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This special issue is dedicated to the goal of diversification of music education discourse. It includes contributions from 31 authors from a range of career paths including music teachers, performers and scholars, and geographical regions including Europe, the Middle East, South Africa, South America and South Asia. These contributions, including 4 articles and 7 reports, were selected to showcase some of the voices heard during two conferences that took place in 2019, the Cultural Diversity in Music Education (CDIME) XIV conference[1] in Tel Aviv, Israel from June 16th to 19th and the 2nd International Society for Music Education (ISME) South Asia regional conference[2] in Kathmandu, Nepal from November 4th to 6th. Both conferences were organised in cooperation with the project *Global Visions through Mobilising Networks*[3] which ends in 2020 and is funded by the Academy of Finland. As researchers in this project, all three guest editors were on the scientific committee of the CDIME conference, with Gluschankof chairing this committee, and Treacy also chaired the scientific committee for the ISME South Asia regional conference.

The two conferences from which this issue has grown each have a unique history and academic agenda. CDIME has a tradition of challenging academic discourse, as is evident in the choices of conference locations. Odendaal's conference report (this issue) describes, for example, the impact of the Israeli context within which CDIME XIV took place and how this exposed new levels of intricacy in the socio-political and socio-religious challenges of education. This issue includes two articles (see Kertz-Welzel; Schab) and one report (see Santiago) from this conference, which exemplify the importance of engaging with researchers and practitioners of various cultures, and taking time and care to attend to the micro-intricacies that emanate from diverse and complex societies like those in Brazil, India, Israel, and Nepal.

The ISME South Asia regional conference had as its overarching theme 'Music teacher learning and life in the 21st century'. As Nepal does not currently have government-recognised music teacher education and the profession of school music teacher is in its infancy in Nepal, this conference was particularly significant. Moreover, for many of the local participants it was their first opportunity to attend an international music education conference. The conference also proved to be an important forum for both experienced and early career scholars, with a number of presenters participating in and giving a conference presentation for the first time. This issue features seven contributions from this conference through two articles (Krishna; Wieneke) and five reports (Kansakar & Tuladhar; Karki et al.; Raghavan; Upadhyaya; Vaidyanathan).

The CDIME and ISME South Asia conferences, however, were perhaps among the last of their kind—held in a shared physical space enabling not only presentations, but also hands-on workshops, concerts, informal conversations and shared activities like conference dinners–at least for the foreseeable future. This special issue was originally planned to be ready for distribution to all participants of the 34th ISME World Conference in Helsinki, Finland, but sadly the conference had to be cancelled due to the coronavirus pandemic. While it is hard to remember the pre-COVID-19 world, only months ago norms of international academic conferencing allowed platforms such as CDIME and ISME to thrive. These gatherings promoted cross-cultural exchanges of research and practice experiences, creating environments of mutual enrichment. Since then, conferences have moved online, enabling access to participants from all over the world at almost no cost, and leaving recordings that can be revisited. The pandemic has also demonstrated two extreme existen-

tial poles of contemporary globalism. On the one hand, it has become quite pertinent that we all share the same planet and that some troubles cannot be escaped no matter where you are in the world. On the other hand, a surprising emergence of a post-global nationalism has taken effect through the shutdown of international borders, including acts of nations reaching out to "rescue" their citizens who had been "stuck" abroad when the pandemic hit, and bringing them "home". The preparation of this issue thus took place at a time of great uncertainty–at first still aiming for the ISME World Conference publication deadline–while our authors, reviewers and editors navigated a new world of physical distance, isolation, and anxieties brought about by this novel virus and the resulting need to work from home when possible, and often with kids underfoot. We are especially grateful to all who contributed as authors and reviewers throughout these challenging times.

The articles section of this issue opens with Schab's historical exploration of the attention given to Church modes in American, UK and Israeli curricula, an article that grew out of one of the keynote presentations at the CDIME conference. Krishna then takes us to South Asia to explore the ideologically flexible and heterotopic spaces of private, small and medium-scale new music schools in India. Kertz-Welzel's article then investigates the German notion of Leitkultur–core culture–a concept through which she explores the interdisciplinary implications of the politics of German culture and its impact on music education. Finally, Wieneke examines collaboration in music education through the perceptions of four Austrian school music teachers of their collaborations with music instructors from local music schools in whole class ensembles.

In the reports section, Santiago discusses multicultural issues in Brazilian music education, explaining through a theoretical construct the events that contribute to the predominance of monoculturalism in Brazilian music education. Upadhyaya then argues for the importance of teachers attending to rhetoric in the classroom and constantly re-evaluating their teaching philosophies and pedagogies. The next two reports from Nepal highlight music teacher activism. Karki, Lama, Shrestha and Waiba attend to the challenges of establishing music teacher education in Lamjung, Nepal, while Kansakar and Tuladhar reflect on the potential of a music festival they established in the Kathmandu Valley as public pedagogy. The reports section then moves to India, where Vaidyanathan provides an account of her professional journey in the diverse context of Indian music education. Complementing Krisha's article earlier in this issue, Raghavan then offers readers unacquainted with the Gurukulam tradition in music teaching and learning a detailed reflection on his own experience living and studying in one. Finally, Sloboda et al. summarize current efforts to map the emerging field they call Social Impact of Music Making (SIMM), first outlining the parameters of the field as they conceptualize it, and then providing reports on the current state of practice in four countries (Belgium, Colombia, Finland and the UK).

The final sections of this issue include one Lectio Praecursoria and two conference reports. While Treacy's Lectio Praecursoria began by recognising feelings of uncertainty regarding the future, little did she know at the time that just two weeks after delivering this lectio the coronavirus would be dramatically changing our lives. In addition to Odendaal's report on the CDIME conference, a conference report on the European Music School Symposium is then presented by Johnsen, Di Lorenzo Tillborg and Jeppsson.

Taken together, the contributions shared in this issue offer depictions of varied socio-political and socio-educational contexts of music education that illustrate and encourage the kinds of discourse we believe to be imperative to impacting patterns of inclusion and diversity in our field. We feel that such intercultural sharing of the local predicaments of contemporary music education will enrich and stimulate thought towards further research and the practical implications needed to make a greater impact on the diversification of music education around the world. ■

Acknowledgements

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Notes

[1] See https://cdime2019.levinsky.ac.il/

[2] See https://www.isme-conferences.org/south-asian-regional-conference.html

[3] See https://sites.uniarts.fi/web/globalvisions

Artikkelit | Articles

Alon Schab

Ancient modes in the modern classroom: Obsolete scales or assets of cultural diversity?

Modes and modality

The concept of Mode is among the most fundamental concepts in any musical-theoretical discourse. It is also among the most elusive and hardest to define. Hardly any topic in musicology demonstrates clearer historical continuity—the mode concept was theorized by the Greeks, and was cultivated within Greek theory well into Roman times, before being Christened and Latinized and surviving with more than a hint of its scholastic phase into the sixteenth century and into vernacular music theory. A signifier of folk music since the nineteenth century, a core component in the theory of popular music since the middle of the twentieth, and a site for individual experimentation even in the beginning of the twenty-first, the Mode still plays a vital role in musical discourse.

A curious student who attempts to discover the definition of Mode in a trusted academic resource like Oxford Music Online might be confused by the different definitions given in each of the various publications integrated into that online portal, including the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, the online version of the *Oxford Companion to Music*, and the sixth edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of Music*.

Both the *Grove Dictionary* and the *Oxford Companion* define the term 'mode' as a 'scale or melody type', especially within the context of medieval and renaissance music and in folk traditions. While mentioning secondary meanings as well, both publications go on to elaborate on that primary meaning at great length (Hiley 2011; Powers et al. 2001—the *Grove Dictionary* entry is extensive and its accompanying bibliography contains hundreds of items). The *Oxford Dictionary* definition opens with another, somewhat colloquial, use of the term—as the "names for each of the ways of ordering a scale, i.e. *major mode* and *minor mode*" (Kennedy 2012, emphasis original). Beginners are likely to encounter that latter meaning very early in their musical training, even before they encounter the 'proper' meaning of mode through their acquaintance with the so-called Church Modes.

Only when students finally do encounter the Church Modes (or other modes), would they be able to appreciate the discrepancy between, on the one hand, the significance of the concept (reflected in the size of the *Grove Dictionary* and the *Oxford Companion* entries) and, on the other hand, the frequent use of the term loosely to denote something quite different. When does that happen in a student's course of studies? Is it at all necessary that students be acquainted with the term 'mode', and with specific modes?

For music students in specialized fields, the distinction between mode and scale is a practical, rather than a theoretical, distinction. Students of medieval music are encouraged to explore the rich 'vocabulary' of melodic formulae characteristic of each mode, rather than to memorize abstract seven-note structures of scales (Mariani 2017, 56–87). Students of the organ or harpsichord might lose track of a fugue's subject in some of the best known works by Frescobaldi if they are unaware of the mode of the piece or of the proper solmization of the subject. Composition students commonly seek inspiration in great composers' explorations of old or traditional modes (Béla Bartók, Harry Partch) or in the construction of composers' original modal systems (Messiaen 1944; Vieru 1993). But what about violin students who intend their daily fare to range from Mozart to Bruckner?

Do they need to know the basic formulae of the Dorian mode, or to contemplate Messiaen's modes of limited transposition? What about orchestral flautists or aspiring singer songwriters? And what about those talented music students who have no particular interest in history?

The benefits of including the Modes in 'tonal'-oriented syllabuses

Even students who have no immediate need to master the modes may benefit from acquaintance with the concept of mode during the early stages of their study. First, the mode concept helps students to look at the western major-minor dualism as a part of a bigger picture, and to realize that tonality sprang from a system that was no less varied and no less perfect, and that the affective powers of that system were just as strong, if not stronger, than those of tonal music.

On a more philosophical level, introducing the concept of modes early on encourages young students to think outside the framework of dichotomies (major and minor, good and bad, us and them) and experience an instance of cultural diversity that is essentially chronological rather than ethnic. American music students encountering the traditional Persian modal system (Dastgāh) are likely to define it as both contemporary and Persian, and thus foreign and 'someone else's' (unless they themselves identify as Persian). By contrast, common-practice tonality, familiar as it is to many western students, is measured not against a single, spatial, dimension but against two—both spatial and temporal. British students may feel that the music of Elton John is geographically (that is, culturally) and temporally their own. But what about the music of Gilbert and Sullivan? It is surely as British as Elton John's, but chronologically it is more distant. After all, tonal music spans a period of almost four hundred years (and counting). Modes, at the root of tonality, are merely *more* distant than tonality itself. Indeed, encouraging students to transcend conventional wisdom—in this case, the supposition that the Bach-to-Brahms canon, with its aesthetics, harmonic language, and equal temperament, are evolutionarily superior to everything that preceded them—may help them to think critically not only about art but about society in general.

The study of modes may also encourage students' creativity. Especially when the modes are taught against the rigid structures of the major and minor scales, students are shown how inflections of individual notes within the scale may yield interesting musical results. This, in turn, develops their sensitivity to fine detail.

In cases where students are encouraged to improvise, the modes provide an opportunity to experiment with improvisation relatively early in students' theoretical training. Students who are asked to improvise a melody in the major scale soon after encountering the theoretical structure of the major scale will labour under implicit restrictions that are usually learned only later in their studies—namely the harmonic implications of the melody, and the classical tendency towards periodical symmetry. By contrast, improvisation within a modal framework frees the student to focus purely on pitch and contour. And of course, acquaintance with six additional scale structures allows variety in musicianship exercises: structuring scales upon given notes; identifying scales; and transposition.

Despite such merits, the Church Modes do not constitute an integral part of the corpus of elementary theory instruction. If one surveys the syllabuses of undergraduate music theory classes in American colleges, one may find that modes, as fundamental as they are to musicological discourse, are very often absent from such courses. The reason for their absence may be that, from a pedagogical point of view, the modes seem like a 'dead end'. Whereas knowledge of the primary harmonic degrees of the major scale builds on acquaintance with notes, intervals, scales, the major scale, and the triad, no topic in basic theoretical courses builds directly on knowledge of modes. The harmonic series, to

take an opposite example, is perceived as a 'natural' explanation of the major triad, and therefore appears more frequently in basic courses than do the modes.

Admittedly, many of the above-mentioned merits of the modes betray more than a hint of my own historically-informed approach to theory. Musicians who recognize the importance of teaching the modes may also question the consistency of the prevailing rationale of many elementary theory courses. When teaching within an equal-tempered system, does one have the privilege of appealing to the harmonic series as a natural explanation of the triad? What reason is there to consider the binary division of rhythmic values more basic than the ternary? Why should all rhythmic values be calculated according to an arbitrary 'whole' note, resulting in meters like 6/8 or, even worse, 9/8? How can the latter meter, which fourteenth-century theorists would have perceived as an emblem of perfection (by merit of its two levels of three-fold rhythmic division), be calculated as nine times the eighth part of anything?

Yet even putting aside possible historically-informed objections to the common rationale of theory pedagogy, the structure of syllabuses is telling. Let us examine two examples from the graded theoretical curricula that are used for examining younger students in the UK. The Trinity College eight-grade syllabus uses the term Aeolian as synonymous with the Natural Minor, but requires acquaintance with the "concept of modes" only in Grade 6 (TCL 2017, 16); with the Dorian mode in Grade 7 (TCL 2017, 17); and with the Mixolydian mode in Grade 8 (TCL 2017, 19). Its counterpart, the syllabus of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) ignores the modes altogether (ABRSM 2018).

If one tries to analyze the rationale behind the theory curricula in American colleges, especially those that focus on classical music, one finds the online syllabuses largely silent on the subject of modes. Common textbooks may supply some of the missing information. Benward and Saker (2009), for example, dedicate two pages to modal scales, Church Modes and solfeggio syllables, as a part of a three-page historical overview appended at the end of their chapter on 'Scales, Tonality, Key, Modes' (Benward & Saker 2009, 44–46). Alfred Blatter (2007) follows up his discussion of the major and minor scales with a more detailed discussion of the modes, once again mainly as historical context for the creation of the scales (two passing remarks on the Phrygian later in the book are the only other mentions of the modes). The Berklee Music Theory series omits the subject of modes (Schmeling 2005; Schmeling 2006), although Berklee students unavoidably encounter the modes in another context—that of Jazz theory.

Indeed, the gradual theorization and intellectualization of Jazz from the 1950s onwards had profound influence on the way modes are perceived by musicians in various realms of popular music. Spearheaded by Miles Davis and John Coltrane, the Modal Jazz of the late 50s and early 60s brought the Church Modes back into musicians' jargon, and the self-conscious use of the modes in improvisation quickly permeated rock and its subgenres. This, in turn, reinvigorated the academic interest in the modes among scholars of popular music, and nowadays, at least in those colleges and universities that focus on popular music, the modes have regained a place in some syllabuses oriented toward popular music.

Without attempting a comprehensive statistical analysis, one can summarise that modes are integrated only sporadically in English-speaking syllabuses and textbooks; that they are integrated for reasons of historical context rather than as a basis for more advanced subjects; and that very often the term is inaccurately used as a synonym for the term 'scale'.

The Church Modes Israelized

In order to understand the differences between the conclusions drawn with regards to American and British curricula, on the one hand, and Israeli curricula, on the other, some prefatory remarks on Israeli history are required. Although Jewish life in Palestine existed more or less continuously—in isolated communities like Tiberias, Sefad and Hebron—after the exile of the first and second century AD, organized immigration to Palestine began only in the 1870s. Israeli historians usually refer to the period from the 1870s to the founding of the state of Israel in 1948 as the Yishuv (settlement) period.

Israeli musical culture evolved during the Yishuv as a part of a complex mesh of interrelated processes, including the confrontation and eventual collapse of two empires (the Ottoman and the British); frequent eruptions of armed struggle with the local Arab community; integration of substantial immigration waves from various countries and cultures; the establishment of a new, primarily agricultural, society in the first half of the period; the gradual urbanization of that society in the second half; and the formation of a modern state (Gorny 1983; Segev 1999). These radical changes also entailed the formulation of a new secular Jewish ethos that sought to replace the traditional religious and ethnic ethos of diaspora Jewry.

Jewish immigration to Palestine is usually divided into discrete 'waves', each characterized by certain countries of origin, professions, and ideologies. Each wave of immigrants not only viewed subsequent immigrants with suspicion, and even antipathy,[1] but also tried to distinguish itself from preceding ones, seeking to leave its distinct mark on the renewal of cultural life in the Jewish community. One overarching tendency that gained thrust up until the Second World War was the rejection of what was now considered irrelevant Jewish culture outside Palestine—an ideology commonly known as the Negation of the Diaspora (Goldenberg 2004).

The break with the traditional ethos of the diaspora had far-reaching implications on music in Palestine and, later, in Israel. The Negation of the Diaspora manifested itself, among other ways, in the adoption of a new modal style of composition. Alongside the existing body of folk songs (mostly of eastern-European origin) from the periods of the First and Second Waves of Immigration (1881–1903 and 1904–1914, respectively), the Third and Fourth Waves (1919–1923 and 1924–1931, respectively) created new songs that fit the changing ethos and were added to the corpus (Shahar 2001). These new songs, embodying a new style, called 'Roots songs' (Burstyn 2008), emerged after a watershed point, identified by Harzion (2012) around the year 1927, when some of the influential local songwriters died—Hanina Karaczewski (1877–1926) and Joel Engel (1868–1927)—or left Palestine—Abraham Zevi Idelsohn (1882–1938) and Joseph Millet (1889–1947). These musicians were succeeded by a new generation of composers, including Yedidiah Admon (1894–1982), Nahum Nardi (1901–1977) and Mordekhai Ze'ira (1905–1968) (Harzion 2012). The songs written by composers of the younger generation reveal "a tendency to avoid major or harmonic/melodic minor keys in favour of the natural minor (Aeolian mode) or other natural modes, notably the Dorian" (Goldenberg 2004, 136–137).

The Fifth Wave of Immigration (1933–1939) was triggered by Hitler's rise to power in early 1933 and consisted mainly of middle-class central-Europeans. Following that wave, Palestine developed its first professional symphony orchestra (which later became the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra), a rich music program under the auspices of the British-controlled radio station (the Palestine Broadcasting Service), a German-style conservatory, and a vibrant circle of composers, performers and committed concert-goers. These significant developments (some of these establishments are still active today) were accompanied by lively debate among the local musical elite on the aesthetic values of the newly-founded musical culture. Like their colleagues in the fields of art, architecture, theatre and dance,

local musicians sought to offer their own aesthetic response to the Middle-Eastern climate, to the landscape, to the soundscape, and to the revived Hebrew language.

This aesthetic response in the realm of concert music manifested itself through processes not very different from those that Harzion (2012) identified in popular song around 1927. Here as well, it was the Dorian, Aeolian and Mixolydian modes that featured most prominently in new works written by Paul Ben-Haim (1897–1984), Marc Lavry (1903–1967) and Alexander Uriah Boskovich (1907–1964) (Bresler 1985, 154–155). This coincidence is perhaps not surprising, given that both artistic and popular music were harnessed to the same ideological project. Indeed, the parallel adoption of the modes in art music and in popular music represented a single aesthetic shift. In some cases, the same composers contributed new modal work to both the concert and the popular repertoire: Lavry recast his popular song 'Emek' as the principal thematic material of his symphonic poem of the same name; Boskovich is responsible both for one of the iconic popular songs of the War of Independence (the song 'Dudu') and for some of the defining symphonic works in the new eastern-Mediterranean style (Oboe Concerto, 1942; Semitic Suite, 1945).

The same composers who adopted the Church Modes also gradually ceased to work with the characteristic 'Jewish' modes—those modes that had figured prominently in folk songs imported by eastern-European immigrants. In fact, Idelsohn (1929/1967) held that the *genuine* Jewish modes formed a coherent system (72–91). It is possible that, in their return to the so-called Church Modes, Israeli musicians sought to adopt a coherent system in lieu of the traditional one, now deemed irrelevant. While the connection between the Church Modes and the music of ancient Israel was essentially a myth (Burstyn 2008, 124–127), the use of modes may have allowed those composers whose training was thoroughly western to create a non-western sonic world without the need to master genuine eastern systems of pitch organization (Bresler 1985, 157). Composers like Mordecai Sandberg (1897–1973), who did attempt to use microtones in his new music, were the exception to the rule.

New Israeli music had several different branches that served different communities, age groups and walks of life. Aesthetic changes manifested themselves differently in concert music, folk music and folk dance; in music used in kibbutzim (communal agricultural settlements) and in the larger cities; in primary schools and in professional conservatoires. Unavoidably, however, there were significant points of contact between these areas of influence. The modal tendencies were perhaps most immediately identifiable in folk songs, but their musical ecosystem was far more complex than that. Folk songs were composed, or at least transmitted, by those who worked as music teachers in schools. In their training at teachers' seminars, future teachers were exposed to the concept of modes as part of their theory studies; they were often taught by professional musicians and composers who had their own stylistic preferences, composed songs and concert music, and wrote textbooks that were used in conservatories and teachers' seminars.

Other possible comparisons with musical cultures in which the modes played a significant role in defining their musical identity—most clearly in Hungary—merit further research. However, while such comparative studies may surely improve our understanding of national revivalist movements, one essential difference between the Israeli and the Hungarian cases is worth mentioning here. By contrast to the convincing scholarly justification behind peeling back the layers of stereotypical 'Hungarian' style popularized in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the argument for employing the Church Modes in Israeli music was weaker and was motivated by ideology. Burstyn (2008) shows how both songwriters and theorists in the Yishuv period adopted, mostly uncritically, Idelsohn's theory of common roots shared not only by Jewish musics throughout the diasporas, but also by the early church cantillation and its characteristic modes. Burstyn (2008) also

shows that Yishuv musicians often underplayed the significance of eastern-European folk music (exemplified in the music of Hassidic Jews)—with more than a hint of political bias against diasporic culture.

Compared to the American and the British cases described above, Israeli theory books embrace modality and give it ample space. For the present study, I chose not to consider Hebrew (or bilingual Hebrew-Yiddish) theory books printed outside Palestine, but to begin with Idelsohn's theory book (Idelsohn 1910), the only work on music theory known to have been published in Ottoman Palestine.

Idelsohn's book was not intended to be a Hebrew equivalent of the standard theory books that were being published at the time in German or in English. Its subtitle, 'Foundations of European and Eastern Song' [*Yesodot haNegina ha'Europit vehaMizraḥit*] hints at Idelsohn's own ideas about Jewish music, and indeed, the book seems intended to equip the reader with a grasp of those theoretical foundations of Jewish music. Thus, immediately after introducing the concept of sound (Heb. *kol*, Ger. *Ton*) he turns to the scale (Heb. *sulam*, Ger. *Skala* or *Tonleiter*) and, after less than a page on the basics of notation, introduces the modal system under the heading 'Scale Types' (Heb. *Sugey haSulamot*, Ger. *Tongeschlechter*). However, the modal system introduced in this pioneering book is a hybrid system "that Jews use because they assimilated [those modes] after they came in contact with various peoples and were influenced by them" (3–10). This hybrid system mixes elements from the major-minor, church-mode and folk systems (Table 1).

Mode name in Idelsohn (1910)	**Standard name**
[1] Ḥazak Europi (lit. Strong European), Dur, Major	Ionian/Major
[2] Rakh Europi (lit. Soft European), Moll, Minor	Melodic Minor
[3] Rakh Slavi (lit. Soft Slavic) or Harmoni (lit. Harmonic), Harmonische Moll	Harmonic Minor
[4] Ḥazak Mizraḥi (lit. Strong Eastern), Mixloydisch [*sic*]	Mixolydian
[5] Rakh Mizraḥi (lit. Soft Eastern) [the German term Aeolisch is not mentioned)	Aeolian/Natural Minor
[6] Phrygi Ḥadash (lit. New Phrygian), Phrygische	Hijaz ($^1/_2$-1$^1/_2$-$^1/_2$-1-$^1/_2$-1-1)
[7] Dori (lit. Dorian), Dorisch	Dorian

Table 1.
The modes as they are listed by Idelsohn (1910) and their equivalent standard names

In his short synopsis of music theory, now lost (Osnas 1924), Menachem Osnas probably followed a rationale comparable to that of his more comprehensive book (Osnas 1930). In the later book, Osnas admits to closely following the *Treatise of Elementary Music Theory* (*Učebnik èlementarnoj teorii muzyki*) by Nikolay Kashkin (1839–1920). Osnas (1930) writes that

> *the scale is the musical element among those peoples whose music achieved either a slight or very high level of development. In each nation the folk songs express [the scale's] character, in which the spirit of the nation is reflected. In each nation the scale contains, in a known order, those notes that are in use in its folk songs, and accordingly it has a scale or [several] scales that are characteristic and different from those of other nations.* (20)

Osnas then proceeds to devote the entire discussion to the major-minor system.

If Osnas' approach to modality was diametrically opposite to Idelsohn's, then the next significant authors, of theory textbooks (Shmueli 1954, 67–73) or encyclopedia and dictionary entries (Shalita 1950/1978, 472–483), offered a middle way, stressing the importance of modes to local music (and especially to Israeli folk song) and dedicating much attention to the Church Modes. Surprisingly, even authors who rejected local stylistic

fashions and avoided modes in their own compositions, dedicated attention to modality in their theoretical textbooks. Pioneers of electroacoustic composition, Josef Tal (1910–2008) and Yizhak Sadai (1935–2019) enjoyed a reputation as path-breaking *enfants terribles*. As theorists, however, both felt it necessary to dedicate space to an overview of the concept of mode, as well as to list the Church Modes, before explaining the Major and Minor scales (Gruenthal (Tal's original name) 1944, 44–53; Sadai 1964, 38–46; see discussion of Gruenthal's book in Hirshberg 1995, 174).

By contrast, Yizhak Edel (1896–1973), who was deeply invested in modal composition, concealed his own stylistic preferences when writing his important theoretical textbook (1953). Edel's songs make extensive use of the Church Modes like the Aeolian (as in his song *HaDvora*; The Bee), Mixolydian (the song *HaYeled vehaKeshet*; The Boy and the Rainbow) and Dorian (the song *Hashkifa MiMeon Kodshekha*; Look Down from Your Holy Habitation). The modes are also present in his concert works, both overtly, as the "Mixolydian" String Quartet, and less obviously, as in his Sonatina for Oboe and Piano. Above all, Edel was among the most influential music educators of his day. Many of his students went on to teaching careers, and transmitted Edel's songs to the furthest settlements in Israel. Although, later in his book, Edel (1953) asserts that Israeli song "seeks its appropriate scales" (29), at the outset of the book's introduction he makes an important methodical statement: "The book deals only with those two scales (Major and Minor) upon which pre-classical, classical and romantic music is founded; whoever acquaints themselves with that material is already equipped to understand all other musical materials" (Edel 1953, [i]). Such a method stems from his a-historical approach: "I refrained from dealing with anything that pertains to music history…; since history is a subject in itself and it has no place in a beginners' book" (Edel 1953, [i]).

If Edel represents composers' tendency to emphasize the importance of modes, and Tal and Sadai reflect a similar tendency among theorists, then Miriam Gross-Levin (1904–1984), who taught in the Music Teachers Training College (later the Levinsky College of Education), reflects a parallel tendency among ear-training teachers—a tendency that Tauber (2017) called "Ideological Solfege" (51–54; 62–63; 110–111). The title of Gross-Levin's (1972) book, *Solfege: Based on a Fundamental System of Six Modes*, seems to speak for itself. However, its introduction reveals important details about the way modality permeated Israeli music and Israeli music education. Gross-Levin writes, in 1972, that she conceived

> *the idea of writing this book about 20 years ago in response to the appearance of a rich repertoire of Israeli songs whose style – characteristic as it was for each [individual] composer – stood in contrast to the melodic character [*melodica*] of imported solfege methods and books based on the traditional system of two modes: the major and its parallel minor.* (p. 3)

Later in the introduction, Gross-Levin (1972) goes into further detail:

> *[T]he modes became a natural part of [Israeli] art music (as far as it recognizes any tonal framework) in the same way that [they became a natural part of Israeli] music education. In other words, if 20 years ago, the decision [to write a solfege book based on a modal system] would have been considered "bold", then today it is almost natural. Apropos, modal material was contained in some solfege books previously… What is special about my book was the explicit foundation in the modal system and the treatment of the six modes as equal in importance.* (p. 3)

Indeed, solfege anthologies explicitly employing the Church Modes had been in circulation before (Farkash et al. 1962), but in writing her book, Gross-Levin tried to offer a

systematic response to a tendency that was clear enough already in the early years of the state.

Such a phenomenon must be distinguished from the renewed interest among American popular music teachers and theorists described above—in the processes that triggered it, and the trajectory of those processes. It is even possible that, by the time that Gross-Levin published her book, these tendencies were already waning. Concert music became increasingly open to compositional fashions outside of Israel, and in popular music the success of acts like Kaveret confirmed the growing predominance of Anglo-American rock and pop. Modality in Israeli pop and rock lingered, albeit isolated, in the more marginal genres of folk and progressive rock (Shem-Tov Levi, Shlomo Gronich). It is interesting that in the same period, those few musicians who clung to modality also extended their use of the Phrygian mode, which had been somewhat neglected by the earlier generation, and by those English and American bands, such as Gentle Giant, Genesis and Jethro Tull, that were their immediate influences.

While, indeed, no other Israeli ear-training book was explicitly founded on the modes in the same way that Gross-Levin's (1972) book was, a close reading of earlier books shows that the modal tendencies were clear enough already in the 1940s. One example may be seen in the solfege books of Shlomo Hofman (1909–1998) from the late 1940s. A cursory look at the exercises in the third volume of his series of ear training books creates the impression of a tonal approach, with exercises in the major and minor scales, as well as exercises containing modulations. A closer look, however, reveals a modal agenda no less radical than Gross-Levin's: Hofman (1947) argues that acquaintance with the major scale, which takes up most of the time in ear-training class, is not entirely compatible with the songs sung by young Israelis; that the major-minor dualism had waned around 1900 and was now succeeded by alternative systems (Hofman lists polymodality, polytonality, atonality, 12-tone music and quarter-tone scales); and that, as a result, there is no justification to base a new ear-training method on the major scale, particularly in Israel. Hofman (1947) follows Idelsohn in claiming that Hebrew music is close to Greek music and its modes, which he titles according to their original Greek nomenclature rather than the common medieval nomenclature–the Hypodorian (instead of the accepted name Aeolian); the Dorian (instead of Phrygian); and the Phrygian (instead of Dorian). He bases his system on the Hypodorian (natural minor) which is "the closest to us. In [that mode] most of our original songs are written, including our national anthem *HaTikva* and *Birkat Am*. This fact in itself is of huge significance and demands an appropriate consequence" (Hofman 1947, i–iii). Hofman's argumentation was a part of a wider pedagogical worldview which he had outlined in his extensive pedagogical book a few years earlier (Hofman 1945, see 100–113 for the rationale behind his solfege method). Hofman's rhetoric is of prime importance here. First, he refers to Hebrew music rather than to Jewish music, and stresses Idelsohn's view that, "as all *Semitic* music" (Hofman 1947, ii), it is close to the Greek. Second, by reverting to Greek nomenclature, Hofman implicitly reclaims modality, which had been usurped by Christianity in medieval times. Such rhetoric is of the same vein as that of Canaanism—an ideological movement which flourished during those years and which, through the idealization of the pre-Jewish civilization that inhabited the old land of Canaan, negated not only the diaspora but Judaism as a whole. While it might indeed be the case that, in 1947, modal songs were the most familiar repertoire for Israeli children, Hofman's language goes far beyond issues of practicality in an effort to systematize the bold use of archaic nomenclature.

Again, a comparison with Britain is illuminating. Charles Villiers Stanford was one of the most eloquent and influential promoters of the English Musical Renaissance movement, half a century before the rise of the 'Roots' songs and of the eastern-Mediterranean style in Palestine. In his 1889 lecture on music in elementary schools (Stanford 1908, 43–

60), Stanford proposed that "the systematic development of art" (45) in elementary schools, and more specifically teaching children their nation's folk song repertoire, is the safest way to educate the masses without the risk of "the development of socialistic and even of revolutionary ideas amongst them" (44). Concerned with "the preservation of the old melodies in their purest form" (57), Stanford called for the use of reliable editions that preserve the true nature of the repertoire, referring explicitly to the modal nature of folk music. Complaining about the editions of Irish folk songs then in circulation, Stanford (1908) said that

> *[in] spite of the correct and verified versions of [Thomas] Moore's melodies being now published and easily obtainable, collections for Irish schools are still issued in Ireland with the old errors and misreadings [sic] unaltered, thus perpetuating them for succeeding generations* and obliterating the characteristic colour of the Irish scales or modes. *Sir John Stevenson [,who edited the music for Moore's melodies,], whose taste was for Haydn rather than for folksong[,]* added accidentals right and left to bring the scales into line with his own limited experience. (58, emphasis added)

Nonetheless, British books on elementary theory from the first part of the twentieth century usually avoid the discussion of the modes (Ham 1919; Pearce 1922). The few treatises that deal with the Church Modes specifically seem to have been motivated by pure historical curiosity (Spencer 1846).

Returning to the benefits of teaching the modes, Stanford (1908), in his lecture, makes an extraordinarily progressive connection between the modes and cultural diversity. Promoting the ideal of a United Kingdom made up of four nations (English, Irish, Welsh and Scottish), Stanford (1908) suggests that

> *[after] a course of education in the music indigenous to each race, a course in that of their neighbours and compatriots should follow. And here it would be important to select the order in which the stranger folk-music should be presented to each section. I am of opinion that it should be laid before them in the strongest contrast possible.* (56)

Modality and composition

In Israel, the technical focus on the modes quickly became apparent also in methodical compositions for instruments like the piano or the recorder. An intimate acquaintance with the modes, as played on one's instrument, was seen as a technical skill comparable to the execution of scales and arpeggios in all keys. Thus, works with movements named after the mode in which they are written, and works that were introduced by their composers as being explicitly modal, became more and more common. Notable examples are the Piano Pieces for Youth by Boskovich, Prelude and Fugue in the Phrygian Mode by Ernst Natan, Sonata for two violins by Mordechai Seter (1916–1994), Dorian Miniatures for three recorders by Karel Salmon (1897–1974), the graded piano exercises From the Child's World (1979) by Sergiu Shapira (b. 1931), and 24 Canons for two recorders (1985) by Yehezkel Braun (1922–2014). Shapira (1979) explicitly mentions his use of modality as being a manifestation of the 'Israeli-Jewish character' of the album (see for example the straightforward use of Phrygian in piece no. I/7, or the Dorian in II/15, and the more elaborate use of those modes in many other pieces in that album).

It should be mentioned that, alongside their many works based on the Church Modes, Israeli composers did not refrain from studying new ethnomusicological findings about the Jewish diaspora when such findings were distant enough from the stereotypical eastern-European modes. Thus, Karel Salmon (to take but one example), wrote, in

addition to his Dorian Miniatures, a Partita for Strings, whose first movement is titled Djerba, and is based on Robert Lachmann's study of North African Jewish music (Lachmann 1940). Lachmann's study inspired many more experiments of that kind. Perhaps the boldest and most original are those made by Mordecai Sandberg, who published microtonal works already in the mid 1920s. It should be said that, while manifestly inspired by Jewish cantillation, Sandberg's ideology entailed a universal view that extended far beyond the immediate goals of the Zionist project (Clarkson et al. 1993–94; Heller 1984).

Braun's (1985) book of 24 Canons may be seen as an encyclopaedic study of canons, along the lines of Bach's Musical Offering. It is, however, encyclopaedic not only in the way the canons demonstrate the composer's command of various canonic manipulations (imitation in various intervals, augmentation, diminution, inversion and retrograde) but also in the way the canons explore the six-mode system. While only two canons are named explicitly after their mode (No. 20 'In Lydian Mode' and No. 23 'In Phrygian Mode'), Braun (1985) also included canons in the Dorian (No. 1 'Folk Tune'), Aeolian (No. 4 'Skips') and Mixolydian (No. 10 'Through the Looking-Glass'). As I argued above, the Church Modes may have appealed to the founding fathers of Israeli music by merit of their being a coherent, self-contained, system. For composers, such systems provide a terrain to explore and to exhaust, not unlike Bach's exploration of the 24-key system in his Well-Tempered Clavier, or Chopin's exploration of the Circle of Fifths in his Preludes Op. 28.

While Braun's encyclopaedic exploration of the modal system is implicit in the structure of the set, Seter, in his Sonata for two violins (Seter 1980) is more explicit: he describes his exploration of the system in his preface to the published score. The *finalis* notes of the respective movements go in stepwise motion from C to G, and each respective movement is based on a different mode (Phrygian, Dorian, Aeolian, Lydian and Mixolydian). Unlike Braun's canons, where the modes are easily discernible, here Seter uses the modes on a more structural level. Seter's Sonata is quite demanding for the performers. Clearly influenced by Bartók's pedagogical 44 Duos Sz.98, Seter, in his pedagogical *a due e a tre* (Seter 1965), does not mention the modes in the preface, yet their modal character is apparent.

Indeed, the old-new modal system entailed a promise similar to that of *Altneuland*—the 1902 utopian novel by Theodor Herzl in which he outlined his vision of a Jewish State. In the same way that Herzl sought to implement modernism and progressive ideals (hence *neu*, new) within the geography inhabited by the old Israel and Judea (hence *alt*, old), Israeli composers attempted to give a post-Bachian treatment to a structure made up of ancient modes. Even the literary tactic that Herzl adopted invites some comparison with the compositional treatment of the mode system: Herzl first described his vision for a utopian society in his book *Der Judenstaat*, published 1896, six years before *Altneuland*. In *Der Judenstaat*, however, the description is 'dry' and systematic, whereas in *Altneuland* the same society is described along a narrative , as the account of a journey through the important centres of the land: Haifa, Tiberias, the Dead Sea and Jerusalem. Even the sense of closure achieved by two contrasting visits in Jerusalem—a depressing episode at the beginning of the novel, and an uplifting one towards the end—allows comparison to the closures offered in modal explorations such as that of Hindemith's *Ludus Tonalis*.

The current status of modes in Israeli syllabuses is still under negotiation. On the one hand, Tauber (2017) sees in the exclusion of Gross-Levin's book, already in the late 1980s, from the Music Teachers Training College's ear training syllabuses the end of the college's 'Ideological Solfege' period (179–180). Amiran's (1974) detailed pedagogical treatise lingers very briefly on modality–only after the scales and the Circle of Fifths have been thoroughly described. Recent concise textbooks seem to follow foreign models in discussing the modes briefly and relatively early in the book (Olier 2011). Dalia Cohen

(1926–2013) was an influential Israeli theorist who wrote several important textbooks on theory, keyboard harmony and acoustics. The ample treatment of the modes in her important theory textbook (1975) stems not so much from any ideological agenda as from her keen interest in the modal system. The historical background is kept to a minimum, but the exploration of the modes, their structure, and their relationship with the major-minor system is rather comprehensive.

Gradually, similar processes also affected high-school syllabuses. When the long-awaited curriculum of music was published in 2011 (Ehrlich 2016), modes formed part of the 'base unit' on which students are examined in a standard exam held by the Ministry of Education. In a 2017 reorganization of the base unit, the subject of modes was moved to a 'school unit', on which students are examined internally, within their music department. While this recent change may allow departments with different stylistic orientations (classical, jazz, pop etc.) to tailor the material to their students' needs, it certainly reflects a move away from the consensus about the modes' relevance to students' basic theoretical training. Similarly, Israeli society has moved away from the state-encouraged consensus around a specific corpus of folk songs. Modal folk songs of the 1930s–1950s can no longer serve as justification for assigning to modes a privileged position within the Israeli curriculum. In Solmonia, an anthology of solfege exercises dedicated solely to examples from Israeli music, the very nature of the project dictates that quite a few examples are extracted from works written during the Golden Age of modal writing, including works by Ben-Haim, Boskovich and Menachem Avidom (1908–1995) (Yoffe 2008). Nonetheless, the various modes are not specifically mentioned. Instead, they appear (together with other scales) under the heading 'Special Scales', only after exercises in the major and the minor.

On the other hand, the modes still preoccupy a somewhat anomalous place in some Israeli textbooks. In Reuven (2013), among the most detailed textbooks hitherto produced in Israel, a 28-page chapter on "Diatonic Modes and other Scales" rounds off the book. Despite the differences between the respective approaches of Reuven and Cohen with regards to the point in the syllabus where the modes are discussed, Cohen's influence is undeniable. Nonetheless, Reuven gives more emphasis on the modes' Greek pedigree. His examples of the Dorian, Mixolydian and Aeolian are taken from Israeli 'Roots' songs. It is perhaps symbolic of the shift discussed in this article that the earliest theory book printed in Israel begins with the discussion of the modes, and the most recent one ends with it.

On a personal note, I would like to mention that, at least at the time when I studied music in school during the 1990s, the anomalous emphasis on the modes in Israel was still marked. It is interesting to wonder if that anomaly played a part in attracting me to early music, or perhaps even equipped young Israeli musicians of my generation to deal with early music professionally. Over the past two decades, more and more Israeli musicians have become prominent figures in the Early Music scene in Europe. Is it possible that an educational system that was still invested in the myth of the common ancestor of the Church Modes and early Jewish music somehow generated musicians who felt at home with the plagal harmonies of the early baroque? Is it possible that the acquaintance with the modal system, even if its connection to ancient Jewish cannot be historically proven, provides Israeli students with a 'living model' from which they can learn and internalize a certain rhetorical approach to the modes which is absent from other countries? Does the acquaintance of Israeli students with the mode concept (and the aforementioned social and philosophical implications it entails) help them to bridge the fundamental gaps that lie between them, as performers who grew up in the Middle East, and a repertoire that is essentially European and 'not their own'? ■

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Note

[1] This was ridiculed poignantly in an iconic 1973 television sketch by the Lool group.

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Abstract

The concept of Mode is among the most fundamental concepts in any musical-theoretical discourse, encompassing collections of notes, the way those collections operate, and their extra-musical associations. Students usually first encounter the concept either through the narrower term of the Church Modes, or through the loose exchange of the terms mode and scale in theory textbooks. When students should encounter the term; how it should be taught; and in what ways that concept can enrich students' understanding of music and of society in general—are questions apparently open for debate.

