POLICY AND THE POLITICAL LIFE OF MUSIC EDUCATION

EDITED BY PATRICK SCHMIDT AND RICHARD COLWELL

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CONTENTS

ABOUT THE COMPANION WEBSITE

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The companion website provides an easy and accessible way for readers to see samples of extended material that complements the work developed in the book. Two cases are provided through the companion website. One is focused on conceptual development and how best to understand policy differently today. The second focuses on a contemporary account of how policy and research projects can and do interact. Both inform music educators in several areas with entry points to how to approach and think about policy, its facets and import.

FOREWORD

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Scholar in Residence, University of Southern California

It is easy to adopt a somewhat cynical attitude toward the "Handbook proliferation" in our field in recent years. One wonders if well-written monographs might be more appropriate in terms of depth of scholarship, impact, and personal reward. However, the major advantage of such aggregative books, especially ones that focus on a carefully chosen topic, is that the editors can artfully choose from a variety of authorities across a wide spectrum of perspectives and geographical regions. The book becomes, then, a wonderful collection of writings that advance a field of study in a collaborative fashion that encourages debate and future writings.

Such is the case with this effort. It is a major achievement on so many different levels and should be appealing to new scholars, seasoned researchers, and thoughtful practitioners. It establishes unequivocally the importance of policy for all who teach music in our schools and in communities and does so for those who work with small children right through to the adult population.

In reading each chapter carefully, I came to realize that for the first time in my own 47 years of teaching, I did not fully comprehend why policy matters so much. One becomes complacent about such traditions as accreditation, state regulations, national reports, standards documents, and other forces that shape what we do. We go about our own creative business of preparing teachers/musicians and do so by "putting up" with the system in ways that are not always productive. Editors Schmidt and Colwell make the case very early that policy from top-down, institution-driven sources, while at once useful and necessary for some degree of order, is not there to be accepted passively. All of us need to interrogate the policies themselves, the history and the thinking behind them, and certainly the motivation and competencies of the people who have come to frame the work (see Rubenstein, Chapter 3, this volume). We need to create discourse about policy and push back against those aspects that trouble us and make our work less successful. For those in teacher education, selected chapters from this Handbook should be on reading lists for new teachers, and the ideas here discussed in detail with those entering the profession. We simply have not done a good job of this. Also, we need to do the requisite research to support our claims. The chapters in this important book underscore all of these notions many times over.

In this Foreword, I intend to offer first a case for the start of professional policy discourse as a matter of personal agency for each teacher. By this I mean that policy and well-reasoned discourse about it must begin at home. It must take place in private or shared moments when we think about just where we are in our culture today and what personal role one wants to play in teaching music to others. Just what kind of teacher do I wish to be and how can good policy and critical policy thinking help me reach goals that I have for my teaching? To help the reader some in this self-analysis, I reflect on seven big ideas today in music teaching and learning that impact the personal answer to this and perhaps other questions about teaching. Next, I reflect on additional critical themes across chapters that help to focus discourse. I end with some words of optimism in our attempt to improve the role of policy thinking.

SEVEN BIG IDEAS

On the occasion of my retirement from Northwestern University in 2012, I expressed the hope that the profession would actively consider seven big ideas that should guide research and practice.[1] I offer these here with the hope that such ideas might guide policy discussion. With disruptive forces today and the presence of unprecedented change, the world of music teaching and learning needs professionals who are willing to center their creative work on these ideas. What follows is a personal list, and readers are welcome to choose a different set of big ideas or to extend these in different ways in thinking about policy discourse.

Personal Philosophy. Deciding on one's personal teaching philosophy is a big idea, perhaps the biggest of all. Lip service is given to this aspect of professional development but often not treated with the quality and depth of thought necessary. It is the basis for decision making for everything. It might be argued that policy is an extension of philosophical positions on music teaching and learning (see Schmidt, Chapter 1, this volume). Therefore, personally defined philosophical positions are vital for our consideration of policy effectiveness. Zeserson and Welch (Chapter 4, this volume) provide the metaphor of a spinning triangle of (1) policy, (2) research, and (3) practice in their take on research and policy endeavors. For me, I would change the model to a square with philosophy as a vital corner of spinning ideas. In the center of this square I would place the teacher as the major force in slowing down the spinning to form a stable but dynamic basis for professional work between the four corners. With solid philosophy comes meaningful policy, enlightened research and powerful practice.

Each person must come to a conclusion about this complex question over time. Personally, a strong part of my philosophical position is based on synergistic, constructivist approaches and direct instruction techniques that value student-centered work as evidence of learning,[2] but there are many solutions that make sense. The point is that the starting positions for considering policy begin with strongly held personal perspectives on what centers practice.

Creative Thinking. Related to this, a second big idea is that teaching practice should place students' creative thinking in sound as central. Music is an art form and as such is about *making* something that is capable of expressing personal meaning that cannot be easily explained with words.[3] This is at the core of the musical experiences of performance (both the performance of others' music and the performance of one's own music by way of improvisation), composition, and in-depth music listening. The active and sustained engagement of students in *all* of these behaviors with one's own creative teaching is a big idea that affects deeply how one crafts policy. The standards movement in many countries, as described in a number of chapters in this book, addresses this big idea in one form or another. It is not always clear how this is pursued in practice and this might be the basis for vigorous discourse.

Interdisciplinary Connections. A third big idea is interdisciplinary connections between music and a host of allied fields in the arts and other disciplines. It is difficult to consider music as separate from other arts, and policy decision making certainly brings them together. Some of the more exciting new directions in music now are centered in collaborations across art forms, particularly in music and dance.[4] It was interesting to read in this volume that in some countries, "arts education" as a collective has been seen as a central focus for policy (see Figueiredo, Chapter 7 of this volume) although this may not be considered ideal unless partnered with studies for each art separately. Certainly multidisciplinary lessons for general music instruction remains an important trend as noted by the work of Janet Barrett[5] and others.

Another interesting dimension to this topic relates less to production and more to the nature of who we are as arts educators. Polymathic thinking—deep and sustained thinking born out of a commitment to understanding issues in multiple disciplines—is becoming increasingly necessary in today's world. Nothing of worth in our field exists in isolation. For example, our understanding of music's value in the lives of children rests not only on our knowledge about music itself but also on psychological and sociological issues related to motivation, self-efficacy, gender identity, cultural studies, intelligence theory, technological innovation, and even neuroscience.[6] Policies that support this idea have implications for how teacher preparation is viewed in higher education and how younger students might best be prepared for centuries ahead.

Meaningful Assessment. In this book, chapters by Fautley (Chapter 5) and Colwell (Chapter 2) remind us of the importance of policy as it relates to assessment and provide historical accounts of assessment and its practice in England and the United States. A fourth big idea in music education is assessment that involves more sophisticated and often more complicated evidence for music learning. Paper and pencil testing of aspects of music knowledge abound. Such tests are useful for sure, particularly if well crafted. But such measurement tools cannot be considered a full picture of meaningful music learning. They do lend themselves to top-down-driven policies that are perhaps limited in vision. The authors correctly remind the reader that educational reform policies largely directed by repeated standardized testing have been and will likely continue to be misguided;

testing of this type alone does not guarantee fine teaching and meaningful learning. What is more meaningful but, alas, more difficult to accomplish is the assessment of more sophisticated musical achievements that might be discovered by collecting samples of student creative work over time from a wide array of musical experiences. Of course, this is very hard work for teachers not comfortable with evaluating creative work such as musical compositions or improvisations. The English have made progress in this direction but Fautley's chapter highlights the difficulties with this work when paired with official national oversight policy structures. Despite clear problems, the need to broaden and enhance our methods of assessment to include evidence that is more completely representative of music learning remains a big idea for our field. Solutions may lie in renewed and context-based policy action that supports the more artful use of digital portfolios and student self-reflection, although those too provide challenges.

Who We Teach. Turning to more broadly conceived big ideas, a complete rethink of **who** we teach is now upon us as never before. Somehow we must find ways to balance our attention between those students who show interest in traditional ensembles such as various forms of bands, orchestras, and choirs with more alternative ensembles and classes that expand music horizons. This is of particular concern to North America and to long-standing music program policies that increasingly marginalize instruction in higher grades to those students participating only in traditional performance ensembles.[7] This is a prime example of how policy relates to the mission of high school music educators. A shift from the mission of so many traditional ensembles occupying so much of the teachers' time requires, policy-inspired action as well as an understanding of how to engage in agenda setting. This book may help educators to develop policy capacity and in the process perhaps realize that a movement in favor of more varied activities such as alternative ensembles, courses in music song writing, advanced music listening, or popular music-inspired course topics might touch the lives of thousands more students and simply just be better policy.

What We Teach. Considering who we teach leads to more sophisticated thinking about **what** we teach. The whole question of the role of vernacular and world musics as partners with our great Western art music is perhaps the most critical curricular policy discussion we face today. The chapter by Karlsen (Chapter 12) on multicultural music education addresses these issues as does the chapter by Cutietta (Chapter 15), who reminds us that policies that encourage teachers and musicians to think diversely about music literature will require our profession, particularly higher education, to avoid a hegemony dedicated to the advancement of only certain styles.

Where We Teach. Finally, **where** we teach is a big idea that meanders throughout all the chapters in this book. Is formal school the only location where music teaching and learning can occur? This idea is driven, in part, by the technological advances that we now experience and the future technology that we can only barely imagine. Myers makes excellent points in Chapter 11 about the role of community music programs. The "informal music learning" movement also raises interesting and meaningful questions about not only the location of

teaching but also the methods used. Even within the more traditionally defined spaces of our formal classrooms, technology and its affordances offer alternatives to how time is used as can be seen by experiments with the flipped classroom model.[8] In addition, distance learning continues to push the boundaries of how music lessons of all kinds are taught and supported. These developments cause one to question most policy structures now in place, as clearly articulated by Horsley in Chapter 9.

Each of these big ideas, and many others that I have not elaborated here, help the teacher to think about the possible failings of policies currently in place, celebrate the ones shown to be impactful, and work to create new and needed policies. This book provides a start for a kind of personal investment in policy discourse that is organic to the teacher. It helps to amplify teachers' voices and develop the policy capacity that is clearly needed by the profession as it faces significant changes.

OTHER IMPORTANT THEMES IN THE HANDBOOK

In addition to exploring the ideas above, the reader of this book will be rewarded by several other important themes contained within that are perhaps not as closely connected to personal views. Here are my favorites:

1. **Approaches Other Than Advocacy.** As noted in the chapters by Horsley (Chapter 9) and Schmidt (Chapter 1), an agenda that does not use advocacy as the only policy dynamic is deeply welcomed. One respects the consideration of policy centered in part on extra-musical payoffs for music instruction, but policy focused only on this approach is malpractice. Policy based on inherently musical aspects is more solid. The book offers ample ways to make this happen.
2. **Vertical versus Horizontal Approaches to Policy.** I appreciated the distinction made in the Schmidt chapter between more vertical policies that come from legislation or accreditation bodies in top-down ways as opposed to or in connection with policies more horizontal and "softer" in character coming from published materials, traditions, or forms of professional dialogue. Both kinds of policy should be subject to discourse in consistent ways.
3. **Teacher Voice.** Several authors in the book, including both editors, make the powerful case for teacher engagement in establishing and guiding policy issues. Teachers must not reside at the margins; this reinforces the section above that argues for policy to be an outgrowth of the teacher's engagement with the big ideas of the day. Rubenstein ends Chapter 3 with a positive spin on this question and suggests that those in the United States may be behind other countries in terms of teacher engagement.

4. **Student Voice.** Margaret Barrett's powerful reminder (Chapter 10) of how children can be articulate and persuasive in their own way about what matters in policy discourse was moving and quite telling. Adults need to listen carefully to what children say and give them plenty of opportunity to say it.
5. **Matters of Social Justice, Inclusion, and Democratic Teaching.** Chapters by Schmidt, Horsley, Karlsen, Myers (Chapters 1, 9, 12, 11), and others touched on these closely related matters that seem to dominate calls for reform in today's professional literature. It made sense in this context to alert readers to the need for policy to reflect these concerns along with music-centric issues.
6. **Research.** The book authors stress the need for better research about policy but to do so with strong linkages to curriculum and practice. The chapters by Colwell (Chapter 2) and Zeserson and Welch (Chapter 4) are useful for this partnership and even offer some examples of projects that really accomplish meaningful success stories.
7. **International Perspectives.** Throughout the book, we encounter examples of comparative policies across different countries. It was fascinating to read about shared problems and also examples of successes in positive change that might inspire work by others.
8. **Attention to Higher Education.** Chapters by Cutietta, Jones, and Fletcher (Chapters 15, 14, and 13) were powerful reminders of the work that faces us in the preparation of both teachers of music and music professionals in general. Policies that allow for more diversity in the focus of study, more freedom for personal choice, more partnerships, and more variety in academic and performance experiences would go a very long way in helping to address the big ideas of our time.

