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Sistema in the News:

Exploring Media Coverage of Sistema-Inspired Programs in Montreal and Kahnawà:ke

Montreal is home to three music education programs inspired by the internationally renowned Venezuelan program known as El Sistema. The Garage à musique (est. 2009) is part of the Fondation Dr Julien, and features classical and popular music as part of their work in social pediatrics in the Hochelaga-Maisonneuve borough. Share the Warmth is a community organization in Pointe-Saint-Charles that started out collecting food and clothes for those in need (1989), expanding to include youth programming and music lessons (2007) and a "Sistema Intensive Music Program" (2012). Finally, Viva! Sistema serves both Pointe-Saint-Charles and the Kahnawà:ke reserve with a string orchestra program. In this study, I address two major questions. First, how does media coverage of these programs reflect their aims as well as public understanding of El Sistema and Sistema-inspired programming? Second, why were these sites chosen for Sistema programs, and what does that imply about the role of Western classical music in these communities, as perceived by music educators and the general public?

For my study I analyze newspaper articles from the four major Montreal Newspapers in both French (Le Devoir, La Presse, Le Journal de Montréal) and English (The Montreal Gazette) as well as music industry publication La Scena Musicale, all from January 2011 to August 2014. Through this I gauge public perception of the programs, supplementing this analysis with primary sources such as program brochures and websites. I explore the themes that arise from this analysis, including issues of language (particularly important in Quebec), immigration, indigeneity, race, culture, and class as they operate in Montreal, engaging theoretical work including Simpson (2014), Haque (2012), Chan (2010), Thobani (2007), Razack (2007) and Freire (1970). I also draw on music education literature such as Bowman (2005) and Campbell (2004). The North American scholarly literature discussing El Sistema programs is growing rapidly, including books by Tunstall (2012) and Baker (2014) as well as several studies and dissertations, for example Mauskapf (2012), Shoemaker (2012), Silberman (2013); Rossi (2011); Cline (2012). By investigating Montreal media coverage of Sistema-inspired programming, I will supplement the existing literature regarding various North American projects. The connections I will make between social issues and Sistema-inspired music education make it possible to apply this research well beyond the boundaries of the communities in this study.

Sistema dans l'actualité: Exploration de la couverture médiatique des programmes inspirés par El Sistema de Montréal et de Kahnawà:ke

(traduction par Kelly Symons)

Montréal compte trois programmes d'éducation musicale inspirées par le programme vénézuélien de renommée mondiale connu sous le nom d'El Sistema. Le Garage à musique (est. 2009) fait partie de la Fondation du Dr. Julien, et figure les musiques classique et populaire dans le cadre de leurs projets de «pédiatrie sociale» dans l'arrondissement Hochelaga-Maisonneuve. Partageons l'espoir est un organisme communautaire à Pointe-Saint-Charles qui a vu ses débuts dans la collecte de vêtements et de nourriture pour les sans-abris (1989), s'agrandissant pour inclure des divers programmes destinés aux jeunes et des leçons de musique (2007) et enfin un programme de musique intensif inspiré du El Sistema (2012). Enfin, Viva! Sistema sert l'arrondissement de Pointe-Saint-Charles ainsi que la réserve Kahnawà:ke avec son programme d'orchestre à cordes. Dans cette étude, j'adresserai deux questions majeures. Premièrement, comment la couverture médiatique de ces programmes reflète-t-elle les buts et la compréhension par le public de la programmation El Sistema? Deuxièmement, pourquoi ces sites furent-ils choisis, et qu'est-ce que cela peut impliquer en ce qui concerne le rôle de la musique classique traditionnelle dans ces communautés, telle qu'elle est perçue par les éducateurs en musique et par le public en général?

Dans le cadre de mon étude, j'analyserai des articles provenant des quatre journaux importants montréalais, dont trois francophones (Le Devoir, La Presse, et Le Journal de Montréal) et un anglophone (The Montreal Gazette) ainsi que le magazine de l'industrie de la musique La Scena Musicale, tous datant de janvier 2011 à août 2014. Au travers, j'évaluerai la perception des programmes au sein de la population, complétant cette analyse avec des sources primaires telles que les brochures et les sites web de ces programmes. J'explorerai les thèmes émanant de cette analyse, y inclus les questions de langue (particulièrement important au Québec), d'immigration, d'appartenance autochtone, de race, de culture et de classe telles qu'elles évoluent à Montréal, engageant les travaux théoriques de Simpson (2014), Hague (2012), Chan (2010), Thobani (2007), Razack (2007) et Freire (1970). Je ferai également appel à la littérature sur l'enseignement de la musique telles que celles de Bowman (2005) et de Campbell (2004). La littérature savante s'intéressant aux programmes El Sistema s'accroît rapidement dans l'Amérique du Nord, et comprends les livres par Tunstall (2012) et Baker (2014) ainsi que plusieurs études et dissertations, comme par exemple celles de Mauskapft (2012), Shoemaker (2012), Silberman (2013), Rossi (2011), et Cline (2012). Ce projet augmentera cette littérature en adressant divers projets dans l'Amérique du Nord, et en enquêtant la couverture médiatique d'El Sistema et de la musique classique dans la société. Les connections que je ferai entre les enjeux sociaux et l'éducation musicale inspirée par El Sistema rendront possible l'application de ma recherche au-delà des frontières des communautés évoquées dans cette étude.

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Commonly Used Acronyms

CSDM: Commission Scolaire de Montréal EMSB: English Montreal School Board

FACE: Fine Arts Core Education

MEdUSA: Music Education Undergraduate Students' Association (McGill)

NCPC: National Crime Prevention Centre

OF: Orchestre de la Francophonie OM: Orchestre Métropolitain

OSM: Orchestre Symphonique de Montréal

QMEA/AMEQ: Quebec Music Educator's Association/Association des éducateurs de musique

du Québec

UQAM: Université de Québec à Montréal

NB: There are variations in place names according to language. First, the city in question is "Montreal" in English, and "Montréal" in French. I have used the form "Montreal" unless referring to a specific organization or publication (e.g. *Le Journal de Montréal*). Second, the Kahnawà:ke reserve is sometimes spelled "Kahnawake" and sometimes "Kahnawà:ke." I have used the latter form when not quoting another source.

Introduction

For this study, I analyzed media coverage to gauge public perception and engagement with El Sistema and related programming in Montreal and Kahnawà:ke. The stories range from concerts to donations to discussion of school dropout rates. Special concern is taken to analyze the language used to describe the programs, their participants, and the communities. This study aims to place Sistema-inspired programs in Montreal and Kahnawà:ke in the context of understanding the role of Western classical music in a large and diverse city. In this introduction, I provide an overview of El Sistema, touch on subjects such as language policy and public education in Quebec, and provide statistical details about each of the boroughs and other sites of Sistema-inspired programming in Montreal. This chapter provides a brief overview that will help the reader gain an understanding of the context for programs in Montreal and Kahnawà:ke.

El Sistema

There are plenty of sources about El Sistema in Venezuela at this point; my literature review chapter will mention several, so I will not go into a detailed history or explanation here. However, there are a few basic ideas and key players it is necessary to be acquainted with to understand its spread in North America. First, it is important to understand how El Sistema promotes itself. It was founded by José Antonio Abreu in 1975 and is typically described as a program that uses music education as a vehicle for social change. Michael Mauskapf's 2012 dissertation quotes Stanford Thompson, the founder of Sistema-inspired program Play on Philly, as he describes the program's origins in 1970s Venezuela:

Oil companies came in, brought orchestral music, built concert halls, essentially constructing an upper-class activity [in Venezuela].... Abreu wouldn't have it, and said these orchestras aren't impacting their communities at all. His first mission was not social development; he wanted to make classical music relevant. But he realized that in order to make this happen, the money was in social reform. You put 350 people on the stage, and people will come and support you—not just to hear great music, but to celebrate

the children and their accomplishments.1

The program has since become widely imitated, with 22 programs in Canada alone and hundreds worldwide. Below is the official "Mission" of El Sistema as stated on their English-language website:

To systematize music education and to promote the collective practice of music through symphony orchestras and choruses in order to help children and youngsters to achieve their full potential and to acquire values that favor their growth and have a positive impact on their lives in society.²

The emphasis on the orchestra, in particular, as well as children reaching their "potential" and "acquir[ing] values" (of a certain kind) are themes to which we will return repeatedly in the course of this study.

In more concrete terms, as well as those more readily applicable to North American programs, Jonathan Govias's widely cited article "The Five Fundamentals of El Sistema" (2011) remains a good starting point for understanding common attributes of Sistema programming.

(Indeed, it is cited in the Quebec Music Educator's Association statement on the topic)³. The five fundamentals he outlines are:

- 1. Social change: The primary objective is social transformation *through* the pursuit of musical excellence. One happens through the other, and neither is prioritized at the expense of the other.
- 2. Ensembles: the focus of *el Sistema* is the orchestra or choral experience.
- 3. Frequency: el Sistema ensembles meet multiple times every week over extended periods.
- 4. Accessibility: el Sistema programs are free, and are not selective in admission.
- 5. Connectivity: every *núcleo* is linked at the urban, regional, and national levels, forming a cohesive network of services and opportunities for students across the county.

While the original article was meant as a description of the Venezuelan program, these fundamentals have become a model for Sistema-inspired programs worldwide, reflected in varying degrees.⁴ I am including these here as an introduction to common elements in Sistema-

¹ Michael G. Mauskapf, "Enduring Crisis, Ensuring Survival: Artistry, economics and the American Symphony Orchestra," PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2012.

² Fundación Musical Simón Bolívar, "Mission and Vision," accessed Dec. 7, 2014, http://fundamusical.org.ve/en/el-sistema-en/mission-and-vision/mission-and-vision/.

³ Erika Donald, Theodora Stathopoulos & Lisa Lorenzino, "Adopt or Adapt? El Sistema as an Inspiration for Music Education in Canada," (paper presented at the 38th International Society for Music Education World Conference, Thessaloniki, Greece, 9-13 July, 2012), accessed December 1, 2014, http://www.qmea-aemq.org/.

⁴ Jonathan Govias, "Sistema through the Noise" jonathangovias.com (blog), Feb. 26, 2015, accessed Feb. 26, 2015, http://jonathangovias.com/.

inspired programming and discourse. All the Montreal and Kahnawà:ke programs meet the points mentioned in points 1 through 4. However, Garage à musique, Viva! Sistema, and Share the Warmth do operate independently of one another, so the "Connectivity" fundamental is not a main feature of Montreal and Kahnawà:ke programming, though multiple neighbourhoods are served.

Undoubtedly, José Antonio Abreu, Venezuelan politician and musician and founder of El Sistema, is the program's most-quoted figure. He has become internationally renowned and is widely-admired in North American Sistema-inspired programs. In his 2010 article, "From Venezuela to the World: Exporting El Sistema", Colin Eatock characterizes Abreu as follows:

Abreu's bronze complexion, slight frame, and bald pate give him a Gandhi-esque aspect. And there are other noteworthy points of comparison to the Mahatma: a beatific humility, a deep commitment to social justice, charismatic powers of persuasion, and a determined patience that has kept him on a steady course for decades⁵

This description hints at the reverence with which he is often quoted and discussed among those inspired by Sistema. His TED talk⁶ and subsequent founding of the Sistema Fellows program at the New England Conservatory⁷ are both highly influential factors in Sistema's popularity and spread in North America and elsewhere.

Next, there is Gustavo Dudamel, known to much of the press simply as the "Dude." One of El Sistema's star pupils, he has emerged as a leading orchestra conductor, currently serving as the director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic. This is a key illustration of El Sistema producing extremely high-level musical talent, on par with and exceeding that which is developed elsewhere. He also conducts the Simón Bolívar Orchestra, whose wildly popular 2007 tour was a huge catalyst for North American interest in El Sistema.⁸

⁵ Colin Eatock, "From Venezuela to the World: Exporting El Sistema," *Queen's Quarterly* 117, no. 4 (2010): 592, accessed Sept. 1, 2013, ProQuest Central.

⁶ Jose Antonio Abreu, "The El Sistema Music Revolution," TED Talk, accessed Dec. 3, 2014, http://www.ted.com/talks/jose abreu on kids transformed by music?language=en.

New England Conservatory, "Sistema Fellows," accessed Dec. 3, 2014, http://necmusic.edu/sistema-fellows.

⁸ Mark Holston. "Pizzazz on the Podium: Gustavo Dudamel." Americas 60, no. 4 (2008): 52-53, accessed Sept.1,

As a point of clarification: throughout the thesis, I use "El Sistema" to refer to the program in Venezuela and the phrase "Sistema-inspired" is used to describe programs outside Venezuela. I do this because there is no such thing as a "branch" of the Venezuelan El Sistema. Despite attempts at creating more formal structures and even trademarks (such as one group in Denmark⁹), there is currently no licensing (or similar) structure attached to the Venezuelan project or its followers abroad. Govias describes the situation on his blog;

Historically, the use of the name *el Sistema* has been subject to a gentleman's agreement between programs and Venezuela. The Fundación has made no attempt to control the use of the name, on the condition that groups choosing to use it make no claim to ownership either. ¹⁰

There is a lot of variation in the offerings of different El Sistema and Sistema-inspired sites, even in Venezuela. Outside Venezuela, programs may style their names after El Sistema (Sistema New Brunswick, Sistema Toronto, Sistema Winnipeg) or they may choose a different name (Saint James Music Academy, OrKidstra). This does not mean that the former are official "Sistema" programs and the latter are "Sistema-inspired." Because of these factors, I describe all programs outside Venezuela as "Sistema-inspired", reserving "El Sistema" and "Sistema" for those in Venezuela.

Situating Sistema in Montreal and Kahnawà:ke

Sistema-inspired programs are being launched every year. In their paper, "Adopt or Adapt? El Sistema as an Inspiration for Music Education in Canada" (2012) Erika Donald, Theodora Stathopoulos, and Lisa Lorenzino identified eight sites in Canada with Sistema-inspired programs. Now, there are at least twenty-two programs: in Vancouver, the Saint James Music Academy; in Prince George, Sistema Prince George; in Calgary, the Calgary Multicultural

^{2013,} EBSCO Host.

⁹ Jonathan Govias, "Something is rotten..." jonathangovias.com (blog), Aug. 14, 2012, accessed Nov. 13, 2014, http://jonathangovias.com/.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Orchestra; in Edmonton, YONA-Sistema; in Saskatoon, Sistema Saskatoon; in Winnipeg, Sistema Winnipeg; in Montreal and Kahnawà:ke, Viva! Sistema, Garage à musique, and Share the Warmth; in London, El Sistema Aeolian and Brio Music; in Midland, Sistema Huronia (formerly El Sistema Midland); in Mississauga, Sistema Mississauga (formerly the Esperanza Music Project); in Ottawa, OrKidstra; in Toronto, Sistema Toronto; in New Brunswick, Sistema New Brunswick has sites in Moncton, Richibucto, Saint John, and the Tobique First Nation; in Nunavut, the Iqualuit Music Society; in Halifax, the Halifax Music Co-op; in St. John's, Newfoundland, Project Grace. The oldest Canadian programs (the Saint James Music Academy and OrKidstra) were only started in 2007, with Montreal sites starting up from 2009-2012.

The city of Montreal is the largest city in Quebec, and is home to large immigrant and indigenous populations. It also has a host of language issues unique to this province concerning the status of the French language, and how that plays out in government, schooling, and immigration policies. Having a basic grasp of its public schooling, language policies, media sources, and neighborhoods is essential for understanding the context of its Sistema-inspired programming, so this chapter provides a brief overview.

Language in Montreal

It is important to put the issue of language in these programs into the broader context of public education in Quebec. It is perhaps easy to frame the language debate in Canada and Quebec in particular as one of solely French versus English; indeed, the programs under consideration here all operate in one of these two languages. However, in order to take a broader systemic view, with particular regard for the status of language in immigrant and indigenous communities, we will look at Eve Haque's 2012 book, *Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: Language*,

Race, and Belonging in Canada. Haque frames Canadian national identity as that of a "white settler bi-culture": despite a "multicultural" national framework, identities other than English and French settler identities are reduced.

In the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission (1963-70) for French and English groups, language was considered a "fundamental element of culture", while for other groups, it was "private and peripheral." Strong emphasis rests on the French and the English as "founding races."12 Thus the overarching colonial power and context of these two languages is important to remember for our treatment of the debate in Quebec. Even a bilingual program is still operating within the linguistic framework mandated by a colonial state. However, in Quebec it is also true that the early part of the 20th century saw the francophone population economically marginalized compared to anglophones, with francophones functioning in "subordinate and peripheral" activities; indeed, Canadians with British origins were better off in Montreal than anywhere else in the country. 13 Moving forward to the 1960s and the Quiet Revolution led to a rise in "linguistic nationalism" which would have very important implications for schooling in Quebec. 14 Immigrant parents in the 1960s looking to "ensure [their children's] future economic mobility" enrolled them in English schooling; concerns about this led to bilingual primary schooling, but even that often led to English secondary school. 15 Organizations such as the Mouvement pour l'integration scolaire advocated for French-only schooling for immigrants, which is how things stand today. 16 Thus on the one hand we must acknowledge francophone cultural and economic struggle in Quebec while also recognizing that francophone culture (like anglophone culture) is

¹¹ Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2012), 6.

¹² Ibid, 6.

¹³ Ibid, 45.

¹⁴ Ibid, 47.

¹⁵ Ibid, 47.

¹⁶ Ibid, 48.

part of a settler state that denies other languages and identities the same status that it holds.

These issues of language come into play in the present-day school system in Montreal as well. There are two public school boards: the English Montreal School Board (EMSB) and the French equivalent, the Commission Scolaire de Montréal (CSDM). Both boards include schools with Sistema-inspired programming, with their specific board affiliations listed in Appendix A. Education in Kahnawà:ke does not fall under the jurisdiction of Montreal language laws. Specific schools in Kahnawà:ke are described in more detail below, with different schools offering instruction in one or more of English, Kanien'kéha, and French.

Public School Music Education in Montreal and Kahnawà:ke

In addition to understanding the relationship between language, the school system, and Sistema-inspired programming, it is also necessary to have a basic grasp of public school music education offerings in Montreal. The music education curriculum is outlined in the Quebec Education Program. For preschool and Elementary education, various competencies are outlined, including rudimentary music theory as well as voice, percussion, and playing the recorder.¹⁷ There is also a music appreciation component, to be applied to a range of genres and styles.¹⁸

The emphasis of the requirements shifts as the students move into secondary education. During the first three years of secondary education, there are three "complementary and interdependent competencies" to be developed: "Creates musical works, Performs musical works, Appreciates musical works." Reading musical notation, composition activities, as well as a range of possibilities for learning musical instruments are all part of the curriculum, including strings, winds, brass, percussion, body percussion, and using sequencers and synthesizers. The

 ¹⁷ Gouvernement du Québec, "Québec Education Program," accessed Nov. 20, 2014, http://www1.mels.gouv.qc.ca/sections/programmeFormation/primaire/pdf/educprg2001/educprg200, 262.
 18 Ibid, 265.

music appreciation repertoire is the same as in earlier grades. The next three years have a fundamentally similar curriculum, though there is a distinction between the regular curriculum and the Music emphasis and Music and Multimedia options for students pursuing the subjects in more depth.

Of course, the curricular guidelines do not cover what happens in the day-to-day music programming of the schools. I will give a few examples of the schools' offerings based on the sites of the Sistema-inspired programs under consideration: Charles-Lemoyne (CSDM) and St. Gabriel (EMSB) in Pointe-Saint-Charles, and the Kateri and Karonhianonhnha schools in Kahnawà:ke. Charles-Lemoyne's website describes a special "programme d'apprentissage du violon" including Suzuki violin method, concerts, and a string orchestra, available from first to sixth grade. (It is unclear how many children are able to participate or if there are costs associated with the program.) St. Gabriel has a music program as well, with a music specialist teacher on staff. They also highlight several extra-curricular programs, including Viva! Sistema and the Heart of the City Piano Program.¹⁹

The schools in Kahnawà:ke do not fall under the Quebec education program, and have different curricula. The Kateri school in Kahnawà:ke is part of the York Catholic District School Board, and has a music specialist on staff, listed as the "Music Itinerant." Choir is listed as a school club. A Christmas Concert is currently advertised on the front page. Their curriculum is actually based on guidelines from the Ontario Ministry of Education, and instruction is in English. The Karonhianónhnha school, also in Kahnawà:ke, is the Kanien'kéha language immersion school. The students study in Kanien'kéha until later primary years (fourth grade on) when French and English are added as languages of instruction. Curricular resources are

¹⁹ St. Gabriel Elementary School, "Extra-Curricular Programming," accessed Dec. 3, 2014, http://www.emsb.qc.ca/stgabriel/.

developed locally. Music education is mentioned in the context of extra-curricular activities available: "art, native crafts, traditional singing, reading remediation and sports programs."²⁰

The Newspapers and Methodological Approach

The publications under consideration in my study include the French-language publications *Le Devoir, La Presse*, and *Le Journal de Montréal*; I also considered the English-language publication *The Montreal Gazette* as well as the music industry monthly magazine *La Scena Musicale*, which is published in both languages. *The Montreal Gazette* is the only daily English-language newspaper for Montreal. It is overseen by Postmedia Network Inc., an organization that produces exclusively English-language media content. *Le Journal de Montréal* is a French-language, daily tabloid newspaper. It is run by media conglomerate Quebecor, and has the highest circulation of any daily French newspaper in all of North America. ²¹*La Presse* is *Le Journal de Montréal* is most obvious competitor; it is published Monday through Saturday and is part of French media conglomerate Gesca Limitée. *Le Devoir* is a French newspaper, also published only Monday through Saturday, and is the only large independent newspaper in the city.

