

**Community Music as a Transformative and Liberating Tool for North American Music
Educators**

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English Abstract

This paper examines the ways in which community music could address the needs, interests, and well-being of K-12 students facing marginalization, a population that has been largely disenfranchised by institutionalized music education in North America. The latter type of education perpetuates colonialist structuring and value-making, as seen by its substantial entanglement with Eurocentrism and multiculturalism, the low enrollment/participation rates of non-white, racialized, and other students affected by marginalization, and its minimal use of decolonization methodologies, despite the rise in equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) education and discussions. Community music programs have a special vantage point from which to tailor their programs and aims to the needs of students experiencing disenfranchisement. As this type of music-making is often conducted in non-formal learning environments and prioritizes the inclusion and well-being of learners from an array of diverse backgrounds, community music can directly challenge and counteract exclusionary practices of Western, K-12 music education. Using a detailed literature review and two case studies on exemplary programs, this study demonstrates how community music can make music instruction more accessible, relevant, and beneficial for K-12 youth facing marginalization.

Keywords: Marginalized Students, Anti-Colonial Music Education, Anti-Racism, Community Music, Facilitative Teaching and Learning

French Abstract

Cet article examine la manière dont la musique communautaire pourrait répondre aux besoins, aux intérêts et au bien-être des élèves de la maternelle à la 12e année confrontés à la marginalisation, une population qui a été largement privée de ses droits par l'éducation musicale institutionnalisée en Amérique du Nord. Ce dernier type d'éducation perpétue la structuration et la création de valeurs colonialistes, comme en témoignent ses liens étroits avec l'eurocentrisme et le multiculturalisme, les faibles taux d'inscription et de participation des élèves non blancs, racialisés et d'autres groupes touchés par la marginalisation, et son utilisation minimale des méthodologies de décolonisation, malgré l'essor de l'éducation et des discussions sur l'équité, la diversité et l'inclusion (EDI). Les programmes de musique communautaire disposent d'un point de vue particulier pour adapter leurs programmes et leurs objectifs aux besoins des étudiants privés de leurs droits. Comme ce type de musique est souvent pratiqué dans des environnements d'apprentissage non formels et qu'il donne la priorité à l'inclusion et au bien-être d'apprenants d'origines diverses, la musique communautaire peut directement remettre en question et contrecarrer les pratiques d'exclusion de l'éducation musicale occidentale de la maternelle à la 12e année. À l'aide d'une analyse documentaire détaillée et de deux études de cas sur des programmes exemplaires, cette étude démontre comment la musique communautaire peut rendre l'enseignement musical plus accessible, plus pertinent et plus bénéfique pour les jeunes de la maternelle à la 12e année confrontés à la marginalisation.

Mots-clés: Étudiants marginalisés, éducation musicale anti-coloniale, antiracisme, musique communautaire, enseignement et apprentissage facilitateurs.

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Introduction

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow famously declared in 1835 that “Music is the universal language of mankind.” However, today’s music educators actually embody the idea that the Western European classical canon is the universal language of mankind in their pedagogies and classrooms, to the exclusion of non-Western musical styles, cultures, and peoples. As Western society has increasingly grappled with the effects of marginalization and systemic racism, especially in the wake of the Black Lives Matter Movement and the Covid-19 pandemic, the discipline of music has been urged to critically reflect on how it encourages and sustains the oppression of the underrepresented (Robinson, 2020, p. 10).

This research responds to the call for action, by underlining the potential of community music to address socioeconomic and racialized marginalization in North American, K-12 music classrooms and private studios. Thus, this work marks a key step forward in both counteracting the exclusion of students facing disenfranchisement and enhancing their quality of life through music. Additionally, as noted by Higgins (2012), community music education continues to be largely invisible and underfunded in North America, despite its increasing popularity and the demand for more academic focus in this area (pp. 7-8). Therefore, this project will contribute to not only increasing the visibility of community music, but to uncovering its capacity to improve and transform the Western music education field overall.

Moreover, this research is particularly informed by the author’s own experiences having only lived in both Canada and the United States, and participating and teaching in North American music education programs. The author was particularly inspired by her previous teaching experience working with Harmony Project Long Beach in the United States. This is an El Sistema-inspired community music program for K-12 students facing economic, social, and racialized

marginalization, which initially sparked her interest in alternative music education contexts outside of the traditional music classroom. Therefore, this paper uses a North American perspective, as this context best aligns with the author's own musical background and teaching experiences; in other words, the author is most familiar with North American music education practices.

Additionally, in order to clarify what *marginalization* specifically refers to in this research's focus on a subset of the North American K-12 student population, this paper will utilize Vivek Murthy's (2022) definition. According to Murthy (2022), marginalization describes young students who "...have experienced economic, social, political, and cultural marginalization because of factors beyond their control, including poverty, discrimination, violence, trauma, dislocation, and disenfranchisement" (p. 613). Though these students are typically described as *marginalized, minoritized, or belonging to oppressed groups*, this paper will not employ this type of direct language, as such terms "...covertly serve to reinforce racial hierarchies and perpetuate problematic status quos" (Cooper, 2016). In other words, this vocabulary inherently implies an inferior status for the groups of people referenced and is often juxtaposed with such terms as *dominant*, which "... distorts the perceived possession of power by positioning groups who are being oppressed as powerless, and 'dominant' groups as controlling all the power" (Cooper, 2016). As a result, the use of *oppressed* and *marginalized*, which uniformly describes a cluster of racial and ethnic groups facing unique, systemic barriers, may suggest the dehumanization of non-white racial groups and perpetuate them as "the Other" in comparison to white classes, thus reinforcing white supremacy. Therefore, in alignment with the call to "...use language that disrupts oppressive systems" by employing "...replacing language used to describe *specific conditions* based on systemic oppressions rather than *defining groups of people*" (Cooper, 2016), this paper will

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describe students as facing certain systemic barriers, instead of defining students solely based on these barriers.

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Lastly, this paper will develop as follows: the first chapter will present a comprehensive critique of North American K-12 music education. It will underscore how this system perpetuates colonialist thinking, structuring, and value-making at the demise of students facing marginalization, but will also explain why music education is particularly important and relevant for these students. The second chapter will posit the practice of community music as a supplement to the exclusionary practices of North American K-12 music education. It will include a detailed explanation of community music's history, values, and activities. Additionally, it will present several case studies describing community music programs that are not solely grounded in the Western classical music tradition, and that specifically model an anti-colonialist vision of music education directly benefitting K-12 students facing marginalization.

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Chapter One: The Implications of Traditional, North American K-12 Music Education on Students Facing Marginalization

Introduction

Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (2007) have underscored how education is “perhaps the most insidious and in some ways the most cryptic of colonialist survivals” (p. 371) and the field of music education is no exception to this claim. North American formal music education, which typically refers to such education that is “institutionalized, graded, and hierarchical” and in which “the teacher controls the materials, pacing, and interactions” (Veblen, 2012, p. 6), perpetuates colonialist thinking, structuring, and value-making. More specifically, Western music education’s complicity in the modern colonial system particularly disenfranchises K-12 students facing marginalization in regards to their race, socioeconomic status, etc. This can be reflected in a number of significant ways, such as its deep entanglement with Eurocentrism, multiculturalism and tokenism, as well as the low enrollment/participation rates of non-white, racialized, and other students facing marginalization in formal music programs. Moreover, the field of music education has not substantially engaged with decolonization methodologies, despite the rise in equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) education and discussions. For example, Dr. Terese Volk, one of the most prominent music educators and scholars in the United States, has openly criticized the profession for lagging “behind the times” and sustaining racism (Volk, 2004).

In contrast, recent studies have explored how the wider benefits of music education may be especially beneficial and important for students from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds and other challenging circumstances (Creech et al., 2021, p. 44). For instance, there is an increasing amount of research that demonstrates how music education can provide students

with considerable cognitive, personal, social, and emotional benefits (Hallam and Himonides, 2022; McPherson et al., 2012; Diamond and Hopson, 1998, etc.). This can particularly benefit those students facing marginalization, as they are more likely to experience mental health issues (Mullen, 2022; Murthy, 2022, etc.).

Therefore, this paper will explore the multifaceted ways in which formal Western music education excludes and further disenfranchises K-12 students facing marginalization, even though music education may positively impact these students' sense of well-being and quality of life.

How Does Western Music Education Perpetuate Colonialist Thinking, Structuring, and Value-Making for K-12 Students?

This section will explicate formal Western music education's role in sustaining colonialist frameworks and systems, as seen with its perpetuation of Eurocentrism, multiculturalism, and other colonial logics, its exclusion of K-12 students facing some kind of marginalization, and its lack of substantial engagement with decolonization practices.

Entrenchment in Eurocentrism, Multiculturalism, Tokenism, and Other Colonial Logics

Firstly, Western, K-12 music education is heavily entrenched in Eurocentric systems. According to Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (2007), *Eurocentrism* refers to “the conscious or unconscious process by which Europe and European cultural assumptions are constructed as, or assumed to be, the normal, the natural or the universal” (p. 84). As identified by Juliet Hess (2021b), public school music teachers “readily employ Western musical epistemologies and constructs to engage with a range of musics” and overemphasize “the use of Western standard notation and... notational literacy in music education” (pp. 26-27). This over-dependence on Western systems disregards the fact that most non-Western musics center aurality and employ varied notation

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systems, and negates “the elements of music not typically valued in Western traditions, such as timbre and the social context of...performance[s]” (Hess, 2021a, p. 16). Consequently, Western musical techniques and values are perceived as superior to all other musical styles and cultures due to their centrality in the K-12 music education curriculum.

Additionally, the majority of school music programs in the United States and Canada use the *ensemble paradigm*, a band, orchestra, and/or choir model of school music instruction that requires “a type of repertoire that features predominantly White male composers” and “remains situated in a Western European tradition” (Hess, 2021a, p. 16). As it instills Western music listening and performance practices in students, the ensemble paradigm reflects a form of *interpellation*, meaning it “operate[s] through ideas and representations that we encounter throughout our lives, training us and conditioning in us certain attitudes and behaviors that we are led to believe are natural” (“Notes on Interpellation,” 2020). For example, the centering of Western musical notation, repertoire, and ensembles forces students to interpellate Western values, such as the belief that one should maintain “still comportment” and listen to music without moving one’s body (Hess, 2021a, p. 17). Moreover, the dominance of Western musical practices blocks students from gaining any proficiency in vernacular or non-Western musics, and influences students to regard Western musical understanding as not only the norm, but the only type of musical style worthy of study. Therefore, K-12 school music programs heavily rely upon Eurocentric methodologies and logics, which leads to the imbibement of colonial and exclusionary values and attitudes in this educational context.

