Teaching World Music in the Netherlands 1983-2003. A cross-cultural investigation into concepts, ideas and practices of music transmission in culturally diverse environments

Schippers, H.

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Chapter One: SETTING THE SCENE
– Terminology and Approaches

Introduction
In the early 1930s, Martin and Osa Johnson, a couple from Kansas, travelled to Central Africa to document wildlife and the ways of the pygmies in the Ituri forest. It is uncertain whether great new anthropological insights came to light from this expedition, but some value of their trip to posterity lies in the fact that they filmed their endeavours, in the first movie with sound recorded in Africa, which they playfully named Congorilla. One of its highlights is a scene in which they decided to “give the boys and girls some modern jazz.” The gramophone is installed on top of a traditional drum, and the wife, in full tropical gear, shows the natives how to dance. The husband remarks how their primitive new friends sometimes lose the beat, but “the little savages,” he delights to notice, “find it back remarkably quickly.” (Johnson, 1932; Appendix D1)

This is likely to be one of the earliest recorded examples of music instruction across cultural boundaries (barring the spread of Western classical music), and an unintended ironic picture of ‘pioneers’ in the field of cultural diversity in music education: bringing ‘back’ Afro-American music to black Africans, and teaching them to move to it in a rather stiff, Western manner. In this way, it antedates the conceived beginnings of music education across cultures by several decades. With this odd experiment in cross-cultural arts education, the struggle of academics and practitioners to find appropriate terminology, form and content of cultural diversity in music education can be traced back more than 70 years.

A number of factors - musical and extramusical - have influenced the development of what is now widely referred to as world music, and its role in music transmission. Most importantly, there were forces that shaped the general thought on the position of music and music education in many societies, which in Europe and the United States consisted of representatives from literally hundreds of different cultures by the mid-1990s. These included educational philosophies, developments in music education, trends in ethnomusicology, a rapidly emerging record and concert business, and the structure of music education and government policies during this period.

There is a substantial body of literature on cultural diversity from the perspective of anthropology, ethnomusicology, and (music) education. It is a confusing body of literature: the terminology is often
undefined or used loosely in a remarkably wide range of meanings. The terms multicultural, intercultural, cross-cultural and transcultural are used in conjunction with references to ethnic, migrant or minority arts, world music, and the current 'cultural diversity' (cf Saraber, 1998, pp. 8-11), often without defining specific meanings or relations, real or assumed.

This study does not pretend to resolve the confusion once and for all. However, this chapter will attempt to arrive at working definitions for a number of key concepts, which are as unambiguous as possible, and which can serve as instruments for increasing the understanding of approaches to world music and cultural diversity in music education.

World Music: the Term

Words and expressions used to refer to music from different parts of the world have varied considerably over the past century, and often reflect the worldview that informed it. The Norton/Grove Handbook Ethnomusicology – An Introduction mentions “traditional,” which has been current for decades, and continues to distinguish “labels condemned as pejorative: the old-timers, ‘savage’, ‘primitive’, ‘exotic’, ‘Oriental’, ‘Far Eastern’; some newcomers: ‘folk’, ‘non-Western’, ‘non-literate’, ‘pre-literate’; and recently ‘world’” (Myers, 1992, p. 11). Much has been said and written on the shortcomings of the term ‘world music’. The discussion probably cannot be completely resolved. However, it is worthwhile to examine the terminology used, as it may provide a clearer insight in the various approaches to the genres and styles of music under discussion. Grouping terms by approach or sentiment creates new perspectives on the meaning of specific types of terminology. For the present purpose, nine of these can be defined:

• **Wonder**: exotic music. This has all the implications that the *Oxford English Dictionary* ascribes to it: “having the attraction of the strange and foreign, glamorous,” but also “outlandish, barbarous, strange and uncouth” (*OED Online*. Retrieved September 1, 2003, from www.oed.com. All references in this study are to this edition). The term may also be used to help define the identity of the user. In the 1944 edition of the *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, Willi Apel defined exotic music as “the musical cultures outside the European tradition” (quoted in Myers, 1992, p. 6). ‘Oriental music’ (see also below) and ‘Tropical music’ have similar implications. The BBC even used ‘strange music’ for a series of programmes that ran from January to March 1933 (Sweeney, 1991, p. ix).

• **Judgement**: primitive, savage, pre-literate music. Again, the *OED Online* meanings disclose different shades of meaning. For primitive, it gives: “having the quality or style of that which is early or ancient. Also, simple, rude or rough like that of early times”. And, quite dubious from the point of view of modern anthropological insights: “that relates to a group [...] whose
culture, through isolation, has remained at a simple level of social and economic organisation.” Myers quotes the 1941 standard guide *Introduction to Musicology* as stating: “As applied to musical systems, the term ‘primitive’ is used in two senses; it may refer either to ancient or prehistoric music, or to music of a low cultural level. It is in the latter sense that primitive music is chiefly studied in comparative musicology.” The music of American Indians and African Negroes are quoted as examples (Myers, 1992, p. 7). The *New Oxford History of Music* also retained the terminology and the idea that while the West was innovative and modern, the rest of the world stood still: “primitive music scholars had to turn first to the primitive tribes still living in the Stone Age” (Schneider, 1957, p. 1).