This study covers articles from January 2011 - August 2014, encompassing the beginnings of both Viva! Sistema and Share the Warmth's Sistema-inspired programming, as well as Garage à musique's expansion into their new building. I looked for discussions both of the Sistema-inspired programs in Montreal as well as articles about the Venezuelan El Sistema and famous affiliates such as Dudamel. I grouped the articles studied by using various keywords according to the most prominent themes I encountered. These key ideas were then grouped under

²⁰ Karonhianonhnha Tsi Ionterihwaiensthakwa, Home Page, accessed Dec. 3, 2014, http://karonhianonhnha.gc.com/.

²¹ *Le Journal de Montréal*, "The Great Journal de Montréal Adventure," accessed Nov. 30, 2014, http://portail.journalmtl.com/pagesen/historique_en.html.

the three main themes that serve as subjects for each chapter: mission, money, and music. This thematic organization makes it easier to compare different programs within Montreal, as well as draw parallels with other Canadian programs and with the Venezuelan El Sistema. For a full listing of the newspaper articles, please consult the bibliography.

The Neighbourhoods

Each of the neighbourhoods under consideration has been chosen for Sistema-inspired programming largely because they have been identified as "underprivileged." In order to gain a material sense of this concept, I have created a chart comparing key statistics for the neighbourhoods in question. While this is an extremely narrow view of the actual characteristics of a given community, it is nonetheless a useful frame of reference. The Garage à musique program is situated in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, with its umbrella organization, the Fondation Dr Julien, also serving Côte-des-Neiges. Viva! Sistema serves both Pointe-Saint-Charles neighbourhood in southwest Montreal and Kahnawà:ke. Share the Warmth is located in Pointe-Saint-Charles. It is important to note that the Viva! Sistema site in Kahnawà:ke is not in Montreal; it is its own separate community.

Table 1 (on p. 17) is largely drawn from the 2006 Canadian census. More exhaustive data is available but I have chosen to focus on a few markers: household income, language(s) spoken, proportion of population that is immigrants, proportion of population indigenous, proportion of single-parent households, average education levels, and employment rates. While these are a poor reflection of what it is actually like to be part of, say, the Pointe-Saint-Charles community, these figures to serve to connect the idea of being "underprivileged" with material reality. Kahnawà:ke does not participate in the Canadian census so a discussion of information about

Kahnawà:ke follows the chart.²²

By necessity, the census data is from 2006. Detailed neighbourhood data from 2011 is not publicly available due to recent changes in the Canadian census process under the current government.²³ This lack of data is a real concern for Canadian Sistema advocates hoping to measure long-term change in specific neighbourhoods. The chart features data specific to each neighbourhood compiled from the 2006 data available for the postal code(s) in which each program operates. In all cases, the census tract data is applicable to the postal code of the organization itself only; these areas are smaller than the entire scope of the programs' service, but still give a good general impression.

Kahnawà:ke does not participate in the Canadian census, so comparable data is not available. Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC) does track a limited amount of information, including population, geographical data, and contact information.²⁴

In a telephone conversation with the Membership Department, according to their records from Nov. 30, 2014, Kahnawà:ke has 10,657 registered members, 7,853 of whom live on-reserve. (These are more recent records than those available from AANDC.) I also spoke with the Tewatohnhi'saktha (Kaknawake's Economic Development Mission) and learned that other information, such as household income or unemployment rates, is collected within the community but is not publicly released.²⁵

²² Greg Horn, "StatsCan Releases 2006 Aboriginal Profile for Montreal," *Iorì:wase*, KahnawakeNews.com, Jan. 6, 2010, accessed Nov. 27, 2014. http://Kahnawakenews.com/stats-can-releases-aboriginal-profile-for-montreal-p589-1.htm

^{23 &}quot;Long-form Census Cancellation Taking a Toll on StatsCan Data," *The Canadian Press*, Oct. 27, 2012, accessed Dec. 2, 2014, http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/long-form-census-cancellation-taking-toll-on-statscan-data-1.1176466.

Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, "Mohawks of Kahnawake," The Nations, accessed Dec. 5, 2014, http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/Mobile/Nations/profile_Kahnawà:ke-eng.html.

²⁵ Telephone conversation with Tewatohnhi'saktha, Dec. 8, 2014.

		Montreal ²⁶	Hochelaga- Maisonneuve (H1V) ²⁷	Côte-des-Neiges (H3S) ²⁸	Kahnawà:ke	Pointe-Saint- Charles (H3K) ²⁹
Population		3,635,571	2,148	7,185	7,853 ³⁰	3,729
Household Median Annual Income (\$)		47,979	33,322	30,883	*	31,009
Mother tongue	French	2,328,400	1,840	1,035	*	2,010
	French and English	26,855	30	80	*	55
	English	425,635	90	1,085	*	1,070
	Other	807,630	165	4,860	*	545
Immigrants	Before 2000	575,010	130	2,810	N/A	435
	2001-2006	165,345	30	1,785	N/A	300
Indigenous		17,865	35	20	*	25
Single-parent households		180,220	165	370	*	295
Unemployment rates		6.9	7.9	19.8	*	9.5
Education level (highest obtained)	No certificate, diploma, or degree	653,320	550	1,385	*	875
	High school or equivalent	665,330	375	1,100	*	665
	College/ CEGEP/trades/ certificate	1,025,895	735	5,670	*	770
	University degree	623,175	240	1,545	şt	715

Table 1: Selected community statistics

^{*}Kahnawà:ke collects this data internally but it is not publicly available.

²⁶ Statistics Canada, 2006, Census tract profile for 0018.00 (CT), Montréal (CMA) and Quebec, accessed Nov. 27, 2014, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-597/P3.cfm? Lang=E&CTCODE=0274&CACODE=462&PRCODE=24&PC=H1V3S6.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Statistics Canada, 2006, Census tract profile for 0122.00 (CT), Montréal (CMA) and Quebec, accessed Nov. 27, 2014, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-597/P3.cfm? Lang=E&CTCODE=0378&CACODE=462&PRCODE=24&PC=H3S2A6.

²⁹ Statistics Canada, 2006, Census tract profile for 0074.00 (CT), Montréal (CMA) and Quebec, accessed Nov. 27, 2014, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-597/P3.cfm?

Lang=E&CTCODE=0330&CACODE=462&PRCODE=24&PC=H3K1T6

³⁰ Kahnawà:ke Membership Department, Report from Nov. 30, 2014, as conveyed in a telephone conversation Dec. 8, 2014.

The issue of language in Kahnawà:ke is different from the rest of Quebec. Laws regarding the use of French do not apply here, and much of day-to-day life in Kahnawà:ke is in English. (Children learn French as a third language in school, as discussed above.) However, the Kanien'kéha language is also a vital part of Kahnawà:ke culture. According to Simpson (2014), ten percent of the population speaks it, with an "aggressive campaign" underway to ensure that everyone speaks it.³¹

A good example of this "campaign" is the Kanien'kéha immersion program mentioned above. The Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa Language and Cultural Center has also done its own studies of the Kanien'kéha language skills of Kahnawà:ke residents via a telephone survey. The degree of fluency indicated by survey participants was as follows: 26% of respondents saying they had no Kanien'kéha skills, 41% beginner, 15% intermediate, and 12% advanced.³² In short, concerns about language in Kahnawà:ke are centred on reviving indigenous language in daily use, not debates regarding French and English as in Montreal.³³

Situating the Researcher

Lastly, my own involvement in Sistema-inspired programming must be made explicit before we proceed. I first became aware of Sistema-inspired programs in Canada while living in Vancouver (where I grew up) studying oboe performance at the University of British Columbia. After graduating, I spent time starting the oboe program and teaching class woodwinds at the Saint James Music Academy, where I first encountered the day-to-day operations of a Sistema-inspired program. This led me to start asking the questions that eventually led to this project and studying

³¹ Audra Simpson, Ned Blackhawk, and Gail Landsman, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 6.

³² Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa Language and Cultural Center, "Kanien'kéha Language Survey Results 2014," accessed Dec. 8, 2014, http://www.korkahnawake.org/language_surevey_poster_8.5x11.jpg.

³³ For further reading, Audra Simpson's book, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* provides an analysis of issues of identity, membership, and land in Kahnawà:ke.

at McGill. I am also currently a resident of Pointe-Saint-Charles (since June 2014) and volunteer once a week at Share the Warmth, helping out with the choir and string orchestra (since September 2014).

Overview

This project is not a study about the efficacy of the programs in Montreal. This is also not a pedagogical evaluation exploring methodologies in any great depth. By studying and analyzing newspaper articles, I seek to explore the following questions: how does the media report on El Sistema and Sistema-inspired programs? How are the needs of various communities diagnosed and described? What kinds of problems are Sistema-inspired programs tasked with solving, and what does this imply about how classical music is understood in North American society?

Following this introduction is the literature review; after that, this study is organized into three chapters. The first discusses the mission of each organization as they describe it and as the newspapers describe it: what are they aiming to do, who are they serving, and what is classical music supposed to do. The first chapter also includes theoretical scaffolding for understanding "inner-city" contexts in Canada. The second chapter outlines a framework for understanding charity, describes the varied ways in which the programs receive funding and also the relationship between media coverage and funding. In the final chapter I discuss the attitudes towards different genres of music present in each of the programs and make connections to theoretical ideas about class and culture.

Literature Review

The number of sources on El Sistema is growing quickly, with a wide range of disciplines engaging the program. Outlined here is a range of sources, starting with the primary sources, then books and articles discussing Sistema generally, those discussing how to adapt El Sistema to North American contexts, and more detailed reports about specific programs. Next, there is an overview of several recent dissertations that discuss El Sistema, including perspectives from music education, arts management, and entrepreneurship studies. Finally, there is an overview of the theoretical sources. These frame the study's analysis of the newspaper articles, informing the discussion of issues of language, race, and citizenship in Canada.

As a large part of this study is an analysis of media coverage of El Sistema, articles from the newspapers and journals discussed in the introduction figure prominently. Other primary sources include information from each program's website as well as various concert programs, application forms, and correspondence with staff applicable to each program and their affiliated organizations.

The number of secondary sources about El Sistema is increasing rapidly though book-length English-language studies are still few. Major sources in this area include Tricia Tunstall's book *Changing Lives: Gustavo Dudamel, El Sistema, and the Transformative Power of Music,* wherein she tells the story of the Venezuelan El Sistema. Published only in 2012, it was the first book-length English language source on the program. Very recently published (November 2014) is Geoff Baker's book, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela's Youth*. It promises a critical look at the "Venezuelan miracle," focusing on results from Baker's time in Venezuela doing ethnographic research on the program. Early responses to an article in the Guardian promoting

the book ("El Sistema: Model of Tyranny?")³⁴ indicate that it will likely be controversial.³⁵ A recent post from Baker (19 Nov 2014) on the Oxford University press blog provides a look at the history of music education and social control, critiquing the "discipline and profit" side of free education extending back to the orphanages of 17th century Venice.³⁶

In addition to these sources, there is also an increasing number of journal articles in a wide range of publications by various Sistema researchers and advocates. Marc Holston's 2008 article "Pizzazz on the Podium: Gustavo Dudamel," documents the Dudamel/Sistema fever that swept the music world after the 2007 Carnegie Hall debut of the Simón Bolívar Youth Orchestra. Following this, there is Eric Booth (2009) discussing his first impressions of the program in "Thoughts on Seeing *El Sistema*." Colin Eatock (2010) theorizes El Sistema's spread in "From Venezuela to the World: Exporting El Sistema." Maria Majno (2012) continues the theme of both reporting on and assessing the impact of the Venezuelan model with an eye towards its application worldwide in her article "From the model of *El Sistema* in Venezuela to current applications: learning and integration through collective music education." Music educator Caitlin Novakowski (2012) describes her teaching experiences in Sistema-inspired programs in "El Sistema-Inspired: The Joy and Goodness of Striving Towards Excellence."

³⁴ Geoffrey Baker, "El Sistema: Model of Tyranny?" *The Guardian,* Nov. 11, 2014, accessed Nov. 11, 2014. http://www.theguardian.com/music/2014/nov/11/Geoffrey-baker-el-sistema-model-of-tyranny

³⁵ Govias, "The Butcher, the Baker?" jonathangovias.com (blog), accessed Nov. 13, 2014, accessed Nov. 13, 2014, http://jonathangovias.com/.

Baker, "The Other Side of El Sistema: Music Education, Discipline, and Profit," Nov. 19, 2014, accessed Nov. 19, 2014, http://blog.oup.com/2014/11/el-sistema-music-education/.

³⁷ Holston (2008).

³⁸ Eric Booth, "Thoughts on Seeing *El Sistema*," *Teaching Artist Journal* 7, no. 2 (2009): 75-84, accessed Sept. 1, 2013, Open Access eJournals.

³⁹ Colin Eatock, "From Venezuela to the World: Exporting El Sistema," *Queen's Quarterly* 117, no. 4 (2010): 590-601, accessed Sept. 1, 2013, ProQuest Central.

⁴⁰ Maria Majno, "From the model of *El Sistema* in Venezuela to current applications: learning and integration through collective music education," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 1252 no. 1 (2012): 56-64, accessed Oct. 4, 2013, Academic Search Complete.

⁴¹ Caitlin Novakowski, "El Sistema-Inspired: The Joy and Goodness of Striving Towards Excellence," *Canadian Music Educator* 54 no. 2:14-17, accessed Oct.4, 2013, EBSCO Host.

Eliahu Sussman (2011) describes the Sistema USA network and engaging American contexts.⁴² An example of more theoretical research into the subject can be seen in Michael Slevin and Patrick Slevin (2013), examining El Sistema through a psychoanalytic lens.⁴³

Sistema Global, founded in 2011 by Glenn Thomas, is an international organization that seeks to "connect, encourage, and inspire El Sistema teachers and leaders everywhere" and "[wants] to tell the world about El Sistema." They serve as a resource for advocacy and connecting different programs, and are supported primarily by corporate sponsors. They published a literature review, "El Sistema and Sistema-inspired programmes: A Literature Review of research, evaluation, and critical debates" (Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, Grace Waitman, 2012). This is an invaluable resource, and for this study, we will examine those documents pertaining to North American programs.

Michelle Snow's 2012 DMA dissertation "Music Education and Entrepreneurship: Post-secondary music teacher education and value creation for individuals and communities" emphasizes the importance of entrepreneurship for musicians today in order to create a "sustainable career in music."⁴⁷ She describes the growth of Sistema-inspired programs in that context, arguing that "the language use by those involved in El Sistema frequently bears similarities to language used to describe entrepreneurship" and she identifies Abreu as "one of the world's top social entrepreneurs".⁴⁸

⁴² Eliahu Sussman, "Music as a Vehicle for Social Change: Mark Churchill and El Sistema USA," *School Band and Orchestra* 14 no. 1: 25-30, accessed 1 Sept. 2013, EBSCO Host.

⁴³ Michael Slevin and Patrick Slevin, "Psychoanalysis and El Sistema: Human Development through Music." *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies* 10 no. 2 (2013): 132-140, accessed Sept. 1, 2013, Wiley Online Library.

⁴⁴ Sistema Global, "About," accessed Dec. 13, 2014, http://sistemaglobal.org/about/.

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Andrea Creech, Patricia Gonzalez-Moreno, Lisa Lorenzino, and Grace Waitman, "El Sistema and Sistema-inspired programmes: A Literature Review of research, evaluation, and critical debates," Sistema Global, 2012, http://sistemaglobal.org/literature-review/.

⁴⁷ Michelle Snow, "Music Education and Entrepreneurship: Post-secondary music teacher education and value creation for individuals and communities," DMus diss., Boston University, 2012, vii.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 157, 159.

Lauren Silberman's 2013 Arts Administration graduate thesis project, "Globalizing El Sistema: Exploring the growth and development of El Sistema inspired programs around the world," is an ambitious overview of Sistema-inspired programs that aims to find ways of encouraging the growth of more programs.⁴⁹ Silberman's research question is as follows: "Who comprises El Sistema internationally and what additional structures are needed to encourage continued international growth of the El Sistema network?" and she summarizes her study with a range of recommendations such as funding sources and better teacher training.

Katherine Campe and Brian Kaufman (2013) discuss students at the Conservatory Lab School in Boston in "El Sistema: Development Beyond the Orchestra." They focus on the cultivation of non-musical attributes such as "collaborative learning" and "behavioral and performance skills", and they allude to the possibility of connecting literacy and mathematics performance in later studies. Very much in line with Sistema rhetoric, they argue that "as the students at CLCS continue to excel in their performance skills the curriculum will produce better musicians, better students and better members of society."

Ann Shoemaker's DMA project "The Pedagogy of Becoming: Identity formation through the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra's ORCHKIDS and Venezuela's El Sistema" compares the two title programs. She surveyed program leaders in Venezuela and Baltimore with a set of questions that clearly reflect common Sistema-inspired concerns: "social change" versus "musical accomplishment", the importance of the orchestra, funding, and pedagogical methods.

Of particular interest for this study is a report by Lisa Lorenzino of McGill and Theodora Stathopoulos of Viva! Sistema on Sistema in Canada. "Adopt or Adapt? El Sistema as an

⁴⁹ Lauren Silberman. (2013), "Globalizing El Sistema: Exploring the growth and development of El Sistema inspired programs around the world," MA thesis, University of Oregon, 2013.

⁵⁰ Katherine Campe and Brian Kaufman, "El Sistema: Development Beyond the Orchestra," El Sistema at Conservatory Lab, Boston, 2013.

Ann Shoemaker, "The Pedagogy of Becoming: Identity formation through the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra's ORCHKIDS and Venezuela's El Sistema," DMus diss., University of North Carolina, 2012.

Inspiration for Music Education in Canada" (2012).⁵² This is a summary of Sistema-related activities in Canada at the time, and frames a common discussion regarding Sistema-inspired programs in North America: to what extent are we exporting a framework from Venezuela (adopt), versus to what extent are we inspired by El Sistema to develop other programs here which may or may not look much like the Venezuelan Sistema (adapt).

Another Canadian source is Inga Petri's 2013 report, "Toward a National Sistema Network: Report on the needs assessment phase of project Sistema Canada." In the report, there are sections on "Making Our Case" and "The Keys to Feasibility", outlining the values of the programs, funding opportunities, and details about obtaining charitable status. The report recommended the creation of Sistema Canada to oversee Sistema-inspired programs in the nation.

Finally, several sources form the theoretical context for this study. Eve Haque addresses issues of culture and language in Quebec. Further discussion of immigration, poverty, and race in Canada engages Sunera Thobani's 2007 work, *Exalted Subjects: the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*. Her analysis brings postcolonial theory (among others) into an urban, multicultural Canadian context, exposing the founding concepts of citizenship in Canada. In discussing education, charity, and poverty, Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's classic text, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, will provide a useful framework. Finally, Sistema-inspired programs engage class and culture extensively by taking markers of high society (classical music) into "underprivileged" contexts; in order to investigate this, possible relationships

Donald, Stathopoulos, Lorenzino, "Adopt or Adapt? El Sistema as an Inspiration for Music Education in Canada," (paper presented at the 38th International Society for Music Education World Conference, Thessaloniki, Greece, 9-13 July, 2012), accessed December 1, 2014, http://www.gmea-aemg.org/.

⁵³ Haque, 2012.

⁵⁴ Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2007).

⁵⁵ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 30th Anniversary Edition,* trans. Myra Bergmann Ramos (New York: Continuum, 2000).

between class and culture are outlined, drawing on Bourdieu and his more recent critics via Tak Wing Chan's *Social Status and Cultural Consumption* (2010).⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Tak Wing Chan, Social Status and Cultural Consumption (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2010).

Chapter One: Mission

Many Sistema-inspired programs employ rhetoric that suggests a very sincere conviction in the efficacy of their programs towards the oft-cited goal of "social change". Mary Walsh, Canadian comedian and Sistema New Brunswick supporter, is a good example of this:

It's not about music. It's about social change...The weapon you use is a violin. The war is against poverty and despair and hopelessness.⁵⁷

Given the struggling financial situations of a number of North American symphonies, as well as cuts to school music programs, the promise of social change via a Sistema-inspired program has proven compelling to large numbers of educators and arts advocates. Not only is there a place for classical music education but apparently it may actually help win "the war" against "poverty and despair and hopelessness."

