorot ovat tehokkaasti kontrolloituja ja saavat äänen, kun ne pysyvät dialogissa valkoisuuden kanssa (Hallikainen 2016). Uudenlaisena työkaluna monikulttuurisuuskentällä ja maahanmuuttajatyössä vähemmistöjen osallistamiseksi käytetään kokemusasiatuntijan roolia, joka samalla kuitenkin poistaa vähemmistöjen mahdollisuuden varsinaiseen asiantuntijuuteen (Ahmed 2016a).

Vaikka Deweyn ajattelu jää tässä yhteydessä enemmän ihanteelliselle tasolle, hänelle oli erityisen tärkeää pystyä ylittämään ihmisryhmiä ja elämänalueita koskevat jaot, sektorit ja hierarkiat. Tämän mahdollistamiseksi hän kehitteli yhteistoiminnallisen älyn (cooperative intelligence) käsitteen avulla ihannetta ihmisyhteisöjen muodostamasta vuorovaikutusverkostosta, jossa voidaan tutkia yhteisiä ongelmia ja kehittää niihin parhaita mahdollisia ratkaisuja (Alhanen 2013).

Koulutus

Dewey korosti kasvatuksen, oppimisen ja oikeanlaisen koulutuksen merkitystä yhteiskunnan mahdollisuutena tukea ihmisten kykyä hyödyntää ja kehittää kokemustaan sekä käsitellä yhteiskunnan kohtaamia ongelmia ja vaatimuksia. Koulun tuleekin siirtää kulttuurista perintöä valikoivasti ja kriittisesti ja mahdollistaa erilaisista sosiaalisista ryhmistä tuleville lapsille tilaisuuksia ylittää alkuperäisen kasvuympäristönsä rajoitteet ja tulla yhteyteen laajemman sosiokulttuurisen ympäristön kanssa (Dewey 2003, MW 9: 25-26). Deweyn mukaan kapea-alaisen osaamisen korostamisen sijaan koulutuksen tulisi tavoitella joustavuutta sallimalla runsaasti muuntelua ja kokeilua sekä rohkaisemalla yhdistelemään eri toimintoja ja pohtimaan omaa toimintaa älyllisesti (Alhanen 2013). Esimerkiksi kouluissa muusta elämästä irrallinen uskonnonopetus ja omien historiallisten uskontojen mukaan tapahtuva lokeroituminen eivät edistä toiseuden tunnustamista eikä kunnioittamista ja Dewey puolustikin koulujen uskonnonopetuksen suuntaamista kohti ”yhteistä uskoa” (common faith) (Pihlström 2013).

Kasvatuksella ja koulutuksella on suuri merkitys rasistisen toiseuden mallien ylläpitämisessä mutta toisaalta myös suuri mahdollisuus niiden tiedostamisessa ja murtamisessa. Lapset omaksuvat mallien sisältämiä asenteita vanhempien ja opettajien puheista ja heitä ympäröivästä kuvastosta (Järvinen 2016). Kouluissa opettajat eivät aina puutu riittävästi rasismiin ja sivuuttavat vähemmistökokemuksia häivyttämällä ne

näennäisesti neutraalin kulttuurieropuheen alle (Souto 2011). Vähemmistöjen asemassa oleviin voi koulumaailmassa kohdistua hyvin erilaisia odotuksia etuoikeutettuihin nähden ja mahtuakseen normiin he voivat joutua ponnistelemaan ollakseen parhaita (esimerkiksi mustilla huippusuorituksiin liitetty ilmaisu ”black excellence”), jotta voivat sitten olla kuin muut (Owusu 2016).

Waksin (2007) tulkinnan mukaan Dewey näki monikulttuurisuuden olevan eduksi demokratiaan tähtäävässä koulutuksessa, koska se luo mahdollisuuksia kulttuurienväliseen yhteistyöhön ja edistää näkemysten yhdistymistä yhteiskunnassa, jossa rotuerottelu on ollut osana koulujaottelua. Hänen mukaan myös koulujen opetussuunnitelmia tulisi kehittää monikansallisista lähtökohdista käsin, jolloin pystytään huomioimaan vähemmistöt, olemassa olevien monikansallisten instituutioiden epäkohdat ja lasten eritasoiset olosuhteet eri puolilla maailmaa. Waks (2004) onkin kehitellyt monikulttuurista yhdistymistä edistäviä innovatiivisia koulukokeiluja hyödyntämällä verkko-opiskelun mahdollisuuksia (networked common schools), jotta nuorten erilaiset ryhmät voivat paikallisten koulujen lisäksi kohdata laajemmissa ja monimuotoisemmissa yhteisissä oppimistilanteissa.

Yksilön ja yhteiskunnan mahdollisuudet toiminnalliseen tasa-arvon edistämiseen

Tässä esseessä kysyn siis, mitä konkreettisia keinoja minulla on yksilötasolla rasistisen toiseuden tunnistamiseen, rasismin estämiseen ja tasa-arvon edistämiseen. Dewey halusi korvata modernin ajatuksen oman edun tavoitteluun perustuvasta atomistisesta, erillisestä ja itsenäisestä yksilöllisyydestä näkemyksellä, jonka mukaan yksilöllisyys on persoonallisen minuuden vuorovaikutuksellista kehittämistä omista ja toisten kokemuksista oppimalla (Alhanen 2013). Tällainen kokemuksista oppiminen tarjoaa mahdollisuuden myös yksilötasolla poisoppimiseen rasismista, joka on toisaalta opittua käyttäytymistä ja ajattelua ja toisaalta yhteiskunnan rakenteeseen liittyvä ilmiö. Puurosen (2013) mukaan poisoppiminen edellyttää rasismin tunnistamista yksilön omassa toiminnassa ja ajattelussa ja sen tunnustamista, että rasismi on väärin. On tiedostettava, ettei mustuus ole vieläkään saanut poliittisesti tasavertaista asemaa valkoisuuden kanssa (Hallikainen 2016). Esimerkiksi taide-esitystä katsoessaan voi tarkastella omaa katsetta ja pohtia siihen liittyviä arvoja ja ideologioita, jolloin on helpompi tiedostaa ja ymmärtää oma näkökulma ja mahdollisesti muuttaa sitä (Lindfors 2016b).

Muutosvastarinta ja vieraan pelko estävät valtaväestöä näkemästä ulossulkevia ja sortavia toimintamalleja, jotka ilmenevät esimerkiksi instituutioiden toimintakulttuurissa tai asetusten tulkitsemisessa vähemmistöille epäedullisesti (Ahmed 2016a). Kouluilla, tiedotusvälineillä ja julkisuudessa esiintyvillä henkilöillä, erityisesti poliitikoilla, on erityisen tärkeä tehtävä rasististen ilmiöiden, käyttäytymisen ja ajattelun tunnistamisessa ja siitä eroon pääsemisessä (Puuronen 2013). Saiton (2009) mukaan Dewey hahmotteli julkista tilaa, jossa erilaiset yksilölliset äänet huomioidaan yhteisöllisessä osallistumisessa, jakamisessa ja oppimisessa. Tällaisessa yhteisöllisyydessä erityisesti yksityisistä kotioloista kohti julkista yhteisöä laajenevat avomielisyys, ystävyys ja sympatia toimivat eettisinä lähtökohtina demokratian saavuttamiseksi. Mitä erilaisempia yksilöt ovat, sitä enemmän mahdollisuuksia yhteisöllisyys tarjoaa oppimiselle. Saito kuitenkin kritisoi samassa yhteydessä Deweyn ihanteellisen ajattelun jättäneen huomiotta houkutuksen assimilaatioon. Assimilaatio eli sulautuminen tarjoaa mahdollisuuden näennäiseen harmoniseen vastavuoroisuuteen mutta kieltää erilaisuuden. Esimerkiksi etuoikeutettu ei välttämättä pysty ymmärtämään syrjityn toiseuden kokemusta ja sietää sitä vain niin kauan, kun se pysyy toiseudelle määritellyllä paikalla mukavana eksoottisena mausteena (Järvinen 2016).

Dewey (2003, LW 2: 304) painotti demokraattisen hallinnon uudistamisen vaativan

ensisijaisesti julkisen toiminnan kehittämistä. Uudistuakseen julkinen toiminta joutuu kamppailemaan vanhentuneiden poliittisten ideoiden, teorioiden ja niiden varaan luotujen käytäntöjen kanssa. Dewey näki epäselvien tilanteiden ja ristiriitojen olevan mahdollisuuksia ihmisten tekojen syy-seuraussuhteiden tiedostamiselle, mutta tiedostamisen lisäksi poliittisen yhteistoiminnan kehittyminen edellyttää ihmisten päättäväisyyttä ryhtyä suunnitelmallisesti tavoittelemaan arvostamansa toiminnan seurauksia ja välttämään haitallisiksi kokemiaan (Alhanen 2013). Esimerkiksi kouluissa ja työpaikoilla syrjintätilanteissa jokainen voi tehdä tietoisen valinnan puolustaa syrjittyjä ja jättää syrjijät ilman ”palkintoa”, vaikkapa niin ettei naura rasistisille vitseille ja osoittamalla välittävillä eleillä syrjittyjen kuuluvan tasa-arvoisina jäseninä yhteisöön.