A FINAL WORD OF OPTIMISM

It might be tempting to imagine that many policies in music teaching and learning are hopelessly intractable. Not so. First steps to solving difficult problems are to understand what the problems are, and this book helps greatly in this regard. In developing this awareness, we read about fascinating work with potentially meaningful changes in policy in countries like England, Brazil, Norway, Canada, and in Asia. In the final pages of Chapter 13 by Fletcher on the relationship between music education policy and the orchestra, some hints of change are noted within important institutions.

For those in the United States who work in higher education, there are positive signs of real discourse in curriculum design and the policies that support that design, stimulated in part by the release of the report from the College Music Society's Task Force on Undergraduate Curriculum.[9] This report addresses the question of what it means to be an educated musician in the 21st century.

It stresses issues of creativity, integration, and diversity in terms of traditional approaches to theory, history, and performance. The report takes on the question of why all undergraduate degrees need to be entirely the same in design and to propose that we have a discourse about teacher education courses. Even creative approaches to private lessons and music ensembles are considered.

American professional organizations like the American Musicological Society and the Society for Music Theory are questioning long-standing practices of how history and theory are taught in colleges. Teacher education programs are experimenting with alternative curricula and pedagogical approaches, often taking advantage of technology and social media.[10]

These are signs of discourse about policies and a disposition toward engaging in the big ideas identified. Hard work remains to carry out meaningful change with vertical policy structures, but this will happen. As always, I remain optimistic that in the end, intelligent and hard-working leaders will prevail sustained by the spirit and actions of the students themselves, both young and old. Enjoy reading this wonderful collection, then make a promise to yourself to stir things up a bit.

NOTES

1. Webster, P. (2014). Charting a new course for music teaching and learning: Difficult but rewarding waters. In J. Richmond & M. Hickey (Eds.), *Coming about: A retrospective review of, and reflections on the writings of Peter Webster* (iBook) http://www.apple.com/ibooks/].
2. Webster, P. (2011). Constructivism and music learning. In R. Colwell & P. Webster (Eds.), *MENC handbook of research on music learning* (Vol. 1, pp. 35–83). New York: Oxford University Press.
3. Elliott Eisner makes this point often in his writings about why art teaching is so important. See Eisner, E. (2002). What the arts teach and how it shows (Chapter 4, pp. 70–92) in *The arts and the creation of mind*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
4. Modern accounts of music and dance collaborations abound. See http://www.juilliard.edu/journal/creative-collaboration-takes-center-stage;
   https://www.princeton.edu/culturalpolicy/workpap/WP22%20-%20Van%20Stiefel.pdf;
   http://www.examiner.com/article/dance-collaboration-merging-the-arts;
5. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5H-JJ_xYvc0.
6. For an interesting set of perspectives on this big idea, see Halverson, E., & Sheridan K. (2014). Arts education and the learning sciences. In R. K. Sawyer (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of learning sciences* (2nd ed., pp. 627–646). New York: Cambridge University Press; Klein, J., & Pancutt, R. (2010). Art and music research. In R. Frodeman, J. Klein, & J. Holbrook (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of interdisciplinarity* (pp. 132–146). New York: Oxford University Press.
7. Williams, D. B. (2011). The non-traditional music student in secondary schools of the United States: Engaging non-participant students in creative music

activities through technology. *Journal of Music, Technology and Education*, *4*(2/3), 131–147.
8. Milman, N. B. (2012). The flipped classroom strategy: What is it and how can it best be used? *Distance Learning*, *9*(3), 85.
9. http://symposium.music.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=11118:transforming-music-study-from-its-foundations-a-manifesto-for-progressive-change-in-the-undergraduate-preparation-of-music-majors&Itemid=126.
10. Kaschub, M., & Smith, J. (2014). *Promising practices in 21st century music teaching education*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Introduction

PATRICK SCHMIDT AND RICHARD COLWELL ■

Policy and the Political Life of Music Education offers the reader a compilation of new essays written by a diverse cadre of policy thinkers brought together to deliver 15 chapters where policy is discussed in a compelling and scholarly manner. As the first book to focus solely on policy as an area of study in music education, it could not and does not offer an exhaustive exploration of policy issues.

As Peter Webster writes in the foreword, however, this expertly edited collection does offer a far-reaching and innovative outlook on policy. On one hand, it helps the novice to make sense of what policy is, how it functions, and how it is discussed in various parts of the world; on the other, it offers the experienced educator a set of critically written analyses that outline the *state of the play* of music education policy thinking. As policy participation remains largely underexplored in music education, the book helps to clarify to teachers how policy thinking does shape educational action and directly influences the nature, extent, and impact of our programs (Fulcher, 1999). This collection of essays moves the conversation forward. Its goal is to help readers understand the complexities of policy and to become better skilled in how to think, speak, and act in policy terms.

THE IMPORTANCE AND IMPACT OF POLICY TODAY

In near simplistic terms, policy can be defined as "what we do, why we do it, and what difference does it make" (Dye, 1976, p. 1). But as the reader will see throughout this book, policy is also much more. Policy can be formal or informal, obvious or subtle, soft or hard, implicit or explicit and is "revealed through texts, practices, symbols and discourses that define and deliver values including goods

and services, regulation, income and status" (Schneider & Ingram, 1997, p. 2). Policy can consist of rules and regulations, legitimized because of custom or historical precedent, but it can also consist of ideas, whose adoption and implementation can lead to profound outcomes and thus could be said to be "the mechanisms through which values are authoritatively allocated for society" (p. 3).

Policy then is not simply about problem solving, but about *problem grappling*. Policy practice aims to convene opinion and establish debate and directives. Policy thinking helps us understand how to possibly enact proposed ideas and follow up on the outcomes of implementation. As a field of action, policy is a key pathway through which varied and often divergent educational ideas become established in practice. In other words, policy is the realm in which educational vision is actualized. We take the statements above as a sign of the importance of professional knowledge about policy and suggest that interest, need, and specialization in policy will grow among educators, including music educators.

AN INVITATION TO PARTICIPATION: THE DIFFERENT LEVELS OF POLICY WORK

Policy and the Political Life of Music Education offers an important entry point to better understand policy language and practice, demonstrating that educators have both the right and the responsibility to engage in policy thinking and action. As issues such as accountability, professional ethics, teacher evaluation, and the consolidation of standards continue to bring general educational policy concerns into the daily lives of music educators, we can all benefit from becoming better informed about the challenges, successes, and tribulations experienced by others in related contexts. This book will help the reader to understand that while some teachers may feel the need to constantly adjust to outside popular policy dictums, they can have greater impact by developing their capacity to stand ready to embrace, critique, adapt, or reject the policies. Consequently, answering the following question will be critical to becoming a successful music educator in the 21st century: What does policy participation look like for me?

Taking steps toward policy participation can start "locally" and focus on policy areas that are familiar to us, such as *music education policy*. Consider for a moment the College Band Directors National Association (CBDNA), and think of it as one among many familiar voices influencing music education through recommendations, standards, curricular guidelines, professional practice—that is, through policies. From what standpoint and with what tools would a music educator analyze CBDNA's recommendation that high school band programs should "develop musical literacy, individual performance skills, expressive and artistic performances of a varied and meaningful repertoire, knowledge and understanding in the field of music and creativity"? (see CBDNA, 2016). Are most music teachers prepared to critically decide how this vision might be integrated into their programs? Do these same music teachers understand the diverse ways in which such policy directives could be operationalized? Are they aware of alternative pathways

for the implementation of these policies? Have they considered whether these policies resonate with their urban, rural, or international counterparts? How might music educators make political use of such statements in their local context? While each of these questions requires contextual answers, one can only begin to formulate answers if one understands that these are policy issues and that policy thinking is required if appropriate responses are to be developed.

Persistent local or curricular policy issues are in constant tension with other policy arenas—at meso and macro levels. Policies set by the choir student council influence the music curriculum; these student policies in turn influence operational procedures and can delineate local definitions of excellence. Policies at the school level determine scheduling (opportunity to learn), pull-out programs, time and resources for special education, and more. It is not difficult to understand then that policy and power are first cousins, if not siblings, in democracies as well as more centralized governments. And given that the connection between policy and power exists at all levels, to strengthen our programs, to be adaptive or to enact change, it is essential that we become aware of policy issues and be able to understand their implications.

Music educators should be aware of *governmental or macro policy* challenges such as those described by Elpus (2013) in his analysis of the "core subject" status of music. Here we come to better understand how music was federally identified as necessary and required to be available in public schools after passage of the Goals 2000: Educate America Act in 1994. A policy frame of mind is critical when discussing and predicting the impact of recent changes to federal legislation and the re-authorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act—legislation that requires periodic re-engagement and was first enacted as part of Civil Rights legislation in 1965—and how it uses new language under which "music" and the "arts" are part of what the US Congress is calling a "well-rounded education." This is noteworthy because ESSA (Every Student Succeeds Act) has shifted authority from federal back to the local (state) authority, and that will likely heighten implementation irregularities.

As the United States moves from struggles over major federal policies to multiple, perhaps more powerful, committees at the local and state level, states and local school districts will likely re-establish education polices on curricula, assessment, teachers' education, and all of the accompanying nuts and bolts in providing a "well-rounded" education for all students.[1] Policy capacity will be critical to our context as future policies will determine how funds and other resources are divided at the school, city, and state levels. With decentralization, a few influential voices will make a difference in whether sound polices are adopted or loopholes are devised to reward special interests. In places like New Hampshire, interested citizens raising their hands and voting for adoption will establish these education policies at the town level; in other states, more complex and perhaps less democratic processes will be in place, but participation will remain paramount. Those who have had the power will not relinquish it readily and will attempt to establish alternatives to local control. Professional organizations, public entities, community activists, community arts organizations all will struggle to shift federal

policies established under No Child Left Behind to local governmental levels they can influence. At this writing it is not clear whose voice will be the loudest, but there is great chance that local policies on music programs will be strengthened.[2]

Engaging with policy thinking at the *organizational policy level* too will be significant to our profession, particularly in this new context of devolution to the states. Here NAfME, the national association for music educators, serves as an example of the challenges ahead, as it finds itself in a precarious position. Representing some 80,000 music teachers, NAfME established itself at the national level and focused its work in Washington. Devolution of policy decisions to the state level means that the association will potentially lose significant influence and policy capacity, as local infrastructures with local action and local voice will tend to be more powerful policy structures in the next decade. Given that NAfME has failed to build local capacity—there are a few recent signs of reversal—and missed opportunities to educate its membership on policy issues, promote policy thinking and research, and establish a structure for greater grassroots engagement, the work to reverse such an unidirectional structure will require significant efforts and resources.

Another level of policy thinking is the relation between places, people, and policy. Naturally, issues of race, ethnicity, gender, and geography become paramount here. *Equity and access policies* have a long-standing tradition in the United States and are enshrined in legislation such as Title I and Title IX, both created to protect individuals on the basis of race, ethnicity, and gender. As school budgets are geographically oriented, inequality remains an issue in the United States, with school funding often being significantly higher in affluent suburbs than in urban or rural settings—Title I supplements notwithstanding. As a representation of social economic distribution across space—and therefore providing racial and ethnic divides as well—geography is often the critical delineating factor for the presence of arts education in the United States. While urban endeavors vary, for example, one is likely to find greater similarity in the realities of schools in urban centers across the nation than between urban and suburban schools within the same vicinity—note that at the time of this writing the *Arts Education Policy Review Journal* has a call for a special issue dedicated to urban education, and the *ACT* journal has published dedicated issues on both rural and urban education concerns. Karlsen's chapter in this book notes that efforts toward equitable policies are becoming more common in music education. Nevertheless, policy analysis and efforts regarding diversity and social inclusion remain underdeveloped (see Benedict, Schmidt, Spruce, & Woodford, 2015).