This study examines the way in which the Church Modes are treated in theory textbooks. In general, the Church Modes do not constitute an integral part of the corpus of knowledge of elementary theory, as shown with regards to American and British curricula. In Israel, however, modality seems to reflect additional, extra-musical, values at the crux of Israeli cultural diversity. The adoption of the modal system by Israeli musicians in the mid-20th century served an important educational purpose. An examination of curricula in Israel over the past century shows that, unlike in the English-speaking world, the study of modes has been overemphasized in Israel. The article surveys the historical and ideological reasons for that overemphasis, through analysis of music theory textbooks, aural training textbooks, and musical pieces aimed at students. It seems that, even if the adoption of the Church Modes as signifiers of locality was not embraced by all composers and songwriters, there was a consensus about the importance of the subject and its particular relevance to music education in Israel. While the local emphasis on the study of modes has been waning in the past two or three decades, it may still be possible to see its lasting impact on the generations that are still active in the Israeli musical scene. ■

Aditi Krishna

Teaching music and transmitting ideologies: The heterotopic spaces of the new schools in contemporary India

Introduction

Hindustani (or North Indian) classical music was traditionally transmitted orally within families or family-based guilds called *gharanas* that upheld a particular/unique style (Neuman 1990). However, its history has not been unchanging, even if the emphasis on tradition tends to present it as such. In this article, I look at music teaching and transmission in post-1991 India, a period of rapid change defined by marked liberalisation, globalisation, increasing consumerism, rapid technological advancement, and an expansion of the professional middle-classes (Sridhar 2011; Sridharan 2004). My primary focus in this article is the burgeoning phenomenon of small and medium-scale, private music schools. These sit alongside renowned institutions of the newly independent India and the traditional *guru-shishya* (or master-disciple) or *ustad-shagird* (master-apprentice) method of teaching.[1] Their emergence, teaching methods, and ethos shed important light not just on contemporary *Hindustani* music, but post-1991 India. In this article, I explore two questions: What are the multiple ways in which the values, traditional concepts, and ideologies associated with *Hindustani* music (particularly from the late colonial to pre-1991 period) are adopted in these new schools today in their teaching and transmission of *Hindustani* classical music? And how are new ideologies, and those that actually conflict with the much-espoused traditional ones, enshrined in these new institutions? In this context, I argue that these schools constitute complex, heterotopic spaces (Foucault 1998). According to Foucault (1998), heterotopic spaces are the 'different', the 'other' in a given space that co-exists, or "a kind of contestation, both mythical and real, of the space in which we live" (179). These heterotopic spaces, as I use in my study, can be contradictory yet coexisting in the same space. Chatterjee (2004) uses this concept in his study on the postcolonial (Indian) context, showing that the local practices and particularistic identities, can and do exist alongside the universalistic, secular ones. He (2004) asserts that "the real space of modern life consists of 'Heterotopia'" (7). Therefore, I see music schools as heterotopic spaces in terms of ideological structures. Similar to any business enterprise, the new music schools fit into the market economy of neo-liberal India, offering flexibility in the teaching and learning methods. Yet they present and promote traditional characteristics in varying degrees, many of which defined the nationalist period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – including the concept of *guru-shishya parampara* (master-disciple tradition) as characterising an 'age-old' and revered Indian (particularly Hindu) tradition.

Research methodology

This article forms part of my ongoing doctoral research and is based on ethnographic fieldwork (Barz & Cooley 2008; Nettl 2015) in Delhi and its satellite city, Gurugram. With certain exceptions, my focus in Delhi was on South, New, and Central Delhi. In Gurugram, I focussed on the East and South, which largely constitutes the new Gurugram area. This fieldwork was a part of the broader fieldwork conducted in multiple phases for

my doctoral research – in December 2016/January 2017, June 2017 to August 2017, January 2018, and the main fieldwork period between July 2018 to December 2018. This was followed by a brief follow-up fieldwork in early 2020. Over the course of this research, I visited eleven new music schools in total in Delhi and Gurugram, the majority of them multiple times. To understand the hidden (ideological) meanings, or what Jackson (1968) famously termed the 'hidden curriculum' underlying music teaching in the new schools, I adopted a qualitative, open-ended approach to the interviews and conversations with musicians/teachers who own the schools and/or teach in them. I also interviewed Indian classical musicians who teach either in one of the older music institutions or via one-to-one in the *guru-shishya* method. With interviews and conversations being the primary research method, I also used non-participant observations of music classes in all the schools I visited and also joined in one of the classes as a participant observer. To support the data analysis process, interviews were recorded and transcribed during and after fieldwork. My fieldnotes of interviews and non-participant observations proved to be extremely useful (Barz 2008) to explore common themes and ideas.

In this research, transparency with respondents was maintained at all times, and respondents were informed about my identity and research. Keeping in mind ethical practices and to protect their identity, I have anonymised the names of music schools, their owners, and the music teachers I interviewed. I have, instead, used pseudonyms for each.

History of modern music schools in India

I will now discuss the history of music schools in India before 1991. This will be followed by a brief overview of the developments in post-1991 India that have shaped the cultural field and *Hindustani* music. I will then introduce the music education scene post-1991, and this is where my fieldwork-related analysis begins.

History of modern music schools: Pre-1991 period

Indian classical music, historically, was an oral tradition with musical knowledge passed down from one generation to another within families and, from the nineteenth century onwards, through family-based guilds or lineages called *gharana*s (Neuman 1990). Almost all these *gharana*s were based on extended families of Muslim musicians. It is also notable that there have been extensive artistic/teaching connections between patrons (Hindu or Muslim) and musicians (mostly Muslim) (Scarimbolo 2014; Williams 2014). Indeed, *Hindustani* music is well known to be a highly syncretic form, having developed in a way deeply engaged with Sufi traditions as well as Hindu devotional poetry and musical practices (Brown 2010; Miner 1993; Qureshi 1991; Subramanian 2006).

Hindustani music was, however, considerably transformed under the late colonial era, amidst the development of (Hindu) nationalistic ideals spearheaded by the emerging Indian middle-class elites. To challenge colonial rule, various social reformers and later, nationalists (mainly the English-educated, high-caste, middle-class Hindus) endeavoured to define an Indian 'nation', which also included one Indian music for the masses (Bakhle 2005). In doing so, they relied heavily on the Orientalist writings of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries that discussed extensively the classical, great ancient Hindu past (Chatterjee 1993). Therefore, they saw Indian music as a sacred art originating in the ancient past but had deteriorated under the stewardship of Muslim musicians and patrons (Bakhle 2005; Kobayashi 2003). By the 1930s, such ideologies were firmly etched into Indian society amidst the strengthening national consciousness and the development of a Hindu-dominated middle-class culture. Upper-caste Hindus started to learn *Hindustani* music from Muslim *ustads* (Master), and increasingly came to the fore (Williams, 2014;

Bakhle 2005; Kobayashi 2003), and the sense of *Hindustani* music as a syncretic tradition considerably receded. This canonisation, classicisation, and institutionalisation process of Indian music, especially under the tutelage of the two prominent Hindu music reformers of the time—Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande and Vishnu Digambar Paluskar—therefore resulted in the gradual marginalisation of hereditary musicians (Bakhle 2005; Kobayashi 2003). Some of the oldest and most important music institutions of India were established amidst this time of transformation and these ideologies were enshrined as 'tradition'. Notable amongst these institutions include Bhatkhande Music Institute in Lucknow established in 1926, Akhil Bharatiya Mahavidyalaya Mandal in Mumbai in 1931, and the Prayag Sangeet Samiti established in Prayagraj[2] in 1926 (Kobayashi 2003; Rosse 2010).

Similar ideologies made their way to and have been revivified in myriad ways since Indian independence in 1947, continuing to cement *Hindustani* music as a (Hindu) sacred tradition and an integral part of Indian heritage (Deo 2011). The state-controlled All India Radio contributed to strengthening this ideologically-charged institutionalisation of *Hindustani* music. For instance, the first Information and Broadcasting Minister of India, BV Keskar, preferred musicians trained in schools as Radio performers rather than hereditary Muslim musicians (Lelyveld 1994). He also, famously, refused to include female performers of the courtesan community, who were some of the most prominent artists at the time. During this post-independence period, another wave of renowned music institutions and university departments for Indian classical music and dance were established in Delhi, including Triveni Kala Sangam in 1950 and Sriram Bharatiya Kala Kendra (as a registered society) in 1952. Many of them were directly or indirectly initiated by the government and/or established under the Societies Registration Act 1860 – an act which enables those interested to found and register charitable, not-for-profit societies or clubs in the field of science, art, literature, etc., and creates rules for their establishment and governance (Aiyer 1966). Many pre-independence music schools existing today are also registered under this act.

Post-1991 India and *Hindustani* music

Although initiatives and attempts towards economic liberalisation began in the 1980s in India, the period following 1991 saw much more significant and fast-paced reforms by the government—in particular, the easing of restrictions on the private sector (industries and private businesses). Additionally, significant reductions in import tariffs paved the way for international companies and products to enter India. Consequently, job opportunities increased and gave rise to a new kind of middle or professional-class with enough disposable income to access the domestic and the international commodity market (Brosius 2010; Dwyer 2014). Amidst various technological developments including mobile phones and the Internet in this period, the introduction of satellite television and private radio broadcasting transformed the broadcast sector, overthrowing the monopoly of the state-owned television channel Doordarshan and All India Radio (Booth 2013; Sen 2014). Furthermore, even though the music industry had diversified significantly during the cassette revolution in the 1980s, it did so even more after 1991. Numerous new musical genres have emerged in the last 25 years, and Bollywood or *filmi* music have gained new heights both in India and overseas (Kvetko 2005; Morcom 2007; Sarrazin 2013). The expansion of mass-mediated popular music and forms of entertainment have presented considerable competition to classical music.

The Internet has become an important part of the field of classical and popular music, as a key medium to advertise and share one's talent to a larger, virtual audience without the need of intermediaries. Social networking sites, video-sharing sites, and audio-streaming websites are particularly important. Video-conferencing tools have become a new means for teaching, and such online teaching is becoming increasingly important.

This is the case for traditional *guru*s too, who are able to reach out to their disciples who are based outside of India (Krishnamurthy 2013; Roy 2016).

The following sections of this article, now, are primarily based on my fieldwork and will discuss the new music schools and the possible heterotopic spaces that emerge within them in the significantly changed scenario of the post-1991 period.

New music schools in post-1991 India

Like the process of economic liberalisation, the private, small-scale music schools also largely emerged from the 1980s and mushroomed from the 1990s, particularly in the 2000s. In a rare publication on institutionalised music training in India, Banerjee (1986) distinguishes between three types of teaching:

1. The traditional master-disciple method or relationship.
2. Music schools under private or semi-private management.
3. University music departments and (statutory) music schools/institutions.

The second category are the ones that can be found in every little neighbourhood in cities and exist in large numbers (Banerjee 1986). For Banerjee (1986), the development of these schools showcases the commercialisation and commodification of music, and indeed, many classical music aficionados see such changes as an impoverishment. However, she (1986) also notes that these music schools reflect the "increasing demand for music education" amongst the middle-classes, even if it is part-time (20). These new schools have greatly multiplied in the post-1991 period since her article was published, adapting to the changing socio-economic environment. This period also saw the diversification of services in these schools, moving beyond the teaching of purely Indian classical music to include other Indian performing arts and international art forms (including western art music). This is a marked departure from many older music institutions that specialise only in Indian art forms.

Additionally, many hereditary (*gharanedar*) musicians or those trained under *guru-shishya parampara* are establishing similar music schools today, adapting to the changing social climate. Therefore, the new private music schools that I look at are extremely diverse. However, I identified three loose categories of new, private music schools during my fieldwork:

1. *Gharana* Schools—named after a particular *gharana* and usually established by a classical musician. They focus on teaching music in their *gharana*-specific style.
2. Music schools commemorating a classical musician or performing artist—named after a renowned musician of the past and established by his/her family or students to further his/her style (e.g. the Pandit Bhimsen Joshi Sangeet Academy in Gurugram[3]).
3. General new music schools—those which do not fall under the first two categories but are largest in number and the focus of this article.

During my fieldwork, I found that these schools, specifically the third category, welcome people from all age groups and occupations to learn music. They offer classes at different times of the day and the week to cater to different kinds of people, from school and college students to homemakers and professionals, and from 4- to 60-year-olds. Indeed, in order to survive, they have to reach out broadly to the professional middle-classes who have disposable income. Although these music schools run as private businesses are a new phenomenon, they are usually affiliated to one of the older and renowned music institutions of pre-independence India like Prayag Sangeet Samiti in Prayagraj and

Gandharava Mahavidyalaya in Mumbai. These older schools design their own curriculum, and by affiliating with them, the new music schools have to follow their syllabus or curriculum.

Ideological structures in heterotopic spaces: The neo(liberal) music schools in Delhi and Gurugram

In this fieldwork-based section, I aim to answer the research questions presented above, and discuss the myriad ways in which the new, private music schools constitute heterotopic spaces where two seemingly contrasting spaces co-exist and intertwine with each other. While emphasising the traditional ideas and values, these schools also reflect neo-liberal characteristics which include, among others, offering flexibility and being student-centric.

Tradition in neo-liberal India: New music schools as heterotopic spaces

The new music schools can seem to be eclectic spaces, encompassing different and often conflicting ideological structures. They are visibly a cultural enterprise in the service sector of a neo-liberal India. At the same time, however, the traditional, religious, and spiritual aspects associated with *Hindustani* music are also evident. It is notable that these schools typically advertise in various ways the idea *of guru-shishya parampara* and *gurukul* as integral to their teaching methods. Schools like Arohi music academy emphasise on their websites their efforts in maintaining the *guru-shishya parampara*, through the "pattern of one-to-one teaching in very small groups which is truly a *guru-shishya parampara* in modern times" (Arohi Music Academy, n.d.). Similarly, while also promoting professional aspirations of (potential) students, the Pradeep Adwani school of performing arts also addresses the idea of inculcating devotion and spirituality in their students while training them in a music or dance form, pointing out that they "believe in the ideology of 3-D's: Duty, discipline, and devotion" (Pradeep Adwani's Institute for Performing Arts, n.d.). However, at the same time, new music schools like these have their own specific method of teaching that involves flexibility, and gives primacy to students' choices and aspirations —different from what the tradition of *guru-shishya parampara* espoused in terms of strict discipline and dedication to the *guru*, as symbolised by the *ganda-bandhan* (tying of the thread) ceremony between them (Neuman 1980; Silver 1984). Importantly, in the trial classes I attended in the new schools during fieldwork, I found that these strict ideas of *guru* and devotion may not actually manifest themselves to a great extent in one hour of classroom teaching. Thus, it can be said that many of these schools are advertising an ideology more than a pedagogical reality.

In certain aspects, however, the idea of the sacredness of the *Hindustani* music tradition is clearly manifest. For example, the leaving of shoes or sandals outside the classroom is a norm, mirroring the practice of entering any other sacred place—whether a Hindu temple or a Muslim mosque or shrine. Whether or not the meaning of this is explained to the students, it is expected of and done by everyone entering the space, counting as a subtle understanding among those using the space for learning. At the time of my fieldwork, some schools like MHL Vocal Academy and LHJ Sangeet Vidyalaya, had the instruction for students to remove shoes written down explicitly outside their classrooms. Furthermore, a statue of the goddess Saraswati—the Hindu goddess of knowledge and art —is a common feature in many such private schools. LHJ Sangeet Vidyalaya, for example, had a huge painting on a wall and a statue in the music room (later moved to the dance room) at the time of my visits.[4]

The spiritual values of Indian classical music and the idea that it is a way to connect to god are also found in the new music schools and other contemporary contexts. Krishnamurthy (2013), in his thesis on Carnatic music, for example, describes how even in the

virtual method of teaching, 'traditional' values are reiterated and considered important to maintain with students, like "patiently sitting on the floor cross-legged, respect for instruments beyond their status as inanimate objects and even akin to God, and a deep respect for learning and sources of knowledge, namely teachers" (212). In the new music schools, such ideas about music may even extend to musical traditions or forms beyond the classical. For Mr. Vinay at LHJ Sangeet Vidyalaya[5], for example, ideas like music as spirituality and meditation are a feature of (Indian) music teaching, irrespective of whether students are learning pure *Hindustani* music, Bollywood, or any other form of Indian music. For him, young and growing students should have the *Sanskar* or values of respecting the teacher (for instance, by touching their feet[6]), the instruments (by taking their blessings since the instruments themselves are considered sacred), and paying respects to goddess Saraswati, whatever the style of Indian music they are learning.

In addition, festivals like Saraswati puja and/or Guru Purnima are important celebrations in many schools. Saraswati puja is the day dedicated to the worship of Goddess Saraswati. Guru Purnima is celebrated in honour of teachers. In LHJ Sangeet Vidyalaya, the occasion of Guru Purnima marks a day when the students visit the school to celebrate the day with their teacher, and if they wish, they can give a gift to their teacher, while the teachers distribute chocolates among all the students. Students dress in Indian attire for this occasion, emphasising traditional Indian values, which is generally understood by the students, otherwise they are explicitly told.[7] Therefore, music teaching here is considerably informed by the belief system reminiscent of the traditional method of Indian music education and sacredness, despite the mass outlook and the business-like nature of these schools.

Even today, deep respect for the *guru* and dedication on the part of the students are considered virtues of the *guru-shishya* tradition by the owners and/or music teachers of the new schools. This "*Guru Bhakthi*" or the devotion towards the teacher is, according to Krishnamurthy (2013), a fundamental Indian value that is manifested in many ways even in online teaching. Nevertheless, these ideas may not come out as rigidly in the new music schools as compared to the older music institutions. Also, all the new music schools cannot be seen as uniform in terms of the certain ideas and practices they adopt towards ideologies and teaching. For instance, the music teacher running MHL Vocal Academy (who learned in the *guru-shishya* style) shared with me[8] that he is not extremely rigid with his students about touching his feet to show their respect to him as a *guru*. For him, students taking him seriously by doing their *Riyaz* or regular practice at home is what constitutes respect. Nevertheless, he said, teaching explicit actions like touching the *guru's* feet and taking blessings of the instruments before the class starts can be important for young children, since these actions constitute the building of their *Sanskar* (values). One of the owners of a school, where I was briefly learning *Hindustani* classical music during my fieldwork,[9] also exclaimed that we cannot expect the students today to respect their teachers in the *guru-shishya* way—which traditionally demanded extreme respect and loyalty from the students. Additionally, I found that the respect that the students have for the teacher in the new music schools can also depend on the teacher's availability and interaction outside their classes. This is primarily via phone nowadays, where the students can share their practice recordings through messaging applications like WhatsApp. Indeed, this becomes crucial, given that the class timings are much less like the free-flowing traditional master-disciple setting where students live with their teachers.

It is also important to note here that these schools reach out to a large number of people, many of whom may have absolutely no classical music background. Hence, in these heterotopic spaces, the idea of a 'true' *guru-shishya* tradition and its demands may be misunderstood today by those students who are unaware of what this tradition entails and whose primary interest is not to become a classical performer. This is particularly true of

institutes or schools where Indian classical music is not the only music form being taught, particularly the new private music schools I focus on. Discussing the students' experiences on the bi-musical curricula at the KM Music conservatory, Avis (2019) records a student's dissatisfaction with learning Carnatic music from a *guru* where she finds the *guru* very demanding and like a dictator, expecting the student to "invest so much time with so little investment on their side" (45–46). Amidst such clashes today where Indian classical music is not seen to be in sync with the ideas of a 'modern musician' (Avis 2019), the new private schools have to be mindful of the flexibility versus rigidity in various aspects of music training. Indeed, these characteristics of the schools show that there has been a significant shift from the *guru* as a centre of music education to the student as the centre. Therefore, we see that the teaching and learning spaces in these schools oscillate between different value systems and ideologies.

Adapting to changing times: The art of staying relevant

While espousing certain traditions associated with Indian classical music, the new music schools also need to stay extremely relevant in present times, adapting to the market economy. Therefore, these schools show a student-centric focus, evident in the opportunity they provide for potential students to have a trial class with the teacher and see for themselves the manner in which the music is taught in order to make an informed choice. This is a characteristic of most of the new schools I visited. Again, this foregrounds the primacy of choice and flexibility and is at odds with the *guru-shishya* system of unquestioned loyalty and discipline. In the same school in which I briefly studied, I had a trial class conducted by the vocal teacher, which was largely about understanding my voice quality and discussing the manner in which the class is conducted with the teacher. In the market economy prevalent in India today, learning from a *guru* or the *Ustad* in a traditional manner still revolves around the teacher. S/he demands a certain authority in terms of the quality of the students and may or may not accept students. In the new schools, the teacher adapts to the needs of the student to a significant degree and it would be rare to turn anyone away.

The adaptability characterising these schools today is also evident in the fact that they have moved beyond the teaching of Indian classical music or performing arts. Owing to this diversification, such schools (irrespective of their type) have also gone further to include international instruments like piano, guitar, western vocals, and even saxophone, with some of them even affiliated to institutes outside India like the Trinity School of Music, UK, for evaluation purposes (for instance, GAD Academy of Art, Music and dance).[10] Even those that teach only Indian art forms (like MHL Vocal Academy) mostly offer greater choice and flexibility by incorporating classes in Bollywood music or playback singing.[11] In contrast, in older music institutions like Prayag Sangeet Samiti and Triveni Kala Sangam, the furthest they extend from classical music is light classical genres like *thumri* and *dadra*, *bhajans*, *Sufi* music among others. While some music teachers and owners point out that the western music courses are more popular amongst youngsters, it must be noted that Bollywood music has also become one of the most popular choices in the new music schools. The music teacher-owner of MHL Vocal Academy[12] mentioned to me that currently, more and more people want to learn Bollywood music and approach him for that, while pure Indian classical music may be losing some of its importance. He clearly added that "It is people's motto today that we have to do Bollywood singing". Therefore, this characteristic makes these schools open and accessible to a larger number of people with wide interests. He nevertheless explained further that despite students' wishes to learn Bollywood music, the base of it is classical music. For him, starting with the basics of *Hindustani* music—the practice of *sargam* (notes) in the form of *paltas* (different combinations of notes)—becomes indispensable even in the case of Bollywood

music, to enhance students' creative capacities and prepare their throats in a way that they are able to sing any kind of song.

Interestingly, in many new music schools, the teacher for Indian classical music also teaches Bollywood and other Indian vocal forms. Furthermore, in several schools I visited, the Indian classical music class usually ends with a Hindi film or a Bollywood song—although, in the case of GAD Academy of Art, Music and dance, it ended with a Bhajan. In the MNZ Music academy, where I attended a trial class, the music teacher ended his session with an old Hindi film song called *Bole re Papihara* which was based on the *raga* of the day—*Raga Malhar*.[13] Therefore, there is a clear overlap between the teaching of Indian classical music and Bollywood music, and in practical terms, *Hindustani* music is not necessarily treated as sacred and/or separate from secular or commercial film music. All this showcases the adaptability of the new schools to the new market economy dominated by the service sector seeking to understand what the majority of the students want.

Besides balancing the traditional sacred and the (secular) neoliberal belief systems, these new schools also find it important to reach out to people and convince them about the benefits of learning Indian classical music, given the large public and variety of potential students the new music schools address. Here, subjectivity and individual productivity is emphasised, and again, the student is paramount. Primacy is given to music as a kind of therapy and a means to de-stress, as well as something that helps students achieve higher grades. Mr. Kuldeep of GAD Academy of Art, Music and dance mentioned that Indian classical music greatly increases one's productivity and concentration, and school or college going students can see the results of this in their general studies as well. The director/owner of the AGE Music School in Gurugram pointed out that music in general (including Indian classical music) is a stressbuster, a medicine, and/or a therapy, which are the main positives of learning it. Considering the extremely busy lives that people lead today—where he gives an example of a person working in the corporate sector where they are always busy on their laptop—he said that only one hour of playing guitar or proper singing (following all the rules) and the melodic sound of music can de-stress the individual and refresh them. Indian classical music, in general, is considered meditative and spiritual, which are ideas incorporated immensely in the teaching of this music form.

Therefore, unlike in the *guru-shishya* method, new music schools approach a wider number of potential students with varied reasons to learn music beyond becoming a classical musician or performing artist. The new music schools can be seen, in this regard, as parallel to the Bollywood dance schools that emerged in the same period, like the Shiamak Davar's Institute of performing arts—a business-based establishment (Morcom 2013). The new Bollywood dance in such institutions is "imbued with a sense of spirituality and higher purpose" (Morcom 2013, 123). This embourgeoisement of Indian performing arts and the idea of spirituality see some sort of similarity with the older music institutes. Yet, the individual and self-care/personal growth or fulfilment is focussed upon in such private music and dance schools, making it a very contemporary and neoliberal phenomenon. Spirituality, thus, becomes a very individual or subjective realisation, and may not be a general influence in these schools, even though it is still referenced and made prominent in them in many ways, as described.

The idea of individual choice and pursuit is also noticeable in the examination system in these new music schools. The students have a choice whether or not to take the examination offered via any of the older music institutes their schools are affiliated with. These examinations, nevertheless, become useful for those who wish to make some sort of career in music (particularly music teaching) through music degrees and certificates from a renowned music institute. Bollywood, bands, and reality television are other alternatives for them. These schools' pragmatic music-as-a-profession outlook, outside that of classical music performance, is another important manner in which they make themselves relevant

for the middle-class in general. This is a different stance from the older music institutions, and even the traditional *guru-shishya* method. Additionally, for young students (particularly school children), learning music as a hobby also becomes one of the many achievements to have, given the increased emphasis on extra-curricular activities today.

Following from this, the teaching structure to be followed for each student is, thus, also dependent on whether or not they are taking the examination, being more relaxed for those who are not. Therefore, yet again we see that here the student's choice, and not that of the teacher, is given precedence, making these schools more subjective and individual-centric. Traditionally there has been no such idea of regular examinations in the *guru-shishya* method. The time and manner in which a student would be tested depended on the *guru*, and this usually was in the form of a stage performance once the teacher believed their student was ready (Silver 1984), but there were no systematic stages of testing and grading.

Concluding remarks

In this article, I have explored the ideologically flexible and heterotopic spaces the private, small and medium-scale new music schools in Delhi and Gurugram constitute. The seemingly contradictory ideological structures—the traditional and the neo-liberal—co-exist in such spaces in many ways. For instance, the students of *Hindustani* classical music in these schools get acquainted with the importance of the teacher (*guru*) and the *guru-shishya parampara*. However, in the classroom setting where the actual teaching takes place, the traditional method of teaching and learning may not manifest in its entirety but remains an ideal or exists in traces. Additionally, the new music schools offer immense flexibility to students in terms of examinations, with the option of pursuing music only as a hobby rather than a profession. The traditional *guru-shishya* (or *ustad-shagird*) relationship, on the other hand, means a complete devotion and utmost loyalty towards the *guru*, where the *guru* determines the time and path of the students' training and is the judge their progress.

Nevertheless, the values or *sanskar* associated with *Hindustani* classical music also become important in these schools and manifest variously (e.g. through festivals and viewing instruments and the classroom as sacred), particularly for the children. Yet, in general, these values are not forced upon the students and the agency of the students is recognised. The rules associated with the *guru-shishya* and the *gharana* method of teaching or the traditional (particularly the reformist era) beliefs do not come out as rigidly in these new music schools as compared to the older music institutions, though the old ideologies and values are still mentioned and given weight. As I conclude, I also recognise that the new music schools are extremely diverse and are abundant around the country beyond my field sites as well. They may display school-specific and region-specific characteristics, which I could not cover given their enormity. ■

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Notes

[1] *Ustad-shagird* relationship, often used in the context of Muslim hereditary musicians, and the *guru-shishya parampara,* associated with Hindu musicians, are often used interchangeably today, although they have different history of meanings etymologically (Neuman 1990, 44).

[2] Prayagraj is the official name of Allahabad since 2019.

[3] See http://www.bhimsenjoshisangeet.com/ (Last accessed on 6th June 2020).

[4] School tour on 3rd December 2018, and follow-up interview on 30th January 2020.

[5] Follow-up interview/conversation on 30th January 2020.

[6] Touching the feet is a general form of respect towards an elder in India, practiced heavily in traditional music teaching in India.

[7] Follow-up interview/conversation on 30th January 2020.

[8] Follow up interview/conversation on 2nd March 2020.

[9] I learnt *Hindustani* classical music in a private music school in south Delhi between September 2018 and November 2018.

[10] Interview with Mr. Kuldeep of GAD Academy of Art, Music and dance on 12th November 2018.

[11] Playback singing involves recording a song beforehand in a studio by playback singers, which the actors lip-sync to during shooting/filming (Booth 2008; Morcom 2007).

[12] Interview dated 19th November 2018.

[13] Trial class attended on 28th July 2018.

[14] Interview on 12th November 2018.

[15] Interview on 22nd November 2018.

Abstract

Hindustani (or North Indian) classical music was traditionally transmitted orally within families or family-based guilds called *gharanas* that upheld a particular style (Neuman 1990). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some of the first institutions for Indian (classical) music emerged amidst the Indian nationalist discourse which largely emphasised the decline of this sacred art under (Muslim) hereditary musicians (Bakhle 2005). This phase continued in the newly independent India with the establishment of more such important music institutions (government or private), aimed at promoting Indian classical music as national heritage. On the other hand, in the post-1991 period of globalisation, economic liberalisation, and the privatisation of economy in India, a different stock of new, small-scale music schools (teaching *Hindustani* classical music) have mushroomed that are largely privately-owned and business-like.

This article explores the multiple ways and extent to which the values, traditional concepts, and ideologies associated with *Hindustani* music are adopted in these new schools today in their teaching and transmission of *Hindustani* classical music. At the same time, it examines how new ideologies of neo-liberal India, that are seen to conflict with or contradict the much-espoused traditional ideologies, are enshrined in these new educational spaces. The article presents these schools as complex heterotopic spaces, to use Foucault's concept (1998), in terms of ideological structures. A part of an ongoing doctoral dissertation, this article is based on extensive qualitative fieldwork in Delhi and Gurugram including interviews with music teachers and musicians involved with these schools, as well as non-participant (and participant, wherever required) observations of music classes. ■

Alexandra Kertz-Welzel

Cultural diversity or core culture? Politics and German music education

Introduction

Multicultural music education is in many countries a most common part of the music curriculum in public schools, supported by theoretical and practical literature (Knigge & Mautner-Obst 2013; Campbell 2018). What is, however, often missing in the discussion is its political dimension. Multicultural music education implies a notion of cultural diversity which is politically contested in times of rising nationalist and populist movements. As music educators, we are often not aware of the political aspects of our work, including respective counter discourses challenging our vision. One such counter concept to cultural diversity is *Leitkultur* (core culture). It has been a popular topic in conservative and radical right-wing circles,[1] defining what the center of a respective national culture is, for instance what it means to be German or French. In view of populist movements around the world which fundamentally question longstanding premises such as embracing cultural diversity in society and education, critical investigations of counter concepts such as *Leitkultur* are much needed, particularly with regard to their impact on fields such as music education. This concerns both the national and the international level, since for instance approaches to musics of the world can differ in respective countries.

This paper addresses one aspect of the political dimensions of cultural diversity in music education. As a case in point, it investigates the German notion of *Leitkultur* as one example for global notions of core culture. It analyzes, from a interdisciplinary perspective, selected aspects of core culture with regard to its development in German politics and its implications for music education. The intention of this investigation is to raise awareness for the political dimensions of music education, particularly with regard to cultural diversity, and to start a critical discourse about counter concepts. The focus of this paper is thus two-folded: by investigating *Leitkultur* in Germany as a case in point, it raises awareness for core culture as a global, but also a national phenomenon. Core culture and cultural diversity in music education look different in each country, depending on respective discourses. Realizing what unites, but also what differentiates us is an important task in international music education, especially concerning music education policy (Kertz-Welzel 2018).[2] The hope is that the insights from Germany could start a global discourse in music education about how to address challenges to cultural diversity.

The paper starts with an analysis of what *Leitkultur* in German political studies and policy is. Then, its impact on music education in Germany is scrutinized, regarding the development of a canon of works and intercultural approaches. Finally, perspectives on how to address issues such as *Leitkultur* in music education internationally, in view of engaging for cultural diversity, will conclude the paper.

Leitkultur—core culture in Germany

The origin of the term *Leitkultur* in Germany is rather unusual. The term was not, as could have been expected, first introduced by a thinker close to a right-wing or nationalist party. Rather, it was presented by a German political scientist with migration background, originally from Syria and professor at the university of Goettingen: Bassam Tibi (1996;

2000). Tibi's interest in the notion of *Leitkultur* was, in view of growing numbers of immigrants and people with migration background in Germany, to find a foundation for a peaceful life within German society. The notion of *Leitkultur* was supposed to guide and to facilitate integration. Even though Tibi had particularly the German situation in mind, he proposed not a German, but a European *Leitkultur*, based on Western-liberal values such as the priority of reason, democracy, the separation of religion and state, pluralism, gender equality or tolerance. The notion of *Leitkultur* was supposed to facilitate life in a democracy and to strengthen the German identity within the European context. It proposed culture and cultural identity as foundation for German citizenship, instead of ethnicity. This indicates that in its original meaning, *Leitkultur* did not present right-wing or racist ideas, but was rather related to cultural pluralism and diversity.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Tibi's notion of *Leitkultur* was at the core of an intense discussion because it raised issues about immigration and integration which had not been addressed before. Questions such as what it means to be German, particularly within the European context, or which values differentiate Germany from other European nations, have been significant topics of the debate. While this would have been an excellent opportunity for a general and open discussion about integration and core culture within a European context, the direction of the discourse soon began to change. The notion of *Leitkultur* started to be ideologically monopolized, first by conservatives, later by radical right-wing political parties. At the core of this development was the question if integration was supposed to be assimilation or acculturation – if immigrants should give up their original culture to be a part of the German society (assimilation) or if they could still have an identity based on their home culture while at the same time being a German citizen (acculturation). In 1998, the editor of the German weekly magazine "Die Zeit," Theo Sommer (1998), specifically raised the issue of integration as assimilation. For him, *Leitkultur* was not about the European context anymore, but the focus was on a German core culture. This clearly differs from the meaning of *Leitkultur* which Tibi originally proposed. In 2000, during the discussion about a possible immigration law, Friedrich Merz (2000), chair of the Christian-democratic and Christian-social fraction of the German parliament, chose a different approach to *Leitkultur*. He pointed out the significance of the German constitution (*Grundgesetz*) and liberal democratic values and therefore suggested a constitutional patriotism (*Verfassungspatriotismus*). For him, German cultural identity and the values of a liberal-democratic society were closely connected.

These different positions, however, led to the interesting question if, in a pluralistic society, it might at all be necessary to have something like a *Leitkultur*. In 2005, Norbert Lammert, president of the German parliament, questioned if the notion of *Leitkultur* would be generally able to foster the integration and the peaceful cohabitation of people from various countries in Germany (Lammert 2006). While minimum standards (e.g., human rights, women's rights, religious freedom) would be indispensable for integration and identity formation, particularly in a liberal-democratic society, he considered the European context to be important. Therefore, Lammert suggested that a collective European identity should be the point of reference for *Leitkultur*, but within a Europe of diversity (*Europa der Vielfalt)*.

While the subsequent discussion often alternated between new proclamations about *Leitkultur* by conservatives or liberals, the real turning point was the refugee crisis in 2015. Faced with a humanitarian emergency, German chancellor Angela Merkel decided to open the German borders for refugees. While many Germans welcomed the refugees, particularly in the Southern part of Germany with Munich being the hub of the new welcoming culture (*Willkommenskultur*), people in the Eastern part of Germany did not consent. They thought of themselves as being disadvantaged by the German reunification in general and the German government in particular. They were attracted by radical right-wing parties proclaiming

the priority of Germans, especially to receive financial support. The refugee crisis uncovered the deep split between Germans in Eastern and Western Germany, and the discontent of many people, also in the Western part of Germany, was eventually the starting point for the rise of radical right-wing and nationalist parties such as the *Alternative fuer Deutschland* (Alternative for Germany) (AFD). For their purpose of putting the interests of Germans and Germany first (Berning 2017), they tried to completely hijack the term *Leitkultur* for their own ideological purposes. They attempted to turn it into a substitute for everything which is German and good, a synonym for specific core values that other nations would supposedly not have. This understanding of *Leitkultur* completely ignored the European context and defined a new kind of highly questionable Germanness as a point of reference.

However, some conservative politicians tried to reclaim *Leitkultur* as a part of their own political agenda, but it was difficult to redefine the term within a democratic context. One example for these attempts is Thomas de Mazière, former German Home Secretary and member of Merkel's Christian Democratic party (CDU). In 2017, he tried to redefine *Leitkultur* in relation to German customs such as shaking hands, showing your face, introducing yourself and your name, general knowledge (*Allgemeinbildung*), interest in accomplishments (*Leistungsgedanke*), cultural richness, heritage of the German history and its special relation to Israel, religious freedom, ideological neutrality, enlightened patriotism (de Mazière 2017). But this was a rather oversimplified and not successful popularization of *Leitkultur*. Additionally, the Christian-social party (CSU) which has dominated politics in Bavaria for many decades and is on the national level in a coalition with the CDU, also proposed *Leitkultur* as an important point of reference. *Leitkultur* was even introduced in the preamble and an article of the Bavarian integration law, being a part of the Bavarian Constitution.[3]

Overall, the notion of *Leitkultur*, originally created to facilitate integration in a democratic German society within the European context, has been changed to a weapon in Conservatives' and radical right-wing parties' battles against migration and refugees, exploiting the general discontent of people particularly in Eastern Germany, but also in other parts of the country. The combat term *Leitkultur* has been utilized to undermine attempts of understanding Germany as an immigration country and multicultural society by proclaiming a German core culture – even though it is difficult to determine what this might be, in view of the multifaceted history of Germany as a nation.

However, *Leitkultur* is certainly a contested concept. It can easily be redefined, according to various political agendas. It might not be compatible with a liberal society, depending of the term's definition – or it can support it, if defined in relation to the values of a liberal-democratic society. However, *Leitkultur* has been much criticized as simply representing a bourgeois core culture telling the lower social classes how to live or as social construction which changes as national *habitus* changes, for instance through new immigrants (Meier-Walser 2017). Maybe, *Leitkultur* is nothing static, but rather the result of various waves of immigration transforming a society, as has often been the case throughout history. If defined carefully, it could possibly function as a useful term in relation to cultural diversity. *Leitkultur*, however, is an important part of discourses about cultural identity and diversity in Germany and should therefore be addressed in research, also with regard to specific fields such as music education.

Leitkultur and German music education

Notions such as *Leitkultur* certainly affect music education. There are at least two different aspects to illustrate this, first the development of a canon of works which every German student should know, and second, the concept of intercultural music education in Germany.

Leitkultur and a canon of works

The discussion about *Leitkultur* in Germany led to an interesting development in German music education. In 2000, the *Konrad Adenauer-Stiftung*, a foundation close to the Christian Democratic Party (CDU), started the initiative "Bildung der Persönlichkeit" (cultivation of the personality and character). This project tried to renew German education through an emphasis on character and value education, including acknowledging German core culture as a significant point of reference. This initiative concerned various school subjects, and also music education. The initiative tried to prescribe required lesson content supporting the notion of *Leitkultur* in German schools. In 2004, this development resulted in the policy paper "Bildungsoffensive durch Neuorientierung des Musikunterrichts" (Fostering Bildung through a new orientation in music education) which developed a framework for a new approach in German music education, supporting character development, national identity and required core content (Kaiser et al. 2006). A canon of musical works which every student in Germany should know was supposed to foster conservative values. It presented significant works of the Western European Art Music tradition, from Gregorian chant, famous works of the Renaissance, Baroque, classical era as well as to the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries. Suggested were for instance works by Bach (St. Matthew's Passion), Mozart (Little Night Music), Chopin (Waltzes), Mahler, Ligeti. Eleven Jazz musicians such as Goodman or Coltrane, seventeen rock and pop musicians, from Haley, Presley to Madonna, and the German singer Herbert Groenemeyer, were also included.

Certainly, this canon raises issues well-known to the international music education community. It is Eurocentric and mostly concerns Western European Art Music, not musics of the world. It clearly promotes music as artwork. The canon is gender-biased and focused on male composers and performers - Madonna is the only woman mentioned. It excludes certain genres such as Rap or Hip Hop completely while at the same time, the criteria for the selection were not disclosed. This includes the most interesting question what would be German about a canon of works featuring music by European or Anglo-American composers and how it should foster German *Leitkultur*. Generally, the canon presents an old-fashioned approach to music education in terms of music history and categorizing music according to certain eras. Furthermore, there are practical issues such as how music teachers could cover this huge amount of works in their lessons which are already linked with a curriculum. Additionally, German music education is not focused on an artwork approach anymore, but is rather student-centered, using a life world approach which features various musical activities such as composing, dancing, performing, debating, conducting, project work (Kertz-Welzel 2009). How could this fit with teaching a canon of works supposedly featuring German core culture?

German music education scholars replied to this canon and published a comprehensive critique (Kaiser et al. 2006). This critique and the standards movement almost completely absorbed the impact this policy paper supporting German core culture could have.[4] However, the canon of works generally illustrates the power conservative politicians and their ideas can have. Another example for the impact politics has on diversity in music education is the German approach of intercultural music education.

Intercultural music education

Music education has often been connected to politics and national identity. When music education was first introduced as a subject in public schools, it was because of patriotism—singing patriotic songs was supposed to be an important part of educating loyal citizens (Hebert & Kertz-Welzel 2012). Today, a country's position concerning immigration can also have an impact on music education, for instance illustrated in approaches to music of the worlds. If, for instance, the vision of a country might not be that of an

immigration country, this could lead to different concepts than a multicultural society might develop. This has happened in Germany. Since the vision of the German society has not been a multicultural such as in the U.S., but rather an intercultural one, with German culture as point of reference, music education regarding musics of the worlds has been labelled "intercultural music education" (*interkulturelle Musikpaedagogik*).

To understand the German approach of intercultural music education, it is useful to first take a look at the history of immigrants in Germany. German ethnomusicologist and music educator Wolfgang Martin Stroh (2010) identifies four phases of immigration in Germany, which need, however, to be supplemented with a fifth one. In the first phase (1955–1973), guest workers (12 million) with fixed contracts, particularly from the Mediterranean (e.g., Italy, Greece, Spain, Yugoslavia), were invited to Germany. They came without their families and were thought to return to their home countries after fulfilling their contracts. In the second phase (1974–1989), after the stop of recruiting foreign workers in 1973, 2.6 million guest workers stayed in Germany. When they were reunited with their families, foreign students entered German schools and created the need for new pedagogical concepts. During this time, the pedagogy for foreigners (*Auslaenderpaedagogik*) was the main approach which understood foreign children in German schools as a problem. Since immigrant children seemed to have deficits due to language issues and a different cultural background, many of them were sent to schools for special education, to be jointly educated along children with special needs. It took until the 1980s for intercultural education to be developed in Germany, understanding foreign children in German schools as an opportunity for intercultural learning and not as a problem anymore. In the third phase (1990–1999)—due to the end of the Cold War, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and re-settlers from Russian republics or refugees from the Yugoslavia war—many people from various countries were looking for asylum in Germany. Even though many refugees were allowed to stay, Germany officially still refused to be recognized as immigration country. In the fourth phase (2000–2014), there was a new tendency to law and order on one hand, regulating and improving the system dealing with immigrants and migration, but also the hope that there would be a general change towards redefining Germany as an immigration country. The fifth phase, beginning with the refugee crisis in 2015 and Angela Merkel's decision to open the German borders, was then the real turning point. It resulted in both the rise of radical right-wing and populist parties, claiming German *Leitkultur* and the priority of German citizens' needs as their agenda—but also in an immigration law in 2018.[5]

It took until the 1980s for an intercultural approach to be introduced in German schools (Knigge & Mautner 2013). This was the time when politicians realized that immigrants and their children would not go back to their home countries. Therefore, general revisions of music education curricula and materials were necessary to address foreign students' needs. The terminology "intercultural" indicates one significant issue concerning musics of the world in German music education and society: it is rather about encounters and dialogue, not a merging of cultures. It is about a clear differentiation between "the German" and "the other," the familiar and the unfamiliar (Ott 1998). "Intercultural" indicates that the vision of the German society has so far not been that of a culturally diverse immigration country and a multicultural society, but rather of a society with a distinct core culture that is supposed to remain unchanged—even though people with various cultural backgrounds live in Germany and certainly have an impact on the culture.