Puurosen (2013) mukaan yhteiskuntapolitiikka, joka estää rasismin kehittymiselle otollisten tilanteiden syntymistä, luo tehokkaimpia edellytyksiä eri ihmisryhmien taloudellisen, kulttuurisen ja poliittisen tasa-arvoisuuden lisääntymiseksi. Deweyn mukaan yhteiskunnallisten ongelmien ja mahdollisuuksien analyysin tulisikin suuntautua tutkimaan ajallisesti ja rajallisesti paikannettuja ongelmia eikä abstraktia ja epämääräistä kysymystä yksilöiden suhteesta yhteiskuntaan (Alhanen 2013). Miten siis minä etuoikeutettuna valkoihoisena voin olla mukana rakentamassa tällaista yhteiskuntapolitiikkaa? Esimerkiksi Taideyliopiston ylioppilaskunta on osallistunut tällaiseen toimintaan kannustamalla kaikkia jäseniään allekirjoittamaan Huominen ilman pelkoa -kampanjan (http://www.rasismirikoslakiin.fi) vetoomuksen kansanedustajille. Kampanjan päämääränä on saattaa järjestäytynyt rasismi rikoslakiin ja näyttää, ettei tarvitse suostua pelkäämään erilaisuutta ja ettei rasistiselle toiminnalle ole sijaa yhteiskunnassa.

Entä miten voin omassa työssäni ja opiskelussani monikulttuurisissa projekteissa estää rasismille otollisten tilanteiden syntymisen? Ahmed (2016b) määrittelee 15 oleellista kysymystä, joita on hyvä pohtia ennen rasismia tai monikulttuurisuutta käsittelevän projektin aloittamista. Näistä ensimmäisellä aloitin tämän esseen kysymällä omista motiiveistani rasismista kirjoittamiseen. Tällaiset konkreettiset kysymykset selkeyttävät rasistisen toiseuden kokemuksen tunnistamista antaen samalla työkaluja tasa-arvoisempiin käytäntöihin. Esimerkiksi neljännen kohdan kysymykset herättivät minut pohtimaan asiantuntijuutta monikulttuurisissa projekteissa:

> *Mikä heidän [työryhmässä mukana olevien rodullistettujen ihmisten] rooli on? Ammentaako projekti heidän henkilökohtaisesta kokemuksestaan vai onko heillä rooli, joka oikeasti vastaa heidän asiantuntijuuttaan ja koulutustaan? Onko heillä mahdollisuus vaikuttaa sisältöön alusta asti? Saavatko he palkkaa ja jos saavat niin maksetaanko heille saman verran kuin muille?* (Ahmed 2016b.)

Myös taide ja viihde voivat horjuttaa rodullistamisen institutionaalisia rakenteita tekemällä näkymättömiä abstraktioita näkyväksi (Hallikainen 2016). Tällöinkin tarvitaan rasistisen toiseuden kokeneiden asiantuntemusta, jotta ei ajauduta vahvistamaan rasistisia rakenteita esimerkiksi kulttuurisella omimisella tai kulttuurisella ihannoinnilla. Hubaran (2016) mukaan kulttuurinen omiminen (cultural appropriation) ilmenee taiteen kentällä esimerkiksi kuvataiteessa, kun yksi kulttuurinen ryhmä ottaa haltuun jonkun toisen ryhmän tapoja, käsityksiä ja tuotteita kasvattaen niillä omaa valta-asemaansa ja taloudellista etumatkaansa ilman, että joutuu koskaan kärsimään asiaan liittyvästä sorrosta. Kulttuurinen ihannointi on postkolonialistinen ilmiö, jossa etuoikeutetut nostavat syrjityt marginalisoituna ryhmänä positiivisen huomion kohteeksi, esimerkiksi ylistämällä kulttuurista erilaisuutta maailman musiikin tuotannossa, samalla kuitenkin aktivoiden uudelleen stereotyyppisen jaottelun, joka kolonialismissa ilmeni marginalisoidun ryhmän negatiivisena kohteluna (Anundsen 2014).

Dewey (2003, LW 5: 275) näki taiteen tarjoavan uudenlaisia mahdollisuuksia ihmisten kokemuksille ja piti ongelmallisena tällaisten mahdollisuuksien riippumista taloudellisista olosuhteista. Hänen mukaan kestävimmät taloudellisen toiminnan tulokset saavutetaan silloin, kun kaikki toiminnan osapuolet antavat työhön vapaimman ja luovimman panoksensa ja työskentelevät avoimessa keskinäisessä vuorovaikutuksessa (Alhanen 2013). Vaikka tällainen Deweyn ihanteellinen ajatus ei ole vielä vuosikymmeniäkään myöhemmin konkretisoitunut yhteiskunnan toiminnassa, tarjoaa se yhä tavoittelemisen arvoisen unelman tasa-arvon edistämiselle. Abdulkarim ja Lindfors (2016) hahmottelevat tällaista tilaa utooppisena näyttämönä, jossa erilaiset ihmiset, kehot, olemisen tavat ja kokemukset voivat olla olemassa rinta rinnan ilman vaatimusta koherenssista tai konsensuksesta. Se ei perustu stereotypioihin ja toiseudelle nauramiselle eikä sisällä toista sortavia valtarakenteita. Jokainen esiintyjä mahtuu näyttämölle ilman, että hän edustaa toiseutta tai vahvistaa normatiivisuutta neutraalina nollapisteenä. Tällainen näyttämö on hierarkiaton ja epätäydellinen ja kertoo monimuotoisia tarinoita eikä siihen kohdistuva katse ole väkivaltainen, arvottava tai alistava.

Katsoja A: Ehkä unelmana voisi olla, että jätämme tietoisesti neuvottelematta ja kategorisoimatta. Olisimme asioiden kanssa, äärellä, vieressä ja rinnalla, vaikka emme tunnistaisi niitä. (Lindfors 2016b.) ■

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Viitteet

[1] Toiseuden (the Other, Otherness) käsitteelliset juuret ulottuvat 1700-luvulle Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegelin ja 1800-luvulle Edmund Husserlin filosofioihin. 1900-luvulla toiseuden käsitteellistämistä ovat edelleen kehittäneet esimerkiksi Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Jacques Lacan, Emmanuel Lévinas, Jacques Derrida ja Edward Said.

[2] Toiseuteen perustuvaa syrjintää ilmenee rasismin lisäksi myös muissa muodoissa yhteiskunnan rakenteissa. Esimerkiksi Foucault (1965) näkee vastaavan eriarvoistavan valtarakenteen ”hullujen” erottamisessa muusta yhteiskunnasta poissuljettuna kategoriana. Ne, joilla on valtaa, määrittelevät toiseutta ja vahvistavat omaa ”normaaliuttaan” jo pelkästään nimeämällä ”epänormaalin”.

English Abstract:

Is structural racism strengthened by my silence? From recognising experiences of Otherness, towards activism for enhancing equality

In this essay I examine the possibilities in John Dewey's writings for considering how we might actively enhance equality. Through reflecting his notion on the expertise of those who are positioned in society as Others, discrimination, for example as evidenced in different forms of racism, is not only an individual experience but a historically constructed structural problem in society's practices, laws and institutions. Dewey's pragmatic philosophy offers a fruitful basis for research to enact change in societal structures, because it is grounded in action. The development of acts in the public sector and social policy, for example prohibiting the overt expressions of racism, may thus be seen to create the most effective conditions for increasing financial, cultural and political equality among diverse peoples. In this way, art also holds potentials to address racism in institutional structures, through its ability to reveal invisible abstractions. In considering how to effect change, through art, I argue that we ought to draw upon the expertise of those who are positioned in society as Others, in order to destabilise the structural racism of cultural assimilation, appropriation and exoticism. Through this, Dewey's aim to build a society endorsing differences without discrimination, oppression and unequality, may still be very much relevant today. ■

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Sofia Harjanne

’Kylhän meki voitais pärjää Euroviisuissa’:

Musiikkiterapian mahdollisuuksia osana vankien kuntoutusta

Tämä kirjoitus käsittelee Helsingin vankilassa toteutettua vankiryhmän musiikkiterapiaprosessia ja perustuu musiikkiterapian ammattiopintojeni kirjalliseen tutkielmaan, jossa tarkastelen musiikkiterapian mahdollisuuksia osana vankien kuntoutusprosessia. Tutkielmassani pyrin ymmärtämään ryhmäläisten ajatuksia, kokemuksia ja tuntemuksia ryhmämuotoisesta musiikkiterapiaprosessista fenomenologis-hermeneuttisesta näkökulmasta käsin. Kyseessä oli laadullinen tapaustutkimus, jossa seurattiin avoimen musiikkiterapiaryhmän prosessin sisältöä ja kulkua. Tutkimusaineisto koostui istuntojen aikana ottamistani, osittain litteroiduista videotallenteista sekä omakohtaisista havainnoistani istuntojen sisällöstä ja kulusta. Tutkielma pyrkii vastaamaan kysymyksiin mitä musiikkiterapia voi tarjota vankien kuntoutusprosessiin ja millaisena vangit kokevat musiikkiterapian. Tutkimukseni kohteena oli lähtökohtaisesti ryhmäläisten kokemusmaailma, mutta tässä tarkastelen myös yleisemmin vankien musiikkiterapiaa sekä musiikkitoiminnan mahdollisuuksia osana kuntoutusta. Oma näkemykseni musiikkiterapian toimivuudesta ja sovellettavuudesta vankien kuntoutukseen on syventynyt tutkimusprosessin jälkeen toteuttamieni vankien terapeuttisten musiikkiryhmien myötä.