As Colwell clearly outlines in Chapter 2, *historical stances on policy and policy development* are another critical element of policy analyses. If we take the National Standards as the important, if contested, policy that it is, we can see how history and political interest were and continue to be a significant element in their creation. In 1992 Dorothy Straub, a former Music Education National Conference (MENC) president, acknowledged that "setting standards [was] not new for MENC" as the "School Music Program: Description and Standards (originally written in 1974) and revised in 1986, served as the foundation for developing the

new [1994] music standards" (Straub, 1992, p. 4). In 2006, in the absence of any internal or external demands, MENC looked at the standards but recommend that "no changes be made at this time," adding that "we are inclined to think that certain adjustments might be helpful in the future."[3] Indeed, by the time that the now nearly defunct Common Core State Standards (CCSS) movement was touted to be the next big thing in educational policy in 2012 and 2013, efforts to reshape the National Standards for Arts and Music had been launched. The new policy document, officially unveiled in 2014, was fully aligned with CCSS.

As shown in several of the chapters in this book, in particular those written by Schmidt, Fautley, Horsley, Kertz-Welzel, Figueiredo, Karlsen, and Barrett, similar policy concerns as articulated above in the context of the United States are evident in other parts of the world. *Comparative or international policy* is then another arena of development, one where institutions from UNESCO to the International Music Council to the International Society for Music Education have made significant and long-standing contributions, but where policy capacity by participating membership remains under-resourced.

We might also see *policy at the ideological level*. In the United States, for example, the arts have existed within a tension, represented by a struggle between a substantial belief in the importance of cultural self-expression and a reticence to provide institutional and structural support for its manifestation. As a consequence of the ideological tendency to see the arts as meaningful but best served by private entrepreneurship and philanthropy, arts and cultural policy in the United States—even when supported by the state—have historically privileged highly selected artistic production rather than outreach or community engagement. It is vital for those working in our field to have a policy lens that allows us to analyze how this tension is a representation of the schism articulated by Gadsen (2008), where social change, communal needs, and their cultural representations are mismatched by policy action. In other words, we recognize certain ideological values but fail to provide structured avenues to address them. Many cultural policy analyses have made the argument that American institutions and government continue to value art and artistic endeavor but don't necessarily see them as a public good that necessitates public intervention and, most important, support. Given this policy standpoint, statements referring to the arts and culture as "crucial to establishing a relationship of trust between citizens and our public institutions" (Meade, 2011) are more likely to be heard in Canada, and unfortunately a rarer occurrence in the neighbor to the south, the United States. Naturally, this is not just happenstance, as policy ideology and tradition help to make those differences happen.

BROADENING THE USE AND PERCEIVED VALUE OF POLICY

Given the challenging history of educators-as-policy-makers, it is appropriate that any book on the subject would address the relationship between policies and the challenges education professionals encounter every day. Indeed, one of the

ethical imperatives compelling music educators to familiarize themselves with policy is that certain "policy discourses work to privilege certain ideas and topics and speakers and exclude others" (Ball, 2009, p. 5). The message that the essays collected in this book offer is of great consequence: Failure to have a working understanding of policy today is to be left at the margins of a critical and powerful aspect of education (Adam, 2014).

For decades the field of music education has attempted to enter the realm of policy by betting on advocacy. In so doing, music education joined Ronald Heck (2004), viewing policy as the authoritative allocation of values, expressed in words. Today, we need to acknowledge that this strategy has proven limited and that our engagements with policy must be expanded (see also Bowman, 2005). The imperative for music education in the highly political 21st century reality is a shift from advocacy policy to a direct focus—requiring scholarly and organizational investment—on educational policy formation and analysis. If we learn to demystify the notion of policy as a rarefied area of influence and something beyond our reach, could we come to see it as requiring active and personal participation? If we become convinced that advocacy done by others is insufficient, would we not invest in developing our own policy savvy?

We hope the reader agrees that this book highlights the importance of approximating concrete strategic ideas to careful conceptual development, hoping to strike a balance aimed at developing what Dror (2006) has called a "mental vocabulary" for policy. In other words, the aim is to develop a set of concepts and experiences that can lead to greater policy capacity, to help music educators uncover values behind policy propositions, and to establish more dynamic and clear goal-setting capacity. And this matters. Not simply because it can generate more successful action led by music teachers within the larger education community, but also because it can raise the standing of music teachers as active "players" in the politics of schooling. Furthermore, as a long-term aim, policy capacity may impact the organizational lives of schools, where, regardless of the multiple efforts, democratization remains significantly unaddressed—at least in part because of educators' lack of policy savvy (Booth & Ainscow, 2000).

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

This book maintains that policy thought can be a constructive force in music education decision making—a force needed at a time when many teachers don't understand why and how to have a role in policy practice. We teachers are key stakeholders in educational policy and our voice is essential to its process and progress. Policy impacts the lives of educators and the quality of their work. It influences the nature of our programs. And it weighs on the educational decisions we make for our students. Consequently, understanding the world of policy and how it can impact the music education field—from legislation to classroom instruction—is an essential capacity to be developed by music educators at all

levels. The central idea here is simple and the primary reason we wrote this book: Policy matters!

We hope that some of the ideas in the following chapters might strike a chord with you, the reader, impacting how you see the music education field and how you will act on it. Our most important hope is that after reading this book you feel compelled to know more about policy and to see yourself as an active participant, and not a bystander. Only one thing is as valuable as understanding the impact that policy can have, and that is the realization that policy without participation is the basis for an undemocratic environment. So, join in!

NOTES

1. For detailed information on the legislation and the definition of "well-rounded," see http://www.nafme.org/wp-content/files/2015/11/NAfME-ESSA-Comprehensive-Analysis-2015.pdf.
2. NAfME has an entire tool kit available to educators interested in policy development. See http://www.nafme.org/take-action/elementary-and-secondary-education-act-esea-updates/.
3. See the report to the MENC national executive board: http://www.nafme.org/menc-leaders-participate-in-common-core-standards-discussion/.

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PART I

Policy Foundations

1

Why Policy Matters

Developing a Policy Vocabulary within Music Education

PATRICK SCHMIDT ■

FIRST THINGS FIRST: DEFINITIONAL BEGINNINGS

> Policies are very specific and practical regimes of truth and value, and the way in which policies are spoken and spoken about, their vocabularies, are part of the creation of their conditions of acceptance and enactment. They construct the inevitable and the necessary.
>
> —Ball, *2009, p. 5*

> Policies are the mechanisms through which values are authoritatively allocated for society. Policies are revealed through texts, practices, symbols and discourses that define and deliver values including goods and services, regulation, income and status.
>
> —Schneider & Ingram, *1997, p. 2*

> Speaking truth to power, as Wildavsky characterizes the main task of policy analysis, becomes very different when power itself is dispersed and fluid. Analysts become interlocutors in a multidirectional conversation, not whisperers in the ears of the sovereign.
>
> —Dryzek, *2006, p. 200*

At times when our day-to-day lives are ruled by significant and contested change, we become more aware of the warp speed with which policy issues and propositions are raised. From legislators to practitioners, the relative absence of policy discussion as a common point of reference in education creates the possibility that any new idea that rallies a political constituency can, overnight, become

justification for mandated change in schools. Indeed, if we look at the dysfunction people tend to attribute to policy, we might join Richard Elmore (2011) in thinking that we have a policy system that has run amok, where policy is the problem, not the solution. I would contend that this same perceived dysfunction indicates a need for professional knowledge about policy and suggest that an interest in and specialization on policy must grow among educators. In my opinion, then, Elmore's statement speaks not of the failure of policy itself but of our failure to more inclusively and actively participate in policy thinking and practice.

In a book for which the objective is to cultivate a pluralistic understanding of policy and compile multiple perspectives of and experiences in policy, the avoidance of narrow definitions of the term is necessary. Policy can be formal or informal, obvious or subtle, soft or hard, implicit or explicit, and it is "revealed through texts, practices, symbols and discourses that define and deliver values including goods and services, regulation, income and status" (Schneider & Ingram, 1997, p. 2). What is clear from the three opening quotes is that policy takes on multiple shapes. Policy is as much legislation as it is a set of practices, as much analysis as it is a disposition, as much a process as a set of outcomes.

In light of this variability, policies can be better represented if compared to a set of practices. Policies exemplify and direct ways to engage with others, with contexts, and with needs, all the while inciting particular kinds of thinking and action. To know what policy *is* then, we need to be active *in* it. Indeed, a turn to policy will bring our attention to how it is wielded, how policy is used in different contexts, whose voices are given credence and why. Therefore, we do well to maintain a skeptic's eye toward deceptively obvious explanations of the nature of policy. Paying attention to how different constituencies claim the term or the ways in which they activate policy language can practically and effectively teach us about policy. Trying our hand at policy action, conceptually and pragmatically, is our best education.

Given the potential impact of policy, it is disconcerting that educators are not better prepared to think and act with a policy frame of mind. Teachers would benefit from familiarizing themselves with the "cohesive thinking" that defines traditional views of policy—for instance, understanding and practicing how to establish tactical and strategic outlines for key professional action. Cultivating traditional ways to think about policy is a powerful place to begin, but it is also insufficient. Such action must be accompanied by the disposition to unlearn our own expectations regarding policy work, including the notion that policy happens at a distant site (Grace, 1995).

The entirety of this book offers pathways and possibilities to music educators as they take on the habits and dispositions of policy thinking and practice; that process can begin only if we break away from perceptions of policy as a forbidden or alien environment. This chapter, therefore, assumes the stance that change in practice can be made more expeditious and meaningful with guidance. The role and impact of the music educator in policy thinking and practice has not been significantly explored and supported by our profession. This presents a significant gap, particularly in light of the growing and challenging policy initiatives

that place educators of all stripes, and in particular music educators, as targets of policy directives such as teacher accountability and autonomy, work intensification, curricular streamlining, and assessment.

Encouraging signs that the relationship between educators and policy is growing are available, however, as the National Network of State Teachers of the Year (NNSTOY) 2015 report shows. Entitled *Engaged: Educators and the Policy Process* it provides a captivating example, calling for "hybrid roles" for teachers "bridging policy development and the classroom" (p. 8). The report speaks to the traditional policy and political dyad, addressing union reform and advancing teacher leadership through policy, but it also goes significantly beyond, suggesting, as I do here, that educators can serve as policymakers. It states: "including teachers in the development of policy is as important, if not more important for gaining buy-in, as asking teachers to weigh in on the value or effectiveness of a policy after it has been developed" (p. 8).

A growing body of research shows that policy matters. It impacts the lives of educators and the quality of their work. It influences the nature of their programs and it weighs on the educational decisions teachers make for their students. Active policy participation remains underexplored, however, and is widely absent from teacher education. Regardless of the evidence that policy thinking and activism can shape educational leadership and directly impact the nature, extent, and impact of our programs (Fulcher, 1999), policy engagement is not widely viewed as part of teacher identity. Remarkably, research shows that even the political and policy aspects of principals' work are often overlooked in principal preparation programs (e.g., Blase & Blase, 2002b; Crow & Weindling, 2010). Further, a recent review of the literature found that only a few studies considered if and how aspiring school leaders learn political skills (e.g., McGinn, 2005). It is unsurprising, then, that teachers are not expected to engage in leadership and not taught to think in policy terms. Clearly it is time for the teaching community to challenge the centralized and hierarchical forms of policy action, or "policy as decisionism" (Majone & Wildavsky, 1979).

I argue that becoming *policy savvy,* that is, understanding the world of policy and how it can impact the music education field—from legislation to classroom instruction—is an essential capacity to be developed by educators at all levels (Sachs, 2010). The reality today is that most educators commonly see the policy realm as "above our pay grade," beyond our duties and responsibilities, and outside the reach of our capacities or interests. This is both detrimental and contraproductive. As policy plays an increasingly significant role in the lives of educators, the question of whether it is important for an individual is inappropriate and immaterial. No longer a question but rather a task, understanding and participating in policy thinking and practice will become an increasingly substantive part of the formation and professional development of educators.