Eurocentrism can also be seen in the overwhelming and rarely challenged use of the *master-apprentice model* in one-to-one music lessons, another common instructional music format for young children in North America. This type of apprenticeship is a key, historical

element of the Western classical music tradition and is premised upon a hierarchical relationship between the novice student and the expert, highly experienced teacher; in other words, “the student performs for the master, who in turn offers critique” (Gaunt et al., 2021, p. 336). Thus, it uses a top-down, didactical teaching approach which barely allows space for student freedom of expression and critical reflection, as it is characterized by high levels of teacher control and judgement. Moreover, this model is increasingly receiving heavy criticism, and not only for its highly imbalanced power structure; as noted by Gaunt and colleagues (2021), “in recent decades...evidence of maltreatment right through to extreme abuse and of manipulation for political ends has come to light” in this context (p. 337). However, several studies have highlighted how the master-apprentice model continues to be the “dominant pedagogical framework for applied music instruction” (p. 342). The persistent use of this teaching style can be explained by its hegemonic structure, which is “domination by consent” (Ashcroft et al., 2007, p. 106) and achieves such consent by interpellating students to believe that “Eurocentric values, assumptions, beliefs and attitudes are...the most natural or valuable” (p. 107). In other words, the master-apprentice model endures because society has normalized Western musical practices as the only way to teach music at a high, professional level. Thus, this problematic framework articulates Western values and hierarchical structures to the erasure of student agency and critical thought.

Additionally, one-to-one music lessons incorporate colonial logics not only through their dependence on the hegemonic master-apprentice model, but through their use of colonialist examination systems. These forms of assessment, such as those administered by the UK’s ABRSM (Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music) and Canada’s RCM (Royal Conservatory of Music), play a significant role in the one-to-one music education of young

musicians around the world. For example, ABRSM is “the UK’s largest music education body, one of its largest music publishers, and the world’s leading provider of music exams, holding over 650,000 assessments in more than 90 countries every year” (ABRSM, 2019, “Who We Are”). Likewise, RCM (which is modeled after ABRSM) houses the oldest and most famous music exam system in Canada, is internationally renowned, and serves over 500,000 students in North America annually (RCM, 2022, “About Our Program”). Both organizations were established in the late 1880s and offer practical and theoretical examinations in sequence. These examinations can serve a number of important functions, such as providing music teachers with a rigorous curriculum and set of standards for each age group/ability level, as well as exposing students to various aspects of musicality besides performance preparation, such as sight-reading, ear-training, music theory, and music history.

However, these types of music examinations share inextricable ties with British colonial logics, due to their establishment during the height of colonial empires. For example, Sir Hubert Parry, who served on the first ABRSM Board, outlined ABRSM’s singular vision of music education for Britain and its colonies, which can still be found on ABRSM’s website today and thus continues to be this establishment’s key aim. He noted that such an education is meant “to give people all over the Empire opportunities to be intimately acquainted with the finest kinds of musical art, and to maintain standards of interpretation and an attitude of thoroughness in connection with music which will enable it to be most fruitful of good” (ABRSM, 2019, “About Us”). In other words, through the use of such language as “finest kinds of musical art,” “standards of interpretation,” and “an attitude of thoroughness,” it is evident that ABRSM centers a hierarchical, Eurocentric perspective of music education. Furthermore, ABRSM still requires their examiners to be UK-based and willing to travel internationally, as ABRSM

continues to send them to formerly colonized countries all over the world, encompassing numerous Caribbean, Latin America, and African nations, to examine local exam candidates (ABRSM, 2019, “Examiners”). This practice mirrors colonial British rule, and further demonstrates ABRSM’s deep entrenchment in colonial logics and practices.

Moreover, both ABRSM and RCM have increasingly been embroiled in controversy over the last few years due to their white, male, Western classical music-centered syllabi. For example, the ABRSM was highly criticized by music teachers, scholars, and journalists when it was determined that 99% of pieces on the 2020-2021 syllabus were written by white composers. Moreover, less than 0.5% of instrumental exam pieces were written by Black composers, with only 23 Asian and other racialized composers represented overall (Batty, 2020). Likewise, the RCM examination syllabi also features a miniscule number of works composed by non-white, non-male, and non-European composers. In her 2021 article, “Examining Whiteness in the Royal Conservatory of Music History Curricula,” Anneli Loepp Thiessen argues that RCM’s music history curricula are exclusionary and white-centered, as it only features composers from North American and European countries, includes one composer of colour (who is also the only woman featured), and even celebrates white male composers who have appropriated Black musical culture. Therefore, these types of music examination boards are steeped in colonial logics, due to their deep entanglement with Eurocentrism.

Furthermore, Professor Roe-Min Kok of McGill University, who received ABRSM piano training during her childhood in Malaysia, has discussed how these assessments forced her to align her cultural identity with “colonial concepts for the colonized” (Kok, 2006, p. 90). In her 2006 essay, “Music for a Postcolonial Child: Theorizing Malaysian Memories,” Kok discusses the highly valued role of ABRSM education in post-colonial Malaysia, which offered systematic,

prestigious, and internationally recognized certification of musical skills, and which was thus perceived as an “avenue to upward mobility” (pp. 94-95). She participated in this system from an early age and was taught to interpellate and prize British values and customs over those of her supposedly primitive culture. In her own words, Kok explains that “to play piano was to be ‘British,’ and the better I played, the more ‘British’ I became. I was taught that the mystical, beautiful sounds that could be produced with two hands had been born of ‘white’ history and ‘white’ people, not us” (p. 95). As the ABRSM program “ultimately reinforced the colonizers’ cultural subjugation of the colonized” with its sole grounding in the European classical canon without considering Malaysian musical practices or values, these piano studies trained Kok to become a “colonized native and compliant Chinese child” (pp. 96-98). Through this process, she was shielded from intellectual curiosity and creative musical engagement, and was encultured to believe in the apparent barbarity of her Southeast Asian cultural background in contrast to the perceived supremacy of Western classical music culture. Therefore, ABRSM and other similar examination models reinforce the supremacy of Western classical music culture beyond the European and North American context.

Additionally, Western music education often relies on problematic, widespread principles of exoticism and multiculturalism, which cements its engagement with Eurocentric and colonialist logics, structuring, and value-making. Firstly, Western society continues to be obsessed with exoticism, which can be traced back to the colonial era. During the height of the colonial British empire, the “exotic, the foreign, increasingly gained...the connotations of a stimulating or exciting difference, something with which the domestic could be (safely) spiced” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2007, p. 87). In other words, the use of exoticism during this period allowed the dominant power group, the British, to imagine themselves as homogenous in comparison to the non-

dominant, different “Other,” who were subjected to British colonial rule. Today, exoticism can be seen in countless Western cultural examples, such as the use of Indigenous dress, as costume for non-Indigenous performers or peoples, and blackface makeup, which is rooted in racist portrayals of Black people (*Exoticism and Exploitation*, 2021). Therefore, exoticism can be defined as a tool used to perpetuate systems of oppression, by foreclosing discussions of race and white supremacy and perpetuating surface-level engagement with non-white cultures.

Furthermore, music education mirrors Canadian multicultural policy, which supports the perception of Canada as a highly tolerant and ethnically diverse nation, but similarly acts as a tool of colonization. Rinaldo Walcott, in his review of a critical book on Canadian multiculturalism written by Eve Haque, explains that the 1963 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (also known as the B and B Commission) “cemented the idea that French and English/British ethnicities constituted the [two] founding ‘races’ of Canada” and allowed for “language and culture...to foreclose discussions of ‘race’ and racism in Canada” (Walcott, 2014, pp. 127-128). By underlining that Canada only has two “official language communities” that founded the nation and by grouping all other ethnicities under the heading “other ethnic groups,” the B and B Commission upheld French and English/British-Canadians “as without race/ethnicity contra immigrants” and that “‘other ethnic groups’ require stewardship into Canadian citizenship, while it is inherent for the French and the English/British” (p. 130). In other words, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act produced all racialized peoples as outside of the nation and undeserving of inherent citizenship, thus ensuring that the core of the nation could continue to be defined as white by using language and culture as a stand-in for race. Therefore, despite its incredibly racist and destructive consequences, multiculturalism has allowed the Canadian nation-state to maintain its

image on the world stage as a supposedly “multi-racial, multi-ethnic, liberal-democratic society” (Thobani, 2007, p. 144).

Western public school music curricula have employed and celebrated multicultural practices for decades, which contributes to the exoticization and further colonization of non-Western cultures. As noted by Campbell and Roberts (2015), music teachers first began to incorporate multicultural education during the latter half of the twentieth century (p. 274). This was due to global developments in communications and transportation as well as the American civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s, which “brought an awareness of the musical expressions of local and global communities not previously featured in curricular programs in music” (p. 274). Some examples of this type of education during this period include the use of “African-American genres and West African ‘roots’ and rhythmic schemas...in textbooks and occasional workshops” and the inclusion of “activist-educators [who delivered] songs, dances, and listening experiences in...classrooms” (pp. 274-275).

Deborah Bradley (2007) has underscored that the term multiculturalism remains an important buzzword in the music education community, in which music teachers are being encouraged to infuse “world musics” into their curricula or to “spice up” concert programs by featuring non-Western repertoire (pp. 11-12). In fact, as most recently as 2016, prominent music education scholars have argued that “multiculturalizing the curriculum is an essential means by which to move toward more socially just educational experiences” (Campbell and Roberts, 2015, p. 272). The use of multiculturalism in the music classroom can also be seen with “pre-packaged instructional packages rather than the more difficult task of engaging culture-bearers in the transmission of musical and cultural knowledge, mistaken notions about the universality of music, limited training of music educators regarding the musical practices and traditions of

cultures outside Western Traditions, and the transposition of Western values on to what constitutes ‘good music’” (Wasiak, 2009, pp. 213–14, as cited in Hess, 2007, p. 23).