- **Geographical Position of Speaker**: non-Western music, extra-European music. The term ‘International music’ is often used to indicate music from other countries as well. I have heard an Indian colleague refer to Western music as ‘non-Indian’ music (Aneesh Pradhan, January 1996). This corresponds to one of the definitions that Bruno Nettl, borrowing from Wachsmann (1969) gives of ethnomusicology: “... as the study of music other than one’s own” (Nettl, 1980, p. 1; cf Myers, 1992, p. 8). While this is not necessarily the spirit of ethnomusicology today, it does reflect much of the practice in terms of focus and number of publications. As I will demonstrate, the concept may successfully feed into a definition of world music specifically relevant to music teaching and learning.

- **Origin of Music** (in place or time), from general to very specific: ‘Oriental music,’ referring to all Arab and Asian nation-states in a way that acknowledges the “greatness of Oriental civilisations,” but at the same holds suggestions of exoticism and a range of implicit prejudices that “the Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, ‘different’; thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, ‘normal’” (Said, 1978, p. 40). More neutral are: Ghanaian music (one nation-state), or *Ewe* music (of a tribe or ethnic group), or even North Indian *tabla* music from the Delhi *Gharana* (specific stylistic school). The terms ‘ancient music,’ mostly referring to music that can be regarded as precursors to the Western classical tradition, and ‘roots’ music, mostly used in concert promotion, trade and journalism can also be placed in this category, the latter referring to “music that has its origins in some exotic place.” Prime examples of this usage are the UK magazine Folk Roots, and the annual World Roots Festival in Amsterdam. In this way, roots music reflects some of the meaning of the more neutral ‘traditional’ music, which also refers to more or less clearly traceable origins, a concept that will be addressed in some detail in Chapter Three.

- **Conceived or Real Social Use or Status**: classical, art, popular, light, folk music. Especially the latter has been strikingly overused with reference to music from non-Western cultures,
even if it was obviously considered religious or 'classical' within the culture itself. Slobin characterizes the use of the term 'folk music' during the first seven decades of the twentieth century as referring to "the internal primitives of Euro-America" (1993, p. 4). 'Light' music is used to refer to 'non-serious' music such as pop and jazz, for instance in departments of conservatories (e.g. Rotterdam) or broadcasting organisations in Europe (e.g. the Dutch broadcasting organisation VARA).

- **Non-Musical Qualifications of the Makers or Owners of the Music**: ethnic music, migrant music, black music. In the UK, the latter even included music from South Asian immigrants in the 1980s (Slobin, 1993, p. 111). But we do not usually see CD-covers of Bach with "Traditional Ethnic Eighteenth Century Lutheran Music from Germany." It may also express political correctness: "Musics of the World's Cultures," which is how the International Society for Music Education refers to the field (ISME, 1992; Appendix A2. See also below).

- **Music as Meeting Ground**: cross-over, fusion, and world beat. In fact, many of the world's established traditions could be placed in this category, but generally it refers either to pop music from the Caribbean, Latin America and Africa (e.g. Fela Kuti, Papa Wemba), or to conscious efforts by musicians to transcend cultural boundaries from the 1960s to the present (e.g. Shakti with John McLaughlin, Indian rapper Apache Indian).

- **An Ideal**: Music as a single universal language. This concept arose along with the new emphasis in education on 'international relations' in the years immediately following World War I (Volk, 1998, p. 48). Volk quotes a remarkably naïve statement by Frances Elliott Clark from this period:

  > When that great convention can sit together - Chinese, Hindu, Japanese, Celt, German, Czech, Italian, Hawaiian, Scandinavian, and Pole - all singing the national songs of each land, the home songs of each people, and listen as one mind and heart to great world music common to all and loved by all, then shall real world goodwill be felt and realized. (1998, p. 49)

The German use of *Weltmusik* is an interesting case in point as well. Karlheinz Stockhausen speaks of "the blending and integrating process of all the music cultures of the world," and ultimately a "sort of artificial new folklore," which serves "as a contribution to the concert – the coming together – of all cultural groups" (1979, p. 11). Ernst Joachim Berendt, an influential jazz and new age music publicist, further popularised this vision in the German speaking countries (Berendt, 1983, 1985).

- **A General Indication**: world music. Robert E. Brown claims to have been the first to use the term, in the United States in the 1960s. He used it to describe a hands-on approach to
ethnomusicology at Wesleyan University in Connecticut, probably pioneered by Mantle Hood in the 1950s (Hood, 1960, 1995), and since then followed by many others. Robert Brown states that he never thought of world music as a discipline or performance study, but rather as "an attitude or philosophical approach" (Brown, 1995, p. 8). The discussion on this term will be continued over the next pages.

Most of these terms can be seen to represent an attitude or approach. Many are based on ideas about other cultures that are no longer current. The more recent term 'world music' can be regarded as the most comprehensive attempt to resolve these drawbacks. There are a number of variants of the term. Some authors prefer 'world musics' to indicate that it refers to a rich variety of forms of musical expression. Brown argues that this is superfluous: "... it strikes me as overkill to stress the obvious fact there are innumerable varieties of world music [...]. If we can speak of world theatre or world literature, why should we have to speak of world musics?" (ibid.).

There is an argument for the view that if Shakespeare, the author of the Mahabharata, Gabriel García Márquez, Paul van Ostayen and Homer share a singular reference, so can Indian ragas, salsa, Tuwan overtone singing and South-African isicathamiya. But the discussion hinges around whether we treat world music as an analogy of the two dictionary meanings for world-literature: "a body of work drawn from many nations and recognised as literature throughout the world; (the sum of) the literature of the world," or of the two for world-language: "a language universally read and spoken by educated people; a language for international use" (OED Online). In the case of music, none of these is a perfect match. The first meaning of world-literature, with its implications of excellence, is rarely or never used for world music. The second one, which would naturally include western literature, is not common either with reference to music, as world music is commonly used to distinguish certain musics from western music. Of the meanings for world-language, both would point at hegemony of a single (probably western) tradition, or an idealistic 'Music – the Universal Language,' as discussed above.