In this chapter I investigate the Montreal and Kahnawà:ke programs in terms of their self-identified aims, and relate these missions to the broader context of Sistema-inspired programs in North America. I will also discuss the overall public perception of the local role of El Sistema via news articles about the Venezuelan El Sistema and other Canadian Sistema-inspired programs. The link between music education and social change will also be explored through programs' relationships to educational institutions and community organizations. First, there will be an overview of each program's operations and how they advertise their own missions. This is not meant as an evaluation of their efficacy. Neither the relative newness of the programs nor the scope of this study allow me to comment more broadly on whether they are succeeding in their missions. Rather, this study is meant to explore the public understanding of Sistema-inspired projects and their aims through representation in media articles.

⁵⁷ Brent Mazerolle, "Canadian Comedy Icon Supports Sistema," *Times & Transcript*, Aug. 15, 2012, accessed Nov. 27, 2014. https://www.nbyo-ojnb.ca/news/canadian-comedy-icon-supports-sistema.

The Montreal Sistema-inspired programs are all fairly new, with the oldest program, Garage à musique, established only within the last five years. Viva! Sistema is the youngest program under consideration here. Theodora Stathopoulos has been instrumental in founding it, and her affiliations with the FACE school where she teaches have influenced the resources available to the program. For example, the YouTube promotional video "...in search of starry eyes" includes the FACE Symphony Orchestra playing the Simón Bolívar Orchestra's signature piece, the Danzón no. 2 by Arturo Márquez. The FACE Orchestra has also performed at Viva! Sistema concerts.⁵⁸ According to the original press release, the program was to offer ten hours of music instruction each week for free. 59 They operate in Pointe-Saint-Charles out of St. Gabriel school as well as in Kahnawà:ke, at the Kahnawake Education Center. They also ran a program at Giant Steps school from 2013-14; the only traces of it are a concert listing on the QMEA website and one photo on the new Viva! Sistema website. 60 Donors and supporters include the Atelier Jules St Michel, Caisse Populaire of Kahnawà:ke, EMSB, FACE Foundation, Kahnawake Education Center, McConnell Family Foundation, MEdUSA, QMEA, St. Gabriel's School, and the Zeller Family Foundation. Teaching focuses on the violin, including a strong focus on the orchestra and classical repertoire, as well as composition activities and, in Kahnawà:ke, efforts to include traditional music. The language of instruction is English.

Share the Warmth was established in 1989 as a charity, collecting clothes and food. They expanded their programming in 2007 to include youth activities, choir and guitar and keyboard lessons. Their "Sistema Intensive Music Program" started in 2012. It is offered as a "chance to learn music in a group setting and experiment with a micro-society" and is more frequent than

⁵⁸ See Appendix B: Concert Programs

⁵⁹ QMEA-AMEQ., "Viva! Sistema Press Release," accessed Aug. 8, 2014 http://www.qmea-aemq.org/viva-sistema-press-release/.

⁶⁰ Viva! Sistema, "Giant Steps School," accessed Dec. 2, 2014 http://www.vivasistema.org/giant-steps-school/.

⁶¹ Share the Warmth, "About Us," History, Accessed Nov. 27, 2014, http://sharethewarmth.ca/about-us/history/.

the guitar and keyboard lessons also offered. Classical music and the orchestra are the main focus, though there are folk and popular songs particularly in the choir. Instruments taught include violin, cello, viola, guitar, piano, and choir. They operate in Pointe-Saint-Charles, running programs out of their building at the corner of Fortune St. and Wellington St. as well as local elementary schools Charles-Lemoyne (CSDM) and St. Gabriel (EMSB). The Sistemainspired programming runs for three hours after school at Charles-Lemoyne from Monday to Wednesday, with a substantial snack provided. Separate from the officially Sistema-inspired component, Share the Warmth does charge a small fee for their guitar and piano lessons. It is on a sliding scale, and no one is turned away for lack of funds. The program is in French, though many of the staff and students are bilingual, and they are supported by various community organizations, individual donors, and corporate sponsors. In this study I focus on the Sistema-inspired component of Share the Warmth's programming, but they offer multiple options for accessible music education and have done so since 2007.

The Fondation Dr Julien itself dates back to 1990, and was well established as a community organization even before Garage à musique. The Garage à musique was established in 2009, as part of the Fondation Dr Julien's work in "social pediatrics." They explain the concept as follows:

La pratique de la pédiatrie sociale en communauté mise sur l'intégration sociale, le respect des droits fondamentaux et la réduction des impacts liés aux conditions de vie difficiles. Les services visent à soutenir les enfants et les familles à risque ou en situation de vulnérabilité, pour assurer le mieux-être et le développement optimal des enfants dans le respect de leurs droits et de leurs intérêts. 64

This emphasis on social integration, respecting the rights of children, and reducing the impacts of hardships is reflected in their focus on prevention of problems as well as taking a broader

⁶² Share the Warmth, "What We Do," Music, Accessed Nov. 27, 2014, http://sharethewarmth.ca/about-us/history/.

⁶³ Anna Schillgalies, email message to author, Feb. 4, 2014.

⁶⁴ Fondation Dr Julien, "Le modèle de pédiatrie sociale en communauté," accessed Oct. 20, 2014, http://www.fondationdrjulien.org/la-pédiatrie-sociale-en-communauté/le-modèle-de-pédiatrie-sociale.aspx.

sociological view of ways to address poverty. They are explicitly informed by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, introducing an explicit international humanitarian element into the context of music education. El Sistema is a strong inspiration for their music programming, but the Fondation Dr Julien's ideological framework was already well in place before the Garage à musique started up. They focus on both classical and popular music, with instruction available in drums, ukelele, percussion, double bass, electric bass, flute, piano, choir, violin, clarinet, cello, guitar, and recorder. There is an orchestra and a choir as well as bands for popular music. The organization started out serving Hochelaga-Maisonneuve and has expanded to include Côte-des-Neiges. Approximately 300 children are served each week, and programming is in French. They are funded by a wide range of organizations, including corporations, individuals, community businesses, and even the Canadian government (this last to be discussed in greater depth in the second chapter on funding). All the programming is free and tutoring is offered alongside the music programming.

This program is also the only one of the three currently undergoing a long term scholarly evaluation: Anne-Marie Piché of the School of Social Work at the Université de Québec à Montréal (UQAM) is carrying out a five-year study of the Garage à musique.⁶⁶ According to her page on the UQAM site, the National Crime Prevention Centre has promised to fund the Garage à musique for five years, and she will be reporting on their progress.⁶⁷

At this point, I will discuss the institutional framework for each of these organizations.

Share the Warmth and Garage à musique both originated in the context of a longstanding

⁶⁵ United Nations Human Rights, "Convention on the Rights of the Child," accessed Dec. 1, 2014, http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx.

⁶⁶ Piché, Anne-Marie. "Évaluation d'implantation du projet « Garage à musique » pour les jeunes, UQAM & Fondation du Dr Julien." Subvention Centre national de prévention du crime, Sécurité publique Canada, Fonds d'action en prévention du crime (FAPC). 2011-2016, accessed Sep. 24, 2014.

⁶⁷ According to correspondence with the author from September 25, 2014, she will not be publishing any intermediate results.

community organization. Their longstanding relationship with the communities in which they operate expanded into music programming. Viva! Sistema, on the other hand, is closely associated with educational institutions such as the FACE school. Both these models have precedents in North American Sistema-inspired programming. The social services model is exemplified in the Music Learning Center in San Antonio, Texas, based out of the Good Samaritan Community Services Center, while Baltimore's OrchKids collaborates with the public school system in Maryland.⁶⁸

As an additional point of comparison, I examined the programs' logos. Each design conveys interesting information about the organization's programming and public image.



Fig. 1

The Share the Warmth logo, designed by their Youth Programs Coordinator Anna Schillgalies, is in a cute, cartoon style: a teddy bear face in the largest circle, with smaller circles for the scholastic-themed pencil and apple, a place setting with a heart for dinner, and musical notes. Prior to her start with the organization in 2010, their older logo was a teddy bear sitting down to a bowl of soup, so this revised logo is a good indication of their expanding programming: it retains their focus on providing food, while also emphasizing school, tutoring and music education.

⁶⁸ Tricia Tunstall, Changing Lives: Gustavo Dudamel, El Sistema, and the Transformative Power of Music (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2012), 214-15, 221



The Garage à musique's logo features a musical staff in the background, with a stick figure designed out of shapes that suggest musical notation (such as sixteenth-note beams on its thigh), perhaps representing a child climbing higher and higher, aided by music. The font and rough edges of the blue background both suggest a certain fun or edginess, while the staff and notes are still more typical markers of classical music education. This is in line with the program's focus on popular music (garage bands) as well as classical music, and their advocacy of all kinds of



Fig. 3.1

music-making as a tool for social pediatrics.

Viva! Sistema very recently changed their logo. Their new logo, shown in Fig. 3.2, is much

simpler than the original one (shown in *Fig. 3.1*): the name with the quarter note in place of the exclamation mark. Their earlier logo, which accompanied their initial press release and was still in use on their Facebook page as recently as November 2014, is extremely interesting. Its chief imagery has nothing to do with music or children but is rather a fleur-de-lis superimposed on a maple leaf, then superimposed on another fleur-de-lis. This central choice of Quebec and Canadian symbols is unique. They are clearly Quebec-affiliated but also clearly not separatist! The Quebec Music Educator's Association (QMEA-AMEQ) affiliation is very prominent. The exclamation mark in their print name, Viva! Sistema, has been replaced here by a quarter note, the only hint that the program is music-oriented if one has not heard of El Sistema or the QMEA. They are also the only program naming themselves using the word Sistema.

Additionally, Viva! Sistema claims to be the only Sistema-inspired program in Montreal.

Their press release upon launching the program claims that:

On October 22, 2012, the Québec Music Educators Association/Association des éducateurs de musique du Québec (QMEA/AEMQ) will launch the first El Sistema-inspired music program (Viva! *Sistema*), in two distinct school communities in Quebec.

The wording of the press release is a bit ambiguous; technically it sounds as though they are claiming to be the first Sistema-inspired program anywhere. However, as there were already several well-established Canadian Sistema programs when Viva! Sistema started (in Ottawa, Vancouver, Toronto, New Brunswick, and more) it is likely that they are simply trying to claim Quebec as their own. This is further supported by the page on their new website (www.vivasistema.org, launched November/December 2014) that identifies the Canadian programs from 2007-12 and cites Viva! Sistema as the only Montreal program.⁶⁹ However, Garage à musique already had well-established programming by 2012.

These organizations provide a good foundation for comparative study; while they are all

⁶⁹ Viva! Sistema, "El Sistema," accessed Dec. 1-3, 2014, http://www.vivasistema.org.

somehow Sistema-inspired, they vary a great deal in their musical programming, public presentation, and institutional affiliations. These differences also affect the ways in which the programs are covered in the news. Before we discuss that, however, it will be informative to take a look at how the original Venezuelan El Sistema is discussed in Montreal newspapers, as this influences the public understanding of Sistema-inspired programs in Montreal. Those who have heard about El Sistema may be more likely to support a program, or be interested when they hear it is being offered. I have therefore surveyed the articles discussing El Sistema more generally, including concerts, CD reviews, and discussions of Gustavo Dudamel.

In a review of a CD by the Simón Bolívar Orchestra (July 6, 2012), reviewer Christophe Huss takes the time to discuss and differentiate different aspects of the reception and marketing of the recording:

Il faut distinguer l'initiative socio-politico-culturelle nommée El Sistema, son produit le plus emblématique, Gustavo Dudamel, et l'usage marketing fait de tout cela. ⁷⁰

He describes El Sistema as an "initiative socio-politico-culturelle", articulating several different dimensions of its operations: El Sistema the program, Dudamel, and the marketing power of these items. An otherwise straightforward review of a Beethoven recording becomes a discussion of music education thanks to the popularity of El Sistema.

A large part of this notoriety can undoubtedly be credited to Gustavo Dudamel, whose charismatic leadership of the Simón Bolívar Orchestra and the Los Angeles Philharmonic has done a great deal for El Sistema's international popularity. It is not surprising therefore that Dudamel is the subject of much of the press about El Sistema.

A brief section on television programming in *Le Devoir* (March 16, 2012) "Nos choix télé" includes a mention of the television program "Une heure sur Terre musicale." This

⁷⁰ Christophe Huss, "Disque - Orchestre Simon Bolivar du Venezuela, Beethoven Symphonie no 3, 'Héroïque'," *Le Devoir.* July 6, 2012.

⁷¹ Amélie Gaudreau, "Nos choix télé," Le Devoir, March 16, 2012.

particular episode focussed on Dudamel and El Sistema, "qui permet à bien des jeunes défavorisés d'étudier la musique." Dudamel's lofty trajectory—from a "jeune défavorisé" in Venezuela to the conductor of the Los Angeles Philharmonic—is arguably El Sistema's greatest success story in terms of establishing themselves as an internationally known music education phenomenon.

An article in *Le Journal de Montréal* titled "Mon nom est Gustavo" (Jan. 18, 2014) describes Sistema as a "programme musicale à plus de 300 000 jeunes loin d'être fortunés"; many articles that focus on Dudamel have single-sentence or even shorter descriptions of El Sistema.⁷² There are also mentions of Dudamel and Sistema in an article in the same newspaper about the season's classical music events, "Moments précieux" (Jan. 4, 2014). ⁷³

Several articles report on Dudamel's March 2014 tour which included a stop in Montreal. The first article employs his common nickname: *La Presse* announces that "Le Dude arrive à Montreal" (March 15, 2014). ⁷⁴The article describes El Sistema in Venezuela briefly, though it does not mention Montreal-area programs.

The tour was met with controversy: while Dudamel conducted a concert in celebration of World Youth Day and El Sistema's 39th anniversary, "armed militia, the National Guard, and police attacked innocent victims" in Venezuela. A small flurry of articles appeared in late winter and early spring 2014 dealing with this concern. The articles centred around reporting on Gabriela Montero criticizing Abreu and Dudamel in an open letter published February 13, 2014. Montero is a Venezuelan classical pianist; she studied outside of El Sistema but performed under Abreu when she was eight years old. Montero strongly condemns the state of Venezuela and the musicians' complicity:

⁷² Christophe Rodriguez, "Mon nom est Gustavo," Le Journal de Montréal, January 18, 2014.

⁷³ Rodriguez, "Moments précieux," Le Journal de Montréal, January 4, 2014.

⁷⁴ Caroline Rodgers, "Le Dude arrive à Montréal," La Presse, March 15, 2014.

⁷⁵ Lucie Renaud, "Seizing the Moments that Count," La Scena Musicale 19 no. 6 (April/May 2014): 8-11.

Venezuela is sinking and El Sistema will sink with it. We have moved past the point of no return. Music, ambition, and fame are worthless next to human suffering. They mean nothing when you are abused, injured and killed.

Her commentary is especially interesting in light of the number of Sistema supporters championing it as a solution for human suffering in their own contexts. It is also worth noting that Montero is not saying this in opposition to the arts generally; she makes her living (though deliberately not in Venezuela) as a musician.

Caroline Rodgers covered the story for *La Presse*, describing Dudamel as a "chef au coeur de la controverse." Rodgers outlines the situation in Venezuela:

Mais depuis quelques mois, la situation s'est encore dégradée au pays. De nombreuses manifestations contre le successeur de Chavez, Nicolás Maduro, ont été réprimées dans la violence et les journalistes de la chaîne CNN ont été expulsés du pays.

She reports that Montero criticized Abreu and Dudamel for not condemning repression in Venezuela, quoting Montero:

J'estime que des personnalités aussi importantes et connues que Gustavo Dudamel et José Antonio Abreu doivent aussi dénoncer cette répression. Ils doivent être du côté de la démocratie. En prêtant leur talent et leur célébrité à ce gouvernement, ils ne peuvent plus prétendre qu'ils sont neutres et fermer les yeux.⁷⁶

Abreu's response is in line with his long history as a careful and well-spoken political figure: "Ma réponse demeure un non à la violence et oui aux valeurs de paix, d'amour et d'unité d'El Sistema."⁷⁷ This sentiment is difficult to challenge: who can argue with generically condemning violence, while advocating for peace, love, and unity? And yet, perhaps unsurprisingly, he also fails to comment concretely on the situation. Rodgers also claims that "depuis sa fondation, El Sistema a toujours été apolitique." This is interesting, and fits in with much of the rhetoric around the symphony orchestra and its "universal" repertoire (see Ch. 3). However, the claim to be "apolitical" is complicated. El Sistema is indeed supported by the Venezuelan government, and has been since 1975, under the leadership of many presidents. However, most arts

⁷⁶ Rodgers, "Gustavo Dudamel: un chef au coeur de la controverse," La Presse, March 17, 2014.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

organizations that are supported by their national government would not identify themselves as political entities; this alone does not make them political. More clearly problematic is the way in which the claim to be "apolitical" interacts with their claims of using music to create social change. The very premise of El Sistema involves social change and creating opportunities for underprivileged Venezuelans. Surely this constitutes a political position. Montero is again profiled in May 2014, criticizing both Dudamel's lack of condemnation of violence in Venezuela and continued performing activities.⁷⁸

The next set of articles brings us closer to Montreal, focussing on other Canadian Sistema-inspired programs. These articles reflect the growing popularity of Sistema-inspired programming as well as setting precedents for what future Canadian programs might be. It merits repeating at this point: there is no such thing as a "branch" of El Sistema. Several programs call themselves "Sistema", such as Sistema New Brunswick or Sistema Saskatoon, while others have different names but nonetheless claim that they are inspired by El Sistema. Examples of the latter include the Saint James Music Academy (Vancouver) and OrKidstra (Ottawa). For the Montreal programs, Viva! Sistema clearly falls into the first, with Garage à musique in the second. Share the Warmth as an institution obviously is not named after El Sistema, but they do call their Sistema-inspired program the "Sistema Intensive Music Program" so the term is part of their description.

La Scena Musicale featured a story in May 2014 on the launch of Sistema New Brunswick's In Harmony Music Project, extending their Sistema-inspired work into classrooms in the province. The following September (2014), their regular column titled "L'Industrie musicale" features a discussion of the Edmonton Symphony launching YONA-Sistema (Youth

⁷⁸ Christophe Huss, "Musique Classique—Gabriela Montero: une conscience, ça ne s'improvise pas," *Le Devoir*, May 17, 2014.

⁷⁹ Note de Cours, "Lancement d'un programme inspiré de Sistema," La Scena Musicale 18 no. 3 (November 2012): 37.

Orchestra of Northern Alberta). YONA-Sistema receives funding from a variety of sources, including the Edmonton Catholic School District, Rotary Clubs of Edmonton Riverview,

Sherwood Park, and the Inner City Children's Program. The program is described as "gratuit et intensif de trois heures, cinq jours par semaine." While intensity is an oft-cited marker of what defines a Sistema-inspired program, managing to start with five days a week is impressive. Finally, there is an article (to be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter) reporting on Leonard Cohen's donation to Sistema Toronto in May 2012. Thus we have a discussion of the expansion of one of the country's more established programs (Sistema NB, est. 2009), the founding of an ambitious new program (YONA-Sistema), and one of the most famous Canadian musicians making a major financial contribution to this cause (Sistema-Toronto). While these mentions are not about the Montreal programs per se, they do indicate the national climate in which these programs are operating. Of course, many important things about the day-to-day operations of these programs are not reflected in the media coverage. News articles inevitably focus on that which is "newsworthy": major donations, new programs, expansions, and concerts.

One very interesting finding was a Share the Warmth hiring advertisement from the summer of 2014, shown in *Fig. 4* below, for a Directeur des programmes de musique.⁸³ In this advertisement we get a sense of how Share the Warmth's managers present the program to potential staff: how they describe their mission to those they want to help carry it out. The first sentence describes Share the Warmth as an organization "qui a comme priorité le développement global." Global development is an interesting choice of descriptor for an organization whose mission statement and other materials are otherwise fully focussed in Pointe-Saint-Charles,

⁸⁰ Shira Gilbert, "L'Industrie Musicale," La Scena Musicale 18 no. 7 (June/July/August 2013): 12.

⁸¹ Govias, "The Five Fundamentals of El Sistema," *Canadian Music Educator:* 53 no. 1 (2011), accessed Oct. 27, 2014. http://jonathangovias.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/govias-five-fundamentals-of-el-sistema.pdf

⁸² Catherine Lalonde, "Leonard Cohen redonne 50 000 \$ au Conseil des Arts du Canada," *Le Devoir*, May 15, 2012.