However, critics have pointed out that such rhetoric serves to group the distinct musical practices of racialized ethnicities into “the Other,” which negates the musical integrity of a multitude of musical cultures and further cements Western music as not only the norm, but as the superior musical culture. As noted by Sarath (2016), “the multicultural worldview is of a musical landscape comprised of discrete stylistic or cultural compartments, with resultant musical understanding achieved through engagement with as many compartments as possible in intact forms” (p. 98). In other words, multicultural music education puts non-Western traditions into separate boxes, under the assumption that interacting with an array of different music styles will check off diversity and inclusion markers. As a result, this type of education framework is additive, linear, and teacher-centered, and disregards meaningful and deep engagement with different traditions, as well as the interconnectedness of the global musical landscape (pp. 98-99). Though multiculturalism is supposedly used to support the inclusion of non-Western styles of music, it actually reproduces colonialist logics by compartmentalizing, and thus excluding, the cultures and the peoples who do not fit into the dominant Western European music tradition. Therefore, multiculturalism further erases and silences non-Western peoples and musics, and upholds the articulation of the West as supreme. As underscored by sociologist Sunera Thobani (2007), multiculturalism “allows the nation to be imagined as homogeneous in relation to the difference of cultural strangers” and ultimately “stabilize[s] white supremacy by transforming its mode of articulation in a decolonizing era” (pp. 145-146). For this reason, “the multicultural music education movement has been more about diversity and *musical tourism* than

understanding the musical and cultural practices of another on any more than the most superficial of levels” (Campbell, 2002, as cited in Hess, 2007, p. 23).

Disenfranchisement of K-12 Students Facing Marginalization

Furthermore, K-12 public school music education programs predominantly serve and are fronted by white, upper/upper middle-class socioeconomic groups whilst excluding low-income and racialized groups facing marginalization. For example, in the United States, white students are “significantly overrepresented among music students, as [are] students from higher SES backgrounds, native English speakers, students in the highest standardized test score quartiles, children of parents holding advanced postsecondary degrees, and students with GPAs ranging from 3.01 to 4.0” (Elpus and Abril, 2011, p. 128). In fact, in 2004, 66% of the 21% of US high school seniors enrolled in music programs were white, a trend which continues into post-secondary education (p. 128). Moreover, research on K-12 school band programs has revealed that “schools with higher concentrations of non-White students contended with fewer financial resources, less well-appointed facilities, and lower parental support for music than schools with lower concentrations of non-White students” (Costa-Gioni and Chappell, 2007, as cited in Elpus and Abril, 2019, p. 335). In other words, school programs characterized by a majority non-white student demographic are more likely to have poorly resourced music programs or even no music programs at all.

Additionally, researchers have unearthed a significant bivariate relationship between instrumental music ensemble enrollments, specifically, and students’ race/ethnicity; for example, in 2013, African American and Hispanic students were considerably underrepresented in secondary band and orchestra programs, in contrast to an overrepresentation of White students in these types of programs (Elpus and Abril, 2019, p. 335). Moreover, these statistics demonstrate

how “the various school music ensembles are the present-day products of particular historical and cultural connotations” (p. 336), as they iterate the wider structural oppression that can be found across Western laws, policies, and institutions, and which severely impacts anyone who does not belong to the ‘status quo’ (i.e., white) (Potvin, 2020; Harris & Leonardo, 2018; Robinson, 2016). In other words, whiteness continues to “occup[y] the dominant pole in the binaries of race,” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2007, p. 220), as demonstrated by the field of music education’s race gap, which overwhelmingly privileges white students to the systematic exclusion of other minorities.

Moreover, there is also a significant relationship between the socioeconomic status of K-12 students and the quality of their school’s music program. As noted by Parsad and Spiegelman (2012), “schools with larger concentrations of poverty have been found to be less likely to offer music instruction (81% in the lowest socio-economic status [SES] vs. 96% in the highest SES schools), and these same schools offered fewer music courses than their higher SES counterparts” (as cited in Elpus and Abril, 2019, p. 324). In fact, numerous studies have underscored that “many American schools, especially those that serve students of low SES, have been forced to eliminate or scale back their arts programs because of school budget shortfalls” (Doyle, 2014, p. 46). In other words, public schools characterized by low socioeconomic status are more likely to have smaller, weaker music programs or even no programs at all for their students. Additionally, as music is often an elective course in U.S. and Canadian secondary schools, the simple existence of a music program does not necessarily mean that this program is highly accessible, equitable, or widely participated in by students (Elpus and Abril, 2019, p. 324). For example, researchers studying a large school district in Texas discovered that though “music programs [were] present in schools of different SES levels...schools with a lower SES

and higher minority population were found to have fewer resources allocated for music” (Costa-Giomi and Chappell, 2007, as cited in Elpus and Abril, 2019, p. 324). In fact, Elpus and Abril (2019) found that “students with the lowest observed SES index had a .20 probability of enrolling in a music ensemble, whereas students with the highest observed SES index had a .34 chance of enrolling in a music ensemble” (p. 324). Thus, SES status can play a considerable role in which students sign up for their school’s music programs.

Lastly, as Elpus and Abril (2011) have underscored in a previous study, students taking part in music ensembles are more likely to be from privileged families (meaning families with high incomes, parental occupational prestige, parental level of education, etc.) in comparison to non-music-ensemble students (p. 139). Some reasons as to why students facing socioeconomic disadvantages may be less apt to enroll in music programs can be traced to the significant financial costs associated with musical training, in regards to the necessity of acquiring an expensive instrument, transportation to rehearsals and performances not within school hours, high private instruction fees, etc. (p. 139). Therefore, K-12 music education clearly favors students from economic advantage, compared to those students facing economic barriers.

Additionally, the field of music education is primarily led by white teachers and voices. A 2015 study on music teacher licensure in the United States found that between 2007 and 2012, 86% of licensure candidates were white, whilst only 7% of candidates identified as Black (Elpus, 2015, p. 1). Thus, “people of color were significantly underrepresented among music teacher licensure candidates, while white people were significantly overrepresented” (p. 1). In Canada, Bergonzi et al. (2015) ascertained in a survey consisting of 280 music tenure-stream faculty that only four tenure-track faculty identified as Black/African descent, compared to fully 256 who identified as white, in the 2012-2013 school year (p. 92). In other words, their study reveals a

significant imbalance in the race/ethnicity representation of Canadian post-secondary music professors. Lastly, music educators' own training is white-centered; as noted by Wang and Humphries in a 2009 study, undergraduate music education majors spent 93% of course time on the European-descended classical canon, in contrast to 0.5% of course time on popular music and 0.02% of course time on non-Western music (p. 19). Therefore, not only does Western music education primarily serve students from privileged backgrounds, but it is also led and sustained by teachers from these backgrounds to the exclusion of those groups facing marginalization.

Lack of Substantial Engagement with Decolonization Practices

On the other hand, music education scholarship has begun to discuss decolonization practices and social justice issues, but this type of rhetoric is rarely paired with concrete changes in the field and its values system. As defined by Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (2007), *decolonization* is “the process of revealing and dismantling colonialist power in all its forms,” which includes “dismantling the hidden aspects of those institutional and cultural forces that had maintained the colonialist power and that remain” (p. 56). In other words, this process demands a radical and systematic approach, and is a continuous process that necessitates constant resistance and reflection. Although more recent music education scholarship has begun to use the term decolonization, this vocabulary is often not paired with truly radical action. For example, music education scholar Guillermo Rosabal-Coto (2019) has noted that certain large-scale initiatives employing decolonization discourse, such as the creation of a Decolonizing and Indigenizing Special Interest Group (SIG) as part of the International Society for Music Education (ISME) in 2019, are not enough (p. 4). As Rosabal-Coto explains, these types of initiatives centered in decolonization discourse come from “so-called ‘historically White institutions’ arrayed in industrialized countries and the Western art/culture tradition” (p. 4). In other words, such

changes are still grounded in the Western-based music tradition and are dominated by White Euro-American leaders and members, who re-articulate the white-supremacist, colonialist narrative they are supposedly trying to dispel, as their interventions simply reform and do not radically transform structures.

Similarly, Juliet Hess (2017) has underscored how the literature fails to translate into tangible and transformative actions by music education leaders and teachers. She underscores that “current discourse often prioritizes inclusion – drawing people into the circle of music education who may not typically participate... [however] as we include more people and groups in music education, we do not change the core body of the discipline” (p. 24). For example, attempting to ‘diversify’ music ensembles by including marginalized people is equivalent to giving everyone ‘a seat at the table’ and just simply reforming an existing system, instead of radically transforming structures and discourses to create an entirely new table. Bradley et al. (2007) has similarly differentiated between *liberal multiculturalism*, a popularized conceptualization of multiculturalism, and *critical multiculturalism*, which aligns with anti-racism and directly tackles the values and structures that cause marginalization in the first place, in order to underscore how current music education practices perpetuate societal oppression and systemic racism. Liberal multiculturalism “emphasizes eliminating prejudice within individuals without addressing systems and structures that reproduce racism” (Bradley et al., 2007, p. 295) by “[working] with the notion of our basic humanness and [downplaying] inequities of difference by accentuating shared commonalities” (Dei, 2000, p. 21, as cited in Bradley et al., 2007, p. 295). In other words, this notion of multiculturalism encapsulates the typical practices of music educators, and how their attempts to celebrate diversity and to include non-Western musical practices in the classroom blatantly ignores the underlying systemic issues that sustain

the marginalization of non-Western races and cultures. As underlined by Castagno (2014), “multicultural education has become a weasel word to denote something that has to do with diversity in educational contexts but that fails to address inequity” and thus does not directly name racism, classism, and other meaningful differences (Hess, 2017, p. 23).

As Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang argue in their 2012 paper, “Decolonization is Not a Metaphor,” “decolonize (a verb) and decolonization (a noun) cannot easily be grafted onto pre-existing discourses/frameworks, even if they are critical...The easy absorption, adoption, and transposing of decolonization is yet another form of [colonialism]” (p. 3). In fact, music educators run the risk of re-aligning themselves with *neo-colonialism*, or “new colonialism” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2007, p. 146), when they claim the terminology of decolonization without making the effort to truly dismantle systems of exploitation and ways of learning in the music classroom. Therefore, it is clear that Western music education continues to disenfranchise K-12 students facing marginalization, despite rhetoric to the contrary.

Why Do K-12 Students Facing Marginalization Need Music Education?

This section will explore the positive, non-musical outcomes of music education on young people, and how these effects can specifically address the needs and well-being concerns of those facing marginalization.

Generalized Non-Musical Outcomes of Music Education

Over the past 25 years, a growing body of literature has attempted to draw links between music education and a wide variety of cognitive benefits, including enhanced intellectual development, improved auditory and literacy skills, and stronger spatial-temporal reasoning, and how these effects can positively impact children’s academic abilities. For example, McPherson et al. (2012) have underscored that “highly valued outcomes of schooling such as self-discipline,

being able to work with others and in a team, problem solving, and creative thinking are all effectively learned and enhanced through musical participation” (p. 3). Moreover, Diamond and Hopson (1998) have determined that music learning can increase children’s “voluntary attention,” which refers to one’s “capacity for engagement” (as cited in Persellin and Flohr, 2011, p. 13). As engaging in musical activities often requires total engagement of voluntary attention, this could translate to improved attention spans in the classroom. Singing, in particular, can also have a beneficial impact on children’s language development, speech, and comprehension; in their 2009 study, Jentschke and Koelsch found that “highly trained boy singers had an advantage in their language perception skills related to grammar and comprehension” (as cited in Persellin and Flohr, 2011, p. 14). Lastly, musical activities that specifically emphasize body movement can provide children with skills tied to academic success; as Sarrazin (2016) notes, “movement and rhymes build cognitive abilities in terms of sequencing physical and linguistic activity, imitation, and internalization” (p. 158). As a result, the effects of musical engagement, such as improved attention and stronger language-processing skills, are each important contributing factors to academic success and commitment, and can thus significantly support student achievement in the classroom.