Two other variants of world music commonly encountered are ‘musics of the world’ and ‘musics of the world’s cultures.’ The latter, somewhat laboured denomination was promoted by a special panel created in 1990 by the International Society for Music Education (ISME), which preferred this to all others then in vogue, including "international music." Although there may be no real objections to using this terminology, there are few strong arguments in favour of it: the epithet "of the world’s cultures" hardly serves as an additional distinguishing feature. Although sources do not unambiguously point in any single direction, I will use ‘world music’ in this study to refer to the phenomenon of music outside of its original context, and, for the sake of brevity, ‘world musics’ when I speak of two or more distinct traditional and/or contemporary forms of music from across the world.
The term world music took a leap in public awareness in 1987, when a number of small independent labels in the UK launched their ‘world music campaign’ (Sweeney, 1991, p. ix). This has become quite an influential movement in terms of thinking about music, although the initial aim was principally commercial. Labels that wanted to promote sounds from Africa and Asia they considered exciting, felt that their image was not served by a shared place in the ‘International’ bin with George Zamphir and Nana Mouskouri, or under ‘Ethnic’ with what they considered obscure tribal musics of primarily ethnomusicological interest. They developed display material, and succeeded in generating a movement that has ultimately led to a ‘world music’ section in thousands of record shops all over the world, although the terms international, ethnic, and of course references to specific genres, styles, regions, countries and continents are still common as well. Interestingly, basic fieldwork in shopping malls across the world demonstrates that Senegalese music is world music in FNAC, one of the largest record shops in Paris, while French chansons are world music in the South African record shops in Pretoria (personal observations, 1990, 1998). Here the perspective of the locality is the guiding principle. This observation feeds into the definition of world music proposed in this chapter.

The concept ‘world music’ made its entry in the Netherlands towards the very end of the 1980s. A number of journalists, including Peter van Amstel, Renée Heijnen (de Volkskrant), Elsje Plantema (NRC Handelsblad) en Stan Rijven (Trouw), started using the term in newspaper reviews and magazine articles. A magazine called Wereldmuziek was launched in 1989, and concert promoters started using the term to promote series of concerts that were previously usually referred to as ‘non-Western’ music. Within a few years, the term was well established to refer to both traditional forms of music from all over the globe, and to contemporary and crossover styles.

Currently, three essentially different uses of the term world music are in common use:

- **World Music as a Philosophical Concept**
  This ranges from strongly idealistic concepts of ‘one music’ for the entire world, to the ideas of Robert Brown, who says: “I prefer the inclusive term world music to the plural world musics, for the simple reason that it emphasises unity – the unity of the pursuit of music as a universal human endeavour” (Brown, 1995, p. 8).

- **World Music as a Result of Musical Interaction between Cultures**
  World beat is also commonly used to refer to this interpretation of the word. This is still a current interpretation in the UK. World music features here as cross-over or fusion, either established, as for example salsa or Afro-pop, or more recent: the mixing of Indian bhangra and Brazilian samba to sambhanghra is an excellent example of creatively mixing sound and terminology. (Samba. Retrieved September 15, 2003, from www.users.zetnet.co.uk/mally/samba/bands.html).
• World Music as the Sum of Musical Forms that exist on Earth

Ultimately, the latter is an inclusive term to the point of being meaningless. In this way it is used differently from World Literature, which usually refers to publications acknowledged (by Westerners!) to be masterworks. World music is never used in this sense. In order to avoid a non-definition, I would argue that the concept of world music is closely linked to the dynamics of music, to its moving over the world. Bor suggests “world music is non-Western traditional and popular music that has successfully adapted itself to its new, Western environment” (personal communication, August 2003). Although this definition seems to do justice to the dynamics of the phenomenon, this study opts for a broader definition:

"world music is the phenomenon of musical repertoires, genres, styles, and instruments establishing themselves outside their cultural contexts of origin."

The rationale for using this definition is, as we have argued, that the very concept of world music is based on music travelling; otherwise there would be no use for the term. It is the dynamics of music that will be one of the central issues underlying this study. This definition also weakens the Eurocentric background of the term, as it embraces traffic in all directions. Most importantly, a definition based on dynamics is particularly useful for the purpose of music education, as it highlights one of the aspects of the phenomenon crucial to this dissertation: the fact that music from all over the world exists - and is taught - outside of its original context. This creates new challenges in terms of the students’ familiarity with the sounds, aptitude to learn, openness to traditional teaching techniques, social possibilities to effectuate them, and new opportunities to be explored to stimulate the learning process.

I am aware this concept is not without flaws. As Tsuge Gen’ichi pointed out, Western classical music (which is included in this discussion on an equal footing with all other music) is now the first reference for music educators in Japan, not any form of Japanese music (personal communication, December 1998). So in a way, Japanese traditional music has become ‘world music’ in Japan. But I see this as a very advanced stage in the process, just like most people now see the bagpipe as a typically Scottish instrument in spite of its Arab origins, and the Arab roots of the violin, oboe and piano are often forgotten. In other words: once a musical phenomenon has taken root in another culture, it gradually becomes norm in the culture of that region. None of these examples serve as an argument against the central premise that the study of the dynamics of music outside of its original context creates new thresholds and opportunities for music lovers and educators, which is what the present study examines.