⁸³ La Scena Musicale 19 no. 7 (June/July/August 2014): 56.

serving residents with a food bank and school lunch programs, for example. Is this meant to attract particular applicants who would be interested in the "global" emphasis, or perhaps as a reflection of El Sistema's international reach? Their students are described as "enfants et de jeunes issus du Sud-Ouest de Montreal" and the programming includes "cours de groupe de guitare et de clavier, deux chorales dans un programme intensif inspiré par El Sistema." There are no explicit mentions of poverty or other challenges, though the need for someone who is understanding and non-judgmental is emphasized.



Directeur des programmes de musique

Partageons l'espoir, qui a comme priorité le développement global, l'éducation et le succès des jeunes, est à la recherche d'un(e) directeur (trice) de ses programmes de musique qui rejoint aujourd'hui une centaine d'enfants et de jeunes issus du Sud-Ouest de Montréal qui participent aux cours de

groupe de guitare et de clavier, deux chorales dans un programme intensif inspiré du El Sistema. La personne coordonnera tous les aspects de la planification, de la mise en œuvre du programme, de la formation de l'équipe et agira également comme porte-parole auprès de la communauté musicale classique et contemporaine montréalaise et canadienne, et jouera un rôle important dans le développement et le financement des programmes.

Exigences: Formation musicale formelle; passion pour la musique comme vecteur de changement social positif; connaissance du programme El Sistema; capacités démontrées de leadership; attitudes d'ouverture, de compréhension et de non-jugement essentielles; excellence en communication verbale et écrite; et bilinguisme (français et anglais). **Conditions d'emploi:** 20 à 35 heures par semaine, selon la semaine, entrée en fonction progressive d'ici août 2014.

Contactez **fionacrossling@partageonslespoir.ca** ou visitez le site **www.partageonslespoir.ca** pour en savoir plus.

Fig. 4

According to the advertisement, the director is responsible for planning the programming, training staff, and acting as a spokesperson for "le communauté musicale classique et contemporaine montréalaise et canadienne." The director is also to play a key role in the

leadership and further financing of the programs. The job itself is listed as part-time, 20-35 hours per week, depending on the week. The candidate is expected to have formal musical training, knowledge of and enthusiasm for El Sistema, as well as "passion pour la musique comme vecteur de changement social positif." Music as a force for social change is a common theme among those working in Sistema-inspired contexts, and it is interesting to see it listed as a separate element from knowledge of El Sistema.

Since advertising for the position, it has been filled by by Nadège Wary. As far as the development of Share the Warmth's music programming is concerned, this is a move that indicates a growth in importance. Previously, Anna Schillgalies was in charge of the music programs, along with all the other youth programming in the organization. While the instrument teachers were music specialists, the administrative staff were not. Wary works as the director of music programs, including teaching and conducting the string orchestra.

Share the Warmth and the overseeing organization for Garage à musique, Fondation Dr Julien, both operate as social services oriented organizations, offering various services such as food banks and tutoring in addition to their musical activities. In the newspaper articles, there were mentions of these organizations that did not discuss music at all, rather focussing on issues such as poverty and hunger and the ways in which the two programs fill those needs.

Because the Fondation Dr Julien is a large organization, with music programming as one of many different activities and services offered, I chose to focus only on articles where the Fondation's music programming is at least mentioned. For example, in the following article (*Le Journal de Montréal*, Sep. 2012) the chief focus is child poverty and yet the music programming is discussed: "Les "oubliés" de notre société/ La population n'est pas assez conscientisée à la détress des enfants croit le Dr. Julien." Poor children are the "forgotten" of our society, and Dr

⁸⁴ Sarah-Maude Lefebvre, "Les "oubliés" de notre société/ La population n'est pas assez conscientisée à la détress

Julien's organization works towards ameliorating their condition. The article describes increasing poverty among children in Montreal, highlighting a few key boroughs and municipalities:

Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, Montreal North, Verdun, and Lachine. Here is an example of how the music programming is described:

[...] le Garage à musique, un projet de développement social qui combine la pratique collective de la musique, l'accompagnement scolaire, et la pédiatrie sociale en communauté.

The social pediatrics focus of Garage à musique has a lot in common with Sistema rhetoric about social change. However, it incorporates not only collective music-making but also school tutoring, and the Fondation Dr Julien has an even wider range of community health-related activities.

As with the Garage à musique, Share the Warmth is often mentioned for its role as community resource. An article in *The Montreal Gazette* titled "Breaking the poverty cycle" (Dec. 14, 2013) discusses Share the Warmth and its relationship to Pointe-Saint-Charles. ⁸⁵ The importance of education is emphasized in the organization's activity. According to the article, "After-school programs, need-based scholarships and music lessons are already a big focus at Share the Warmth." While this only hints at the full scope of music programming at Share the Warmth, the fact that an article about ending poverty mentions the music at all is revealing as to the advertised and perceived importance of music in situations of poverty.

Another *Gazette* article, from July 11, 2012, titled "Hunger doesn't take a vacation...," is a short solicitation (only a few sentences) for food donations to Share the Warmth's food bank during the summer months.⁸⁶ There is no mention of music programming or anything beyond

Share the Warmth's role as food bank. However, these sorts of brief mentions are important for des enfants croit le Dr. Julien," *Le Journal de Montréal*, September 30, 2012.

⁸⁵ Peggy Curran, "Breaking the poverty cycle," *The Montreal Gazette*, December 14, 2013.

⁸⁶ Curran, "Hunger Doesn't Take a Vacation; Food Banks Struggle to Meet the Needs of Montreal's Poorest Families in Summertime, when the Kids are Home from School, especially at the End of each Month when Money Runs Short. Those Who can are Asked to Donate before Leaving on Holiday Trips," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 11, 2012.

establishing the ways in which this organization is understood by its community.

The ways in which poverty is discussed are of course also revealed in part in these articles. In particular, "Transcending poverty" features a photo of Share the Warmth volunteers, with a long caption that is revealing in terms of the media's discourse around poverty. Things that are listed as helping people "rise above" poverty include:

Food on the table, an educated mother, savings—no matter how little—and a web of support from family and friends can break the cycle⁸⁷

Interestingly, many of the recommendations are very tangible: food, money, friends, and family. This is readily contrasted with the emphasis of Sistema-inspired programs (and El Sistema itself): an increase in self-esteem, confidence, discipline, and motivation – all behavioural modifications. This difference is in line with typical El Sistema rhetoric, summarized well in one of Abreu's many quotes: "The most tragic aspect of poverty is not the lack of bread or a roof, it is the feeling of being a nobody." 88

While there are can of course be links between tangible and intangible elements, the difference in emphasis is noteworthy.

Viva! Sistema is difficult to compare on these grounds, because they do not have a separate social services component, though school tutoring is part of their daily schedule. This does not mean that they are not working towards social change – it is part of their stated mission:

Viva! Sistema is an El Sistema inspired and guided program that uses musical group instruction as a mean to affect social change in children and youth. 89

However, they see this change as occurring directly through the music education as opposed to as part of a broader effort. The concept of social change is not inherent in the organizational structures and mandates with which they are affiliated in the same way as for the other

^{87 &}quot;Transcending Poverty," The Montreal Gazette, December 14, 2013.

⁸⁸ Eliahu Sussman, "Music as a Vehicle for Social Change: Mark Churchill and El Sistema USA," *School Band and Orchestra* 14 no. 1: 25-30, accessed 1 Sept. 2013, EBSCO Host.

⁸⁹ Viva! Sistema, Home Page, accessed Dec. 3, 2014, http://www.vivasistema.org/.

organizations. They are primarily a music education program, as opposed to a charitable organization that offers many different services, with music among them.

Returning to the discussion of language, the programs operate in either French (Garage à musique, Share the Warmth) or English (Viva! Sistema). The community for each program has a different linguistic profile; the following statistics reflect the first language of residents. For example, 87% of the residents of Hochelaga-Maisonneuve speak French as their first language. 90 In contrast, the first languages of residents of Côte-des-Neiges are 15% French, 16% English, and 70% "Other." Pointe-Saint-Charles is 35% English and 65% French as a first language. It is worth recalling at this point that most immigrant children in Montreal are legally required to attend CSDM schools, studying in French. The program languages correspond reasonably well to the neighbourhoods in which they operate.

As described in the introduction, the situation of language in Kahnawà:ke is quite different. Most residents speak English, but the use of Kanien'kéha is increasing, particularly in settings such as their immersion school. A March 2013 feature on Viva! Sistema in *Le Devoir* touched on the importance of Kanien'kéha in the children's schooling. Viva! Sistema programming features time devoted to homework in addition to the music program, and the program tutors assist with the homework. However, children from Karonhianonhna (the Kanien'kéha language immersion school) have to do their homework in Kanien'kéha. The English-speaking tutors were not equipped to help with this homework, so, as tutor Nicola Miller explained to *Le Devoir*, "La bibliothécaire de l'école nous apporte bénévolement son soutien pour aider les élèves à faire leurs devoirs en mohawk."91

In the case of each of these programs, a decision was made about what neighbourhood

⁹⁰ All figures regarding language profiles are rounded to the nearest integer, and are derived from the table in the Introduction.

⁹¹ Caroline Montpetit, "La musique pour contrer le décrochage - L'orchestre comme mode de vie," *Le Devoir*, March 29, 2013.

should receive this programming. Snow (2012) quotes Sistema Fellow Eric Holmgren on this theme:

If you're setting up an El Sistema program, you're identifying a need. All Fellows do this. They identify a need in a specific community and describe that need and how their program will change it. Before they launch this program, they know who they're serving, they know how they're going to serve, and what they're expecting to be the outcomes. And by doing that, they can measure. 92

This "need" sets a neighbourhood apart from the norms of a city; the neighbourhood not only different but at a disadvantage. In the case of Share the Warmth and Garage à musique, both operational as community services providers prior to introducing Sistema-inspired programming, the neighbourhood was chosen long ago, though also because of a perceived need. The Viva! Sistema communities were chosen much more recently, at the outset of the program in 2012. These neighbourhoods are all chosen because the present demographics are seen as underprivileged compared to the norms of the city of Montreal. (Please refer back to the table in the introduction, p.17, for more detailed statistics.) Kahnawà:ke is an indigenous reserve just south of Montreal. Pointe-Saint-Charles and Hochelaga-Maisonneuve are both historically poor neighbourhoods, and the latter is proportionally one of the most francophone in the city. This Othering is an important dynamic at play in all North American Sistema-inspired programs, as each new program focusses on the poor, and/or indigenous, and/or immigrant communities.

My theoretical framework for understanding race and class dynamics in cities in the Canadian context comes from Sunera Thobani's work, *Exalted Subjects: the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (2007). Thobani's work analyzes the development of attitudes towards immigrants and low-income communities in Canada. She argues that inner cities are constructed as "perilous... zones" of colonization. ⁹³ Thobani argues that within a single nation, there are colonial dynamics at play in any context when educators, social workers, or volunteers come in

⁹² Snow, 177.

⁹³ Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2007), 226.

from outside to help. Colonizer-colonized scenarios can play out, not only between the global North and South settings, but between middle-class music educators and poor children. The inner city is "perilous" and Other, set apart by markers of material and social capital. In choosing certain areas that are in need of "social change" educators make judgments based on norms of Canadian culture and national identity. Classical music can serve as a means of facilitating the assimilation and integration of immigrants, low-income, and indigenous people into dominant Canadian society. I argue that El Sistema-inspired programs in Montreal and Kahnawà:ke may participate in this process.

The kinds of changes desired by Sistema advocates are often best seen in how they choose to evaluate their programs. What are the measures used to show success in creating "social change"? Viva! Sistema's new website was launched in November/December 2014, and it features a study based on their first two years of operation. Results are posted in the "Our Accomplishments" section, with the study described as follows:

Just before completing Year II of the Sistema Program, a survey was prepared to assess the impact of the program on the participating students. The questions aimed to assess behavior before participants started the Sistema program and behavior observed after almost 2 years into the program. The questions were categorized under 15 headings and were completed by the academic teachers of the participants – no administrators or program tutors participated.

The questions were summarized under the following categories, with bar graphs illustrating the before and after as assessed by classroom teachers:

- Ability to follow instructions
- Ability to share items
- Ability to adopt listening behaviours
- Ability to show empathy
- Ability to express emotions
- Ability to cooperate with others
- Ability to resolve conflicts with peers in a positive way
- Ability to help others
- Ability to wait his/her turn

For the most part, the study indicates improvement. The outcomes desired would not be out of place in a public school classroom, and focus strongly on obedient behaviour.

However, the study itself is limited. First, there is no control group: this is simply an assessment of one group of children's behaviour over a period of two years. That time span between original assessment and evaluation no doubt accounts for some of the changes.

Furthermore, while the student's academic teachers are not involved in the Viva! Sistema that does not make them unbiased towards the program or the children. They may be inclined to support (or discourage, though this seems less likely) the music program by reviewing it in a certain way, or even simply under- or over-estimating the improvement in their students in these categories. The questions are entirely qualitative and based on the teachers' perceptions of their students; this combined with the lack of a control group makes it difficult to attribute all these changes to the Viva! Sistema program. However, there is a great deal of pressure for Sistema-inspired groups to give evidence of the efficacy of their programs as soon as possible to ensure funding. This may account at least in part for studies such as this one.

This need to find funding is a constant concern of Sistema-inspired programs.

Understanding how they operate involves examining how these programs are funded, who funds them and why: all themes I will explore in the next chapter.

Chapter Two: Money

Montreal and Kahnawà:ke's Sistema-inspired programs are funded in a variety of ways, from individual donations to government support. Most of this funding is secured with the understanding that Sistema-inspired projects are altruistic pursuits that will achieve a wide range of goals, such as those discussed in the previous chapter, and that they are therefore worthy of charitable donations. A variety of strategies, from soliciting individual donors to applying for grants to forming relationships with well-known musical groups, are employed to create a financial basis for these programs' operation.

Each of the programs is established as a charity. The Garage à musique has a detailed online donation section on their own site, as well as a page on the Canada Helps site, which organizes many Canadian charities on one site for ease of giving. ⁹⁴ There are options for giving specifically to the Garage à musique or the Fondation Dr Julien more generally, and there are options for personal or corporate donations as well. ⁹⁵ Share the Warmth has a whole page on their website devoted to tax receipt information, stating that "As a registered Canadian charity, Share the Warmth has the ability to issue tax receipts to the individual or organization that has made the donation." ⁹⁶ The Viva! Sistema website states "We are able to provide tax receipts for your donations and gifts." ⁹⁷ According to minutes from a meeting of MedUSA discussing their fundraiser with Viva! Sistema, this status is a recent development:

They are on their way to getting charitable status, or looking into other options (like Viva Sistema splitting from QMEA). 98

⁹⁴ Canada Helps, "Fondation Dr Julien," Accessed Sept. 5, 2014, https://www.canadahelps.org/en/charities/fondation-dr-julien/.

⁹⁵ Fondation Dr Julien, "Formularies de don en ligne," accessed Sept. 5, 2014, https://www.jedonneenligne.org/fdj/index.php.

⁹⁶ Share the Warmth, "Tax Receipts," accessed Sep. 29, 2014, http://sharethewarmth.ca/.

⁹⁷ Viva! Sistema, "Get Involved," accessed Dec. 1-3, 2014, http://www.vivasistema.org.

⁹⁸ Music Education Undergraduate Students' Association, McGill, MEdUSA Executive Council, Minutes from Nov. 13, 2013, accessed Dec. 5, 2014, http://www.medusamcgill.com/november-13-2013.html

Their new website features their charitable status as well as including profiles of QMEA board members in the "About us" section, so it would seem that in the last year they have managed to get charitable status and maintain their QMEA ties.

Before delving into the details of these Sistema-inspired programs it is necessary to begin by exploring how we define and understand charity. As discussed in the previous chapter, the neighbourhoods with Sistema-inspired projects are chosen because a need is perceived: their inhabitants are somehow underprivileged, and Sistema-inspired programming promises to help. Charities can serve very important functions; many people are served by food banks and shelters. However, some have argued that these measures are temporary "band-aids" for larger issues of systemic injustice. A shelter is not adequate housing; a food bank is not food security. Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's classic *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* addresses the power dynamics inherent in charity:

Any attempt to "soften" the power of the oppressor in deference to the weakness of the oppressed almost always manifests itself in the form of false generosity; indeed, the attempt never goes beyond this. In order to have the continued opportunity to express their "generosity" the oppressors must perpetuate injustice as well. An unjust social order is the permanent fount of this "generosity", which is nourished by death, despair, and poverty.⁹⁹

According to Freire, those interested in working or volunteering for charities need to be aware that their ability to exercise "generosity" in this way depends on the perpetuation of an "unjust social order." In other words, in order to be able to give to the less fortunate, there must be those who are less fortunate. This may seem obvious but it is worth recognizing the difference between temporary relief and justice.

The need to "market" programs to prospective donors can create challenges for groups just starting out. For example, the need to show that a program is "effective" immediately creates a lot of pressure to conduct studies that may not always be sufficiently rigorous. Furthermore,

⁹⁹ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 30th Anniversary Edition,* trans. Myra Bergmann Ramos (New York: Continuum, 2000), 44.

Govias expresses concerns regarding the nature of this "marketing." In his example, if a program's chief promotional point is their direct economic benefit to a community, then they may be at risk of losing funding if another program proves to have a more immediate economic benefit. 100

The newspaper articles in consideration here have been selected as they relate most directly to this theme of funding and fundraising, though there is inevitably overlap with other areas. For example, reasons why a donor might give money often overlap with reasons for the organization to exist (see previous chapter). It is important to recognize from the outset that certain forms of funding seem to gain more media coverage than others. The main news stories were either about high-profile donors or were advertisements for public events. Benefit concerts, celebrity donations, and public fundraising make up the focus of the coverage, including reports on support from the rock band Simple Plan for Garage à musiqe, a fundraising dinner put on by Share the Warmth called the Table d'Espoir, and Viva! Sistema's benefit concert with I Medici di McGill Orchestra.

Many articles did not discuss the organizations in depth, or featured only passing mentions. In articles promoting or reporting on fundraising activities, these groups are often described in only one sentence or even a few words. The few words that are chosen can be particularly illuminating as to how the programs are publicly perceived.

First, it will help to give a comparative overview of how each group receives its funding. The amount of information that is publicly available varies a great deal. Materials such as brochures and advertising will also be considered. Finally, we will examine themes regarding the implications of funding these programs, charity, and the neighbourhoods they locate themselves

¹⁰⁰ Govias, "el Sistema: Sististics," La Scena Musicale 16 no. 6 (March 2011): 53.

in

Share the Warmth is currently funded by a combination of government support, businesses, community organizations, and individual donors. Their website organizes donors of \$1000 or more into the following categories: Corporations, Government Organizations, Individuals (not named; donations over \$20 are eligible for tax receipts), and "Foundations, societies, clubs and organizations." The website also places special emphasis on the importance of individuals' support:

Share the warmth depends on the kindness of individuals as much as on that of larger companies, governments and foundations. Donors choose which programs they support and show their solidarity with the people in our community who need the most help overcoming hunger and poverty. ¹⁰¹

This emphasis indicates an awareness of the importance of community involvement in work that is meant to support that community, and the use of the word "solidarity" conveys an attitude of collaboration with the residents. Their website also reflects their broad funding base, with a prominent "DONATE" button on the front page, and extensive listings of Individual, Community, and Corporate "Supporters" Their "Get Involved" section also includes three sections about how to support them financially. The "Donate" section, for one-time or recurring donations, has options for online as well as telephone donations. The "Fundraise" section solicits ideas for encouraging donations, including mentioning past events such as a sock drive, afterwork cocktails, or golf tournaments organized by companies to support Share the Warmth. Finally, the "Planned Giving" section describes "Your Share the Warmth Legacy": donating via life insurance or a Will bequest. There are also Network, Volunteer, Wish List, and Give Food or Clothes options.

Viva! Sistema is the newest of the groups in my study, starting up in October 2012. Its closest institutional tie is the Fine Arts Core Education School (FACE) where founder Theodora

¹⁰¹ Share the Warmth, "Supporters," accessed Sep. 29, 2014, http://sharethewarmth.ca/. 102 Ibid.

Stathopoulos teaches in the music program. The FACE Orchestra has also participated in Viva! Sistema concerts. Viva! Sistema contrasts with Garage à musique and Share the Warmth insofar as it is more closely related to an education program rather than a charity or social services model. As previously discussed, both scenarios have precedent in Sistema-inspired projects across North America. In contrast to Share the Warmth and Garage à musique, Viva! Sistema's web presence has very little about fundraising. They recently launched (November/December 2014) a website for Viva! Sistema itself; until then it had been part of the QMEA website. They list their donors in the "Get Involved" section: the Caisse Populaire Kahnawà:ke, Jules Saint-Michel Luthier, the Abe and Ruth Feigelson Foundation, the Zeller Family Foundation, the QMEA, and the McConnell Family Foundation. Viva! Sistema has an ongoing relationship with the Quebec Music Educator's Association, and has sometimes been introduced as "QMEA Viva! Sistema."¹⁰³ On the QMEA site, there is still a Sistema Activities section with a heading for fundraising. The only event mentioned is a fundraiser with the McGill Music Education Undergraduate Student Association (MEdUSA), where necklaces made from violin bridges and tuning pegs were sold. 104

Garage à musique is the most established Sistema-inspired program under consideration in this study; it has been operating since 2009. They receive funding from a wide range of donors, including law firms, a rock band, and the federal government, all of which are credited on their website. The "Aidez-nous" section on their website includes a fundraising brochure as well as a direct link to make a donation online. There are also opportunities to volunteer or to

103 "Stéphane Tétrault Plays Dvorak with I Medici," La Scena Musicale 19 no. 5 (February/March 2014): 41, 43.