In German music education, there are various approaches in intercultural music education. The best-known approach is the interface approach (*Schnittstellenansatz*) by Irmgard Merkt (1983; 1993). At its core is the search for musical commonalities in terms of meeting points. There are seven steps to foster tolerance and understanding—music

making as a starting point, but also discussing musical and cultural issues. This approach tries to encourage students to get to know eachother and their cultures, learning respect and cultural sensitivity, including acknowledging different values and perspectives. The extended interface approach (*Erweiterter Schnittstellenansatz*), developed by Wolfgang Martin Stroh (2011), is an extension of Merkt's concept, based on critical pedagogy, a lifeworld, student-centered and action-oriented approach. It includes creative theatrical play, music making and intensive discussions as ways of getting to know the music of various cultures.[6]

Intercultural music education mirrors the German understanding of cultural diversity. German culture is the point of reference, distinguishing between the home and the foreign culture, the known and unknown, thereby signifying that Germany has so far not been interested in being an immigration country or supporting the vision of a multicultural society such as in the U.S. This difference to other countries becomes also obvious when taking a look at research about intercultural music education in Germany. Scholarly discourses in intercultural music education are often focused on terminology and complex philosophical concepts related to intercultural approaches, for instance regarding culture (Barth 2007). Topics important in the international discourse on multicultural music education such as anti-racist education, ethnomusicology as a point of reference or authenticity regarding musics of the world do not play an important role in German intercultural music education. This indicates a problem of German intercultural music education, but also of approaches to multicultural music education worldwide. National concepts are often isolated and not part of international music education discourses because they highly depend on respective political frameworks. The seemingly international discourse about multicultural music education is mostly dominated by Anglo-American research which does certainly not represent music education worldwide.[7] It might be time to realize that concepts and approaches regarding musics of the world depend on the political situation in respective countries as illustrated regarding Germany, for instance if a country welcomes immigrants and refugees, the respective notion of culture and political concepts regarding cultural identity and integration. Approaches to musics of the world are certainly a political topic, touching a sensitive issue in times of global migration and the rise of populist political movements around the world. Believing that there is one international approach to musics of the world is an oversimplification and might be one reason why some countries such as Germany have not been part of the international discourse regarding this topic so far. Therefore, understanding discourses about core culture and approaches to musics of the world are important starting points for culturally sensitively internationalizing music education (Kertz-Welzel 2018).

Conclusion

In view of the rise of nationalism and populism worldwide, it is crucial to address the notion of *Leitkultur* in society at large and in music education in particular. This paper tried to offer a starting point by presenting Germany politics and German music education as a case in point. *Leitkultur* is often used as a weapon against cultural diversity, insisting on one cultural point of reference for a society. Populist movements and nationalist parties are currently successfully proclaiming an essentialist view of culture in terms of preserving the "true culture" of a country, e.g. the "True Finns" in Finland or the AFD in Germany—even though it is not really clear what the "true culture" of a country is, particularly in view of centuries of migration and cultural exchange. However, core culture is a dialectical phenomenon. While it can be misused for radical right-wing ideology, it could also support cultural diversity, if defined wisely. It could, for instance, represent core values and important aspects of a respective society in terms of cultural identity, but in an

open way, possibly situated within a larger cultural context such as for instance Europe. This would be close to the original intention of Basam Tibi (1996; 2000).

If we leave the discourse about core culture to radical right-wing or nationalist parties, it will weaken the attempt to implement our vision of cultural diversity in society at large and in music education in particular. It might be time for music educators to enter the political and educational discourse to debate the necessity or unnecessity of core culture regarding music education in a culturally diverse world. This means that we generally need to think more politically in music education. Research in music education policy already suggested this and tried to empower music educators and scholars to be politically active (Schmidt & Colwell 2017). But music education policy is still an emerging field which has so far rarely comprehensively addressed the impact national political frameworks have on music education concepts in specific countries, even though the sensitivity for global and national issues is growing (Chen, de Villiers & Kertz-Welzel 2018). Much more research is needed addressing these issues, including developing a research agenda. This agenda could concern first, raising awareness for the political dimensions of our work as music educators, globally and nationally. Investigating approaches such as multicultural music education from a global and a national perspective, identifying commonalities and differences in respective countries and the impact national political discourses and policies have on them, could be an important task. Second, we need to find ways to be more engaged in political and scholarly discourses. This can concern various scholarly, administrative or political contexts, where our knowledge and opinion can make a difference. Addressing notions such as core culture which are often already an implicit part of curricula in various countries will be paramount. If we are not actively fighting for our vision of cultural diversity in music education, radical right-wing parties will hijack notions such as core culture and use it to strengthen their political power. Third, this research agenda could include identifying international issues which connect us as global music education community, thus possibly facilitating a culturally sensitive internationalization of music education. We need to know more about what unites and differentiates us as global music education community. Understanding the multiplicity of approaches to musics of the world can be one way to reconcile international and national perspectives, understanding our national cultural identities within the broader context of cultural diversity. Each country has its own political and educational history which have an impact on how music education looks like in classrooms. More national and international research is needed about the impact of politics on approaches to musics of the world in schools. There is no one-fits-all-solution for multicultural music education in a culturally diverse world, even though publishers of teaching materials might wish to have a global market. Rather, there are national approaches which can be inspired or transformed through successful concepts in various countries.

It might be time to start understanding music education history and music education concepts from a political perspective, as results of political processes. Then, multicultural and intercultural music education are part of political discourses which need our engagement and ideas so that we can nurture the notion of cultural diversity in music education, while at the same acknowledging the need for cultural and musical identity. ■

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Notes

[1] The term "radical right-wing" describes parties which are favoring nationalist and populist ideas. Most often, they promote implicitly or explicitly racist ideologies. For more information see: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36130006

[2] By addressing core culture as a global and national issue, this paper is part of basic research in music education policy and therefore theoretically oriented. It does not intend to give recommendations for classroom practices but wants to start a discussion about core culture and to draw attention to the commonalities and differences in approaches of multicultural music education around the world.

[3] In 2017, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Green Party filed a lawsuit against this addition at the German Constitutional Court. For more information see: https://www.gesetze- bayern.de/Content/Document/BayIntG?AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1

[4] Currently, there are also more critical approaches to cultural identity and music, for instance with regard to the notion of *Heimat* (home country) and music (education) in a culturally diverse society (Martin & Berger 2018).

[5] For more information see: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/dec/19/germany-passes-immigration-law-to-lure-non-eu-skilled-workers

[6] While there are certainly more approaches to musics of the world in German classrooms, the two examples presented here are the most prominent ones. For more information see: https://www.interkulturelle- musikerziehung.de

[7] One example for this approach might be the "World Music Pedagogy Series:" https://www.routledge.com/music/series/WMP

Abstract

Global migration challenges countries worldwide. The right of asylum competes with the fear of citizens to lose economic privileges and cultural identity. While this is certainly an international phenomenon, each country faces its very specific challenges, based on its history and political situation, including its educational institutions. In Germany, intercultural education and music education have for more than three decades tried to address these issues by developing concepts and methods facilitating intercultural encounters and learning. But the educational vision of cultural diversity was facing competition in terms of the notion of core culture or *Leitkultur*. This concept describes the idea of a guiding German culture, based on significant cultural values and political ideas. In many countries worldwide, defining what the core culture is and putting the interests of the home country first, has become most common nowadays as part of right-wing and populist political agendas. As a case in point, this paper investigates the German notion of *Leitkultur* from an interdisciplinary perspective regarding its development in German politics and its meaning for music education. ■

Julia Wieneke

Perceptions of collaboration in Austrian whole class ensembles: A qualitative study of four general music teachers

Introduction

In the last decade, whole class ensemble (WCE) models have become increasingly popular in Austria. This paper aims to allow insight into four teachers' views on collaboration with instrumental/voice instructors that takes place inside and outside the classroom. The findings are supported by presenting the WCE structures in each school and by giving voice to participants about their collaboration. In 2013, the *Austrian Ministry of Teaching, Arts and Culture* published a brochure introducing different forms of institutional cooperation[1] between music schools and public schools (Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur 2013). However, the prevalence of WCEs varies widely among states, as different state policies provide varying degrees of freedom for establishing WCEs.[2] In general, WCEs and small group/section lessons take place in primary or secondary schools during or following the school day. Most programs will last at least two years and participation is compulsory. Many WCEs remain free of charge in accordance with educational law, although sometimes families have to pay for instrument loans. Additional costs are often covered by parent-generated school funds or through partnerships with local businesses. The public music school system that sends instrumental/voice instructors into schools for WCEs in Austria is state-funded and caters mainly to students in all instruments and voice, but also in theory, music history and ensemble playing. Small and rural towns also have access to music schools, where teachers often use school buildings in the afternoon for their lessons if they do not have an allocated building. The music schools are considered a part of the educational system and the cost for lessons remains fairly low compared to other countries.[3] Music schools provide a curriculum and allow for graded assessment at different stages. Students can progress directly from music schools to music universities or to music conservatories that exist in larger cities.

Theoretical framework and earlier research

Research on teaching and learning has recently included aspects of collaboration and teamwork among teachers, practices that are presumed to enhance teaching quality (Baum 2014) and enable a culture of joint analysis and reflection (Altrichter & Eder 2004). With respect to the school environment, the term "collaboration", often interchanged with the word "cooperation" has been discussed in a variety of ways, and several existing definitions have been proposed (Schütt 2012). One popular model of cooperation includes three separate, increasing levels defined as (1) exchange of ideas, (2) work-sharing, and (3) co-construction (Gräsel, Fußangel & Pröbstel 2006). In the highest level of co-construction, the authors propose that new knowledge is gained through collaborative, purposeful planning. While this model focuses on collaboration outside of the classroom, another one describes co- and team-teaching strategies during classroom action itself (Cook 2004). These approaches were at first developed with regard to classrooms including differently abled students, but can be adapted to other circumstances as well, with strategies ranging

from forms of assistance ("one teach, one drift") to those of collaborative teaching ("team teaching") (15). For the present study, the three categories developed by Gräsel et al. (2006) and corresponding research in music education served to inform the research questions which mirror the categories of exchange, work-sharing and co-construction. By applying a social constructivist framework (e.g. Patton 2015), the study aimed to enhance understanding of the perceptions of participants' teaching reality in the collaborative setting. Additionally, the co-teaching approaches by Cook (2004) were used as frames for analyzing descriptions of team teaching situations in the classroom.

When researching WCE models in schools, such as wind or string bands or choirs, collaboration of teachers is particularly important, as working in these groups usually takes place in teams of general music teachers and instrumental/voice instructors. Some aspects of collaboration in such WCEs have already been investigated by German music education researchers, who often describe a discrepancy between aspirations and reality (Franz-Özdemir 2012; Göllner 2017; Heberle & Kranefeld 2016; Kulin & Schwippert 2012; Lehmann-Wermser 2010; Naacke 2011; Niessen 2014). For instance, Heberle and Kranefeld (2016) showed the importance of team structures, task division and the mutual recognition of competences in the negotiation of collaborating teachers. The more experienced the teams were in their collaboration, the smoother their reported coordination and distribution of expertise in WCE lessons. However, as Göllner and Niessen (2015) have pointed out, those more stable relationships could also lead to inflexible routines and the inability to adapt creatively to the moment. Furthermore, Franz-Özdemir (2012) drew on Gräsel et al.'s (2006) model and reported that even though teams expressed interest in higher levels of collaboration in interviews, the existing levels of realized cooperation lagged far behind. Other research showed that the role of the primary school teacher remained mostly restricted to organization and classroom discipline, which left the instrumental instructor exclusively responsible for lesson content and structure (Niessen 2014). In international research and practice of WCEs, the "Wider Opportunities" program in the UK must be mentioned (see e.g. Fautley, Kinsella & Whittaker 2017; Johnstone 2019). In this program, offers by local music hubs to (mostly primary) schools differ from German concepts, as they are predominantly shorter. The instrumental/voice/composition programs generally last one school year with only few spanning over more than two terms (Fautley, Kinsella & Whittaker 2017). Similar to the aforementioned German research, one study of this program investigating levels of collaboration found that role division and lack of shared responsibility dominated (Johnstone 2019).

Several other aspects of collaboration between music educators outside of WCEs have been addressed in recent years. One common concept that has been investigated in various studies is related to partnerships between artists and schools (Abeles 2018; Bresler 2002; Burnard 2011; Christophersen 2015; Galton 2008; Hall & Thomson 2007; Kerin & Murphy 2015; Kinsella, Fautley & Evans 2018; Partington 2018; Rabkin, Reynolds, Hedberg & Shelby 2011). Bresler (2002) reported promising instances of a program which facilitated close and higher order co-construction between an artist and teacher. This partnership was established with joint planning, lesson observation and mutual professional learning. She described these types of activities as "transformative practice zones" (33) where each professional brings their competences into the partnership which allows for new aspects of teaching and learning to be explored and implemented (see also Johnstone 2019; Kerin & Murphy 2015). Among other benefits, these types of sustainable partnerships might thereby promote the idea of developing curriculum together rather than simply implementing it (see also Abeles 2018).

In existing international research on collaboration of teachers in settings such as WCEs, some studies have investigated the perceptions and beliefs of teachers and artists. Close collaboration holds the promise of fostering joint co-construction and might lead to

professional development of teachers (Bresler 2002). It is yet to be examined, how these types of collaboration are viewed and enacted in Austrian contexts.

Research design and methods

Unlike in Germany, no research has been conducted in Austria that explores the practical implementation and teacher views on collaboration in WCEs in band, choir or string orchestra formats. Therefore, the main objective of this study was to start closing this gap by conducting a qualitative study to find out more about the perceptions of Austrian general music teachers in WCEs toward collaboration. However, the analysis includes not only the individual teacher's views about collaboration, but also each school's WCE setting in order to thoroughly demonstrate differences in relation to their context. The research questions were: How do general music teachers perceive the collaboration in WCEs? How do they describe the nature of co-teaching? And which practices have they adopted for working together?

Four general music teachers working in WCEs were interviewed during the school year of 2018/19. Since the objective of the study was to investigate the perceptions of collaboration between general music teachers and instrumental/voice instructors, secondary school settings were chosen, because those school teachers generally hold a degree in music education from a (music) university. In all of these settings, music teachers and instrumental/voice instructors teach at least one hour per week as a team in the classroom, therefore it is feasible to assume some degree of collaboration would take place. Music education administrators who were responsible for schools and music schools in the nine states were contacted and asked to provide a list of all known WCEs.[4] After reviewing the school profiles and websites, twenty principals were approached and asked to forward the research proposal to music teachers. As a result, four teachers contacted the researcher and agreed to be interviewed. They represented a variety of school types in different locations and states, different forms of collaboration, gender and age. The duration of their experiences with WCEs also varied widely, therefore a broad range of views and perceptions of teamwork were expected despite the limited number of participants. Semi-structured interviews were held face-to-face or via Skype (Meß 2018), ranging in length from 45 to 90 minutes. The interview schedule was kept flexible in order to allow participants to express additional ideas and themes. The interviewees were fully informed about content and objectives of the study and signed a consent form. In addition, pseudonyms in alphabetical order were assigned to each teacher to maintain anonymity.

Data were anonymized during transcription.[5] The transcribed interviews were then open coded using MAXQDA and procedures from Grounded Theory methodology (Glaser & Strauss 2017). After the first phase, codes were organized into categories; the whole coding process was accompanied by memo-writing. During the analysis, it became apparent that comprehensive qualitative descriptions were vital in order to understand the perceptions and meaning making of the participants (Patton 2015), especially since each teacher and school had adopted the WCE concept to cater to their specific circumstances. In addition to conducting and analyzing four interviews, two WCE lessons led by one participant were observed during the spring of 2019 together with two music education students. The observation was focused on the ways teacher collaboration became visible in the classroom and on apparent structures in the course of the ensemble lessons. The students and researcher noted their perceptions in a prepared observation survey (Sehringer, Scheltwort, Petersen & Reinert 2004), and their thoughts were exchanged in a subsequent group discussion.

Collaboration in four WCEs

This section begins with an overview of the four teachers and the organization of the WCEs in their schools. This is followed by a closer look at each participant's individual views and perceptions of collaboration.

The first two teachers (Andreas and Bernd) had more than five years of practical experience teaching in WCEs. Both worked with wind bands and led the WCEs, while the collaborating instrumental instructors from the local music school taught the additional section lessons. The latter two teachers (Christin and Daniela) worked in choir classes, and each had around one year of practical experience teaching those ensembles. It should be noted that Andreas was not a certified classroom teacher but an instrumental instructor. He did not complete the comprehensive general music teacher training program which is the pedagogical training for working in classrooms in Austria and includes ensemble leading as well as other facets of music competences, such as listening, appraising, composing and singing. Both Bernd and Christin graduated from music universities and are certified to teach in higher secondary education. Daniela is certified as a lower secondary teacher. She studied at a pedagogical college with a lesser degree in artistic training and instrumental provision, and experienced a stronger emphasis on general educational principles.[6]

Name and qualification	School	Type of WCE	Lenght of WCE's existence	Years of experience in WCE	Type of collaboration with music school	Length and year of WCE provision	Duration of class/small group tuition
Andreas: Instrumental instructor working as general music teacher	Urban lower secondary (NMS) within difficult socio-economic surroundings	Band class with woodwind, brass and percussion	> 5 years	> 5 years	Different instrumental instructors provide section lessons, Andreas leads the WCE	4 years, 5th to 8th grade	50′ section lessons and 50′ WCE each week, additional music electives possible for some students
Bernd: General music teacher for higher secondary University graduate	Rural, private higher secondary (AHS) within a privileged area	Band class with woodwind and brass	> 15 years	> 15 years	Two instrumental instructors provide section lessons, Bernd leads the WCE	2 years, 5th to 6th grade	50′ section lessons and 50′WCE each week
Christin: General music teacher for higher secondary University graduate	Rural, higher secondary (AHS)	Elective choirs as music lessons	> 1 year	> 15 years	No collaboration outside the school, but close interaction with school's music team	Minimum 2 years, 5th to 12th grade, elective offered every two years	Either 50′ or 100′ per week in music lessons
Daniela: General music teacher for lower secondary Pedagogical college graduate	Rural, lower secondary (NMS)	Elective choir and compulsory singing program	> 1 year	> 3 years	Collaboration with two different outside voice instructors, each leading an ensemble	Choir: elective from 5th to 8th grade; Singing program: One year decided upon by principal and voice teacher	Choir: 50′ per week; Singing program: 100′ every two weeks, no small group tuition

Table 1. Summary of the participants' training, experience and WCE conditions.

Andreas

The WCE was established by Andreas in 2013 and has been thriving since, performing regularly at local and school events. Therefore the program was extended to run for four years and a second ensemble was added. Asked about collaboration with the instrumental instructor, Andreas remained reserved, saying that he preferred not to interfere with the small group tuition, unless he had specific wishes concerning certain passages in a piece or a solo. Otherwise, there seemed to be only little cohesion between the small group tuition and the WCE. Pieces for the ensemble lesson and for the performances were chosen and arranged solely by Andreas and not connected to the small group lesson content.

> *The pieces that I'm responsible for, those that I arrange and decide on by myself, those are for the events in school. That's one part of the story. The other part, that's what the instrumental instructors are responsible for. I don't barge in and say, ah do this or that. If I say, ok, I would love for the kids to play Jingle Bells for Christmas, please, could you practice that with them, that's a different story, but I don't barge in. That's their job.*

Andreas did not view the disparity of these two parts of the WCE as a disadvantage, he rather saw it as arising from the fact that performances are school events for which the instrumental instructors were not responsible. In one passage he described how choosing the performance pieces was the only moment of the year where some kind of discussion takes place.

> *The only thing we always discuss is what pieces the kids will play. What will be the two performance pieces they will play at [musical event]. That's always the biggest issue, (loud exhale) those I mostly decide on (pause) because I know the kids. […] I know what they are capable of.*

Otherwise collaboration was confined to short and informal exchanges between section and ensemble lessons. On the other hand, Andreas spoke of recent difficulties in one of the ensembles related to its size. At the beginning of 5th grade, the latest WCE consisting of 40 students had caused some problems, particularly in section lessons. Here, instead of working with groups of two or three students, instrumental instructors suddenly had to cater to groups as large as ten. This led to some frustration, because instrumental instructors had to realize they could not achieve the same ambitious musical goals as in their one-to-one tuition at the music school.

> *Of course we spoke. And (pause) before they get angry or maybe get the feeling they are putting in an effort or are being tormented and they (pause) complain and there is no appreciation and nobody knows how much they suffer and so on, therefore I (pause) first of all talked to them during the school year, I told them, I know that it is too much, it's an experiment, and most of all, it's a social project. It's not about teaching kids how to become clarinetists, (inaudible) saxophonists. […] And I appealed to them that we cannot remove kids right away, but that we continue this project, this experiment (pause) until [8th] grade.*

Andreas made it clear in his discussions with the instrumental instructors that the idea of the WCE was more of a "social project" rather than a purely instrumental training. He viewed this as a distinct difference to the ways the instrumental instructors worked in the music school and as something they needed to acknowledge in section lessons. During the analysis, the impression arose that Andreas' collaboration with his colleagues was not very pronounced and happened only spontaneously or on-the-fly.

Well, we do collaborate, but it's not, as I said, we don't sit down as a team and discuss and so on, but (…) rather what do you think, what could we do?

Regularly scheduled meetings to discuss lesson plans or to reflect were not part of the WCE, even though there was always at least one more (non-music specialist) teacher present during the ensemble lessons. When asked about the possibility of exchanging ideas or perceptions after lessons, it became obvious that Andreas did not see great value in this type of activities, partly because he did not seem to experience and understand WCE as a shared responsibility. Nonetheless, in the future he wanted to gradually introduce one more colleague from the music school into leading the WCE. He negotiated for the instrumental instructor to be partly employed by the school specifically for the WCE. Andreas' plan was for the colleague to grow into this new role mostly through observation and not so much through discussions. He understood the situation as a kind of master-apprentice relationship with him as the expert and the new colleague as invited to benefit from his knowledge. For him, conducting the WCE requires specific and highly personalized competences, as his students have become accustomed to his signals and routines. Beyond observing, the new teacher might assist individual students in terms of "one teach, one drift", but he might also bring his musical expertise into play and offer corrections during lessons.

Bernd

Bernd worked in a rural private higher secondary school and had led the WCEs of the school for 18 years. The concept of WCEs was proposed to Bernd by German teachers who introduced him to the concept of wind bands by Yamaha. Together with two instrumental instructors responsible for the woodwind and brass sections, he had participated in professional development training by the Yamaha Academy at the beginning of the program. Since then the team had not changed. The ensembles were established for students for two years in 6th and 7th grade. Only once did the team have the chance to continue the WCE for a third year which enabled a great increase in musical quality. Unfortunately, Bernd could not sustain this three-year option. The ensembles' achievements were regularly presented in performances at school or local events, and Bernd believed this played a vital role in the public relations of the school. During the ensemble lesson, all three teachers were present, but Bernd conducted the ensemble exclusively. During the section lessons of his colleagues he was nearby but hardly interrupted. He said he only stepped in if students were misbehaving, because discipline and classroom management were his responsibility. Apart from that, he spent his time with organization, kept attendance sheets, copied music or put together concert programs. Therefore, he did not seem to view the section lessons as a way to collaborate more intensively with his colleagues to actively promote student learning or observe lessons. Rather, he reported tending to more administrative tasks set apart from actual teaching. When asked about the coordination of section and ensemble lessons, he clarified the procedure as follows:

The system works […] very simple. The pieces that need to be learned during the lesson are agreed on shortly before the lesson, then in the separate groups the segments of the pieces will be practiced or introduced in form of etudes, connections and examples. During the second lesson the colleagues are here in school and observe if the individual students implement it as they learned it before, or if there are bad postures or bad breathing techniques. So they observe this closely, because in an ensemble of 30 students, I can't see, if the small (pause) boy playing the trumpet back in the third row blows the right (pause) note, the right note I can hear, but if he blows it the right way, that I can't always see.

During the interview Bernd stressed that he valued the specific artistic competences of his colleagues, and he was glad they assisted him concerning posture or playing techniques. He mentioned that they sometimes arranged pieces independently or contributed ideas for performance pieces. However, most of these actions were not realized in collaborative settings, but rather as "work-sharing" confined to each professional's individual work. This might entail that the team's professional learning from each other was rather restricted and the possible aim of broadening one's own set of competences might not be pursued.

This is the initiative that each of the two show, that they research literature themselves or even (inaudible words) arrange pieces themselves, we once (pause) needed the state anthem for our soccer-classes. And I only have it in a one part version and I could arrange it for wind ensemble, but he is so familiar with the instruments that he only needs to write it down.

Bernd's musical goals for the students also very clearly arose from the method book they followed strictly at least during the first year of the WCE. This contains a limited number of pieces, setting the tone for the progression.

In the methods book Essential Elements, […] it's made very clear what you can achieve. And the first possible concert is the first performance, you know that. Students reach that after the first year, it includes "Oh When the Saints" and "Freude schöner Götterfunken" and a small Bach, I think a chorale and "Frère Jacques" and such pieces are in there, and that is always the end of the first year based on experience. Always.

The team worked without further planning or scheduled meetings, because they have known each other for so long and were well attuned. Asked about team meetings for coordination, Bernd explained,

It's not necessary, we could do it, but I've known those two gentlemen so well for such a long time that we know exactly who needs to do what.

When asked about a more flexible organization and work-sharing of the ensemble lesson, he confirmed that the colleagues sometimes left the classroom with small groups of students or even a single one in order to refine difficult passages. Apart from that, "one teach, one drift" was a common strategy in the ensemble lessons, while Bernd remained the sole conductor in the classroom.

Christin

In Christin's rural higher secondary school no cooperation existed between the music teacher and an outside institution. However, during the interview Christin gave several examples of collaboration among the school's music teachers and other subject teachers. In addition, the choir classes in this school were particularly comprehensive and allowed for interesting insight into choir class formats as general music lessons. Thus, the teacher was included into the description and analysis, albeit with a slightly modified perspective. Christin had started working in the WCEs in 2018/19 as a first year teacher, but before that, she experienced it as a student of the school herself. Students could opt for choir as an elective every two years, with choirs offered for every grade from 5-12. Christin could therefore work with a stable group for two years. At the time of the interview, she led almost all the choirs, some of which consisted of up to 39 students. The collaboration with the music team was particularly visible in the joint provision of a well-organized

collection of choir sheet music that every music teacher got to contribute to and had at their disposal. The music was categorized, and copies in class-size quantities were provided. Especially with her colleague who taught the rest of the choirs, Christin discussed ideas and issues concerning student motivation, vocal technique or student behavior. During the preparation of performances for school events there was a preliminary organizational meeting with all the music colleagues. In dress rehearsals they all gave feedback to each other, including on musical aspects such as conducting, text articulation or synchronization. Beyond this, Christin strived to involve colleagues from other departments in the events. She hoped that this would heighten the visibility and acceptance of the music department and its efforts in the school.

> *I hope to include other teachers and other subjects in the concerts, for instance the Computer Science teacher who designed the poster and organized the livestream, or another colleague who updates the homepage somehow or (pause) the teachers for Visual Arts that decorate the concert hall and I notice that it helps a lot to generate understanding and mutual appreciation. (pause) Yes, well, this still is a work in progress.*

Christin reported that exchanging materials for music lessons in her department was quite common, for instance when the music teams exchanged new scores or song ideas. On the other hand, she would appreciate if more profound forms of collaboration were possible, e.g. fixed timeframes for meetings. This would allow the music team to work on specific lesson plans together, think of alternative methodological approaches, or even discuss individual students' learning – all three aspects she described as missing from the current status quo.

Daniela

Daniela worked in her second year at a rural comprehensive lower secondary school, where the WCE had existed for three years in collaboration with the local music school. The music program had two features: first, there was the elective choir that could be attended by students of all four grades. A voice teacher from the music school conducted this choir once a week, and Daniela was the additional teacher. Second, the school principal and a different voice teacher selected one grade each year to take part in a compulsory singing program. This compulsory program was scheduled once every two weeks for two 50-minute lessons in each class and was provided by the second voice teacher and Daniela. Both ensembles performed at concerts and local events regularly and were supported by the principal. When talking about the music program, Daniela spoke about a distinct difference in the collaboration with the two voice teachers. She felt comfortable working with the colleague in the compulsory singing program, because they decided on pieces together and because they reflected and discussed how to proceed after each lesson.

> *We always organize it in the way that she comes to me before the lesson and asks if it's ok to work these songs today, and I say absolutely, sounds good, and then after the two lessons we talk about it and reflect on how it worked out with the song, if it went well or not. If it didn't go so well then we know, ok, next time we'll choose a little easier song or a song that's easier, not easier in the melody, but easier to learn so we have a little reflection afterwards.*

Collaborating with the choir leader on the other hand, proved a lot more difficult for Daniela. She attributed this to her own insecurities and a lack of communication. In the interview she recalled an instance where the colleague informed the choir during a lesson she would miss their next performance and that Daniela would lead the choir. Unfortunately, she had not informed Daniela herself beforehand about this circumstance which

made Daniela feel quite uneasy at the time. The task division for this elective choir seemed to be more distinct, and Daniela's role remained rather limited to aspects of organization and classroom management.

> *Concerning the choir colleague, she mainly takes the lead and direction and works the songs with the kids and then conducts everything. I see to it that the children behave and sing dutifully, that the lineup fits, that groups stand in the right place, if we sing in groups or canons.*

In one passage of the interview during which she was talking about poorly motivated students, Daniela's comments created the impression that she considered alternative strategies of task division during lessons mainly as a measure of classroom management and not so much as a possibility for purposeful musical facilitation.

> *I mean, if it were the case that things, let's say, get completely out of hand, if they disturbed the lesson because they don't sing or fool around, then of course one would leave the classroom and talk to the person and ask, ok, why aren't you singing? But, fortunately, it has never been this extreme; therefore (pause) we haven't needed to do it that way.*

Daniela was the only participant to report learning a great deal by observing her two colleagues from the music school. She watched the methods they used when teaching new songs and subsequently implemented them in her own lessons.

> *Well, I benefit a lot, really a lot from it, I can learn so much about the different (pause) ways and methods of teaching songs. Or the vocal warm-up, or (pause) breathing exercises that are so important for singing, I benefit a lot from that for sure, or the way the choir colleague conducts, that has definitely helped me improve, (pause) yes.*

In part, this willingness to learn more about musical aspects might be attributed to her education at a pedagogical college, which included less artistic and musical training than in university-based programs. When asked how the collaboration with the choir leader could be intensified, she expressed the wish to discuss and choose songs together, so that both could weigh in their ideas and consequently the teaching of songs could then be shared more evenly. However, she mused that it was up to her to show initiative: "If I inquired more, that probably wouldn't be a problem for her." Overall, Daniela came across as self-critical in the description of the status quo even though she concluded that "more is needed to come from both sides."

Discussion

In the following, aspects that evolved as important overarching themes in the analysis will be discussed, first concentrating on the types of collaboration participants reported, specifically with regard to Gräsel et al.'s (2006) model. Then findings about participants' views on co-teaching approaches during lessons will be presented. This is followed by a discussion about the importance of artistic approaches to WCEs, the way "rehearsals" might serve as a concept for WCE lessons, and the performance orientation of the ensembles.

Each teacher reported varying levels of intensity in their collaboration in the WCEs. In some instances, participants spoke about an exchange of materials, such as the joint provision of choir sheet music for everyone's use that had been established in Christin's school. In contrast, a rather one-sided task division prevailed in Daniela's story, where the choir conductor selected songs in advance and without consultation. This aligns with research results,

where primary school teachers were merely responsible for organization and classroom management in WCEs (Franz-Özdemir 2012; Johnstone 2019; Niessen 2014). Andreas, too, reported only rarely asking the instrumental instructors for help; the section lessons seemed to be mainly separated from the actual WCE. His respect for teacher autonomy seemed to stem from perceptions of instrumental instructors' musical competences (Lortie & Clement 1975). For him, cohesion of content between the small group and ensemble lessons was rather insignificant. In Bernd's case, exchanging materials was generally not required, because the team strictly followed the method book. However, the cohesion between instrument groups and ensemble lessons was apparently closer than in Andreas' case, since pieces to be played in the ensemble lesson were prepared and rehearsed during the section lesson. This task-division did not need to be openly discussed, but rather evolved organically due to the fact that the team had been unchanged for 18 years and there was only little musical variation. This resonates with findings from previous research on more mature teams in WCEs (Heberle & Kranefeld 2016). Additionally, the rather formal implementation of a certain method book curriculum runs contrary to the aspiration that sustainable collaboration may self-evidently lead to curriculum development (Bresler 2002). Bernd acknowledged the instrumental instructors' competences, but he did not talk about directly integrating new insights developed during collaboration into his own competence set. Even though they had established a very long collaboration, they seemed to fail to reach a form of co-construction which could be described as Bresler's (2002) "transformative practice zone" or Holdhus' (2018) "dialogic art" (see also Partington 2018). Overall, purposeful planning or reflections on lessons were hardly reported by any of the participants. Instead, participants mentioned short, on-the-fly reflections between or at the end of lessons, which might be identified as "missed opportunities" (Johnstone 2019). The participants pointed toward a perception of collaboration as working alongside one another, sometimes exchanging materials as needed, sometimes including work-sharing due to complementing competences—but without necessitating Gräsel et al.'s (2006) higher order collaboration mode of co-construction. In order to enrich teacher collaboration and thereby benefit teachers' as well as students' ongoing learning processes, this study suggests that researchers should ask how these types of co-constructive transformative zones might be fostered more reliably. Favourable aspects might include providing structures for meetings and lesson planning, as well as schools and school administration providing more support for visiting artists/instrumental instructors (Bresler 2002; Johnstone 2019; Niessen 2014).

Strategies of co-teaching approaches during actual teaching (Cook 2004) appeared to be rather static: one person—either the music teacher or the external colleague—was responsible for leading and conducting the ensemble and therefore was the one accountable for the lesson (see also Franz-Özdemir 2012; Johnstone 2019). The tasks for the second or third teacher on the other hand were either not mentioned at all, or only after further probing. For instance, only after additional questioning did Bernd explain that the instrumental instructors helped individual students with their playing technique. The opportunities arising from varying teaching strategies, of dividing the group or other possible scenarios (Cook 2004) were not described by any of the participants. Therefore, the impression arose that teachers co-teaching in WCEs might not be aware of the flexibility and opportunities this teaching format could offer. Therefore, they might benefit from more knowledge about alternative teaching organization. Overall, only Daniela considered observation of her colleagues a form of professional development (Bresler 2002). This might also be due to the fact that some teachers did not rotate in leading in the WCE lessons and hence only rarely had the opportunity to observe their colleagues' teaching.

During the interview, Andreas more than once stressed that it was not pedagogy leading his actions in the WCE, even though in other parts of the interview he described the school's concept foremost as a social endeavor. Instead, he stressed that he believed the

WCE offered students different goals and a setting distinct from other parts of their education. After great performances, they would receive wholehearted applause and praise – something that their academic achievement would often not receive. This notion of WCE as an artistic approach corresponds with findings from research on the Norwegian program Cultural Rucksack (Christophersen 2015; for another example in the Norwegian context see Holdhus 2018). In the Cultural Rucksack program, Christophersen (2015) described how educational aspects receded into the background and the arts became the vehicle for student learning and growth, which in itself posed challenges as well as opportunities for collaborators as well as policy. This artistic emphasis might also lead to relationships fraught with hierarchical thinking, where teachers are continuously confined to the role of assistant and thus hindering more comprehensive partnerships (Johnstone 2019; Partington 2018). Another important aspect that evolved during the analysis was the description of WCEs as "rehearsals" rather than "lessons". This was most evident during the interview with Andreas, who drew several corresponding analogies in his descriptions.

> *I'll ask a question now, too. Is there, I mean, don't think of me as arrogant, but my question is, is there a pedagogical part in an orchestra rehearsal at the Vienna Philharmonic? (pause). No. The task at hand is very clear. We have to accomplish certain pieces.*

The question arises if the concept of "rehearsal" potentially implies very specific routines, responsibilities, and maybe a rather fixed view of the conductor's role, which differs from what is asked of a teacher. Accordingly, this might explain why the participants did not view (joint) lesson planning as purposeful: routines in rehearsals seemed to be rather fixed and static and follow a certain scheme. In subsequent observations of Andreas' WCE lessons, this was confirmed by the routines and procedures forming the lesson; each piece was first played through in separate instrument sections, followed by a tutti run-through and an eventual problem-solving of segments mostly concerning rhythmic playing. This routine was executed similarly for seven different pieces in the course of the 50' lesson.

The way all participants reported on the importance of WCE concerts and performances also mirrors one sometimes problematic aspect of a focus on musical products in school music bands and ensembles. Here, high quality end products played in public concerts might gain an overwhelming importance over other, more process-oriented, social or individual development objectives (Bresler 2002). When speaking about students' roles in the WCE, Andreas repeatedly stressed that the main duties of the students were to follow his lead. He explained how it was their job to deliver great performances. His descriptions of classroom actions did not lead to the impression that students took on different roles apart from instrumental playing, such as asking questions, developing ideas, giving personal opinions, and so on (Bresler 2002). During the WCE observation this impression was confirmed, as students' actions were confined to instrumental playing in parts or in tutti. There were no instances of cognitive activation or other forms of musical activity visible. Holdhus' (2018) observation that for students to gain "ownership" they require the opportunity to change or adjust an object to their needs will be hard to meet in such a strictly performance-oriented setting. A careful balance of process- and product-orientation is therefore particularly important in WCEs.

Limitations and recommendations for future research

In bringing this article to a close, some limitations of the study will be highlighted, followed by suggestions for further research. The presented qualitative descriptions had to be

condensed to only a few aspects. Of course, findings from the four teacher interviews cannot allow generalization, even though some tendencies were remarkable, such as the rather static organization of co-teaching approaches or the lack of purposeful planning and reflection. The chosen method enabled easy access to initial information in the field, but self-reports come with certain methodological constraints. They might not reliably reflect the actual teaching praxis and are prone to social desirability. Furthermore, in this study only general music teachers working in WCEs were interviewed, for now leaving out the equally important voices of the instrumental/voice instructors. Therefore, the scope needs to be expanded to include their complementary views in the next step. Nonetheless, the analysis permitted first indications of perceptions and practical implementation of collaboration in WCEs in Austria. Contrasting research outcomes from German studies, where teachers reported an apparent interest and wish for more intense collaboration (e.g. Franz-Özdemir 2012), it appears that the Austrian teachers seemed rather satisfied with the low level of collaboration. Reasons for the lower value attributed to working together could not be clarified adequately in this study. They might be related to less pronounced awareness for the resources co-teaching implies, but might also be due to a fundamentally different view of WCE lessons as "rehearsals" and not as "lessons" per se. It could well be that efforts towards more intense collaboration do not match resulting benefits, and teachers therefore opt for a more fixed task division and economic lesson preparation in WCEs (see also Franz-Özdemir 2012; Johnstone 2019). However, it might be interesting to investigate if more flexible lesson structures and more diverse co-teaching strategies could result in enhanced (musical) learning for students. In order to expand knowledge in this area of music education research, it would be advisable to conduct more in-depth research, possibly in the form of comprehensive case studies that allow for deeper insight into teacher beliefs and thinking in connection to actual classroom action. It might be fruitful to investigate possible contrasts of teaching in creative collaborations of artists and teachers (Christophersen & Kenny 2018) with instrumental-based and rather structured collaborations (Fautley, Kinsella & Whittaker 2017). In addition, research on the effects of professional development catered specifically to the needs of collaborating music teachers seems like a promising way forward. If levels of collaboration might be enhanced through sustainable professional development programs, then this might in the end enable deeper student learning in music classrooms. ■

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Notes

[1] Within the German speaking discourse, the term generally used is "cooperation" but in this paper and in line with the theoretical framework presented below I will refer to "collaboration". Cooperation is typically used to describe structural components, whereas collaboration includes the actual processes of professionals working together.

[2] The guidelines for music school funding in Styria (Kommunale Musikschulen Steiermark 2014) for example explicitly state that music school instructors will not be subsidized by the state for lessons they teach in public schools (1.2.9), effectively limiting the scope of accessibility.

[3] In Vienna's public music schools a half year provision of weekly 50-minute one-to-one tuition costs around 300€. Additional classes in music theory can be attended without further cost (see https://www.wien.gv.at/bildung/schulen/musikschule/unterrichtsgebuehren/).

[4] Due to ongoing reforms in the Austrian education system, not all states have a specific music education administrator at present. Also, not every person answered the request and one commented they did not have knowledge of any established WCEs in their state.

[5] Extended simple transcription rules by Dresing and Pehl (2015, 23) were chosen. In the German original, dialect was mostly adopted into the transcript to preserve the mood; the quoted passages were translated with great care, intending to keep the conveyed meaning intact.

[6] After a recent broad reform in Austria's educational system, the division of separate secondary school teacher training has been abolished in favor of one sole teacher education program for both school forms NMS (new middle school, grades 5-8) and AHS (general higher secondary school, grades 5–12) (Wieneke & Spruce 2020).

Abstract

Whole class ensembles (WCE) are a form of collaboration between general music teachers and instrumental instructors working together in music classrooms. Austrian schools have increasingly installed WCEs in recent years after their promotion by the Ministry of Education, Science and Research, and this article begins by describing their typical structures. After summarizing international research findings related to collaborative music projects in schools, the author introduces the qualitative study's research questions: How do general music teachers perceive the collaboration in WCEs? How do they describe the nature of co-teaching? And which practices have they adopted for working together in the teamwork? In order to find out more about the teachers' views and perceptions of collaboration, four guided interviews were conducted and analyzed. The article summarizes the framework of each WCE and the work experience of each teacher in the form of a table, and provides in-depth descriptions of each individual's views on working together with one or more instrumental/vocal instructors. The intensity of collaboration as well as teachers' views on actual co-teaching processes are two of the important topics that emerged during the analyses. The relationship between artistic and pedagogical approaches in WCEs is discussed, and the respective down- and upsides are connected to previous research findings. The author proposes more in-depth research in the form of case-studies of different types of collaboration (instrumental vs creative) in music classrooms, and suggests future research to include professional development programs specifically catered to collaborating teachers and instructors. ■

Katsaukset | Reports

Renan Santiago & Ana Ivenicki

How to break the cycle? Music education and multiculturalism in a Brazilian context

Introduction

The present article is a report of four previous studies which have already been published in Portuguese in Brazilian academic journals. The first study (Santiago & Ivenicki 2016a) is a recent literature review of Brazilian literature that relates multiculturalism and music education. The second study (Santiago & Monti 2018) delves into Brazilian universities admission guidelines to music education courses – that are the documents that have the contents of music theory tests and the musical pieces that candidates must play or sing to gain admittance to university – aiming to identify what kind of music one needs to play or sing to be approved in university. The third one (Santiago & Ivenicki 2016b) is an analysis of pre-service music teachers' voice considering the way they were trained to face cultural differences in regular schools and, lastly, the fourth study (Santiago 2019) shows up the university professors' views concerning cultural differences in music teacher education.

These studies were part of a master dissertation called "Music, music education and multiculturalism" (Santiago 2017), held in the Post-Graduate Program in Education of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, that aimed to analyze how multicultural issues, like race, gender and ethnicity, were present in Brazilian music teacher education.