Cultural diversity

While historically, the term that appears to be used most when referring to a society consisting of representatives from more than one culture is multicultural, presently the term favoured is cultural
diversity. Although the shifting terminology reeks of political correctness, I will use the latter term referring to any situation where more than one culture is represented in a particular community, and use it as a neutral term, not carrying implications on how this cultural diversity is addressed.

It is important to note that cultural diversity is not an absolute, but rather a matter of degree. As John Blacking pointed out when speaking about the UK: "...before Caribbean and Asian immigrants formed a substantial part of its population, it was in fact multicultural: differences between the lifestyles of people in the north and the south of the country, between classes and between rich and poor, were as great as between societies that anthropologists would describe as having different cultures" (Blacking, n.d., p. 11). Although the development of culturally diverse societies has brought with it cultural differences previously unimagined within single nation-states, the point that cultural diversity is a matter of degree is of considerable importance in musical diversity as well.

Consequently, defining whether a community can be called culturally diverse or not is less meaningful than qualifying its cultural diversity. We are dealing with a continuum, in which we can distinguish different levels of intensity of cultural diversity. For instance:

1. One national origin, differences defined by social status or position, education, gender or age.
2. One national origin, differences defined by ethnic/cultural background (this is very strongly the case in African nation-states, for instance, where the political division lines do not correspond to those of the ethnic groups).
3. Several national origins, similar cultures (as in the mixing of Europeans between themselves or with North Americans, with a substantial shared culture).
4. Several national origins, widely different cultures (this is the reality of most nation-states of the Western world, where people from European, African, Latin American and Asian backgrounds live together).

Although all of the above are relevant to culturally diverse situations, the fourth category is the most challenging. In this context, it is noteworthy that cultural diversity is not only defined by the background of people, events or circumstances, but also by time. A culturally diverse situation may be of short duration, for instance during a fusion concert where musicians from three different cultures meet each other on stage for an evening, or extended, for instance in the case of the forced migration of black people to the Caribbean. In this way, the dimension of time has major implications for the nature of cultural encounters and their effects.

Finally, there is the distinction between art and culture, which are often confused with each other. We must realise that art is only a part of culture, and music only a discipline within the arts. This should keep us from making sweeping generalisations. In fact, it creates paradoxical situations. For instance:
representatives from different cultures nowadays do not necessarily correspond to the ethnic background of that culture. In musical contexts, a Korean violinist or a Dutch *djembe* player is more likely to represent European or African culture than the culture of their country of birth. When looking at younger generations, we can observe that the link between ethnic background and cultural preference is rapidly weakening (e.g. De Klerk, 2003, p. 5).

Cultural diversity, then, is the co-existence of representations from different cultures in any definable single setting. The degree of cultural diversity in any setting is defined by the cultural discrepancies between various actors, multiplied by the number of actors representing different discrepancies. This formula, for which we are not likely to ever find hard indicators, defines the complexity of the challenge to the music educator. The subsequent pattern of action is informed by the specific approach that is taken to cultural diversity as a whole, which is the area of investigation of the next section.

**Four approaches to cultural diversity**

Although the terminology may differ considerably in various fields of expertise, we can distinguish between four basic approaches a society may take towards cultural diversity: monocultural, multicultural, intercultural, and transcultural. I will use this division, derived from the system used at Dutch teacher training colleges (Melchers, 1996), because it provides a framework that clarifies approaches to culturally diverse societies, and translates to music education very well. Consequently, I will use these terms throughout this study to indicate specific approaches to cultural diversity. The word cross-cultural will only be used in the neutral sense of 'across cultures,' as in cross-cultural research, meaning research that is conducted from one culture into another, or that spans various cultures.

**Monocultural**

The *OED Online* defines monocultural as: "of an area in which all inhabitants share a common culture or way of life." As we have seen, truly monocultural settings are rare in contemporary societies. But we can argue that there is a monocultural approach to cultural diversity. This implies that all deviant cultures are forced or expected to adapt to the dominant culture to maintain or restore overall monoculturality. Although it sounds very unrealistic and '1984'-ish, this can happen unconsciously in cultures with limited cultural diversity, and may happen consciously in countries with strong national pride, such as France, where in the 1980s, immigrants were expected to assume the new culture almost completely (personal observation, 1985-1990), and more recently, headscarfs were banned. In a milder form, it may be an instrument to keep a society coherent: newcomers may be asked to learn the national language, and adhere to a number of social codes. In the hardest form, it becomes exclusive and may lead to segregation and aggression.
Translated to music practice and education, the dominant culture (in most cases Western classical music) is the only frame of reference. Other musics and approaches to music are marginalised. A growing number of teachers and educationalists are beginning to see that this approach to music teaching cannot be maintained. One can argue that everybody in a culturally diverse society should learn one language. But the position that a similar approach to the canon of Western classical music is appropriate is becoming increasingly difficult to argue in most contemporary culturally diverse societies (see also Chapter Two). Most music educators in the West would tend towards a multi-, inter-, or transcultural approach. Paradoxically, the realities of formal music education in the West demonstrate an overwhelming majority of monocultural practices, with ideas from Western music dominant, and some instances of multicultural practice (cf Nettl, 1995). We find this situation even in many non-Western nation-states (where it would have to be called multicultural music education, as it tends to exist separate from other forms of musical expression in those cultures), with even more dubious claims to supremacy or even relevance.