¹⁰⁴ QMEA-AMEQ, "Fundraising," Sistema Activities, accessed Sept. 5 2014, http://www.qmea-aemq.org/2011-symposium/sistemaactivities/. The page is no longer available on the Viva! Sistema or the MEdUSA sites, perhaps indicating that the fundraiser is no longer running.

¹⁰⁵ The oldest Sistema-inspired programs in Canada date back to 2007 (in Ottawa and Vancouver).

¹⁰⁶ Garage à musique, "Fundraising Campaign" and "Pour Orchestrer ta vie!" accessed Aug. 25, 2014, http://www.garageamusique.org/images/PDF/2013_04_30_v2_brochureGAM_courriel.pdf, http://www.garageamusique.org/images/PDF/2012_06_19_brochure_gam_fundraising_campaign_vfinal.pdf.

donate an instrument.

The brochure shows quite directly how Garage à musique is trying to promote itself to potential donors. The brochure comes in French and English versions, which is noteworthy: the donation section is the only English part of the site. The brochure is titled "Pour orchestrer ta vie!" in French and "Fundraising Campaign" in English. It details the organization's history, outlines the budget for their planned new building, includes neuroscience research on music education, and then describes their general operating budget and strategy. The almost exclusively French web content (with the one exception already noted) as well as the disparity in the titles — one a very dry "Fundraising campaign" and the other a music-themed exclamation "Pour orchestrer ta vie!" — indicates a greater effort in communicating with the francophone population, consistent with the high percentage of francophones in the neighbourhood in which they operate. Their mission statement on the front is as follows, both French and English versions are from the brochure:

Offrir un lieu accueillant et des outils puissants aux enfants et aux jeunes issus d'un milieu défavorisé
To offer a welcoming space and powerful tools to children coming from an underprivileged milieu
They are welcoming children "from an underprivileged milieu" and giving them "powerful
tools." The brochure outlines the tools provided by Garage à musique in more detail.

Interestingly, the brochure also evokes a humanitarian angle: the Garage à musique "contributes to the optimal development of children and youth coming from an underprivileged milieu, while also respecting their fundamental rights, in accordance to United Nations' "Convention on the Rights of the Child." They are inspired by the "Music Garage" of New York and Boston and El Sistema, as these programs integrate into the Foundation's "Social Pediatrics in the Community" model. They also assert that "one child in two lacks the necessary tools to be successful" and so offer "educational support…adapted to their needs." Their neuroscience page

emphasizes the crucial role of "stimulation" in early childhood, and emphasizes links between child development and the economy, suggesting that investing in children's health has direct economic benefits.

The "Three Inseparable Components" of the organization are "Social Pediatrics in the Community", "Adapted Academic Support" and "Playing Music Together": music education is part of a larger framework. Their music program offers a wide range of instruments in popular and classical genres as well as activities for young children and aims to "[support] the democratization of music and culture." These themes of democracy and culture are ones to which we shall return in greater detail in the next chapter.

They choose to highlight a few specific financial supporters in this document:

The National Crime Prevention Center (NCPC) of Public Security Canada ranks this initiative among the rare innovative and promising projects that it has agreed to subsidize over 5 years. In addition, the Simple Plan Foundation has been an official sponsor of the Garage à Musique since 2009. The lawyers of Borden Ladner Gervais have supported the initiatives of the Dr. Julien Foundation, free of charge, since March 2008. The Nussia and Andre Aisenstadt Foundation subsidized operations before concluding its business and the Société Générale du Canada has encouraged its employees to participate in the fundraising campaign for the last 2 years.

Of particular interest are the support of the Simple Plan foundation (because of their relatively high profile) and even more so that of the National Crime Prevention Centre (NCPC).

The NCPC's funding is noteworthy because it represents a federal body taking direct interest in funding music education for the explicit purpose of preventing crime. This federal support for the Garage à musique reflects the way El Sistema is funded in Venezuela—by the government, as part of youth development funding rather than arts or culture. The support of the NCPC suggests that at least one federal organization is convinced of the connection between the Fondation's work, specifically the Garage à musique, and preventing criminal activity. It is likely that the Fondation Dr Julien's established reputation in social pediatrics in Hochelega-Maisonneuve for more than twenty years contributed to the case for funding Garage à musique.

107 Tunstall, 69.

The social pediatrics focus is echoed in choosing a social work researcher—Anne-Marie Piché from UQAM, mentioned in the first chapter—to carry out the study on the program's efficacy.

The fundraising brochure highlights the relationship between their programming and decreased criminal activity: Garage à musique "invites the youth to join an orchestra or a band instead of a street gang!" This is a rather dramatic assertion, yet one that is common among Sistema-inspired movements--recall Mary Walsh in the first chapter, or Abreu's own rhetoric as mentioned in the Introduction. Reducing crime through music is one of the organization's goals, but it is also a strong case to make in appealing for funding. Thus the reasons to operate the organization overlap with reasons to fund it. This is true for the other elements mentioned above as well. While they describe the organization more generally (how and why it operates) they do so in the context of a fundraising brochure and therefore relate the organization's mission directly to why donors might choose to fund it.

In February 2014, *La Scena* Musicale featured an article about a Viva! Sistema benefit concert in Pointe-Saint-Charles. Cellist Stéphane Tétrault played with the I Medici orchestra. The concert included the orchestra performance and promised to "introduce the students of QMEA Viva! Sistema." According to the event listing in *La Scena Musicale*, the event was held at Église St-Gabriel in Pointe-Saint-Charles, with tickets ranging from \$30 (regular) to \$100 (sponsor). The evening included a "post-concert reception for sponsors." Viva! Sistema is identified as "a music education program for underprivileged children in Point St. Charles" and I Medici's mandate to bring "the healing power of music to Montreal" is also mentioned. The article describes Viva! Sistema as a program that "provides after-school music education free of charge to elementary school students" and goes on to claim that "Without the proceeds of this

^{108 &}quot;Stéphane Tétrault Plays Dvorak with I Medici," *La Scena Musicale* 19 no. 5 (February/March 2014): 41, 43. 109 Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

benefit concert, the children would lose their music education." While the loss of Viva! Sistema would indeed change the music education available, it is worth noting that St. Gabriel school also hosts music programming from Share the Warmth and the Heart of the City Piano Program.¹¹²

The next month's issue of *La Scena Musicale* discusses the benefit concert, emphasizing I Medici's work. If Medici is an orchestra composed of amateur musicians with careers in medicine and science. The article discusses building bridges between music and science, and outlines the ways in which the members of the orchestra see themselves as possible role models for the children of Viva! Sistema:

[I]l s'assure dans leur vie professionelle grâce à celle-ci, de transmettre aux enfants de l'école Saint-Gabriel une passion pour la musique qui leur enrichissants entre la musique et leur permettra non seulement d'être musiciens, domaine d'étude ou simplement des musiciens amateurs qui désirent vivre une nouvelle monde et de faire le pont expérience de vie...

Here we see again a fairly common theme in Sistema-inspired programs: the children are to be enriched by music and to have new experiences but not necessarily to become musicians, echoing Abreu: "this is not an artistic program but a human development program through music."

Another article about the same event, in *The Montreal Gazette*, is titled "Supporting minimaestros." The program is described in brief:

[This program would] give economically disadvantaged children the opportunity to make music at no cost to themselves or their families. Through the music, they would have opportunities for personal growth and the sense of being included. 115

In describing the children, the emphasis is on their poverty—specifically, economic

¹¹² St. Gabriel Elementary School, "Academic Program," accessed Dec. 3, 2014, http://www.emsb.qc.ca/stgabriel/.

¹¹³ Charles-David Tremblay, "L'orchestre des sciences," La Scena Musicale 19 no. 6 (April/May 2014): 27.

¹¹⁴ Slevin and Slevin, "Psychoanalysis and El Sistema: Human Development through Music." *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies* 10 no. 2 (2013): 132-140, accessed Sept. 1, 2013, Wiley Online Library, 137.

^{115 &}quot;Supporting Mini-Maestros; Concert organizers hope to raise \$10,000 for St. Gabriel program." *The Montreal Gazette*, February 24, 2014.

disadvantage. The program seeks to address this through "personal growth" and fostering a sense of inclusion. The St. Gabriel's program, according to this article, has 22 children. The instructors are described as "music students at McGill University." Also noteworthy is the use of the phrase "mini-maestros" in the title. The word maestro connotes the international classical music world: conductors, concert halls, and the symphony orchestra. The children are elevated – given opportunities to grow – via their association with Western Art music.

A *Gazette* article from July 21, 2014, reports on high-profile help the Garage à musique received in preparing their new space: "Lawyers pitch in with landscaping, organizing." The article describes Garage à musique as an organization that works "to allow children to develop to their fullest potential" and "[aiming] to support vulnerable children and families and those at risk." The article follows the organization's three core areas as mentioned above: Garage à musique "combines the practise of community-based social pediatrics, academic help adapted to the needs of the children, and the group practise of music." The neighbourhood is also described in brief: in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, "one child in two does not have the necessary tools to succeed at school." All this discussion is within the context of an article that is chiefly about lawyers "pitching in": this collaboration is what makes the story newsworthy.

In another example of Sistema-inspired programs getting media coverage because of high-profile associations, there was an article in *Le Devoir* from May 2012 covering Leonard Cohen's donation to Sistema Toronto. The article does not mention Montreal or Kanhawà:ke programs but is still relevant as far as public knowledge of El Sistema and related programming. Leonard Cohen received a Canada Council Arts Prize of \$50 000 and donated it to Sistema Toronto.¹¹⁷ Interestingly, the article describes the program as a "branch" of El Sistema: as

116 "Lawyers pitch in with landscaping, organizing," The Montreal Gazette, July 21, 2014.

¹¹⁷ Catherine Lalonde, "Leonard Cohen redonne 50 000 \$ au Conseil des Arts du Canada," *Le Devoir*, May 15, 2012.

previously discussed, there is no licensing or franchise structure to uphold that claim. Sistema Toronto is briefly described as a program "qui offre dans la Ville-reine une éducation musicale intensive gratuite aux enfants de tous horizons." While the emphasis here is on intensive musical education for all ("de tous horizons") their website does emphasis serving "children at risk."

Another noteworthy event is Share the Warmth's annual fundraising dinner, the Table d'Espoir. The event is sufficiently high profile that *Le Journal de Montréal* covered the event two years in a row, in 2012 and 2013. In May 2012 the paper ran a story about the third year of the Table de l'espoir, with the subtitle "Pour que cessent la faim et la pauvreté chez les enfants." The article mentions the increasing rates of child poverty in Montreal, and briefly describes Share the Warmth's function simply as "inclut la préparation et la distribution de repas nutritionels pour les écoliers montréalais dans le besoin," The emphasis is on food, which makes sense given the event's themes of hunger and fine dining, and the target group of children is simply "dans le besoin." As with quite a few of the articles that mention Share the Warmth, it discusses its role chiefly as that of community resource (particularly their food bank and school food program) without mentioning the music programs. The event is summarized as "une soirée bénéfice annuelle alliant gastronomie et charité" – fine dining and charity all in one evening.

Mila Mulroney, event co-chair (and wife of former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney), is quoted in the article discussing the price of tickets:

Les billets sont disponibles au coût de 125 \$, mais il y a un crédit d'impôt de 75 \$, donc ce n'est pas cher.

The \$125 tickets are not expensive because there is a \$75 tax credit. This comment is revealing as far as the expected income levels of those in attendance and contributing to this cause.

The next year's article, in May 2013, also reflects this – those in attendance are described

¹¹⁸ Sistema Toronto, "Who We Are," accessed Sep. 15, 2014, http://sistema-toronto.ca/Who_We_Are.html.

^{119 &}quot;Troisième édition de la Table de l'espoir/ Pour que cessent la faim et la pauvreté chez les enfants," *Le Journal de Montréal*, May 20, 2012.

as "gens d'affaires et des personnalités". This time Share the Warmth is described as "lutte contre la faim chez enfants." Child hunger is again the emphasis of the evening, with Share the Warmth's active role in fighting child hunger emphasized. In both years, the ticket prices and description of the attendees imply a wealthy audience. This is a good illustration of the directionality of charity in terms of class: the wealthy attendees participate in an evening of fine dining to raise money for hungry children.

This directionality also comes into play with corporate donations. A February 2014 article from *The Montreal Gazette* briefly mentions Share the Warmth, as a volunteer describes the "quiet generosity" of two donor companies (Trudeau and David's Tea). ¹²¹ It discusses their support of the Share the Warmth Christmas dinner in particular. Share the Warmth volunteer Diana Henry is quoted:

[M]y front hall is full of beautiful things given by two companies not looking for anything – just moved by the idea of contributing.

Now, we can only speculate as to the reasons these companies may have for wanting to contribute, but we must also consider the fact that while they were "not looking for anything" they ended up with a newspaper article that shows them in an extremely positive light. They show "quiet generosity" and are "moved by the idea of contributing." Regardless of who initiated the media coverage, the article is in some ways an advertisement, and also builds on the reputation of the company as community-minded and ethically concerned.

All the articles that feature an organization's generous donations prompt the question: who benefits from these promotions? Does it raise Share the Warmth's profile to be affiliated with, say, David's Tea or a law firm? Does the affiliation with Share the Warmth raise the profile of a particular firm, or at least make people feel good about doing business with them? So much

¹²⁰ Marie-France Pellerin, "À Table pour une bonne cause," Le Journal de Montréal, May 28, 2013.

^{121 &}quot;Volunteer Lauds Quiet Generosity of Two Firms," The Montreal Gazette, Feb 17, 2014.

of the media coverage relates to noteworthy donors that it's worth considering who benefits the most.

A group of high-profile contributors in news coverage are music-related: Simple Plan, a French-Canadian rock band, was featured in a few articles in *La Presse*, *Le Journal de Montréal*, and *The Montreal Gazette* for their work with Garage à musique. The first article, in *The Montreal Gazette*, dates back to September 2011. It describes a benefit concert as well as the band's reasons for starting the Fondation Simple Plan. Titled "It only made sense for us to give back by starting a charity", it describes the band's understanding of the important role of music in young people's lives. They identify music as "escape, their lifeline, the only thing that could take away from the pain they are feeling." The emphasis is on relief from suffering, not improving behaviour or school attendance. A second article from later in the same month, published in the "Célébrités" section of *Le Journal de Montréal*, describes the children as "jeunes en difficulté." Section of *Le Journal de Montréal*, describes the children as "jeunes en difficulté."

In April 2012, *La Presse* reported on Simple Plan when the band received the Allan Waters humanitarian award for the work of their foundation.¹²⁴ Garage à musique was mentioned, along with describing the effects of music education:

[Garage à musique] fait la promotion de la pratique de la musique comme une solution de rechange stimulante à la criminalité ou au décrochage scolaire.

Music education is promoted as a "solution" to decreasing criminal activity and lowering dropout rates. The journalist outlines much more concrete, society-minded observations than the vague idea of music as respite from before.

The third article (Le Journal de Montréal, October 2013) describes a fundraiser for

¹²² Pierre Bauier. "It only made sense for us to give back by starting a charity." *The Montreal Gazette*, September 6, 2011

^{123 &}quot;Célébrités," Le Journal de Montréal, September 21, 2011.

¹²⁴ Martin Beauséjour, "Simple Plan." La Presse, April 9, 2012.

Garage à musique, featuring Simple Plan: "La musique pour aider les enfants démunis / Hochelaga-Maisonneuve." The children in question are described as "enfants issus de milieux défavorisés." In the article, Simple Plan's is described as having both a financial and mentoring relationship with Garage à musique children, including giving lessons. This fits in especially well at Garage à musique because of their popular music programming. Dr Julien himself is quoted in the article:

On a vu des enfants changer radicalement en apprenant la musique. Ils ont rétrouvé une estime d'euxmêmes et une motivation à l'école

In particular, he highlights their increased self-esteem and motivation to do well in school.

Why does Simple Plan's funding matter? As donors, they certainly generate more media coverage than another law or development company. While not necessarily an explicit consideration on the part of most of these Sistema-inspired organizations, it cannot hurt to have positive relationships with high-profile musical organizations in terms of building one's credibility. According to the newspapers under consideration here, Garage à musique has managed to do just that, both with popular music (Simple Plan) and symphonic repertoire (Orchestre de la Francophonie). The reasons for funding the program as highlighted are also interesting, in terms of what they say about children, society, and charity: Simple Plan has been given success and fame and so "gives back" in the form of starting a charity and mentoring children.

Further fundraising efforts are described in *The Montreal Gazette* in December 2013. A campaign for the Fondation Dr Julien raised "\$830,000 for disadvantaged youth." Dr Julien is quoted as aiming to address the "plight of vulnerable children" and to help each child "develop"

^{125 &}quot;La musique pour aider les enfants démunis / Hochelaga-Maisonneuve," *Le Journal de Montréal*, October 18, 2013

¹²⁶ Jan Ravensbergen, "Fundraiser nets \$830,000 for disadvantaged youth; 2,000 benefit from pediatric centres; Dr. Julien campaign continues to Jan. 15," *The Montreal Gazette*, December 16, 2013.

to his or her own potential." The article also briefly describes Garage à musique's operations, reporting that they serve about three hundred children in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve and Côte-des-Neiges.

Another *Gazette* article about Share the Warmth, from June 2014, discusses the Sam Pelc Scholarship available through Share the Warmth "to help deserving innercity [sic] elementary-school graduates complete their high school education to help make their hopes and dreams a reality." Anna Schillgalies, their youth programming director, is quoted as well:

We are excited by the growth of the program, and encouraged by the positive impact the scholarships are having in the lives of the students, and their families.

It is important to read the scholarship description carefully: it is awarded to elementary school students so that they can complete high school. This implies that the ability to finish public high school is linked to financial resources. It is unclear from the article what expenses are being covered, just that the scholarship has a "positive impact." Given that the subject of school continuance is a popular theme among Sistema-inspired program organizers, it is troubling to consider the extent to which the barriers facing students trying to finish even public school are financial.

Sistema-inspired programs connect classical music and "underprivileged" youth, suggesting that children can gain an advantage though the discipline and skills they will learn in these programs. Efforts to secure funding for the programs have been met with a wide range of positive responses and donations, including those from the Canadian government, corporations, and musical groups. This connection between symphonic music and the kind of "social change" associated with it merits further consideration. Therefore the following chapter will examine the musical genres present in the Montreal and Kahnawà:ke Sistema-inspired programs, as well as exploring the discourse about music and class—explicit or implied—in these programs.

^{127 &}quot;Students and Seniors Team Up for Art Program," The Montreal Gazette, June 9, 2014.

Chapter Three: Music

In the Fall of 2014, the Board of directors of the Conservatoire du musique de Québec à Montréal suggested that the Conservatoire close their five regional branches (in Val-d'Or, Gatineau, Trois-Rivières, Saguenay and Rimouski) to balance the budget. The Conservatoire has been a key part of music education in Montreal, established in 1942 after the model of the Paris Conservatoire. The announcement and immediate uproar from artists and other advocates was a major news story, with a range of opinions expressed. Robert Everett-Green, writing for the national newspaper the *Globe and Mail*, was not impressed: he derides the Quebec public's response to the political corruption investigated in the Charbonneau inquiry as a "collective shrug", in contrast to the "instant wave of protest" triggered by possible conservatory closures. He attributes this to what he terms Quebecois people's passionate devotion to a "culture of celebrity." Coverage in *Le Devoir*, however, took on a very different character. Parti Québecois MP Véronique Hivon identified the regional conservatories as the "poumons de vie culturelle" in those areas, and furthermore insisted on the importance of the conservatory in showing the value of "culture":

Un moment donné, il faut être capable de dire qu'il y a des choses qui sont essentielles si on veut garder un minimum d'offre culturelle et de montrer, comme nation, que la culture a une place importante. 129

The conservatoire serves as an important symbol of Québecois attitudes towards the centrality of "culture"; whether one agrees with Everett-Green or Hivon, it is clear that the general population cares about the survival of the Conservatoire, and classical music education, in the province.