This chapter aims to address this task. My first goal is to demystify the notion that policy is simply a legislative affair, segregated from the public. This is not difficult to accept as we come to understand the ways in which teachers already engage with the policy process, as they create and respond to policy and policy

implementation on a regular basis. In order to put roots to the idea that educators can indeed "handle" policy, it is necessary that we develop experience matched by conceptual knowledge. This means that we need to become educated in the various policy processes, namely, aggregation, analysis, critique, (re)conceptualization, dissemination, legislation, implementation, practice evaluation, and even appropriation. To do so, however, we have to change the value perception we currently place on policy while strengthening our disposition toward and investing in our capacity for policy. We can do this through professional development, changes in teacher education preparation, and different scholarship and leadership practices (Conway, 2008; Forari, 2003; Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2011; Grossman, 2010; Jones, 2008; Kos, 2010; Schmidt & Robbins, 2011). This chapter and this book represent a contribution toward consequential efforts to uncover and share effective ways to *step into policy.*

THE INITIAL CHALLENGE: UNIDIRECTIONALITY

A pivotal challenge in bringing educators and policy thinking together is the false perception that policy is *unidirectional*. It is important to acknowledge that unidirectionality, or the presentation of arguments as predetermined, fixed positions, has been a standing practice in policy. Its prevalence is felt widely in directives and mandates, and its presence regularly impacts our daily lives—think of traditional work rules, the nature of much educational reform, or the polarized nature of the current legislative process. One could even say that the inability to hear alternative or competing arguments, a hallmark of unidirectionality, seems an increasing phenomenon in institutional and individual relations today. Understanding how unidirectional discourse creates the illusion of consensus is key, particularly as it encourages passivity by presenting opinions, practices, and general realities in sharp contrasting tones. In other words, when policy is unidirectional, it more easily stifles participation and distributive decision making.

Policy as unidirectional practice becomes apparent in the production of legislation where policy windows are diminished; where complexity is left to the "expert" few; and oversimplified "take aways" become the hallmark of communication. It is not hard to see that educational policy action and thought would suffer in such an environment. An example of these challenges can be seen in the United States today. After 15 years of unidirectionality with policies such as No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top providing a one-way discourse fomented by federal moneys, the re-authorization of the ESEA (Elementary and Secondary Education Act) is, at the time of this writing, about to devolve educational policy back to the states. While states too can set structures where voice and participation are limited, approximation to constituents and stronger engagement could be potentially improved at this level, for instance, by organizations such as the Education Commission of the States (see http://www.ecs.org/about-us/history/). In this context, the National Association for Music

Education (NAfME), as the representative for music educators, finds itself in a precarious position. Having established itself at the national level and focused all its work in Washington, NAfME will potentially lose significant influence and capacity. Local infrastructures with local action and local voice will tend to be more influential policy structures in the next decade. NAfME has failed to build such local capacity—although there are very recent signs of reversal—and has missed opportunities to involve its membership in policy issues and promote the notion that policy influence requires greater grassroots engagements and stronger understanding of policy, so the work to reverse such a unidirectional structure will require significant effort and resources.

It should not come as a surprise that policy is often used as a top-down process or a tool to codify dominant values and convert influence into privilege. It is also not difficult to see that policy processes that are not well thought through, often ushered in by undue political expediency (urgency is a key claim against evidence and consultation-based policy) flourish in the absence of political know-how and the passivity of larger constituencies (Rata, 2012). It is difficult to participate in policy construction or to disrupt policy implementation if one is unable to conceptualize the policy process (Ball, Maguire, Brown, & Hoskin, 2011). Furthermore, equating policy with unidirectionality frames how people come to understand what policy means, what it is good for, how it can be defined or re-thought. Unidirectionality helps to dismiss policy involvement as unnecessary and unreasonable.

Nevertheless, we are starting to see changes in action and dispositions, as this NNSTOY teacher confirms,

> Teacher leaders are capable of far more than feedback. . . . [W]e are capable of even more than closing the "implementation gap" between a policy's intended outcome and its actual impact on students in the classroom. We are capable of helping to design the kinds of systems our students need in order to fulfill their full potential as thinkers, scientists, writers, mathematicians and human beings. (NNSTOY, 2015, p. 10)

I join this teacher in the belief that the development of more systematic and recurring connections between policy and teachers is feasible and filled with potential, no matter the challenges for our profession. We need to dispel the notion that to be a policy practitioner is to be a *wise wonk*, a detached number cruncher, or a political advocate only. The new and viable disposition is that *policy is personal* and that the same deliberate skills we use to challenge and create our own representations of knowledge and learning—the same things we do as teachers—are also at the center of policy formation.

To ascertain the impact of policy for music educators, we should only have to ask ourselves the following questions: If policy serves as a significant gatekeeping element for access to community goods and services (including cultural and educational development) and music educators have historically lived at the margins of policy, who then procures access for the field? Whose visions for musical and

educational development are articulated? And what are the resulting implications for practice?

I propose that closer engagements with policy matter because policy is the realm within which our vision can be enacted. Naturally, as another NNSTOY teacher argues, "The amount of time and effort it takes to be up to speed, visible and impactful on a local, state or national policy level conflicts with the sheer amount of time it takes to be an effective teacher." She knows that "the traditional infrastructure for schools and teachers limits these [ideas]" and that "creative staff allocations" are part of the solution. But she also argues that teachers committed to this ideal "have found a way to bend a schedule to their will so that they can teach some and lead some. That requires reimagining the profession, our work days, and in some cases, our pay" (2015, p. 11). Opfer et al. (2008) cite research showing that policy instruments that detach policy from those who have to operationalize it "while inducing school districts to become engaged, may cause teachers to view their districts less favorably and lower their engagement in instructional improvement and comfort with innovation" (p. 326). As Steven Ball (2009) argues, policy constructs what is perceived to be necessary and at times inevitable, and teachers must have a hand in this process. Consequently, more informed, active, and thoughtful engagement with policy is needed. This is necessary so that narrow agendas with less than democratic aims can be blocked and educational reform not be done *to* teachers but rather *with* them. Engaging with policy is necessary so that we educators can more systematically construct and more closely enact our own critical, pertinent, and equitable commitments to education.

ESTABLISHING POLICY THINKING AND ACTION

All this requires a shift in how we think about policy and how we value it as part of our professional identities. As I argue above, to have a wide spectrum impact in any field, *policy thinking* and practice must shift from a model of unidirectional mandates to a system of multidirectional contributions. Greater policy participation is desirable and needed. It is compelled, on the one hand, by the rapid and complex changes driven by creative economies (Florida, 2003), and on the other, by accountability discourses and the streamlining of one-size-fits-all administrative "solutions" to educational challenges (Abril & Gault, 2008; Gerrity, 2009). And a 2013 Center for American Progress report offers evidence that this discourse is shifting. In it Bill Raabe, a union leader, states: "What we're starting to realize is that the definition of bread-and-butter issues, or what falls under that definition, has to be much broader. . . . [T]he things that are really bread-and butter issues to teachers are beyond their pay and benefits" (Pennington, 2013, p. 10). In the same report Elizabeth Evans, founder of VIVA Teachers (Voice, Ideas, Vision, Action), says:

> We have seen over and over again this kind of light-bulb moment that management and union leadership alike have when they listen to ordinary

> classroom teachers talking about policy and they actually hear substance that's both reinforcing and adding nuance and depth to what they've already been thinking. (p. 14)

This means that the development of better policy thinking and practice, not just better information about policies, is necessary. It also indicates that teachers are part of the solution. Consequently, our field has the following challenges: to strengthen policy as a research subject; to establish policy practice as an element in music teacher education; to support policy thinking as a scholastic pathway in graduate music programs; and to foster professional development where policy questions help guide curricular and pedagogical growth.

The challenge is that policy engagement heightens requirements for participation and signaling "the ways in which the collective obligations of society are organized in specific locales and through specific groups of people who can decide what is reasonable for the processes of change" (Popkewitz, 2001, p. 124). In other words, we are also called to be responsible for how crucial societal challenges and mandates—such as education—are addressed, implemented, and adapted within our local realities.

Policy engagement is hard work. Policy is often conceived and implemented in trying conditions that require us to navigate a complex ecology of ideas, dispositions, resources, and constituencies. Indeed, when offered in such abstract terms the idea can be overwhelming, making it easy to say: "That's too much for me! I can't influence policy!" These are difficult challenges of inquiry and change, however, which are foundational to any participative society and to any education that is worthwhile. The complexity that is attributed to policy is indeed the same complexity that constitutes efforts toward just and equitable environments. They are the definitional element of what John Dewey has called a Democratic education (see Dewey, 1916). Engaging with such ecology requires constant and careful attention and asks for thoughtful intervention. It is thus essential that we understand that policy and democratic practices ask us for the same thing: unabated engagement.

Policy, then, cannot be *farmed out* to others nor relegated as outside the purview of teachers. Given that the policy enterprise is a process requiring constant adjustment, only our active participation can engender intelligent and integrative decision making. The educational leadership literature shows us how we can use *policy as tactics*, employing ideas such controlling meeting agendas and decision-making processes; practicing co-optation, buffering, listening, diplomacy, humor, strategic application of data; and using rewards and sanctions as well as avoidance (Blase & Blase, 2002; Crow & Weindling, 2010; Malen & Ogawa, 1988). I am interested in how teachers can also learn policy tactics such as employing strategies for persuading others, circulating information, provoking and guiding discussions, asking critical questions, preaching, using language carefully, and employing government language. But I am also interested in a broader understanding of *policy savvy* that expands policy into an alternative conceptualization of influence, change, and use of discourse, facilitating spaces for coalition work, framing and

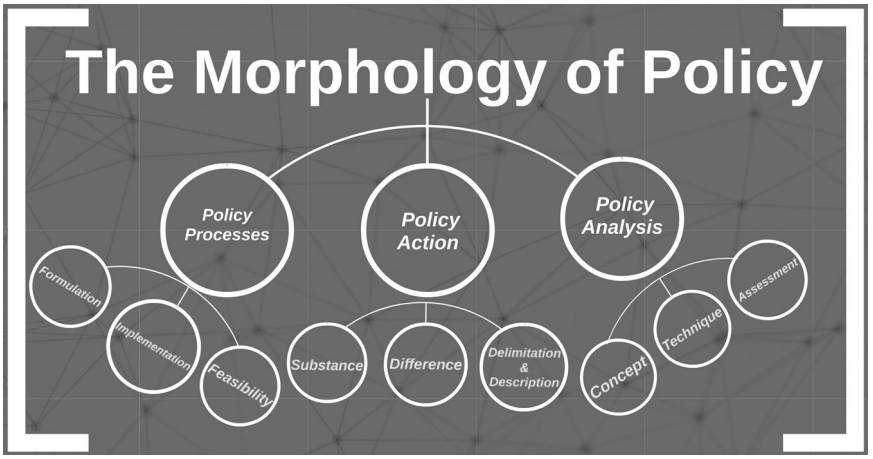

Figure 1 The morphology of policy

strategically organizing change, and developing the capacity to read political environs. Bolman and Deal (2008) call this "mapping the political terrain" (p. 216). Establishing our policy thinking and action then requires that we come to see the morphology of policy (Figure 1), that is, that we understand the complexity of policy and how we might benefit from engaging strategically with its potential.

By now it should be clear to the reader that the recognition of educators' agency with regard to policy is central to this text, as well as to critical approaches to policy studies. Understanding the many forms of policy is a clear pathway for policy appropriation. Ball (1994), for example, argues that everyone who encounters policy texts remakes them through his or her beliefs, goals, and histories. Levinson et al. (2009), Anderson (2009), and Koyama (2011) discuss policy appropriation rather than implementation, with policy appropriation being the "creative interpretative practice" that occurs when "a policy that was formed within one community of practice meets the existential and institutional conditions that mark a different community of practice" (Levinson et al., 2009, p. 782). In other words, policy created in one place (e.g., school district, state government) is regularly remade by those who encounter it someplace else (Levinson et al., 2009). Given the complexity that I articulated earlier and the overtly political reality of the educational environment today, isn't it unfair and possibly miseducative not to prepare young music educators to think and act in policy terms?

POLICY PRACTICE AS AN ECOSYSTEM

The idea of an ecological system or an *ecology* is predicated on a multiplicity of interrelations and interdependencies that are embedded in any given situation or environment. Anyone who has spent time in educational institutions or organizations, be it in schools, universities, NGOs (non-governmental organizations), or

community centers, understands that actions and practices are interdependent—course offerings depend on teachers, who are dependent on district workload priorities, which depends on community decision making and demographics, which are tied to student enrollment, which impacts expenditure allocation, which in turn affects course offerings. Education is a complex ecology, period.

It should not be difficult to see then why Weaver-Hightower (2008) favors an ecological conceptualization of policy. He frames policy as "an extremely complex, often contradictory process that defies the commonly held image of singular purpose and open, effective planning" (p. 153). Given the entanglements and complexities of policy, even at the school level, let alone at the federal level, he critiques policy models that assume "value-neutral decision making" and those that ignore "issues of power," arguing that such models are often ineffective and regularly misleading, as they "grossly misjudge the complexity and grittiness, the false starts, and the crashing failures of some policy formation and implementation" (p. 153).