Considering that academic works that relate cultural differences and music education had been written in different countries, for instance, Australia (Dunbar-Hall & Wenyss 2000; Southcott & Joseph 2007), United States (Campbell 2002, Abril 2006, Hess 2018), Spain (Txakartegi & Goméz 2008), Finland (Westerlund, Partii & Karlsen 2015), Sweden (Sæther 2008), Israel (Miettinen, Gluschankof, Karlsen & Westerlund 2018) Nepal (Treacy & Westerlund 2019) and Singapure (Lum, 2017)[1], the access to a research done in a South American context could give to a large audience some insigths into how cultural, social and historical differences between countries influence on the challenges to the implementation of a multicultural music education.

By using the results of these four studies, this report suggests a theoretical proposal in order to contribute towards the understanding of the reproduction of traditionalism in Brazilian music education. This proposal is the aim and the original contribution of this article, for it was not published yet.

The present text is structured as follows: firstly we present the multiculturalism, the theoretical framework that undergirds the study. On the results section, the four studies will be presented and summarized. After that, on discussion section, the theoretical proposal created to explain the monoculturalism cycle in Brazilian music education will be presented. Finally, we conclude by suggesting possible ways to challenge monocultural views in music education, hopefully contributing to debates in the area both in Brazil and elsewhere.

Multicultural music education in a Brazilian context

Brazil is a former European colony, but, although colonial era is already finished, the colonial thinking still present in Brazilian society (Assis 2014). According to (Hall 2001), prejudices and discriminations have their genesis in the colonial process, which has forged

the current hegemonic social thinking that makes colonizers' culture[2] the most valued and esteemed, to the detriment of the culture of the colonized which becomes undervalued and, sometimes, even avoided and prohibited.

In fact, cultural stratifications and cultural hegemonies occur when some elite cultural groups legitimate their culture as superior and impose it on the rest of society, ensuing cultural undervaluing of minorities, racisms, sexisms, religious intolerance, bullying, homophobia, and xenophobia, among others (Santiago & Ivenicki 2018).

In this perspective, although different racial, gender, ethnic, religious, and sexual identities share the same territories in Brazil, in this country, differences tend to come with inequalities. For instance, black, brown, and low-income people have, respectively, 28,6%, 23,2%, 36,9% less chances of university conclusion than white men (Ceneviva & Brito 2015).

In this context, multiculturalism appears as a way to manage cultural pluralism in order to challenge social stratifications, cultural hegemonies, prejudices and discriminations. Baptista at al. (2013) claim that "multiculturalism is a theoretical and political field of knowledge, that privileges the multiple, the plural, and the marginalized and silenced identities, seeking alternative ways to promote their inclusion in the school life" (255).

Considering the inequalities in Brazil, we point that 1) cultural differences, *per se*, are not problems. What really must be faced are the inequalities and the unequal opportunities offered to non-hegemonic identities; 2) likewise, access, inclusion, participation and scholar achievement for all promote social justice and social mobility; and 3) multiculturalism, as a theoretical and political field, has social justice and social mobility as its goals, therefore, is an alternative to help facing different ways of prejudices, discriminations and inequalities, potentially contributing towards a more equal, fair, supportive and democratic society (Canen 2005, 2007; Ivenicki 2015).

Schools and universities, inserted in this conjuncture as paramount institutions for preparing diverse areas of human experience, are also susceptible to cultural hierarchy, as well as to prejudice and discriminatory manifestations. Since music is present in multicultural places, as regular schools and universities, it is also important that such a school discipline aligns sociocultural demands, avoiding neutrality (Santiago & Ivenicki 2016a), and looking toward for a cultural responsive teaching, it means, to do not consider the differences as educational obstacles, but as resources and possibilities (Gay 2018).

We therefore posit that multicultural music education means more than a simple addition of music from different cultures or countries to music classes repertoire, but rather it may be perceived as a kind of education capable of struggling with discriminations in its origin, namely, colonialism and colonial thinking, that values hegemonic western values to the detriment of plural musical expressions. In this regard, it is important that multicultural music education be targeted to all, not only to minorities, so that cultural differences should be valued in society at large (Candau 2015). In order to achieve that aim, it seems to be crucial to critically examine power relations and cultural hierarchies that are present in music and music education, so as to challenge them and bring hybrid and oppressed identities within the scope of that inclusive approach.

Methodological considerations

Against the background of the Brazilian context and in order to understand how multicultural issues are present in Brazilian music education, the "Music, music education and multiculturalism" project was implemented between 2015 and 2018. The research methods were structured in four parts and each one was published as research articles, namely: 1) a review of Brazilian academic production about music education and cultural diversity (Santiago & Ivenicki 2016a); 2) document analysis of university access tests

admission guidelines (Santiago & Monti 2018); 3) questionnaires with pre-service music teachers and (Santiago & Ivenicki 2016b); 4) interviews with professors (Santiago 2019). The methodological procedures of each study will be better described as follow.

Study 1: Review of Brazilian academic production

Through a literature review with focus on researches' outcomes, representative coverage and conceptual organization (Randolph 2009), the main means of scientific dissemination of music education research in Brazil, namely the Journal of the Brazilian Association of Music Education (Revista da Associação Brasileira de Educação Musical), the Brazilian Association of Music Education's National Congress proceedings (Anais dos Congressos Nacionais da Associação Brasileira de Educação Musical) and the National Association of Research and Postgraduate in Music's Congress proceedings (Anais do Congresso na Associação Nacional de Pesquisa e Pós-Graduação em Música) were analyzed since they were first started.

As well, thesis and dissertations written about music education were analysed without date range. For that, it was used the *Banco Nacional de Teses e Dissertações*, a Brazilian database, using multiculturalism, interculturalism, cultural differences and music education as keywords.

After selected, the academic works that relate multiculturalism and music education were analysed by conceptual organization (Randolph 2009), it means, the academic works were classified around its theories and central concepts.

Study 2: Document analysis

The data was collected through document analysis (Ivenicki & Canen 2016) of the admission guidelines. Such documents are public and were obtained on the official websites of each Brazilian federal universities (n=34) that offer music education courses, in order to understand what kind of music was represented there. Even though Brazil has federal, state and private universities, we choose to focus on federal universities because they are recognized as the most traditional and relevant for the formation of music teachers.

The data present in those admission guidelines was analyzed by content analysis, by the process of categorization (Moraes 1999). In other words, the data were grouped taking in consideration their similarity, so it was possible to create categories related to the kind of music present in the guidelines.

Study 3: Questionnaires

Concerning the final year pre-service music teachers visions about how university was preparing them to face the cultural diversity present in regular schools, questionnaires were responded by pre-service music teachers (n=59) from three universities in Rio de Janeiro, namely: the Brazilian Conservatory of Music; the Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro; and the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, in the last semester of 2015.

The questionnaires were administered *in loco,* so the researcher could give previous information about how to fill the questionnaires and could answer students' questions concerning the theme before the filling.

The questionnaires presented the following affirmatives: 1) I have learnt about European[3] music in university; 2) I have learnt about African and Afro-Brazilian music in university; 3) I have learnt about Indigenous music in university; 4) I feel capable of teaching music using an European repertoire; 5) I feel capable of teaching music using an African and Afro-Brazilian repertoire; and 6) I feel capable of teaching music using an Indigenous repertoire.

To each affirmative, the students could mark the following options: 1) I totally agree; 2) I partially agree; 3) I am neutral; 4) I partially disagree and; 5) I totally disagree. These options are according with the Linkert Scale for questionnaires (Cunha 2007). Further analysis of the data indicated that any student marked "I partially agree" or "I partially disagree", so, these options were excluded from the results. The results from the questionnaires were analyzed quantitatively by percentage.

Study 4: Interviews

Similarly, the discourses of university professors were examined in order to clarify aspects related to music teacher education, cultural differences and the extent to which those are considered relevant by faculty members. For that, it was held semi-structured interviews (Boni & Quaresma 2005), with questions related to the presence of multicultural issues in their disciplines. The interviewees were nine university professors who lectured at the same three universities where the questionnaires were administered, during the same semester of the questionnaire administration.

Interviewees were chosen who lectured a discipline 1) related to music education; 2) related to music theory and ear training; or 3) that had the potential to address multicultural issues, namely: history of Afro-Brazilian culture, history of Brazilian popular music and introduction to world music.

In order to find the same professors who had lectured to the students that had filled up the questionnaires, the professors interviewed in each discipline were indicated by those pre-service teachers. The interviews' content was transcribed, and the data was analyzed by content analysis, by the process of categorization (Moraes 1999). The next sections will present the results found.

Results

Study 1: Lack on Brazilian academic production

Despite the existence of laws and policies which address issues of multiculturalism, including race, gender, sexuality, as well as the growing necessity of the valorization of multicultural thinking in Brazilian education (Chamlian & Kowalewski 2016), the academic literature in Brazil is still in need of more studies on multiculturalism in music education.

As a result of the study 1, only 31 academic works were found that discussed music education from the perspective of multiculturalism. The Table 1 shows this result in more details:

ACADEMIC WORKS ABOUT MULTICULTURAL MUSIC EDUCATION	
MAIN SOURCES[4]	**NUMBER OF ACADEMIC WORKS**
Journal of the Brazilian Association of Music Education	**9** out of a total of 369 articles (2,43%)
Brazilian Association of Music Education's National Congress proceedings	**11** out of a total of 1594 articles (0,69%)
National Association of Research and Post-Graduate in Music's Congress proceedings	**6** out of a total of 710 articles (0,84%)
Thesis and Dissertations	**5** (it was not possible to count the total number of thesis and dissertations about music education that were published in Brazil)

Table 1. Numbers expressing the amount of academic woks about multiculturalism in music education in Brazil until 2016 (Santiago & Ivenicki 2016a).

It is argued that this number is tiny against the context of cultural plurality of Brazil, as well as with its history of inequalities and social oppressions. Furthermore, this gap indicates that the production of knowledge on music education in Brazil has not been taking into consideration cultural differences of its society. That seems to point out a dissonance between the knowledge produced by academy and what happens outside it, in the bigger Brazilian context.

Study 2: Hegemonies in university admission guidelines

In Brazil, as in other countries in general, university courses like music education require a music theory and vocal or instrumental performance entrance test prior to acceptance to select future students and measure their musical ability, called Specific Ability Test (*Teste de Habilidade Específica*). However, a previous study (Santiago & Monti 2018) has suggested that there might be another objective behind this kind of test.

In general, the research concluded that a significant part of the analyzed guidelines have required knowledge of contents related to "classical" music, either undervaluing or even completely ignoring other types of music, such as the Afro-Brazilian and indigenous music; popular and media music; or traditional and folk music. Thus, it was possible to conclude that universities, either consciously or otherwise, tend to create a kind of ideal profile of students and use the Specific Ability Test to select, in general, only candidates who are more keen on "classical" music. That arguably contributes with the maintenance of the traditionalism of music universities, as had already been exposed by other authors, like Pereira (2014) and Vieira (2000).

The case of the Federal University of Campina Grande's Specific Ability Test in 2017 could be brought up as an example (Universidade Federal de Campina Grande 2017). First of all, it is important to mention that Campina Grande is a city located in the inner Brazilian Northeast, known worldwide for its traditional music, called Quadrilha. But a Campina Grande citizen could not sing a Quadrilha song in 2017's Specific Ability Test, because the university requires only classical songs for singers, as it is shown below:

> 1 – A first-sight solfege of an accompanied melody (the candidate should be able to mentally read the melody for one minute before singing it) [...] 2 – An aria or Italian song of the baroque era (century XVII). [...] 3 – A Brazilian chamber song (suggested composers: Heitor Villa-Lobos, Claudio Santoro, Camargo Guarnieri) (6)

Summarizing, in general, it is easier to pass the test playing classical music than a popular Brazilian Music, thanks to universities overvaluing of European music. Excepting some isolated cases[5], to a popular musician be approved, s/he needs to shape him/herself to the conservatives exigences of the universities, what can be classified as a kind of symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990). This can be a hindrance to popular musicians, as well as to people that play Afro-Brazilian and indigenous music, to gaining admittance to music universities.

In conclusion, universities seem to have become a "temple" of "classical" music, which could be harmful because, in universities, music teachers should be prepared to deal with different kinds of musics, rather than just one or few ones.

Study 3: Pre-service Music teachers' voice

The percentage of the questionnaires' responses related with the three first affirmatives 1) I have learnt about European music in university; 2) I have learnt about African and Afro-Brazilian music in university and; 3) I have learnt about indigenous music in university are shown in Table 2.

University 1: Brazilian Conservatory of Music			University 2: Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro University			University 3: Federal University of Rio de Janeiro		
European Music			***European Music***			***European Music***		
Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
85,20%	0%	14,80%	96,50%	0%	4,50%	100,00%	0%	0,00%
African and Afro-Brazilian Music			***African and Afro-Brazilian Music***			***African and Afro-Brazilian Music***		
Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
88,8%[6]	0%	11,20%	68,20%	13,6%	18,20%	40,00%	0%	60,00%
Indigenous Music			***Indigenous Music***			***Indigenous Music***		
Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
33,30%	0%	66,60%	4,5%	9,1%	86,4%	20,00%	0%	80,00%

Table 2. Quantitative data of questionnaires related with the following affirmatives: 1) I have learnt about European music in university; 2) I have learnt about African and Afro-Brazilian music in university and; 3) I have learnt about indigenous music in university (Santiago & Ivenicki 2016b).

Such results seem to confirm what some authors, such as Vieira (2000) and Pereira (2014), have already pointed out, namely, that many music education degree programs deliver a traditional music education, also called conservatory[7] music education (*educação musical conservatorial*), that is characterized by: 1) being strongly based on modernity presuppositions[8], rather than on multicultural ones, electing a musical identity—"classical music"—as the correct one, and, consequently, devaluing other musics; 2) tending to dichotomize music in "popular" and "erudite" fixed and opposite poles, overvaluing the first one and undervaluing the second one; 3) prioritizing sheet music education; and 4) aiming to prepare musicians and singers able to play or sing music with a very high level of difficulty, based on western standards (Santos et al. 2012, 238). The high difference among students' perceptions, reporting that the European music is present on the classes compared with a lower percentage of students that wrote that the African, Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous music are present in the repertoire, seems to confirm a conservative tendency in the teacher education offered in Brazil.

Concerning the results related with the affirmatives 4, 5 and 6, which aimed to understand what kind of music pre-service teachers feel capable of teaching, we had the data expressed in Table 3.

University 1: Brazilian Conservatory of Music			University 2: Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro			University 3: Federal University of Rio de Janeiro		
European Music			**European Music**			***European Music***		
Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
77,70%	7,4%	7,40%	59,10%	9,1%	31,80%	80,00%	0%	20,00%
African and Afro-Brazilian Music			***African and Afro-Brazilian Music***			***African and Afro-Brazilian Music***		
Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
70,30%	11,1%	18,50%	36,40%	22,7%	40,90%	20,00%	10%	70,00%
Indigenous Music			***Indigenous Music***			***Indigenous Music***		
Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
46,1%	19,2%	36,4%	9,10%	4,5%	86,40%	20,00%	10%	70,00%

Table 3. Quantitative data of questionnaires related with the following affirmatives: 4) I feel capable of teaching music using an European repertoire; 5) I feel capable of teaching music using an African and Afro-Brazilian repertoire; and 6) I feel capable of teaching music using an Indigenous repertoire (Santiago & Ivenicki 2016b)

By comparing the two tables, it was noted that the students feel more prepared to teach music using a repertoire formed by music they had learnt on university and, similarly, feel less prepared to teach with music they do not had learn in their music education course. Therefore, there seems to exist a correlation between the music one learns in university and the music one feels capable of teaching. In other words, the teacher should learn multiculturally in order to teach multiculturally.

Study 4: University professors' voice

In this report, it will be possible to highlight only the results of the central question of the interviews. Regarding the question "How to promote awareness of cultural differences in music classes at universities and regular schools?", the data collected in the interviews can be divided into three categories.

The first category could be called "professor as a role-model". Answers in that category being expressed by professors in terms of them being a role model when they show respect for the differences of their students, as well as when they do not express any kind of prejudices or discriminations, which would make them influence on how their students could behave as teachers (Santiago 2019).

In fact, according to Gauthier et al. (1998), teachers can use their memories as students as a basis for their professional practice. Nonetheless, the topic of cultural differences should be treated in a more direct way, in order to prepare teachers more capable of teaching in plural places.

A second category could be called "addition of minorities musics", which comprises answers by some professors that posited that it is possible to teach multiculturally in music classes if musics of different cultures are included in the repertoire. It is important to include different musics in classrooms to obtain a heterogenic curriculum, because classes in universities and schools are also heterogenic (Arostégui 2011). However, we are wary of

such a perspective inasmuch as it runs the risk of being just additive and uncritical, in which case it has less potential to effectively prepare students regarding cultural differences, as opposed to a direct approach to multicultural music education.

Finally, the last category could be called: "this is not on Music's account", which comprises answers in which professors claimed that the objectives of music should be only related with technical musical contents - for example, scales, chords, melodies etc. In that category, they expressed the view that teachers should not "waste" their time with non-musical purposes, for instance, development of motor coordination, increasing of self-esteem, and awareness about cultural differences. According to these professors, these subjects should only be taught in other disciplines, like history or social sciences (Santiago 2019).

While Music classes should indeed be focused on musical contents, because that is the goal of music teaching as a school subject, the musical contents could be linked to issues pertaining to race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality and religion, among other themes, since music and music education cannot be considered neutral lest it ends up contributing to the reproduction of stereotypes, prejudices and discriminations.

All in all, the interviewees, in general, did not show positive attitudes towards cultural differences in classrooms, ignoring them, treating them as not relevant in their discourses, or sometimes, reproducing prejudices towards music styles.

The monoculturalism cycle in Brazilian music education: a discussion

Based on the studies summarized in the previous section, it was possible to create a theoretical proposal in order to contribute towards the understanding of the reproduction of traditionalism in Brazilian music teaching, and therefore of possibilities to go beyond it. Such theoretical proposal is shown in Figure 1.

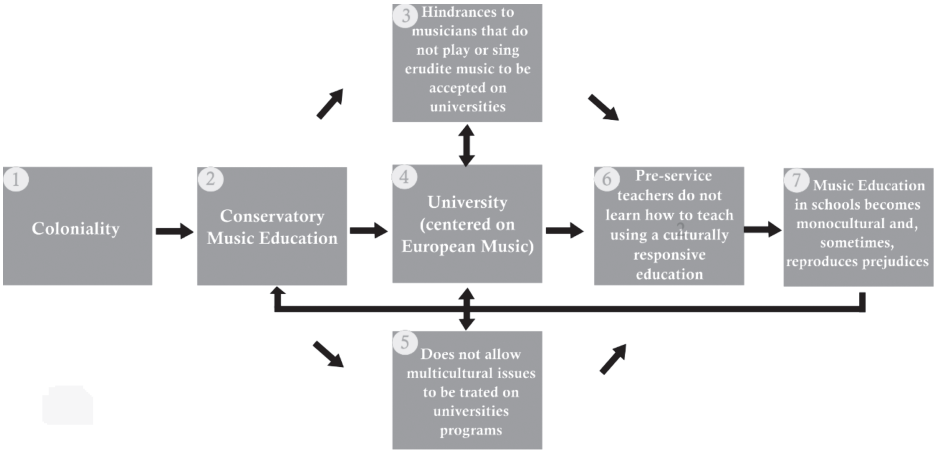

Figure 1. Theoretical proposal for understanding the reproduction of traditionalism in Brazilian music teaching.

Making reference to the Figure 2 point's 1 (henceforth [1]), it is argued that coloniality is a kind of fuel that keeps the whole cycle spinning. As well, the conservatory music education [2], that overvalues not only the repertoire and the European erudite music but also its way of writing music, is a colonizer's bequest. Consequently, as seen in the study 3, it is argued that the predominance of conservatory music education is reinforced by colonial thinking. In its turn, the conservatory music education and conservative groups'

struggle to maintain this kind of hegemonic music education corroborates with the persistence of universities keeping European-centered approaches [4], which makes it hard for individuals that play or sing other kinds of music to get into university [3]. Also, according to study 4, the conservative characteristics of music education arguably restrain issues like gender, race and sexuality to be treated in music teacher education [5].

As a consequence, as seen in the study 3, in general, pre-service music teachers do not learn how to teach culturally responsive music classes [6], and this can be responsible for making such music teachers less predisposed to value and respect the cultural differences of their students. This may corroborate the reproduction of the monocultural character of universities seen in all studies.

This loop can be restarted when some of these regular school students, *a posteriori*, apply to an undergraduate music education program [7]. In order to do that, as claimed in study 2, they will need to adapt themselves to the university *habitus* (Pereira 2014), which is traditional and conservative, so that they can be approved at a Specific Ability Test.

In order to "break" the cycle, it is necessary to establish some significative changes in regular schools and music teacher education, such as with the implementation of a multicultural music education.

Some challenges arise in order to do so. Firstly, it is necessary to acknowledge that schools and universities reproduce social reality influenced by colonial power, being racist and discriminatory. After realizing it, music education must be rethought in ways as not to reproduce socially established inequalities, so as to contribute with one of the school goals, namely to promote positive change to society.

It is important that music teacher education professors should include not only the musics of different cultures, but also the various ways in which those musics are taught in their original societies, also explaining why those musics are not generally present in the curriculum.

In order to achieve that, we claim music classes should be critical (McLaren 1995), which means they should value minorities' cultures and fight against all kinds of prejudices. For instance, music teachers could teach using black music (like hip-hop or rap), making some reflections with students, in lines such as: Why do some people consider people that listen to black music dangerous while those who listen to classical music are usually considered intellectual? That way, even though music contents, teachers will be able to elucidate to students how racism is present in music.

It is also important that teachers come to consider and respect the everyday knowledges that students bring to school. But, for that, pre-service teachers should be trained to value, consider and respect students' cultural backgrounds at schools. Therefore, music teacher education needs to include multicultural contents, and incorporate discussions on how issues like race, gender, sexuality, ethnicity and religiosity permeate music education.

Concluding remarks

This article reported four articles from a master dissertation held in Brazil and already published in Brazilian academic journals. These articles discussed multicultural music education and the extent to which it has been present (or absent) in Brazilian music education.

In discussion the findings, we have strived to show that the way music teacher education occurs in Brazil tends to reproduce a monocultural *habitus* that contributes to production and reproduction of different kinds of prejudices and discriminations. Therefore, universities should incorporate discussions on how questions related to race, gender, sexuality, ethnicity and religiosity are present in music and music education (see e.g. Hess 2018; Kallio 2019; Kallio et al. 2019; Palkki & Caldwell 2018; Treacy 2019).

It is important to elucidate that this project and its studies have their limitations. For its qualitative nature, it is not possible to say that all Brazilian universities and schools reproduce a monocultural *habitus*. However, those reflections could help Brazilian music education become more responsive to cultural differences and show to an international audience how cultural differences appear in different contexts.

Further research on multicultural music education in a Brazilian context is welcome, particularly comparative studies that could add new insights, as well studies developed by activists, Indigenous authors and other representatives of minority cultures, so that music teacher education could benefit from interacting its technical dimensions to the valuing of cultural diversity and social justice. ■

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Notes

[1] The academic works quoted are just examples, therefore, it is not being argued that they represent all bibliography production about multicultural music education on these countries.

[2] We understand "culture" in its anthropological meaning, as a set of habits, beliefs, cosmovision and art manifestations that can delimit and characterize a group (Eagleton 2000).

[3] European, Indigenous and African music are not homogeneous concepts. However, methodologically, it is impossible to research using all music variations that have come from Africa and Europe, or with those considered "indigenous". To try to solve this situation, we used the "strategic essencialism" by Spivak (1994), which means that we took "European", "African" and "Indigenous" as masterwords, it means, they were considered monolithic blocs, fixed and with invariant meanings.

[4] Original names in Portugueses of the sources in Table 1: *Revista da Associação Brasileira de Educação Musical*, *Anais dos Congressos Nacionais da Associação Brasileira de Educação Musical* and *Anais dos Congressos da Associação Nacional de Pesquisa e Pós-Graduação em Música*.

[5] Few universities did not had a Specific Ability Test, and some of them require the candidate to play/sing erudidite and popular songs. But, in general, it is claimed that classic music, as well as its codes and structures, is hegemonic on Specific Ability Tests.

[6] This high percentage is due Brazilian Conservatory of Music is the only university analized that offer a discipline related with Afro-Brazilian culture.

[7] Pereira (2014) indicates that conservatories were institutions of guidance and education for orphan children in some European countries. Those institutions also had music instructions and their instructional model originated the conservatory music education.

[8] According to Santos et al. (2012, 238), the modern era epistemology expressed its ideias within the logic of oposition of categories, like cultured/uneducated, civilized/barbarian and European/eastern, and the western culture was elected to be an universal pattern.

Phanindra Upadhyaya

Rhetoric of pedagogical inclusivity: Inclusive music teaching in multilingual and multicultural societies of South East Asia and the value of "voice"

Who knows why certain notes in music are capable of stirring the listener deeply, though the same notes slightly rearranged are impotent.
(Strunk & White 1979, 64)

Introduction

The increasingly complex human environment of the 21st century demands narratives that act as agents of positive and egalitarian changes in every walk of life. Likewise, the pedagogical encounters in any discipline, including music education, necessitate narratives of pedagogy that facilitate harmonious learning environments by focusing on creating spaces conducive to inclusive learning (Ironside 2003, 124). The identification of a common place or the shared terrain through tireless negotiations—orally, in writing, in music, or any form of human inscription—is required. However, in cultures like those of South East Asian (SEA) countries of the Indian subcontinent that are multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual, and have been subdued for centuries, either by external and/or internal colonization (Chavez 2011, 708), and have only recently tasted freedom, the attempt for pedagogical inclusion of any sort must be evaluated with the most critical of lenses to avoid the damage of "othering", be it because of western cosmopolitan infiltration, or overbearing adherence to past traditions. This danger must be balanced against the very real need to come socially closer and engage culturally, economically, politically and inclusively in the communal as well as the cosmopolitan context to ensure education that is inclusive to the extent possible without losing one's 'voice'. In other words, as mentioned by Tormey and Townshend (2006), creation of "inclusive 'space', as a forum in which difference and plurality will be heard" (219)… and "to give 'voice' to that which would otherwise be sublimated or repressed" (66).

Teachers are normally aware that students face academic and emotional challenges and in order to cope with such challenges they make use of various pedagogical techniques driven by the set agendas. These agendas are mostly motivated by the institutional dictates and the teachers merely 'teach to the test', overlooking the rhetorical techniques that could be used to address the rhetorical situation. That is, not much attention is paid to the rhetorical devices/techniques that include ethos (an appeal to ethics), pathos (an appeal to emotion), logos (an appeal to logic) and kairos (an appeal to time) which could be used to address the multiple perspectives that exist within the classroom communities to accommodate multiple voices academically, socially and professionally. Accommodating multiple voices means liberating voices from the marginalized status to general status to ensure a more genuine relationship between the teacher and the students (Bragg 2007, 343). This paper will therefore, theoretically highlight the importance of rhetorical pedagogy of inclusivity and simultaneously argue why 'voice' in/of any field (spoken, written, gesture, dance, music, painting, etc.) is pivotal in the creation of inclusive knowledge conducive to the overall teaching and learning environment.

Rhetorical discourses and the power game

Unfortunately, though the teachers aim at creating rhetorical discourses in the classrooms that are dynamic, personal, and energetic with no structured boundaries, there are vested interest groups and individuals that try to keep such discourses under control for the promotion of their political, social, economic, personal and cultural ideologies. Therefore, discourse rather than being an open and free system, is turned into "(…) a tool for imposition, manipulation, and colonization, mostly used by ideologues and politicians with the support of linguists and educationalists" (Fenton 1999, 3-4). This is the way the ruling elites create the "center of gravity" that Fenton (1999) talks about. According to him the social process creates boundaries and identities through the "production and reproduction of culture, of acknowledged ancestry and ideologies of ancestry, and the use of language/discourse as a marker of social differences and the emblem of a people" (10). Such discourses are thus used to "create group membership (us/them), to demonstrate inclusion or exclusion, to determine loyalty or patriotism, to show economic status (haves/have nots) and classification of people and personal identities" (Shohamy 2006, xv).

According to scholars of rhetoric, the power game that has been going on is an inevitable aspect of human civilization (Abbot 1996, xi; Ding 2007, 152; Hutto 2002, 219). James Berlin (1984), who defines rhetoric as "social invention," explicates that communication is temporally, spatially and contextually governed particularly in a given situation unless and until altered or replaced by "another scheme"(1). Similarly, highlighting the role of power in the acceptance of any given rhetoric Binkley (2004) further states that "Power issues determine whose rhetorics are available…, and whose rhetorics are considered as rhetoric" (10). That is why scholars like McComiskey (2002) insist that hegemony should be taken as a process not as a fixed structure. He argues that understanding the institutionalized marginalizing strategies used by those in power provides the marginalized "with the discursive knowledge we need to compose our own timely rhetorical tactics … toward challenging marginalizing strategies" (117). It is crucial, therefore, for everyone concerned to understand the historically, culturally, religiously and politically governed rhetoric of every society, especially in today's globalized context, to help mutually carve a space for the marginalized voices to be heard without losing one's cultural identity.

Culture and voices in the pedagogical context

Culture and voices in the pedagogical contexts, as defined by Kuh and Whitt (1988) are "the collective, mutually shaping patterns of norms, values, practices, beliefs and assumptions that guide the behavior of individuals and groups in an institute of higher education and provide a frame of reference within which to interpret the meaning of events and actions" (12-13). This frame of reference is the rhetorical situation in which the rhetoric in "any discourse, art form, performance, cultural object, or event that–by symbolic and/or material means has the capacity to move someone" (Ott & Dickinson 2013, 2). To this I would add that rhetorical discourse not only has the capacity to move but also empower and create a "safe house" for inclusive learning to take place by the use of non-discriminatory discourse that leaves very little room for false assumptions about the other. Inclusivity, especially in the Indian Subcontinent of SEA where multicultural societies have existed through ages and are the fabric of societies of this region, there are shared societal values that bind the societies together. The bonding is the result of voice that "reveals complex sets of socio-political relations that cut across ethnic, linguistic and cultural boundaries" (Lawy 2017, 193).

This is where the concept of 'voice', which has gone through various interpretations, aptly finds a much better place in rhetorical studies. Watts (2013) calls the concept of

'voice' "a relational phenomenon occurring in discourse...'Voice' is the enunciation and the acknowledgement of the obligations and anxieties of living in community with others" (159). According to Szerman and Kaposy (2011) the basis of who we are is formed by narratives of "every facet of ourselves and others; they shape one's sense of self, explain the behavior and motivations of others, and provide insight into the form taken by all manners of social systems" (417). By "narratives" they mean narrative voices that denote the perspective of the speaker/s. The narrative voices are not due to some immediate incident but are the sum total of what has transpired, aspired, and/or conspired through ages that has molded the outlook of the society.

As music, like any form of performing art, is deeply intertwined with people, place, and events of that particular culture, it, as Stokes (1994) explicates, "evokes and organizes collective memories and presents experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity" (13). However, along with this also comes resistance as minority voices (the majority of them being heavily embedded in the colonial past) especially from the Indian Subcontinent of SEA, exhibit anxious behavior mostly induced by several factors that include "uncertain social, economic, and political conditions in different ways, in ways that are informed by historical and social contexts, as well as by cultural codes, rhetorical conventions, social affiliations, and affective identifications" (West 1965, 87). West's (1965) concern is valid in cross cultural/intercultural and/or interethnic education in music as well, as "different types of cultures show vastly different functions of the attitudes towards music and musicians" (Powers 1963, 1). Particularly in caste based societies like Nepal and India, the difference in attitude towards musicians is quite evident. Though caste based discrimination is not legal in the aforementioned two countries today, in some societies traditional musicians are considered impure but touchable, and in some they are still considered to be untouchable (Subedi 2011, 153-154).

The Context of South East Asian (SEA) countries of the Indian Subcontinent Context

As mentioned above, in caste based SEA countries like Nepal and India, traditional musicians are still discriminated based on their caste and unfortunately are placed at the lower rung of the social ladder. Even though the scenario is changing, traditional music is still supposed to be the domain of these people, especially in the rural areas. This point itself justifies what Powers (1963) says above about different societies exhibiting different attitudes towards music and musicians, and to overlook this fact in music education could lead to difficult situations culturally rather than musically. Therefore, any attempt towards inclusivity in such countries needs to be probed or researched socio-culturally rather than politically only. Similarly, Canagarajah (2002) is concerned about the ideological aspect in the teaching and learning environment, as he believes that "differences in culture may be transcended, but imposition of ideologies have to be resisted" (66) to keep the 'voice' of the minority alive. The pressure is thus immense on cross/intercultural pedagogical negotiations, especially due to ideological as well as cultural underpinnings.

One reality is that, no matter in what situation, all the stakeholders in the academia from the teachers, the students, the academic institutions, and anyone else concerned are governed by their voice of socio-cultural and socio-political experience. The question therefore becomes big: How do these stakeholders in the academia decolonize their internal and external preset voices to liberate ourselves from the overbearing cultural, social, political, religious, and economic pressures to the extent possible and negotiate productively through the minority voices towards an inclusive environment? This issue has been properly raised by Stanton (2018), who calls the Eurocentric episteme a 'cyclical trap' that can only be reduced by "decolonizing our mind and our bodies by musicking

together" (5). The term "musicking together", as used by Small (1998) to denote all possible musical activities sounds simple, however, understanding the intricacies of music of the "other" inclusively requires rhetorically governed musical elements. Highlighting the importance of rhetorically governed musical elements, Small (1999) writes,

> *Musicking is part of that iconic, gestural process of giving and receiving information about relationships which unites the living world, and it is in fact a ritual by means of which the participants not only learn about, but directly experience, their concepts of how they relate, and how they ought to relate, to other human beings and to the rest of the world. (9).*

The above statement shows Small's concern about the context and the text of music education which he believes needs to voice the music traditions of the "other" to make it as inclusive as possible.

The uphill task of the teachers

In a workshop in Texas, USA, on Teaching Decolonial Sounds on the Margins conducted by Cervantes in 2015, the participants (97% white educators) were asked to create and perform a rap of their own. Cervantes reported that the participants found this task to be surprisingly very challenging and realized the intricacies involved behind the creation and performance of rap. They realized, he says, "the art of rapping was more than making words simply rhyme and that the practice involved breadth control, organization skills, rhythm, the ability to articulate your voice, and conveying messages that reflect social experience and condition" (8). This observation made by Cervantes distinctly reveals that music making, musical structures or musical norms are not all about words expressed rhythmically. It is the voice in the given context that is governed by the rhetorical situation: the composer, the singer, the audience, the context, the purpose and the text to address the rhetorical appeals: ethos, pathos and logos. That is, the credibility of the voice that addresses the right sentiments of the audience logically and reasonably. Denying the rhetorical situation while aiming at facilitating an inclusive music classroom would thus lead to nothing but commodification of voices.

Though the task of ensuring an inclusive classroom in any discipline is arduous, the teachers have to move on to accomplish their goal. The first step would be to re-conceptualize the issue of identity versus difference, to clear out the hazy and conflicting nature of the use of these terms in public, culturally and ideologically. The narratives that emanate in the classroom need to be rhetorically paid attention to show that the voices that exist are made distinct and meaningful (Stauffer & Barrett 2009, 19). The tendency to lean towards the situated nature of discourse can be overcome by understanding and addressing the issues that evolve in the voices of official domain (the regulatory functions of institutions), pedagogical domain (the academic production and reproduction functions, and social domain (social interactions and inter-subjective relations between individuals) (Cross 2018, 30-31). The interactions among all these socially produced domains rhetorically create social spaces that the students can negotiate and navigate through and re-contextualize the situation to find their voice in the academia.

The possible way out

The question now is: How do teachers move about/ahead despite all the socio-psychological, socio-cultural and ideological barriers or walls that have made their task of ensuring inclusivity in the teaching and learning environment more challenging, and many times

less rewarding? This challenge is further intensified in SEA countries, like Nepal and India, by the multicultural complexities that exists, both culturally and linguistically, and need to be accommodated, negotiated and understood to attain inclusiveness internally and externally. In other words, the internalized "master's gaze" that Guha (1997, 171) talks about, needs to be taken out in such a way that the learning environment thus created embraces otherness and cultural diversity as indispensable parts of the multicultural learning process in a globalized context. Rather than being defensive, the teachers in such a situation, as also suggested by Wong (1998), need to accept the points of disinterest as cracks or gaps that need to be probed into and understood as a starting point in the knowledge making process. In the words of Wong (1998), "Any good teacher knows that those moments of resistance are pedagogically filled with the most possibility-the most potential for intellectual break-through and also knows that intellectual coercion is simply not going to work" (82). For example, in the SEA context, absolute silence in the classroom could be a very good example of disinterest, as the students mostly shy away from openly disagreeing with the teacher.

Highlighting the importance of cultural influence on learning style in collectivist societies of Asia, Raymond and Tech Choon (2017) reveal that "students only speak when called upon by the teachers, confrontation is avoided, teachers are to be respected and treated as an expert" (197). That is why under such circumstances teachers should understand that this silence is rhetorical and carries loads of meaning to be deciphered to create an environment that is epistemologically rewarding. Also, as mentioned by Glenn (2004), this silence could be a tactical one which is as expressive and strategic as speech itself.

Similarly, the instilled habit of trying to identify a pure or superior culture, a virtual reality created by the colonial powers to lure the colonized into denouncing their own culture as inferior to western culture, needs to be looked into critically. What is seriously required in such a context is a "dialectic of unity and difference" to gradually do away with whatever "residual effects" (Ahmed 1992, 265) of the past that linger in the people's psyche. These residual effects are so contagious that they somehow find their way into the "framework of knowledge" (Bhangya 2008, 109) that was created in the past.

The rhetorically critical pedagogy of inclusion

This is when, what I call rhetorically critical pedagogy, needs to come in. By rhetorically critical pedagogy, I mean pedagogy that negotiates through introduction of theories of cultural diversity aimed at addressing various issues related to multiculturalism, communalism, cosmopolitanism, globalism, and racism. Since the basic ideals of critical pedagogy – "education for human dignity" remains constant, "the actual practice changes depending upon with whom one works, the historical moment, and the context in which one works" (Goldstein & Beutel 2007, 4). This negotiation in SEA should be a strategy that protects and promotes multiculturalism, a socially accepted reality in these societies. Most importantly, the efforts towards pedagogical inclusion should not overlook the fact that "learning styles are often culturally-based and students from different cultures would therefore have different ways or patterns of learning, thinking and behaviour" (Raymond &Tech Choon 2017, 194). The teaching and learning environment, in other words, needs to be tuned as per the cultural orientation of the students.

The marginalized groups in such a setting should be encouraged to make strategies that would help them to be heard and be visible based on their values and interests. An environment to mingle in the academic environment so that they are able to take a socio-epistemic position or in other words, construct social realities through dialog and discourse with the community they live in or are supposed to interact with, should be

created. Such an approach in pedagogy could provide credibility to voices that would otherwise be easily ignored as baseless, untimely and irrelevant. These voices, stresses Bakhtin (1994), are traceable to a diversity of social groups that result in enhanced dialogic quality of discourse.

I find Bhaktin's philosophies of dialogism and heteroglossia (1984), in which the individual and the social interact to constitute the diverse, multifaceted identities or subjectivities of individuals in the process of constructing and expressing meaning very useful rhetorically. These are useful because the voices that emanate are the combination of "thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness… that are active participants in social dialogue" (Bhaktin 1981, 276). He suggests that encouraging such interactions bring forth the complexities of agreements and disagreements, contradictions and understandings and eventually create an environment of sophisticated and complex inter-textual relationships between the individual "I" and the "other". What Bhaktin is basically saying is that we can only be rhetorically inclusive if we pay attention to purposeful social discourses within the text and the context and the communicator and the audience.

Conclusion: Being rhetorically eclectic

Given my experience teaching Humanities & Social Sciences students having multi-cultural, multi-lingual, and multi-ethnic backgrounds[1] at the university level, both in Nepal and the United States, the best pedagogical technique, I feel, is being rhetorically eclectic by using bits and pieces of the available theories. As the students in every classroom are different, adhering to one single theory would be a sin, and that is why philosophical flexibility is pivotal in teaching to rhetorically address the diverse situation and enable the voices in the classroom to be recognized and heard. This can only be done if the teachers facilitate learning where the students do not shy away from "bringing into play various discursive resources with which to read, interpret and make sense of themselves, others, and institutional life" (Luke 1995/96, 3).

Therefore, to facilitate the voices of the students to be heard, rhetorically acknowledging multiple identities/pluralities and indigenous knowledge within academic space is imperative. Though the challenges for the teachers are immense, we need to be always on the look-out for rhetorical techniques that would empower us to feel confident in accommodating linguistic, cultural and ideological voices dialogically. As mentioned above we must be as rhetorically eclectic as possible and should not shy away from evaluating and re-evaluating our teaching philosophies and pedagogies that are "globally informed and locally in-acted" (Luke 2011, 371). Undoubtedly, teachers have to venture every moment into unknown or unexpected terrains to make them familiar and desirable and create credible narratives that act as agents of acceptable rhetorical changes. So, it all depends upon us as teachers, as we must be able to hit the right chord and rhetorically create a sense of ownership in our classrooms for the music of the subdued voices to be heard. ■

Note

[1] The diversity in Nepal reveals a unique composite and dynamic character of its pluralistic society and has been the norm since time immemorial, whereas, the diversity in the United States is mainly the result of very recent migration from around the world of people looking for a better livelihood. The pluralistic society in Nepal is more or less indigenous where as, in the United States it is divided into native and the settler community (Fanon 1963, 38-39). In short, the diversity in Nepal is from within and that in the USA is from without.

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Kushal Karki, Jeevan Lama, John Shrestha & Alex Waiba

Music education in Lamjung: Envisioning and co-creating a music education project in Nepal

Introduction

This report presents some preliminary results from an ongoing research study on a new project called Music Education in Lamjung. This project aims to establish inclusive music education in the private schools of Lamjung district, which is located approximately 165 km west of Kathmandu in Nepal. The need for such a project stems from the government of Nepal having made a national level music curriculum, while the schools around Lamjung district lack both the basic infrastructure and the skilled teachers required to implement such a curriculum. In addition to responding to the need for music teacher education in this part of Nepal, the project also looks to establish and broaden job opportunities in music education for those who want to work in and through music in Lamjung.

The emergence of the project Music Education in Lamjung

Music Education in Lamjung is a project conceived and facilitated by the organisation Laya'le Shikchya. This organisation was formed in 2016 by five musician-teachers based in Kathmandu: Alex Waiba, Jeevan Lama, John Shrestha, Kushal Karki and Prem Gurung. Growing out of their shared interests, visions, and goals, they formed Laya'le Shikchya, which primarily focuses on creating and providing opportunities for equally accessible music education for all, and promotes music education through conducting music making workshops in different parts of Nepal.

Music Education in Lamjung grew out of an invitation Laya'le Shikchya received in 2017 from the Lamjung Music Society to conduct a workshop in the municipality of Besisahar, the district headquarters of Lamjung district. The Lamjung Music Society is a group of young people who carry out local music events in Lamjung and support local emerging young music learners. This invitation led to Laya'le Shikchya's first visit to Lamjung, during which in addition to conducting a workshop with Lamjung Music Society, we also had the opportunity to work with local school children. The workshop for school children involved creating music through collaborative interactions between children from different classes, during which the children demonstrated impressive potential to work together to create music and perform the composed music as a group. This was particularly captivating since the workshop was their first encounter with this sort of work. During conversations with local musicians we came to understand that music had never been a part of the schools' curricula or extracurricular activities. For this reason we were motivated to find a way for school children to have access to music learning and for music practitioners to have the ability to find employment through music.