Musiikkiterapian määrittely

Musiikkiterapialla tarkoitetaan koulutetun musiikkiterapeutin toteuttamaa, hoidollisen avun tarpeessa olevan ryhmän tai yksilön kuntoutusprosessia, jossa musiikkia käytetään systemaattisesti asiakkaan toiminnanmahdollisuuksien lisäämiseksi sekä hyvinvoinnin ja elämänlaadun edistämiseksi ja parantamiseksi (Bruscia 2014; Lehtonen 1998, 11–12; Ruud 1998, 52–53; Ruud 2010, 130). Musiikkiterapia on hoito- ja kuntoutusmuoto, jossa musiikkia ja sen eri elementtejä hyödynnetään vuorovaikutuksessa asiakkaalle asetettujen tavoitteiden saavuttamiseksi (Ala-Ruona, Saukko & Tarkki 2009, 2). Lehtosen (1998, 11) mukaan musiikkiterapia voidaan määritellä myös psykoterapian erityismuodoksi, jossa kommunikaatiota on mahdollista laajentaa non-verbaalisen ja non-diskursiivisen musiikki-ilmaisun ja -kokemuksen alueille asiakkaan psyykkisen työskentelyn käynnistämiseksi, edistämiseksi ja ylläpitämiseksi.

Vankien musiikkiterapiaryhmä

Epäsuotuisaksi ja stressaavaksi usein mielletty vankilamiljöö asettaa siellä toteutettavalle musiikkiterapiatoiminnalle omanlaisia haasteita ja mahdollisuuksia (ks. Chen, Hannibal, Xu & Gold 2014, 226). Ideaali musiikkiterapiaryhmä toimii voimauttavana ”kohtaamispaikkana”, jossa terapiaprosessille asetetut tavoitteet pyritään saavuttamaan sekä yhteisesti että yksilötasolla. Tämän kyseisen vankien musiikkiterapiaryhmän tarkoituksena oli toimia vertaistuellisena, yhteisenä toiminnan ja tekemisen kohteena. (Ansdell 2010, 35, 39, 41; Ruud 2010, 48; Salminen 1997, 89–90.)

Vankiryhmän musiikkiterapeuttina fokukseni kohdentui ihmisten ennakkoluulottomaan kohtaamiseen. Toimiessani ryhmän musiikkiterapeuttina ja tietynlaisena auktoriteettina (vrt. Aho 1998, 65–66) pyrin käynnistämään ryhmässä positiivisia muutosprosesseja kunnioittaen ryhmäläisten yksilöllisyyttä ja tarpeita. Pidin merkityksellisenä kunnioittavan ja luottamuksellisen ilmapiirin luomista, jotta ryhmäläiset kokisivat yhteenkuuluvuuden tunnetta ja rohkaistuisivat avoimeen vuorovaikutukseen.

Musiikin rooli vankien ryhmäterapiassa

Musiikin rooli terapiaprosessissa on toimia joustavana, mukautuvana ja helposti saatavilla olevana viestinnän välineenä, jonka avulla on mahdollista tavoittaa yksilö riippumatta hänen älykkyys- tai koulutustasostaan (Saarikallio 2010, 282; Alvin & Warwick 1995, 13). Musiikki voi toimia voimakkaiden tunteiden kielenä, jonka kautta on mahdollista luoda uusia merkityksiä elämään ja jonka avulla voidaan vapautua käsittelemään vaikeitakin traumoja konstruktiivisella ja luovalla tavalla (Lehtonen 1993, 8). Musiikkitoiminta voi tarjota ryhmäläisille lohdutusta, väylän suuttumuksen purkamiselle, vahvistaa itsehallinnan kokemusta tai auttaa ymmärtämään tai käsittelemään omia ristiriitaisia tunnekokemuksia (Saarikallio 2009, 226–227). Musiikin kautta on myös mahdollista oppia sitomaan levottomuutta tai monesti aktivoituvaa mielipahaa luovaan objektisuhteeseen, jolloin musiikkitoiminnalla on merkityksellinen rooli erityisesti mielenrauhan antajana (Lehtonen 1993, 7–8). Kaiken kaikkiaan musiikkitoiminta voi sisältää ihmistä syvältä koskettavia ulottuvuuksia, joilla voi olla kauaskantoisiakin merkityksiä ryhmäläisten elämälle ja kasvulle (Huhtinen-Hildén 2013, 159).

Ryhmäterapiaprosessin kuvaus

Ryhmän jäsenille pidettiin musiikkiterapiaa kaksi kertaa viikossa, yhteensä 30 kertaa 6 kuukauden aikana. Alkuarviointijakson ja prosessin lopetuksen aikana istuntoja pidettiin kerran viikossa. Jokainen terapiaistunto kesti 60 minuuttia ja sisälsi vaihtelevasti soittamista, laulamista, musiikin kuuntelua ja keskustelua, pääasiassa ryhmäläisten toivoman ja ehdottaman toiminnan mukaisesti. Terapiaistuntojen rakenne muokkautui jo hyvin varhaisessa vaiheessa seuraavanlaiseksi: istunnot alkoivat keskustelulla ja usein myös musiikin kuuntelulla, minkä jälkeen soitettiin. Lopuksi palasimme istumapaikoille ja ajan tai toiveiden puitteissa mahdollisesti vielä kuuntelimme musiikkia. Terapiaryhmä pidettiin avoimena, viiden hengen ryhmäprosessina, sillä osa henkilöistä vapautui tai vaihtoi laitosta kesken terapiaprosessin. Ryhmäläisten terveydentilasta sekä osastolta siirtymisistä johtuen ryhmäkokoonpanossa ilmeni vaihtelua. Musiikkiterapiaan osallistui kaiken kaikkiaan yhteensä seitsemän kuntoutusosaston vankeusvankia. Alkuperäisestä viiden hengen kokoonpanosta ainoastaan kaksi henkilöä pysyivät ryhmässä prosessin loppuun saakka. Musiikkiterapiaan osallistuneet henkilöt suorittivat vankilassa pääasiassa melko pitkiä tuomioita. Kaikki ryhmän jäsenet olivat mieshenkilöitä ja iältään noin 24–60-vuotiaita. Ryhmäläisillä ei ollut juurikaan aiempaa musiikkitaustaa tai osaamista instrumenttien hallinnasta. Ryhmäläisten kertoman perusteella heille oli diagnosoitu erilaisia psyykkisiä ja fyysisiä ongelmia. Kaikilla musiikkiterapiaan osallistuneilla henkilöillä oli voimakas päihdetausta, mutta he olivat kuntoutusosaston edellytyksestä sitoutuneet päihteettömyyteen. Tutkimusraportissa ryhmäläisiin viitataan peitenimillä ja heidän taustaansa liittyvät yksityiskohdat on rajattu pois anonymiteetin suojaamiseksi.

Ryhmän jäsenet käyttivät musiikkiterapiasta nimitystä ”bändiryhmä” tai ”musiikkiryhmä” ja mielsivät minut mieluummin opettajaksi tai ohjaajaksi kuin musiikkiterapeutiksi. Ryhmäläisillä oli keskenään omanlainen humoristinen ja kannatteleva toimintatapa ryhmässä, mikä loi tunnelmaan keveyttä ja innostuneisuutta (ks. Hyyti 1996, 52; Stige 2010, 120). Istuntojen tunnelma oli yleisesti ottaen rento, turvallinen ja positiivissävytteinen (vrt. Barrett 2012, 256–257). Ryhmäläiset ilmaisivat avoimesti ja rohkeasti omat mielipiteensä sekä ajatuksensa ja tuntemuksensa – he esimerkiksi esittivät läpi koko terapiaprosessin soitto- ja kuuntelutoiveita, olivat innokkaita kokeilemaan uusia asioita sekä osallistuivat aktiivisesti yhteiseen keskusteluun ja toimintaan. Terapiakerrat etenivät pitkälti muodostuneen istuntorakenteen mukaisesti sisältäen soittoa, musiikin kuuntelua ja keskustelua. Ryhmäläiset keskustelivat mielellään musiikista ja sen läsnäolosta vankilassa sekä ky-

syivät rohkeasti apua tai neuvoa soittotilanteissa. He käyttäytyivät läpi koko prosessin niin minua kuin toisiaankin kohtaan hienotunteisesti ja kohteliaasti. Hyväkäytöksisyys ilmeni muun muassa avuliaisuutena sekä toisten tukemisena ja kannustamisena (vrt. Ansdell 2010, 49; Tuastad & O'Grady 2013, 218; O'Grady, Rolvsjord & McFerran 2015, 135).