Music education can not only provide young students with cognitive benefits deemed useful in academic environments, but also with a host of social and personal development outcomes that can positively impact students’ quality of life. For example, after conducting an extensive literature review on the “effects of active engagement with music on the intellectual, social and personal development of children and young people,” Hallam (2010) concluded that her “overview provides a strong case for the benefits of active engagement with music” (p. 281). Moreover, Saunders and Welch (2012) have underlined how invaluable social and personal skills, including “self-confidence, team working, the ability to focus or concentrate, listening,

working to guidelines, relating to others, forming positive work relations, and making friends,” can be developed through youth music education programmes (p. 8). Likewise, Dillion (2010) has cited an extensive list of personal and social outcomes experienced by child participants after taking part in instructional music activities, such as “improved negotiation skills and cooperative working,” “learning to trust peers,” “a stronger sense of self-awareness,” “increased levels of self-discipline and a sense of responsibility for [one’s] actions,” and “a positive sense of belonging and shared identity with other young people” (p. 4). As further noted by Persellin and Flohr (2011), musical training can enhance “the growth of cognitive, emotional, and psychomotor pathways” (p. 19); therefore, it is clear that music education can provide young students with a multitude of non-musical outcomes that can greatly support their academic and personal lives.

However, as underlined by Holmes (2021), it is important to note that the aforementioned studies have not conclusively determined the causality of music education’s non-musical outcomes and are correlational in nature, meaning these correlations do not imply causation. Holmes (2021) argues that “some pre-existing functional or structural differences [may] predetermine interest in music and undertaking training” and that “other confounding factors such as socio-economic status, parental education or the environment might also underpin these differences” (pp. 40-41). For example, in their 2017 study on the cognitive effects of musical training, Swaminathan and colleagues “did not disregard the idea that some kinds of music training might enhance some cognitive abilities for some individuals,” but noted that “the relationship between musical aptitude and intelligence led them to conclude that high-functioning children are more predisposed to take up music lessons” (as cited in Holmes, 2021, p. 46). In other words, researchers cannot yet conclusively argue that music education directly

causes beneficial personal, social, emotional, and cognitive changes in young students, and further research is needed to determine the moderating factors of this relationship. Nonetheless, Holmes (2021) underscores that, without a doubt, “making music supports the development of a wide range of skills and creativity in a pleasurable and social context, and it has an unparalleled capacity to be prolonged and progressed over the lifespan, to reach across cultures and to generate a sense of belonging and achievement” (p. 47).

The Personal, Social, and Emotional Effects of Music Education on Students Facing Marginalization

Furthermore, music education can potentially play a key role in providing those students facing marginalization with considerable cognitive, personal, social, and emotional benefits, as documented by a variety of correlational studies. For example, in four different studies, Rauscher and colleagues found that active music-making can be beneficial to low-income children’s spatial-temporal reasoning, which can be reflected in their higher level of attainment in mathematics (Creech et al., 2021, pp. 44-45). They also theorized that “the rhythmic element of instruction might promote enhancement of spatial skills as well as reading, while improved auditory skills can support language development” (p. 45). Moreover, in a study conducted on the effects of an El Sistema program (a popular extracurricular orchestral program founded in Venezuela for low-income children, which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter), participants “showed greater improvement in spatial reasoning, verbal and mathematical skills than comparison groups,” which possibly contributed to higher levels of “motivation, self-efficacy, and perseverance” in these students (p. 45).

Similar findings can be reflected in studies on Sistema-inspired programs; for example, in the United States, such programs are associated with higher academic attainment for participants,

as seen with more of these students achieving honor roll status at their schools (Hallam and Himonides, 2022a, p. 248). As noted by music educator Adam Joolia, students facing marginalization are often “young people who are not achieving and not able to excel in the same way as peers in an academic sense... Sometimes they can excel in a musical sense. Sometimes music is the only way they can be top of the class and when they discover this it can have a knock-on effect on their identity [and] their identity in school” (Mullen, 2022, p. 129). In other words, as low-income students are more likely to have lower levels of academic success than their wealthier peers, music education can counterbalance this imbalance by providing low-income students with a stronger sense of self-efficacy (pp. 128-129).

Additionally, music instruction can provide K-12 students facing marginalization with higher levels of personal well-being, as aligned with Dr. Peggy Swarbrick’s Wellness Model. In the context of this paper, *wellness* can be defined as “the process of adapting patterns of behavior that lead to improved physical, emotional, and spiritual health and heightened life satisfaction” (Johnson, 1989, as cited in Swarbrick, 1997, p. 1). As part of her work as an occupational therapist, Swarbrick developed her wellness model as a framework for treating an acute care psychiatric unit at a state psychiatric facility (p. 1), but its components can be applied to a wide range of populations facing barriers to personal wellness. It is comprised of the following dimensions: “Physical,” or any activities related to addressing physical health needs; “Spiritual,” which refers to providing opportunities for self-reflection and goal-setting; “Emotional,” or fostering self-esteem and self-regulation; “Social,” which is related to cultivating positive interpersonal relationships and promoting supportive community environments; and finally, “Environmental,” or creating a pleasant, cooperative environment with the inclusion of music that can encourage learning and relaxation (p. 2).

Music education for low-income students can positively address the different dimensions of Swarbrick's Wellness Model, as reflected in several research studies. For example, a comprehensive evaluation of the UK's Sistema-inspired programs in 2013, which used data from student surveys and case study interviews, "showed improvements in pupils' attitudes to learning, self-confidence, self-esteem...and aspirations to improve" (Hallam and Himonides, 2022b, p. 329). Moreover, the evaluation also unearthed statistically significant results in regards to the "application of self to learning and children's views of their future prospects, as well as self-assurance, security and happiness" (p. 329). In other words, these programs seemed to help low-income students develop higher self-esteem and positive future aspirations, thus supporting the "Spiritual" and "Emotional" dimensions of Swarbrick's model.

Furthermore, a review of Sistema-inspired programs in Columbia (2010) similarly provided data supporting positive outcomes related to personal well-being (Hallam and Himonides, 2022b, p. 330). In this study, students reported "positive changes in respect, tolerance, honesty, solidarity, teamwork, sense of responsibility and emotional regulation," as well as enhanced self-efficacy, social networks, family interactions, self-care, and happiness (p. 330). These findings can be directly applied to every dimension of Swarbrick's model, as the Colombian programs seemed to cultivate an awareness of physical wellness (by encouraging students to take better care of themselves), spiritual wellness (through a focus on self-reflection), emotional wellness (as seen by improved levels of self-regulation and self-esteem), social wellness (e.g., stronger teamwork skills and social networks), and environmental wellness (as reflected by a learning environment that can produce these positive personal, social and emotional outcomes). Likewise, numerous studies have demonstrated how group music-making can specifically impact student well-being, by leading to "enhanced self-esteem, positive

relationships, competence and optimism” and “support[ing] children in improving their social and communication skills, cooperation and teamwork” (Hallam and Himonides, 2022d, p. 433). As underscored by the literature, “active engagement with music can improve emotional regulation..., and foster identity and self-image, while facilitating social acceptance and a sense of belonging in a nurturing community” (Hallam and Himonides, 2022c, p. 387), thus making it clear that music education can play a powerful role in improving the well-being of school-aged children.

Additionally, music education can positively affect the mental health of students facing marginalization, who are at heightened risk for mental health difficulties (Murthy, 2022, p. 613). As young people facing marginalization encounter higher levels of social and familial stress (due to food insecurity, housing instability, etc.) and adversity, these children can suffer long-lasting consequences to their mental health and overall well-being (p. 613). Moreover, such effects have only been worsened by the Covid-19 pandemic; according to Yip and colleagues (2022), “social determinants of inequity worsened by the pandemic, including family structure, socioeconomic status, and the experience of racism, negatively affected the functioning of children, above and beyond other factors such as pre-existing medical or mental conditions” (p. 613). Furthermore, children facing marginalization continue to encounter significant barriers to mental health treatment and support, and few can access high-quality services; as underscored by Hodgkinson and peers (2017), “there is a growing urgency to develop models of mental health care that are tailored to the needs of these vulnerable children” (p. 1).

However, music education can play an integral role in directly addressing the psychological difficulties that school-aged students facing marginalization are more prone to experience. For example, in a review of the impact of participatory music programs on culturally

and linguistically diverse young people who were identified as ‘at risk,’ Cain and colleagues (2016) found that such programs were linked with a “reduction in anxiety, depression, emotional alienation, truancy and aggression” (Hallam and Himonides, 2022d, p. 433). In fact, the young people covered by this study showed “an increase in attendance at school, enhanced self-esteem, cultural empathy, confidence, personal empowerment and healthier nutrition,” and thus experienced higher levels of physical and mental well-being (pp. 433-434). Moreover, in their 2017 study examining the influence of a one-year music, dance, and visual arts program on economically disadvantaged students, Brown and colleagues found that students had lower levels of cortisol, the primary stress hormone, by the middle and end of the program (p. 434). Lastly, in a project in which professional musicians collaborated with school-aged children facing socioeconomic disadvantage, students “enjoyed the benefits of fellowship through group-based music activities” and were observed to possess higher levels of self-confidence at the conclusion of the project (p. 434). Therefore, music education can play a substantial role in improving the psychosocial well-being of marginalized K-12 students, who are more likely to face mental health challenges.

Conclusion

Overall, formal Western music education continues to utilize colonist logics, structuring, and value-making, at the expense of K-12 students facing marginalization. This can be reflected in a multitude of ways, as seen with the field’s continued engagement with Eurocentric and multicultural epistemologies and models; the low enrollment/participation rates of racialized and low-income students, as well as other students facing marginalization; and its entanglement with unsubstantial, cursory applications of decolonization theory. However, Western music education is associated with an extensive list of personal, socioemotional, and cognitive developments in

young students, and can play a particularly invaluable role in positively affecting these areas for K-12 students facing marginalization. Therefore, despite its problematic elements, Western music education has the potential to counteract or mitigate its own exclusionary practices; the ways in which this could be achieved, centered around the practice of community music, will be addressed in the next chapter.