It was evident that the music practitioners were capable of teaching and willing to learn from each other. In addition, one of the principals from the three schools we had worked with showed interest in continued collaboration. We thus began planning the project Music Education in Lamjung, which focussed on enabling local music practitioners to start teaching music to the school children.

Methods

As we planned the project Music Education in Lamjung, four founding members of Laya'le Shikchya chose to carry out a research study based on action research (McAteer 2013) to enable an in-depth analysis of the issues arising from the interaction in this particular context. The earlier research done on music education and music teacher education in Nepal (see e.g. Gurung 2019; Karki 2018; Shah 2018; Shrestha 2018; Tuladhar 2018; Treacy 2020) also significantly inspired us to develop an educational development and research project. This particular research study thus applies action research as a way of engaging facilitators/researchers and musicians and school children in a continuous process of envisioning the future of music education in Lamjung. Hence, this research study applies action research to not only engage in ongoing "critical reflection on practice and theory-practice conversation, but also [to] designat[e] ongoing and evolving action as part of the process" (McAteer 2013, 12).

Two of the members of Laya'le Shikchya (Karki 2018; Shrestha 2018) had recently completed a research project as part of their Teachers' Pedagogical Studies completed at the Sibelius Academy of the University of the Arts Helsinki, one of which was on another project by Laya'le Shikchya (Karki 2018). Their experiences with these research projects highlighted the potential of engaging in research for evaluating this new project, and illuminating potentially unseen challenges. We, the co-authors, thus viewed this upcoming project as an important continuation of our previous research work in the field of music education in Nepal. In addition, another founding member, Prem Gurung, also carried out a research study focussing on the project which describes the potential of engaging musicians in a community based teaching and learning environment through music teacher education (Gurung 2019).

Research aim and questions

The action research reported here was guided by two research questions:

1. What challenges and opportunities should be taken into consideration when building formal music education in Lamjung?
2. What pedagogical approaches might support the building of the teaching capacities of the facilitators and participants?

Data generation

The data for this report were generated from one planning meeting and one interview. The planning meeting involved one principal and two teachers from two different schools in Besisahar together with four members of Laya'le Shikchya. The primary goal of this meeting was to learn about the principal and teachers' perspectives on our proposed project and the possibility of including music in their schools. We also held one interview with two workshop participants, Shom and Keviv (pseudonyms), after the third workshop. This approximately 60-minute interview was semi-structured, and thus characterised more by open discussion and the sharing of experiences rather than strictly adhering to an interview guide (Galletta & Cross 2013). Two of the co-authors were present for this interview, since the other two had to be in Kathmandu at that time. The interview was audio recorded with the permission of the interviewees. It was conducted in mixed languages, both Nepali and English, as communicating in mixed languages is a common practice throughout Nepal. The interview excerpts presented in this report were translated into English by the authors when needed. In addition, we also draw upon the reflections two of the authors wrote in their researcher diaries following each workshop that took place.

The interviewees and workshop participants involved in this study were informed about its nature, and that they would be kept anonymous and have the right to discontinue their participation in the research at any time.

Data analysis

Data analysis followed a thematic analysis approach (Braun & Clarke 2006) guided by the study's research questions. The research team thus identified, analyzed and reported thematic patterns within the data. This data is interpreted against all four co-authors' personal experiences as musician-teachers. In presenting our results, we also present how these experiences shaped the planning of the project Music Education in Lamjung.

Challenges and opportunities for building formal music education in Lamjung

This section provides some preliminary results as they relate to the first research question guiding the study. Our analysis of the data highlighted a number of challenges and opportunities. These included the impressions of music learning within the community, the Lamjung musicians' ability to make a living from music, and their confidence moving into the role of musician-teacher.

The public view of the role of music in schools

One of the challenges highlighted during our informal discussions with the local participants was regarding how learning music was looked upon by the community. While the participating local musicians and school representatives perceived music to be a form of creative learning, parents generally viewed music as an insignificant area in education. Thus, although our informal conversations with school representatives indicated that music would be a welcome extracurricular activity in schools, school administrators experienced resistance from parents who widely felt that it would be better for children to focus on "school subjects" and not be "distracted" by music. This common perception was one of the primary reasons why music classes were absent from their school curriculum. Indeed, during the planning meeting we learned that local parents generally believe that learning happens only through reading textbooks. However, from our experiences working with school children, a focus only on textbook learning may be too boring and exhausting for children, which leads to a loss of interest in learning. In the planning meeting it was also pointed out that the misconceptions of the community might be addressed through improved communication about music education between the music practitioners and the community, and that we should meet with local parents to discuss their concerns and raise awareness. In our future work in Lamjung, we have thus planned to include a session with the community to engage in dialogue on these issues, and their perspectives, and to use this dialogue as we move forward in designing the project. This planned session will include meeting with parents where we discuss the perspectives of music learning in early childhood music education.

The weak economic prospects for musicians

The second challenge we identified was that music learning is often regarded as something that demands hard work but will not lead to any employment possibilities, and thus cannot contribute to supporting a person financially. This was a concerning issue for the parents highlighted during the interview with the two music practitioners. Shom, for example, explained "Parents are concerned about the future with music. They say music does not help you financially". We saw this challenge also as an opportunity, as supporting musicians in teaching music could offer one means of making a living out of music and thus sustain their living. Indeed, Shom also expressed that

little guys and girls come to me and ask for the lesson in which I am willing to share the knowledge with them by teaching what I know. Also they pay me some money for doing so. With that money I am able to support financially sometimes. When my mom asks me how I got the money and I say I earned it through teaching others, she exclaims that that is nice. (Shom)

The positive response from Shom's mother suggests that there is potential to slowly change the perception toward music being something that cannot strengthen one's financial means. In addition to teaching music, the interviewees also discussed creating other kinds of job opportunities through music for example through organizing musical events and charity shows for the community.

The novice musicians' lack of confidence in teaching

A third important consideration in supporting the musicians was developing their confidence in their potential to teach. Like Shom, some of the other participants had already started teaching music in the community with the help of the workshops that we conducted. Our other interviewee, Keviv, however stated,

Shom has started teaching, but I am not sure about teaching right away. I need more time to learn for myself. I am still a student even though learning as a student is a process that never ends, but I still want to be at some point before teaching. (Keviv)

The deeply rooted idea of pre-existing teaching abilities and the need for "proficiency" might then be one of the hindrances that affect Lamjung musicians' confidence to begin teaching. In planning ways to move forward with this project, we thus need to consider how to cultivate an appreciation for experiences that local music practitioners already possess and an openness, from both us and the local practitioners, to embrace the challenges and be able to take in the information gained through this sort of relationship.

Classroom vs. community events

In addition to illuminating some of the challenges that should be taken into consideration when building formal music education in Lamjung, our interviewees drew our attention to their community's appreciation for storytelling through dance and suggested that "showcasing music events could make an impact in a society." Keviv explained,

People in this place love the art form of dance, traditional dance, where girls and boys dance together, where there is a history in the dance. We could also collaborate with them, and showcase that accordingly. Likewise an event which will have dance, music and other collaboration could be something we could work on. At least if we start these sorts of things, charity based events, this could be something which gives a positive message. (Keviv)

Adding to the idea, his suggestion was also that we perform with local music practitioners at such events as a way of building trust in the community. This way people can also observe the musical perspective and skills of the performers, where the facilitators(Laya'le Shikchya member) and the local musicians will perform together.

Potential pedagogical approaches

To address the second research question, about the pedagogical approaches that might support the building of the facilitators' and participants' teaching capacities, in this section we reflect on how the challenges and opportunities discussed above have influenced the choices we are making as we move forward with the project.

In responding to the social stigma toward learning music, we have planned a number of actions for raising the community members' appreciation toward valuing music education. First, we have planned to increase parental involvement. This is based on the experiences of one of the members of Laya'le Shikchya who has been teaching in an institution that has begun inviting parents to sit with their children during their music lesson. He noticed how doing so seemed to engage and encourage the parents throughout the learning process. The parents became enthusiastic, asking related questions and also getting involved in showing their children how to play the musical piece. This was something that we had not brought into practice in our work in Lamjung, and which we feel is worth applying.

We have already piloted this kind of approach in a similar student-parent music learning workshop that was part of the Echoes in the Valley Music Festival that took place in March 2019 in Kathmandu (see Kansakar & Tuladhar this issue). The workshop was in an open, outdoor environment unlike a classroom setting. Contrary to our classroom teaching approach, this workshop was conducted using materials that were laying around in the surroundings, such as pieces of brick or wood and plastic bottles. These materials were then used to produce sounds and to compose, through which we aimed to teach some basics of music and composition and get the participants playing music together. Witnessing the pleasure of both the children and their parents during the process made us feel that such collaborative student-parent music making was worth keeping as a tool to use in our future pedagogical approaches in the project.

While such collaborative student-parent music making was pleasurable for the participants, we still need to address the community's perception that music learning in schools is a barrier taking time away from learning the 'proper' subjects. Through our work in the project, we therefore want to find ways of highlighting the educational potential of music, for example how music making involves collaborative work, problem solving in and as a group, and the possibility to express emotions. These aspects are, in our opinion, ones that could help break down the barrier. We thus plan to raise awareness of them in our meetings with parents and any workshops, concerts, or other public events we host or in which we participate. Moreover, we plan to emphasise these aspects during the teacher's training programme. This need to address the community's perception of music also led us to understand that the anticipated time period in this project would be longer than we had initially thought.

Another challenge was the Lamjung musicians' ability to make a living from music which was entangled with their confidence moving into the role of musician-teacher. In particular, this appeared to be related to the belief in the need to achieve a certain level of musical proficiency and teaching ability prior to beginning to teach. We think, however, that this kind of musical and pedagogical proficiency could be developed through the kind of teacher interactions we have been facilitating through this project. In other words, we believe that professional competence could be developed through collaborative learning: sharing what you know and learning from others what you do not yet know. In our teacher's training program, we thus need to discuss these ideas and make them explicit in order to help the participants think beyond pre-existing concepts and acknowledge and appreciate the previously acquired skills that the musicians and their students already possess. Already, we have seen that the participating local musicians have begun using the same collaborative approach to making music together as was included in the workshops. Through this process they have been teaching and learning from each other, which shows that this exchange and sharing among each other has already begun. Thus, progress has been made in terms of understanding the value of teamwork and the necessity of contributing towards their community.

Conclusion

The preliminary findings of this study highlight some of the challenges and opportunities that need to be taken into consideration when trying to implement music education in private schools in Lamjung. We expect that these challenges and opportunities may also be similar in other parts of Nepal due to similarities in socio-cultural backgrounds and the strict traditional models and hierarchical barriers shaping Nepali society. As music was only recently introduced into the Nepali national curriculum as a separate subject in secondary and higher secondary level (Shah 2018), we hope that our project Music Education in Lamjung and our related research work, including this particular study, will contribute understandings of some of the issues related to implementing this official vision. In particular, this study has highlighted the importance of taking into account the socio-cultural context and involving the local communities when aiming to introduce music teaching in schools and developing music education and music teacher education in general. ■

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Sunit Kansakar & Riju Tuladhar

Enabling grassroots participation in the promotion and preservation of traditional musics: The case of the Echoes in the Valley Music Festival in Nepal

Introduction

Nepal today is at a stage where most of the folk and traditional musics, which are an important part of Nepal's intangible cultural heritage, are alive but fading. The country's immense ethnic diversity encompasses diverse languages, customs, festivals and musics. Its tremendous geographic diversity, rising from just a few meters above sea level to the highest point on earth is home to more than 120 ethnic groups, including Sherpas, Tamangs, and Rais in the mountains, Gurungs and Newars in the hills and valleys, and Tharus and Maithalis in the plains of the Terai. The numerous ethic groups have long lived in distinct communities divided by caste and ethnicity, with each community having its own specific music for performing religious rituals.

As organizers and founders of the Echoes in the Valley music festival (henceforth EITV), we feel an acute need for both the preservation of Nepal's diverse musics, and their creative development for academic and artistic purposes. Thus, with the support of many of our musician friends, our band Kanta Dab Dab (http://kantadabdab.com/) founded EITV in 2017, which takes place in Kathmandu, Nepal and its surroundings. Now, with another two of Nepal's favorite bands Night (http://wearenight.com/) and Kutumba (http://www.kutumbaband.com/) joining forces, EITV is growing bigger. Despite this growth, at the heart of EITV ultimately lies the grassroots participation of the local communities, who basically run the festival.

In opening up the visions underlying EITV, this report presents some of the current hurdles that folk and traditional Nepali musics are facing. It then frames music festivals as public pedagogy (Carpenter & Sourdot 2010), and describes how EITV, as public pedagogy, has taken initiatives towards the preservation, promotion, and development of Nepali musics. The report also suggests how intangible cultural heritage other than music could also be preserved and promoted through festivals.

Current hurdles facing folk and traditional Nepali musics

As already mentioned, our founding of EITV was part of our attempt to respond to some of the various hurdles that exist in sustaining Nepal's folk and traditional musics. We thus begin this report by identifying and elaborating upon some of these, including the refusal to share music between different castes and Guthis, gender inequality, the global flows of people and media, the post civil war effect, the infant stage of music education in Nepal, and a lack of research, documentation, and archiving of Nepali musics.

First, while Nepal's geographic, social, and cultural diversity is often framed as one of the "unique features of the country" (Government of Nepal 2007, 12) this diversity may also play a role in jeopardizing the sustainability of its traditional musics. This is due to a common refusal to share music between different castes and Guthis in Nepal. Thus, musicians from specific castes and Guthis play only music specific to their community,

and are reluctant to teach their musics to people from other communities. In these closed learning communities, the majority of participants are from the same surrounding areas, ethnic group and caste. This resistance may be explained because traditional musics are strongly linked to religious beliefs and taught only to students who are religiously committed. As these musics are fading, however, it now seems that there is an urgent need to expand such teaching practices if we want to increase future generations' interest in learning and preserving them.

Second, although gender equality has been introduced legally, gender inequality remains in practice. This is due to the continued prevalence of the old social stigma according to which women are impure. Crawford (2014) for example describes how "Nepali Hinduism forbids menstruating women to enter a temple or kitchen, share a bed with a husband or touch a male relative. During menstruation, women are 'untouchable'" (426). Indeed, it was only in 2019 that the government of Nepal imposed a ban on a ritual in which family members force menstruating women to live in animal sheds for the duration of their monthly menses. The stigma associated with the impurity of women also translates to material objects, with some castes, like the Newar community in the Kathmandu Valley, forbidding women from touching musical instruments or singing due to the association of these activities with the Hindu gods. Consequently, Newari females singing devotional songs is a fairly recent phenomenon (Tuladhar 2018), as is female Newaris playing the Dhime drums or wooden flutes.

Third, the rapid increase in flows of people and media brought on by globalisation following the opening of Nepal's border in the 1950s has greatly impacted music. The influx of hippies in the 1960s, for example, brought, among other things, guitars, violins, cassette tapes, and tape recorders. It was also the first time that Nepalis heard harmony in music. Since then, the global influence of different types of media on Nepali youths has become huge, drawing them more towards learning and performing western and Bollywood musics, rather than the folk and traditional musics of their local communities. We feel that this may be partly because traditional music performance is mostly a day to day activity and lacks stage performances. Globalisation has also led to increased labour migration. People throughout Nepal have not only left their home communities to seek work in bigger cities. The current lack of job opportunities throughout the country has led to about 1500 Nepali youths leaving Nepal on a daily basis (The Himalayan Times 2017). Among the challenges that result from such migration, folk and traditional musics are also put at risk as fewer and fewer young people remain in their communities to learn and spread the very specific local music traditions. As a result, the already existing non-formal communal music education carried out by the community, known as the Guthi system, rather than being a source of inspiration for Nepal's emerging formal music education is on the verge of collapsing.

Fourth, following the end of the civil war in 2006, Nepal began a slow and painful transition towards a republic. This transition has taken much energy from both the government and civil society, leaving the cultural production of musics entirely to the market. As a result, only some genres of music gain mainstream limelight, leading to the decline of many other musics, like traditional and cultural musics.

Fifth, although formal music education could offer a means of sustaining the centuries' old knowledge of traditional and cultural music making, music was only adopted as a separate school subject in 2010. Moreover, although music curricula have been developed and approved for implementation these curricula are not being taught. Instead, music is still a subject taught primarily in private schools, usually as an extra- or co-curricular activity, and in music institutes, or by private teachers. At the tertiary level, the focus of music studies is mainly eastern classical, although ethnomusicology can be studied at the Kathmandu University (KU) Department of Music. While the studies in ethnomusicology at KU do contribute to sustaining Nepal's intangible musical heritage,

this stream is more focused on academic knowledge rather than performance. At present, there is also no government-recognized music teacher education or pedagogy courses included in tertiary music studies in the country. Nepal is thus in urgent need of skilled and networked music teacher-researchers.

Finally, there is a lack of research, documentation and archiving of Nepali musics, with the limited existing documentation not publicly available. For example, there are currently no publicly shared archives that house music research taking place in the country. This makes it difficult to access such research for young musicians, students, intellectuals, and academics.

Echoes in the Valley as public pedagogy enabling grassroots participation

Recognising these hurdles and the potential of music education to address them, as founders and organisers of EITV, we envisioned EITV as an inclusive festival that could establish itself as a shared space for the presentation, preservation and development of Nepal's cultural music traditions and as such, function as public pedagogy (Carpenter & Sourdot 2010). As public pedagogy, we see EITV as committed to increased attention to contemporary concerns related to representation of identity, culture, ethnicity, gender, religion, and race (Carpenter & Sourdot 2010, 444). With the current lack of formal music education throughout the country, EITV strives to inform and educate the masses about Nepal's musical heritage and its contemporary practices. It does so through a wide range of events and activities that aim to uncover, revive and make relevant intangible cultural heritage, including Nepal's disappearing sounds, by showcasing local music, art, and everyday rituals.

As the founders of EITV, we also strongly believe in creating an event that is not solely concert and performance-based, but one that enables grassroots participation. The festival does not accept commercial sponshorships, rather to promote local ownership of the festival a portion of financial suppns. By 2019, the festival had gained respect and trust from the Kathmandu municipality and hence 10% of the total budget was funded by the municipality. Furthermore, the festival aims to create an ecosystem for preserving the music, traditional instruments, and instrument-making skills that are slowly disappearing. EITV thus engages local communities in grassroots participation through various festival events and activities, such as accessible music performances, activities for raising awareness, workshops and a conference. These events and activities are described in this section of the report.

Accessible music performances

Central to the aim of public pedagogy, EITV is built on the belief in making music accessible to all and aims to introduce locals and international visitors to a wide range of music and culture. This is in contrast to the common practice of music festivals often being ticketed events with high-profile headlining acts and thus mostly catered towards those with disposable income making them, knowingly or unknowingly, exclusive. EITV on the other hand is a free annual one-day music festival. Since 2017, the number of musicians and artists from across Nepal–including east, mid and west Nepal–performing in EITV has almost doubled. In 2019, for example it included a total of 364 Nepali and international artists representing 9 different countries performing across six stages and was witnessed by ten to thirty thousand locals at up to 25 performances. EITV also takes place in traditional performance spaces. In 2017 and 2019 the festival took place on *dabalis* (raised platforms) in and around the old part of Kathmandu, in six different venues namely Ason, Janabaha, Balkumari, Bhotahity, Kamalachi and Dagu Baha. As *dabalis,* most of which were built between 600-800 AD, are an integrated part of the modern Kathmandu landscape and nowadays commonly used by street sellers to set up merchan-

dise stalls, choosing *dabalis* also constitutes a strong statement for the preservation of cultural heritage. In 2018 EITV took place in Banepa, an old historical city in the outskirts of the Kathmandu Valley. These locations naturally lend themselves as alternative platforms for new kinds of engagements between performers and audiences. During the festival, their busy streets are transformed into grand stages which become common platforms for the display of the various ethnic musics of Nepal and beyond, creating a unique soundscape ranging from traditional devotional and processional repertoire to modern electronic digital music. Moreover, growing from our above mentioned observation that traditional music performance is mostly a daily activity lacking stage performances, EITV showcases performances that have not yet been the focus of concerts, such as local bhajan groups comprised mostly of the elderly and/or women who perform spiritual songs which are usually only sung as a part of rituals and prayers in front of temples, and talented musicians who have not yet had the chance to perform for local audiences. During its 3 years of operation, EITV has also featured a number of collaborations between local and international artists from Austria, Egypt, Finland, France, India, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the U.S.A, who displayed new sounds with a unique blend of cross-cultural instruments.

Raising awareness

A number of EITV activities are focussed on raising awareness of cultural appreciation and social issues, one of them being gender inequality. As part of this aim, it includes the performance of female musician groups as well as a women's bhajan group made up of 37 housewives. This choir was initiated in 2013 by Mr. Nhuchhe Bahadur Dangol, a cosmopolitan culture-bearer and activist (see Westerlund & Partti 2018) and performs in EITV on the same stage with other traditional male only bhajan groups. Thus, the women not only perform the devotional music but do so right in the middle of the public space. Their participation in the festival could be seen as a vehicle to female empowerment highlighting the potential for a more gender equal society (Tuladhar 2018).

Recalling the common refusal to share music between different castes and Guthis, EITV invited different ethnic communities from the Kathmandu Valley and its surroundings like Ason dha khala, Janaba dha khala, Kamalachi baja khala, Patan dha khala and Bhaktapur basuri khala to come together for the festival and perform as a drum ensemble. Led by a senior member of a community, the drum ensemble performed for the first time in 2019 during the opening of the festival and included the participation of almost 60 drummers. As already mentioned, such coming together is a rare phenomenon as these musics are usually confined to their ethnic communities. Inviting these communities to participate and perform together as an ensemble thus provided a much needed platform for increasing the participants' motivation for peer learning and celebrating unity.

Extending this kind of musical sharing, in 2017, EITV curated an artist residency called *Musical Confluence,* which was a collaboration between local ethnic musicians from Manamaiju village in the Kathmandu Valley and students and professors from the Sibelius Academy, Finland and the Malmö Academy, Sweden. *Musical Confluence* was organised by partnering with Innovative Entertainers, a youth organization from Manamaiju village. The visiting musicians were hosted by and stayed in the homes of the musicians from Manamaiju. During their stay they learned the local ethnic music of the village and shared *their* musics with the local musicians. As public pedagogy, this artist residency succeeded in influencing the young generation of musicians in Manamaiju towards appreciating their traditional musics and instruments. It also witnessed the empowerment of local traditional musicians as one of the local workshop conductors said that the foreign musicians had opened their eyes towards realizing their own musicianship, and the importance and potential of their traditional music. Importantly, a book titled

Confluence–perspectives from an intercultural music exchange in Nepal (Johnson 2018) was published from this collaboration. It includes the participants' very personal experiences, which are all tied to the intercultural music education scholarship frame. The book was launched in Baku, Azerbaijan during the International Society of Music Education 2018 World Conference, and later the same year in Manamaiju.

Two other EITV activities are related to raising awareness. A photography exhibition titled, 'History Begins at Home' was part of EITV 2017 and a planned event for EITV 2020. It was a nostalgic photo exhibition showcasing the history of the neighbourhoods and its residents. The locals from these neighbourhoods were encouraged to collect old photographs of their ancestors and write a small description about the photo that recollects the memory associated with them. These photos were digitally archived at the Nepal Picture Library (https://www.nepalpicturelibrary.org/). This photo exhibition reminds the public that personal history does matter as well as national history to learn and reflect from what the past looked like. In addition, a guided heritage tour has been organized every year since 2017 to recognize the centuries-old cultural artifacts. The tour is conducted around the festival area and surrounding neighbourhoods. This is organized in collaboration with Impact Productions.

Workshops

EITV has also included a wide range of workshops. Every year since 2017 different intergenerational knowledge pass-down workshops have had participants learning to perform various sacred rituals involving artefact-making which are usually passed down by senior members of the family to their successors. EITV has incorporated such workshops to revive the endangered arts of making and using various mandatory ritual objects. Importantly, the workshops also create a platform for intergenerational dialogue. To date, these workshops have included learning to make *Tormas, Jajanka, Etaa,* and *Dhupya. Tormas* are ritual food offerings for various deities, made with butter and roasted barley flour, and artistically hand-molded, often coloured, and ornamented. *Jajanka* are garlands offered to Gods and then returned to humans as a gift from the Gods which symbolize the integration of the beginning with the end, and signify creation, continuation, and fullness of life. *Etaa* are handmade cotton wicks turned two and a half times around the finger to make thin braids and represent the illumination of wisdom and belief, and are an offering to Gods. *Dhupya* is a twisted *lokta* paper rope incense offered to Gods and Goddesses in most of the rituals that take place throughout Nepal.

A slam poetry workshop in 2017 encouraged participants to create and share spoken word poetry in the most widely spoken languages in the Kathmandu Valley, to explore these mother tongues. This was organized in collaboration with Word Warriors (http://www.wordwarriorsnepal.com), a Kathmandu-based group of young poets leading the spoken word movement in Nepal. The workshop concluded with the participants performing their newly created poetry on one of the festival's stages. In the future, EITV aims to have workshops in a wider range of languages as there are 123 languages spoken as mother tongue in Nepal (Government of Nepal 2012). Also connected to Nepal's linguistic diversity, a calligraphy workshop took place in 2019 focussing on the old ethnic languages, which, like many of the traditional musics, are on the verge of dying. This was conducted by Quixote's Cove (http://qcbookshop.com/).

A photography and documentation workshop conducted in 2017 and 2018 had the purpose of highlighting the skills of passionate amateur photo-enthusiasts in the community to capture images of their surroundings. Community youths were taught photography skills by professional photographers from Photo Circle (http://www.photocircle.com.np/) and Fuzzscape (http://fuzzscape.com/) to express and present their views towards community heritage and activities through the lens.

EITV is also committed to making the festival experience more family- and child-friendly. An entire courtyard in 2017 and 2019 was dedicated to children's songs and literature. During the festival *Laya'le Shikchya* offered music workshops for children and their families (see Karki, Lama, Shrestha & Waiba this issue). The major goal of these workshops was to promote music education and build foundations on the concept of rhythm, making music through body percussion, and sharing the joy of group music making. In addition, children's literature was promoted in the Children's Courtyard through a variety of interactive reading sessions including old fables and stories. Other activities in the Courtyard included creative painting, face-painting, and children's magic shows. A workshop using art and singing to teach families about globally endangered animals was also conducted by Fossik Project (https://fossickproject.com/). All of these activities geared towards children and families resulted in an increase in EITV participation of families from previous years.

Conference

In 2019, a new component was introduced to EITV to address an infrequently engaged with, and often overlooked, aspect in most Nepali music festivals: a conversation around music education, accessibility, and the future of music in Nepal. This new component was created with the belief that interaction with people, including scholars, from different parts of the world would be a milestone for boosting the confidence of teachers and students, as well as their belief in the value of music and tradition. We also felt that organising this kind of conference could contribute to developing an awareness among Nepal's elderly people of the rich culture that we have in Nepal, making them feel the need to teach youths and value themselves as musicians rather than as individuals just performing daily chores.

The conference took place over one-day and was named *Confluence.* It brought together over 100 active participants from 7 different countries, including different actors in Nepali music education such as Nepali policy makers, teachers, lecturers, professors and students from the Kathmandu University Department of Music, Tribhuvan University's related music colleges, and institutions like the Nepal Music Center and Srijanalaya, as well as international music educators. As such, it was the first conference of its kind in Nepal to bring together such diverse stakeholders to discuss the current status of music education in Nepal and its future possibilities. Just bringing these different actors face-to-face in one room was itself a success as it is a rare occurrence in the field of music education in Nepal, where we believe a group of well networked music educators could be created who take a leading role in educational development. Indeed, participants agreed that there is a lack of transparency and knowledge sharing amongst Nepal's existing music schools and departments.

The conference included two music education panels, one focussing on pedagogy and curriculum and the other focussing on visions, and one roundtable discussion focussing on issues of accessibility. The conference space thus allowed for much-needed fruitful conversations, debates, connections and ideas to emerge. This was evident as audience participation was high and there were no drop-outs. One clear outcome of the conference was that, to ensure that teachers and students are not reinventing the wheel each time and that greater and deeper learning is happening, a call was made for a portal where various music institutions can share their resources and knowledge. EITV has agreed to undertake the hosting of this and is currently in the process of creating a public index and content sharing links to research on Nepali musics and music education in Nepal. We envision this public index as also contributing to the preservation of Nepali musics by becoming a much needed database providing students, teachers, and other professionals with easy access to an archive of existing documentation and research.

Conclusion

As a festival EITV envisions itself as a space for the presentation of the rich cultural and traditional musics of Nepal. So far, EITV has succeeded in making a name for itself as a platform in Kathmandu and wider Nepal for the presentation and preservation of cultural traditions. It focuses on keeping traditional music alive by showcasing traditional music presentations as well as merging traditional and modern music in order to keep the cultural wheel rolling. As presented above, in doing so EITV also functions as public pedagogy (Carpenter & Sourdot 2010) through being an inclusive festival that has established itself as a shared space, and through all the processes of collecting old photos for the exhibition, writing in native languages for slam poetry, and getting to know the significance of landmarks in heritage tours involving grassroot participants. EITV continues to stand behind its mission as a community-driven music festival, aiming to give community members a sense of ownership. Moving forward, as already mentioned, we also aspire to take the initiative to make the research materials of Nepali musics globally accessible to artists and music scholars. While EITV, like most festivals globally, had to be cancelled in 2020 due to the Covid-19 epidemic, we look forward to our next possibility to share the EITV vision and continue the festival's growth. We continue to aspire for EITV to be not just a music festival, but a statement, an effort at ensuring that Nepali traditional music as well as the musics of the world are appreciated, in old and new forms, in Nepal and beyond. ■

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Shree Lakshmi Vaidyanathan

Journey of an accidental music teacher in 21st century India

Introduction

This report traces my accidental journey as an IT engineer-turned-music teacher in 21st century India. After obtaining my engineering degree in 2003, I decided against joining the Indian IT boom and instead chose to become a general music teacher in a school. Indian government-run schools, which comprise around 80% of all Indian schools (NCERT 2016), require music teachers to have a Bachelor's degree in music, without the need of a Bachelor's degree in Education (Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan 2014). However, Indian private schools may or may not require their music teachers to have a bachelor's degree in music or education. I know several music teachers, myself included, who teach in private schools with neither university degree. Such teachers might have studied either Indian classical, western classical or popular music with private tutors or at larger music schools that offer certificate courses. Few, like myself, may have diplomas or certificates in western classical performance and/or music theory from Trinity College of Music or the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, both based in the UK. My early experiences teaching music in schools, however, highlighted issues in three broad fields that are the focus of this report; music education policy, music teacher training and cultural diversity in music education.

In this report, I describe my personal experiences and the practical difficulties I faced in my career in two cities in southern India. Additionally, from the perspective of a music teacher who did not train to become one, I hope to highlight the disparity between current policy and practice. I therefore begin by summarizing current music education policy at the national level and the local level within two states, Tamil Nadu[1] and Karnataka. I also address significant issues in Indian music teacher education such as culturally relevant teaching in this culturally diverse country, among others. As one who struggled initially with no syllabus to work with, and later with one I was not qualified to teach, I conclude by listing out solutions that have worked for me as a practitioner.

A tale of two cities

My first job as a music teacher was at a private girls' Catholic school situated in the coastal city of Pondicherry in south-east India. It comprised approximately 2000–2250 girls aged 10-17 and was affiliated to the Tamil Nadu state board of education. Though many students came from upper-middle class families, there were also some from impoverished backgrounds. Students in middle school (aged 10–13) had one compulsory 40-minute music period a week. With class sizes ranging from 50–60 students, I taught around 1000 middle school students each week. High-school students (aged 14 and above) had music, dance and drama as part of annual school productions or inter-school competitions, but these rehearsals took place ad-hoc, only when a performance date was approaching. On my first day of work, I had no syllabus to refer to and no lesson notes from the previous teachers. Moreover, I was not aware of any state-wide or nation-wide music curriculum—there was neither at that time, as I later learned. As the mode of instruction was English, the repertoire I selected included English moral value songs and songs from musicals, apart from patriotic songs in Hindi, and Catholic hymns in Tamil and English. I did not include

any Indian classical music in my weekly lessons as I myself am not trained in it. During my 1 1/2 years there as music teacher, I was not accountable for my classroom activities and was not required to submit lesson plans or teacher's notes. However, in 2006, when I returned to work in the same school as a computer programming teacher, I was expected, as were my colleagues teaching other subjects, to plan out my entire academic year, including homework, test portions and lab activities even before the school year started. I was also expected to submit my weekly lesson notes and lesson plans for scrutiny by the principal.

I later moved to a multicultural megacity, Bangalore, situated in the south Indian state of Karnataka where Kannada is the local language. Between 2013 and 2015, apart from my regular job as a piano teacher in an exclusive western music school, I occasionally volunteered teaching general music at a state government-run school for underprivileged minority Muslim girls and boys. This school had 80 to 100 students between the ages of 5 and 13. A practical problem that a teacher could potentially face in India, as I discovered there, is that of language. This particular school was both a religious and linguistic minority school and all subjects were taught in Urdu, a language spoken by Indian Muslims. As a non-Muslim migrant from a different state, I did not speak any Urdu or Kannada at that time. As in my previous school, there was no music syllabus and I was not required to submit lesson plans or lesson notes. Furthermore, the school did not have any music resources and students had no previous exposure to music education of any kind. I was expected to teach the students songs to improve their English as knowledge of English hypothetically opens doors to job opportunities in Indian cities. However, I felt uncomfortable teaching culturally extraneous songs such as "London Bridge is falling down" or "Swanee River" at this school. My efforts to be culturally sensitive, even before I was aware of such a thing as culturally responsive teaching (e.g. Bradley 2015; Fitzpatrick 2012; Ladson-Billings 1995), pushed me to adapt existing songs in an attempt to musically engage students. For instance, I adapted the song "Father Abraham", that I had previously taught at the Catholic school to "Brother Ibrahim" at the Urdu school keeping the same tune, the same actions and the same dose of fun with minor changes in lyrics to be more culturally responsive. I also taught songs in Hindi, a language I can speak, and which is mutually understandable to Urdu speakers. Once I started teaching more culturally appropriate songs, the children responded with immense enthusiasm. As one who dabbled in varied jobs in the first decade of my career, the enthusiastic feedback from these children has helped me home in on my final career choice.

Music education in Indian schools

To try and understand what was expected of me as a music teacher teaching diverse classes I looked into policy documents. Indeed, with hundreds of languages, six major religions, and a wide variety of distinct ethnicities and cultures, modern India is extremely diverse. It is a land of rich and vibrant classical, folk and popular music traditions. Indian classical music can be broadly classified into north Indian *Hindustani music* and south Indian *Carnatic music*. *Villu paatu* of Tamil Nadu, *Zeliang* songs of Nagaland and *Baila* music of the Konkan coast are just a few examples of the numerous folk music traditions that thrive in the forests, deserts, hills and coastal regions of this vast country. Moreover, popular musics, dominated by regional film industries such as *Bollywood* and *Kollywood,* have gained mass appeal over the decades since the introduction of the radio and television into Indian homes. Given this immense musical diversity, the difficulty faced by curriculum developers in creating a national music curriculum is quite understandable, and I was curious about how this was addressed.

Of the 62 members in the Council of Boards of School Education, representing 37 Indian states and union territories, only *three* follow a uniform curriculum across the

country (COBSE 2013). One of them is not aimed at the traditional school environment, but rather at students who wish for a more flexible learning environment, like home-schoolers for instance. The other two national boards, the *Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE)* and the *Indian Certificate of Secondary Education (ICSE)* comprise less than 2% of approximately 1.5 million Indian schools (CBSE 2020; CISCE 2020a; MHRD 2018). The other 98% of schools follow their respective state boards of education. Significantly, it is more likely for an urban private school following the CBSE or ICSE board to actively invest in resources for music education than a rural government-run school following its state board of education, because Indian state government schools typically struggle with funding issues even for basic infrastructure (Sankar 2020).

As of July 2020, the CBSE recommended that its schools follow the *Syllabus of Arts Education* published in 2008 by the National Council of Education Research and Training (NCERT), a government entity that creates educational frameworks for the entire nation. This stand-alone *Syllabus of Arts Education* (NCERT 2008) sets guidelines for visual and performing arts education in Indian schools. Notably, this was the first detailed arts education syllabus I encountered after examining other post-colonial education policies like the Kothari Commission (NCERT 1970) and the Pitroda National Knowledge Commission (Government of India 2009), which only mentioned arts education in passing, if at all.

At the primary school level (ages 6–10), this *Syllabus of Arts Education* (NCERT 2008) acknowledges the diversity of Indian musical traditions and encourages the exposure of students to the music and dance of different regions of India through the visual and performing arts (127–130). The suggestions are flexible and open to interpretation. For middle school (ages 11–13), this syllabus includes recommendations to teach songs from different regions of India and for different community events, in addition to an introduction to Indian classical music, specifically *Hindustani* (131–144). At the primary and middle school level, the syllabus recommends that students have music as a compulsory subject in their weekly schedule (5–6). In high school, students are allowed to choose subjects they wish to study. Music is an option for grades 9–10 (ages 14–15) and comprises *Hindustani classical music* with a few components of *Carnatic classical music* and no reference to community and folk music or world musics (145–152). Students in grades 11–12 (ages 16–17) only have the option of choosing between *Hindustani* and *Carnatic* vocal or solo instrumental music (153-164). Despite the existence of this *Syllabus of Arts Education* since 2008, none of the dozens of school principals, music teachers and other subject teachers working in CBSE and non-CBSE schools I have spoken to have been aware of its existence. Significantly, very few students actually take music as a subject for their final school year exams (See Table 1).

Subject	Number of students who took the exam
English	1,119,576
Physical Education	660,892
Chemistry	622,299
Physics	618,494
Mathematics	552,131
Economics	399,939
Biology	250,189
Hindustani Vocal	55,626
Hindustani Instrumental	3,977
Carnatic vocal	35
Carnatic instrumental	5

Table 1. Popular subjects in comparison with four music subjects chosen by 12th grade CBSE students in 2018 (CBSE 2018).

The other national board, ICSE, has its own music syllabus which has more specific recommendations in terms of varied musical activities and teaching methodologies. Although it recommends introducing the written notation systems of *Hindustani, Carnatic* and *western classical* musics early on in primary school, the general vocabulary used in the syllabus up to middle school leans towards *Hindustani* music (CISCE 2020b; 2020c). In high school, apart from optional components of *Hindustani* or *Carnatic* music, students may choose *western classical* music as a separate optional subject (CISCE 2020d).

Two musicians with over 25 years' teaching experience between them, reviewed both the aforementioned syllabi on my request in 2019, and commented that they could not understand some of the terms used due to a *Hindustani* bias in vocabulary. One of them was a *Carnatic* musician and the other a western classical musician. They also expressed that the high school syllabus for both CBSE and ICSE is generally over-ambitious, especially considering that most schools typically have one 35 to 45-minute music period a week, if at all.

After examining these nation-wide curricula, I turned my attention to the state boards of the two schools in which I had previously taught. The official curricula of the states of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka make no reference to music of any kind for primary and middle school students (Government of Karnataka 2019a, Government of Tamil Nadu 2020). Instead, in Tamil Nadu, students' artistic pursuits are encouraged through participation in inter-school festivals or competitions (Government of Tamil Nadu 2020, 77). Furthermore the only reference to music, specifically *Carnatic* music, in the Tamil Nadu high school curriculum is its inclusion, not in the mainstream syllabus, but as part of *Technical Exams*, alongside other vocational or technical skills such as embroidery, tailoring and handloom weaving (Directorate of Government Examinations, Tamil Nadu 2017). In Karnataka, both *Hindustani* and *Carnatic* musics are available as optional subjects for students above the age of 13 (Government of Karnataka 2019b). In the absence of official curricula, especially in the primary and middle-school level, music teachers in these states' schools are thus likely teaching their own personalized content, just as I have been doing since 2003.

Discussion

In studying the above policies, I observed a paradox. Considering India's musical diversity, and the focus of the available syllabi, it is worth noting that both forms of Indian classical music are rooted in institutional communalism and casteism (Katz 2012; Terada 2000, 461; The Economist 2018) and, in being elitist, do not represent the musical traditions of the majority of Indians. Barton (2018) states that without acknowledging differences in music learning and teaching environments, we risk providing an education that privileges some traditions over others and this could potentially disadvantage some students. Koza (2001, 242) notes that "the music of a particular culture may sound alien and incomprehensible to an uninitiated listener" and I believe that Indian and western classical music may sound alien to a large number of Indian students.

In the case of south-Indian *Carnatic music* at least, right-wing Hindu groups have protested against non-Hindus practicing the art form and also against so-called 'high-caste' Hindu Carnatic musicians singing songs of non-Hindu faiths (The Economist 2018). The 2018 Tamil film "Sarvam Thaalam Maiyam" (Menon & Menon 2018) candidly explores this prejudice in the Carnatic concert circuit. It is quite contradictory, then, to have these two art forms dominating the current official music syllabus for high school students in immensely diverse Indian schools.

Music teacher education in India

Apart from trying to understand music education policy, I was also curious to know how other musicians with little to no teacher training like myself coped with classroom issues and what options were there at the university level. Through my aforementioned observations, I came to realize that the current policy does a disservice to not only the students but also to skilled music teachers who are trained in non-classical styles (Indian or western), and/or who are unequipped to handle multicultural classrooms. One highly accomplished, award-winning western classical guitarist admitted to me that he had no clue what to do in his kindergarten class. He was from a state with a different language and culture from his workplace and so was unaware of the children's songs in the local language or in the urban lingua franca, English. Another well-respected professional Carnatic singer attempted to teach south Indian classical music to her students and met with protest in form of teenagers skipping the music classes because of their lack of interest in that genre. Interestingly, an amateur guitarist with no formal training was considered a popular and competent music teacher among her students and colleagues. Her repertoire was considered fun, varied and age-appropriate while her personality endeared her to her students. Stories like these have motivated me to evaluate the cultural composition of the classroom and decide on the language and genres appropriate for each class before I start to teach. They also highlight the fact that Indian music educators in general are not properly trained to teach multicultural classes using a balanced and inclusive repertoire. This revelation encouraged me to investigate the options available for music teacher training in India.