Although the idea that Western classical music is superior has been officially disregarded for decades, its dominance in music education has hardly changed. Questions about its relevance as the prime reference point are seldom raised. Western classical music is certainly one of the great musical traditions of the world, but it is hardly the most striking feature in the world of sound surrounding listeners at the beginning of the twenty-first century. However, it is still the basis and focus of much music teaching. In the case of learners from other cultures this leads to an unbalanced situation. Music education promotes an approach to music that is heavily based on concepts from elitist eighteenth and nineteenth century European practices, while societies have evolved, especially in popular music, in the direction of cultural diversity. Rap, salsa, reggae, rai, Afropop and music from Latin America are increasingly part of our musical surroundings.

Blacking approaches the challenge from the perspective of non-classical Western music: “A British music education, rooted in English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish folk song, is no longer appropriate for a nation whose citizens have comparatively recent ties to Indian Pakistan, Hong Kong, Cyprus, Poland, and the Caribbean.” On the other hand, he argues, “it would not be beneficial … to bring up the children of immigrants specifically with the music of their ancestors, since that music does not really belong to the local community and national environment” (Blacking, 1985, p. 144). In this way, Blacking sketches the contours of a crucial discussion about cultural diversity, representatitvity and relevance in contemporary music education.

**Multicultural**

It is important to note here that for the purpose of this study, multicultural will not be used in its most commonly used sense: “of or pertaining to a society of varied cultural groups” (*OED Online*), as we
have just defined cultural diversity to refer to that. Instead, multicultural, which has become a household term in education through the work of James Banks (1995, 2002) and others, will be used to describe a specific approach to cultural diversity.

In a multicultural situation, different cultures exist next to each other, and are left to themselves, without much interference or mutual contact. This would correspond to the fairly neutral description of The New Handbook of Research on Music Teaching and Learning: “Multicultural’ education often describes effects of coexistence of diverse groups in a shared social system” (Lundquist, 2002, p. 627). Less common terms such as bi-cultural and tri-cultural, which are only more specific in the number of cultures involved, I group under the same heading.

Although this seems to be a valid approach, showing respect towards all cultures present in a society, it also has drawbacks. A music education that focuses on linking material to the specific ethnic backgrounds of learners runs the risk of separating rather than bringing cultures together, which is often part of the underlying rationale, as witnessed by educational and government policies such as those discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter Two. It also ignores the fact that with second and third generation immigrants, musical preferences become less linked to cultural background, as noted before.

In an article which foreshadowed A Commonsense View of all Musics, Blacking comments on this: “Those who advocate ‘multicultural’ education in the United Kingdom, Australia, and elsewhere, seem to be motivated by the best of intentions and inspired by a liberal tradition, which seeks to ensure that the state takes positive action to protect and promote the heritage and well-being of all its citizens. They would probably be surprised to learn that their plans and their rhetoric are very similar to those of the White South African government, which in the 1950s segregated Bantu Education as part of its policy of apartheid” (Blacking, n.d., p. 10). Although this view can be considered extreme, there is an argument to be made that multiculturalism emphasises the ‘otherness’ of different cultures (cf Said, 1978, pp. 45, 206).

Consequently, in a society that favours this multicultural approach, different musics lead separate lives. In practice, this mostly translates into music education targeted at ‘roots’ of learners. Blacks are taught African music, Turks saz, whites Mozart. This approach ignores the rapidly changing and blending cultural reality of musical tastes in our societies. Nevertheless, it has been a common phenomenon throughout the 1980s, and persists in many places and situations. In the early 1990s, Banks described the results of cultural democracy in education thus: “When accommodation [through education] occurs, groups with diverse cultures maintain their separate identities but live in peaceful interaction” (1995, pp. 13-14). Campbell adds: “If such a multicultural model is to work, however, the
various cultural groups must experience equal status and empowerment within American society generally as well as within the local school community” (1995, p. 70). She does not quote evidence of this type of situation in the USA.

Unexpected examples of a monocultural approach within a multicultural situation may be found in countries where a ‘foreign’ culture is dominant in a particular field. In many African nation-states for instance, which have become politically but not culturally independent, universities will teach music from a European perspective almost without exception, even if they address African music, which they usually do not (Nzewi, 1998, pp. 462-465). In the rationale, I have already mentioned the emphasis on great Western classical composers at the University of Cape Coast in Ghana. I have encountered similar approaches on research trips to Malaysia (1993) and Cuba (1998) (Schippers, 1997, pp. 53-58).

It is probably safe to say that most nation-states that have been colonised are still under the burden of a combination of an inferiority complex, and insufficient resources or interest to develop their own system of formal higher music education. It is easier to copy developed pedagogies from the West, especially since most formal education has been organised along Western models. Interestingly, in countries such as Indonesia and India, the traditional music is still the primary reference point of music education at all levels (Schippers, 1997, pp 56-61). Even though these former colonies are exception rather than rule, it does demonstrate it is possible to retain or develop an indigenous system for music education.

**Intercultural**

Although used very frequently, intercultural is probably the least clearly defined term in this cluster. The *OED Online* quotes three interrelated meanings: “subsisting, carried on, or forming a communication between cultures; hence, sometimes, belonging in common to, or composed of elements derived from different cultures.” In fact, these three meanings do not overlap as much as may seem at first sight: a) forming a communication between cultures - the universal language - is distinct from b) belonging in common to - towards universalism, - and from c) composed of elements derived from different cultures - fusion -.