Chapter Two: How Community Music Can Mitigate the Exclusionary Practices of Traditional, North American K-12 Music Education

Introduction

As explained in the previous chapter, colonialist logics, structuring, and value-making are deeply embedded into the practices of Western music education, which further disenfranchises K-12 students facing marginalization. On the other hand, this type of education can provide students with a host of positive socioemotional, cognitive, and personal outcomes, especially for those facing highly difficult life circumstances. As a result, it is possible that Western music education can counteract and/or mitigate its problematic aspects.

A revolutionary answer to this crucial issue can be found in the practice of *community music*, a form of music instruction that primarily exists outside of the formal Western music education system, serves an identifiable learning community, and is aligned with specific musical, personal, and/or socio-emotional goals (Coffman and Higgins, 2012, p. 846). Community music is increasingly popular in music education circles across the globe, as seen, for instance, by the recent proliferation of undergraduate and graduate-level courses and programs on community music in Canada, the United States, Ireland, Australia, and more (Higgins, 2012, p. 8).

Moreover, community music embodies a deeply immersive and empowering engagement with music that further differentiates it from traditional, Western music education practices. In contrast to institutionalized music programs found in K-12 learning environments and higher education, most community music programs take place in non-formal learning settings. Such learning occurs outside of the established formal education system and can be defined as any organized activity aligned with specific objectives for a particular community (Campbell and

Higgins, 2015, p. 654). Thus, community music is a supplementary approach that includes learners of all ages and styles. It also aspires to be student-centered rather than teacher-centered, accounting for students' differing needs, musical interests, and personal well-being (Coffman and Higgins, 2012, p. 846). In fact, Wood and Ansdell (2018) have described how community musicians typically do "project-work with underprivileged or at-need communities, [and organize] workshops and performance events that [encourage] maximum musical participation" (pp. 455-456). Therefore, community music can specifically tailor music instruction to the unique needs of students facing marginalization.

This paper will identify the multifaceted ways in which community music can counteract the systematic exclusion and further disenfranchisement of K-12 students facing marginalization, in relation to music participation and learning. It will explore what has been, and what might be, the wider implications of community music for these students, and explain how community music can function as an alternative to the exclusionary practices of institutionalized Western music education. This argument will be supported by several examples of North American community music programs that engage in this type of work, and thus that positively contribute to the personal and socioemotional development of K-12 students facing marginalization.

What is Community Music?

Community music is grounded in the basic belief that music can improve all people's social and emotional well-being, and thus is centered on enacting the highly beneficial, non-musical effects of music-making. Research suggests that community music can have a positive impact on the construction of important psychological resources such as "positive emotions, a sense of accomplishment, enhanced engagement, purpose in life and social skills" (Ascenso, 2016, p.4). In other words, community music can foster personal growth and social well-being,

and not just musical development, as its emphasis on creating a caring and supportive learning environment that centers participants' needs can significantly enhance the quality of life of all involved. Thus, as noted by Wood and Ansdell (2018), community musicians adhere to a "joyful obligation: to work musically with all kinds of people in ways that bring them and their communities benefit" (p. 453).

However, scholars have struggled to define exactly what community music entails and represents, as emphasized by Schippers and Bartleet (2013). The authors indicate that, "while it is relatively easy to compile a long list of community music activities, it is much more difficult to arrive at a working definition of what community music *is* [since] community music activities tend to be flexible and cover a wide range of styles, formats and approaches" (p. 455). Moreover, attempts at defining community music seem to oscillate between "meaningless blandness which fails to distinguish community music activities from many other musical activities" (e.g., 'community music refers to people making music') and "biased specifics that would not necessarily characterize all community music activities" (e.g., 'musical activity as a reaction against formal music education') (p. 455). Definitions also tend to confuse philosophical or organizational approaches with specific practices and activities, as seen with such phrases as 'community music brings joy to life' or is 'an outlet for creativity' (p. 455). Finally, the term *community* is likewise "situated, contested, contingent, and hard to pin down," making a concrete definition of community music highly elusive and conceptually unclear (Elliott, Higgins, and Veblen, 2008, p. 3).

Additionally, community music is often incorrectly viewed as a non-serious, amateur musical activity, partially due to its nebulous conceptual state. As Coffman and Higgins (2012) explain, "in Western cultures community performance groups are most commonly thought of as

amateur or semi-professional vocal or instrumental ensembles that typically perform music based in Western art forms” (p. 844). Since community music usually takes place outside of the formal music education system and cannot be easily defined, many people have a generalized and narrow idea of what this type of music-making actually entails.

In response, Coffman and Higgins (2012) have suggested “Three Broad Perspectives of Community Music” to permit “a better understanding of the multiple occurrences of community music-making around the world” (p. 845). For the sake of clarity, this paper’s discussion of community music practices will align with Coffman and Higgins’ third perspective, whilst acknowledging the various nuances that characterize this type of music-making. The first perspective, community music as the “music of a community,” describes a certain group of people’s musical identity and thus serves to label a community’s style of music. For example, specific Afro-Brazilian collectives in Salvador Bahia, Brazil would identify Samba Reggae as their type of community music (p. 845). Coffman and Higgins’ second perspective, community music as “communal music-making,” represents taking part in or being exposed to a certain community’s musical identity and which “strive[s] to bind people together through performance and participation” (p. 845). RiverSing, a communal singing event that takes place throughout the year at the Charles River in Boston, Massachusetts, is an example of this perspective, as it brings together participants from the community in musical activity.

Finally, Coffman and Higgins’ (2012) third perspective refers to “community music as an active intervention between music leader(s) and participants,” which describes “music ensembles that have an identifiable music leader who facilitates group music-making experiences” (p. 846). This is also a learner-centered approach to education that mostly occurs outside of formal institutions (e.g., schools, universities, statutory organizations). One example refers to New

Horizons International Music Association (NHIMA), whose bands, orchestras, and choirs for adults “exemplify [this] conceptualization of community music ensembles [as they are] an intentional activity (intervention) involving skilled music leaders who facilitate group music-making to empower participants” (pp. 850-851). Thus, this perspective more clearly outlines how community music can serve an identifiable learning community and can be driven by specific objectives, in contrast to more informal group music activities.

Moreover, Higgins (2012) has created a comprehensive list of the most important principles that guide the work of community music practitioners. Though these values may differ from musician to musician and are thus not guaranteed elements of community music practice, they capture the ideal attributes of effective community musicians. Higgins’ list includes the following elements: “[committing] to the idea that everybody has the right and ability to make, create, and enjoy their own music;” “[enabling] accessible music-making opportunities for members of the community;” “[seeking] to foster confidence in participants’ creativity;” “consciously encourage[ing] and develop[ing] active musical knowing and doing with participants;” and “recogniz[ing] that participants’ social and personal growths are as important as their musical growth” (p. 5). He also underlines how community music practitioners “work within flexible facilitation modes and are committed to multiple participant/facilitator relationships and processes,” “recognize the value and use of music to foster intercultural acceptance and understanding,” and “are particularly aware of the need to include disenfranchised and disadvantaged individuals or groups” (p. 5). These principles form the cornerstone of community music as an intentional intervention, which centers “people, participation, context, equality of opportunity, and diversity” (p. 4).

Additionally, community music is rooted in the cultural upheaval and social activism of the 1960s, especially in the context of the United Kingdom (Higgins, 2012, p. 25). According to Higgins, this movement can be traced back to the effects of the Second World War, which eradicated “long-established working-class communities, consequently generating a new mobile employment trend as people moved from destroyed cities to new towns” (p. 24). As this mobility created new communities and necessitated community development assistance, “a new profession of the community worker arose toward the end of the 1940s,” which was “concerned with social and economic development, the fostering and capacity of local cooperation, self-help, and the use of expertise and methods drawn from outside the local community” (p. 24). As such, in order to grapple with the new consequences of post-war Britain, these types of community development initiatives also led to the rise of community education programs in the 1950s, which were aimed at “assisting individuals with new social and economic concerns, including the interpretation of government forms, private employment laws, benefits, [and] rebates” and coincided with a rise in awareness of civil rights issues (e.g., voting rights, civil liberties, social responsibilities) (p. 25). Arts activities began to be included in these types of community education programs, which were used to strengthen new communities and build a sense of community culture. As underlined by Higgins, “these developments collided with the cultural radicalism synonymous with the late 1960s, [which marks] the emergence of the community arts movement and, therefore, community music also” (p. 25).

Community arts subsequently gained impetus from the political and social movements of the 1960s. As noted by Chalmers (1991), the late 1960s was defined by the counterculture movement, which was rooted in the values of anti-materialism and nonconformity with mainstream society, and thus with “those attempting to reform social conditions and to change

‘the human condition’ or to escape from it” (as cited in Higgins, 2012, p. 25). Community arts functioned as one strand of activism during this time period, which was also characterized by Black consciousness, the feminist and gay/lesbian movements, and student uprisings against the Vietnam War and the H-bomb, as perceptions of community development and education became associated with radicalism and social action. The surge in community arts was further influenced by the end of the British Conservative Party’s reign with the election of the Labour Party in 1964, despite what many perceived as a relatively affluent society, due to the prosperous capitalist economy the Conservatives had overseen during the 1950s (Higgins, 2012, p. 26). However, political commentators at the time argued that the Conservatives had “focused people’s attention on private needs rather than social and public needs” and thus that private ownership (of cars, houses, etc.) was outweighing the importance of traditional UK social, community-centered activities (e.g., visiting the pub, cinema, fish-and-chip shop) (p. 26). For example, Labour Party politician and author Anthony Crosland argued that the supposed affluences of the Conservative Party era “were no more than a social fiction,” and that “real social needs had been neglected, while the middle classes were benefitting more from the welfare state than the working classes” (p. 26).

Thus, during the 1960s, there was an increasing political shift towards socialism and Marxist thought, “in which the idea of community was central to the thinking,” and which questioned the separation of the individual’s personal needs from those of one’s society (Higgins, 2012, p. 26). This resulted in the rise of the New Left, who emphasized the importance of “agency, culture, class-consciousness, and the centrality of the social experience,” and whose constituency predominately included community arts practitioners, as well as students, social workers, and teachers (p. 26). Therefore, as underscored by Higgins, “culture had become the

site for conflict rather than contentment, and community arts found resonance within this politic,” due to its shared goals of activism, commitment to supporting the needs and agency of everyday people, and opposition to oppressive social norms (p. 26). Moreover, these values continue to inform community music practitioners in the United Kingdom today (Bartleet and Higgins, 2018, p. 3).