I would argue that the ecology of policy is revealed most directly in "the mechanisms through which values are authoritatively allocated for society" agreeing with Schneider and Ingram (1997) that policies are revealed through texts, practices, symbols and discourses that define and deliver (p. 2). The usage, appropriation, and interpretation of discourse are, therefore, central elements in any attempt to reframe policy and its parameters for thought and action within music education. Regelski and Gates (2010) provide us with examples of critical readings on the discursive ecology of music education all of which could be linked to policy-related discussions of music context, identity, race, place-based education, and relevance, among others. An important initial step might then be to consider carefully the language we use—or fail to use—and how that language comes to constitute the *discourses* we end up adopting

To exemplify this challenge we might consider the issue of advocacy. For decades the field of music education has attempted to enter the realm of policy by betting on advocacy. In so doing, music education bought into a vision of policy that Ronald Heck characterizes as the authoritative allocation of values, expressed in words. Wayne Bowman (2005) explains the work of advocacy by saying:

> The advocate has clear ends in mind and is primarily concerned to persuade others to his/her point of view. These ends thus restrict and proscribe at the outset the means to be deployed and the range of conclusions deemed admissible. They rule out from the beginning questions, procedures, and observations that may be at odds with the advocate's purposes. In advocacy, what counts is persuasion. (p. 126)

Today, we need to acknowledge that this "advocacy-first" strategy has proven limited and that our engagement with policy proper must be expanded. Indeed, one could say that the language we constructed around advocacy has led to a rather narrow model that now stands for the profession: Advocacy stands *for* us, and instead *of* us. Advocacy's language set parameters that led to particular

kinds of action that have proven visible, but most often limited and inefficient. Most problematically—a propos of our argument—advocacy has often served as proxy for participation, replacing action while serving as justification for inaction. Imagine, for example, that authorities in an imaginary school district are challenging the role and place of music in the curriculum—a familiar reality. Teachers embroiled in an *advocacy-as-policy* model tend to respond by returning to tired arguments about the uniqueness of music; they use value-based notions to respond to data-driven environs and pragmatic individuals. Decision makers are interested in concrete curricular impact and corrective capacity. They ask how music can contribute to schools' shared educational goals and we, often, offer little more than anecdote and worn-out advocacy statements about the uniqueness of music. Music educators have not been taught to *talk back to policy*. We have little experience in adapting our practices or in co-opting external requirements, and we often believe that maintaining disciplinary integrity and ethical commitments means shutting out changing educational realities. To put it bluntly, the capacity to analyze and respond to policy demands is significantly underdeveloped in our field.

Of course, this scenario is not a trite description of incompetence or incapacity. The goal is to highlight music education's current lack of *policy dexterity* while offering ways to begin to address the issue. The logic is simple: In a complex educational reality, our discourse capacity must also be complex. If our policy practices are singularly focused on advocacy models, what can we reasonably expect of their reach, relevance, and impact?

As one analyzes recent histories of interaction between music educators and policy, the cases of National Standards in the United States and of National Curriculum in England present intriguing distinctions in approaches to policy process. In the 1990s United States, a small group of individuals with policy savvy directly and narrowly crafted a document that has and continues to punctuate the profession (see Benedict 2006 and 2010). Public and professional debate followed but did not accompany the policy process. In 1980s England, both public debate and the work of public advocates such as Paynter, Swanwick, and Small not only countered the neoliberal politics of the Thatcher government but also had a direct and tangible impact on policy construction, influencing language outcomes and funding, in an imperfect but rather open policy process (see Cox, 2002; Pitts, 2000; Schmidt, 2011). In 2014, the revision of the US National Standards was slightly more open than its previous incarnation. Nevertheless, levels of policy discussion and involvement remained rather minimal, particularly if we compare them with recent policy work in England. Even in a conservative government prepared to eliminate music from schools, as that of David Cameron, discussions around and preparation for the Darren Henley Report (2010) drew from considerable policy work and led to a funding structure for music education to the tune of nearly 300 million pounds. Looking at these two cases we can see the UK community making use and more clearly benefiting from what Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) have called "policy advocacy coalition" approaches. This form of policy-learning model "turns on the ways members of different policy coalitions,

organized around different policy beliefs, can learn from the technical research and debates in policy communities" and thus differentiate themselves. And while core beliefs of certain communities may not easily change, Sabatier argues, "policy learning can affect the more instrumental aspects of policy politics" (p. 34)

If we want greater policy participation and voice we must address the expansion of who is considered "worthy" of engaging in decision making and how our community may help them with policy learning. Barrett (in this volume) argues, for example, that children are themselves capable of engaging in policy thinking and, using her own research, demonstrates cases of the impact that hearing the voices of children can have on macro and micro policy decisions. Forari (2007) notes that policy must be polymorphic, polyglot, and polycentric, situated not merely in the conceptual articulation of legislation but also in the milieu of the classroom. I have looked at the role of professional development in approximating teachers to policy (Schmidt & Robbins, 2011) and also at the potential for policy thinking as a form of teacher activism (Laes & Schmidt, 2016). All this and much more points to the fact that policy thinking today begs for a renewed concern with valuing the capacities distinct stakeholders have and the roles they can play in the educational political process. Central to this new way of approaching policy thinking is an invitation to teachers to engage with policy rather than acquiesce and be managed by it.

THE PROBLEM OF HIERARCHY AND THE CALL FOR LEADERSHIP

In the absence of strong ties between actors in the different arenas of policy interpretation, creation, and implementation, models have emerged that promote singularity of vision as essential—a position that often translates into a unity ideal of rigid structures and hierarchical modes of accountability. According to this concept, policy does not merely convey and legislate common sense, but constructs it (Apple, 2006). In so doing narrow configurations of policy—and the institutions or individuals that yield it—can severely alter how and to what ends we do our work, while also shading the categories we use to evaluate, judge, and perceive educational enterprises. Fischer (2003) explains this as follows:

> It is not that institutions cause certain political action; rather, it is [institutions'] discursive practices that shape the behaviors of actors who do. Supplying them with regularized behavioral rules, standards of assessment, and emotive commitments, institutions influence political actors by structuring or shaping the political and social interpretations of the problems they have to deal with and by limiting the choice of policy solutions that might be implemented. (p. 28)

This is problematic in several ways, including that a narrow construction of policy implies and even necessitates a narrow construction of leadership: Who is able to

lead? Whose ideas are worth hearing? And who should be allowed to participate? Of course it is important to highlight that influence is a necessary condition of deliberative societies and organizations (Hope, 1992), but it is equally necessary that we consider how the appropriation of common sense can be at the center of democratic dissolution (Gutman & Thompson, 2004). Consequently, active participation and not simply tacit acknowledgment is a necessary element for changing the stratified and hierarchical image we often have of policy; and in that process perhaps reframe how we also see leadership.

Fautley (in this volume) clearly exemplifies how chaotic policy implementation can be when leadership is both hierarchical and inept at communication. He also suggests that new parameters for autonomy must be in place and that teachers, as he shows, are able to enact it in meaningful, if at times disjointed ways; what is needed is structural support for that to take place in more cohesive ways.

Participation as Leadership. Although autonomy and accountability are often seen as anathema, I argue that co-dependence is in fact essential for both to be realized. In this way of thinking, autonomy requires agency and latitude, which are fully manifested only in relation to a context and to a community, which logically leads to accountability. It is also clear, as the history of school reform proves (Craig, 2009), that accountability requires a modicum of local autonomy if it is not to be resisted. Thus, if accountability and autonomy are to function in equitable ways they must be co-dependent, and this can be significant at a time when "school leadership, which is a major agency of cultural, spiritual, moral, intellectual and political education in society, is in danger of being reduced to a set of technical maneuvers" (Grace, 1995, p. 236)

What I suggest is that individuals and organizations act on two fronts: (1) promote flexible accountability where autonomy can play its part fostering innovation and asserting diversity, and (2) nurture autonomy that can critically construct *accounts of one's work,* that is, generating accountability that address how, to whose benefit, and toward what ends chosen models operate. This can be valuable at a time when many teachers "recognize that they have little control over their own fate" (Johnson, Johnson, Farenga, & Ness, 2005, p. 104).

While this may sound abstract, it is not. And the recent developments around Common Core State Standards (CCSS), particularly in the state of Tennessee, can help us understand how. Tennessee started the process of CCSS implementation working from quite a draconian stance as far as teacher assessment and accountability were concerned. As one of the first states to receive Race to the Top monies, Tennessee established a rapid and non-participative process of policy implementation, which naturally was not well received; this process penalized non-core teachers in disproportionate ways. Strong lobby and effective policy participation, however, has led to at least a partial re-positioning from the state, leading to the subsequent creation of alternative sources for program, teacher, and student assessment. For arts and music teachers a portfolio system was put in place, exemplifying one such case where autonomy and accountability found a point of positive interaction, and where the professional stance of music teachers was taken into consideration. While a detailed explanation of portfolios cannot be

accomplished in this space, even a cursory analysis shows how the system serves as a point of reference for policy action where local decision making works in tandem with macro policy mandates (for details, see http://edweek.org/media/tdoe%20arts%20system%20teachers% 20guide%2030.pdf).

The central shift here might be to think of leadership as *the ability to act with others* (Blackmore, 1989). *Participation as leadership* is also a metaphor for the kind of policy thinking I am suggesting in this chapter—one where individual leaders still take on personal responsibility but operate within the assumption that their individual efforts are always in tandem with, benefit from, and necessitate linkage to the efforts of others in order to generate consensus, become implementable, and have a chance to be impactful.

Unfortunately, we know that many schools operate in a leadership deadlock where hierarchical dependency is enforced. For starters, then, it is important that as teachers we realize that leadership starts with, but it is also dependent upon, the collective and purposeful exertion of our professional capacities. And this is where policy capacity meets leadership development given that "the conception of a profession involves not simply the utilitarian business of acquiring technical skills but rather the shaping of humane practitioners, capable for example, of independent and informed ethical judgment" (Beck, 1999, p. 226).

A policy disposition can have an impact on our leadership capacity and become a trigger in our work to address how to create sustainable curricular, pedagogical, ethical, and equitable development that is mindful and meaningful—and not just expedient. In more ways than one, the chapters by Jones, Cutietta, and Fletcher in the second part of this book are all critiques of current vertical models of leadership and a call for change. As the reader may surmise, I consider these to be exactly the same elements defining mindful, and not just expedient, policy thinking and action.

THE VALUE OF POLICY THINKING IN ACTION: ESTABLISHING DISPOSITIONS

If policies are, as Steven Ball (1994) claims, "both systems of values and symbolic systems," that is, "ways of representing, accounting for and legitimating decisions" (p. 124), then we need to become more skilled at constructing imaginative policy and policy practice that can become less unidirectional. This is easier said than done, as our own traditions, institutional experiences, ideological inclinations, and institutions exert gravitational pulls that lead us to think and behave in certain ways (Fischer, 2003).

A way forward might be to consider policy as an intrinsic part of and contributor to deliberative democracy (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996, 2004), and thus a way to focus our efforts in learning how to adapt and contest—that is, how to act politically. I join Gutmann and Thompson here, arguing that policy helps us understand adaptation and contestation, which are foundational to deliberation as well as to democratic practice. Deliberation is also foundational to professional

and ethical action in teaching and must be understood early in the educational life of music educators. And what better way to help educators face the complexities and contradictions that are an integral part of educational systems (Ellsworth, 1998) than to see them from a policy framework?

If policy frameworks can help us address or co-opt directives, they can help us articulate possibilities. Policy can direct us to the immediate while envisioning the long-term. One could argue then that a *shift* toward policy studies and a commitment to better preparation in teacher education programs could create more systematic capacity in our field. Could such capacity, for instance, help us to address divergent music communities and their practices; more aptly link research and entrepreneurial experiments; or better position music educators in the politics of education? I believe the potential is there.

Elsewhere I have argued for four *generative themes* that can help us consider the value of policy and how we can use policy in our professional lives (see Schmidt, 2009). Modeled after Paulo Freire's ideas for raising participation via greater *conscientização*—or conscientization, a raised awareness that comes into focus when one *knows that he or she knows*—I named them dispositions toward language, complexity, bafflement, and democratization.

A *disposition toward language* starts from the understanding that language use is a significant form of capital in the world of policy and politics. Indeed, policy is promoted, operationalized, and concealed through language. This means that we need to be able to interpret and respond to overt policy talk and see the hidden languages used to promote, institute, or disinvest policy—understanding that language constructs practice. *Talking back* to policy and working toward our own policy discourse is then key for full citizenship within any educative community. Stephanie Horsley's chapter (in this volume) provides concrete examples of the impact of policy language in the politics of education, as well as the cost of being excluded from it.