The first meaning is the way it is commonly used in pedagogical literature, as the examples in Chapter Two will demonstrate. An **intercultural** approach is generally characterised by an orchestrated, but unforced contact between cultures, for instance through work or school. Exchange and contact are stimulated by employer or education authorities, but on a voluntary basis for the participants. This is an approach that prevails in most Western countries in the 1990s (e.g. Campbell, 2002; Lübke, 1994). It often uses the second definition, commonalities between cultures, as a mechanism.
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In music, this approach represents loose contacts (e.g. “getting to know Arab musicians”) and exchange (“trying to play together”) between cultures, and includes basic forms of fusion (“jamming with instruments or songs from various cultures”). This corresponds to the third *OED Online* definition of intercultural. It is quite popular in the northern parts of Western Europe, particularly in music in schools, possibly steered by feelings of political correctness, but also by some musical interest and awareness. For example: the Amsterdam Music School ran a project in a number of schools called “The Music Club”: five teachers from culturally diverse backgrounds worked with a group of 30 children over a period of several months, and performed music from a variety of cultures with Latin American singing, African drumming and Western pop instruments, combining elements of all three approaches (Muziekschool Amsterdam, 1996).

An interesting example of an intercultural situation outside European or American societies can be found in Ghana. According to Nketia, one of the early influential thinkers on cultural diversity, Ghana has always been culturally diverse because of the great variety of tribes within its borders. Then colonisation superimposed another culture. With the dawn of nationalism came new challenges, which were addressed with a threefold strategy: a) creating institutions that transcended ethnic groups; b) ‘recontextualising’ forms of indigenous music and dance into other ethnic settings; and c) setting up national theatre and dance groups (Nketia, 1999, pp. 50-59). Many other post-colonial African countries have taken a similar approach with the purpose of ending the hegemony of Western artistic ideas in formal arts education, which they understandably experienced as awkward.

It is important to note that intercultural does not always refer to harmonious merging. It can also be a confrontation between two or more cultures. This can either lead to the generation of new creative energy, or to a sense of failure and apathy amongst those involved. It can be viewed as a force in the dynamics of cultural life, or an aspect that needs to be accepted as a given in the complexities of contemporary life. This dynamic vision was adopted by the Netherlands government with the policy paper *Cultuur als Confrontatie* (Ministerie van OCW, 2000), in which Secretary of State Van der Ploeg distanced himself from the ‘soft’ approach that intercultural communication would resolve all differences in culturally diverse societies, and accepted incompatibility between forms of cultural expression as a reality.

**Transcultural**

*OED Online* defines transcultural as “transcending the limitations or crossing the boundaries of cultures; applicable to more than one culture; cross-cultural.” In order to avoid confusion with the terms intercultural and cross-cultural discussed above, we will use transcultural here only in its first and deepest sense. A transcultural approach represents a merging of characteristics and values of different cultures at a profound level: representatives of various cultures accept and even take over
each other's values, which may imply giving up earlier ones, in order to arrive at a new balance that is characteristic of neither source culture an sich. This sounds rather utopian, and would represent policy rather than practice in most instances, but it is a valid direction of thought to offset other approaches.

In fact, some cultures can be perceived as being transcultural, but this is usually not the result of conscious efforts on the part of governments or education authorities. We may find transculturality in nation-states that have been culturally diverse for many generations, such as Cuba. There, as if it were a morbidly planned experiment in transculturality, the native Indian population was eradicated at an early stage, and for several centuries, Spaniards and blacks, from very different power bases, mixed in relative isolation. Today, this is visible in the people, the manners, and the music, which includes the popular son and son montuno, direct precursors of salsa (Fairly, 2000, pp. 386-390).

Transculturality in music closer to home, as an exchange of approaches and ideas far beyond musical tourism, might sound excessively idealistic. If we follow through the German concept of Weltmusik to a logical conclusion (see the discussion on world music above), some of the shapeless synthesizer soundscape without distinguishing characteristics of New Age music come to mind, featuring artists such as Steven Halpern and Aeoliah. But these are constructed forms of music, made to fit an artificial idea rather than results of musical development. Elsewhere, just as transcultural processes led to son and salsa in the case of Cuban music, in other continents powerful new forms of music came into being, like the Indian film songs of Lata Mageshkar, the Arabic popular music of Oum Kolsoum, and the Afro-pop of Salif Keita and Youssou N'Dour. In each of these, through a gradual process of assimilation, the distinction between pre-existing single frames of musical reference all but disappears.

In music education, it is possible to imagine a transcultural music-in-schools programme, where many different musics and musical approaches feature on an equal footing, with sounds, principles and ideas from a wide variety of cultures. This could allow children to make well-informed choices concerning their musical preferences on the basis of a globally inspired value system, equip them with the tools to explore their culturally diverse musical world, and limit the risk of prejudice and estrangement. The complications of realising and implementing such a program in the imperfect realities of contemporary education are considerable, however. To date, there is no evidence of these ideas translating into substantial practice anywhere.

The transcultural approach raises questions about the universality of music and musical qualities, which we already touched upon in the discussions on the term world music. The 22nd World Conference of the International Society for Music Education in Amsterdam (1996) had as its motto: *Music - the universal language*. This motto - devised by an advertising agency - was not well-received by the community of music educators. During and after the conference there were many
comments about this “flawed proposition” of the nature of music and music education this constituted (e.g. Letts, 1997; Campbell, 1997): the daily practice of music educators in culturally diverse environments consists of addressing the obstacles that music from various cultures raise in education, rather than celebrating its effortless communicative powers across boundaries.