Asetimme ryhmän kanssa terapiaprosessin tavoitteeksi musiikin kautta vaihtoehtoisen sisällön ja toiminnan tarjoamisen päihteiden käyttämiselle, ryhmäläisten itsensä toteuttamisen, mielialan kohenemisen sekä päämäärien ja onnistumisen kokemusten saavuttamisen.

Oman tulkintani mukaan ryhmän jäsenet osallistuivat terapiaprosessiin avoimin mielin uskaltaen kertoa omista henkilökohtaisista elämänkokemuksistaan. Ryhmäläisten henkilöhistorioissa, rikostaustoissa ja persoonissa ilmeni suurta vaihtelua, mikä vaikutti olennaisesti ryhmän sisällä nousseisiin asioihin, ajatuksiin ja tuntemuksiin. Puheenaiheet istuntojen sisällä liittyivät henkilökohtaisten asioiden lisäksi monimuotoisesti muun muassa siviiliin pääsemiseen, elämänsuunnitelmiin, tuomioihin, vankilajärjestelmään, kiinnostuksen kohteisiin, ihmiskäsityksiin, vankeihin suhtautumiseen, yhteiskuntaan sopeutumiseen sekä vankien oikeuksiin ja asemaan.

Tärkeiksi teemoiksi istuntojen aikana nousi varhaislapsuus ja nuoruuden kasvuolosuhteet, ennakkoluulot ja asenteet sekä vankilassa oleminen ja sinne ajautuminen. Ilmeni, että ryhmäläiset ovat tottuneet elämänsä aikana asioiden jatkuvaan menettämiseen ja kokevat vankilassa vietetyn ajan olevan pääasiassa "hukkaan heitettyä". Vapaudenriistosta huolimatta ryhmäläiset kokivat vankilassa olemisen kuitenkin myös jokseenkin mukavaksi ja huolettomaksi oleskelupaikaksi ja uskoivat laitostumisella (ks. Hyyti 1996, 48; Cohen & Taylor 1986, 60) olevan mahdollisesti osuutta asiaan.

Puhuttaessa päihteettömyydestä, asunnon hankkimisesta, rikollisuuden välttämisestä tai muiden käytännön elämiseen liittyvien asioiden järjestelemisestä, vankila tuntui siviiliin verrattuna joidenkin ryhmäläisten mielestä jossain suhteessa jopa paremmalta vaihtoehdolta. Osa ryhmän jäsenistä kertoi jännittävänsä siviiliin pääsemistä, eivätkä he ole osanneet ennakoida miten asiat siviilissä tulisivat menemään tai miten he toivoisivat asioiden menevän. Osa ryhmäläisistä ilmaisi myös mahdollisesta haluttomuudesta luopua rikollisuudesta tai päihteiden käytöstä.

Prosessin edetessä ryhmän jäsenet toimivat ryhmässä melko oma-aloitteisesti ja itseohjautuvasti. Mikäli prosessi tai istunnot olisivat olleet ajallisesti pidemmät, ryhmäläiset olisivat halunneet paneutua musiikin teoria-asioihin (vrt. Lee 2010, 11). Prosessin päätyttyä he toivoivat, että toiminta olisi vielä jatkunut:

Jos tää on viimenen kerta, koska sä tuut uudestaan? (Aleksi, 30. istunto)

Musiikkiterapiaprosessin tuloksia

Tutkielmassani totesin, että musiikkiterapian kautta vangit voivat saada onnistumisen kokemuksia, uutta mielekästä sisältöä ja tietotaitoa elämään sekä väylän tunteiden ilmaisuun ja itsensä toteuttamiseen. Musiikkiterapia tarjoaa ryhmäläisille mahdollisuuden mielialan kohenemiseen (vrt. Lee 2010, 9), vuorovaikutuksessa toimimiseen sekä omakohtaisten elämänkokemusten, ajatusten ja tuntemusten käsittelemiseen (vrt. Chen, Hannibal, Xu & Gold 2014, 226–228; Kanniainen 2011, 106).

Terapiaprosessin aikana nousi useasti esiin ryhmäläisten kokemus musiikin merkityksellisyydestä ja terapeuttisuudesta. Musiikki herätti ryhmäläisille ajatuksia, muistoja ja mielikuvia heidän elämänhistorioistaan (vrt. Sivonen 1999, 195). Ryhmäläiset kokivat musiikin miellyttäväksi osaksi omaa arkeaan ja he mielsivät laulujen lyriikat merkityksellisimmäksi osa-alueeksi kuunneltaessa tai soitettaessa musiikkia.

Videotallenteiden, havaintojeni ja päihdekuntoutusosaston ohjaajan kertoman perusteella ryhmäläiset kokivat musiikkiterapian mielekkääksi ja kiinnostavaksi terapiamuodok-

si (vrt. Gold, Assmus, Hjørnevik, Qvale, Brown, Lill Hansen, Waage & Stige 2014). Ohjaajan kertoman mukaan ryhmän jäsenet olivat pääasiassa innostuneita musiikkiterapiasta, odottivat istuntoja ja pitivät itseään etuoikeutettuna saadessaan osallistua ryhmäprosessiin. Hän kertoi muidenkin osastojen vankien osoittaneen mielenkiintoa musiikkiterapiaa kohtaan ja kiinnostusta osallistua terapiatoimintaan. Kiinnostus musiikkia kohtaan toimi voimakkaana motivaatiotekijänä ryhmään osallistumiseen ja sitoutumiseen (ks. Ruud 2010, 53). Ryhmäläisten motivaatio vaikutti oleellisesti myös ryhmäterapian toimivuuteen ja hyödyllisyyteen (ks. Salminen 1997, 38).

Ryhmäläiset toivoivat toiminnalle jatkumoa ja pysyvää formaattia. Ryhmän arvostus musiikkiterapiaa kohtaan ilmeni usean eri istunnon aikana eri yhteyksissä kiitollisuutena mahdollisuudesta oppia. Ilmeni, että ryhmäläisille ei ole aiemmin tarjoutunut mahdollisuuksia osallistua soiton opetukseen (vrt. Lucas 2013, 153):

> *Kyl mä niin ku opin tos ihan älyttömästi, mä oon... mä oon miettiny niin ku iha skidist asti et mä haluisin... joskus tehdä ton ja nythän mä tein sen... vaikka se nyt meni ihan poskelleen. Mutta siis niin monta asiaa niin ku ihan minuutin sisällä et... miksen mä oo ennen.* (Aleksi, 23. istunto)

Soittaminen ja musiikin kuuntelu osoittautuivat tässä terapiaprosessissa keskeisiksi menetelmiksi. Myös keskustelun ja kuulluksi tulemisen merkityksellisyys korostui terapiaprosessin aikana. Tämä ilmeni usein ryhmäläisten puhuessa muun muassa itsesuojelusta ja siitä, miten omien asioiden suhteen tuli vankilassa olla varuillaan (vrt. Cohen & Taylor 1986, 81–82). Eckhaus (2015, 8) kirjoittaa musiikkiterapian soveltuvan hyvin henkilöille, joilla on hankaluuksia luottamuksen ja ihmissuhteiden rakentamisessa. Musiikkiterapia mahdollisti ryhmäläisille omien henkilökohtaisten asioiden ja tuntemusten jakamisen turvallisessa ja luottamuksellisessa ympäristössä.

Musiikin merkitykset ja terapeuttisuus ilmeni erityisesti seuraavien elementtien kautta: soittamisen merkityksellisyys, suljettu ryhmä sekä itseen ja toisiin liittyvien ennakkoasenteiden tunnistaminen ja purkaminen.

Soittaminen

Tämän ryhmäterapiaprosessin istuntojen aikana ja kaiken kaikkiaan vankilassa työskennellessäni erityisesti soittamisen merkityksellisyys on noussut keskeiseksi asiaksi (vrt. Sivonen 1999, 195, 197). Ryhmäläiset ilmaisivat jo ennen prosessin alkamista kiinnostuksensa soittamista ja instrumenttien hallintaa kohtaan, mikä vaikutti oleellisesti myös heidän motivaatioonsa sitoutua ryhmään:

> *Mut täähän on, täähän on tosi hyvä juttu* ***tämmönen*** *musiikkiterapia. Mä olin kerran yhes... tota Hyvinkään Ridasjärvi, ni siel... siel oli mun... käytettiin tota päihdehoitoon musiikkiterapiaa, mut se oli enemmänki levyraatityyppistä tai jotai joo levyraatityyppistä.* (Juhani, 13. istunto)

Soittaminen toimi ryhmässä yhteisenä tekemisen kohteena ja voimisti ryhmän keskinäistä vuorovaikutusta (vrt. Eckhaus 2015, 7; Tuastad & O'Grady 2013, 218), tavoitteiden saavuttamista, oppimista ja onnistumisen kokemusten saamista. Tämä kaikki taas on vaikuttanut luottamuksen, ryhmäytymisen ja turvallisen työskentelyilmapiirin rakentumiseen. Koska vankilaa voidaan pitää äärisosiaalisena paikkana (Aho 1998, 65–66), merkityksellisintä musiikkiterapiassa ja erityisesti yhdessä soittamisessa on sosiaalisten taitojen eli ryhmäläisten välisen kommunikaation kehittäminen (Kanniainen 2011, 106; Lehtonen 1998, 11).