A *disposition toward complexity* is also necessary, as the complexities surrounding the educative process require that we accept and work under the assumption that "straightforward solutions" to educational problems often miss the mark, failing to be responsive to diversity and equity requirements. Such dispositions toward complexity acknowledge that education falls under the category of "wicked problems," as Rittle and Webber (1973) argue, that is, those whose complexities require a multipronged approach.

A *disposition toward bafflement* is the third and perhaps the one most "outside the box." While the idea of bafflement can seem esoteric, it is meant as an inclination toward divergent thinking, toward an engagement with calculated risk. In simple terms it asks us to surprise our own conservative tendencies, that is, our natural inclination toward repetition of tried methods, traditional structures, inherited ideas, or "long-established" philosophies.

Last, and equally as important, I argue for a *disposition toward democratization*, primarily the idea that policy is not, and ought not to be, a hierarchical process reserved for the few, but an amplifying program that permeates all levels of the field. What can be addressed by encouraging such disposition is the

understanding that the absence of deliberation leads to resistance, which often leads to the disintegration of policy.

All these lead to an understanding that on one hand, greater *policy consciousness* means that we know how to approximate concrete strategic ideas to careful conceptual development. On the other, policies actually work best when "the trustworthiness of social structures allows for the proliferation of obligations and expectations" (Coleman, 1988, p. 107), that is, we can do more for ourselves and for others if we understand and credibly participate in the social structures around us.

All this is akin to developing what Dror (2006) has called a "mental vocabulary" for policy. This would be significant not only in terms of strengthening the professional standing of the field, encouraging a more balanced relationship between accountability and autonomy, but also in providing a clear pathway for reclaiming educational aims that are equally concerned with content and process; skill acquisition and critical thinking; a humanistic disposition as well as an entrepreneurial spirit.

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION STARTS WITH A FRAMING CAPACITY

In order for a complex engagement with policy to become rooted into our consciousness and practice we must understand that the development of *policy capacity,* while profiting from organizational and structural conditions, is intrinsically dependent upon one thing: our *framing capacity.*

The idea of a frame, or framing, can be linked to the work of sociologist Erving Goffman. In his 1974 book, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience,* Goffman defines framing as a set of "schemata of interpretation" always present as people attempt "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" (p. 21). Befitting his context, Goffman's work looks at framing as an event, a moment in time. His intent was to reveal that our tendency is to structure things in particular ways, putting them in a box. While acknowledging his ideas, I suggest that framing can be pedagogically developed to be less static. Indeed, today framing must be predicated on adaptation and consequently on a disposition toward constantly re-evaluating, or re-framing. Thus, a *framing capacity* is not defined as schemata *of* interpretation but rather schemata *for* interpretation; a creative disposition rather than a perceptual sorting skill.

In music education, Lee Higgins (2008) gives us examples of how multiple creative narratives are present in community music practices, and how these narratives are essential to their "productivity" and their democratic nature. Veloso and Carvalho (2012) show how children construct quite complex ways of being creative in music, demonstrating that imagination depends on "playing with multiple accounts or viewpoints." In my own research on non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Brazil (Schmidt, 2014) such a framing capacity is shown to be central to the constant adaptation that is required of NGO teachers, given how the diverse and at times constraining social conditions in Brazil can impact practice.

Here, as in myriad other situations, framing is a complex capacity for sense-making and re-making, helping one to re-evaluate what we might have previously considered to be improper or out of place. A framing capacity, then, involves imagination and empathy, both elements that are "required to "grasp" the other's inner consciousness—but not to take it as one's own' (Cross, Laurence & Rabinowitch, 2012, p. 340).

The assumptions are two fold here: one, that a framing capacity can be carefully fostered within teacher education, and two, that a framing capacity is an essential skill in policy work. The notion of framing is widely used in policy as *frames* provide a way to elucidate practice and capture the complexities of policy environments. A cursive look at policy scholarship shows dozens of ways of framing policy thinking (see Figure 2). We can quickly see the rich parameters for analysis that researchers and scholars have developed over the last four or five decades, showing us that policy scholarship is both complex and creative.

Miami's New World Symphony (NWS) exemplifies an intriguing demonstration of this framing disposition. NWS calls itself "America's orchestral academy" and has been known in the United States for its innovative programming, engaging thousands through its "wallcast"; making use of Miami's urban culture to engage with alternative programming; and taking advantage of its facilities to generate multi-media-directed concerts. Regardless of the diversification of its artistic "products," New World has recently re-engaged critically with its community-oriented mission. Applications for musical fellows (as its musicians are called) require a community-engagement element; a commitment to community action is part of their three-year contract. Entrepreneurship and community engagement are part of the work done live and virtually, with fellows running committees that chart future action and evaluate chosen pathways (see

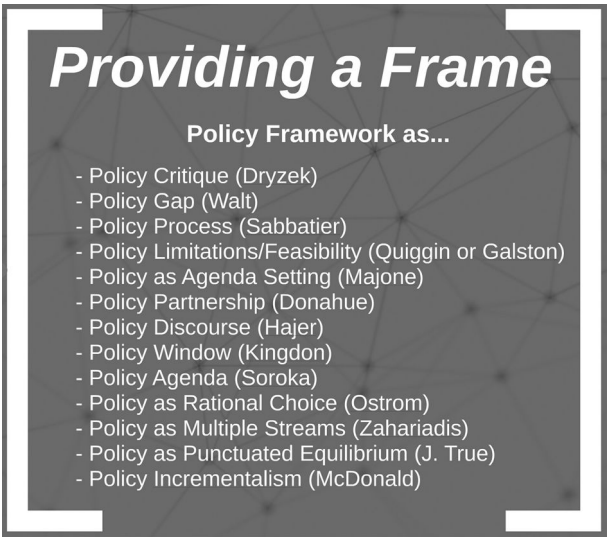

Figure 2 Policy frameworks

https://www.nws.edu/). New World is an interesting model where innovation, supported by internal policy re-structuring and participation, is leading to changes in one of the most traditionally oriented spaces in American culture, the symphony orchestra. Furthermore, its policy participation attitude invites its members to consider their roles beyond that of musician and helps them to see alternative forms of artistic/educational work that are ethically in tune with the limited orchestral labor market (see Fletcher in this volume). Just as interesting, in 2015 the Houston Symphony announced significant changes in their hiring policy and a shift in their community and educational policies:

> In contrast to term-limited or structured fellowship or training programs, the new *Community-Embedded Musicians* are full-time, permanent, salaried employees of the Houston Symphony, and they will become part of the cadre of musicians who appear on stage and throughout the community. While existing Houston Symphony musicians spend about 80% of their time on stage as part of the orchestra's robust schedule of classical, pops, family, student and community concerts, these Community-Embedded Musicians will do the opposite: They will devote the majority of their time to off-stage education and community programs through individual and small ensemble work in schools, neighborhoods and health care settings. (see http://www.houstonsymphony.org/News-Room/News-Releases/07-28-15II)

The idea of a framing capacity can start small, however, as I do with my own students. A simple step I take in my classroom is to make every assignment a public affair. This is an effort to establish an environment where public learning anticipates professional life parameters. Making one's ideas public provides an understanding that we all share known frames and that change in known or common pools of knowledge requires study, collaboration, risk-taking, and dissent. The goals are "to reduce prescription, improve coherence and invest more power in teachers and pupils to develop practices engendered by greater self-awareness" (Burnard, 2012, p. 22). While potentially exhausting, developing a framing capacity might be akin to what Sutherland and De Nora (2012) call creativity that impacts social agency, understood as "a resource and tool for managing and acting within situational incongruity" (p. 83). Such a disposition toward reflexive thinking, adaptability, and critique characterize any worthwhile educative endeavor and, at the same time, are key to the "definitions" of policy and policy practice I have presented here.

THE GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS OF POLICY

Nagel (2010) provides us with the opportunity to further value the creative skills of a framing capacity by emphasizing that policy is first and foremost a process. Policy as a thing—say a piece of legislation—is only a segment, always temporary,

of a larger policymaking process. Nagel explains policymaking as the interaction of three dimensions: policies, polities, and politics:

> The dimension of policies refers to changes of political contents, that is, goals, instruments, and settings whereas changes in polities reflect alterations in the structure of decision-making. In contrast, the dimension of politics refers to the process of decision-making itself, that is, its modes and actors involved. (p. 199)

This process is well understood by many organizations, none better than the United Nations' Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). OECD is today one of the world's most impactful organizations in terms of shaping educational standards globally; its success has arguably been built by its clear understanding of how to navigate the three dimensions described previously (see Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] 2004). A product of the strategic plan to rebuild Europe after World War II, OECD's educational reports and Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) examinations are today perhaps the world's most notable education enterprise with global impact.

What is interesting to note is that while its educational reports have been available since 1961, only in the last two decades have they been widely cited. Indeed, whatever their political leaning, many governments see the OECD's ranking of educational achievement for 66 nations as one of the most anticipated commentaries on social and economic development. True to its economic roots the OECD places the complex world of education within the economically driven and rather straightforward framework of productivity. While peripheral reports investigate challenging issues such as education and immigration or equity, OECD's central policy production is focused on standardized efficiency, ideologically aligned with the marketization of education, and the "offer of the prospect of constant advancement" (Barnett & Finnemore, 2004, p. 17). Regardless of the ideology, what is worth noting is how far-reaching the world of educational policy has become. Indeed, as Nagel (2010) posits,

> whereas educational policy was traditionally strongly connected to the nation state as part of domestic public politics, in recent years new developments in the international sphere have challenged the role of the state in this field. Therefore education policy no longer seems to be a domestic area in which government activity, supervision, and control are particularly strong and (almost) exclusive, rather an internationalization process [strongly influenced by independent organizations] exerts influence on national education systems. (p. 3)

More than two decades ago Anthony Giddens (1991) coined the expression "glocal" to tell us how much the global and the local had become entwined. It is not surprising then that educational policy at the national level looks similar today

whether it is happening in the United States, England, Australia, or Germany. What might be puzzling is that regardless of the fact that the OECD has "no access to legal or regulatory mechanisms to enforce its prescriptions," today "hardly any country ignores the OECD's data and recommendations" (Moutsios, 2009, p. 114).

Of course those interested in policy would also do well to consider how the OECD schemata have grown more forceful over time, and place some stock on how the absence of widespread policy pedagogy and policy activism practices have contributed, if not allowed, this kind of growth.[1] Given this reality, I join Coburn and Russell (2008) and ask: Is it not plausible to argue that our incapacity to *talk back to policy* has played a role in this kind of process?

Developing the capacity to understand, in practical and conceptual terms, how "political decision-making is a multiple process which encompasses both formal and informal, manifest and discursive, relations" (Nagel, 2010, p. 203) is in the best interest of equity, democratic practice, and professional agency. And thus it is also in the best interest of those committed to a meaningful and socially just education. Without it we cannot activate the kind of autonomy and participation discussed earlier.

Global Picture, Local Work. With the knowledge that OECD is impacting governmental policy, a fair question at this juncture is how do OECD policy practices impact teachers and their work? Think, for example, that its reports are (1) a representation of a larger political image we have come to accept, formed by globalization; and (2) a formalized mechanism used by governments for strategic maneuvering; as well as (3) a reifying mechanism, made possible exactly by the absence (or suppression) of pedagogical policy discourses that would help in contesting its premises and offering viable alternatives.

To make these roles clearer, let us consider for a moment the manner in which "teacher accountability" has been recently defined in the United Kingdom and the United States. In both cases, teachers—not the government, schools, administration, or policymakers—have become the "providers of services" to a euphemistically named "active citizenry," that is, the private individual who supposedly demands educational "products and choices" (Cohen, Moffit, & Goldin, 2007, p. 352).

Contradictorily, today's weighty educational policies such as school choice, big-city school decentralization, and standardization are all linked to "changes in the political economy of schooling" (Bullough, 2008, p. 57) and all but exclude the teaching force as the locus for educational change. This means that teachers have become "responsible providers" who have no impact in decision making; that is, they are accountable but have no avenues to construct accountability. Their autonomy is merely clerical.

These conditions not only commoditize teachers and their labor but also turn students and their learning into billable products. Furthermore, the antagonistic positioning of teacher and learner (and his or her family) creates a political condition ripe for the disruption of labor protections that have been historically fundamental for the establishment of teaching as a modestly professionalized enterprise—protections that research shows have historically positively impacted teaching quality and student learning (Froyen & Iverson, 1999).