While looking at *tertiary music education,* I considered universities and private unaffiliated music institutes in the southern Indian states of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, with one university situated in the capital, New Delhi. On scrutinizing the music degrees and certifications awarded by these institutions, I observed that there were Bachelor's and Master's degrees in Indian or western classical music performance, history and theory but very few of these degrees included courses in pedagogy, classroom management, teaching methods and materials, Indian folk or popular music (BPK 2018; Christ University 2015; CUTN 2018; KMMC 2019; KSWU 2015; LGCE 2018; Tamilnadu Government Music College, 2020; TBC 2018; University of Delhi 2015). Where courses in, for instance, music pedagogy or educational psychology were available, they were found as part of western classical music degrees only. Recalling that government schools only require music teachers to have a Bachelor's degree in music (more likely, Indian classical music), which rarely includes pedagogy courses, it may be worthwhile to consider either insisting on a *competent teaching degree* as a requirement or at least offering *education courses as electives* to all musicians pursuing a university degree, and not just the western classical musicians. All pre-service teachers should be trained to be accountable for their classroom activities and to teach diverse classes using a varied and inclusive repertoire

Although these music degrees rarely focus on music education, it is worth mentioning that prominent Indian musicians have taken the initiative to set up private institutes (unaffiliated to any university) where music teachers are trained in their own curriculum and assigned to partner schools to teach music. The Bangalore-based Subramaniam Academy of Performing Arts (SaPa), for example, runs a successful 'SaPa in Schools' program (SaPa 2018) where they train music teachers in their own approach and curriculum. Another organization, Rhapsody (Rhapsody Music Education n.d.), based in another megacity, Chennai, similarly trains music teachers to deliver their "Education through Music" initiative across state lines. While these organizations offer music teacher training, they do not offer degrees.

It would be negligent on my part not to touch upon the topic of general teacher education in India in this report. Gupta (2006) observes that teacher education in India

does not teach real world skills as it is based on imported colonial theories of education and posits that the gaps in teacher education in India are largely due to the fact that a) it fails to offer teachers experiences in sociocultural learning; b) the scope of student teaching is too limited and teachers rarely develop an adequate understanding of the challenges of actual classroom teaching, and c) there is a disconnect between colleges of education and actual classrooms. Dyer et al. (2004) also observe that the most pressing need for the entire Indian elementary education system, including the teacher education system, is to become socially inclusive. Teacher education, and by extension, music teacher education, must thus develop not only technical competence and knowledge of subject matter but also sociocultural competence in teachers (Moll & Arnot-Hopffer 2005, 244). In developing these competencies, pre-service music teachers can become, as Froehlich and Smith (2017) suggest, sociologically savvy music educators.

Theoretical framework for cross cultural human development

Having examined music education policy at the school level and music teaching syllabi at the university level, I still struggled to find resources on how to teach in culturally diverse contexts. To help me engage with issues related to multiculturalism and inclusion when planning my diverse music classes in the Indian context, I turned to scholarly works and I found that Dasen and Mishra's (2013, 231) "Integrated theoretical framework for cross cultural human development", as depicted in Figure 1, resonated well with my needs. Fitzpatrick (2012) observes that all students are better served by teaching that takes into account who they are and what they have experienced. Dasen and Mishra (2013) echo her sentiment and propose that the child, who is at the center of the framework, is surrounded by his/her developmental niche which includes among others, the physical and social contexts in which the child lives; the customs and educational practices; and the parental ethno-theories of child development. Leaning on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, this model takes into account the complete environment in which the child resides and in doing so, provides a comforting and contextually familiar learning atmosphere. In attempting to tailor my music classes to this framework, I found myself teaching songs from different parts of India and the world. One diverse fourth grade class in my current school ended up learning songs in at least 10 languages, Indian and foreign, with utmost enthusiasm.

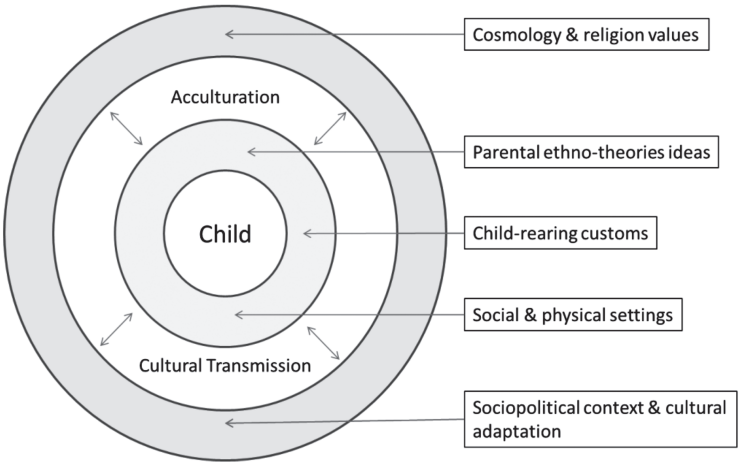

Figure 1. Adapted from Dasen and Mishra's (2013) Integrated theoretical framework for cross cultural human development (232).

Applying the framework

Inspired by culturally relevant pedagogy and the "Integrated theoretical framework for cross cultural human development" (Dasen & Mishra 2013, 231), I have taken a number of steps to develop my teaching, three of which I share here,

Firstly, I have found that maintaining a *database* of all the songs I could teach, has aided in planning my repertoire for the school year. This helps me be flexible and allows me to have a well-balanced and culturally relevant repertoire of popular, folk, classical and world music. This database is a result of decades of making a note of old songs, collecting new songs and organizing them by language, level of difficulty, context, and genre, among others. It is now easy for me to locate a song, for instance, that teaches counting in English to my kindergarten class, or to refer to a song that sixth graders have to sing in Hindi for Independence Day or to have a Ramadan song for a class with Muslim students. Table 2 illus-

	Year planner for Grade 1 in Tamil Nadu			Year planner for Grade 6 in Karnataka		
	Song title	**Language**	**Learning outcomes/ Remarks**	**Song title**	**Language**	**Learning outcomes/ Remarks**
National Holidays	Ek Do, Ek Do	Hindi	Introducing Hindi in a Tamil state	Hind desh ke nivasi	Hindi	Patriotic song
	Oh India, Oh my India	English	Geography of India	Janma karini Bharatam	Malayalam	Patriotic song
	–	–	–	Jogada siri belakinalli	Kannada	Patriotic song
	–	–	–	Aaj hai do Oktober ka din	Hindi	Song about Gandhi
Folk and Community songs	Pongalo Pongal	Tamil	Harvest song	Channapatna channagowda	Kannada	Folk song
	Kalyana samayal sadham	Tamil	Comedic song about a giant that eats up all the food at a wedding	Bhagyada balegara	Kannada	Folk song
	Amma inge va va	Tamil	Song about mothers	Kosari' kosari	Assamese	Harvest song
	We shall overcome/ Honge kamyaab	English / Hindi	Traditional protest anthem	Shamu macha	Manipuri	Elephant song
Religious songs	Shyamale meenakshi	Sanskrit	Popular children's song for Hindu goddess	Amma nanu devarane	Kannada	Fun song about Krishna
	Neerarum	Tamil	Non-denominational prayer song	Ondagi koodi baniri	Kannada	Christmas carol
	Looking for the new moon	English	Fun Ramadan song	Raghupati Raghava raja ram	Hindi	Interfaith devotional
	Jingle bells	English	Fun Christmas song	Chal seva kariye	Hindi	Sikh community service
Miscellaneous	Konji konji pesi	Tamil	Inspiring song about boy and mom	Silver Moon Boat	English/Mandarin	World music
	Boom makaleli	English	Fun circle song	Love you zindagi	Hindi	Inspirational teen pop
	Are you sleeping/ Frere Jacques	English / French	Introducing foreign language	The Coconut song	English/Mandarin	Comedic song
	Bim bam bim bam	Nonsense syllables	Clapping game	Shape of you	Carnatic swaras	Fusion pop

Table 2. Sample year planners for Grade 1 and Grade 6 in different cities.

trates music year planners for two different grades in two different cities that differ in language. Maintaining a similar database is something that I believe would greatly benefit other music teachers throughout their career and could even be started during their undergraduate course. In being flexible and customizable to any context, a well-maintained database can also help feed academic year planners throughout a music teacher's career.

Secondly, as a new teacher, I could not find any publications on Indian music education. A handbook, potentially titled, *The Indian Music Teacher's Handbook*, which aids Indian music teachers in solving practical problems in the classroom, would have been useful to a struggling teacher like me. Content related to effective classroom management, different teaching methodologies, and assessment strategies would have been a great support. Additionally, a glossary of musical terms or notation guides across different Indian musical genres could be included to help teachers engage with students across varied musical traditions.

Whenever I wanted an ensemble to perform at a school event, I needed to ask the students (who took private music lessons outside school) what kind of notation they could understand. I then had to either have them play by ear or write out the same piece of music in different notation systems including writing out letters or numbers for the benefit of students from various musical backgrounds. This has led me to develop an *Integrated Notation System* to notate music that can be read by musicians from different musical backgrounds. Figure 2 and Figure 3 illustrate samples of this notation system that I have occasionally used in my teaching. Apart from standard western notation and guitar chords, there is information that will be useful for a Carnatic musician. The question of whether western notation is needed may arise, but I argue that there are Indian universities that offer bachelor's degrees in western classical music as well and this notation system could be read by any music graduate. *This Integrated Notation System* could potentially be extended or adapted to include other notations as well, such as *Hindustani*, numbers or letter names.

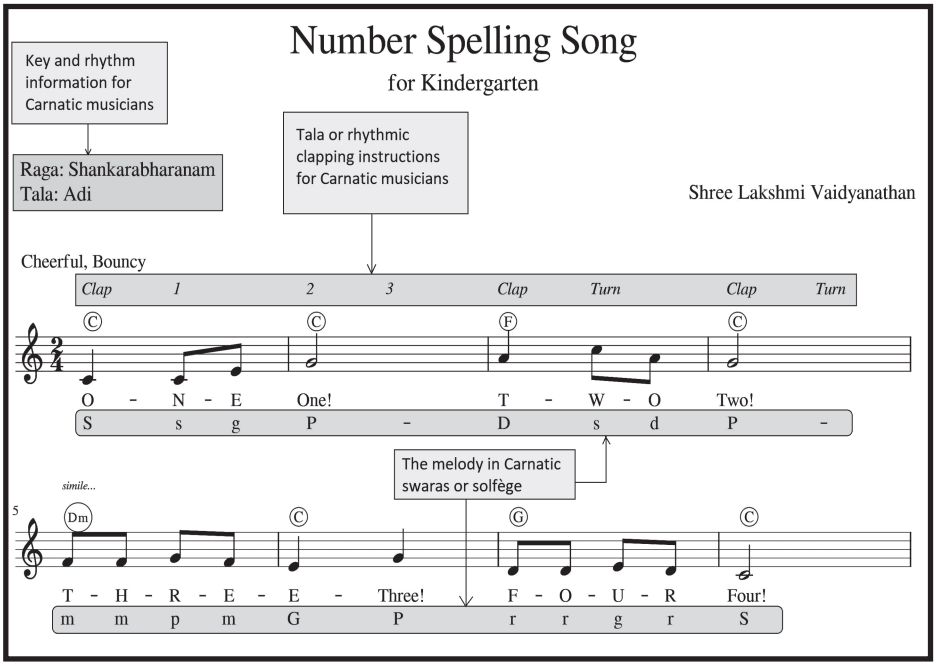

Figure 2. Sample Integrated Notation System depicting single line staff notation, guitar chords and basic Carnatic notation as a single entity.

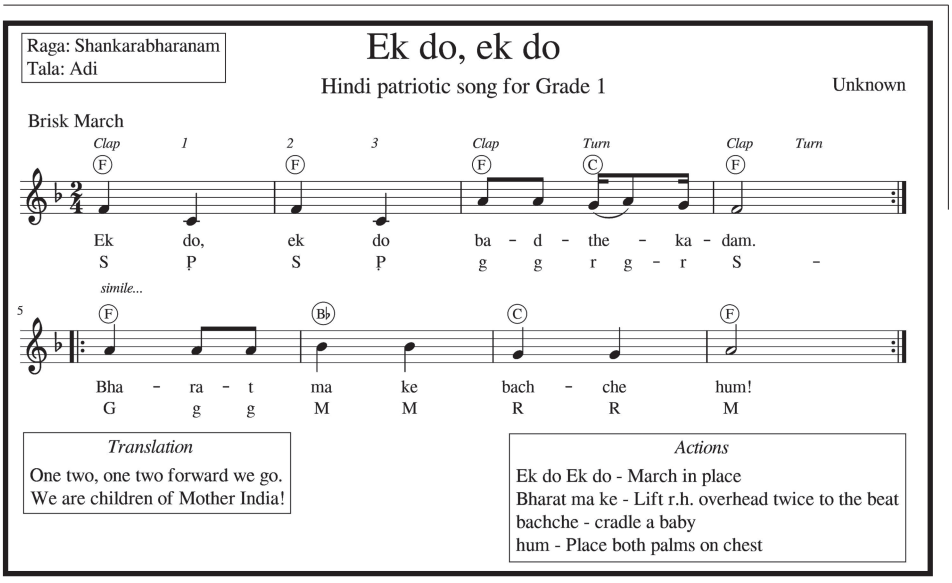

Figure 3. Sample Integrated Notation System with translation and suggested actions.

Finally, apart from constantly gathering new repertoire for my classes to fill my database, I have extensively used *technology* to teach music. Courses in *music technology* could aid in gathering classroom material, broadening their repertoire, in making music, writing out notation as in Figure 2 and Figure 3, and also as a convenient teaching tool. I have used technology to educate students about their own musical cultures as well as those of their peers. I have also used technology to teach songs in languages and genres I am not familiar with for the purpose of being culturally responsive. Mobile phones have now penetrated even rural India (Tenhunen, 2018) and these could potentially be tapped as multicultural music teaching resources in rural and urban classrooms.

Looking into the future

The *National Education Policy 2020* (MHRD 2020) framed by a committee constituted by the Indian Ministry of Human Resource Development was released in late July 2020. Benedict et al. (2005) state that inclusive curricula will ensure wider participation and are more likely to contribute to a more creative and equitable society. Although no new arts education curriculum has been formulated in this policy, leading me to believe that the 2008 *Syllabus of Arts Education* still acts as the reference point for music education, it must be noted that this new education policy stresses upon the inclusion of music not only for early childhood education, but also for higher education, teacher education and as a tool for holistic, equitable, inclusive and culturally relevant education. I await, with cautious optimism, the implementation of this new music education policy.

Some of my previous jobs over the years have included teaching computer programming to school and college students, teaching spoken English to adults wishing to emigrate, amateur freelance orchestration and teaching piano to mostly affluent children. None of these jobs has made me appreciate the idea of multicultural India, as much as my music teaching job has. My curiosity in researching music education policy and insistence in inclusive repertoire not only in my classroom, but also in diverse classrooms all over India is fed by the enthusiasm and positive feedback I receive from my students during each lesson. And for this I will always remain an accidental music teacher. ■

Note

[1] I have lived and worked in the union territory of Pondicherry which is a separate entity from the state of Tamil Nadu. However, for the purposes of this report, all references to Tamil Nadu include Pondicherry as well because, as an enclave, Pondicherry adopts the Tamil Nadu state board of education curriculum for schools.

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Balakrishnan Raghavan

Engaging with the idea of a gurukulam in the 21st century

Introduction

It was with some resistance from family and friends, coupled with some support, two years ago, that I chose the path of the *gurukulam (or Gurukulavasam).* According to Ruckert (2004), a gurukulam is where a student lives with or near the guru and attends to the needs of the rhythm of his/her household, running chores and serving whenever called upon and the music was taught directly through oral repetition and listening intently: hear, repeat, practice, repeat, hear again and practice. Nearly fifty years ago, musician and scholar R. Rangaramanuja Ayyangar (1972) wrote how the gurukulam system had already collapsed around 1900. However, for me the gurukulam was still a possibility and I felt a strong sense of calling towards it. I chose to do it when I was in my twenties, which is considered 'late'. This decision meant giving up and letting go: giving up my cushy business intelligence consulting job in London to return to my home country India, and begin co-living with the family of my octogenarian guru and embrace the idea of *seva* (service) towards my guru; letting go of the fear of uncertainty, and the fear of taking this leap into unchartered waters.

This is a personal narrative of my music learning, my practice, my relationship with my guru and my life in a gurukulam. I achieve this using the idiom of autoethnography. Ellis et al. (2011) defines autoethnography as an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyse personal experience in order to understand cultural experience. Reed-Danahay (1997) described autoethnography as a genre of writing and a research method that connects the personal to the cultural, placing the self within a social context. Ellis (1991) further notes that the aspects of the teacher-student relationship—such as rapport, motivation, and personal emotional experiences—are readily explored through narrative autoethnography built on introspection. I needed a methodological approach to narrate my experience of music learning, placing myself in the cultural and social context of the gurukulam; to narrate the way of life, my music, our shared space (physical and the emotional space of mine and my guru's), the immersion, the teacher-student relationship, the ideas of the current world in dialogue with a value system of yester years, the moments of harmony and of discord etc. Autoethnography as an approach suited best to discuss my journey.

The report will cover the meaning of gurukulam, my roots, my journey and how I met my guru. I then elaborate the experience of learning across various axes in the gurukulam and share my thoughts from this ongoing immersive experience.

Gurukulam—A review

Gurukulam was the mode of imparting all forms of education in most of ancient India. Parents would send their children, off to the gurukulam to learn at an early age (8-12 years) for a period of at least 12 years, to live with the guru's family. It is the guru who then decided when the student is ready to leave the gurukulam to lead their independent lives.

According to Ruckert (2004), "In this centuries-old economic system, the guru was a master in a professional guild, and admission to it was an economic guarantee of a

livelihood in music. The years of slowly measured progress and refinement developed attitudes of patience, respect, and humility in the student" (35). Speaking of the sustenance and the location of a gurukulam, Rao (1980) refers to the gurukulam as an institution where the guru was patronized by the kings and that the gurus settled down at one place and were always engaged in teaching, usually to their children and a handful of students.

Ayyangar (1972) notes how the gurukulam system flourished until musicians did not have aspirations for a career as public performers and, with industrial progress and the rise in population, music was transformed into a market product instead of it being a dedication to the intangible higher values of life. Though his claim is partly true, we have had very many musicians (post 1900) who learnt in gurukulams with formidable gurus and became teachers and performers of repute. Vasudevachar(1955) writes about his experiences, of being in the gurukulam of his guru with his fellow students. This is a rare documentation of how the system functioned in South India in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Many musicians born in the first half of the 20th century have shared their experiences of their gurukulam in personal interviews (e.g. Kumar 1986).

However, in the last four-to-five decades, we rarely have instances of students living with their gurus at their homes. It had dwindled down quite drastically. The gurukulam became more an exception than a rule. In the current decade, I do not know of anyone who's left their family to live and learn with a guru at their home. *Carnatic* (South Indian Classical) music learning for the last few decades has mostly been via private tuition with gurus at their homes, over the internet, or institutions that impart lessons after regular school hours. Tuition tends to be given in group classes in the introductory years, gradually becoming one-to-one classes. In a few cases tuition is always one-to-one. The classes are generally one hour long and biweekly. Ruckert (2004) contrasts this kind of learning with that of traditional gurukulam, where the teacher had complete control and responsibility over the student's time, pedagogy and daily regimen. However, now in the absence of gurukulam, the economic power resides with the student, their freedom to spend extended time with the teacher may be reduced to one lesson a week and the student would probably spend more time with recorded music.

According to Weidman (2006), "Gurukulavasam ['Living with the guru's family'] represents the pre-modern, a mode that existed before the differentiation of time into concerts and music lessons, before the differentiation of music into beginner and advanced lessons, before the separation of music from life in general. Gurukulavasam is by definition incompatible with modernity, with the busy life of the city, and with technology" (246).

In early twentieth century residential performing arts institutions- *Shantiniketan* in West Bengal (1901), *Kalamandalam* in Kerala (1930) and *Kalakshetra* in Tamil Nadu (1936) were set up by visionaries who believed in the ancient wisdom of the gurukulam system amidst the growing threat of the modern educational culture introduced by the British. These residential institutions have many gurus teaching various art forms ranging from painting to dance to music etc. Critiquing the current scenario in such institutions, Kaladharan (2011) observes that the academic inputs here tend to be predictable, cold, and intellectually frozen, while the practical training sessions increasingly become mechanical. He further calls for a return to the roots of the age-old system of tutelage in arts- that is to the traditional gurukulam. Similar residential Institutions catering to North Indian Classical music (ITC-SRA, the *Dhrupad Kendra* etc.) were established in the latter part of the 20th century, though no such institution exists exclusively for Carnatic Music.

The gurukulam I speak of is a relic of the past. It is household-centric rather than institution-centric. After about 60 years of Ayyangar's claim (1972), it did become a reality. The idea of gurukulam had indeed collapsed.

My roots and my journey

As a restless, bespectacled ten-year-old, I stumbled upon a Carnatic music concert at a temple festival, following which I asked my parents to let me learn 'that' music. Before I knew it, I had finished about ten years of learning. These were bi-weekly classes at my guru's home in the evenings, after school. In most Indian families, unless one belongs to a lineage of artists, music is a hobby and individuals interested in arts still study science, math or accounts, get degrees and jobs, pursuing art or craft in parallel. I did exactly that. I finished my bachelors in Computer Science and accepted a business intelligence consulting job with a UK based firm. The job took me to new cities within and outside of India for work while I continued making music, as a hobby, pursuing it after work hours and on weekends.

Those days, I was in search of a guru to further my musical practice. One summer evening, at an international convention of music, dance and culture in Calcutta, India that I was participating in, I stood among the scores of sweaty students and participants listening to Dr. R. Vedavalli's Carnatic vocal concert.

Dr. R. Vedavalli is a senior performer and scholar of Carnatic Vocal music. Born in 1935 in Mannargudi, Tamil Nadu, she received her training from Madurai Srirangam Iyengar, Mudicondan Venkatarama Iyer and T.Mukta. She is known for her traditional style, combining classicism with erudite scholarship in musicology. A reputed musicologist, stellar performer and a distinguished teacher, she has published her research in numerous journals, taught widely and performed extensively in India and abroad in her performing career of more than six decades. (R.Vedavalli, n.d.)

I was immediately drawn towards her music. My body shut off all other noise around me and I intently listened to her. Everything around me seemed blurred. For those two hours I stood fixated. It looked like she was somehow the only one I could see and the only one I could hear. I remained moved. I wanted to keep listening to that music, engage with it and find out if I could learn from her. This moment felt as if I was getting closer in finding that guru, as the saint composer of Carnatic Music Sri Tyagaraja (18th Century) mentions in his composition Guruleka Etuvanti, that without the enlightening initiation by a guru, none however keen in his intellect can ever blossom into a musician who sings, 'like one inspired' by a divine revelation.

Almost a year later, I requested her to take me as her student and asked if I could do a month-long gurukulam with her at her home in Chennai. She agreed and told me that she expected discipline and devoted practice. I took a month-long sabbatical from work and went to her. The home of Vedavalli *amma* (mother) in Chennai was buzzing with activity: apart from my one-on-one lessons with her, she'd have students, friends, family and visitors who'd come to learn, meet or invite her for a concert, for a workshop or an award or a lecture. This was my first brush with the idea of gurukulam, and I thoroughly enjoyed my month. Though I grew up in a city where Tamil wasn't spoken, Tamil was my mother tongue and Vedavalli amma's as well. This made communication easier. We converse in Tamil and I pepper it with English words which she calls a bane of this generation, which is losing its ability to be able think in one's mother tongue.

After my sabbatical, I would take an overnight train to Chennai from Bangalore for 'weekend' gurukulams. I remember how excited I would be, planning with her over phone what I would learn when I got there. Vedavalli amma and her husband, whom I called *mama,* would wait for me eagerly like grandparents do. In two years, my job took me to London and I continued to learn, albeit inconsistently, over the internet and phone from Vedavalli amma.

The gurukulam begins

While I continued learning remotely from London, I felt a lack of connect in this mode of learning. I felt a void that made me grow fonder of music, of her, and of her music. She was that one person with whom I could learn, unaffected-by the chaos around me, by the hurried pace of life, by the popular trends in classical music and of music all around. Also, given her advancing age, I felt the need to learn from her and be there. I quit my job and within two days and a whole three years of my sabbatical, I moved back into the home of Vedavalli amma and mama in Chennai to pursue full time gurukulam.

When I stepped into the gurukulam I submitted myself to the idea. It meant leading a different, somewhat ascetic, life where Sundays were no different from Mondays. My days revolved around my music learning and my guru's word. Previously, I lived alone, had a busy work schedule; hung out with friends almost every day, dined out almost thrice a week, and had a 'happening' social life. Moving to the gurukulam, to their living room, I needed to find myself and my balance through music and simple rituals through the day: yoga, prayers, temple visits, music lessons, music practice and listening. In contrast to my earlier lifestyle, yoga, temple visits and my healthier food habits were new. Maintaining a diary helped me stay grounded and allowed me to cultivate and voice my thoughts.

Daily life in the gurukulam

In the mornings, at 7:30 a.m. after my yoga, amma draws the *kolam* (floor drawing made from rice flour) while I light the *vilakku* (oil lamp) and incense sticks for the deity. We then offer milk to the deity and make filter coffee, all the while talking about how we had rested, deciding on what to cook for breakfast and discussing how the day is going to pan out etc. Then amma, mama and I take turns with different sections of The Hindu (an English-language daily). Amma and I never miss the daily horoscope section while mama informs us of the concerts happening in town listed in the engagements section. By now, it's time for the daily local radio Carnatic concert. As we listen, amma shares her opinion of the music we hear. She asks me what I liked and if there's anything I felt could be better. She analyses why a particular phrase is right, and if it adhered to the grammar of the *ragam* (a melodic framework) and why something isn't.

Breakfast happens after this and we sit down to sing. There's no set time for a class to start or end. There have been times when we have gone on for hours, and forgotten to cook, and then eaten late. This continues until we have visitors, other students, phone calls or the occasional vegetable vendor. On the days she has to write an article or give a lecture, she shares her approach to the subject with me as she works. I also transcribe, when required, as she speaks.

During the day, there's the occasional post-lunch nap and a few errands to run like going to the bank, picking up medicines, paying bills and if there's time I sit down for my practice.

Every evening we visit the temple two blocks away from home. After our *pradakshina* (circumambulation), sometimes amma breaks into an impromptu *pasuram* (devotional hymn) in praise of the temple's main deity. The dialogue that ensues between her and the deity through the lyric of the *pasuram* and her musical improvisation is special. One needs to be there to experience it. Once back home, we sing or listen to music or just read before I set the table for dinner.

Learning

My lessons happen in her room as she sits on the wooden chair beside her bed or as she leans against the wall on her bed, while I sit on a straw mat on the floor. She then asks me what I wished to learn. If I have nothing concrete, she breaks into an *alapana* (a melodic

improvisational segment), a pasuram, or a *kriti* (composition). Her approach to teaching is organic and kind. The pace of learning is unhurried.

On occasions when I struggle to sing, even after many repetitions, she checks in with me to see if I am feeling tired or distracted. "Let it pickle. It takes a while for the mind to grasp a few of these things. Let's look at it later" she says. Before I sit to sing she always checks if I am well rested and if I had had food. She tells me about how one of her gurus' gurus would have many students at his home as part of his gurukulam and would only start teaching after having checked that they had all eaten.

A Composition. As we begin lessons, she may ask me if I know any compositions in a ragam, say *mukhari* (one of the many melodic scales). If I don't, she breaks into an alapana in mukhari and asks me to repeat phrases after her. Then she weaves patterns of notes and asks me to repeat them in *akaaram* (a musical phrase rendered with the vowel 'a' as in Amsterdam). Once I am comfortable with the structure of the ragam, she teaches a simple kriti in that ragam. In case, I am familiar with that ragam, I sing the alapana as she guides me and we move to the kriti. She explains the meaning of the kriti, the nuances, the deity it's being sung to, the temple it's connected with and the composer and shares anecdotes from when she learned it or how it was sung before, if it had changed and why. While learning a composition in *malahari* (a melodic scale), she mentions how the singing of it has changed over the last century to make it simpler and demonstrates how it should be sung. The scale has the lower variety of the second note and the lower variety of the fourth note (Ri1 and Ma1). It's now sung by many musicians with the higher variety of the second note and the lower variety of the fourth note (Ri2 and Ma1), because the jump is easier in the second case, as the notes are closer.

When I sing a composition that amma has taught, even the slightest change in structure irks her. She says the composer has "already composed this, you don't meddle with it, the least you could do is to sing it faithfully. There is ample space in the improvisational segments for that. Just listen, repeat and follow." She is as unsparing when she teaches as she is kind at other times. She does not proceed with a composition if I do not get it right. When I struggle with a phrase, she sings it a few times asking me to not sing. She says, "don't think about the phrase or the next phrase or anything. Just repeat. Keep your 'thinking brain' out of this for a while. Just repeat." Then she breaks it into the most basic parts and onwards and upwards from there. I am learning to reproduce music faithfully after listening and taking it into my system in its entirety. I have observed and she agrees, that my ability to listen and reproduce has improved considerably since the day I first came to her.

To improvise. For the improvisational segments, after a few minutes of teaching phrases of a ragam through repetition, she may ask me to sing independently. She may stop me and ask me to start again. If I start, using the same phrase as before, she asks me to instead try all the different ways in which I could start, and vet these different ways for me. This can continue until I exhaust as many as a dozen ways to begin. Following this we discuss what the characteristic phrases of the ragam are, to help me get into the groove of the ragam from the outset, and to help me explore further as I make my journey to its core.

When she encounters students recording classes to go back home and practice, she says "the audio recorder might play it as many times as you want it to, but it wouldn't stop and suggest to you the next aesthetically appropriate phrase or correct you when you're going wrong or help you when you are in doubt. You need a good guru for that."

When singing a composition's *swaraprastharam* (an improvisational segment using solfa syllables bound within time cycles), she guides me in gradually building up the number of cycles I should sing. Then she sets limits within which I should sing. For example, she might ask me to sing a few cycles only between *Sa* (the first of the seven

notes) to *Ma* (the fourth). Using only the notes *Sa, Ri, Ga* and *Ma*, I have to sing all the possible patterns without any repetition, within the framework of the ragam while ensuring it sounds pleasing. She may then gradually extend this idea to other "note windows" (e.g. *Pa* to *Ni:* fifth to seventh note) to cover the complete melodic scale. This approach pushes me to come up with more and more combinations and possibilities for exploring the ragam. She uses similar exercises for other improvisational segments.

While improvising, I am learning to stay in the present; not think, about the next note's embellishment, the next melodic phrase, the next phrase to be improvised, but the present. I am getting there with practice, observation and osmosis. From amma, I have learnt that to improvise is to repeat learnt phrases, then to imitate and then vary the usages within the grammar of the ragam and when enough of that happens the improvisational phrase just arrives. Amma often says that improvisation in this music only happens when you are not consciously thinking about the next phrase, but when it comes to you without forcing it.

To perform. Sitting behind amma, accompanying her on the *tambura* (a fretless Indian lute used as drone) in her concerts is a delightful experience. From close quarters you see how a deeply spiritual musician like her enlivens the concert singing from her heart for the divine. The adherence to tradition, the elements of surprise, impromptu variations and musical play that ensue between her and the other accompanying musicians is a master-class in performance. However, a persistent question of mine concerns the need for a 'performance'. Amma always tells me that she is not singing for anyone but the divine and this for me shifted the idea performance. I realized, with inputs from another disciple of hers, that performance does not only mean performing on a stage for an audience. It has dimensions beyond this. A musical piece by itself even if sung in a prayer room of a home or at a temple is performative. By performative, I mean it is more an act than the text/piece of music, it is not mere reproduction; it is a retelling of history in a certain way. When I, in the 21st century, am engaging with poetry and music handed down to me from my guru and their guru and so on tracing it back to the composer a few hundred years ago, who probably sang it at a temple for his/her God, this itself is performative.

What does it mean for someone today to sing the poetry and music of a composer form the 18th century? Why do we sing it, what do we make of it, do we assume the role of a devotee, do we embody the composer or are we an admirer of theirs or are we a vessel that's transmitting community knowledge over the centuries? If we are indeed singing for the divine, why place it on stage and sing it in front of an audience? We might as well sing it at home, within the precincts of the prayer room. I am still having conversations with amma and this quest is a work in progress.

While music happens—snippets of other learning

Language. Initially in the gurukulam, I would notate the compositions in English using diacritical marks. Over time she has encouraged me to instead write in Tamil (a language that I didn't study in school but at home). As a result I have taken to writing and reading in Tamil comfortably.

To listen. One morning before we sat down to sing, I had to get a few books from upstairs. When I tip-toed back, she was singing the pasuram "*Anjal Anjal Anjal...*" (Oh Lord! Please rush to my side, protect me with assurances of freedom from fear of the God of death before the noose of death falls on me), eyes closed and tearing up. This moment for me was surreal. I stood outside the room and went in teary eyed once she had finished. Listening to her sing to her God in solitude are some of my most precious moments in the gurukulam. I learn so much just by listening to her sing and improvise. While she's singing, I just sit there in silence with eyes closed trying to take in all that music.

To work with the Tambura. For a concert, we had to change the tambura strings from a G to a C set. It was a 150 year old *thanjavur* tambura (a type of tambura made in Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu), an heirloom that she had had for almost sixty years. Helping her with the pegs, the strings, the tightening, and finally replacing the strings, taught me the skills to work with and tune the tambura perfectly.

Anecdotes from her journey. There isn't one day that goes by without her speaking of her gurus, and how they taught her everything they knew, without withholding. She described how her guru, Venkatarama Iyer would tell her, "Learn all you can. The guru's knowledge is akin to an ocean; a disciple could come with a little bowl or a large tanker. One receives what one can hold, nothing more". Our dinner conversations would be full of stories from her gurus' lives, how she learnt, her interactions with them, her co-artists, her memories of childhood, her first car ride, her first concert abroad, etc. Vedavalli amma learnt with Venkatarama Iyer for twenty-five years in gurukulam until he passed away in 1975. In that period, each day, she would go in the morning to his place and would spend the entire day there and get back home in the evening. Her day would include her lessons, lessons of others which she listened to, scholars and musician friends visiting, trips to the recording studio, transcribing his articles for journals, even writing a few, trips to the nearby sweetmeat shop and much more. As she speaks of these memories I realize how similar they were to my experiences. Venkatarama Iyer himself, spent years (late 1800s-early 1900s) in the gurukulam of his gurus. One can trace his lineage to a long chain of gurus to the formidable trinity of carnatic music from the 18th Century.

Life lessons. Apart from learning music, what I see and experience is her sense of perfection in her life as in her music; be it the way the bed is made, the curtains are set, the table is set for dinner, how I sit while singing, what temperature the air-conditioner is at, how wide should the windows be opened for cross-ventilation, how much decoction is to be added to make the perfect coffee, how much curd is enough curd to make curd from milk and so on. The other aspect is the unending aspiration to be better. There's always something that needs to be improved. When I practice, if the sequence was okay, it was the rhythm that was off, once that's satisfactory, the pitching was incorrect, once sequence, rhythm and pitch/tune are okay, it's the words that could have been articulated better, if the pitching, sequence, rhythm and words are sorted, then there's no soul to the singing and this goes on endlessly. The dual aspects of, *theermaanam* (a definitive opinion) and the constant search for a 'better' is what I cherish dearly.

Amma and I have had difficult conversations as well among many happy ones, as any family would. In the first few months of the gurukulam, I kept quiet if my opinion was starkly different to hers. Over the years, however, I came to realize that she knew what I thought even when I kept quiet. Gurus, I believe, like mothers, always know. In a recent conversation I finally put my fears at bay and told her that from then on, I would frankly share what I felt. Sometimes, doing so does lead to an uncomfortable atmosphere, but we do get past that. As she says, there's a sense of power in saying the truth. I have realized now that it trumps all fears and feelings.

To live with the gaze of the guru. Everything matters: the way I sit, I stand, I move, I behave, I talk, and I sing. I am observed in the gurukulam at all times, both while making music and otherwise. This is a dimension of the gurukulam I am learning to adapt to. Learning happens while I am fully aware of my body, through which the music in transmitted. On the one hand, I feel fortunate to have this gaze because my music is carefully heard, crafted, and checked for blemishes at all times. On the other, I feel that the fear of being heard adds a layer of restraint to it. In the kitchen when I hum while we are cooking together, or when I am casually singing in another room, as long as the music is correct she is silent. If I go wrong, however, she corrects me. Quite often, I find myself humming while doing the chores, instead of sitting down with the tambura and singing as

it is meant to be done. I suspect this stems from the fact that I am scared of going wrong and hide behind the veil of casual singing when she's around. However, when I find myself alone, without an external ear, I sing without the fear of making mistakes, without the filter of a listener being there, without crafting my music with the intention of it to be heard, but with an intent that it is to be sung. I struggle to confront and make peace with this aspect of the gurukulam. I have discussed this with amma and am working towards options to resolve this.

Final thoughts

My two years in the gurukulam and six years of learning with amma has left me pondering about two major questions. One is to understand, the purpose of making music and performance. The other is to make sense of modernity and tradition in amma's *Vazhi* (way/path) of music and what does it mean for me and my music.

Purpose of music making

In Carnatic music, as I see it, it is important to learn from one guru and to learn one-on-one with that guru. Learning one-on-one allows the guru to clearly see and mold the student and his/her music based on his/her character, strengths and capabilities. To have one single guru means consistency of musical thought across generations in all aspects of music and musical motivations, continuity of lineage, and an unflinching adherence to the shared idea of *Sangita dharma* (duty towards music) of that lineage. Though my guru learnt from more than one guru, she spent most time with Venkatarama Iyer and her style, aesthetics and the purpose of music have strong imprints of his. I feel it is about being absorbed in the guru and the gurukulam for many years, in their daily lives, in all of what they do, to observe, to learn, to imbibe and to embody the guru. When someone who has done this, sings, it reminds us of the guru, not in the way of imitation, but it feels as if it comes from the same place. Speaking to her about this, I infer that it happens when the *uddesam* (purpose) of music is identical, and once you get there, you identify with the guru and their guru and a long lineage of guru-disciple relationships. I am exploring my purpose of making music and performance through these ideas.

Discussing the purpose of performing to an audience and the need to sound good, she once mentioned that what I sing must be an offering to the divine and must sound pleasing to me, and if it is this that determines my music, I do not need to worry about people. She added that I should be cautious not to lose myself in my voice but to lose myself to the melody that I sing, while being conscious and in control. Echoing the same idea many decades ago, Coomaraswamy (1917) shares

> *The Indian audience listens rather to the song than to the singing of the song: those who are musical, perfect the rendering of the song by the force of their own imagination and emotion. Under these conditions the actual music is better heard than where the sensuous perfection of the voice is made a sine qua non: precisely as the best sculpture is primitive rather than suave, and we prefer conviction to prettiness* (164).

For example, I am learning to appreciate and enjoy the *kalyani* (a melodic scale) that I sing, not the kalyani in my voice. While singing, it's been a challenge to remain in this realm of singing, balancing both, being in control and letting go. I am slowly learning to give up my fascination with my voice and appreciating the song when I'm singing it and not the song in-my-voice. This for me has been a good starting point to find my purpose in music, which is to be true to the melodic scale.

Modernity and tradition

In Amma's music what astonishes me is her strict adherence to tradition and to her gurus' word. She unflinchingly follows it to the dot and has been at it for the last six decades of her musical career. I often wonder how, one is able to uphold a certain value system though it is extremely difficult to keep up with the changing times. I think it stems from her implicit faith in her guru's word, the quest to be better, her practice and the 'clarity of thought' in why she does what she does. Amma's music to me, is grounded, in tradition and the routine of carnatic music, follows the rules of the grammar of this music, infuses variation within that context and leaps into a flurry of creative genius. I believe this is modern music in the way it accesses tradition and creates newness from within it. Her music to me is both traditional and modern. Equipped with this understanding, I am currently exploring what modernity and tradition means to me and my music.

Where am I?

Once during a lesson, when I was on the verge of giving up she told me that this music was difficult, difficult for her to teach and for me to learn. According to her, what I needed was to keep trying and to believe that I would get it right. That I had spent almost fourteen years in the typical educational system for me to be considered 'qualified'. She would tell me that one needed to dedicate such time to be good. When we reflect on this during evening tea conversations, I often express regret for not having come to live and study with her earlier. While she agrees, she adds "we can't go back in time. Let us make the best of the time I've got. As long as I'm alive, I'll try and teach you as much as I can."

These two years for me have been extremely enriching and life changing. I feel a strange sense of satisfaction and peace that for the first time in my life, I am doing music fulltime and in gurukulam. And to do it with such a wonderful teacher is a blessing indeed. She has been instrumental in making me the musician I am and inspires me to be a better one every day. Even as I write this, we are having a conversation about what I am writing this and why. With her, I can, be candid, ask any questions I have, watch movies with her, make jokes, discuss the meaning of life with her, teach her to use the smart phone etc. some of these would be unthinkable in her times. The bond I have developed with her and her family is special and she is as good as a mother to me now. I am glad I took a step back, away from the weekly/monthly classes, giving it all of me patiently waiting for the music to shift.

As a person I have changed and continue to change. I speak less, listen more. Read more, write less. I also doubt if I can ever return to the life I came from. ■

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Music for Social Impact: An overview of context, policy and activity in four countries, Belgium, Colombia, Finland, and the UK

Introduction

Recent decades have seen the growth of a new area of the global music industry (i.e. a field in which musicians can gain sustainable employment). In addition to time-honoured practices such as performing, recording, composing, arranging, and teaching, there is now a growing and thriving sub-sector characterised by its social focus. Trained musicians work with volunteer groups of individuals of varied levels of prior musical skill and experience in pursuit of outcomes which go beyond the purely musical.

The intended outcome is a musical activity (often a performance, composition, or recording) which is artistically and aesthetically valued by those taking part and other stakeholders. We find the concept of "musicking" (Small 1998) usefully inclusive as an indication of the variety of musical activities that could be encompassed. However, there is another equally important and indivisible intention, which is to facilitate some significant personal or group effect beyond the achievement of a musically satisfying activity. The type of intended effects is very varied, but range across areas of well-being, inclusion, confidence, empowerment, and co-operation, among others. These outcomes have led to varying characterisations of this work, such as "musical-social work" (Ansdell 2014), "socially engaged music-making" (Grant 2019), and "socially impactful music making" (Devroop 2012). For clarity, we will hereafter in the article refer to this field of practice as SIMM (Socially Impactful Music Making), in line with the recently initiated scholarly association SIMM-platform, which is dedicated to supporting and promoting research into the social impact of making music and is also a co-funder of this research.[2]

This type of non-musical outcome has long been recognised as a consequence of much musical activity (Hallam 2010). What has accelerated in recent years is a shift from these outcomes being welcome by-products to being a key purpose of the activity, to the extent that if these outcomes are not reliably demonstrable, the activity might be said to have failed in its purpose.[3]

This sub-area of the music industry does not have rigidly-defined boundaries, and its manifestations in different parts of the world are tempered by local conditions (political, economic, and cultural). But there is a central core of activities and projects which have become paradigmatic or exemplary, and which have specific and increasingly well-articulated characteristics. These activities have existed over time in different contexts but often somewhat on the margins of the music profession. Recent decades have seen these activities assuming an ever-more central position in the cultural and professional landscape, both in policy and practice.

Here are four examples drawn from different country contexts:

Belgium: **The Ostend Street Orkestra**[4] is an all-inclusive orchestra founded by the organisation Klein Verhaal. It started as a positive artistic response towards the commotion

around a group of homeless people in the coastal town of Ostend in 2014. The orchestra consists of about 25 people of various ages and backgrounds, several of them facing or having faced different challenges in life, and with varied levels of musical skills. The orchestra plays music of any genre, based on improvisation. It is coached by three jazz musicians and performs anywhere from the street to the concert hall. According to its website, the orchestra shows how meeting people leads to resilience and hope, how experiment and improvisation can be liberating, and how music can replace disorder in a city.