This regard for classical music and concern for "culture" is reflected in news coverage discussing

¹²⁸ Robert Everett-Green, "Cultural Faux Pas: Why Quebec's Music Conservatories Aren't Going Without a Fight," *The Globe and Mail*, Oct. 9, 2014, accessed Dec. 6, 2014 http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/music/cultural-faux-pas-why-quebecs-music-conservatories-arent-going-without-a-fight/article21033493/.

¹²⁹ Marco Bélaire-Cirino, "Les cinq pôles régionaux du Conservatoire de musique sont menacés de fermeture." *Le Devoir*, Sep. 18, 2014, http://www.ledevoir.com/culture/actualites-culturelles/418758/les-cinq-poles-regionaux-du-conservatoire-de-musique-sont-menaces-de-fermeture.

culture, and undoubtedly has an impact on the enthusiasm for El Sistema expressed by Montreal journalists, discussed below.

In each of the Sistema-inspired programs in this study, ideas about music and culture are expressed in a variety of ways. These include choice of repertoire, ensembles, and instruments as well as how each of these elements is discussed. In this chapter, I describe the musical offerings of each program in detail, particularly in light of several newspaper articles that focus on primarily musical (as opposed to financial) collaborations as well as writings that more generally engage ideas of culture and classical music today in Montreal.

It is with these latter articles that we will begin: somewhat alarmist, they describe the death of classical music or the lack of culture in modern children. Most of these do also mention the Venezuelan El Sistema, usually as a shining example of their ideals, while overlooking the existence of similar programming in Montreal.

In "A clarion call for the restoration of 'culture generale'", Catherine Merklinger decries the absence of broad cultural understanding and knowledge among children today. She acknowledges the effect of public school cuts, but insists that there is a lack of knowledge among more privileged children as well. She also uses the French phrase "culture generale," claiming that the English equivalent, general knowledge, "somehow doesn't have the same eloquent ring." Her illustration of this lack of culture is a child at a music lesson not recognizing the song "Greensleeves." Merklinger is very enthusiastic about El Sistema, asserting that it "has reawakened awareness of the importance of music in children's lives" and she adds that it is "slowly being incorporated into eight schools in Canada." However, given that the two oldest Sistema-inspired programs in the country (Vancouver's Saint James Music Academy and

¹³⁰ Catherine Merklinger, "A clarion call for the restoration of 'culture generale'," *The Montreal Gazette*, April 17, 2012.

Ottawa's OrchKids, both est. 2007) operate outside of a school structure, this is likely an oversight. The whole article is insistent that "culture" is in danger, and in concluding she insists that "we need to nurture our children by honouring culture more purposefully than we are doing now." This "culture", however, is apparently represented by Greensleeves and symphony orchestra repertoire.

Valuing the symphony orchestra and giving children opportunities to participate in such an ensemble is one thing; claiming that children lack "culture" and therefore need to learn to play the violin is another entirely. As Sistema-inspired programs emphasize orchestral music, particularly in marginalized communities, it is possible to reinforce the notion that the only art forms that count as "culture" are those whose heritage can be traced to white, European practice. Baker quotes music education scholar Patricia Shehan Campbell, who calls this tradition into question in her book, *Teaching Music Globally*:

School music programs in North America, Europe, Australia and New Zealand, and in parts of Asia and Latin America have been successful in developing Western-oriented musical skills and understandings, and are celebrated for the effectiveness of pedagogical approaches that produce musically literate singers and players. Yet this is but one model, and a colonial one at that, which fixes European music (and its staff notation) and its pedagogical processes highest in a hierarchy atop the musical expressions and instructional approaches of so many other rich tradition. Should such a model be continued in the twenty-first century, in a time of post-colonial and democratic reconsiderations of cultures and their perspectives?¹³¹

Merklinger's concept of "culture generale" seems to be limited to these "Western-oriented musical skills" identified by Campbell, as Merklinger's examples of musical "culture" are limited to songs like "Greensleeves" and enthusiasm for El Sistema and the symphony orchestra. Montreal is a large and diverse city; while the symphony orchestra should not necessarily be avoided, it should be supported as one among many valuable forms of artistic expression with a diversity of cultural origins.

Christophe Huss takes up a similar theme in "Prendre la culture au sérieux" from October

¹³¹ Baker, 12.

2013.¹³² Likewise he claims that Montrealers are not taking culture seriously. Interestingly he makes the case that those in North America should be inspired by activity in the rest of the world:

Regardez, les meilleurs exemples nous viennent de ce qu'on appelait jadis le tiers-monde He cites El Sistema as an examples of the former "tiers-monde" outdoing the West:

Bizarrement, c'est le Vieux Continent et l'Amerique du Nord qui sont aujord'hui en train de rétrécir sur ce point, au lieu de prendre la mesure de leurs atouts

According to Huss, programs in South America and China are now being the "Vieux Continent" and North America at their own musical traditions. This suggestion is repeated by Sistema advocate Eric Booth:

Not only is [El Sistema] an effective nationwide social service program that turns around the lives of hundreds of thousands of at-risk kids but it also produces capital A art as well or better than anyone in the Western systems can manage. 133

The complex web of colonial history here merits its own study.¹³⁴ However, this theme of the Other, whether China or Venezuela, embracing Western culture's highest art forms can be extended to social class as well. Mark Churchill (quoted in Mauskapf, 2012) argues that orchestral culture in Venezuela has become "legitimately popular" as "culture [is] introduced from the lower economic strata." In both Venezuelan and North American programs, the most "Other" children—the "défavorisé", "underprivileged", and "at risk"—are those being targeted with this form of music education.

The concern for classical music's future continues in the following article, from *The Montreal Gazette* (May 10, 2014): "Looking for new rules of conduct: classical music needs to attract younger listeners in order to ensure a vibrant future, but is it possible for proponents to

¹³² Christophe Huss, "Prendre la culture au sérieux," Le Devoir, October 3, 2013.

¹³³ Booth, 76.

¹³⁴ See Roe-Min Kok, "Music for a Postcolonial Child: Theorizing Malaysian Memories," in *Musical Childhoods* and the Cultures of Youth. (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2006): 89-104. Reprinted in Learning, Teaching, and Musical Identity: Voices across Cultures. Ed. Lucy Green. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011): 73-90.

¹³⁵ Mauskapf, 208.

simultaneously embrace and challenge the casual nature and relentless pace of modern culture." First, author Pierre-Alexandre Bolduc invokes classical music journalism's well-worn cry of the need for younger listeners to ensure the survival of classical music. He then suggests that classical music must both work with the culture—embracing the fast-paced and casual—while also challenging it. This constant theme of the death of classical music, of young people not embracing it, of keeping up with "the times" is an important backdrop for Sistema, where the youngest and least privileged in a society are transformed into carriers of its oldest and most elite cultural institutions. Are we saving poor children or are they saving us?

This line of questioning has been pursued before. Eatock (2010) reports on El Sistema, discussing its relationship to the symphony in North America towards the end of his article:

These days, classical music is struggling with its own problems: declining popularity and a growing sense that the art form has lost its relevance. Some musicians (such as Simon Rattle) aren't averse to hoping that El Sistema could provide the shot in the arm that classical music needs.¹³⁷

He summarizes his point as follows:

Are El Sistema's cheerleaders interested in what classical music can do for the social justice movement, or in what the social justice movement can do for classical music?¹³⁸

In his PhD dissertation (2012), Michael Mauskapf addresses the theme of the death of classical music explicitly: he argues that classical music's struggle to "reconcile artistic creation with economic and cultural sustainability" dates back to at least 1900. Mauskapf questions who is benefiting in these Sistema-inspired programs, seeking to

...problematize the use of classical music as a universal vehicle for social action, and to interrogate who exactly is benefiting from this work in its American context--underserved youth or the ailing orchestra industry itself. 140

Both Eatock and Mauskapf suggest that Sistema may be revitalizing classical music at least as much as classical music is helping the poor.

¹³⁶ Pierre-Alexandre Bolduc, "Looking for new rules of conduct," The Montreal Gazette, May 10, 2014.

¹³⁷ Eatock, 600.

¹³⁸ Ibid, 601

¹³⁹ Mauskapf, xi.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 195.

This theme of El Sistema and Sistema-inspired programs revitalizing classical music practise is common throughout the secondary literature. Educators and scholars, trained in classical music and afraid that it is no longer relevant, find hope for their own passions in this program. For example, Eric Booth sees in El Sistema a solution to a problem he has faced as a music educator in America:

"Art for art's sake? Art for the sake of developing life skills? In America we feel these goals are somehow at odds. In El Sistema they are completely intertwined." ¹⁴¹

Another American Sistema educator, Mark Churchill, is quoted in Sussman's 2011 article:

The advantage [Sistema] has is a brand that is getting more people excited and talking about the power of music education than anything I've ever seen in my lifetime. It has this incredible celebrity spokesman in Gustavo Dudamel, extraordinary orchestras that are reinventing the experience of listening to orchestral music, and a moving back story...With all of that together, this is a change to get everyone's attention.¹⁴²

Sistema has people talking more than ever about music education, and is "reinventing" what it means to listen to orchestral music. Another music educator, Caitlin Novakowski, reflects on her experiences at the Youth Orchestra of Los Angeles at the Heart of Los Angeles (YOLA at HOLA). She describes it as one of her most "transformational experiences as a music educator." It "validated [her] philosophy as a music educator that every student, regardless of background or ability, should have the opportunity to grow and be confident through a community of music." She concludes:

I have been awakened to the successes of using music as a tool for social transformation. My love for classical music has been revitalized. 145

Novakowski has herself been transformed, "validated", "awakened", and "revitalized." Finally, Eatock quotes commentary from Rubén Gaztambide-Fernandez, assistant professor at the Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto:

¹⁴¹ Booth, 75

¹⁴² Sussman, 27.

¹⁴³ Novakowski, 14.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 15.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 17.

It's a perfect way to recast the elitist perception that the public has of classical orchestras...What better representation of the orchestra than a bunch of poor people playing Mozart?¹⁴⁶

Sistema-inspired programs may serve to change the way the public perceives the symphony orchestra, regardless of their impact on participants. None of this is problematic unto itself; educators who are inspired by their teaching is a positive outcome. But it is essential to be aware of who these programs serve and who is benefiting the most, and aim to keep these things in balance.

Interestingly, the Montreal and Kahnawà:ke Sistema-inspired programs have no financial relationships with the local symphony orchestras, unlike prominent examples in the United States, such as the Youth Orchestra of Los Angeles or Baltimore's OrchKids. In Montreal the two biggest symphony orchestras are the Orchestre Symphonique de Montréal and the Orchestre Métropolitain. As discussed, the OSM featured Garage à musique children in a concert, but does not have any links in terms of funding or organizational structure. The OM does not seem to have any affiliation whatsoever. On the other hand, the Orchestre de la Francophonie, a summer training orchestra for young professionals, has a longstanding relationship with the Garage à musique which will be covered later in this chapter.

Perhaps one of the most popular symbols of hope for the future of classical music is Gustavo Dudamel. He is featured in an article by Christophe Huss: "Gustavo Dudamel, l'homme qui a changé la physiognomie du classique." This need for classical music to change, to adapt, and to reinvent itself recurs throughout these articles, and here Dudamel is explicitly cast as a solution, with Huss describing the role of El Sistema in marketing classical music. Huss explicitly contrasts classical music's distress in North America and its flourishing in Venezuela, among those of less socioeconomic privilege. While no local Sistema-inspired programs are

¹⁴⁶ Eatock, 599.

¹⁴⁷ Huss, "Gustavo Dudamel, l'homme qui a changé la physiognomie du classique," Le Devoir, March 15, 2014.

mentioned, Huss does discuss the orchestra as societal microcosm and its role in getting children out of poverty:

[D]e sortir les enfants de leur milieu socio-économique défavorisé par la pratique de la musique en collectivité au sein des orchestres, vus comme un microcosme de la société.

The symphony orchestra as democracy or society is a recurring theme in Sistema rhetoric. 148

This theme of democracy is also reflected in the symphony's origins as a genre. There is strong "universalism rhetoric associated with nineteenth-century orchestral music." This idea of universality is uncritically echoed in Majno's article:

Music is a universal language, able to transcend barriers of countries and social strata, and is the ideal vehicle for conveying supranational messages. 150

Discussing the symphony orchestra specifically, Novakowski claims that "everyone always has a voice in orchestral music." Geoffrey Baker takes a more cynical view, suggesting that much of the fervor around the power of 19th century symphonic repertoire and practise is simply "engaging in bourgeois fantasies about the power of Beethoven to save the poor." However, Baker is not the only critic of El Sistema's focus on the symphony orchestra, and many Sistemainspired programs attempt to address popular or non-classical styles. This includes Canadian programs such as Garage à musique, with their emphasis on popular styles, and the Saint James Music Academy, which includes a Métis fiddling program. Viva! Sistema also features fiddle instruction, including the annual FACE Fiddlin' Fiesta. 153

This emphasis on the orchestra is reflected in a very popular ensemble for new Sistema programs: the paper orchestra. In an article from *La Presse* in July 2014, "Orchestre de papier",

¹⁴⁸ Mark E. Bonds, *A History of Music in Western Culture*, 3rd edition (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2010), 390.

¹⁴⁹ Mauskapf, 209.

¹⁵⁰ Majno, "From the model of *El Sistema* in Venezuela to current applications: learning and integration through collective music education," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 1252 no. 1 (2012): 61, accessed Oct. 4, 2013, Academic Search Complete.

¹⁵¹ Novakowski, 16.

¹⁵² Baker, Orchestrating, 14.

¹⁵³ QMEA-AMEQ, "Face Fiddlin' Fiesta," accessed Nov. 14, 2014, http://www.qmea-aemq.org/news/face-fiddlin-fiesta/.

Garage à musique cites Sistema New Brunswick's Moncton programming as an inspiration for their "paper orchestra." A common Sistema-inspired practice that originated in Venezuela, children use papier-mâché instruments to learn to transport and handle instruments carefully before using real ones. Hélène Sioui-Trudel of Garage à musique describes the benefit as she sees it:

Quand tu as un violin de papier, tu as hâte d'en avoir un vrai pour faire de la musique. Mais avant, il faut apprendre à bien le tenir pour éviter de le briser. L'Orchestre de papier va donner son propre concert juste avant celui avec l'OF.

Having to learn on paper violins increases their enthusiasm for the real ones. Reports from Viva! Sistema's similar programming suggest the same thing:

The children...practised on cereal box cut-outs and rulers. Soon, they had graduated to foam violins, until tutors Nicola Miller and Kaia'tanoron Dumoulin Bush felt the youngsters had learned the respect, patience and discipline needed to care for and play a real instrument.

Likewise, Share the Warmth's first concert in this school year (2014-15) featured a performance for their families where they "played" the paper violins and cellos, including naming the different parts of the instrument.

One useful way to gauge the role of different musical genres in the organization is to look at different groups they associate with, not only for funding but for mentoring or other performance opportunities. In the previous chapter, I talked about the Garage à musique's relationship with Simple Plan, which was both one of receiving funding as well as receiving mentoring and lessons. This is a good example of a relationship that reinforces the importance of popular music in their program. However, they have also collaborated with the OSM, and they have an ongoing relationship with the Orchestre de la Francophonie.

Their collaboration with the OSM is described in a series of articles in *La Presse* from December 2012. The concert in question featured Christmas stories by Québecois children's author Bryan Perro, alternating with musical selections from the OSM. The first of three articles 154 "Orchestre de papier," *La Presse*, July 19, 2014.

I found, "Bryan Perro découvre 'une autre échelles" by Daniel Lemay, mentions the children's participation:

En plus des enfants du Garage à musique de la Fondation du Dr Julien qui participeront à La Symphonie des jouets (attribuée à Léopold Mozart)"¹⁵⁵

The piece in which the children participate is a "Symphony of Toys," and the overall theme is stories from a children's author, so it makes sense that the OSM would want to include children in this concert. A different journalist reported on the event a week later, in an article "Bryan Perro et l'OSM: fusion réussie." According the the article, about "une douzaine" children were involved in the concert; it's a passing mention in an article that focusses on the OSM and Bryan Perro. Another article after the concert describes the event in detail, mentioning about twenty children and their teachers up on the stage:

[a]ccompagné d'une vingtaine d'enfants du Garage à musique du Dr Julien, ainsi que leurs moniteurs des sections de rossignols, de tambours, de crécelles et de triangles. Sympa. 157

The final comment in the paragraph—"Sympa"—suggests that the children are an important part of generating holiday spirit, as the next paragraph goes on to describe conductor Kent Nagano smiling and bass players wearing Santa hats.¹⁵⁸

More recent collaborations for the Garage à musique include the Orchestre de la Francophonie. Led by Jean-Philippe Tremblay, this is an orchestra geared at young professionals just starting out, and they have a mentoring relationship with the Garage à musique, even including Garage à musique students in their concerts.

An article entitled "Diffuser et démocratiser la musique classique" goes into detail about why Tremblay sees involvement in Garage à musique as so important:

¹⁵⁵ Daniel Lemay, "Bryan Perro découvre 'une autre échelles'," La Presse, December 8, 2012.

¹⁵⁶ Marie-Josée Montminy, "Bryan Perro et l'OSM: fusion réussie," *La Presse*, December 15, 2012.. "Bryan Perro et l'OSM: fusion réussie." *La Presse*, December 15, 2012.

¹⁵⁷ Lemay, "Bryan Perro et l'OSM: plaisir dépitouné," La Presse, December 17, 2012.

¹⁵⁸ On the longstanding association between the Christmas season, children and music, see Roe-Min Kok, "Negotiating Children's Music: New Evidence for Schumann's 'Charming' Late Style," *Acta musicologica* LXXX/1 (2008): 99-128.

Quand musique classique et implication sociale font bon ménage, les changes sont énormes pour que le chef d'orchestre Jean-Philippe Tremblay sort dans les parages ¹⁵⁹

Apparently Tremblay is well-known for his association with initiatives that allow classical music and "implication sociale" to interact. He talks about a desire to "démocratiser la musique symphonique" and the OF's relationship with Garage à musique is part of that. Tremblay describes their involvement:

La fondation du docteur Gilles Julien est une cause qui nous tient énormenet à coeur et particulièrement son volet du Garage à musique. Les musiciens de l'OF fournissent donc - de lurs temps afin de partager, leurs conaissances auprès de jeunes musiciens, pour enfin leur donner l'occasion de se produire devant un public.

Opportunities for OF musicians to share their expertise and time also allow Garage à musique students opportunities to perform publicly.

A more detailed feature on Tremblay from Summer 2014, in *La Scena musicale*, provides further insight into Tremblay's enthusiasm for music and social change projects. Tremblay has in fact conducted the Simón Bolívar orchestra in rehearsal. It describes his interest in "les projets qui font une différence dans la société", and links this to his orchestra's involvement in Garage à musique. ¹⁶⁰ Garage à musique is described:

Situé dans le quartier Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, ce projet de la Fondation du Dr Julien offre la possibilité aux jeunes de se développer grâce à la pratique d'eux de meilleurs musiciens et de meilleurs êtres humains.

The children of Hochelaga-Maisonneuve not only learn to play an instrument, but learn to be better human beings. Tremblay does, however, seem aware that the benefits of charitable relationships often work both ways, and he suggests that the benefit isn't always chiefly with the children:

Mais attention : on ne lance pas de programme musical ou d'activité éducative n'importe comment. « Les programmes doivent être faits avant tout en fonction des besoins des jeunes et non en fonction de ceux de l'organisme. Malheureusement, certaines activités semblent conçues pour le prestige et servir les besoins des institutions qui les lancent. Il faut consacrer nos efforts aux gens à qui on s'adresse, pour qu'ils apprennent vraiment à aimer la musique. »

He insists that programs must serve the needs of young people, not the organizations that are

¹⁵⁹ Joël Martel, "Diffuser et démocratiser la musique classique," La Presse, July 22, 2013.

¹⁶⁰ Rodgers, "Passeur de savoir," La Scena Musicale 19 no. 7 (June/July/August 2014): 6-8.

offering help, and he suggests that there are activities that tend more towards serving the needs of the collaborating institutions instead of the young people involved. His concern echoes that expressed by Mauskapf, discussed above, that the organizations collaborating with Sistemainspired programs may benefit as much or even more than the programs themselves. He communicates clearly his conviction that teaching children to love music is the main goal.

An article in *Le Devoir* (June 2013) describes a "Saison de Transition pour l'OF," mentioning their work with Garage à musique: "une cooperation poussée avec la Garage à musique lié à la Fondation de Dr. Julien." Another article about the OF only briefly mentions Garage à musique, as they were part of the OF's concerts in summer 2013; this article is entitled "Francophonie 2013: Beethoven et Gastronomie". ¹⁶² The children's participation is described:

Ainsi, pour la valse Empereur de Johann Strauss, inscrite au même programme que l'Empereur de Beethoven, l'OF a invité dans ses rangs des jeunes du Garage à musique, programme de pédiatrie en milieu défavorisé animé par le docteur Gilles Julien. 163

The inclusion of the children in this concert means that a very brief description of the Garage à musique and its aims has made its way into a concert announcement: it is a "programme de pédiatrie en milieu défavorisé" -- both phrases that are used commonly in Garage à musique's own promotional materials. ¹⁶⁴ Interestingly, we see again the inclusion of the disadvantaged alongside the elevated: young people from bad neighbourhoods on the same program as Beethoven and fine dining.