Regarding community music’s relationship with North America, Bush and Krikun (2016) have noted that “although we can safely assume that music has played an integral role in North American communities from the time of the earliest human settlements, the promulgation of community music as an organized movement began to take root in the nineteenth century” (p. 19). One of the first advocates of community music in North America was Peter Dykema (1873-1951), a leader of the early 1900s’ community singing movement as well as journal editor and chair of the Music Educators National Conference (or MENC, which is known as NafME or the National Association for Music Education today) (pp. 20-21). In his 1916 article entitled, “The Spread of the Community Music Idea,” Dykema defined community music, “a term that has obtained great vogue the past three years,” as “socialized music; music, to use Lincoln’s phrase, for the people, of the people, and by the people,” which “does not include any particular kind of music or any particular kind of performer” (p. 21).

The spread of community music during this time period coincided with the work of North American civic leaders, musicians, and music educators, who “studied the role of music in community life, [in the hope of creating] initiatives to promote amateur and professional music making as a positive social force” (Bush and Krikun, 2016, p. 21). Moreover, specifically in the United States, many community music projects were assisted by the government’s Works Progress Administration, which ran between 1935 and 1943 and “provided federal funding to

musicians, music educators, and researchers active in community music” (p. 21). Early community music initiatives were also championed by music educator Max Kaplan, who was “dedicated to community music and was lauded for his sociological research on music and music education” (p. 22). Kaplan founded and directed the music department at Pueblo College in Pueblo, Colorado, where he published a town survey of community music in 1944. He also chaired the MENC ‘Music in American Life Commission VIII: Music in the Community’ during the late 1950s, which in 1958 published an informative report on the status of community music in the United States (p. 22). As noted by Bartleet and Higgins (2018), “many American advocates [such as Peter Dykema and Max Kaplan] looked towards community music as embodying some (but certainly not all) of the key themes important to invoking change, such as lifelong learning, music as leisure, cultural diversity, improvisation, and popular music pedagogy, to mention but a few” (p. 4). Therefore, regardless of locale, the history of community music is rooted in a desire to enact positive social change and community strengthening through music, which has remained central tenets of this practice.

Why Does the Field of Music Education Need Community Music?

Not only can community music challenge the traditional Western music classroom framework, but it also embodies a transcultural and deeply immersive engagement with music and can be employed as a tool for activism. Campbell and Higgins (2015) note that “community musicians are committed to the idea that all people have the right and ability to make, create, and enjoy their own music” (p. 654). Thus, in contrast to traditionally institutionalized Western music education, most community music programs take place in non-formal learning environments, which are viewed as “alternative” approaches to education due to their emphasis on the inclusion of learners of all ages and styles outside of the highly structured, formal

education system (p. 655). Such music-making also aligns with a “bottom-up” instead of a “top-down” approach to teaching, as it is rooted in a learner-centered rather than a teacher-centered framework. As a result, community music teachers are more accurately described as *facilitators* who spur “open dialogue among different individuals...aid and serve so that the ensemble participants are empowered...and are sensitive to issues of participation, context, [and] equality of opportunity” (Coffman and Higgins, 2012, p. 846). Thus, this type of leadership not only prioritizes the needs of the learner by considering the types of music-making they prefer, but also reflects a deep commitment to honoring different learning styles and paces.

Moreover, as Phil Mullen (2002) has argued, many traditional music educators often “[act] as a support to the ideas of supremacy of authority, hierarchy, judgement, and the superiority of historical knowledge,” as they are associated with formal “schools and their function as an instrument of social control” (p. 2). On the other hand, community music facilitators actively aspire to “[listen] to and [honor] contributions... [in order to support the] possibility for an expressive, free, and equal community” (Mullen, 2002, p. 2). Though Mullen’s argument represents an idealized view of community music and does not account for formal music educators working against stereotypical depictions of teachers as authoritative, it does reflect community music’s clear commitment to fostering personal growth and social well-being in participants, and not just musical development. Thus, community music facilitators can play a special role in enhancing their students’ quality of life, by striving to create a caring and supportive learning environment that centers participants’ needs.

Furthermore, community music is grounded in a deeply meaningful commitment to teaching non-Western musical styles. As an alternative to the problematic aspects of multicultural music pedagogy, Sarath (2017) has advocated for the use of a *transcultural*

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pedagogy, which “is predicated on the establishment of an individual creative voice and identity as the basis for meaningful engagement with the musical world and optimal appreciation for and understanding of its treasures” (pp. 96-98). Thus, this model is nonlinear, non-additive, organic, and student-centered, and emphasizes creativity and the true interconnectedness of the global musical landscape. These principles align with the learner-centered and facilitative nature of community music practices; for instance, as part of their “Nine Domains of Community Music,” Schippers and Bartleet (2013) have underscored that “Relationship to Place” and “Engaging Pedagogy/Facilitation” are key components of effective community music programs (p. 460), which share several parallels with transcultural theory. “Relationship to Place” refers to strong “connections to location (e.g., urban, suburban, regional, rural, and remote)” and “connection[s] to cultural identity and cultural heritage,” whereas “Engaging Pedagogy/Facilitation” encompasses “sensitivity to differences in learning styles, abilities, age, and culture,” “nurturing a sense of group/individual identity,” and “embracing multiple references to quality” (p. 460). In other words, all of these values center students’ unique needs, backgrounds, and musical interests, and both acknowledge and affirm the deep respect and care that is needed regarding cultural and geographic differences. Therefore, the principles of community music complement transcultural pedagogy, which functions as an alternative to the problematic aspects of traditional multicultural teaching frameworks.

Similarly, community music works in tangent with *interculturality*, which also aims to comprehensively bridge cross-cultural differences and emphasizes how cultures are not “self-enclosed or static entities...as if fault lines separated them” (Burnard et al., 2018, p. 229). More specifically, interculturality “acknowledges the complexity of locations, identities, and modes of expression in a global world, and the desire to facilitate awareness, dialogue, or understanding

across contexts” (p. 229). Community music can support the practice of interculturality by using *intercultural creativities*, which “produce possibilities for intercultural translation” by embracing diverse ways of knowing, making, and creating, and “[support] a mutual reciprocity and mutual inclusion of needs and respect” (p. 229). Some examples of intercultural creativities in community music settings include facilitating songwriting/composition activities that use musical styles consistent with participants’ cultural backgrounds, guiding participants on how to perform music in each other’s respective languages, and encouraging participants to communicate their emotions and personal stories through improvisation (pp. 237-238). As underlined by Lis Murphy, founder and director of Music Action International (a global community music program for war and torture survivors), “the work I do and the music I play is never intercultural art for its own sake; it has become a natural consequence of being passionate about how human beings communicate and respond to music, as well as working with people from many different cultural backgrounds affected by war... and enables a deeper, more informed process of exploring the music being produced” (pp. 237-238). Therefore, by supporting the practice of interculturality, community music can promote comprehensive and immersive musical experiences that recognize the invaluable importance and connections between all musical cultures, and by extension, all world cultures and peoples.

Additionally, community music’s strong historical ties with social justice work continues to shape and inform the central tenets of this practice today, making it a potentially invaluable tool in deconstructing the colonial practices of Western music education. Silverman (2012) has underscored how community music programs are “often guided by a fellowship ethic and a community service ethic aimed at providing a range of musical values to people of all ages” and have “at their core a love that respects the self-empowerment of others” (p. 160). Moreover,

Campbell and Higgins (2015) have noted that the rise of community music has led teachers to grow “an ethnomusicological sense of place, an intrigue with and honoring of local communities, and a resonance with the position that music is situated within the lives of those who choose to make it—with or without musical training or extensive experience” (p. 640). Some examples of highly influential community music programs that are driven by civic engagement aims include the following: the Oakdale Community Choir’s Songwriters’ Workshop, a prison choir which uses songwriting activities to give prison singers “an opportunity for developing their musical skills and expressing themselves” (Cohen and Henley, 2013, p. 13); and The Music Kitchen, a non-profit organization that facilitates live performances of classical, jazz, and other musical styles in New York City’s homeless shelters, under the premise that “music can serve homeless citizens by providing... ‘spiritual, uplifting help’ at a time when some may need sustenance most” (Cohen and Silverman, 2013, pp. 9-11).

Another example that illuminates community music’s grounding in social justice causes refers to a program for “left-behind” children in Taikang, China, as described by Higgins (2015, pp. 445-455). He illustrates how economic inequities between rural communities and financially affluent city centers have splintered Chinese community life. As wealth has become more concentrated in urban areas, rural parents have moved to larger cities for more stable employment and have thus been forced to send their newborn infants and young children to boarding schools in Taikang. These children are boarded until age nine or ten and, heart-wrenchingly, only see their parents once or twice per year. However, community music programs have been set up at these schools, where facilitators lead a variety of creative musical activities, from playing simple rhythmic games interwoven with songwriting exercises to learning traditional Chinese songs with the children (pp. 449-450). Higgins accentuates how the

facilitators provide far more than just musical training; as one facilitator, Wang LinLin explains, “[the children] don’t know their parents’ love, but the songs we sing provide opportunities of emotional release” (p. 450). As a result, the children personally grow from this community music initiative, as they are given a platform from which to express their emotions and inner thoughts freely, thus enhancing their quality of life amidst highly distressing circumstances. Therefore, a key component of community music practice is its unwavering commitment to social justice work and aims, making it potentially invaluable in the effort to address the exclusionary practices of Western music education.

Moreover, Higgins and Bartleet (2012) have discussed how partnerships between community music facilitators and school music teachers already exist, and how these can result in a number of benefits for K-12 students. Some examples of this include the Powers Percussion program, a series of workshops for K-12 students run by community music facilitator Mark Powers in the United States, songwriting workshops run by the Dandenong Ranges Music Council for students at Upwey High School in Australia, and long-term residencies in UK primary schools, consisting of weekly workshops, projects, and instrumental teaching, which are run by the community music organization Musiko Musika (pp. 499-503). As underscored by Higgins and Bartleet (2012), all of these partnerships foster “a dynamic relationship...that enriches the cultural life of the school and its curriculum [through]...collaboration and a sense of shared purpose” (p. 496). Moreover, this type of initiative benefits both the community music facilitator and the school music teacher. On the one hand, a school’s collaboration with a community music program can “[strengthen] the school’s relationship with its immediate locality, [raise] its profile with other schools, and [enhance] the part it plays in the economic, cultural, and social life of its community” (p. 504). On the other hand, community music

facilitators can gain numerous invaluable benefits from working with school music programs, such as opportunities to maintain “a strong connection to the social and cultural reality of the world they live in” and to reflect upon their own professional practice and philosophy (p. 504). In other words, through this type of partnership, “the music teacher and the community music facilitator might benefit from the acquisition of new skills, a broadening of professional context, development of a wider understanding of music from different social and cultural perspectives, and an exposure to different teaching strategies” (p. 504). Therefore, it is clear that community music can greatly enrich institutionalized Western music education for K-12 students.