Tässä ryhmässä soittamisella oli terapiaistuntojen aikana tietynlainen keventävä rooli. Usein terapiaistuntojen alussa musiikin kuuntelun yhteydessä ryhmäläisten keskuudesta nousi esiin asioita, jotka herättivät keskustelua ja liittyivät ryhmän jäsenten taustoihin. Soittamisen kautta ryhmäläiset saivat olla aktiivisia toimijoita; tehdä jotakin mielekästä ja irtaantua käsitellyistä asioista tai ajatuksista (vrt. Tuastad & O'Grady 2013, 221; 224–225). Tämän kyseisen ryhmän jälkeen toteuttamissani musiikkiryhmissä soittamisesta on muodostunut toiminnan päätarkoitus, joka tukee ryhmän terapeuttisia tavoitteita.

Ryhmäläiset ilmaisivat kiinnostuksensa tutustua soittimiin sekä harjoitella soitettuja kappaleita myös istuntojen ulkopuolella. Ryhmäläisille osoittautui merkitykselliseksi suoriutua haasteellisista soitto-osuuksista ja hioa soitettavia kappaleita hyvän lopputuloksen saamiseksi. Terapiaprosessin aikana ryhmässä nousi useasti esiin miesten kokemus omasta osaamattomuudesta ja kehittymättömyydestä. Juhani kertoi kaipaavansa jokaisen istunnon aikana hieman jonkinlaista onnistumisen tunnetta sekä ärsyyntyvänsä osaamattomuudestaan. Hän painotti runsaan harjoittelumäärän merkityksellisyyttä ja totesi oppimisen, onnistumisen ja osaamisen mahdollistavan hänelle tyytyväisyyden tunteen kokemisen myös omaa itseään kohtaan:

> *...Itseluottamus kasvaa niin ku sullaki (Max), sähän vedät ihan päin persettä niin ku minäkin vois suoraan sanoo, mut sit joku sanoo et tosi hyvin, et sul on rytmi hallinnas ni heti se niin ku saa enemmän yrit... enemmän yrittämään. Tää on just oikeen.*
> (Juhani, 8. istunto)

Vaikka ryhmäläiset oppivat ja suoriutuivat soittamisesta hyvin, joidenkin henkilöiden oli vaikeaa vastaanottaa positiivista palautetta ja tunnustusta onnistumisista (vrt. O'Grady, Rolvsjord & McFerran 2015, 135–136). Pidän merkityksellisenä, että ryhmäläiset saavat tekemisen kautta onnistumisen kokemuksia, jotka vähitellen muokkaisivat heidän käsitystään omasta itsestään osaavina ja toimivina yksilöinä (vrt. Ruud 2010, 87). Soittaminen on osoittautunut hyväksi väyläksi saavuttaa päämääriä, kerryttää osaamista instrumenttien hallinnan suhteen sekä toteuttaa itseään.

Istuntojen soitto-osuudet olivat usein tehokkaita, innostuneita ja intensiivisiä. Terapiaprosessin aikana soitimme ryhmäläisten kanssa yhteensä seitsemää kappaletta. Soittotilanteissa ryhmäläiset kuuntelivat ohjeistusta, antoivat toisilleen tilaa ja työrauhaa sekä keskittyivät tekemiseen. Soitettaessa oli merkityksellistä, että ryhmäläisten ohjeistus oli selkeää ja kannustavaa. Riittävän tuen ja kannustavan palautteen saaminen toimi edellytyksenä ryhmän jäsenten motivaation ja innostuneisuuden säilymiselle. Vankiryhmän kanssa työskenneltäessä ulkopuolisen, asiantuntevan auktoriteetin läsnäolo on merkityksellinen, jotta soittamisesta saataisiin mahdollisimman suuri määrätietoinen tyydytys (Aho 1998, 65–66). Vaikka tulosten musiikillinen taso jäi toisarvoiseksi pyrittäessä terapeuttisiin päämääriin, pedagogista osuutta ei voinut soitto-osuuksissa kuitenkaan ohittaa.

Toimiessani ryhmässä samanaikaisesti useamman henkilön kanssa, ryhmän jäsenet saivat yhtäaikaisesti auttaa myös muita ja oppia toisiltaan (Salminen 1997, 12). Kuvionuottimenetelmä mahdollisti jokaisen henkilön osallistumisen soittotilanteisiin ja osoittautui selkeyttäväksi ja helposti lähestyttäväksi apuvälineeksi soittoprosessissa (ks. Hakomäki 2007, 34 ja Kanniainen 2011, 106).

Erilaiset fyysiset vammat rajoittivat joidenkin ryhmäläisten kohdalla soittamista. Sen vuoksi hyödynsimme ryhmässä bändisoittimien lisäksi iPadia, joka osoittautui helposti lähestyttäväksi ja mielekkääksi apuvälineeksi toivekappaleiden toteuttamisessa silloin kun soittaminen tavallisilla bändisoittimilla ei ollut mahdollista.

Suljettu ryhmä

Ryhmän pysyvyyden ja ryhmäläisten läsnäolon merkityksellisyys osoittautui musiikkiterapiaprosessissa keskeiseksi asiaksi. Jo ennen prosessin puoltaväliä ryhmän keskuudessa alkoi nousta esiin voimakas toive ja tarve ryhmän pysyvyydestä ja jäsenten säännöllisestä läsnäolosta:

> *Mut täähän on hyvä systeemi et... **tämmönen** musiikkiterapia ni se sais olla niin ku useemmin ja sitte se sillai se porukka, et se ei niin ku vaihtelis, et se ois niin ku kiintee kokonaisuus ja kaikki ois sitoutuneita niin ku käymään eikä sillai, et jäädään veke tollai ku se haittaa sit sitä omaa motivaatioo kans, nii. Et se ois niin ku yhtenäinen se porukka, pieni, mutta yhtenäinen.* (Juhani, 13. istunto)

Ryhmäkoolla osoittautui olevan merkitystä erityisesti ryhmän sisällä käsiteltävien asioiden esiin tuomisessa. Tämä ilmeni mm. ryhmäkoon pienentyessä, jolloin istunnot sisälsivät intensiivisempää keskustelua; henkilökohtaisia sekä rankkoja aiheita, ajatuksia ja kokemuksia. Joidenkin ryhmän jäsenten poissaolot ja sitoutumattomuus ryhmään häiritsivät erityisesti Juhania ja vaikuttivat negatiivisesti paikalla olevien henkilöiden olotilaan ja mielialaan. Aluksi ryhmäläiset kielsivät harmituksensa (ks. Salminen 1997, 95–96), mutta prosessin edetessä asia alkoi kuitenkin häiritä. Sitoutumattomuus ryhmään aiheutti prosessin loppusuoralla jo lievää ristiriitaa ryhmädynamiikassa. Lopulta ryhmäläiset ilmaisivat, etteivät he halua enää uusia jäseniä ryhmään:

> *Joo ihan sama jos meiän osastolta joku uus pingviini tulee tähän näin vittu nii... sekottaa koko pakan perkele ku se nykii hihassa ja kyselee koko ajan kaikkee...* (Juhani, 18. istunto)

Näiden kokemusten perusteella puollan musiikkiterapian toteuttamista pienehkön suljetun ryhmä kanssa. Tällöin vältytään ryhmäkoon vaihtuvuudelta ja työskentely olisi mahdollisesti yhtenäisempää ja intensiivisempää.

Ennakkoluulot, ajatukset ja asenteet

Istuntojen aikana keskustelu ajautui usein ihmisten lokeroimiseen, ennakkoluuloisuuteen ja ennakkokäsityksiin. Istunnoilla heränneistä keskusteluista ilmeni monesti ryhmäläisten ajatus vankien vähempiarvoisuudesta. Ilmeni, että osalla ryhmäläisistä on melko voimakas näkemys siitä millaisia vangit ovat ja miten heihin yleisesti suhtaudutaan:

> *Mä en nää niissä mitään hyvää... enkä itsessänikään.* (Juhani, 19. istunto)

Ryhmäläiset toivat esiin ajatuksiaan yhteiskunnan suhtautumisesta heihin sekä heidän suhtautumisestaan minuun terapeuttina. Ryhmäläisillä oli alkuun ennakkoluuloja minua kohtaan ja he olivat kiinnostuneita ajatuksistani sekä suhtautumisestani vankilaan ja vankeihin. Erityisesti Juhani ei voinut ymmärtää, miten joku voi olla lähtökohtaisesti niin ”hyväsydäminen”, että tulee vapaaehtoisesti vankilaan. Ryhmäläiset kokivat miellyttäväksi, että olen positiivinen ja uskon jokaisen ryhmäläisen potentiaaliin oppia soittamaan sekä merkityksellisyyteen ryhmän jäsenenä (vrt. Ruud 2010, 87). Myös Margaret Barrettin (2012, 256–257) mukaan ryhmän ohjaajan kärsivällinen, rohkaiseva, kohtelias ja ei-ylimielinen asennoituminen toimintaan edesauttaa ryhmälle asetettujen tavoitteiden saavuttamisessa.