In July 2014 *La Presse* further discussed the OF's collaboration with Garage à musique in a feature article by Caroline Rodgers titled "Orchestre de la Francophonie: main dans la main avec le Garage à musique." This article not only discusses the Garage à musique but also their

^{161 &}quot;Saison de Transition pour l'OF," Le Devoir, June 21, 2013.

¹⁶² Claude Gingras, "Francophonie 2013: Beethoven et gastronomie," La Presse, July 21 2013.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Rodgers, "Orchestre de la Francophonie: Mains dans la main avec le Garage à musique," *La Presse*, July 19, 2014.

relationship with the Venezuelan El Sistema, and their emphasis on social change. The OF's collaboration with the young musicians of Garage à musique is described as "le point culminant de l'été." The Garage à musique is a "projet qui marie l'action sociale à l'éducation musicale," and Tremblay's enthusiasm for this sort of work ("les projets à portée pédagogique") is again emphasized. Rodgers quotes Tremblay, describing his impression of the founding ideas behind El Sistema:

Là-bas, ils se sont dit: notre société n'est pas parfaite, alors nous allons en créer une à côté, avec un système d'orchestres où l'on va essayer de faire grandir les jeunes. 168

El Sistema is described as a system of orchestras to help a society that is "not perfect." Even more exceptionally, Garage à musique is mentioned as one of few programs abroad to receive the "bénédiction" of Abreu himself:

Peu d'écoles reçoivent la bénédiction de José Antonio Abreu, fondateur d'El Sistema, poursuit M. Tremblay. Mais il parle avec beaucoup d'amour et de respect de Moncton Sistema, au Nouveau-Brunswick, et du Garage à musique, à Montréal. 169

Getting Abreu's blessing is a mark of pride, given that there is no such thing as official El Sistema affiliation, as discussed in the first chapter. Abreu's legendary status in the Sistema world gives his blessing a great deal of weight.

In the same article, Sioui-Trudel from Garage à musique described the purpose of a trip she and Tremblay took to Venezuela: to "intégrer leurs méthodes chez nous." She and Tremblay travelled to Caracas to meet Abreu and learn more about Venezuelan methods. Later the article includes more from Tremblay on the benefits of the program:

Ces jeunes bénéficient de la discipline et des méthodes de travail apportées par l'apprentissage d'un instrument, mais aussi du lien émotionnel qui se crée avec la musique qu'ils jouent. Cela développe aussi leur personnalité et les aide à s'exprimer.¹⁷¹

167 Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

He cites discipline, working to learn an instrument, as well as developing their personalities and self-expression through playing music as important components of this program.

Another feature article in *La Presse* (July 2014, Caroline Rodgers) about the OF discusses their collaboration with Garage à musique at length, lauding "la participation émouvante des petits musiciens du Garage à musique" as well as more generally championing the program: "la pédiatrie sociale et le Garage à musique, une oeuvre indispensable". The title, "Orchestre de la Francophonie: les grands et les petits," already emphasizes the importance of the collaboration of young professionals and the children and youth of Garage à musique. At the concert in question, younger Garage à musique students participated using papier-mâché violins, supported by OF musicians, while more advanced students played real instruments:

Dans le Boléro de Ravel, d'autres petits musiciens, ceux là assez avancés pour utiliser des vrais instruments, ont joué en compagnie de l'OF en faisant preuve d'une attention, d'une discipline et d'un souci de bien faire remarquables.

Rodgers emphasizes their "attention" and "discipline" as well as "un souci de bien faire"—the the young children are making an effort, paying close attention to follow along with the older professional musicians. The collaboration between the organizations is the focus, and there is no discussion of the extent to which the children or their neighbourhoods are disadvantaged.

In discussing the music involved in Sistema-inspired programs, it is important to develop a framework for how we make connections between class and different kinds of music. Many Sistema-inspired programs aim to give children cultural capital, whether they state this explicitly or not. Indeed, the cultural capital associated with classical music is an important part of Abreu's formulation. Abreu famously says "I demand that my art be dignified with the mission of creating of better human beings," and that mission is explained in terms of social mobility:

The high level of respect traditionally accorded to this music makes it a useful stepping stone for social advancement. Classical music is an ideal entrée into the bourgeois world—and Abreu makes no apologies

¹⁷² Rodgers, "Orchestre de la Francophonie: les grands et lest petits," La Presse, July 28, 2014.

for using it as a tool to help lower-class children acquire middle-class values. On the contrary, that's his goal. 173

The suggestion that middle-class values are more valuable than lower-class values is also problematic, and the implied relationship between cultural capital and musical genres is important to examine in detail.

Bourdieu is a good place to start in grounding our discussion of cultural theory, which I will do via a collection edited by Tak Wing Chan, *Social Status and Cultural Consumption*.¹⁷⁴ It is worth mentioning at the outset that we are not necessarily chiefly concerned with where different genres of music are in fact located, i.e. proving whether or not poor people listen to rap while the wealthy enjoy opera. We are as much concerned with the popular connotations of a given genre—how it is perceived—as we are with who actually consumes it. According to Bourdieu:

The 'dominant classes' of modern societies use their superior 'cultural capital', no less than their superior economic capital, in order to maintain their position of power.¹⁷⁵

Cultural capital is a source of power that goes hand in hand with economic might. Now, many different conclusions are possible from this analysis. The foundational El Sistema conclusion seems to be that the answer is therefore to make sure poor children have as much cultural capital as possible, so that they can become more like the middle classes. Bourdieu suggests that the relationship between class and culture is homologous; the wealthy consume "high" culture and the disadvantaged consume "low" culture. There is also the coding of different genres as part of different strata of art – classical and opera are "highbrow" while jazz and musicals are "middlebrow."¹⁷⁶ This "highbrow" connotation is exercised to elevate poor children.

However, Bourdieu's work has been criticized and refined, and research presented in

¹⁷³ Eatock, 599.

¹⁷⁴ Chan, ed. Social Status and Cultural Consumption (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 4.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 60.

Chan (2010) suggests that at least in North America, higher social strata are not in fact "obviously distinguished by their refined aesthetic tastes and their levels of participation in high cultural activities." Rather, an "omnivore" model of cultural consumption is suggested, where upper social strata are defined not by consuming elite art forms but by consuming a "greater *and* wider" range – in other words, not just "high" forms but a very wide variety of tastes is favoured. In other words:

Omnivores may be seen as embracing a new aesthetic which, even if it were more inclusive, democratic, and relativist than that which earlier prevailed, can still serve to express cultural *and* social superiority ¹⁷⁸ Superior cultural capital therefore can be expressed through a variety of genres. Both attitudes are evident in Sistema-inspired programming; the traditional homologous view (via Bourdieu) emphasizes the need for poor children to develop a literacy in higher forms, while the more omnivorous view, perhaps represented by programs that include popular or traditional music alongside symphonic repertoire, indicates an emphasis on understanding a wider range of musical expression.

This cultural theory also helps provide insight into the "panic" present in many of the newspaper articles I found discussing the present state of culture and classical music:

There is a long line of inquiry in social theory, stretching back at least to Plato's Republic, that is concerned with the social functions of music and, indeed, with its *effects* on social organization. While, today, [these concerns are] perhaps more visible outside of the academy in moral panics surrounding the alleged malign influence of various developments in popular music such as 'rap' and 'heavy metal' (e.g. Binder, 1993) or grist for the self-improvement industry mill (e.g. the 'Mozart effect')...¹⁷⁹

This "moral panic" can be seen in the articles in my study that lamented the lack of respect for "culture generale." Bourdieus' theory suggests that social class and aesthetic preferences are homologous; the wealthy like opera and the poor like rap. While this has been shown to be overly simplistic insofar as describing actual tastes, Chan shows that there are vestiges of this

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 5.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 9.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 58.

association in North American society today. The economic dimensions of class go beyond simply the price of things, with popular musicians' shows at the Bell Centre classed differently from those at the Maison Symphonique, even if a popular artist's concert is at least as expensive as a night at the OSM. It is perhaps these elevated associations of classical music, however, that are part of what makes Sistema-inspired programs so popular among advocates for classical music education.

To give a better sense of the musical genres and repertoire of each of the programs, I've selected a few concert programs or other mentions of repertoire for further discussion. These documents are included in Appendix B, as well.

First, there is the June 2013 concert of Viva! Sistema. This was their first public concert, with a 4pm show at St. Gabriel Elementary School and a 7pm show the same day at the Kahnawake Education Center. In both instances the program is printed in English, though there are Kanien'kéha lyrics included for one of the songs. The St. Gabriel program included standards such as *Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star*, choral and violin presentations, and a feature piece that the children helped write with composer Tim Brady, *The Islands of Violins*. The children also played the toy parts in Haydn's *Toy Symphony*. The FACE Chamber Orchestra also played, featuring more advanced students from FACE school. The concert at the Kahnawake Education Center featured some overlap (including the Toy Symphony and another performance by the FACE Chamber Orchestra) and quite a few different selections. These included a Kanien'kéha song, *Ká:ts Konnorónhkhwa*, with singalong lyrics provided, a different piece with composer Tim Brady (*The Adventures of Tim the Cat*), and *Let's Go* featuring Joe Jacobs on the cedar flute.

The story behind Jacobs' participation is detailed in an article in *The Montreal Gazette* by Peggy Curran from June 2013: "Kids making music help to strengthen a community; School

program helps bridge gap between students". According to the article, Jacobs works as a janitor at Karonhianónhnha Elementary School where the children rehearse, and was convinced to join them after weeks of overhearing their rehearsals:

"They asked me to play with them, and at first I said no," Jacobs said. "But then I spoke to one of the elders, who said you should never refuse when a child asks you to do something." 180

The same program that featured Joe Jacobs on cedar flute also had a piece called "Mohawk Ballad", perhaps another reflection of efforts to engage local musical culture. Curran's article also describes the concert itself:

Backed up by the FACE orchestra, wearing their best future orchestra musician finery, they performed everything from Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star and a Mohawk ballad to Joseph Haydn's Toy Symphony and the new Brady piece.

The concert reflects their focus on string repertoire, including new compositions as well as traditional music. Overall, Viva! Sistema is the most straightforwardly classical in its presentation: children learn to play in an orchestra, starting with string instruments. There has been an effort to include traditional music, however, particularly in the program's Kahnawà:ke site.

Share the Warmth's program from their earliest concert of the 2014-15 school year includes various children's choir folk songs, and *Frère Jacques* and *Vent frais, vent du matin* for the beginner string players. Their Holiday concert (Dec. 5, 2014) featured seasonally appropriate songs but also a children's choir rendition of Pharell's hit song *Happy*, suggesting an effort to engage with popular music that the children may already know. More broadly, Share the Warmth has a range of music programming. It started with group guitar and piano lessons, and they feature choral music more prominently than either one of the other organizations. The focus of their Sistema-inspired program is classical, including choir, orchestra, and a guitar class.

A short article announcing the opening of a new space for Garage à musique gives a good 180 Curran, "Kids making music help to strengthen a community; School program helps bridge gap between students," *The Montreal Gazette*, August 6, 2014.

hint about their attitudes towards different genres: the title of the concert is "Du Baroque au rock", clearly reflective of their embrace of both classical and popular styles. ¹⁸¹ The wide range of instruments taught at Garage à musique is a good example of their attitude towards including both popular and classical styles. Violin, cello, piano, flute, and clarinet lessons are offered, with conductors for the orchestra and choir also named. ¹⁸² Their double-bass teachers cover both stand-up bass and electric bass, and another teacher offers instruction in ukelele, drums, and other percussion. Garage à musique features popular music more prominently than the other programs in my study.

The case of Viva! Sistema's programming in Kahnawà:ke merits closer consideration. It's one ofvery few examples of Sistema-inspired programs in indigenous territory, the others being Darlene Nuqingaq's Iqaluit Music Society and a Sistema New Brunswick site in Tobique First Nation. On March 28, 2014, Theodora Stathopoulos presented a colloquium at McGill University alongside Lisa Lorenzino titled "El Sistema: Local, National, and International Developments." Stathopoulos' own presentation was titled "Is there a place for Sistema in indigenous communities?" She described the Viva! Sistema program in Kahnawà:ke, as well as mentioning other programs in indigenous territory. The premise of the study was addressing concerns she had encountered regarding the appropriateness of Sistema-inspired Western classical music programming in an indigenous community, particularly in light of colonial harm to indigenous culture and the imposition of Western practices and values.

She described Darlene Nuqingaq's adaptation of Sistema in the Iqaluit Music Society.

Nuqingaq is conscious of what Stathopoulos described as the musical practises of early

181 Rodger Brulotte, "Le Garage à musique," Le Journal de Montréal, June 7, 2014.

¹⁸² Garage à musique, "Volet musique," L'Équipe, accessed Dec. 4, 2014, http://www.garageamusique.org/lequipe/volet-musique?limitstart=0.

¹⁸³ Lisa Lorenzino and Theodora Stathopoulos, "El Sistema: Local, National, and International Developments," Colloquium presentation at McGill University, March 28, 2014.

colonization lingering in Inuit communities, where problems arose from the focus on teaching exclusively classical repertoire. Nuqingaq addresses this in large part by her program's focus on fiddling, choosing to "adapt" the El Sistema model to her context. Stathopoulos outlines Sistema New Brunswick's approach with the Tobique nation as a more straightforward "adoption" of Sistema principles, and said that the local community has begun to include Sistema New Brunswick activities in their "First Nations Student Success Plan." In terms of Kahnawà:ke itself, Stathopoulos mentioned a conversation with Kevin Deer, principal of the Karonhianónhnha School in Kahnawà:ke, where he talked about fiddling parties in the 1700s and their association with alcohol and promiscuity.

Stathopoulos suggested that the best way to make a case for Sistema in indigenous communities is to link "Sistema values" with the values of a given community. By showing them that "Sistema values" are their values, she claimed, they will be convinced of the merits of the program. She outlined her informal study, comprising conversations with community members in Kahnawà:ke who had only positive responses to her program. She ended with the conclusion that the benefits of Sistema-inspired programs outweigh rumours of cultural invasion.

However, further study would be needed to make conclusions as broadly applicable as she suggests. Sistema-inspired programs offer benefits common to many other extra-curricular programs: free after-school activities several days a week along with academic tutoring are examples of a positive effect that doesn't necessarily require learning to play the violin. Saying that communities appreciate the program does not say anything about the need for a symphony orchestra. Additionally, there are conflict-of-interest issues: Stathopoulos conducting these informal surveys herself may have made it difficult for anyone to respond thoroughly, and they may have felt pressure to comment positively on the program. This is not to say that Viva!

Sistema is having a negative impact in Kahnawà:ke. As with all of the programs that I have encountered, many children are enjoying themselves and learning to play the violin. Arguably, however, this alone does not prove anything about the need for Sistema-inspired programming. Of special note are comments from Viva! Sistema tutor Kaia'toronon Dumoulin Bush, herself from Kahnawà:ke and a former student of FACE School. She is extremely enthusiastic about the program, and, as quoted in *Le Devoir*, thinks "qu'il devrait y en avoir dans toutes les communautés autochtones ."¹⁸⁴ However, she of course cannot speak for all indigenous people in Canada. None of this is sufficient to conclude that Sistema-inspired programming is in fact the best option for every indigenous community.

Overall, the talk followed a common trend in El Sistema-related literature, identified by Baker:

Almost all [sources] started from the premise that El Sistema was a great success, a miracle even, and then tried to explain its secret. They began, overawed, with the conclusion—and worked backward from there. 185

Baker's wording is dramatic, but the overwhelming enthusiasm for El Sistema in the literature is hard to miss. Eatock (2009) also describes this trend:

El Sistema has emerged as a knight in shining armour, a gathering snowball, and an idea whose time has come. Its bright glow of hope, glory, and sheer goodness is blinding – so blinding that it makes a critical perspective difficult to achieve. Indeed, El Sistema's successes are so dramatic and its message is so inspiring that probing questions are rarely asked about it. 186

This trend of advocacy over inquiry, as Eatock suggests, is not surprising: El Sistema is exciting, and those who love classical music would be hard-pressed not to be intrigued by it. In the case of engaging indigenous communities, however, working backwards from a positive conclusion is especially problematic. Given the history of residential schools and other harmful aspects of missionary work in indigenous communities, educators wishing to work in these communities

¹⁸⁴ Montpetit, "La musique pour contrer le décrochage - L'orchestre comme mode de vie," *Le Devoir*, March 29, 2013.

¹⁸⁵ Baker, Orchestrating, 4.

¹⁸⁶ Eatock, 596.

must tread carefully. Certainly each community must be considered for what it is—a unique group with its own history and culture. Observing that Sistema-inspired programming in Kahnawà:ke is working well cannot automatically be extended to every indigenous community in Canada.

Furthermore, Sistema-inspired programming that wishes to address indigenous people in Canada would do well to consider the significant urban populations of indigenous people. Many thousands of indigenous people live in cities, including Montreal as well as major populations in cities such as Winnipeg, Calgary, Toronto, Edmonton, and Vancouver. Innovations such as the Saint James Music Academy (Vancouver) offering Métis fiddle class should be considered part of the conversation on Sistema-inspired programming for indigenous populations in Canada.

Indeed, even if the effects of a given program are not negative, they may also not be as urgent as much Sistema rhetoric would have us believe. Perhaps the community's resources would be better used elsewhere. The desire to start a Sistema-inspired program should be balanced with individual communities' needs.

¹⁸⁷ Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, "Mohawks of Kahnawake," The Nations, accessed Dec. 5, 2014, http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/Mobile/Nations/profile_Kahnawà:ke-eng.html.

Conclusion

Newspaper reporting on Sistema-inspired programs in Montreal and Kahnawà:ke covered a range of topics: special concerts, such as playing with the OSM; high-profile donors like Simple Plan; collaborations with other arts organizations such as the Orchestre de la Francophonie; as well as addressing underprivileged youth and poverty. Program activities were described, often with a brief note about the neighbourhood in which they operate: "defavorisé", "démunis", "en difficulté," "underprivileged", and "at risk." The most overtly complimentary articles were those editorials where the author championed El Sistema as an inspiration in the face of a perceived lack of culture in Montreal; however, they did not actually discuss the Sistema-inspired programs in Montreal or Kahnawake. 188 Criticism (of which there was little) focussed on Venzuelan politics, covering Gabriela Montero's accusations that Dudamel and Abreu were irresponsible to continue performing instead of speaking out against injustice and violence in Venezuela. Keeping in mind that El Sistema is presented as "social transformation through the pursuit of musical excellence" we will examine which sections of the newspaper the articles appeared in. For example, are the stories in in "Actualités" or "musique classique"? Since each paper has different names for their sections, they will be discussed separately.

In *La Presse* there were related articles in both the "Musique classique" and the "Arts spectacle" section, evenly split between the two categories. All of the coverage is in arts-related sections, unique among the newspapers. The coverage is exclusively on El Sistema in Venezuela or the Garage à musique, with no mention of Viva! Sistema or Share the Warmth.

The Montreal Gazette articles are distributed quite differently. Seven articles were in the

¹⁸⁸ Huss, "Prendre la culture au sérieux," *Le Devoir*, October 3, 2013; Merklinger, "A clarion call for the restoration of 'culture generale'," *The Montreal Gazette*, April 17, 2012.
189 Govias, *Fundamentals*.

"News" section, with two in "Editorial/Op-Ed", one in "Life" and only one in "Arts." The one article in the "Arts" section is about lawyers helping with landscaping for Garage à musique. Part of the discrepancy is accounted for because some of the coverage of Share the Warmth details with poverty and food bank donations, not their music program. Other articles in "News" do discuss the music programs directly (Peggy Curran, Aug. 6, 2014 and Pierre-Alexandre Bolduc, May 10, 2014, both in *The Montreal Gazette*). The different sections used suggests a difference between *La Presse* and *The Montreal Gazette* in terms of their arts-related coverage. Viva! Sistema, Garage à musique, and Share the Warmth are all mentioned in *La Presse* coverage.

Le Journal de Montréal coverage included eight articles, with four in "Nouvelles", two in "Arts et Spectacles" and two in "Musique Classique." Share the Warmth and Garage à musique are the only programs covered. The "Musique Classique" coverage is about the Venezuelan El Sistema, with the other sections discussing Garage a musique and Share the Warmth.

Finally, *Le Devoir* coverage comprised ten articles, with one in "Week-end culture", two in "Musique classique", three in "culture", and three in "Actualités." The coverage is mostly in arts-related sections. Viva! Sistema and Garage à musique are discussed.