What Are the Dangers of Community Music?

Even though community music can directly challenge and positively contribute to expanding the traditional Western music education model, it can still perpetuate colonial values and aims, and can overly engage with grandiose, utopian visions of music’s potential to transform lives. For example, after school community music programs, which often claim to improve the accessibility and inclusivity of K-12 music education, are often enmeshed with colonialist values and aims. This can be seen with the work of El Sistema, which was founded by Jose Antonio Abreu in 1975 and is one of the most “famous and lauded music education system[s] in the world” (Baker, 2018, p. 160). This model of music education currently encompasses 257 different programs in over 55 countries, of which 126 are located in Canada and the United States (Sistema Global, 2022).

However, Geoffrey Baker (2014), a prolific UK-based researcher who has studied and written about El Sistema for over a decade, has criticized the program for the ways in which it “reinforces five-hundred-year-old colonialist narratives of salvation through music” (p. 186), due to its problematic aim to “save” impoverished, non-Western children by training them in the

techniques of Western orchestral music. During his time studying El Sistema programs in Venezuela, Baker observed that El Sistema rehearsals were “sequential and repetitious” and “...teacher-centered and hierarchical; [emphasized] the transmission and ‘banking’ of existing knowledge rather than creativity; [and were] dedicated to performance rather than composing, improvising, arranging, or listening” (pp. 135-136). In other words, El Sistema and its affiliated organizations are steeped in a Eurocentric model of music education, by using classical music, a style of music primarily consumed and produced by white, upper-class groups in Western societies, as a social action program for impoverished and racialized youth. Therefore, El Sistema centers Western European music training and values as the universal and singular way to engage in musical study, and thus is similarly entrenched in Eurocentrism as is traditional Western music education.

Furthermore, these types of community music programs, whose efforts are specifically directed at lower-class groups, often rely upon colonialist values and aims in the ways they engage with class issues. According to Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (2007), “the concept of class intersects in important ways with the cultural implications of colonial domination” as it is “clear that economic control was of significant, if not primary importance in imperialism” (p. 33). Class continues to be an important site of contention in post-colonial music education; for example, Anna Bull (2016) argues that El Sistema-inspired organizations perpetuate a “middle-class civilizing mission” for working-class children through the use of Western classical music (p. 121). This style of music aligns with three key components of the middle-class value system: it “reward[s] investment in a future self;” it “cultivates an ideal of hard work;” and it “allows young women to perform a ‘respectable’ female identity” (p. 120).

Firstly, “reward[ing] investment in a future self” refers to the concept of *accumulation*, the deeply embedded middle-class belief that long-term investment in cultural capital will produce a successful future self (Bull, 2016, p. 131). Programs such as El Sistema position the learning of classical instruments as an investment in a brighter future and thus center the value of accumulation, as these programs claim to help marginalized youth rise above their lower-class positions. However, this middle-class value represents a “classed resource;” the upper classes have the economic resources to be entitled to a successful future and can thus more easily imagine secure future selves, unlike the working class, who face material hardships daily and thus cannot so easily “project [themselves] into the future with such assurance” (p. 131). Therefore, socially driven music programs that rely on this ideal negate the broader post-colonial structures that directly cause low pay, insecure labor, and other economic issues for working-class people.

Secondly, the “ideal of hard work” relates to the Victorian concept *gospel of work*, which underscores labor’s moral significance; as described by Bull (2016), “work becomes a means through which an individual can assert their value as a person” (p. 134). Consequently, this value plays into the stigmatization of the working class as idle and deserving of their lower-class status, thus highlighting their supposedly inferior work ethic. Therefore, the fact that socially driven community music programs rely on Western classical music, which requires disciplined labor over an extended period of time, represents a belief in the gospel of work, and further aligns with the socializing mission of the lower classes through community music programs.

Lastly, the third value of “respectable female identity” references how these programs use Western classical music to instill embodied restraint and gendered respectability in marginalized children (Bull, 2016, p. 129). For example, because classical music requires

modest, elegant clothing (i.e., non-sexualized, all-black concert attire), young women can separate themselves from the label of a sexual degenerate, and thus as being less valuable as a person, which are labels that continue to be associated with the working class (p. 136). As classical music requires thousands of hours of strict, repetitive practicing, which also translates to a strict disciplining of the body and an effacing of the body's sexuality, skill in this musical style was "institutionalized as a boundary marker between respectable, middle-class women, and their 'degenerate' working-class others who lacked this refinement" (p. 130). Therefore, these types of music education programs are grounded in the bourgeois social project that continues to articulate the belief that the Western classical canon can "civilize" the working class, thus demonstrating how class continues to be used as tool for colonialism in the present age.

Moreover, many of these programs rely on grandiose, utopian narratives claiming that their music education work has the potential to radically transform the lives of students facing disenfranchisement, which contains colonial undertones. This can be especially demonstrated by the overly positive rhetoric attached to El Sistema, which has been hailed as "the Venezuelan musical miracle" that has "rescued hundreds of thousands of children from poverty and a life of crime" by turning "slum dwellers into world-class classical musicians" (Baker, 2018, p. 186). Moreover, El Sistema's head conductor and recently appointed music director of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, Gustavo Dudamel, has contributed to this highly idealized view of the program; in 2017, he noted that "with these instruments and this music, we can change the world, and we are doing it" (Baker, 2021, p. 352).

However, the overly optimistic narrative of El Sistema is divorced from reality. As Geoff Baker (2021) has noted, "El Sistema is the world's longest and largest [social action through music] experiment, yet far from changing the world, it has seen its home country fall apart around

it,” in response to the massive political and economic upheaval Venezuela has undergone in the past several years (p. 352). Moreover, the fact that El Sistema and many other socially driven music programs use transformative narratives of music to market their work can be compared with “the missionaries who spearheaded the cultural conquest of [South America] in the sixteenth century” and thus colonial beliefs that non-Westerners could be ‘saved’ by Western rule, religion, education, etc. (p. 353). As Leonardo Waisman has explained, “romanticization and exaggeration of the power of European music in Latin America goes back to the accounts of Spanish missionaries in the sixteenth century, writing about their own supposedly glorious efforts to pacify and convert the Indigenous population” (as cited in Baker, 2021, p. 353). In other words, the utopian narratives of El Sistema community music programs and its affiliates reinforce the superiority of Western culture, as well as the colonial idea that those without Western culture must be culturally backwards and require ‘saving’ by these types of structures and logics.

How to Practice Anti-Colonialist Community Music

Therefore, how can community musicians avoid the pitfalls of such programs as El Sistema? Are there possible ways forward for a truly anti-colonialist articulation of community music? More specifically, are there existing frameworks community musicians can use to address the colonial structuring of and student disenfranchising practiced by the Western music education field? This section will explore these complex questions and posit the concepts of *anti-oppression* and *decoloniality* as two possible ways forward. Furthermore, this section will demonstrate how these concepts have been applied by two prolific North American community music programs, and thus will unearth the ways in which community music can directly improve the accessibility and inclusivity of the Western music education field. As a result, despite the immense challenges

music educators face in improving their classrooms and pedagogies, illuminating examples of how systemic colonialism can be addressed and mitigated in community music programs do exist.

Anti-Oppression and Decoloniality Defined

As noted by Baker (2022), “something that many critics of social inclusion agree on is that the fundamental problem – whether it is termed exclusion or poverty or oppression – is societal or structural” (p. 256). In other words, marginalization is not just an issue for those it affects, but is in fact related to all of society, and how capital and work is foundationally organized; thus, “if we live in an exclusive society, then meaningful actions need to address the configuration of that society” (Baker, 2022, p. 256). As a result, any efforts towards true social change and the enactment of anti-colonial practices “must go beyond palliative strategies for the most affected” (p. 256). Moreover, Labonte (2004) has similarly underscored how change should be directed towards “the socio-economic rules and political powers that create excluded groups and conditions, and the social groups who benefit by this” (p. 117). Therefore, any attempts at enacting an anti-colonial music practice should acknowledge the dominant social institutions and actors that are responsible for exclusionary practices in the first place. A near-exclusive focus on students facing marginalization blockades the opportunities for educators to disrupt the cycle of exclusion.

Viewing “the experiences of the underprivileged group...as a consequence of the choices of the privileged one,” and thus recognizing that structural inequities are produced and maintained by privileged groups, is at the heart of *anti-oppression* (Baker, 2022, p. 257). Anti-oppressive practice requires “privileged actors to de-centre themselves and demonstrate humility... they need to listen to and learn from the experiences and expertise of [groups that have historically faced marginalization], mobilise in collective action under the leadership of people from such groups, and thereby take action on systems of inequality” (p. 257). In other words, a truly anti-oppressive

framework of music education must address the elite institutions and voices that sustain colonial practices and logics, and must support the agency and voices of students facing marginalization, instead of trying to “save” or “fix” these students with traditional methodologies that further sustain inequities.

Moreover, *decolonization* is a critical framework that can be used by community music educators to directly address the colonial undertones of traditional Western music education and the ways in which this practice further sustains the marginalization of K-12 students. As previously defined, decolonization is “the process of revealing and dismantling colonialist power in all its forms,” which includes “dismantling the hidden aspects of those institutional and cultural forces that had maintained the colonialist power and that remain” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2007, p. 56). This approach works in tangent with anti-oppression by supporting such notions as “equity and sovereignty,” “[moving] to dismantle Eurocentricity,” and “[focusing] on transforming dominant groups rather than marginalised ones” (Baker, 2022, p. 258). In other words, decolonization requires moving beyond simple diversification practices, such as changing musical repertoire to include more non-Western styles of music, and necessitates deeply rethinking the epistemologies and pedagogies of Western music education. Moreover, this practice does not equate to completely banishing Western music education and logics, but to engaging in a critical and nuanced reflection on this type of music-making. For example, this type of critique could involve asking such questions as, “what if young musicians did not *start from* classical music but rather *arrived to* it – if local and national genres and playing styles formed the centre from which to diversify into and include classical music?,” or “*how* [not *whether*] should students play classical music?” (p. 258). These types of questions could also form the basis of critical conversations between students and music educators. Therefore,

decolonization and anti-oppression can be used as essential tools in addressing the systemic issues of traditional Western music education, and the following section will discuss their application by two prominent community music programs in North America.