Pohdinta

Terapiaprosessin aikana sain musiikin kautta mahdollisuuden tarjota ryhmälle uudenlaista toimintaa ja sisältöä arkeen. Lisäksi pyrin auttamaan heitä käsittelemään heidän omaa henkilöhistoriaansa ja käsitystä omasta itsestään yhteiskuntaan sopeutuvina yksilöinä sekä ymmärtämään heidän ajatus- ja kokemusmaailmaansa.

Minun ja ryhmäläisten välinen luottamus rakentui vähitellen tutustumisen ja yhteisen toiminnan kautta (vrt. Chen, Hannibal, Xu & Gold 2014, 232). Aito kiinnostus ja välittäminen ryhmäläisiä ja heidän asioitaan kohtaan osoittautui yhdeksi merkittäväksi tekijäksi kiintymyssuhteen rakentumisessa (vrt. Hyyti 1996, 46). Oletan, että terapiaprosessin pituudella ja terapiaistuntojen määrällä oli merkitystä ryhmäläisten suhtautumisessa terapiaan ja terapeuttiin (vrt. Chen, Hannibal, Xu & Gold 2014, 237). Kaksi kertaa viikossa toteutettu musiikkiterapia loi puitteet nopeammalle tutustumiselle ja luottamuksen rakentumiselle sekä edesauttoi ryhmäläisten sitoutumista ja motivoitumista terapiatoimintaan. On mahdollista, että joidenkin ryhmäläisten kohdalla omien henkilökohtaisten asioiden tuominen ryhmään tunnetasolla ei tuntunut tämän prosessin aikana kuitenkaan riittävän turvalliselta tai mielekkäältä.

Alkuun pohdin oman ikäni ja sukupuoleni mahdollisia toimintaa rajoittavia tai haittaavia tekijöitä vankiryhmän kanssa työskenneltäessä. Omaan kokemuspohjaani nojaten olen kuitenkin todennut, että omalla toiminnallani ja terapeuttina asettamillani rajoilla ja rakenteilla tavoitteellinen terapiatoiminta voi iästä tai sukupuolesta riippumatta olla mahdollista ja toimivaa. Prosessin toiseksi viimeisellä istunnolla Juhani mainitsi mieltävänsä musiikin opettajaksi juuri naishenkilön, mihin Aleksi kommentoi:

> *Nii tuskin sä lähtisit opet... opettelee tota kosketinsoitinta jos joku äijä tulis... täytyy olla aika loistava sitte opettaa.* (Aleksi, 28. istunto)

Työskennellessäni tämän kohderyhmän kanssa olen hyödyntänyt sekä terapeuttista että pedagogista lähestymistapaa. Tämän katsauksen taustalla olevan tutkimusprosessin yhteydessä pedagogiikkaa ei voinut erottaa tai poistaa istuntojen sisällöstä (vrt. Sivonen 1999, 196). Kun terapian sisältö muuttuu toiminnalliseksi, se vaatii ryhmän sisällä ohjeistusta ja opastusta niin rajojen kuin teknisen toteutuksenkin puitteissa. Tällöin musiikki toimii apuvälineenä myös pedagogisten tavoitteiden saavuttamisessa (Ruud 2010, 76–77, 113–114). Tämän kyseisen tutkielman kohdalla on selvää, että toivotun lopputuloksen saamiseksi pedagoginen osuus oli olennainen. Pedagogiikka voi yhdessä terapeuttisen otteen kanssa mahdollistaa istuntojen aikana päämäärien saavuttamisen sekä tarjota ja avata ryhmäläisille hyvinkin uudenlaisia, uudistavia elämyksiä. Tällainen omalaatuinen työskentelyympäristö mahdollistaa ja edellyttää myös uusien musiikkiterapian ja pedagogiikan sovellusmahdollisuuksien löytämistä (vrt. Chen, Hannibal, Xu & Gold 2014, 226; O'Grady, Rolvsjord & McFerran 2015).

Haasteena vankien kanssa toimimisessa on ryhmän jäsenten tasapuolinen huomioiminen ja osuva ohjeistaminen (ks. Salminen 1997, 39, 72–74). Ryhmän ohjaajan tulee huomioida kaikki ryhmän jäsenet sekä osata ohjeistaa selkeästi ja ymmärrettävästi miten soitettava osuus toteutetaan (Barrett 2012, 256–257). Näin ollen ryhmätilanteissa tarvitaan tilanteiden hallintaa ja tietynlaista auktoriteettia, jotta yhteissoitto johtaisi niin onnistumisen kokemuksiin kuin elämyksiinkin.

Soittoa siviilissä?

Pidän vankien kuntouttamista musiikin keinoin kiehtovana, ainutlaatuisena ja tieteellisesti Suomessa sekä maailmalla myös melko tuntemattomana toimintana (vrt. Chen, Hannibal,

Xu & Gold 2014, 224, 228; Gold, Assmus, Hjørnevik, Qvale, Brown, Lill Hansen, Waage & Stige 2014; Lee 2010; Tuastad & O'Grady 2013, 212, 227–228). Koska vankilassa toteutetusta musiikkiterapiasta on tehty tutkimusta suhteellisen vähän, uuden tutkimusaineiston kerryttäminen sekä erilaisten lähestymistapojen löytäminen ja yhdisteleminen olisi tulevaisuudessa tarpeellista ja toivottavaa (Gold, Assmus, Hjørnevik, Qvale, Brown, Lill Hansen, Waage & Stige 2014, 1535).

Musiikkitoimintaan panostaminen voi olla haasteellista johtuen eritoten taloudellisista syistä, mutta myös yhteiskunnan mielipiteestä ja siitä, että vangit ovat kohderyhmänä mahdollisesti viimeisimpiä joihin suuri enemmistö päättäjistä haluaa aikaa ja energiaa kohdistaa (vrt. Lee 2010, 11–12; Lucas 2013, 137). Vaikka mielenterveysongelmien esiintyvyys ja terapian tarve vankiloissa on suuri, on mahdollista, että tämä kohderyhmä on joukko johon ei välttämättä haluta investoida. Näin ollen mielenterveysongelmista kärsivät vangit eivät saa osakseen riittävästi asianmukaista ammattiapua (ks. Chen, Hannibal, Xu & Gold 2014, 224–225, 236). Kuntouttava terapeuttinen musiikkitoiminta voisi kuitenkin edesauttaa uusintarikollisuuden vähenemistä, monipuolista kuntoutumista (vrt. Kanniainen 2011, 106; Gold, Assmus, Hjørnevik, Qvale, Brown, Lill Hansen, Waage & Stige 2014) ja henkilöiden normaaliin elämään palaamista.

Siviilissä eri yhteyksissä mukana kulkeva vangiksi leimautuminen luo omat haasteensa yhteiskuntaan sopeutumiseen (Hyyti 1996, 53). Tämän kyseisen tutkimuksen ryhmäläiset kertoivat myös päihteiden käytön aiheuttavan heille hankaluuksia siviilissä ja mainitsivat vertaistuen olevan mielekkäin lähestymistapa päihdeongelmien käsittelyssä. Sekä tämän katsauksen taustalla olevan tutkimuksen ryhmäläiset että sen jälkeen Helsingin vankilassa toteutettujen musiikkiryhmien jäsenet ovat olleet kiinnostuneita toiminnan jatkuvuudesta siviilissä. Ajatus siitä, että musiikkiterapia voisi jatkua jonkinlaisessa muodossa ryhmäläisten vapautumisen jälkeen herättää mielenkiintoa (vrt. Tuastad & O'Grady 2013).

Muurien sisäpuolella aloitettu terapeuttinen musiikkitoiminta voisi muodostaa jatkumon siviilissä, jolloin toiminnan eheyttävät vaikutukset voisivat siirtyä helpommin ja käytännönläheisemmin ryhmäläisten arkeen. Näin siviilissä arkeaan rakentavat henkilöt voisivat saada uutta sisältöä elämään ja mahdollisuuden toimia "vertaistukiryhmässä", jonka jäsenillä on samankaltaista elämänhistoriaa ja ymmärrystä asioista. Ryhmä tarjoaisi turvallisen, kannustavan ja mielekkään yhteisön eli näin ollen mahdollistaisi sosiaalisen verkoston muodostumisen, jonka tarkoituksena olisi tukea muun muassa päihteetöntä elämäntapaa, kohentaa mielialaa sekä lisätä voimavaroja yhteiskuntaan sopeutumiseen ja rikoskierteen välttämiseen (ks. Ruud 2010, 132; Tuastad & O'Grady 2013, 222). Olisi kiinnostavaa ja merkityksellistä tehdä jatkotutkimus siitä, voisiko musiikillinen vertaisryhmätoiminta mahdollistaa päihteettömän ja rikoksettoman elämäntavan vakiinnuttamisen ja voisiko se vaikuttaa jälkihuoltona niin yksilön elämänarvojen rakentumiseen tai muokkautumiseen kuin suuntautumiseenkin elämässä.