Colombia: **Music for Reconciliation**[5] is the name of Fundación Nacional Batuta's largest programme. Through collective music education in choirs and ensembles, it serves around 18,000 children and young people, mainly victims of the internal armed conflict and other highly vulnerable populations, in 131 centres around the country. Batuta was originally inspired by El Sistema and works in co-ordination with the Ministry of Culture's National Music Plan for Peaceful Coexistence. Recent research documents this programme's impact in enabling diverse forms of peacebuilding in vulnerable communities (Rodríguez Sánchez 2013).

Finland: **local, rural community opera**, a specific case being the activity of composer **Pentti Tynkkynen**,[6] who writes operas to be performed by local communities alongside professional musicians. These projects are reported to have "greatly boosted the self-esteem of many of those taking part; they have given people's lives in general extra substance in that they have helped them to overcome shyness or a poor self-image. They have also strengthened the local identity" (Hautsalo 2018).

UK: **Streetwise Opera**[7] is an arts charity for people affected by homelessness. It runs a programme of singing and creative workshops in homeless centres and arts venues. Participants create and perform operas working alongside professional artists. The charity places equal emphasis on artistic excellence and social impact. Through taking part participants "improve their wellbeing and build their social networks".

The people who work in SIMM projects have one thing in common: they are accomplished musicians. Many have formal training and qualifications in music. Some may have additional qualifications, in social work, music therapy, or education, but many do not. Many musicians pursuing social impact have thus received little or no targeted, formal training for the social elements of their work, and this is one of the aspects that makes this area of work distinctive, and—to some—problematic (Elliott 2012).

Although there can be some fruitful overlaps and comparisons, the scope of our study considers music therapy and music education to have somewhat different contexts and prerogatives, which place them adjacent, rather than central, to this area of work. Music therapists belong to a sub-clinical profession with a defined path of training and qualification, and whose numbers, relative to the number of accomplished musicians as a whole, are very small. Much of their work takes place with individuals in clinical settings, and the level of improvement in artistry or skill of the client/patient is very much a secondary consideration to individual non-musical outcomes (Odell-Miller 2016).

The great majority of qualified music educators, meanwhile, work primarily in classroom settings as contributors to the general education of children who are receiving a state-mandated curriculum (Biesta 2015). Children are not volunteers in these contexts, and educators often deliver a curriculum which emphasises attainment of musical skill and knowledge above social outcomes (even if social outcomes may also be sought and occur). We therefore consider these activities to be close to but distinct from SIMM, in which musical and non-musical outcomes are generally held in approximate balance, field-specific training and qualifications are not the norm internationally, and the coalescence of knowledge and practice into a well-defined field is at a much earlier stage.[8] Some music therapists and music educators may work in SIMM activities, and some SIMM work may be almost indistinguishable from music education, but we would argue that this does not

subsume this distinct field of activity into either domain. Similarly, there is considerable overlap between SIMM and community music (Higgins 2012), but the former field is more varied and includes projects that would not normally be considered part of the latter (e.g. focused on classical music performance, delivered by major cultural institutions, with tens of thousands of participants).

Much of the research that exists on this profession has focused on individual SIMM initiatives and the specific outcomes that these projects aspire to fulfil. Our aim in this project is to look at the bigger picture. A global overview of an opportunity sample of some 100 SIMM projects worldwide (Sloboda 2018) identified a wide range of constituencies and outcomes, but did not attempt to relate this range to specific national contexts. Here we focus on the national environments and contexts in which such initiatives operate and by which they are sustained. We outline the scope and variety of work going on in four countries, drawing out similarities and contrasts and exploring in more detail how they may be connected to the specific national environments.

This paper summarises outcomes of the first phase of an international collaborative project, "Music for Social Impact: Practitioners' work, contexts, and beliefs", which began in January 2020 and runs for three years. The aim of the research is to undertake a systematic in-depth analysis of SIMM practitioners, exploring how their backgrounds, training, and beliefs affect the way they carry out their work and assess and improve its effectiveness. Practitioners' own understanding of the social impact of their work is to be examined, identifying factors that help or hinder this appreciation. Through a context-sensitive understanding of incentives and pressures experienced by practitioners, this research aims to provide insights for:

- Training—how to support the development of resilient but reflective practitioners;
- Commissioning and funding—how to support monitoring and evaluation which allows for, and learns from, experimentation and failure;
- Creative development of best practice—through enhanced opportunities and frameworks for interprofessional knowledge exchange.

Aims and methods for inquiry

The aim of this article is to provide a preliminary scoping and characterise the sociocultural and policy contexts that motivate SIMM activity. Its role within the larger research project is to provide a foundation and enable an informed selection for the next phase (in-depth research on practitioners), and to identify the main points along which to structure systematic comparison. Country sections are compiled to address the following questions (not necessarily in this order):

1. What target groups are prominent in the activity?
2. How is the work delivered?
3. What kind of outcomes are prioritised? To what extent are social objectives implicit or explicit?
4. How is such work funded?
5. What types of occupational contexts exist?

These questions were addressed through documentary research conducted between February and May 2020.[9] Exploratory non-exhaustive inventories of projects, organisations or activities were compiled and populated with data from each of the countries involved in the study (Belgium, Colombia, Finland and UK). These projects, organisations or activities met the following criteria:

1. Participants actively participate in music making activities and/or generate musical outputs, often through goal-directed learning activities;[10]
2. Activities are intended to help participants (e.g. vulnerable populations) to achieve specific social goals such as inclusion, empowerment, community building, activism, or citizenship;[11]
3. Activities employ professional, trained or experienced musicians as facilitators, teachers, or trainers;
4. Activities are currently running or have operated for a significant period during the last five years (i.e. since 2015).

The main data sources included websites of SIMM organisations and individual projects, policy documents, activity reports and other relevant public domain information, supplemented by the expertise and contacts of the research team and project advisors.[12] Specific methods of enquiry, and a more detailed description of the means that were available to gather information in each country case, are outlined in the sections below.

It is important to note that the country contexts taken into analysis are characterised by political, social, cultural and economic specificities, both historically and currently. Demographics and growth factors are diverse, and populations are differently distributed in urban, suburban and rural areas. Socio-economic strata and ethnocultural traits of the population are equally different, as are the ways in which these elements are recognised in public debate and by governments. Some basic country statistics are given in Table 1. Accordingly, concepts such as inclusion or cultural diversity, though globally acknowledged, have different meanings in different contexts. Relevant institutions, the public and private funding system, and the cultural policies underlying the development of SIMM activities are strongly heterogeneous in both structural and ideological terms; they function in different ways and are animated by distinct ideas of culture and philosophies of social action. Such diversified and variable factors have a significant impact on the way SIMM activity is funded, designed and delivered, and on the issues it aims to address and the social groups involved, be they practitioners or recipients. Given such a level of heterogeneity, defining common categories for data collection and analysis would have not allowed for an accurate rendering of the specificities of each country. For this reason, many of the terms and categories adopted and discussed below are country-specific or, when aimed at covering all cases, they are simplified and broadly generalised (e.g. the identification of participants by age group).

Artistic practices as gateway to cultural democracy and social development: SIMM activities in Belgium

Belgium is a densely populated and relatively small country in Western Europe. Legally, Belgium is a sovereign state and a federal constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system. Its institutional organisation is complex. It is divided into three highly autonomous regions: the Dutch-speaking Flemish Region in the north, which constitutes about 60 percent of the population, the French-speaking Wallonia in the south comprising about 40 percent of the population, and the bilingual Brussels-Capital Region in the middle.[13] Belgium's linguistic diversity and related political conflicts are reflected in its political history and complex system of governance, made up of as much as six different governments (Pateman & Elliot 2006).

Since the start of autonomous cultural policy for each regional government in the 1970s, 'cultural centres' spread throughout the country, and the arts developed more and more professionally. It then became clear that large groups of people—for example, people living in poverty, refugees, immigrants, people with a disability—were barely reached by

Belgium[14]	
Government:	Federal constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system.
Population:	11,492,641 (2020).
Territory:	30,689 km2.
Density:	383/km2.
Age structure:	U18: 20.12%; 18-64: 60.7%; 65+: 19.18% (2020).
Tot. fertility rate:	1.71 (2020).
GDP per capita:	$48,327 (World Bank, 2018).
Key facts:	Immigration is the main driver for population growth. Four language areas: Flemish (Dutch), French, German and bilingual Flemish/French in Brussels. Cultural and education policies fall under the independent jurisdiction of language communities.
Colombia[15]	
Government:	Unitarian constitutional presidential republic.
Population:	48,258,494 (2018).
Territory:	1.141.749 km2.
Density:	44/km2 (2018).
Age structure:	0-14: 22.6%; 15-65: 68.2%; 65+: 9.1% (2018).
Tot. fertility rate:	1.8 (2018).
GDP per capita:	$6,667.8 (2018).
Key facts:	13.7% of population are ethnic minorities (mostly Afro-Colombian and indigenous); 18.7% of population are victims of the internal armed conflict.
Finland[16]	
Government:	Parliamentary republic.
Population:	5,525,292 (2019).
Territory:	338,465 km2.
Density:	18.2/km2 (land km2).
Age structure:	0-14: 15.8%; 15-64: 62.0%; 65-: 22.3% (2019).
Tot. fertility rate:	1.41 (2018).
GDP per capita:	$50,175 (World Bank, 2018)
Key facts:	Share of people of foreign background is growing and is currently 7.7%. The share of foreign language speakers is 7.5%.
UK[17]	
Government:	Unitary parliamentary constitutional monarchy (four constituent countries: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland).
Population:	66,435,550 (2018).
Territory:	242,495 km2.
Density:	273.9/km2.
Age structure:	U16: 19.0%; 16-64: 62.7%; 65+: 18.3% (2018).
Tot. fertility rate:	1.74 (2017).
GDP per capita:	$42,962 (World Bank, 2018).
Key facts:	9.3% of non-nationals (2018); immigration is the main driver for population growth. Ethnicity (2011): White: 87.17%; Asian/Asian British: 6.92%; Black/Black British: 3.01%; British Mixed: 1.98%.

Table 1. Key country data for each country in the study.

any artistic or cultural activity funded by the government (Callier, Hanquinet, Guérin & Genard 2012). This was a tendency that could be seen in many other European countries as well (Laaksonen 2005). In the early 1990s two different things happened which ultimately led to a different approach in cultural policy in Belgium. Firstly, the extreme-right wing political party gained a major victory in one of the main cities; and secondly, an annual poverty report highlighted cultural participation as a main theme and stated that people in poverty feel more deprived because of their exclusion from social and cultural participation than because of a lack of material things (Koning Boudewijnstichting 1994). Both events, although unrelated, initiated a chain reaction of changes. In response to the political victory of the extreme right, new organisations arose exploring the relation between culture and democracy in general and, more specifically, the right to culture for immigrant communities (Vanderwaeren 2014). A renewed policy discourse put the spotlight on the cultural participation of disadvantaged groups, and numerous organisations worked simultaneously to enact a big shift from cultural dissemination (a one-way street) to cultural participation (a reciprocal influence between people and cultural organisations of all kinds). This shift is closely related to the distinction between "democratization of culture" and "cultural democracy" (Evrard 1997).

As a result, a rise of socially oriented arts (including SIMM) projects can be observed since the mid-1990s. An important enabling role was played by a private fund, which sponsored over 100 new projects all across Belgium "that link an artistic dimension to a process of social integration" (Koning Boudewijnstichting 2000). These projects were named ART.23-projects, referring to article 23 of the Belgian constitution, articulating "the right to culture and social development" for every Belgian citizen.

In the following years, the integration of these new projects in the cultural policy sphere differed between the language communities, with the Brussels-Capital Region as an intersection between the cultural policies of Flanders and Wallonia.

In Flanders, Minister of Culture Bert Anciaux, with his political ambition to "increase cultural competence and broaden cultural participation" (Anciaux 2000a: 23–27), launched an experimental "Regulation for the financial support of socio-artistic projects" (Anciaux 2000b). The term 'socio-artistic projects' was born, and was described as:

> *Low-threshold work, where processes are set up with groups and individuals who are in a situation of (socio-)-cultural deprivation, resulting in cultural inequality, accompanied by expert artists and educational, cultural or social workers, with the aim of promoting the emancipation and integration of target groups and increasing their cultural competence through participation in the arts, whereby the artistic can be both the means and an element of the intended goal.*[18]

A rich field of socio-artistic projects arose throughout Flanders and Brussels (less in Wallonia) and became increasingly integrated into cultural policy. Although not all SIMM projects nowadays will identify themselves with this history of socio-artistic work in Belgium, the majority have their roots in this movement—either ideologically, in terms of the combined objectives of social and artistic ends, or in the working methods that are used, aimed at creating music together with people that are largely excluded from mainstream cultural and artistic practices and events.

Whereas from 2000 to 2006 the Flemish government regarded socio-artistic projects as a special category, from 2006 onwards these projects became part of the Kunstendecreet (a law first adopted in 2004, with several subsequent amendments), though they still had a separate list of assessment criteria and a separate assessment commission. From 2013 onwards the projects were completely integrated into the arts policy framework that specifies participation as one of the key functions arts organisations can choose to address

(Vlaamse Regering 2013). This change meant that artistic criteria were now more important in order to secure funding than in earlier years, and also that conventional music organisations or orchestras increasingly undertook SIMM-activities – reducing the chances for smaller organisations specifically focusing on socio-artistic work to be funded (Hoet 2018ab).

In Wallonia, in contrast, SIMM activities, as part of the broader umbrella of "projets socio-artistiques", became mainly embedded in amateur artistic practices and cultural policies of continuing education aimed at creative development of local communities and opening up the possibility of artistic expression for every citizen. As such, SIMM activities have been part of the work of Centres d'Expression et de Créativité (Centres of Expression and Creativity). A Decree of the Gouvernement de la Communauté française (Government of the French Community), first put in place in 2009 but updated in 2017, identifies these centres as permanent structures organising ateliers (open studios) in different artistic disciplines, with an emphasis on the development of activities in close dialogue with the social, economic and cultural context of targeted populations. Socio-artistic projects are described in this policy document as "a set of creative actions and approaches defined and generally carried out at the level of one or more workshops or the association, and which result in a communicable material or immaterial achievement" (Gouvernement de la Communauté française 2009, 2). SIMM activities also appear in the work of the federations and local associations that promote amateur artistic practices in well-defined disciplines such as choral music, instrumental music and traditional music. Last but not least, SIMM activities are also sometimes linked to the broad network of cultural centres that has existed since the 1970s. More recently their common vision expresses values such as "cultural democracy", "the right to culture", "active participation", and "freedom of artistic expression" (Gouvernement de la Communauté française 2013). The evolution in cultural policy and discourse shows a profound shift in recent thinking and practice of these centres in response to the constitutional "right to culture" (Guérin 2012).

Modest funding and a wide range of occupational contexts

Cultural policy is of great importance to SIMM activities in Belgium, given that the majority of SIMM work is funded by regional and local governments. Organisations carrying out SIMM activities usually only provide names or logos from their funders or partners on their websites, without specifying any details about the amount of money received or how much is spent on a certain project. Government websites indicate information on total funding amounts per organisation. In case of larger arts organisations, it is unclear how much money is actually spent on SIMM work. For organisations specifically focusing on SIMM work, the funding amounts seem to be very modest. Hence, most organisations try to obtain some additional funding via private funds, corporate foundations, and gifts from individuals. In-kind sponsorship, reciprocal aid, and a reliance on volunteers seem to be crucial to keeping the sector going. An additional challenge for organisations focusing on SIMM activities is that they have to lower as many thresholds to participation as possible—for example not requiring a participation fee, covering public transport costs of participants, providing food—in order to enable less privileged people to participate in their projects (Hoet 2018c).

SIMM activities take place within a range of occupational contexts across Belgium. Most SIMM activities, however, seem to be embedded in the arts and cultural sectors. They are usually run by: 1) socio-artistic organisations, which combine social goals with artistic creation, often running several projects reflecting different disciplines in the arts simultaneously; 2) arts and music centres and professional orchestras, which are focused on the presentation of conventional professional performances and tend to host SIMM activities as side projects in collaboration with partner organisations; 3) cultural centres in

close proximity to the local community; or 4) individual musicians or collectives initiating SIMM activities which may result in short-term projects with specific target groups (such as prisoners or elderly people), long-term associations, or non-profit organisations. In addition, SIMM activities take place within contexts such as schools, youth centres, and health organisations.

Artistic, social and educative objectives for 'groups of opportunity'

Although its focus on vulnerable populations may be inherent to the understanding of SIMM work, the target groups at which SIMM activities in Belgium are aimed are not usually displayed prominently on websites of organisations. Rather, target groups are described in indirect and positive ways. A term such as "disadvantaged groups", for instance, is not used; instead one finds kansengroepen (literally translated as "groups of opportunity"). Migrants are described with terms such as "newcomers", "people with different roots", or "people from different horizons". Rather than mentioning any perceived deficits, descriptions of people with a disability or people with psychological or psychiatric difficulties focus on positive qualities.

More often than not, the target group of a project consists of "people living in a certain neighbourhood". Knowledge of such neighbourhoods suggests that these are zones often characterised by low socio-economic conditions, high levels of immigration, or problems of social cohesion. Based on the contexts in which SIMM activities take place—such as a prison, refugee centre, youth care service, hospital, or care home—the target group becomes clear in an indirect way as well.

Importantly, many SIMM activities are explicitly described as all-inclusive: everyone is welcome to participate. The participants of The Ostend Street Orkestra, for instance, are described on their website as "people with different social and musical backgrounds, with or without shelter, newcomers or people who have lived here all their lives, young ones and elderly, people with or without scars, people who do or do not read music"[19]—welcoming all possible target groups.

The outcomes prioritised by SIMM activities in Belgium as framed on websites of organisations could be clustered into three main objectives: artistic, social, and educational. Given the prevalence of funding from the Arts Decree in Flanders, and the arts contexts in which most SIMM activities take place, the emphasis placed on the aim to make high quality art is perhaps not surprising: most funding is granted based on artistic merit. Furthermore, the notion of inclusion—everyone may join in—is usually mentioned, as well as the enrichment of the existing art scene as a result of the special qualities brought by people who do not usually find a place on stage.

Given the inherently social nature of SIMM work, the mentioning of social outcomes was to be expected. However, this element turned out to be less prominently displayed in public-facing materials than anticipated. Aims and outcomes included "providing people with a goal, something fun, meaningful, together with others, leading towards something you can be proud of"; "connecting people while stimulating social and artistic dynamics"; "connecting people in an open society"; "giving people a voice"; "giving people the opportunity to express themselves in a creative way"; "challenging prejudices: diversity can be positive for society"; "working on social competences via music"; and "increasing empowerment and connection". The educational aims mentioned were perhaps the most concrete of objectives: "learning to play a musical instrument"; "learning to sing"; and "getting acquainted with arts and culture".

Rehearsals, open studios and workshops as predominant ways of working and the search for a more inclusive music education

The most prevalent way of delivering SIMM work in Belgium is via rehearsals on a regular basis guided by (professional) musicians leading to a performance. This mode of activity is used for short-term projects; for orchestras or bands running for many years; for music projects running in school contexts; or for recurring events or festivals.

A mode often employed in contexts such as youth centres, cultural centres, and health organisations are open studios: specific time slots each week during which people are welcome to engage in creative activities and express themselves under the supervision of musicians or animators, without having to make any commitment.

Workshops are another mode of activity, often employed in order to bring children and young people who do not have easy access to arts and culture into contact with music (usually classical).

A final mode of activity that can be found is a mixture of different activities: rehearsals, workshops, and chances to perform or record an album. Together these activities or "artistic platforms" are offered to talented musicians who have difficulties finding their place in the established music scene.

Music lessons or classes, more traditional modes of delivery, hardly appear in this context, and this is understandable. Until recently the music education system in Belgium has failed to achieve the goal of giving every child the chance to learn music. Although intentions and legal documents state "equal opportunities", the reality is that children from backgrounds with higher socio-economic status and with Western cultural roots have far higher participation in music education (Bamford 2007). The lack of inclusion in music education has many reasons but one of them certainly has to do with the principles of formal learning to which schools adhere (Wright 2015; De bisschop 2017). In order to address this problem, reflection on pedagogical choices and working methods is necessary. In this respect, SIMM practices often demonstrate what a more inclusive music education could look like, modelling alternative ways of learning. Recently a New Decree for Music Schools in Flanders (Vlaamse Regering 2018) shows some changes in this direction, stimulating group musicianship, creative musicianship and collaborations between music schools and cultural partners in local neighbourhoods.

Note on sources and methodology

The above descriptions of characteristics of SIMM activities in Belgium are based on an investigation of online material, consultation of experts in the field (see endnote 12), and examination of published research on SIMM work. Websites of organisations carrying out SIMM activities were traced via internet searches using Dutch and French keywords, and lists of awarded grants published by governmental and foundation websites were scrutinised. The websites of organisations and projects fulfilling our inclusion criteria (N = 90) were analysed by means of qualitative content analysis: literal descriptions of the characteristics of interest were taken, grouped together, and categorised in accordance with our knowledge of the sociocultural and policy contexts surrounding SIMM activities in Belgium.

The SIMM field in Colombia: Music, cultural diversity and victims of the internal armed conflict

Colombia, a 200-year-old Latin American republic, is a naturally rich and culturally diverse country with over 65 native languages and 100 recognised ethnic groups.[20] Its music practices range from indigenous ritual musics to symphony orchestras and include a complex diversity of rural traditional and urban popular musics. In terms of institutional development and policy, music activities that aim explicitly at social impact are a relatively

recent phenomenon in Colombia. There are antecedents in the form of national state cultural programs since the 1970s and 1980s, aimed at highlighting and empowering regional expressive cultural activities (Ochoa 2003) and, since the mid-1990s, creating brass-band schools nationwide (Rojas 2017). However, many traditional musical expressions in Colombia have long histories—sometimes dating back to colonial times—as core aspects of cultural performances and performative practices that serve to build community, assert cultural identities, and stimulate collective action (Birenbaum 2018, Middleton 2018, Miñana 2008, among others).

From an organisational perspective, SIMM work has seen a surge in quantity since the beginning of the new millennium. This increase appears to be related to policy changes that acknowledge music and the arts as social forces and not just a source of aesthetic enjoyment. These changes were given momentum in 1997 by the General Culture Law (397/1997). Having nominally resolved the latest instance of internal armed conflict through a peace agreement with the FARC guerrillas in 2016, Colombia now faces the challenge of maintaining large-scale peace, while political corruption, aggressive global neoliberal policies, drug-trafficking, and poverty threaten to bring the conflict back. In this context, a diverse range of SIMM activities is currently taking place nationwide.

Projects and organisations carrying out this work seem to have been mostly motivated by three intersecting, and often juxtaposed, social tensions: 1) massive poverty; 2) the consequences of violence due to the internal armed conflict; and 3) the historical marginalisation suffered by ethnic minorities and rural communities.

Firstly, poverty indexes in Colombia are very high—at around 27% and extreme poverty at 7% (DANE 2018)—which makes children and young adults particularly vulnerable to a wide range of other social risks. This scenario has motivated, since the last quarter of the 20th century, the creation of programmes to aid the least-privileged population in diverse ways, including cultural programming and other forms of artistic engagement. Among these programmes are several national and municipal initiatives inspired by the Venezuelan program El Sistema; these well-known programmes, such as Fundacion Batuta's Music for Reconciliation program or the Municipal Network of Music Schools in Medellin, collectively reach tens of thousands of children and youth.

Secondly, since the passing of laws for victims of the armed conflict, activities oriented towards catering for their needs have become more prominent, frequently including the creation of music programmes. These activities can be seen as responding to the needs of specific stages identified in Pettan's war/peace continuum (Pettan, 2010): prevention of conflict (during peaceful times), conflict transformation (during conflict times), and post-conflict alleviation (after violent actions have passed).

Thirdly, the claims of strengthened ethnic- and peasant-based social movements since the 1970s were partially responsible for a constitutional reform in 1991, which acknowledged the "pluriethnic and multicultural" condition of the Colombian nation. This paradigmatic change in the idea of "nation" motivated policies oriented towards the recognition, protection, political inclusion, and empowerment of ethnic groups and their cultural expressions, often highlighting musical practices. While these multicultural policies for music are not typically mandated through large programmes, a visible third sector exists, which includes many ethnic-based local and regional organisations.

Priority given to fostering cultural identity and post-conflict reconciliation

Desired social outcomes in this sector generally respond to and directly address the aforementioned conditions that motivate the activities in the first place: poverty, violence, and exclusion of rural and/or ethnic communities. The narratives about outcomes in most activities that were surveyed can be broadly grouped in five categories: 1) cultural, 2) post-conflict, 3) social (other), 4) economic, and 5) individual.

Cultural and post-conflict were, in order, the most frequently mentioned kind of expected outcome in the sample, always accompanied by one or more social goals. Regarding cultural impact, organisations at all levels mention the development or fostering of cultural identity as one of their most relevant expected outcomes. Regional or local ethnic-based organisations, mostly indigenous and Afro-Colombian, tend to list among their goals ideas related to the upholding of cultural diversity, such as the promotion of cultural identities, cultural representation, heritage preservation, intercultural dialogue, or intergenerational dialogue, along with empowerment, participation, inclusion, or recognition. The politicisation of ideas of "ethnicity" and "culture" since the 1970s—music and performance included—became central to the strengthening of ethnic movements and their engagement with globalisation (Restrepo 1997).

Post-conflict-oriented goals concentrate largely on activities that foster diverse forms of reconciliation, which usually means that communities, social groups, or individuals that have been victims of the armed conflict are working towards developing resilience and overcoming the trauma of war, or that former enemies are working together to construct peace and common ground and to rebuild social agreements and bonds. A second form of social impact, less represented in the sample, is the prevention of violence. In this regard, neighbourhood hip-hop schools and rural traditional music programmes, for example, explicitly address the need to keep children and youth engaged in creative and collective activities, to avoid either involvement in gangs or recruitment by illegal armies or drug-trafficking organisations.

Projects explicitly citing social objectives, as well as economic and individual ones (the least frequently represented), tend to be oriented towards children and youth from disadvantaged social contexts, who may not otherwise have access to participation in collective music making activities. In this regard, the most frequently mentioned social aims are generally listed as: collaboration among peers, community cohesion, empowerment, equality, inclusivity, participation, peaceful coexistence, creation of social networks, and provision of a positive social environment. The explicit desire to strengthen collective work, collaboration, organisational capacity, and leadership draws on a long tradition of grassroots associativity, at times tied to larger social movements, something relatively common in Latin America (De Souza Santos and Avritzer 2005). Socioeconomically-oriented goals are sometimes formulated by small cultural businesses and networks, usually in terms of the development of opportunities or entrepreneurship, while intended benefits for individuals appear as personal development, creativity (non-musical), wellbeing, and social awareness.

Local grassroots organisations have a central role in sustaining SIMM activities

In this preliminary examination, some emerging trends have been identified in the kinds of organisational frameworks involved in SIMM activities. SIMM actors and actions can be characterised by their scope—whether they operate at a local, regional, and/or national level—and by what can be called the "locus of agency", defined as the positionality of the agents that are accountable for the intent of these activities, as well as for where core decision-making activities take place (grassroots level, third sector, public institutions, or the private sector). This preliminary analysis shows that slightly more than half of the cases fall into the local/grassroots category, which includes local associations, civic organisations, interest groups, and small charities such as Tumac Foundation or the Familia Ayara Foundation, which have decades of experience in this kind of work. Another important group represented in the sample consists of larger third sector organisations such as foundations, which operate at a district, regional, or national level, and which carry out specialised work in diverse localities, attending hundreds to thousands of beneficiaries, often embracing an El Sistema-like approach. The third group is that of national- and

regional-level institutional programmes such as the National Music Plan for Peaceful Coexistence, whose activities are tied to policies of social development, rounded education, and cultural diversity, among others. A small amount of private sector entities were found, accounted for mostly by small cultural entrepreneurs, who orient their activities towards developing musical products for the national and international independent music industries.

The SIMM activities conducted in these occupational and organisational contexts are funded through a diversity of means, but state support tends to be a core source of funding in many of the cases explored here. Many activities are supported through state institutions at diverse levels: the Ministry of Culture at the national level, regional level Secretaries of Culture, and local City Halls. The third sector is not particularly strong in Colombia, although it has been growing since the mid-2000s (Gómez-Quintero 2014), and it is currently a visible sector supporting this kind of work. Organisations in this sector are mostly national- and regional-level foundations, although some INGOs and multilateral organisations (UN-IOM, for example) also support this work, as well as a few corporate foundations and donations.

A focus on children and young adults, encompassing traditional and popular music as well as classical music

When exploring which groups were the target of SIMM activities in Colombia, complex categories were constructed composed of one or more of the following descriptors: 1) scope (from local/community to national), 2) age group, 3) ethnic affiliation (mostly indigenous or Afro-Colombian), 4) location (rural or urban), 5) socioeconomic vulnerability (marginalisation, victims, low income, extreme poverty, others), 6) diverse abilities, and 7) gender. According to this analysis, SIMM activities in Colombia seem to target specific groups, among which children and young adults are the most prevalent, found in around two-thirds of the sample. Ethnic groups are mentioned as beneficiaries in around 30% of the projects, although mainly in small local organisations rather than national-level programmes. Other salient categories of target groups include a mix and juxtaposition of rural population, socioeconomically vulnerable and marginalised communities, and victims of armed conflict.

Most SIMM activities in Colombia tend to be framed within the music school paradigm, which reveals the importance of education as a core socially transformative action, an idea that transcends this particular field in Colombia. The largest, national-level programmes are oriented towards teaching predominantly Western classical music, mostly for orchestras, bands, and choirs. Nonetheless, around three-quarters of the projects and organizations documented did not focus on classical music, but rather on traditional Colombian musics or popular musics such as hip-hop, reggae, rock, or punk. These music schools may provide space for diverse kinds of musicking, and it is common to see an emphasis on collective and participatory music-making; in some cases importance is placed on the idea of creating frameworks for collective creation, expression, spontaneity, and improvisation, but historically this has been less the case in the larger classical music programs. It is not uncommon for SIMM activities to share space with other artistic fields, as schools frequently house dance or art as well as music and provide a wide range of cultural programming. Music school activities often culminate in public performances by participants, which range from concerts, recitals, parades, and other street performances, to participation in events, festivals, and music competitions.

Note on sources and methodology

Plenty of public information can be found online about SIMM activities in Colombia, even though this is a country where the digital divide still excludes large portions of the

rural population.[21] In this regard, the present scoping may not properly reflect potential SIMM activities taking place in rural areas, where collective musicking traditions abound but also the armed conflict has caused millions of victims. Hence, there is certainly much more taking place than is recorded on the internet. Some websites from the Ministry of Culture contain databases about funded and documented music projects, which were mined to search for activities with explicit social aims. This exploration included funded projects from different national grant programmes as well as established processes related to intangible cultural heritage programmes, registered grassroots music schools, and regional post-conflict programmes. Information was also gathered from state institutions for victims, ex-combatants, and the research and documentation of historical memory. Further information was derived from Google searches with specific social impact descriptors in Spanish[22], which allowed the identification of groups and organisations that carry out this kind of work. Information was also found in academic literature, including some cases analysed in articles, theses, or in the abstracts of papers presented at academic events. In total, for this report, a sample of 92 cases was compiled.

Although these websites (and others of umbrella organisations) often contained descriptions about their activities and their backgrounds, allowing interpretation of their potential relevance, in some cases this information was triangulated with further web searches, sometimes leading to other sources such as Facebook pages, funders' websites reporting on the project, or data from news outlets. This extra data allowed completion of the characterisation of cases that seem to have been active, but with minimal online presence. This database is under construction and, while it aims at being representative, it does not claim to be exhaustive. At the time of this research, travelling restrictions in Colombia due to the Covid-19 pandemic made fieldwork impossible, limiting complementary forms of data gathering that would be necessary for a fuller characterisation of SIMM activities in rural areas.

A first mapping of SIMM activity in Finland, a Northern welfare state facing demographic and sustainability challenges

In European comparison, Finland is a relatively large but sparsely populated country. People are increasingly concentrating in the Southern parts and the biggest urban areas, particularly the metropolitan area (2019: 27%).[23] In some Northern municipalities, the population density is as low as 0.2 (per km^2). The official languages are Finnish (2019: 87%) and Swedish (5%). Additionally, the indigenous Sámi and some other minority languages hold a special status. Between 2000 and 2019, the share of foreign-language speakers increased from 2 to 8 per cent. At one time almost completely Lutheran, the population is diversifying with respect to religion as well. Three quarters (74%) of employed persons work in services and administration, while the share of agriculture and forestry has dropped low (4%). Finland is among the wealthiest countries and has an egalitarian reputation, but income differentials have started to grow in recent years. One in ten Finns (2018: 12%) is living at risk of poverty[24], and women still earn considerably less than men. In 2018, as many as 44 per cent of all household-dwelling units consisted of people living alone. The average age keeps on rising, as does the share of the non-working age population (2019: 38%), especially in distant, rural communities.

Finnish public policies, and cultural policies among them, aim to address these economic, demographic and cultural developments as well as environmental challenges. In its programme the current Government calls for an "inclusive and competent Finland—a socially, economically and ecologically sustainable society" (Finnish Government, 2019). One of the strategic themes is specifically titled "Finland that promotes competence, education, culture and innovation". Direct reference to the arts and culture are rare in the

document, but cultural policies are expected to deliver on all government target areas, such as "Fair, equal, and inclusive Finland". Increasing participation, accessibility and inclusion have for a long time been among the central objectives of Finnish cultural policies (see, Ministry of Education, 2009; Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017). In public policy discourse, engagement with the arts and culture is typically connected to such wider societal targets as improving the welfare of citizens, building social connectedness, revitalising marginalising areas, and boosting creativity and innovativeness.

Application of the arts in the service of society

The idea of capitalising on art and the expertise of artists in other societal sectors, including hospitals, schools, city planning, and business innovation, has spread in Finland during the last few decades. Cross-sectoral collaboration and development schemes have been emphasised, as exemplified by the key project of the government ruling between 2015 and 2019 (Ministry of Education and Culture, no date) to expand arts-based well-being services in the social and health sector. These developments partially reflect the fact that Finland has trained a high number of artists[25], many of whom are not able to earn a living in their chosen field. Hence training courses and new study programmes in the so-called applied uses of art have been established, among them community musician training. At the same time, awareness of social responsibility and interest in social, ethical, and ecological practice are growing among Finnish artists. Climate change, ethnic conflicts, poverty, and famine among other global issues have given artists the impulse to act. The refugee wave in 2015 awakened their social conscience. Many artists initially volunteered to work at reception centres. Increasing inequality and opportunity gaps, discrimination of sexual minorities and nascent racism also provoke artists' concern. Many of them, moreover, find the option of applying their artistic skills in hybrid, embedded work rewarding and fascinating (see, e.g., Abbing 2002).

The current scoping effort shows, not unexpectedly, that the social practice of music appears to be expanding in Finland. The mindset behind SIMM projects varies from the routine application of arts-based methods in non-artistic environments to socially committed music-making with particular constituencies. Despite differences in emphasis, SIMM workers share the belief that music belongs to everyone and has a wide range of beneficial effects. Some SIMM musicians and organisations cherish such concepts as "collaborative art" and "shared authorship". They wish to widen the role of audience from passive attenders to equal producers of art, thus criticising the current division of labour and elitism in the arts. SIMM-minded institutions often intend to change both people's relation to music and their own relation to audiences.

SIMM work in Finland usually draws upon mixed funding sources and a wide network of patrons and stakeholders. The Ministry of Education and Culture and the Arts Promotion Centre Finland which it controls have established special funding instruments for tackling social issues by means of arts and culture (funded from gaming revenues), and many private foundations and charities have followed this model. Also, some smaller foundations specialising in social issues cater to arts-based approaches. An important non-cultural government source for supporting SIMM is The Funding Centre for Social Welfare and Health Organisations (also financed by gaming revenues). Hence SIMM work is often carried out in the form of projects supported by grants from public agencies and private foundations, and the funding comes from both cultural and social budgets. Sponsorship does not seem common, and only a few examples of crowd-funding exist thus far.

The musicians themselves generally play a key role as initiators, fundraisers and managers of SIMM projects, and activist- or charity-minded musicians sometimes work voluntarily. Musicians apply for grants to supply, for instance, rap workshops in schools in

multicultural neighbourhoods. SIMM projects are commissioned by social or cultural institutions or organisations, but even then, the expenses tend to be covered by external grants. Social and cultural associations are also regularly used as platforms for fundraising, and they may function as employers as well. Alternatively, SIMM projects may be carried out by small enterprises owned by the musicians themselves, or by cultural cooperatives that embrace several art forms as well as management services. Many musicians and organisations have developed concepts that are advertised on their websites; these concepts may have been created in projects funded by public or private sources, or as part of training courses and programmes in arts-based services.

At the municipal level, SIMM work—and social art practice in general—is taking root in the social, health, employment and economic development policy agendas. One important base for SIMM work comes from charitable organisations, religious communities, and third-sector associations specialising, for instance, in multicultural work or promoting local music activities. The settlement movement[26], in particular, has long traditions in the application of art in social work. These organisations tend to depend on support from public agencies and foundations. A distinctive Finnish phenomenon is institutions of liberal education[27] that house SIMM-spirited bands, choirs and music theatre groups.

Only a few organisations specialise in SIMM activity in Finland. Among them is the Culture Cooperative Uulu established by a group of ethnomusicologists in the city of Tampere who work with schools, kindergartens, homes for elderly people and other communities, and run publicly or privately funded projects such as "Encounters", where asylum seekers and Finns created and experienced music together. Small topic-based associations are somewhat more common; for instance, Rock Donna works to empower and inspire girls and women through music education. On the whole, many SIMM projects in Finland are attached to charitable NGOs, like the aforementioned settlement movement or religiously-related associations with a strong social policy mission. Immigrant and cultural minority associations frequently employ arts-based methods in their activities.

Workshops and other inclusive, empowering musicking concepts

In project descriptions, the social goal or the target group is not always made explicit, but expressions that are used include "free for all", "open to everybody" and "no prior qualifications or experience are needed". The intended group may be revealed by the locale. SIMM often takes place in institutions such as care homes and day centres for the elderly, schools, child and family protection units, asylum centres, hospitals, rehabilitation clinics, and prisons. Among the prominent target groups are children and young people in socio-economically deprived areas or multicultural neighbourhoods, or with intellectual or developmental disabilities. In an aging society, many projects are directed at elderly people as well, and in recent years, SIMM has been frequently carried out among refugees and immigrants. A lot of participatory musical activities, such as local operas, take place in rural areas without reference to social goals but nevertheless helping to maintain liveability, build up social cohesion, and provide cultural services (see, e.g. Hautsalo 2018; also Mair & Duffy 2018).

In Finland, the common modes of SIMM delivery are workshops, camps and courses, and formats include bands and choirs. As many SIMM employees have training in music pedagogy, the activities may have explicit learning and skill-building goals, but they may also consist of relaxed musicking and jamming. Singalong sessions are a typical form in the day centres and retirement homes for the elderly. Singing in choirs is popular in Finland, and its beneficial effects are widely acknowledged. As said, SIMM is often provided in a hybrid form, for instance, song-writing based on story-collection workshops, which are customised to suit various groups and aims. Rap and song-writing workshops are common in SIMM with young people as well as prisoners.

SIMM projects often address inequality in music activities, including opportunities for music education. Many people and groups are seen as deprived of the pleasures of communal musicking and the social, cognitive, and even physical advantages that it may bring. Sometimes the call for increased accessibility is justified by referring to human and more specifically cultural rights, but gains in wellbeing and connectedness are more commonly used arguments with respect to participatory music. Other projects are created to improve cultural diversity and dialogue, and to increase inclusion, integration, and tolerance. Projects targeted at young people especially aim at formation and strengthening of identity, self-confidence, and self-esteem. In their case it is also seen as crucial to provide meaningful leisure time activity and chances to improve attention span, gain a sense of agency, and build up friendships. Elderly people are seen as threatened by loneliness as well. Physical impacts, such as improved memory and overall brain function, tend to be related to choir singing, though often its main benefits are understood to derive from the sense of being part of a whole.

Quite a lot of communal music making projects aim to enhance encounters between mainstream society and marginalised or minority groups (e.g. "original" and immigrant participants). Projects drawing upon "norm critical" or "liberative music pedagogy" wish to facilitate marginalised groups to express their voice and become visible and heard in society. In Finland, perhaps reflecting the worsening dependency ratio[28], many SIMM projects aim to enhance intergenerational encounters, for instance, through collaboration between old age homes and kindergartens. Such projects may also embrace the idea of transferring cultural heritage across generations (e.g. old children's songs, or local history via story-telling methods) or strengthening bonds within disadvantaged groups (e.g. sisterhood among females of all ages).

Note on sources and methodology

The previous paragraphs draw mainly upon publicly available electronic data sources. The starting point for the data collection were the lists of awarded grants (2013–2019) that the major (and relevant smaller) foundations and the state agencies have published on their websites, including the recipient's name, title of the project and possibly a short description of its aims. First a preliminary record of SIMM projects was created, which was screened through internet searches. When the findings referred to another potential SIMM project, the snowball method was employed. Additionally, the national team's prior knowledge was used, as well as published research on SIMM activities (e.g. Hautsalo, 2018, in press; Koivisto, in press; Laes, 2017; Laes & Westerlund, 2018; Lilja-Viherlampi, 2019; Siljamäki, in press; Thomson, in press). The impression gained by completely unobtrusive methods will be refined in further research by means of consulting SIMM practitioners themselves.

The field of SIMM activity in the UK: A preliminary exploration

In the UK, statutory support for arts activities has increasingly prioritised social outcomes, particularly during and after the New Labour policy period (1997-2010). The music field today involves numerous practitioners who operate in socially oriented artistic projects all over the country and numerous organizations defined by social purpose. Cultural debate has increasingly focused on the application of the arts in different contexts with the aim of achieving a variety of social benefits (Keaney et al. 2007), such as improving health and wellbeing, alleviating social problems and inequalities, challenging marginalisation, and fostering social cohesion. Policy makers, similarly, have recognised that arts and culture can be beneficial in many ways for the individual and the community, and have identified three forms of value (intrinsic, social and economic) pertaining to artistic and cultural experiences (DCMS 2016).

At the same time, the SIMM sector has proliferated within a policy context characterised by the progressive instrumentalisation of the principle of public support to culture and the arts and the increasing domination of the paradigm of the "creative economy" (Schlesinger 2009). Aims or claims of social impact have been criticised by some as a form of instrumentalism: a means for organisations and practitioners to gain legitimation for receiving public funding (Belfiore 2012). Reporting impact, in this perspective, is seen as a way to show the evidence of the return on investment, and thus an imperative that conditions the way projects are designed and implemented (Rimmer 2009). However, some commentators have embraced the evidence agenda and advocated for the funding of arts programmes on the grounds that they can produce positive effects with proportionally limited costs (e.g. Matarasso 1997).

This section provides a brief outline of the intersections between cultural policies, public funding, and the typology and contents of SIMM activity in the UK. The aim is to introduce the principles that create the conditions and motivation for socially oriented music making activities to be designed and implemented, and contribute to shaping their contents and outcomes.

Note on sources and methodology

A considerable amount of data is available online in the UK context to allow for a comprehensive—although not exhaustive—documentary exploration aimed at scoping the range of SIMM activity. It is common for organisations or individual projects to have websites with detailed descriptions of the operating principles and funding structure, presentation of past and present activity, and information on the people involved including practitioners, target groups and other participants. Often, websites also include documents outlining the philosophy and the theories that motivate the project, as well as activity and impact reports.