Case Study #1: Community Music Schools of Toronto

Community Music Schools of Toronto (formerly Regent Park School of Music) is an exemplar of socially driven community music programs that resist colonialist teaching practices and values. This non-profit organization has served students from the suburbs of Regent Park, Jane Finch, and more in Toronto, Canada since 1999 (Community Music Schools of Toronto, 2022). According to its website, Community Music Schools of Toronto (CMST) aims to “[help] Toronto youth, facing financial and other barriers, to thrive through high quality music education” by subsidizing program costs based on household income and loaning instruments and music books to students that they can eventually keep after graduation (Community Music Schools of Toronto, 2022).

Moreover, CMST has embraced a creative and intercultural curriculum that upholds the intrinsic value of diverse musical styles and practices. This organization encompasses the following music-making activities: weekly music lessons (in one-on-one, group, and large ensemble settings), diverse performance opportunities, enrichment activities (e.g., workshops, seminars, and masterclasses), student leadership/employment openings, songwriting/composition and studio recording initiatives, and summer music programs (*Expanding Our Community – Annual Report 2022*, 2022, p. 11). Western classical music is one option of study out of many; students can learn a classical instrument (e.g., piano, trumpet, etc.) and take RCM exam preparation classes, but, for example, they can also engage with popular music instruments and techniques, as seen with CMST’s Recording Arts, Song to Studio, and Sound Engineering

programs (p. 14). Thus, CMST addresses the question of how Western classical music can form one component of a truly intercultural and multifaceted music curriculum; in other words, its young musicians are not required to “start” at classical music, but have the option to “arrive” at it (Baker, 2022, p. 258). By offering a variety of intercultural creativities, as seen with its provision of music activities that clearly embrace diverse ways of knowing, making, and creating, and thereby decentering Western classical music, CMST’s programming aligns with decolonization principles.

Additionally, CMST clearly engages with anti-oppressive learning paradigms. For example, it provides its students with a high level of agency in the school itself; its core values consist of “empowering and supporting our students and each other... celebrating learning... fostering developmental environments, being innovative and impactful... respecting, including, and partnering with others, and leading with integrity” (Community Music Schools of Toronto, 2022). This commitment to centering the needs and voices of students can be demonstrated by its Active Tween and Youth Committees, in which students between the ages of 10 and 18 can take part in discussions, debates, social activities, events, and guest speaker lectures (*Expanding Our Community – Annual Report 2022*, 2022, p. 4). In other words, the voices of CMST students are clearly valuable to this school, as students can contribute to a variety of CMST programming and have their own platform from which they can influence decisions, initiate important discussions, etc. As such, CMST supports the call of anti-oppressive practice to “listen to and learn from the experiences and expertise of historically marginalised groups” and to “mobilise in collective action under the leadership of people from such groups,” instead of trying to “save” these students with traditional Western music education epistemologies (Baker, 2022, p. 257). Therefore, by giving its students the opportunity to creatively engage with numerous musical

styles and techniques, as well as providing multiple outlets for student expression, critical reflection, and agency, CMST demonstrates how community music can support the practice of true anti-colonial music education for K-12 students facing marginalization.

Case Study #2: Collaboration Between a High School and Multiple Hip Hop Arts

Organizations in Montreal

Another example of how community music can embody the principles of anti-oppression and decolonization, and thus can better support the needs of students facing disenfranchisement than traditional Western music education, refers to a longstanding partnership between a local high school and community Hip Hop arts organizations in Montreal, Canada. This partnership was first established in 2013, and the high school involved mainly caters to students facing some kind of marginalization; most of the students come from families living at or below the poverty line, and about 80% of the school's highly diverse student body have a diagnosed behavioral or academic challenge (Canadian New Music Network, n.d.). Before the establishment of the community music program, the high school was grappling with extremely low graduation and enrollment rates, as well as the highest absenteeism and lateness percentages in the school's respective school district (Gage et al., 2020, p. 20).

However, as the high school had experienced high levels of participation in its extracurricular offerings, some of the most popular relating to Hip Hop or street art culture (e.g., "WORD" or "Writing Our Rhymes Down," a Hip Hop literacy club premised on beat making and rap writing workshops), the school decided to create an "urban arts concentration" for students (Gage et al., 2020, p. 20). This was achieved by a community music partnership that "[saw] teachers collaborate with local artists [i.e., local producers and rappers] in co-creating and teaching curricular units," "built an urban arts infrastructure in the school, including a student-

curated art gallery and a professional quality recording studio,” and “hired a music teacher – Nathan Gage – to build a new, non-traditional urban arts music program” (p. 20). Moreover, Gage’s new music program supported a comprehensive “cross-curricular integration of the urban arts” (p. 20). It achieved this through a combination of the Musical Futures approach, a UK-based music education program that emphasizes creativity through listening, performing, improvising, and composing activities (p. 21), and Hip Hop pedagogy, which draws upon Hip Hop culture (e.g., rapping, Djing, breakdancing/Hip Hop dance) and grassroots values, “[stemming] from its origins as a non-violent and creative response to the experience of social and economic dispossession” (p. 20).

Most importantly, this partnership between community musicians and a school music program is grounded in the values of anti-oppression and decolonization. Firstly, this program strongly “[embraces] a philosophy of learning by doing, [creates] connections with students through popular music, [and seeks] to disrupt top-down music education practices that render pupils’ role in the classroom passive by giving students an active role in the formation of their own learning” (Gage et al., 2020, p. 21). By using a musical framework that centers students’ musical tastes and fosters “culturally responsive music education that values the wealth of knowledge from non-dominant communities” (p. 22), this community music initiative supports the agency and empowerment of students facing marginalization. Moreover, Gage and colleagues underscore how this program aligns with the critical approaches of other popular music pedagogies, particularly punk pedagogy. For instance, because this program gives students such high levels of influence over their learning, it “[dismantles] hierarchical forms of domination” because “the educator-learner understands the importance [of] practicing counter-hegemony as a necessary act for liberation” (Torrez, 2012, p. 140, as cited in Gage et al., 2020,

p. 21). In other words, this community music partnership upholds key tenets of anti-oppressive learning, by decentering the traditionally dominant and hierarchical roles of teachers and fostering active agency and self-driven learning for students facing marginalization.

Additionally, Gage and colleagues' program is heavily committed to the practice of decolonization. As decolonization aims to "[reveal] and [dismantle] colonialist power in all its forms" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2007, p. 56), this community music initiative directly challenges the colonialist structuring of traditional Western music education through its use of a cross-curricular urban arts music curriculum. For example, it has been noted that Hip Hop pedagogy, specifically, can "[encourage] students to critically examine the relationship between the genre, society, and Hip Hop culture as well as helping pupils understand their reality more deeply" and "foster students' ability to make connections between related and unrelated musical concepts from Western Art Music and Hip Hop traditions" (Gage et al., 2020, p. 22). In other words, this initiative's inclusion of Hip Hop pedagogy can positively contribute to students' critical thinking and reflection skills, and can considerably assist them in formulating higher-level critiques of societal inequities and structures. As noted by Bradley (2007) and Hess (2021), facilitating dialogues about structural issues in the music classroom, such as on the "relationships between music and slavery, colonialism, and resistance," can "[open] up a wider conversation about the need for systemic redress" and can "[provide] the basis for a conversation that historicises present inequality and points to systemic implications" (Hess, 2021, p. 66). Thus, by using a learning framework that promotes critical examinations of how colonialist logics and values are sustained, this community music program is dedicated to dismantling and restructuring the traditional Western music classroom.

Conclusion

Overall, community music can be an essential tool in the struggle to combat the exclusionary and marginalizing practices of traditional Western music education, which particularly affects the lives of K-12 students facing some form of disenfranchisement. Community music can directly challenge colonialist logics, structures, and value-making for some of the following reasons: it includes learners of all ages, backgrounds, and styles; it is rooted in a learner-centered, rather than teacher-centered educational framework, which supports learners' development of agency and personal growth; it is committed to deeply engaging with a diverse array of musical styles and practices, instead of solely focusing on those of Western classical music; and it is rooted in a long history of social activism and civic engagement. These characteristics of community music make this practice especially invaluable to students facing marginalization, who are overwhelmingly excluded by institutionalized Western music education.

However, as demonstrated by El Sistema and its offshoots, community music is not a perfect model of anti-colonial music education; it can still perpetuate colonial values and aims, and overly emphasize grandiose, utopian visions of music's potential to transform lives, which are not based in students' actual life experiences. On the other hand, there are examples of community music programs, such as Community Music Schools of Toronto and Nathan Gage's community music/school partnership, that exemplify the values of anti-oppression and decolonization in musical spaces for K-12 student subsets, and thus have established a model of music education that directly challenges and mitigates systemic marginalization. By empowering and enhancing the quality of life of students facing disenfranchisement, community music points to a way forward for Western music educators to significantly improve their music programs and

pedagogies, in order to make the numerous benefits of high-quality musical instruction a potential reality for all.

Summary

This project has explored two major areas of North American, K-12 music education: how this type of education often perpetuates colonialist thinking, structuring, and value-making to the exclusion of students facing marginalization; and how such education can be re-articulated as a decolonization project by critically using the values and pedagogical approaches of community music. In regards to the first area of research discussed in this paper, the pervasive force of colonialism in Western, institutionalized K-12 music education can be reflected in the Eurocentrism, multiculturalism, and whiteness of this learning context, as well as its lack of substantial engagement with decolonization methodologies. Through these ways, North American music classrooms, teachers, and scholars continue to uphold the supremacy of the Western art music tradition through the interpellation of students in colonialist logics and values, which directly excludes low-income and racialized groups facing marginalization.

On the other hand, community music can counteract and/or mitigate the exclusionary practices of such education, and particularly address the needs of K-12 students who have been disenfranchised by formal North American music practices. Though community music is by no means a perfect model of how decolonization principles can be honored and implemented, it can provide a way forward for educators to directly challenge and mitigate the sources of systemic marginalization in music education. Two examples of this can be found in the invaluable work of Community Music Schools of Toronto and a community music/school partnership facilitated by Mr. Nathan Gage in Montreal, which are dedicated to centering the needs and voices of students facing marginalization and creating spaces for critical conversations in the music classroom.

Most importantly, true anti-colonial music education requires constant reflection and resistance on the part of music educators, who can unlock a strong sense of responsibility and

criticality in the young people who will influence future musical practices. As underscored by Canadian scholar and musician, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2020), music can be used to “[offer] critique, [build] other worlds... [produce] joy and care and vision...and dedicate ourselves to not just our struggle, but those who are also striving for freedom” (p. 92). Therefore, it is imperative that music educators recognize the invaluable role they can play in not only dismantling colonialist forces in this work, but in affirming and empowering the young people who hold the key to creating an equitable and liberated future for all.

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