Nimesin tämän katsauksen ja sen perustana toimivan tutkielman musiikkiterapiaprosessin viimeisellä istunnolla esiin nousseen ryhmäläisen ajatuksen mukaisesti: "Kylhän meki voitais pärjää euroviisuissa". Ajatus on mielestäni koskettava ja kuvastaa prosessin tunnelmaa sekä tavoitteita ja niiden toteutumista. Vaikka ajatus ilmaistiinkin humoristiseen sävyyn, se on mielestäni ajankohtainen ja varteenotettava. Katson, että terapeuttinen musiikkitoiminta osana vankien kuntoutusta olisi tarpeellista ja merkityksellistä myös jatkossa. ■

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English Abstract

In this report, I describe my bachelor degree research of a music group therapy project run for male inmates of the prison of Helsinki in 2014–2015, as part of their rehabilitation. Through observations and interviews, this phenomenological-hermeneutic case study aimed to understand the experiences of the prisoners participating in this project, and to investigate the possibilities of group music therapy in the prison environment. The results suggest that a group music therapy process can provide opportunities for self-actualisation and the cultivation of a positive outlook. Group music therapy is seen to offer experiences of success, and a healthy alternative to the use of intoxicants. In addition, the project participants reported developing their social skills and self-expression, and improved abilities in sharing their feelings and thoughts in a confidential and comfortable environment. ■

Arviot | Reviews

Marja Heimonen

Book review

Beyond Methods. Lessons from the arts to qualitative research

Liora Bresler (Ed.) 2015.
Publication from the Malmö Academy of Music. Perspectives in music and music education No 10. Lund: Lund University. ISBN 978-91-982297-4-5

What can qualitative research learn from the arts? This challenging question is reflected upon by the editor of *Beyond Methods: Lessons from the Arts to Qualitative Research*, Liora Bresler, internationally well-known Professor in art education at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign. She has visited the University of the Arts Helsinki several times, and is presently a member of the advisory board for the Academy of Finland funded international research project *Global visions Through Mobilizing Networks: Co-Developing Intercultural Music Teacher Education in Finland, Israel and Nepal* (http://sites.uniarts.fi/web/globalvisions/home).

In 2010, Liora Bresler was invited to the University of Lund as a visiting professor. The position was established in honor of Hedda Andersson 1861–1950, the first female student at the Swedish university, with the first iteration of this visiting professorship granted to Malmö Academy of Music at the Faculty of Fine and Performing Arts. One cannot think of a more perfect Hedda Andersson Professorship for the university's research community consisting of students, researchers, and professors than Bresler. Her numerous international contacts and excellent skills, competence and interests in interdisciplinary research and arts-based research methods were most valuable for the Swedish research community during her visiting professorship that lasted from 2011 to 2015.

The publication of this book is one of the most important outcomes of the numerous collaborative projects Liora Bresler directed during her time as Hedda Andersson Professor. In addition to a profound Overture, the book consists of six chapters by Swedish researchers and six chapters by international researchers that were invited to join the book project. This is one example of how a visiting professor is able to promote the development of international networks, one of the most important factors in fostering international research communities. Moreover, the book is published through a not-for-profit publisher. As such, this book is available not only as a printed volume but also free-of-charge as an electronic version. This kind of open-access-publishing is widely supported by the international research community since it bypasses the often prohibitive paywalls of many publishing houses, enabling the research to be read globally, and to be accessed by those without the financial resources to invest in—increasingly expensive—research literature. The aim of this book is thus to promote an on-going discussion, in which everyone is able to take part.

Polyphony, several voices equally composed into the work, is emphasized in Liora Bresler's writing. According to her, aiming at understanding is more important than the explanation of a phenomenon. Dissonances and tensions between voices have a crucial role to play here, since complexity is favoured in her view of qualitative research. Such as in music, dissonances in research create tensions. What becomes most important for the reader is then to listen to the different kinds of voices, aiming to understand each of them

empathically. This means that there is no one right answer or interpretation. The ethics of care, as influenced by the work of Nel Noddings and the concept of dialogical relationships (see, M. Buber's *I and Thou*, 1971), among others, are visible in Liora Bresler's writing. Sensitivity and intuitive understanding are usually connected with artistic work but she sees them as part of qualitative research as well. Subjectivity is not only essential in the arts but also in qualitative research that focuses usually on a single human being. She stresses the importance of "unknowing" (p. 7), ignorance, in order to be able to understand emphatically and to have a fresh attitude towards others. In the academies, researchers tend to be sophisticated authors, and have considerable expertise and knowledge in their field, which may in practice hinder their abilities of being flexible and open to new ideas and other views.

Aiming towards emphatic understanding and appreciating different voices is relevant in reading this book as well. The contributing authors are at various stages of their research careers: for instance, one author may have recently started his or her doctoral studies, whereas another may be an internationally well-known retired professor still actively conducting research. It is not only the different backgrounds and identities of the authors that are described, but also the varieties of identities within a person that are opened up for the readers. The authors are thus not only artists but also directors, educators, researchers, and musicians.

The book is divided into three parts (p. 11). The first section, on arts and research, begins with a chapter by Lia Lonnert, a Swedish music researcher and harpist. She writes about the power of the arts to represent unlived lives, and in this way makes it possible for the audience to experience something outside of their real life. In this sense, she suggests that we all have two kinds of lives: that which is *real*, and that which is *ideal*. The arts may promote empathy in touching the senses of human beings via the stories of others, or fictive stories, and in this way promote emotional understanding between human beings, and self-understanding as well. The next chapter is written by Tyler Denmead, artist, arts educator and manager; he writes here on "not knowing" and connects artistic work with educational ethnography. The third contribution is from a well-known Swedish jazz-musician, Sven Bjersted, whose background is in classical music, jazz, and drama. He has conducted research on Swedish jazz-musicians, and is interested in what jazz improvisation can teach for research. "It is all process" is the title of his chapter. The following chapter by Bruno Faria concludes the first part of this book. Faria, a classical flautist and director of sound-painting, explores his own artistic work and research, and focuses on the balance (and imbalance) in both of them. In summary, all the authors write from both the perspective of artist and researcher, and their backgrounds in different kinds of art forms, musical genres and instruments, for example, shape their understandings of research: rather than teaching music students, they are now sharing important lessons for researchers.

The second section of the book focuses on ethnography and ethnomusicology. Here, the authors aim at understanding Otherness, that is, human beings in other cultures. Koji Matsunobo, pianist and Shakuhachi player, reflects on the cultural aspects of sensing time. Bruno Nettl, Professor Emeritus at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, discusses in his chapter "The meat-and-potatoes book" how to write ethnographies. Eva Saether, Professor in music education at Malmö Academy of Music and docent in music education at University of the Arts Helsinki, discusses the role of music making in data collection and as a research tool, and her experiences in doing field work in Gambia and Malmö are extremely intriguing. In her chapter, she describes how she has used the violin as a research tool and playing the violin as a research method.

The focus of the third and final part of the book is on education. Göran Folkestad, Professor in music education at Malmö Academy of Music with a background as a

musician in classical, pop and rock music, questions the common dichotomies of classical and popular music; informal learning outside of school and formal learning in school; autodidactic and teacher-centered learning; performance and teaching; and artist and teacher identities. Based on his experiences, no such dichotomies exist, promoting a more integrated view and approach to music education. This is followed by a poem by Robert Stake, exploring how education can be inspired by the power of the arts. Anna Houmann, Senior lecturer in methodology at Malmö Academy of Music, writes about the role of expressive objects in her study, in which these kinds of objects were used as a pedagogical tool, and as a research tool, when assumptions on music teaching were examined. They might be seen as "the key to the life-world", referring to a phenomenological perspective, life-world as the complex every-day world we live in (p. 125). Susan Stinson discusses dance, teaching, and research and describes how her teaching was inspired by dance. Both dance and teaching were connected with her understanding of research and these all are incorporated in her life as a whole. In the final chapter, Betsy Hearne describes the power of narratives in the light of education, research, and self-knowledge. When a researcher interprets facts, she or he tells a story; in fact, all research tells a story.

This fascinating book tells us many stories. As interpreters, the readers are presented with a polyphonic composition of different kinds of voices that have been structured by the editor into a meaningful whole. The book suggests that it is essential to understand the importance of emphatic understanding as a key to find out what lies 'beyond methods'. We do not know beforehand what we might find, nor do we have strict guidelines directing us to find it. The search for the unknown is emphasized and the process is forever ongoing. Just as in the arts, openness and sometimes even ignorance is important for qualitative research in order to be creative, and to find something new. ■

These open lessons can be enjoyed by everyone around the world:
http://www.mhm.lu.se/sites/mhm.lu.se/files/perspectives_in_music10.pdf

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Katja Thomson & Linda Toivanen

Book review

From life into school and back: Independence and lifelong participation as the goals of music education

Thomas A. Regelski (2016). A Brief Introduction to a Philosophy of Music and Music Education as Social Praxis. New York: Routledge.