The lack of a pedagogical understanding of policy is aligned with a lack of capacity to *talk back* and consequently (1) to generate interaction, (2) to take risks, and (3) to shift conversations. The Freire Charter School in Philadelphia is an example of a school functioning outside the norm of charter schools in the United States today. It offers a pedagogical approach to school policy in which professional knowledge goes beyond subject expertise, requiring all to engage in efforts to consider how their work can impact policy action, implementation, and evaluation. While Freire Charter teachers consider instructional needs first, they are also asked to imagine how instruction impacts and is impacted by four of the most pervasive issues in education around the globe today: (1) resource allocation; (2) ethnic, racial, and cultural dislocation; (3) teaching quality; and (4) access to learning (see Fuhrman, Cohen, & Mosher, 2010).

Examples such as these show us that policy thinking can help us construct new conditions and experiences for ourselves—fighting against the sense of powerlessness to which teachers often refer. This is an important message that could have significant impact in teacher activism and recidivism. This message is largely unavailable in teacher education and professional development.

FROM EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO EQUITY OF OUTCOMES

All of the elements articulated thus far lead us to both re-consider what policy is, why to engage in policy, and how to approximate it to our daily professional lives. But as important, and still unexplored here, a new understanding of policy brings us to a vision of how else we may promote socially just practices in and through music, consequently impacting the lives of those who populate our classrooms.

Education for social justice is perhaps the most complex policy agenda we can confront as teachers, parents, or citizens, particularly when we consider that "policy discourses work to privilege certain ideas and topics and speakers and exclude others" (Ball, 2009, p. 5). Indeed, the idea of establishing equity in education (let alone through education), where diverse action is taken to provide for the divergent needs of those in our classrooms, reveals how complex education problem can be.

Of course, policy and social justice thinking are constantly ensnarled in the question of who has voice and who has permission to speak, both in the sense of who is visible and privileged and in the sense of who is allowed to lead, to construct ideas, to institute directives (Benedict, Schmidt, Spruce, & Woodford, 2015; Liasidou, 2012). A key challenge for a more socially just education in and through music then is the current absence of a policy vernacular built into teachers' formative experiences.

My response is that an informed and pro-active social justice commitment to education must associate itself with policy thinking. Following Dyson (1999), this can be approached by the marriage of two discourses: (1) the discourse of rights, which develops language facilitating an ethical and pedagogical commitment to socially just educational practices and environs, and (2) the discourse of efficacy

(not to be misunderstood by efficiency), which is concerned with how mindful and participative policy can change schooling structures in order to facilitate diversity, inclusion, and ultimately social justice.

Observing the myriad opportunities, contexts, and capacities developed in artistic spaces, we can notice how leadership in music can change the language of economic consumption or managerial efficiency, instead focusing on shared cultural/artistic and educative development (see Sousa, 2008). Mary Cohen (2010) offers a simple but powerful example whereby working with incarcerated youth populations, pre-service teachers come to understand the value of participation and the complexity of community building, providing opportunities to imagine in concrete terms what participative leadership can look like and how teachers can be involved in engaging in conversations and action previously absent. Policy thinking developed outside the classroom changes the manner in which young teachers approach their work within schools, and vice versa.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

This chapter, as this book, asks the reader to consider that policy in music education must amplify as well as adapt its own models, actions, precepts, and goals to better address how limited information and impoverished deliberation continue to relegate teachers to the role of a managed multitude. In order to fight against the de-professionalization we see across the field of teaching—including higher education—this chapter suggests that we give emphasis and work toward participative policy leadership while attempting to facilitate a better balance between autonomy and accountability.

If we fail to do so, the result could be described in one word: balkanization. Balkanization is the ostensible, albeit not always easily perceptible, isolation of groups and/or practices. For those concerned with facilitating an education in and through music, balkanization presents a double danger. On one hand, the lack of active participation and accountability leads to diminished professional status. On the other, the lack of autonomy leads to dependency and diminished accountability, and thus to further balkanization. Our challenge is that to be valued we must be accountable, and in order to create accountability that is of value, we need to be autonomous. How, then, do we address this conundrum?

I would suggest the following ideas could serve as a series of first steps, leading to a more rich engagement with policy:

- *Create a more complex frame for policy work*: Policymakers, organizational leaders, and teachers alike should see creative policy as an essentially networked enterprise, which places content knowledge in the service of agency-driven curricula.
- *Complement program activism with adaptability*: Professional action should not be subordinated to methods of teaching or programmatic modalities. At the center should be learning and the understanding

that policy thinking can create strong learning spaces within teacher education and professional development.

- *Collaborative enterprise as a new parameter:* This follows the notion of animation and entrepreneurship where collaboration allows for the formation of more complex, sustainable, and innovative action—be it in the classroom or in the research milieu. The networked nature of policy makes it a strong area for exploration.
- *Inter-organizational coordination:* Greater synergy between governmental and professional agencies is necessary, with more effective communication and structures for sustainably supporting policy awareness, communication, and participation.

The propositions and solutions this chapter provides are modest and limited, and yet they are mostly new to music education. The development of policy thinking as a foundational skill for every music educator is challenging but also promising and worth further investigation. Active policy participation remains underexplored in our field, regardless of evidence that policy thinking and activism can shape educational action and directly impact the nature, extent, and impact of our programs (Fulcher, 1999). I suggest that policy will become a strong area of exploration in the coming decade and believe that policy participation will play an important role in greater teacher empowerment.

NOTE

1. To be sure there are other players here; note, for example, how *think tanks* such as the Heritage Foundation, the Aspen Institute, or the Brookings Institution have expanded their influence in the last decade.

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2

Arts Policies and Their Local Importance

From History to Practice

RICHARD COLWELL ■

INTRODUCTION

Education and arts policies are crucial; however, they operate at so many levels and involve players with such varying political power that a full understanding of education and arts policy is difficult to grasp. We accept that while history shapes the hand a state is dealt, public policy determines how the hand is played. Education policies may or may not impact policies for arts education and for music education (Elpus, 2011; Gove & Vaizey, 2011). Since at least the middle of the 20th century policymakers have thought of music education as a component of arts education. Present arguments for the inclusion of music education in the school curriculum are based on policy beliefs concerning the importance of requiring *arts education.* The majority of the 27 states that include the arts list the requirement as arts education. Music education and arts education may share policies in relation to schooling but they also have important differences. If there ever is a role for critical thinking by music educators it lies in establishing the importance of and use for educational priorities in the discipline of music education. The music educator's role is in making decisions as to what is right in an arena where the public and policymakers have profound disagreements that are intellectual, ideological, democratic, and even moral. Knowledge, understanding, and data are important elements, as without these, decisions are made on opinion only. Data are important, as we will argue, but *worth* is value laden. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a historical context for the development of arts (music) policies and the impact of these on the daily life of all forms of schooling. I begin with contemporary history, the setting for understanding the evolution of present policies. I conclude that music

education policy in 2016 must be established at the district and/or school level. Music educators are fiercely independent about what occurs in their classrooms and can be expected to carefully consider the value and importance of any new, touted policies.

The first *Handbook of Research on Teaching* was published in 1963. The fifth edition (Gitomer & Bell, 2016) was the first to have a separate chapter on policy (Sykes & Wilson, Can Policy (Re)form Instruction?), arguing that policy has become a significant factor in framing, conducting, and regulating instruction in the United States. The authors found a messy situation, with policy issues of school choice, charter schools, open enrollment, school vouchers, and educational management plans. Teaching policy includes teaching for understanding, adventurous teaching, reform teaching, and others. Students are to acquire deep understanding of key concepts, conduct inquiries, think critically and creatively, and exercise control or regulation of their own learning (pp. 854–855). Other policy issues include early childhood education, equity, smaller class size, the handicapped, teacher education, advanced courses, and more. One reform policy was No Child Left Behind (NCLB), but research indicates that students have not performed better on achievement tests since its implementation (NAEP 2012, Nichols & Berliner, 2008; Nichols, Glass, & Berliner, 2006). Music teachers with ensemble responsibilities quickly learned that Annual Yearly Progress, a reporting process established by NCLB, was infeasible because music curriculum is not always sequential. The 2016 publication *When School Policies Backfire* (Gottfried & Conchas) describes multiple examples of poor education policy. The Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) program had at its peak an annual budget of three-quarters of a billion dollars with little evidence of success. Some students who had D.A.R.E. education were actually more likely to experiment with drugs (p. 2). These policy efforts were evidently not guided by the critical thinking they all required of students, resulting in the National Education Policy Center awarding annual "Bunkum Awards."

In 2013, Frederick Hess published *Cage Busting Leadership*, encouraging teachers to speak up. In 2014, a special issue of *Teachers College Record* was published, *116*(9): "The Iron Cage of Accountability: Manageralism's Global Effort to Remake Public Education" edited by Heinz Dieter Meyer and Daniel Trohler. One argument made was the need for creativity and innovation, as the centralization of government (federal, state, and multi-state) has brought about an "iron cage" of servitude in which enforced beliefs, values, and attitudes produce mental conformity. In 2014, Hess and McShane published *Common Core Meets Education reform: What it means for politics, policy and the future of schooling*. Hess followed up with "Busting Out of the Teacher Cage," a 2015 article in the *Phi Delta Kappan* arguing that teachers are often unsure of how they can effectively change schools, systems, and policy and are skeptical that anyone will actually listen to them (p. 60). He, like Cuban (2011), argues that teachers have expertise (being in the classroom) and moral authority and that policymakers should listen to their opinions. Hess's position is one of the themes of this chapter.

Inclusion is an important written (administrative) policy for music education, although it is arts education and not music education that is the focus of policymakers. Twenty-seven states list the arts in statute or code as an academic subject. At least 45 states require that arts be offered and 26 states require an arts course for high school graduation. What satisfies these policies and any cut scores (the point in a learning trajectory where one becomes "proficient") should be determined locally and based, one would hope, on the premise that inclusion of an arts course will improve the quality of public education. There is no evidence that "reforming" the content of instruction will be an improvement.

The second policy issue is music teacher certification with no evidence of present strengths and weaknesses.

Policy is driven by politics. We are unable to list the music education policies that should be revised or changed as the educational landscape is constantly evolving. Economic competiveness is an unsupported argument for the priority of some subjects and for the value of community colleges. Knowledge is an important defense. Arguments for the quality of American education have been made by Ravitch (2010, 2013); Carson, Huelskamp, and Woodall (1991); May; Amrein and Berliner (2002); Glass, and others. For all the national and even international debate about the state of American education, public schooling in the United States is still a local matter—and the school district remains the hub (Quality Counts, 2014). Teachers and taxpayers have to supply the resources to achieve these purposes, as learning does not come from policies but from parents and teachers. Whether policies *should* be established at the federal, state, or local level is one of the controversial political policy issues. Conservatives, led by the "Tea Party," were instrumental in the political bargaining that established the Every Student Succeeds Act as an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. It was not only conservatives who worked for new policies. The American Federation of Teachers took more than 100,000 on-line actions related to the reauthorization and submitted 20,000 comments to Congress as well as spending hours in personal lobbying (Weingarten, 2016). The National Education Association mobilized its 3 million members and spent at least $500,000 on a media blitz. Individuals, united in a common purpose, can impact educational policy. Federal policies are expected to focus only on the country's most important problems, education related to national survival and equity issues. Whether the United States should have a cabinet-level department of education is also a policy issue. Policies should be based on ideas that are supported by context, experience, and research, areas that have not been the forte of policymakers, who advance through political expertise in the US legislative system.

Ken Robinson and Lou Aronica (2015) suggest that we need a critique of the way things are, a vision of how they should be, and a plan for change. Relevance can be established only by careful thinking by the most knowledgeable. State officials do not yet know how to implement Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA). Americans for the Arts (Lynch, 2015), a 50-year-old network of organizations and individuals who promote and sustain the arts, is funding 10 state teams to discuss and research ideas to support arts-friendly policy positions and to provide tools

and information at many levels. In 2014, Arts Education Partnership, a collection of more than 100 arts organizations interested in arts education that maintains files on arts research and arts data, identified 14 combined policy areas related to K–12 arts education, led by policy issues in standards, instruction, assessment, accountability, and teacher certification. State requirements for each policy are contained in *A Snapshot of State Policies for Arts Education* (Arts Education Partnership, 2014). Few specify music.