Overall, coverage of El Sistema and Sistema-inspired programming is not restricted to the arts or music sections. While this implies that the program is seen as "more than" an arts program—a social change program, perhaps—it is not conclusive. The different newspapers may also tend towards different editorial decisions as far as categorizing news stories and so, while interesting, it is difficult to make any further conclusions based on the above results. The only programs mentioned in all four sources are Garage à musique and (unsurprisingly) the Venezuelan El Sistema. Garage à musique has the most established music program of the three

^{190 &}quot;Lawyers pitch in with landscaping, organizing," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 21, 2014.

organizations, which may account for this as more people may be aware of its activities.

In studying the media coverage, I hoped to gain insight into why El Sistema is catching on so quickly. El Sistema is certainly not the first instance of accessible music education targeting disadvantaged communities. Even within Montreal, there are other programs such as the Heart of the City Piano Program and Jeunesses musiciens du monde, both of which aim to serve underprivileged children. The enthusiasm expressed over Abreu and the Simón Bolívar Youth Orchestra is part of El Sistema's attraction; that El Sistema has produced outstanding musical talent is undeniable. However, the program also addresses an urgent concern in North American music advocacy: the struggle of the symphony orchestra to survive in the 21st century.

In a context in which classical music has been "dying" for the better part of the last hundred years, El Sistema promises not only that this repertoire will be played and appreciated but that it will be pressed into urgent service. ¹⁹¹ El Sistema is an application for classical music as much as if not more than it is a solution for poverty. This is not surprising; its origin story has as much to do with reclaiming Venezuelan classical music for Venezuelan people (instead of European expatriates) as it does with helping poor children. It started with the music first, with the power of the symphony orchestra and symphonic music then invoked to solve social problems. This feature of El Sistema—revitalizing classical music—is not its only success, and is not the only reason people support it, but it does play a significant part in creating advocates for the movement.

Music educator and scholar Wayne Bowman has written on music education advocacy, a field with clear relevance for Sistema-inspired programs. Bowman describes advocacy as follows:

Advocacy is a political undertaking, not a philosophical one... it is entirely possible, in fact, for philosophical truths to undermine what advocacy seeks to achieve. The advocate has clear ends in mind and

¹⁹¹ Mauskapf, xi.

is primarily concerned to persuade others to his/her point of view. 192

This echoes Baker's criticism of many Sistema-inspired program evaluations—working backwards from a positive conclusion—and is worth consciously engaging. Many working in Sistema-inspired programs are quite consciously advocates for El Sistema, but their position may be based as deeply in their own enthusiasm for music education as by concern for the communities in which they operate. This is certainly not to say that Sistema-inspired advocates do not care about the communities in which they operate. However, the rate at which new Sistema-inspired programs are being founded in North America far out-paces research results proving or disproving their efficacy.

In the first chapter, we examined each organization's mission: how they define their goals, how they are seen in media coverage, and how they operate were all considered. Montreal and Kahnawà:ke programs are based in educational institutions (Viva! Sistema) as well as community organizations (Garage à musique, Share the Warmth). Expressed missions are similar to those described by Sistema advocates elsewhere, focusing on improving children's behaviour and confidence.

Funding and charity were addressed in the second chapter. Each program draws on a wide range of sources for funding: private and celebrity individuals, corporations, and the government. Garage à musique joins Sistema New Brunswick in being one of the few Canadian programs to secure significant government funding over an extended period: support from the National Crime Prevention Centre. The idea that music education can help prevent crime has caught on with at least part of the national government. Given the relative youth of all the programs, expansion and sustainability are concerns. We also encountered concern about the

¹⁹² Wayne Bowman, "To what question(s) is music education advocacy the answer?" *International Journal of Music Education* 23 no. 2 (2005): 126, accessed Oct. 4, 2013, SAGE Publications.

relationship between the justification for a program's existence and its ongoing funding. ¹⁹³
Govias's example was that proving programs' worth entirely in economic terms may be unwise as it leaves the program in jeopardy if a more cost-effective option comes along. This can be extended to other aspects of Sistema-inspired programs' missions. Teamwork, punctuality, discipline, and respect for teachers are all common goals in other settings as well: for example public schooling, sports activities, and even other music or arts related programs all encourage these traits. There is a shortage of long-term, rigorous evaluation of Sistema-inspired programming in Canada, and little comparison to other possible models. Claims about its efficacy are therefore grounded in a belief in El Sistema that goes beyond assessing what is best for a given community. This is not to say that Sistema-inspired programs are having a negative impact. However, they are perhaps one among many programs with similar aims and should not necessarily be championed ahead of the rest.

In the third chapter, we looked at the implications of using symphonic music, as well as the different programs' approach to the issue of musical genre. We discussed the implications of cultural capital and class that are associated with different genres of music, whether we are aware of this practise, and agree with it or not. Just because someone thinks that Beethoven's music is for everyone doesn't mean that symphonic music is no longer coded as highbrow. However, the economic barriers to participating in classical music education are almost certainly greater than those of many other forms such as popular music—a guitar is usually much more affordable than a violin. Facilitating involvement in an expensive, otherwise inaccessible genre can be a worthy goal, but symphonic music comes with a lot of implications about class and the lofty value of Western-oriented art traditions that must be recognized.

There are children and families who can afford lessons and youth orchestras by virtue of

¹⁹³ Govias, Sististics.

their economic privilege, and thus do not have to demonstrate that the lessons have made them "better human beings." Many Sistema-inspired advocates champion the role of their programs in creating social change with little discussion of why there might be a need for change in the first place. While many low-income, indigenous, and immigrant groups already have vibrant community structures, arts, and culture, there is also often significant social dislocation and trouble in many communities, with clear systemic causes. 194 Canadian immigration policy, low welfare rates, and the lasting impacts of residential schools and genocide are all examples of concrete, systemic reasons for problems in these communities that cannot be attributed solely to individuals' behaviour. Even the most well-rounded child, with perfect marks in school, is still likely face discrimination if they are from low-income, immigrant, or indigenous communities. A greater awareness and analysis of how Sistema-inspired programs operate in this regard is crucial for ensuring that we are not simply continuing along already well-worn and problematic paths.

As I have shown, the Montreal and Kahnawà:ke Sistema-inspired program sites are characterized by difference: they have proportionally more residents who are low-income, indigenous, or recent immigrants than the norms of Montreal. Sistema-inspired programs are started by music educators on behalf of these communities, for these communities, because the educators in question have identified the neighbourhoods as "disadvantaged." Freire addresses this subject:

They talk about the people, but they do not trust them; and trusting the people is the indispensable precondition for revolutionary change. A real humanist can be identified more by his trust in the people, which engages him in their struggle, than by a thousand actions in their favour without that trust. ¹⁹⁵

Community engagement means investing in the community first, and Sistema-inspired programming after, when and if it is deemed appropriate. Are educators interested in long-term social change, or are they swept up in enthusiasm for El Sistema above all else? Programs such

¹⁹⁴ Bruce K. Alexander, Globalization of Addiction (Oxford: Oxford University: 2008).

¹⁹⁵ Freire, 60.

as Share the Warmth and Garage à musique, while still under the general framework of organized charity, have an advantage insofar as their music programming grew out of an existing relationship to a neighbourhood. Desiring to serve underprivileged neighbourhoods is not inherently problematic, but if it is done without the full participation and, even more importantly, leadership of those from within the community, then it may represent paternalistic social control. Helping a community involves trusting that they are experts in their own needs and desires, and then investing in their struggle in solidarity.

Appendix A: Addresses for Sistema-inspired program sites in this study

Garage à musique de la Fondation Dr Julien

- 2080 avenue Bennett
- Ovila-Pelletier Building

Share the Warmth

- 625 rue Fortune (Main offices)
- École Charles-Lemoyne, CSDM (site of Intensive Sistema-inspired programming)
- St. Gabriel School, 600 rue Dublin, EMSB

Viva! Sistema

- St. Gabriel School, 600 rue Dublin, EMSB
- Kahnawà:ke Education Center, PO Box 1000 (on Church Road, adjacent to the Kateri School)

Appendix B: Concert Programs



To all our partners and the C.S.D.M.

To Charles Lemoyne elementary school for use of their premises

To Parents who volunteer and give of their time

To the children for their enthusiasm

To you, our audience, for your support

Remerciements

À tous nos donateurs qui permettent l'existence de ce programme

À nos partenaires et à la C.S.D.M.

À l'école Charles Lemoyne pour la mise à disposition de leurs locaux

Aux parents bénévoles qui nous offrent de leur temps

Aux élèves pour leur participation active

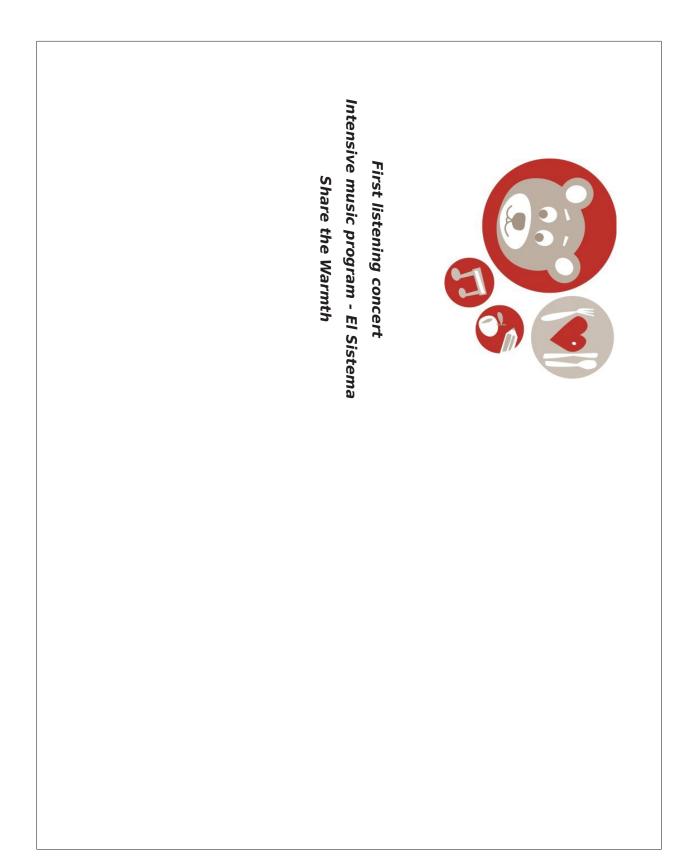
À vous public, pour vos encouragements

Thank you

To our donors, without whom this program would not exist

Programme de musique intensif El Sistema Partageons l'espoir

Premier concert d'écoute



Concert d'écoute du programme El Jeudi 23 octobre 2014 Sistema



Orchestre à cordes - String orchestra

Chanson Vent frais, vent du matin...

Démonstration d'exercices de tenue de l'instrument et de l'archet

Instrument and bow exercises

Les parties de l'instrument - Differents parts of the instrument

Frères Jacques, comptine française – traditional children's song

Orchestre de guitares - Guitar orchestra

Assis sur le sol, Jean Lambert Groupe - Group 1

Merrily we roll along, traditionnel - traditional Groupes – Groups 2 & 3 Morceau de papier, Denis Sabourin

Groupe – Group 3
Chanson russe (extrait - excerpt), traditionnel - traditional

Chœur - Choir

Les flûtes enchantées – the Enchanted Flutes

Le temps des pommes, Émile Gadbois

Les tigres de la mélodie - The Melody Tigers

La ronde des chansons, Eddy Marnay

Tous - All

Ô bruit doux, Paul Verlaine & Christian Legros *J'ai planté un chêne*, Gilles Vigneault

Mozarocks

J'ai vu le loup, folklore (France)

Les enfants - the Children

Violons - Violin

Eva-Sofia, Olive, Misha, Jing-Rong, Raphaëlle, Adrien, Yasmine, Takaya, Stiven, Catherine, Skylar, Héritier, Yassmine, Claudia, Zachary

Altos - Viola

Jeanne, Gael, Marthy, Lannysha

Violoncelles - Cello

Rachad, Angelina, Victor

Guitares - Guitar

Fady, Bianca, Lorik, Cooper, Eloi, Nicolas

Diana, Jaeda, Batoul, Damien, Koralie

Karine, Julie, Roberto, Emily, Joy, Alexandre Michel, Charles, Julie, Solène, Nadège Mélissa, Hubert, Claire L'équipe – The team Nidhal, Ford

Viva! Sistema Kids

Noah Rice-Rossetti Cash Rice-Rossetti Iewerahente Yvan Chayleigh Curotte Oronia'a:wi Hamelin Tekahawi:sake D'Ailleboust le'taronha:wi Splicer Katsi'tsi:io Kirby-Lazare Katsi'tsakwas Kirby-Lazare

Thank You

Janice Beauvais, FNSSP Curriculum Coordinator, Kahnawake Education Center Kanasohon Deer, Principal Karonhianonhnha Elementary School Kerry Roebuck, Program Manager

Karihwaienhne McGregor, Librarian Karonhianonhnha Elementary School

Galen Hartley, Luthier

Jules Saint-Michel, Luthier

The J.W. McConnell Family Foundation

Zeller Family Foundation

The FACE School Foundation

The Quebec Music Educators Association (QMEA)

Caisse Populaire de Kahnawake

Kahnawake Education Center

Turtle Island Theatre

The Karonhianonhnha Elementary School caretakers

Special Artist in Residence: Tim Brady, composer/guitarist

All the parents of the Sistema kids

Donna Curotte, Tickets

Joe Jacobs

Teachers	Tutors
Kerry Roebuck	Nicola Miller
	Kaia'tanoron Dumoulin Bush



violin donor of the Viva!

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Cover Art: Kaia'tanoron Dumoulin Bush



A word from the Program Director

"Music has to be recognized as an agent of social development in the highest sense because it transmits the highest values: solidarity, harmony, mutual compassion. It (music) has the ability to unite an entire community, and to express sublime feelings" José Antonio Abreu, Founder of the *el Sistema* movement in Venezuela.

Dear friends,

It is with distinct joy that I welcome you all here to witness the fruit of the hard work of the children, tutors and teachers of the *Viva! Sistema* program.

This, our first public gathering, is a lot more than a concert: it is a manifestation of Abreu's statement, above. Today we witness the power of music to "unite an entire community" and to feel the "solidarity, harmony, and mutual compassion" while listening to the children.

When we started the project in October 2012, we did not know what to expect. Guided by Abreu's promise of music, we put in place a community of children, teachers, tutors, composers, violin makers, administrators and parents, with music as the common bond.

Throughout the eight month journey, I have been incredibly moved by the determination and love of our tutors and teachers, the resilience of the children, the unfailing support of the administrators, the generosity of our sponsors and donors and the trust of the parents.

Today, on behalf of the QMEA/Aemq executive, I would like to thank all of you who have contributed to the success of the program and to the joy of the children who are part of it. We are looking forward to Year II of our project, with the addition of cello as an instrument and many other enriching opportunities such as performances, fiddling, outings and exchanges and visits by famous people.

Looking forward to working with the children again in the fall, I send you my very best wishes for an enjoyable concert.

Theodora Stathopoulos Director, *Viva! Sistema* Immediate Past President, QMEA/Aemq

The Adventures of Tim the Cat

written by the kids

A sophisticated orange cat named Tim went to Paris. There was evidence of beautiful singing. Suddenly there was a gale that turned into a tornado. A chorus of lazy pugs sang to a panda named Bully...the reason was a mystery.

Programme

Group Warm-up

What's in a scale?

FACE Chamber Orchestra

Theodora Stathopoulos, conductor

Ká:ts Konnorónhkhwa

Sistema Kids play and sing

Twinkle, twinkle little star

FACE Chamber Orchestra

Theodora Stathopoulos, conductor

Let's Go

Joe Jacobs, flute – accompanied by the Sistema kids

The Adventures of Tim the Cat

By Tim Brady Featuring the Sistema kids

Toy Symphony

By Joseph Haydn Featuring Sistema Kids on toy parts

Lyrics to Ká:ts Konnorónhkhwa

Ká:ts ká:ts konnorónhkhwaÉ:so rinorónhkhwa rake'nihaKá:ts ká:ts konnorónhkhwaÉ:so rinorónhkhwa rakhsóthaKá:ts ká:ts konnorónhkhwaÉ:so rinorónhkhwa rakhtsí:'a

Tetiatera'né :ken Tewatera'né :ken

É:so khenorónhkhwa ne Istá Ka:ts ka:ts konnorónhkhwa É:so khenorónhkhwa akhsótha Ka:ts ka:ts konnorónhkhwa É:so khenorónhkhwa akhtsí:'a Ka:ts ka:ts konnorónhkhwa

Tewatera'né :ken Tetiatera'né :ken

Viva! Sistema Kids

Elecktra Kane Bilal Adewusi Nyasha Thymagéne Nora Jolicoeur Stella Berger-Rossetto Khymari Sandy Trinity Chandler
Hailey Hunt Gobeil
Tamia Vanderwell-John
Penny Benoit
Naeem Moore

Thank You

Jim Daskalakis, Principal St. Gabriel Elementary School

Kerry Roebuck, Program Manager

Jules Saint-Michel, Luthier

The J.W. McConnell Family Foundation

Zeller Family Foundation

The FACE School Foundation

The Quebec Music Educators Association (QMEA)

The English Montreal School Board (EMSB)

The following parents and St. Gabriel School teachers: Lucia Williams;

Fatima Owolabi; Diane Chandler; David Benoit

Special Artist in Residence: Tim Brady, composer/guitarist

All the parents of the Sistema kids

Teachers	Tutors
Kerry Roebuck	Gwenyth Epstein
Iwan Edwards	Undeg Edwards
	Jenny Zhu
	Laura Bates
	Ariel Swan

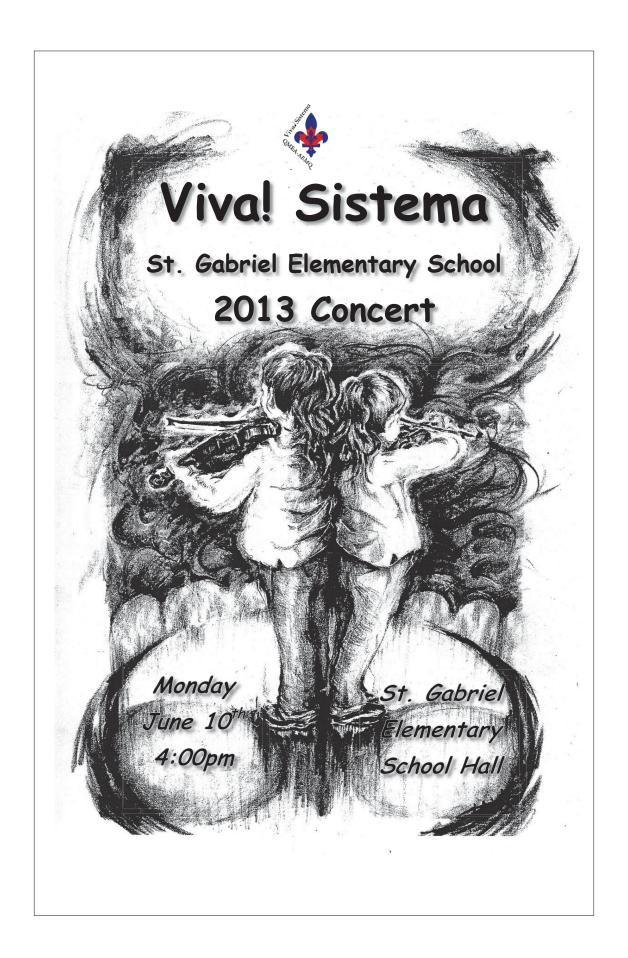


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Cover Art: Kaia'tanoron Dumoulin Bush



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Looking forward to working with the children again in the fall, I send you my very best wishes for an enjoyable concert.

Theodora Stathopoulos Director, *Viva! Sistema* Immediate Past President, QMEA/Aemq

A word from the Principal

I would like to thank *Viva! Sistema* for this wonderful program which has given the St. Gabriel students the opportunity to express themselves through music. Through the dedication of the music teachers, tutors and volunteers *El Sistema* has initiated a social change in our school and community.

I would like to thank on behalf of St. Gabriel School, Ms. T. Stathopoulos for introducing this change in our school. *El Sistema* is not only a music program, it is an investment in lifelong learning.

Jim Daskalakis Principal, St. Gabriel Elementary School

Programme

What's in a scale?

Twinkle, twinkle little star

Violin Presentation

Mary had a little lamb
Ode to joy
Au claire de la lune
Frere Jacques
Hoedown

Body Percussion

FACE Chamber Orchestra

Theodora Stathopoulos, conductor

Choral Presentation

The handsome butcher

Do-re-mi and My favourite things from The Sound of Music

The Islands of Violins

By Tim Brady Featuring the Sistema kids

Toy Symphony

By Joseph Haydn Featuring Sistema Kids on toy parts

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