Music education practices and their relevance to ongoing, and at times extremely rapid, changes in the world are under constant scrutiny. Many music teachers feel they have to defend the position of school music to the taxpayers, educational authorities, and even students. According to Thomas Regelski's recently published, dynamic book called *A Brief Introduction to a Philosophy of Music and Music Education as Social Praxis*, these problems arise from building music education curriculum and teacher training on the aesthetic theory of music. He claims that the aesthetic rationale has failed to provide solid philosophical foundations for school music, and that even music teachers themselves are confused about the meaning and the aims of their subject.

A great number of Regelski's writings have focused on the critique of aesthetic music education rationales in light of his praxial perspective (e.g. Regelski 1999; Regelski 2004), and in this book he aims to offer his lifework on praxial music education in a compact package. He calls for a philosophical shift in order to rebuild the natural connections with music and people's everyday lifeworld and practices. He claims that such connections have been gradually dismantled with aesthetic theory of music taking hold in Western music education, from the eighteenth century onwards, pointing out that "if the philosophical grounds and practical premises are weak, the results can only be weak—even nonexistent or negative" (p. 45). To demonstrate the shift he considers necessary, Regelski has divided the book into two parts. The first part comprises a critique, if not a thorough demolition of aesthetic approaches to music education, and the second part focuses on offering alternatives seeking to convince the reader that conceptualizing music education as social praxis can shape the future of music education for the better.

Criticising the "aesthetic this and that"

In his book, Regelski is determined to reveal how obscure the foundations of aesthetic music education are, and how unclearly these already obscure premises and terminology ("aesthetic this and that") are explicated through this approach. According to him, music teachers rarely understand the complex, imprecise and contradictory aesthetic terminology so often used, yet continue to apply the aesthetic rationale in their own justifications and advocacy work for school music (p. 44). This is quite contradictory to how the public, politicians and administrators see the role of music in schools—*as functional*: schools are expected to serve "various practical functions of importance to society: political, economic, social, and personal" (p. 45). Regelski even argues that the aesthetic rationale is not a prerequisite for understanding what music really *is* and what it means to people.

Music has always been praxial, and it still is today (p. 22) despite being set apart from "serving a variety of everyday social needs, doings and uses" during the late Renaissance (note: maybe in theory, but not of course in real life!) (p. 24). As Regelski says, it is quite absurd to claim that 'fine art' music would have no social dimensions and that only music 'for-its-own-sake' would count—could music really have descended from Mars?

Regelski has written the book with music education students and teachers in mind. It is a compact and well structured read for students and music teachers who are interested in understanding better what philosophy (or the lack of) their own education has been built upon. The book invites teachers to consider what ideology forms the basis of their approach as educators. The contradiction between the "speculative-rationalist" aesthetic ideology that most music education students and teachers have absorbed in their own education, and the idea of general music education being for *everyone* in school, can leave music education students confused about their aims as teachers. Regelski underlines that aesthetic music education often promotes inequality "by favouring its uncritical assumptions—- about 'good music' and 'talented students'" (p. 56). Alongside many other praxialist scholars (e.g. Alperson 1991; Elliott 1995) Regelski's ideas resonate with contemporary thinking in music education that sees musical cultures "continually evolving new forms of praxis, finding new uses, creating new social realities" (p. 83). Regelski creates a powerful tension between an educational culture based on Western classical music and his own ideology of how, and why, the teaching and learning of music should take place. However, from the perspective of Finnish music education his argumentation is problematic, an issue we attend to later in this review.

Music education as a living social praxis

Regelski is concerned about today's music education being oblivious to the changing world, thus failing students by getting stuck with the idea of an aesthetic hierarchy. He argues that "[t]he time is long overdue—for a firm return to the praxial role and the many social benefits of music and, by taking music off its aesthetic pedestal, for returning it to its important status as significant part of our social nature" (p. 112). As mentioned earlier, Regelski dedicates the second half of the book to explaining the principles and possibilities of praxial philosophy in the field of music education, and challenges teachers to acknowledge how the hidden values of the aesthetic theory of music prevent them from being advocates of equality and social justice. He describes how, in the praxial philosophy of music, musical culture is seen to consist of every meaningful use people have for music. This (*musicking*) means not only performing, composing and listening, but includes the many common uses for music in our lives, including for example background music, sharing of playlists on social media and so on (p. 66). Regelski argues that real-life musicking should be incorporated into music education curricula: it's not about "music or 'for its own sake'", but "education *in*, *of* and *through* music" (p. 69). Paradoxically, his manifesto for 'every meaningful use of music' ignores that such multiplicity should also allow for aesthetic uses of music that differ from his own interpretations (see for example Westerlund 2003). Is the time then ripe for embracing a wider palette of ways to fulfil our, and others', musical lives?

Regelski explains the praxial philosophy of music education through three interrelated conditions: praxis as a noun, praxis as action and praxial knowledge. As a *noun*, praxis leads to notable results and music is 'good' if it is good *for* something—when the musical praxis serves the human purposes. Praxis as *action*, refers to the intentionality and purpose of the action instead of mere activities. The key word in musical praxis is 'doings', in the sense of musicking that, no less than, enhances life and enriches society. Praxial *knowledge*, is developed through and in action: "Knowledge *for* praxis develops *from* praxis, not as a

precondition of praxis" (p. 89). Regelski summarizes one of his main arguments about music education as social praxis: praxial knowledge is bound to the *skills* acquired by doing and music teaching as praxis should lead to *musical independence* and long-term positive dispositions that enable the students to be musically active without having to rely on authorities later in life (pp. 85–95).

Just when the reader might translate Regelski's philosophical approach as an antidote to most principles associated with Western music education, such as striving to cultivate instrumental skills that can be assessed, Regelski surprises the reader with demands for concrete musical capabilities. His point is that musical skills acquired in school need to bear a personal meaning to their owner, and that they need to prove useful in later life. As he explains in the first part of the book, performing and listening to music does not inevitably amount to worthwhile experiences. Praxis-based music education aims at involving the students in the many forms of musicking by developing *general musicianship*, that includes musical skills useful in many kind of musics (e.g. knowledge of chords, note reading, playing by ear, p. 69).

In the last chapter of the book Regelski offers his version of a praxially orientated Action Learning curriculum model, that aims to bring authentic "real-life" musicking to schools thus strengthening the relationship students will have with music after graduation (pp. 103–104). He writes passionately about music education providing lifelong tools and benefits, which depend not only on *what* is being taught but *how*. The versatility of genres and repertoire is not enough: including today's pop music in music classes does not automatically lead to meaningful music making or provide skills that the students will be able to use throughout their lives.

Regelski's Action Learning curriculum promotes the "transfer of learning" by envisioning guidelines following "from life into school -- and back into life" in an attempt to make a permanent difference in students musical lives (p. 107). In the spirit of his philosophy, to indicate in practice how music education can reach far beyond classroom activities, Regelski uses sports terminology and links it with motivation and musical skills with long-term effects. He has named 'doing' music in personally rewarding ways "breaking 100 in music", suggesting that when students are treated as musical practitioners, they will find their own means to this rewarding state of mind. Furthermore, they may become committed to pursue a particular musical praxis "because of the musical, social and personal pleasures it offers" (p. 108).

"What is this book "good for"?

Though the shortcomings of the aesthetic theory have been widely recognised and examined in music education practice and research (e.g. Alperson 1991; Elliott 1995; Regelski 2011), it is worth considering Regelski's views with an open mind and analyse one's own musical upbringing and teaching against his claims. While his book *A Brief Introduction to a Philosophy of Music and Music Education as Social Praxis* seems to reflect North American music education in particular its relevance elsewhere can't be denied. Regelski's, at times ruthless attacks against aesthetic music education traditions, as well as his inclusion of several practical examples, walks a fine line between critique and resembling a sports spectator shouting out instructions from the sofa. Consequently, his arguments may provoke educators and institutions whose mission it is to create participatory and inclusive learning environments, and who already have implemented structures to embrace students' musical lives beyond the four walls of the music classroom.

Despite the author's conscious decision to avoid many important 'how to' questions, it could be justified to expect more substantial practical solutions to remedy the current state of affairs. The focus on *how* could have been brought to the forefront earlier in the book

as some readers might feel alienated by Regelski's claims against school music's inclusion of Western classical repertoire. For example, in Finland it might be a challenging task to find a music classroom where Western classical music prevails or even features prominently. In light of this, it is crucial to emphasize that the main point of praxial philosophy elaborated by Regelski is not about repertoire, but in what way students are being taught and listened to.

However, Regelski is aware of giving space to the reader (hopefully many music teachers of the future among them) to process the ideas independently, and envision how they might implement the praxial philosophy in their own work in ways that are personally rewarding and will have meaningful, long-lasting effects. After all, only the users themselves can decide what aspects of music, are valuable, touching, magical, life-affirming, transformational or relevant to them. ■

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