Finally, it is important to note that even if there were societies where a transcultural approach to music education prevails (or a multi- or intercultural one), there are likely to be islands of monocultural practice within that society. As we have mentioned before, ironically, when music students develop into professionals, they are likely to move towards monoculturality. A brilliant violinist is not commonly a master of Western classical music, south Indian ragas and Irish jigs; he is more likely to become known for interpreting works from a particular stylistic period, or even a particular composer.

From Concept to Policy

To illustrate the translation of these ideas into policies let us briefly look at an example. According to Dutch statistics (Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek, 2003), almost three million out of the population of sixteen million in the Netherlands are considered to be allochtoon (foreigner in the sense of being born abroad, or having at least one parent born abroad). Of these people, almost one million represent a significantly different cultural background: substantial concentrations of people from Turkey, Morocco, and Surinam in particular, live in and around the cities. This brings the average percentage of non-Dutch schoolchildren to close to or even over 50%. In addition to these demographics, the ‘indigenous’ population have demonstrated increasing interest in non-Western cultures.

Leaving aside the influx of foreign cultures in earlier centuries, until the 1970s, white European culture was the reference point for Dutch culture. Aware that the Netherlands had become and was going to remain a multicultural society, the Dutch government actively started developing policies to integrate artistic diversity into the well-developed cultural infrastructure of the Netherlands from the early 1980s. We can roughly distinguish between five periods over the past 20 years, which are summarised in the table overleaf, and at least suggest a movement from multicultural to intercultural towards transcultural between 1982 and 2002.

The government that carried the latter policies did not run its full term. Meanwhile, in the aftermath of the September 11th, 2001 crashes in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania, a controversy about the ‘failure’ of multicultural societies erupted in the Netherlands. In the discussions, aspects of social failure, such as unemployment and limited integration of people who are at risk of getting lost between the cultures of their background and the new country, were not always clearly distinguished from aspects of cultural or musical integration. In its ‘pre-advice’ to the new Secretary of State, the Dutch Arts Council distanced itself from the interventionist politics of Van der Ploeg, and pleaded for returning the responsibility of making choices to the subsidised institutions (Raad voor Cultuur, 2003).
Table 1.1: Arts policies towards cultural diversity in the Netherlands 1982-2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Policy Area</th>
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<td></td>
<td>This period saw a special task force installed at the Netherlands Arts Council on what was then termed ‘Artistic Expressions of Migrants’. During these years, the emphasis was on activities of minorities in their own cultural circuits: a multicultural approach. “Minority Artists” felt they were undervalued, and only few found their way to mainstream arts funding. This period concludes with the publication of de Kunst van het Artisjokken Eten (the Art of Eating Artichokes), by the National Arts Council (Raad voor Cultuur, 1989), a critical document on culturally diverse arts policies in the Netherlands. After that, Dutch arts policy - and the division of subsidies - was organised in four-year plans, the so-called ‘Kunstenplanperiodes.’ The philosophy behind this system was that to develop new practice, arts institutions needed to be given time and financial security to experiment and choose new paths, without the pressure of having to prove themselves to merit a continuation of the grant every year.</td>
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<td>1988-1992</td>
<td>Room for multicultural expression</td>
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<td>Around 1990, national and local governments devoted a substantial amount of money and effort towards integrating ‘minority arts’ into existing institutes as part of ‘Sociale Vernieuwing’ (lit. Social Innovation). Projects integrating world music into public music schools were started all over the Netherlands. Funding bodies required a minimum of commitment from the institutes. The projects could usually be funded externally, so they did not interfere with the regular concerns of the institution. Consequently, very few of these initiatives survived beyond the additional funding. The approach was towards organisational integration, but would be termed multicultural in content.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1993-1996</td>
<td>Integration and participation</td>
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<td>During this period, the concepts of integration and participation were central to government policy. Secretary of State d’Ancona presented her views in a document called Investeren in Integreren (Investing in Integration. Ministerie van OCW, 1992). She stressed the responsibilities of the established arts world to incorporate cultural diversity in the work of their institutions. This in fact represented a continuation of the multicultural approach, with some openings for intercultural.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1997-2000</td>
<td>Interculturality and fusion</td>
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<td>The cultural policies of Secretary of State Nuis were formulated in Pantser of Ruggengraat (Armour or Spine. Ministerie van OCW, 1996). Influenced mostly by the prevalent thoughts in the literary scene, he devoted a great deal of attention to an intercultural approach to arts from a culturally diverse perspective (not unlike the British Arts Council), and left relatively little room for expressions of separate cultures.</td>
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<td>2000-2004</td>
<td>Cultural diversity and youth</td>
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<td>In 1999, Van der Ploeg, the incoming Secretary of State, announced that he intended to put great emphasis on cultural diversity during his term in office. He published a policy document on the subject, Ruim Baan voor Culturele Diversiteit (Making way for Cultural Diversity. Ministerie van OCW, 1999). His policies included an emphasis on youth culture (which he justifiably considered as becoming increasingly transcultural through eclectic cultural choices of young people), and making available substantial sums of money to stimulate developments in this field, leaving room for expressions of distinct cultures and the mixing of cultures, in other words: a combination of multicultural, intercultural and transcultural approaches.</td>
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In the United States, after a positive climate towards accommodating cultural diversity for over a decade, the debate is considerably fiercer. In *Cross Currents*, Campbell quotes a number of "denunciations of ‘PC-[acronym for politically correct] multiculturalism’" from the mid-1990s: right-wing politicians calling multiculturalism - cultural diversity in the terminology of this study - “the campaign to lower America’s moral status,” and cultural institutions involved in this work “busy with vilification of American history” (Campbell, 1995, p. 8). In Europe, such extreme views on cultural practices are still rare.