Three categories of websites were sequentially identified and scrutinised throughout preliminary online research. The first category concerns websites of public bodies such as the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and the arts councils (see the following section). Exploring these sources has allowed the collection of policy papers and activity reports and the identification of a network of partner organisations supporting or implementing SIMM activities. The second category of websites pertains to these partner organisations, and includes large networks or umbrella organisations such as Youth Music, as well as field organisations directly running multiple projects (e.g. Limelight Music, identified on the website of Creative Scotland). Third, websites of field organisations and individual projects were found. Sources within this category resulted from the analysis of databases from network organisations identified in category two and a keyword-based web search. This latter method allowed for a wider range of SIMM activity to be collected within and outside the previously identified networks. The adoption of a bottom-up approach led to network organisations which had not been previously identified, as well as non-public funding bodies such as trusts and foundations.

In the research phase described above, 104 entries including organisations and individual projects were listed in a database designed for arranging retrieved data in sorted categories (e.g. geography, target groups involved, type of funding, etc.). A list of the organisations and projects in the database was subsequently submitted to a selected group of expert informants who were asked to suggest ways to enlarge the list of entries or identify any omissions. Informants included UK-based advisors to the project, members of Guildhall School's Institute for Social Impact Research, project and organisation leaders already in contact with the SIMM-platform, director-level individuals in key funding organisations, and individuals leading or influential in key SIMM hubs or networks. Informant feedback brought the number of entries up to 133.

From policy to practice: Funding, participants and outcomes of SIMM work in the UK

SIMM activity in the UK is significantly dependent on public funding. Subsidies are distributed through government-funded bodies and local councils in the system of multi-level governance that characterises the Westminster model (cf. Bache and Flinders 2004). Contribution from non-public entities such as trusts and foundations, private companies and individual donors is recurrent, although it remains complementary to public funding in most cases. This trend reflects the principle of diversifying funding sources and income streams, one of the key points of cultural policy in Britain. In quantitative terms, the bulk of statutory support to artistic and cultural activity comes from the state-franchised National Lottery and direct government funding (so-called grant-in-aid) to the DCMS. However, given the specific nature and objectives of SIMM activity, organisations and projects can in some cases fall under the funding agenda of the Department for Education. Lottery and grant-in-aid funds are allocated to four non-departmental distributing bodies, one for each constituent country in the UK: Arts Council England, Creative Scotland, Arts Council Wales and Arts Council Northern Ireland. An important role is played by publicly-funded non-profit organisations functioning as support networks to coordinate activities or pool resources for individuals and field organisations. These organisations also issue calls for funding and select projects to be supported, based on the guidelines set by the departments and councils. One of the largest and most active of these non-profit organisations is the National Foundation for Youth Music (more commonly referred to as Youth Music), funded by the Arts Council of England and supporting more than 300 projects every year.

To varying degrees, all bodies involved in the arts and culture funding system have a role in shaping and communicating policy principles to field actors, developing classifications and metrics for the sector, and creating the motivation and opportunity for SIMM activity. DCMS outlines and elaborates the government's priorities into such policy papers as the Culture White Paper published in 2016. Distributing bodies also draft strategy documents and corporate plans, taking into account the specific priorities of devolved governments in the UK.

Data about objectives and outcomes of SIMM activity are largely available on the websites of organisations and individual projects. Indeed, it is common for organisations to explicitly present the scope and expected impact of projects and to produce relevant documentation such as activity and impact reports. In general, the outcomes that are prioritised are in line with those principles and directions highlighted in policy documents, and projects are often articulated within the three value areas highlighted above. The most prominent principle that can be identified, which is reflected in the way outcomes are presented in the documents drafted by SIMM organisations, is the idea that equal access to cultural experiences would improve the health and wellbeing of individuals and communities and foster social inclusion and cohesion. These experiences, it is often remarked, have to be of the highest possible quality, level of creativity and degree of experimentation (Creative Scotland 2014, 18; Arts Council England 2013, 5–7). Principles of inclusivity, access, participation or engagement are generally present on SIMM websites and in the descriptions of objectives and outcomes. However, as is often remarked in recent scholarship, a unique and universally accepted definition of participation is hard to find in policy documents (e.g. Jancovich 2017; Stevenson, Balling & Kann-Rasmussen 2017).

Overall, individual-focused objectives such as improving confidence, creativity or self-esteem are more common than social and collective ones. On the individual plane, the objectives pursued by SIMM projects are framed within the belief that music making is beneficial to personal growth. Significantly, the focus is mainly on the development of non-musical rather than musical skills, including transferable and employability skills such

as leadership, organisational and social skills (Youth Music 2019, 24-25), or teamwork and communication skills (Streetwise Opera 2019, 30-31). These outcomes seem to be in line with the policy principles to improve the cultural sector's professional profile and, accordingly, to contribute to local and national economic growth.

In a similar way to the outcomes, the categories of recipients who are most recurrently involved in SIMM activity reflect the principles set out in policy papers. More specifically, the principles of social inclusion and individual and collective wellbeing are key in shaping the social purposes of projects and thereby directing the activity towards specific target groups. In most cases, categories of recipients are defined through the intersection of different individual and social classifications. Rather than drawing up a list of target groups as they are defined in SIMM projects, it is therefore more useful to analyse the classifications employed and intertwined to define these groups.

By far, the most prominent classifications identified in the sample refer to the age group of participants and to young people in particular, including children and school pupils (ages 5-18). This is reflected also in the existence of youth-oriented umbrella organisations and networks. Classifications concerning cognitive, learning, mental or physical conditions and impairments are also prominent in the sample. Target groups may be identified by their kind of disability, often in combination with age classifications (e.g. young people with autism; old people with dementia). Classifications concerning ethnicity or migration background are also significant in the sample. These are articulated according to the social vulnerability of the project participants, and involve specific notions such as shock, abuse, post-traumatic stress (particularly for new refugees from conflict areas), social exclusion, and integration of immigrant minorities. Another set of classifications identifies participants affected by socioeconomic deprivation. The most recurring ones concern economic condition and geographical isolation, often intersected with age classifications. For example, one prominent target group, specific to the UK context, is so-called NEET (young people Not in Education, Employment or Training). Although less frequently recurring, specific group classifications also exist for further populations at risk of poverty or social exclusion such as prisoners, ex-prisoners and homeless people.

Online sources provide a substantial indication of the modes of delivery of SIMM work in the UK. Depending on the contents and typology of the activity proposed, as well as on structural factors such as the kind and size of the organisation delivering it or the infrastructures available, SIMM projects range from small group sessions with a handful of attendees to larger-scale workshops with relatively large groups of participants. The sample indicates some kind of collective musical activity such as choir or group singing (n = 26) or drumming (n = 9) as being relatively prominent. Frequency of delivery is also variable and depends on the structural characteristics of the organisations. The most common formula for ongoing programmes is courses on a weekly basis for an average maximum duration of three months. Frequency and duration may be greater for the larger music organisations providing activity on a regular basis and with long-term planning, or be more occasional for those smaller actors adopting workshop-style and less cyclic modes of delivery. In general, different delivery strategies may also be part of the same programme or project: for example, workshops on a weekly basis, one-off activities, and one or more closing public performances. Structural elements, and in particular partnerships with socially engaged non-artistic organisations (e.g. community associations, caring organisations for specific age groups or disabled people, youth organisations, etc.), play an important role in defining the size and composition of target groups.

The occupational context through which SIMM activity is organised and delivered in the UK reflects the increasing role of the private and voluntary sectors in policy delivery, an established feature of the British policy system (Dorey 2014). Non-governmental

organisations of different sizes and associations of cultural operators are prominent in the sector. Single artists are rarely involved as sole traders, but their individual role in the field is often recognised in different ways in the organisations' websites, although no details are provided concerning the contractual employment relationship. In some significant cases, individual actors such as artists, music teachers and facilitators are acknowledged as those who initiated and set the main principles and objectives of the socially engaged activity delivered.

Discussion and conclusions

This overview of the country context and environment for SIMM activities in four countries has demonstrated that this is indeed a vibrant and growing field of activity in each country, encompassing a very broad range of activities and objectives but ones united by their intention to generate both artistic and social outcomes. The individual country analyses highlight a number of important similarities as well as a range of significant contrasts, which can help direct more in-depth analyses of how specific country contexts impact on the way that practitioners go about their work, and how they see its benefits and problems.

Key similarities:

- Over recent decades the SIMM field has grown in size and strategic importance as part of the cultural sector, supported by the increasing prioritisation of social outcomes in arts and cultural policies (and the funding pathways that derive from such policies). Cultural policies supporting SIMM have been progressively developed since the latter decades of the 20th century.
- In all four countries there is a very high dependence on public funding, which is in its turn dictated by government policy. This sector would collapse in every country without this public funding support.
- There is a strong emphasis on children and young people, particularly those with particular social challenges stemming from economic or social inequalities.
- There is widespread adherence to principles of access to culture and social inclusion.
- A wide range of musical genres and forms are found in this work. Western classical music is prominent, reflecting historical hierarchies of culture and concomitant funding priorities, but not dominant. Musical genres and forms which celebrate particular sub-cultures, or where people from different cultures can find a meeting place, are also an important part of the landscape.

It is perhaps not so surprising that there are significant similarities in an interconnected cultural world where artists, cultural organisers, pedagogues and researchers have been ever more able to engage in frequent international exchanges, as a consequence of globalisation and lowering of restrictions on mobility, and supported by cheap air travel and increasingly effective (including cost-effective) means of digital communication. It has also been suggested that in a neoliberal age, governments of differing complexions will increasingly see support of arts and culture as a means of being seen to address significant problems of society in a way that does not require the commitment of major resources needed to address them at a structural level (Gielen 2019); this is certainly one way of explaining similarities at the level of policy. From our own perspective as researchers in this sub-field, we have increasingly benefitted from collaborative activities which involve international dialogue and sharing of perspectives among researchers, many of whom are also engaged directly in SIMM activities. Many younger scholars have undertaken their doctorates in

countries other than their home country, benefitting from the various mobility schemes available and platforms such as SIMM-platform. All these have been unifying influences on the field, while by no means inhibiting specificity and diversity.

Notable differences:

- In terms of participant groups there are some notable contrasts. For instance, in the three European countries there exists a focus on disability (strongest in the UK) which is largely absent in Colombia. There is greater focus on older people in the European countries than in Colombia, perhaps reflecting the dramatic difference in median age (over a decade).
- The use of SIMM as a resource for post-conflict reconciliation is an activity unique to Colombia, although all countries have projects which address different needs relating to the effects of conflict (e.g. refugees and asylum seekers).
- There are clear differences in the way in which target groups are described, particularly in public-facing materials. UK discourses focus most explicitly on groups defined by their deficits and needs, whereas Belgian and Finnish discourses are more indirect, focusing for example on inclusivity and welcoming of all within a particular location.
- Countries display different practices for how SIMM activities represent their achievements. UK organisations often show a particular focus on measurable and specific social and personal outcomes (because many funders require this). Other countries focus more on general cultural enhancement.
- There are differences in the priority given to artistic excellence of the outcomes (high in Belgium and the UK, less so in Colombia where outcomes are related more to cultural affirmation and post-conflict relief, and Finland, where there is less emphasis on outcomes than on the professional quality of the practice).

These differences indicate that it will not be sufficient to sample SIMM practitioners from a single country in any deeper exploration of the practices and beliefs of musicians working in this field. Nevertheless, the mixture of similarities and differences heightens our curiosity to find out if, despite significant differences of context and culture, we will discover commonalities in the motivations for this work among practitioners, the practices they deem most effective, and the challenges they face in developing and improving SIMM activities. Even when there are differences in terms of targets and policy frameworks and national priorities, are there still underlying social, ideological and psychological factors which mean that this group of practitioners can indeed be seen as drawing on a shared set of goals, approaches, and means of assessing outcomes? Or is the field made up of widely varying professional practices whose surface similarities actually conceal fundamental differences in conception, execution and outcome? These questions are among those that our future research hopes to illuminate.

There is relatively little detail in this article about the main actors of our research project: the practitioners. This is not because the researchers have overlooked this detail in the documentation reviewed, but rather because the practitioners tend to get somewhat lost in the public narratives, which tend to focus on the institutions and their objectives, or the beneficiaries and their benefits. This highlights that there is a real need for research that delves into this more elusive intermediary sphere—hence the overall aim of the research of which this article reports the first phase. Scoping can generate substantial information about the work and contexts, but to reveal more about the world of the practitioners requires different approaches, such as interviews and case studies. This is the focus of the subsequent phases of this project.

A closing remark. We have been asked, "Why these four countries"? In some ways they were an "opportunity sample" determined by the interest and capacity of senior researchers in these countries to undertake research of this sort, and the availability of (and constraints on) funding. Close support of music higher education institutions where SIMM practice is, or could become, part of their pedagogy was another factor. We recognise that any sample has its limitations, but we envisage that ours will provide a useful starting-point for examining the SIMM field in comparative perspective, and we hope that this research, and its protocols, could assist others to broaden the scope and add to our systematic knowledge. To that end, we are committed to placing as many of our methods and findings as possible into the public domain while respecting ethical constraints (such as confidentiality). Details of further outputs, as they become available, will be accessible through the webpages of the project.[29]

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Notes

[1] All correspondence regarding this article should be addressed to the first author, John Sloboda (john.sloboda@gsmd.ac.uk) who took overall responsibility for the conception and co-ordination of the process, and was main author on the introductory and concluding sections. Authorship of the country sections was as follows: Belgium, De bisschop & Van Zijl; Colombia, Rojas and Zapata Restrepo; Finland, Karttunen & Westerlund; UK, Mazzola, who also co- ordinated the country section drafting process. Baker conducted internal peer review and oversaw linguistic and conceptual consistency. The authors are grateful to Rachel Kellett for proofreading and formatting the final document.

[2] The research reported here is funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (grant number AH/S005285/1) and co-funded by www.simm-platform.eu.

[3] In reality, judgments of success and failure are rather more complex. Rimmer (in press) highlights "the important symbolic dimensions of policies and the fact that questions of "success"/"failure" are as much bound up with the ways they are presented and perceived as their efficacy in achieving specified goals."

[4] See: https://www.kleinverhaal.be/Projecten/TOSO

[5] See: https://www.fundacionbatuta.org/reconciliacion.php

[6] See: https://fmq.fi/articles/finnish-local-opera-appeals-to-thousands

[7] See: https://www.streetwiseopera.org/about/

[8] What this balance looks like in practice can vary considerably, even within one programme, since one side may be given more emphasis in discourse and the other in practice.

[9] Note on the Covid-19 pandemic. This project began in the month (January 2020) when the first information about Covid-19 was emerging from China. Documentary research began during February 2020 and continued through May 2020. By the end of March 2020 similar restrictions on movement and face-to-face activity were in place in each country, leading to a temporary cessation of all live musical group activity, including SIMM activities. This report describes the state of the field as described in documents and policies whose contents predate the pandemic, and which in no way anticipate the effects of the pandemic on SIMM activities. Up until the end of May 2020 it would be fair to say that there has been little systematic attention at a policy, funder, or activity level in any of the countries studied to the future implications for the field, and most individual projects have done little more in public than announce a temporary cessation of their activities. Analysis of the effect of Covid-19 on future SIMM policy and practice will be taken into account as needed in future project outputs. This paper is a characterisation of the field as it existed before Covid-19.

[10] The activity should *not* be part of a standard music education curriculum at a school. However, if it concerns a project given by an external musician in cooperation with the school as extra-curricular activity it can be included in the sample.

[11] Clinical application of music/SIMM as part of a prescribed medical treatment is excluded from the sample.

[12] The authors gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the following individuals in reviewing the list of specific SIMM activities, projects, and organisations compiled by the authors, and providing additional examples to enhance the list. For Belgium: Lapo Bettarini, Jonathan Buscarlet, Justine Constant, Anke Hintjens, Simon Leenknegt, Lukas Pairon, An Van den Bergh and Nikol Wellens. For Colombia: Lucía Ibáñez S. and Urián Sarmiento O. For the UK: Cathy Graham, Matt Griffiths, Sigrun Griffiths, Marianna Hay, Jan Hendrickse, Debra King, Sara Lee, François Matarasso, Peter Renshaw, Ian Ritchie and John Speyer.

[13] Belgium also contains a German-speaking region comprising less than 1% of the population. Given the relatively small size of this region its specifics are not discussed in this article.

[14] Source: Statbel, https://statbel.fgov.be

[15] Source: National Department for Statistics (DANE), https://dane.gov.co

[16] Source: Statistics Finland, https://stat.fi. Observe that Finland does not collect data on ethnicity. In official statistics, the issue is approached via mother tongue and birth country. The category 'foreign background' refers to persons whose both parents (or the only known parent) have been born abroad, and persons whose mother tongue is not Finnish, Swedish or Sámi are regarded as foreign-language speakers.

[17] Source: Office for National Statistics, https://ons.gov.uk

[18] Translations from the original language to English here and elsewhere are by the authors.

[19] Retrieved from: https://www.kleinverhaal.be, accessed on July 6, 2020.

[20] See Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia (ONIC): https://www.onic.org.co/pueblos

[21] See Internet World Stats, South America: https://www.internetworldstats.com/south.htm

[22] Most relevant search terms were, "música" and "Colombia" together, plus one of the following: transformación social, impacto social, construcción de paz, transformación de conflictos, postconflicto / posconflicto / post- conflicto, tejido social, rehabilitación comunitaria, reparación colectiva, desarrollo social, grupos marginados.

[23] All statistics in this paragraph are retrieved from the website of Statistics Finland (www.stat.fi, accessed in June 2020).

[24] Persons at risk of poverty are considered those

whose household's disposable money income per consumption unit is lower than 60 per cent of the equivalent median money income of all households.

[25] Especially the universities of applied sciences produced a burst of art graduates between the 1990s until cuts in the mid-2010s (Rautiainen & Roiha, 2015).

[26] The Settlement Movement began in the United States in 1886, and focused on the amelioration of living conditions in deprived areas such as city slums. See Berry (no date).

[27] For an overview about the context of liberal education in Finland, see: https://www.oph.fi/en/education-syste m/liberal-adult-education

[28] Demographic dependency ratio describes the ratio of persons aged under 15 and 65 or over to the working-age population (multiplied by one hundred).

[29] See: https://www.gsmd.ac.uk/about_the_school/research/funded_research_projects/music_for_social_impact/

Lectio Praecursoria

Danielle Treacy

Imagining possibilities: Musician-teachers co-constructing visions in the Kathmandu Valley

Lectio praecursoria

29.2.2020 Music Centre, Black Box

Honoured custos, honoured opponent, honoured audience,

It is quite likely that everyone here today feels some degree of uncertainty regarding the future. This may be more immediate uncertainty regarding how this public examination will proceed, or more distant, regarding how globalisation and climate change will affect your life or the lives of your children and grandchildren. There is no doubt that we are living in a time of fast-paced social change and intensifying encounters with diversity and difference brought about by globalisation. The question then, is how to engage with the future and respond to the uncertainty it elicits? Sociocultural anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (2013) perceives the future not as a blank or neutral space, but as a space for democratic design. He identifies a struggle between what he terms the ethics of *possibility* and the ethics of *probability*. The ethics of *possibility* he says are the ways of thinking, feeling and acting that increase hope, expand the imagination and "widen the field of informed, creative, and critical citizenship" (295). The ethics of *probability* on the other hand focus on numbers and the calculation and diagnosis of risk, disaster and catastrophe, often at the expense of everyday public optimism. It is his idea of *possibility* that inspired the title of my dissertation.

The belief that the imagination is an important capacity for teachers is not new. Educational philosopher Maxine Greene (1995), postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak (2012), professor of indigenous education Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012), and music education scholars such as Eva Georgii-Hemming (2013), Sven-Erik Holgersen and Pamela Burnard (2013), for example, have identified the imagination as integral to envisioning beyond the current state of what is, and how the alternate visions for the future that result from engaging the imagination may inspire action. Hence, in considering how music teacher education might equip future music teachers to engage with uncertainty, a starting point for my doctoral research was educational researcher Karen Hammerness' (2004) concept of teachers' visions: the "images of ideal classroom practices" that teachers hold "that reflect their hopes and dreams" for the future (34). From this starting point I explored how music teachers' co-constructing of visions of music education could contribute knowledge about the development of context-specific music teacher education in a situation of fast-paced social change and globalization.

The impetus for this doctoral project was a collaboration initiated by representatives from the Nepal Music Center with representatives of the Sibelius Academy, following the 2010 introduction of music as a separate subject into the Nepali National Curriculum, at a time when the country did not yet have government-recognized music teacher education. The resulting collaboration, the project *Global Visions through Mobilizing Networks*, aimed to contribute to the development of Nepal's first music teacher education program, at the same time as contributing to the development of music teacher education in Finland and elsewhere.

From the moment of my involvement in this project, I have been challenged by a number of questions and ethical concerns related to power, ethnocentrism and coloniality.

First and foremost, I was concerned with how such a collaboration could be carried out in an ethical way. Education policy in Nepal has long been powerfully shaped by aid agencies and donor interests. And Finland and Nepal are long-term development cooperation partners, with education being one of the main areas of focus of Finland's support to Nepal. Added to this, development discourse often implies a superiority of the North over the South and that western-style development is the norm (e.g. Kapoor 2004). How then could the outcomes of our co-development work avoid prioritising our goals and values over those of the Nepali partners with whom we worked? How could we learn from their local knowledge and expertise, rather than replace it with our own?

A further complexity arose from the recent international interest Finland has received due to its successes in international standardized examinations, which have supported the development of Finnish education export. However, as scholars like Pamela Burnard (2013b) have argued, ideas about music teacher education cannot be assumed to be universally applicable. And even borrowing successful strategies from other educational systems can be problematic if the borrowed strategies are transplanted rather than appropriately transformed for the new environment (Kertz-Welzel 2015). Thus, the aim of our cooperation was to co-develop *context-specific* music teacher education, not simply export a music teacher education programme to Nepal. Importantly, the idea of *co*-developing was used to emphasize that the collaborative development work was not intended to be unidirectional, but to develop music teacher education in *both* institutions.

My doctoral project focused on engaging local musician-teachers in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal as a group of experts. Although government schools had not yet begun offering formal music education, a number of private schools in the Kathmandu Valley offered curricular or co-curricular music education. In the absence of government-recognised music teacher education, musicians were hired to teach in these private schools, as well as in music institutions and private homes, usually on the basis of artistic merit. For this reason, I use the term musician-teachers. The decision to work with a group of musician-teachers, rather than speaking with them individually, was to facilitate the co-construction of knowledge and visions. This decision also responded in part to the recognition that music teachers in many contexts globally frequently work in relative isolation with limited opportunities to learn from and with each other (e.g. Bates 2011; Burnard 2013a; Schmidt & Robbins 2011; Sindberg 2011) and the related recognized need for music teacher associations (Burnard 2013a). Based on early observations and discussions, this appeared to also be the case for musician-teachers in Nepal.

Considering these starting points, I focussed on three questions: The first attended to the need for context-specificity and asked, "What contextual issues frame practitioners' envisioning of music education practices in Kathmandu Valley schools?" The second focussed on the co-development of music teacher education, asking "How might the process of co-constructing visions with musician-teachers in the Kathmandu Valley contribute to music teacher education in Nepal and beyond?" And the third reflected my ongoing aspiration to engage in this work in an ethical and responsible way, and thus asked "How might the process of co-constructing visions with musician-teachers in the Kathmandu Valley contribute to understandings of cross-cultural music education research?"

I attended to these questions in three stages from 2014 to 2019. During the first stage I visited the Kathmandu Valley on two occasions for three weeks each during the Autumn of 2014. Focused on developing understandings of contextual issues, I sought guidance from educational (Pole & Morrison 2003) and collaborative (Lassiter 2005) ethnography and generated empirical material through observations in schools and interviews with school administrators and musician-teachers. During the second stage, I spent eleven weeks in the Kathmandu Valley in 2016, during which my main task was facilitating a series of seventeen workshops for musician-teachers in which visions for music education

in Nepal were co-constructed. The workshops were guided by the appreciative inquiry 4D model of Discover, Dream, Design and Destiny (e.g. Cooperrider & Srivastva 1987/2013). The third stage began once I returned to Finland following Stage Two. During this time I engaged in reflexive interpretation (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2009) and critical work (Kuntz 2015) and considered what the visions co-constructed in Stage Two might mean or make possible for music teacher education in Nepal and elsewhere.

So, how did musician-teachers' co-constructing of visions contribute knowledge about the development of context-specific music teacher education in a situation of fast-paced social change and globalization?

One contribution is that the *process* of co-constructing visions with musician-teachers underscored the importance of four interconnected capacities that, based on this doctoral research, I suggest could be developed and nurtured in pre- and in-service music teacher education both in Nepal and more broadly. These are: envisioning, reflecting, inquiring, and learning collaboratively. Indeed, the discussions that these capacities elicited during the workshops and the actions that they inspired suggest that these capacities could support music educators in rising to the challenges of intensifying diversity and uncertainty, and even in working toward more socially just music education.

The workshop discussions, for example, emphasized how music and music education are not neutral but entangled with various historical, political, economic, and sociocultural complexities. In doing so, the discussions also emphasised the need for schools and music educators to be able to engage with the dynamic nature of culture, navigating between past and present, local and global. To illustrate this, I will now share some of the interconnected tensions that were highlighted during this research project in relation to music in Kathmandu Valley schools.

Musician-teachers envisioned the inclusion of music as a valued subject in schools as central to the legitimation of music as a subject worthy of study or career worth pursuing (e.g. Treacy et al. in press). Workshop discussions regarding the inclusion of music education in schools, however, raised questions as to what musics are included, what musics are excluded, why and with what consequences, and how the included musics might need to be reshaped so that they do not reproduce systems of inequity, like social hierarchies and marginalisation.

Due to, for example, the stigma associated with caste-musicians and the influence of globalisation, the participating musician-teachers perceived local musics to be at risk (e.g. Treacy et al. in press). Although educational objectives in Nepal (e.g. Government of Nepal 2007) call for the preservation and promotion of Nepali art forms, musician-teachers expressed uncertainty regarding exactly what *Nepali* music is amid Nepal's tremendous sociocultural diversity characterised by over 120 caste and ethnic groups. Moreover, considering the long history of social stratification in Nepal that fuelled a recent decade-long civil war (The Maoist People's War or Jana Yuddha, 1996-2006), such objectives also raise questions about *whose* music is legitimated in responding to them. And focusing only on *preservation* may risk emphasising cultural difference and supporting systems of inequity, for example through the preservation of music practices that prohibit the participation of certain groups like women and girls.

Amid this sociocultural situation, administrators and musician-teachers saw music and music education as having potential for creating socially unifying practices. They advocated learning songs and dances from different ethnic groups as a way of learning to appreciate and develop respect for others (Treacy et al. 2019). Furthermore, singing was perceived to be particularly effective for socialising students and was used in schools for consciously teaching values and character (Treacy & Westerlund 2019). It was also used for building both national unity and a sense of community and belonging in private schools (Treacy & Westerlund 2019). However, as with the risk of focusing only on the preservation of folk

musics, school "value songs", as they were referred to locally, may risk cultivating a *fixed* vision of the community, unless they are subject to ongoing critical reflection and revision that allows them to foster what has been described in the European policy context as "a constantly changing 'we'" (Vision Europe Summit 2016, 65).

School administrators also perceived including music education in schools to be part of a move toward more "progressive" and child-centred education in particular through expanding the focus of education beyond academics and exam preparation to more holistic understandings of student development. However, this wider aim was in tension with the immense weight placed on the final standardised examinations of the School Leaving Certificate, which caused music–both curricular and extracurricular–and any other subject not examined by this system of standardised examinations to be abandoned in grades 9 and 10. This was seen to both limit the schools' abilities to provide the kind of education to which they aspire, and the students' agency concerning what they can study (e.g. Treacy et al. 2019).

The process of co-constructing visions in the workshops with musician-teachers in the Kathmandu Valley not only involved envisioning, reflecting, inquiring, and learning collaboratively in relation to these and other complexities musician-teachers encountered in their work. It also inspired action (see Treacy 2020; Treacy et al. in press).

As already mentioned, being a musician in Nepali society is associated with stigma, due partly to a caste system that positions musician castes at the bottom of the social hierarchy, and partly because being a musician is not regarded as a secure or respectable career path in Nepal (Treacy et al. in press). Reflecting on this stigmatised position, musician-teachers imagined "locally plausible" (Appadurai 2004, 66) actions for contesting and altering this marginalized position, for example through challenging stigmatised identities, advocating for the institutionalisation and academisation of musics, and promoting the professionalisation of music teachers (Treacy et al. in press).

In addition, following a separate, female-only workshop organised to discuss the increased challenges women and girls face in pursuing music in Nepal–a topic which arose in the main workshops–a group of female musician-teachers were motivated to organise an all-female concert to raise awareness and enhance female participation in music in Nepal (Treacy 2019; Treacy 2020).

Furthermore, having found the experience of collaborating with other musician-teachers important to their professional development, musician-teachers in the Kathmandu Valley not only envisioned continued collaboration and community building, but a group of musician-teachers also worked to sustain the emerging music teacher community by organising a new series of workshops following the conclusion of our Stage Two workshops (Treacy 2020).

While the musician-teachers envisioned "creat[ing] a music community ... to work together and create professionalism" (Treacy 2020, 208), the complexities and tensions highlighted in this research project suggest that conceptualisations of professionalism in music education should be expanded to encompass considerations of professional *responsibility*, and therefore not only consider competence and expertise, but also wider conceptions of social service and ethical standards (Solbrekke & Sugrue 2011). As already discussed, navigating the complexities and tensions music educators encounter in their work is a profoundly ethical endeavour. In this regard, the level of social engagement demonstrated by musician-teachers who I had the honour and privilege of working with during this project has been an inspiration for me. These musician-teachers for example volunteer in a private school in exchange for free tuition for underprivileged children or contribute 50% of their band's earnings to music education for underprivileged children. I believe that their ethical dedication to service and to enhancing opportunities for music education is something music teachers in contexts outside of Nepal could also take as inspiration from Nepali musician-teachers.

That these issues all arose during the process of co-constructing visions with musician-

teachers in the Kathmandu Valley—who like many music teachers globally tend to work independently—highlights how the processes of envisioning, reflecting, inquiring, and learning collaboratively are important for imagining possibilities beyond the current state of what is. While these processes were central to the workshops in the Kathmandu Valley, I consider them to be equally relevant for other contexts.

Thus, in considering how to respond to and engage with the future and the uncertainty it elicits, and considering the struggle Appadurai (2013) identifies between the ethics of *possibility* and the ethics of *probability*, my dissertation argues for the value of focusing on imagining *possibilities* for what might be. In the case of music education, and music teacher education, this means that music educators could be encouraged to imagine possibilities for how music and their teaching of music could shape more socially just future societies. Moreover, they could be encouraged to do so in dialogue with others, not with the goal of coming to consensus—which can risk the loss of multiple voices (see e.g. Treacy 2019)—but through encouraging dissensus and learning through difference.

So in closing, I would like to ask you, What are your hopes and dreams for the future? What kind of world do you wish to live in? And what actions might you take as a music teacher towards that future? ■

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Ajankohtaista | Actual

Albi Odendaal

Conference report: Cultural Diversity in Music Education XIV

What are the interfaces and interactions between politics and music education? This was the question that drove the twenty-fourth Cultural Diversity in Music Education Conference (CDIME) which was hosted by the Levinsky College of Education in Tel Aviv, Israel between 16 and 19 June 2019. Israel was an apposite choice for this conference and theme, and Claudia Gluschankof and Amira Ehrlich acquitted themselves exceptionally well of the daunting task of arranging a conference which has no professional body behind it. Politics and difference were at the forefront of participants minds, given the troubled history of the region, and the first keynote set the stage for a continued engagement with the complexities of the political situation in Israel and further abroad. Ayman Agbaria, who conducts research on educational leadership and policy at the University of Haifa, showed how religious language is used to establish hyper-solidarity among the various role players in Israeli society. While solidarity occurs in any well-formed group, hyper-solidarity is a situation where a certain perspective is pervasive, and any critique results in the ousting of the criticizer. In a state of hyper-solidarity, stability and consistency are valued over freedom and justice. Dr Agbaria pointed out cases of hyper-solidarity in both Arabic and Israeli political discourse, and suggested that a move from talking about religion to talking about religiosity might allow for dialogue to open up between the parties.

The 80 or so participants shared in workshops, concerts, demonstrations, symposia and spoken papers, and continued to engage in conversation around the issues of cultural diversity. A number of perspectives could be heard regarding diversity, ranging from the view that immigrants should assimilate to their new homes, to the view that all traditions should be abolished in favour of the "melting-pot". Stepping into this discussion, music education researchers and philosophers Heidi Westerlund of the Sibelius Academy of the University of the Arts Helsinki and Sidsel Karlsen of the Norwegian Academy of Music, presented a keynote which challenged the idea of a 'global ecumenia', a peaceful co-existence that is accessible through good teaching and in which music is neutral. In this global ecumenia all musical practices are equally valued and appreciated, however, such a perspective can be blind to the power differences and political and hegemonic forces that impact on society. To counter this perspective, they argue that theory should be a vital component of music education's future, since theory generates practices by shaping thought and imagination. Music education cannot remove itself from the political, but should attempt to understand and theorise the roles of social and cultural politics in the field.

While many of the concerts presented by the Levinsky College were focused on the western classical tradition, we also witnessed and heard several attempts to forge new directions. Metaphorically, the multicultural piano which stood in one of the conference rooms embodied this forging of new directions. The piano, which was created by Ronen Shapira, is retuned to include aspects of Arabic, Gamelan, Classical and African tunings and sound effects (more can be seen on Facebook: The multicultural piano—a new global instrument). The third keynote, by musicologist Alon Schab, pointed to the ways that musicians have attempted to bridge East and West, and uncovered several assumptions that composers or creators held in the creation of these works. His focus on the responses

of students to the works allows him to argue that there is no Israeli style of music, and that the use of modes, which is a popular technique with composers, does not point to eastern music. Instead he argued for a strong parallelism between eastern and western music that should emphasized rather than downplayed.

The uneasy tensions of being in a country that is clearly divided, with checkpoints, segregated living areas, and armed young soldiers walking the streets, together with the uneasy tensions of holding a conference on cultural diversity in a college that clearly values and emphasises the western classical tradition over the local musics, provided fruitful ground for rigorous debate and discussion. While quick and superficial answers are easy, I think most attendees of this conference came away with a deeper understanding of the complexities involved when thinking about politics and music education. Such a deeper understanding will hopefully feed into stronger theorization on the role of the political in our work, and thus pave the way for better founded engagement across diversity.

The twenty-fifth CDIME conference is scheduled to take place in 2023 in Potchefstroom, South Africa. As conference organizer I warmly welcome you to South Africa for what promises to be further fruitful discussion around culture and diversity in music education. ■

Hanna Backer Johnsen, Adriana Di Lorenzo Tillborg & Cecilia Jeppsson

Living with differences—Learning tolerance? Reflections on the European Music School Symposium 2019: *Music schools—Masters of Collaboration? Creating Interfaces in Music Education Systems*

The **Second European Music School Symposium** was held at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, Austria, from October 10th to 11th 2019, and focused on the theme of collaboration, questioning whether music schools are "masters of collaboration" and proposing the creation of "interfaces in music education systems". The symposium was attended by 140 participants from 25 countries, and the parallel sessions included 32 presentations by participants from 22 countries. In this text we provide some reflections on the presentations and panel discussions at the symposium.

Day One—Finding common ground

During the opening ceremony, **Ulrike Sych**, rector at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna, highlighted that her home institution had been ranked as the world's top university in the Performing Arts category of the 2019 QS World University Rankings. She was sure that one reason for this was the "social relevance of music education" (quote from the presentation), referring to UNESCO when arguing for the rights of children to learn a musical instrument. Sych pointed out that dignity and human rights are linked to the question of quality.

Philippe Dalarun, president of the European Music School Union (EMU), drew connections to larger contexts when speaking of democratising music education in Europe. He spoke not only of collaboration as a way of developing access to music education for everyone, but also about collaboration as the opposite of individualism, to build a new humanism together.

The first keynote speaker, **Peter Renshaw** from the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, questioned whether collaboration is a myth or a reality. One of the most important messages in his keynote might have been that it is easy to include the rhetoric regarding collaboration, but that in reality, more needs to be done. He presented a metaphor for collaboration represented by the Schubert Quintet, in which there is a beautiful dialogue between the first violin and the second cello while the roles of the other instruments are boring and concluded that "the heart of collaboration is to listen." Taking that powerful metaphor one step further, we would suggest that it is also important to critically question who has the power to speak while others are listening. Are all individuals taking turns to make their voices heard or are there only a few dominant voices (like the first violin and second cello)? According to him, the heart of collaboration is empathy, trust and tolerance. Renshaw also mentioned the Swedish climate activist **Greta Thunberg** as an example of how young people are the future, which in turn emphasizes the importance of leadership that is not disconnected from the voice of youth.

The second keynote presentation by **Wolfgang Lessing** from the University of Freiburg focused on collaboration between instrumental teachers and classroom teachers.

He addressed collaboration as contrasting to cooperation. When cooperating, each participant works in their own field, which makes cooperating easy to plan in advance. Collaboration, however, requires improvisational solutions and work outside the field of each participant. Lessing thus described clearly defined professional roles and competences as a condition and first step towards possible collaboration. Collaboration, he argued, is about integrating different identities and every new role is conditioned by the previous roles.

Lessing's keynote was followed by a panel discussion comprising representatives from different contexts. This specific panel highlighted collaboration between music schools, research and teacher education. We found that having a panel immediately after a keynote was a good way of continuing the discussion.

As a member of the panel, **Heidi Westerlund** from the University of the Arts Helsinki spoke about the Finnish ArtsEqual research initiative, which addresses equality in arts education. She presented the "boundaries of responsibility" as a common major challenge for all the sub-studies within ArtsEqual. This means, for example, that we need to think about the inclusion of people with disabilities and older adults in music education. She emphasized cross-sectoral collaboration through social innovations that increase accessibility. She argued that we are currently witnessing a moral turn and that we have to look horizontally across different fields in order to do socially responsible work.

Boundaries within higher music education were also discussed within the panel. For example, even though higher education is very specialised in Austria, graduates cross professional boundaries and work as musicians, schoolteachers, and music schoolteachers.

On top of the published symposium program, the organisers surprised the participants with 60-second pitches on research projects by a number of doctoral students from Austria, Finland and Ireland. Finnish doctoral student **Tuulia Tuovinen**, for example, presented a pitch on children as collaborators in Finnish music schools and **Hanna Backer Johnsen** spoke of the political agency of children and the importance of listening to non-dominant voices in the music school context.

The first day ended with a concert featuring 26 pupils from different parts of Austria. The occasion was the 40th anniversary conference of the Austrian music school association. The 26 pupils did not know each other prior to the association's conference, but during its three days planned a concert, which they performed during the conference. The pupils were divided into 3 groups: a brass ensemble, a folk music ensemble, and a choir. Each group performed independently and finished with a collaborative performance of folk songs from each region of Austria. The audience was also invited to participate by dancing.

Day Two—Challenging diversity

Three parallel round table sessions set the tenor for Day Two. These focused on talent, group tuition, and research on Art and Music Schools in the Nordic countries. All three authors of this report presented in the third round table session, together with **Anders Rønningen** from the Norwegian Council for Schools of Music and Performing Arts in Norway. Our session was attended mostly by leaders of Art and Music Schools in the Nordic countries, who engaged in discussions regarding what kind of research has been done, how it can be used, and how to bridge the gap between research and practice. A rich and varied set of 32 parallel presentations followed the round table sessions with themes illustrating the collaborative relationships between music schools and pupils, schools, communities, youth work, society and various inclusive challenges.

The main topic of the keynote presented by **Stefan Gies**, Chief Executive of the European Association of Conservatoires (AEC), was the significant work done by associations such as AEC, the European Music School Union (EMU), and the European Associa-

tion for Music in Schools (EAS) among others, and the importance of cooperation and collaboration among associations in the European Union. One example he presented was how STEM education (science, technology, engineering, mathematics) was changed to STEAM education (science, technology, engineering, arts, mathematics) because of the activeness of several European associations that together claimed that arts are just as important as mathematics and technology. In his presentation he also brought up the European Commission's November 2017 Communication on the creation of a European Education Area by 2025. He expressed how this was good news for European music schools since it highlighted how culture contributes to the creation of new jobs in the creative industries, prepares us to meet the needs of the digital world, and contributes to the creation of a European identity. Gies also offered examples of collaborations such as the AEC-SMS project (2017-2021) *Creative Europe Network: Strengthening Music in Society*. This project focuses on the role of higher music education institutions in society, diversity, identity, inclusiveness, entrepreneurship for musicians, mobility, innovative learning and teaching, and finally on teacher education in the digital era.

A vivid panel discussion focusing on the questions "What does music education mean in the 21st century?" and "How can we give access to cultural participation and to music education opportunities to as many people as possible?" ended the symposium. This panel was moderated by **Michaela Hahn** from the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna. In the panel, the notion of *differences* and *diversity* in Europe challenged our thinking and imagination. Each European country has its own traditions and different ways of thinking and it is important to keep that in mind, for example, EAS comprises 29 countries. According to **Isolde Malmberg**, EAS is currently working with the following thematic fields: musical diversity, music as heritage, music teacher education, and sustainable music teacher education. **Philippe Delarun** (EMU) also emphasised how it is impossible to imagine the same music education system working for all of Europe and how we therefore have to respect diversity. According to Delarun, music education in the 21st century will have something to do with "music first". We interpreted this to mean that music itself is a powerful policy tool, and that the artistic component must be strong enough to engage and motivate policy makers and the public at large if one aims to address social issues via music and arts education. He also underlined the relevance of research that highlights the impact of music education. **Anders Rønningen** agreed that there are differences in approaches. He talked about a Nordic approach on educating children to have an opportunity to become professional musicians, while still attending to the basic human right of all children to express themselves through the arts. This means inclusion, not only into our music schools, but also through our music schools. Fulfilling this aim is only possible through strong collaboration between music schools, research and higher education and the willingness of these actors to change simultaneously.

Summing up—The future of collaboration in our hands

While the opening ceremony and the keynotes had collaboration as a starting point, a closer look at the program showed that only 25% of the paper presentations in the parallel sessions explicitly mentioned the words collaboration, collaborative, or interfaces in their titles. However, the majority did mention collaboration in their abstracts.

At the conclusion of the event, we were left with the conviction that bridging the gap between research and practice, initiating new collaborations, and thinking horizontally would be important steps in our joint efforts towards diverse and socially just music education within the contexts of music schools.

Change is dependent on the ability of the field to be sensitive to the perspectives of the pupils and professionals as well as to transcend boundaries. Or, as **Peter Röbke** from the

University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna stated in his concluding words: “Collaboration is dependent on common goals on the policy level, otherwise it will remain fragile.” Finally, when encountering difference, the question that arises for us as authors is: Is living with contradictions and tension the art of democracy, and thus also the core of music education? ■

Info

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Käsikirjoitukset

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Richardson, L. 1994. Writing as a method of inquiry. Teoksessa N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (toim.) Handbook of Qualitative Research. London: Sage, 516–529.

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