Nevertheless, the general approach on this side of the ocean still seems to be in line with the analysis by Cook. After speaking of the poor treatment of popular music in “the standard format of music history or appreciation textbooks” (“It is obvious that there is some kind of apartheid at work here; popular music is segregated from the ‘art’ tradition”), he describes the attitude towards world music in standard reference works:

What is ... revealing ... is the treatment of non-Western traditions in such books, or even in larger multi-volume surveys such as the New Oxford History of Music. If such traditions appear at all, they generally come right at the beginning. A common strategy is to begin with a couple of chapters on the elements of music - scales, notation, instruments, and so forth - and bring non-Western music into that. Or sometimes you begin with the primitive music of primitive hunting and nomadic societies and move quickly on to the sophisticated traditions of Asian music (Indian, Chinese, and Korean or Japanese, perhaps, with a side excursion to take in the gamelan or percussion orchestra of Indonesia). Either way, around the beginning of Chapter 3 there is a kind of crashing of historical and geographical gears as the scene shifts to the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, where Leonin and Perotin – the first known composers of the Western ‘polyphonic’ or multi-part tradition – flourished towards the end of the twelfth century, and with these preliminaries over the real story of music (that is, Western art music) begins.

It is hardly possible to miss the implicit associations in such a scheme of non-Western cultures with beginnings and of Western culture with progress. That such thinking was commonplace at the turn of the twentieth century, the time when the sun never set on the British Empire, is only to be expected. That it is still to be encountered at the turn of the twenty-first is astounding, for it offers an entirely inadequate basis for understanding music in today’s pluralistic society. It is hard to think of another field in which quite such uncritically ethnocentric and elitist conceptions have held such sway until so recently ... (Cook, 1998, pp. 42-43)

Some very recent developments in this field are promising. *Grove Music Online*, the constantly updated latest edition of the authoritative *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, devotes considerable attention to world music, and the first major contemporary reference work to world music, *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (note the use of the term in the title!) has just been published, in 2002. Unfortunately, it takes considerable time for people and practices to catch up with new insights and references.
Conclusions

The myriad and confusing image that the discourse on terminology provides about contemporary realities of cultural diversity fit in well with the post-modern world picture. It illustrates what the ethnomusicologist Slobin eloquently describes in his discussion on hegemony:

1. Societies (nation-state bounded regions) have an overarching, dominating - if not domineering - mainstream that is internalized in the consciousness of governments, industry, subcultures, and individuals as ideology. Let us call it hegemony.
2. Hegemony is not monolithic. There is no Board of Directors that monitors hegemony daily, adjusting and fine-tuning it. It can be formal and informal, explicit and implicit, conscious and unconscious, bureaucratic and industrial, central and local, historical and contemporary.
3. Hegemony is not uniform; it does not speak with one voice. It is complex, often contradictory, and perhaps paradoxical.
4. Hegemony is contrapuntal: there are alternative and oppositional voices in this cultural fugue that affect and shape the "themes." Point 3 and 4 mean that hegemony may be dissonant as often as harmonious, since no one knows the score. (Slobin, 1993, p. 27)

In this environment, which is highly challenging to unambiguous terminology, we have chosen world music (and incidentally its plural) as the least objectionable term to refer to music from various cultures, with an emphasis on the fact that music travels and establishes itself away from its place and culture of origin. As I have argued before, this wide definition, and the inclusion of Western classical music, begs the question whether the term ‘world music’ signifies anything beyond ‘music.’ The argument for referring to world music in this context lies in the established frame of reference for music as demonstrated by the quotes from Cook above and in the paragraph on aims of this thesis. For a little while longer, it is useful to emphasize that there are approaches to music that differ from Western, mainstream interpretations of the word.

When observing societies and their approaches to cultural diversity in music education, the terms monoculturalism, multiculturalism, interculturalism and transculturalism can be used as instruments to indicate positions on a continuum with increasing room and tolerance for other cultures, on which an indication can be given of a specific approach to a society or teaching situation:

Table 1.2: Approaches to cultural diversity

<table>
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<tr>
<th>MONOCULTURAL</th>
<th>MULTICULTURAL</th>
<th>INTERCULTURAL</th>
<th>TRANSCULTURAL</th>
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It is important to note that there are no implicit value judgments in this continuum. Nor is it necessarily an evolutionary model, although obviously, many countries have moved from monocultural to multicultural, intercultural or transcultural: from a single reference to treating diversity as separate entities, facilitating casual contact, or merging in-depth.
The positions on the continuum also have a relationship to some of the world music terminology we have discussed earlier in this chapter and the approaches of their users. In this way, we can class 'primitive music' as a notion within a monocultural perspective (single frame of reference, also in relation to others); ethnic, exotic, non-Western, and Oriental as a multicultural perspective (musics exist as separate from each other); cross-over and fusion (and maybe even migrant music) would represent an intercultural approach (meeting between cultures); while the concept of Weltmusik is an example of a transcultural approach (fusing of deeper values).

In this way, we have made the first step in our journey to devise a format and model, which aims to be transcultural in the sense of accommodating multiple perspectives, and which can serve to understand and work with the complexities of contemporary practices of cultural diversity in music education. In the next chapter, we will examine how the two major academic disciplines concerned with this area, ethnomusicology and music education, have contributed to the discussion.