Should after-school programs count for meeting policy objectives? Can competency-based education improve schooling? In New Hampshire a student can request credit for performance in a community rock band by asking for approval from the school music teacher and indicating what state music standard is being met. Students in at least 32 states have to the "pay to play" option, for which a fee is required to participate in all extracurricular activities. We oppose the budgetary reasons for this policy but see the effectiveness of grades as payment to participate in music and sports. No Child Left Behind and its 17 tests for accountability from grades K–12 (113 standardized measures between pre-K and 12th grade) raised multiple policy issues. The Every Student Succeeds Act raises new policy issues, most at the state and local level. Should the arts-educated graduate reason analytically and communicate effectively, outcomes that seemingly make arts education firmly integrated with the general purposes of schooling? The Association of School and Curriculum Development (2012) avoids the controversy of the standards movement, suggesting policies of healthy and safe schools, students engaged in learning and supported by caring adults and continually intellectually stimulated. The whole child approach includes the arts but also character, social and emotional skills, grit, trust, and more. Some policymakers suggest that personality, curiosity, conscientiousness, openness, and perseverance can be taught. Defining a well-rounded education and the music teacher's responsibility is a complex policy issue.

Arts Education Partnership's 2020 policy agenda suggests that outcomes of arts education include the ability to think creatively and synthesize relevant information from across subject areas, and combine such information in new and novel ways. Without agreement on priority competencies, much policy discussion is little more than a charade. Awareness of education policy is important for music educators but when the "big" policy issue is to have every student ready for college or career, one has to ask what else is there? Foundations are influential in arts education. Hess and Henig (2015) report that foundations have become more focused on changing public policy (p. 9). These include Mellon, Gates, Duke, Lumina, Lilly, Broad, and Carnegie. The Gates and Broad foundations admit to advocacy as a funding strategy. Despite their largesse, they are not always successful. In 2002, the Annenberg Challenge pledged $500 million dollars that was matched by an additional $600 million for public education only to end eight years later on a disappointing note (Hess & Hennig, 2015, p. 3). Gates learned that education change needs to involve the local context with policy. Gates was a strong supporter of the common core. His support of the Council of Chief School Officers, the organization whose members, along with the governors,

formulated the curriculum core ideas and is even more important with ESSA, increased from $98,000 in 2005 to $3.2 million in 2010 (Reckhow & Tompkins-Stange, p. 66) Thus, support for the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) went from zero to $2.4 million in the same period of time. Larry Cuban (2015) comments on these theories of educational change as "having been no better than whistling in the dark when it comes to converting policies into teaching practices and student outcomes" (p. 150). The influence on policy by foundations will continue as long as the charitable tax advantage remains.

Policy begins with ideas, followed by the adoption of these ideas by those in charge, the development of these ideas for instruction, their implementation in schools, some formative and perhaps summative assessment, and eventually adoption as a viable teaching strategy. The absence of policies specific to musical learning means that reference must be made to *education policies* that may impact teaching and learning and to ideas, customs, and practices in music.

Policy issues have traditionally been ignored by the classroom music teacher as being beyond his or her responsibility. We hope to correct that impression of policy. Well-intentioned policies may be important or unimportant and may seem to be fads, but when *change* is the slogan of the day, teachers may think they need to adjust their instruction based on today's popular policy. They need not. Policy changes in visual arts are instructive. Elliot Eisner (2001) asked, "Should we create new aims for art education?" A segment of the profession wished to substitute "visual culture" for the creation and study of art, arguing that a shift of teaching practices, curriculum content, and aims would make art more socially relevant. Eisner felt that visual culture, influenced by critical theory, would pay less attention to culture's aesthetics than to its politics (p. 8.). David Burton (2016) has raised a contemporary policy issue should the 2014 standards for art education be adopted. "They represent a distinct reconceptualization of art education predicated on new premises, prescribing new goals and directions, and keyed to new expectations" (p. 166). He carefully analyzed the 2008 opportunity to learn data experienced by 4,000 8th graders in visual arts. He brilliantly argues that one needs to know the present conditions across the country in art education if we expect to go where we want to be in the future. Many of the suggested standards appear to be infeasible. What arts educators need to do is to think carefully about all policies and analyze these policies in terms of classroom practices. A policy statement can be important for advocacy but relatively unimportant for instruction. There are important policy statements indicating that music (and the arts) should be integrated with other curriculum subjects with scant evidence that such integration facilitates any of the critical goals of the music program.

HISTORY OF ARTS (MUSIC) POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES

Tracing the history of US policy toward music education is a subjective journey. Music education was a local responsibility until well after World War II with few

if any policies. One can reasonably ask whether adjusting to education policy today is adjusting to an educational fad. Music was something that everyone did. Individuals of all ages sought instruction at "conservatories" that began about mid-century, often enrolling 3,000 or 4,000 students. Public school bands, orchestras, and choruses flourished in the first half of the 20th century, a period marked by local, state, and national contests—the most visible standards. Indirect arts policy occurred with the 1917 income tax law where support for arts organizations became tax exempt. Theodore Roosevelt brought artists, scholars, and poets to the White House; William Howard Taft established the Commission of Fine Arts.

After World War II, a few commissions related to the arts were established. In 1958, a National Cultural Center was created, President Truman's Arts and Government Paper requested a survey of Taft's Fine Arts Commission, and Eisenhower established a Commission on National Goals. Most cultural histories of federal involvement, however begin with a report by August Heckscher that was made at the request of J. F. Kennedy in 1962 titled *The Arts and the National Government*. The paper was likely fundamental to the establishment of the National Foundations in the Arts and Humanities.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION POLICY

A cabinet-level position for education was not established until 1979, a move opposed by the American Federation of Teachers. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided funds to strengthen state departments of education; however, their increased competence was insufficient to "control" local politics and policies of integration and new curricula with the rigor that was called for by *A Nation at Risk* in 1983—a document that David Berliner calls the most influential and dishonest report about education ever issued. The policy situation in music remains as described by John Goodlad in an unpublished paper at an Eastman conference in 1977: "Very few school administrators in the U.S. have a commitment to the arts or any understanding of what an arts program in the schools would look like." Higher standards were an answer to *A Nation at Risk*. Standards dating from 2000 do not appear to be based on either research or experience. Arts standards are no different; they constitute a policy issue in advocacy and instruction. The term "standard," however, has mixed meanings. For most music educators, a standard is good music, well performed. One concern is that there is already too much "sameness"; a viable democracy has multiple strengths. The history of arts education (i.e., establishing the National Endowment) has been to maintain an arms-length approach concerning any federal government policies although federal dollars are usually welcome.

Policymakers know the importance of *opportunity to learn* in reforming education but have never pursued this policy option since to implement opportunity on a state or national level would be costly as well as disruptive. In music education, opportunity to learn is the most needed standard. At the federal level, the

responsibility for opportunity to learn is always shifted to the state level, at least since the presidency of Ronald Reagan. The National Education Association in its publication *NEA Today, 2*(3) (Fall 2013), suggests that any standards established at the state and/or national level cannot be rigid because priorities and content must be implemented by teachers. Standards are primarily a policy tool, a hope. Content standards require teachers who are interested and qualified to deliver new instruction. Performance standards require age/grade level competencies that are challenging. The National School Board Association (NSBA) is encouraging teachers and school board members to contact legislators on the importance of education remaining the responsibility of each *local* community (*American School Board Journal*, 2013). This is difficult when politicians at higher levels control the funding. Commentators/critics of US education such as Thomas Friedman argue that professional teachers "own their curriculum"; it is not something mandated by the state. If these policy organizations/individuals are correct, music teachers must ensure that they continue to *control* instruction of any received "guidelines" or suggestions from professional organizations. Individuals and organizations supportive of the arts are more familiar with data supportive of the importance of music for all children (advocacy) than valid data on outcomes/competencies.

As far as is known, there are no competencies in music that are regularly assessed at an elementary level that should also be assessed at a higher "standard." Music standards, as a policy tool, are a good example of belief in their importance whether feasible or not. The 1994 music standards had more impact on justifying the inclusion of music in the curriculum than on changing the content (other than composition/improvisation) that was being taught. An over-crowded curriculum or an under-resourced policy can easily result in little or no understanding of what is being taught in music, whether skills or knowledge.

A BIT OF POLICY HISTORY

Susan Fuhrman (2001) has her own list of policy components for breadth and depth: curriculum standards, curriculum frameworks, student assessments, instructional materials, equity target policies, preparation, and initial licensing of teachers, teacher recertification, professional development for teachers and administrators, accountability for students, teachers, schools, and administrators, and district and school capacity building and improvement (pp. 16–17). The arts established academic credibility through the Getty Foundation's support of Discipline Based Arts Education (see Eisner and the Kettering Report, 1969–1975). The Coleman report (1966) provided evidence of the failure of great society programs, thus encouraging educators to change from documenting inputs to thinking about measuring outputs. Assessment of outputs involved more sophisticated measures of learning and a clearer definition of the problem. However, defining the problem was easier than fixing it.

The editor (Richardson) of the 2013 September issue of *Phi Delta Kappan* (p. 4) suggested that it is time to stare down policymakers, as parents are unaware of the

common core state standards and those parents who do have some knowledge don't understand them.

Priorities can also be reflected in policies. Although it is recognized that in-service education is needed for most positions in the economy, a government policy nevertheless attempts to evaluate education on the basis of whether the curriculum leads to gainful employment. What would this government policy do more of, less of? It is easier to add on issues to policy than to delete. Kindergarten and early childhood education are examples of additions. Nothing is deleted. Power resides in the capacity to define what counts as knowledge—what is accepted practice, and how to study social process. Formal rules are ignored in the search for power.

Philanthropists like mayors to be in charge. Mayoral control diminishes the voice of advocacy and community groups. Foundations like changing governance as much as changing the curriculum and have supported KIPP, Harlem Children's Zone, Village Academics, ASPIRE, Green Dot, and LEARN NY.

The policy world is a world of bureaucracy, not home territory for a classroom teacher.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND POLITICS

Music education policy in the United States, if one can claim that such a policy historically exists, has stemmed from rules and practices of multiple independent organizations. Groups of teachers in the disciplines formed associations to further their specific causes and these have been influential in promotion and advocacy. Americans for the Arts, Arts Education Partnership, research centers typified by CEMREL and powerful foundations such as RAND, Rockefeller, Carnegie, Getty, Wallace, Pew, Gates, Getty, and Ford are a few such organizations where policy influence can be documented. The fuzzy line occurs when some reports refer to culture policy, some to arts policy, and still others to policies for music.

Charles Mark, writing in 1969 as a representative of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), stated that the United States had no official cultural position, either public or private. Some three decades later, a RAND study (McCarthy et al., 2005) concluded that it was not likely for the United States to have a national arts policy in the near future.

Mark argues that cultural policy was a deliberate encouragement of multiple cultural forces with a federal role restricted to assist only local, private, and individual initiatives. The size of corporate support indicates that policy is directly connected with the politics of financial support. Just three years earlier than Mark's 1969 report, the Ford Foundation provided more than $60 million to support major symphony orchestras. Failure of arts education as identified by Mark shows that the schools have failed to instill aesthetic and humanistic values, seen as a local responsibility.

INITIATIVES IMPACTING ARTS POLICY AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL BY THE NEA

The National Endowment for the Arts has not taken an active role in arts education nor have its policies produced any great art. Books by a former NEA employee, Mark Bauerlein (2009), and by Chairman Bill Ivey (2008) provide considerable data on the endowment's activities and contributions. Ivey's book focuses on policy.

Ivey expresses frustration with his political/artistic position as a bureaucrat and his efforts to promote a cultural bill of rights by the National Endowment. He feels that American heritage was poorly represented by the federal government and that the artistic life in America should be represented to the rest of the world by arts that fairly and honestly communicate America's democratic values and ideals. He states that our "scattershot cultural policy has failed to balance the public interest with the marketplace (p. xvii) and the NEA should reclaim arts and culture for the American people." On page xix he states, "How could a department of cultural affairs possibly generate a cultural system less functional, less attuned to public purposes than the one we've been handed by a century of marketplace arrogance and government indifference?" His frustration is most likely occasioned by the reliance of the arts community on non-profit foundations and industry with their bias in supporting educational and cultural ventures in the arts.

Change is difficult. Standards and school district policy are entrenched forces determined to keep things the way they are. So it is probably unrealistic to think we can build a gateway to lifelong arts engagement for all by transforming in-school arts. With the status quo firmly established in national standards, federal policy committed to math and science, and state guidelines and powerful lobbying groups prepared to trip up changes that might affect the jobs of dues-paying members, the chance to reshape arts education is nil (Ivey, 2008, p. 120). He concludes that the educational system is not geared to giving creativity, heritage, and material assets a larger role in the lives of citizens. Mandated arts courses in the schools hold little promise as they are continually under-resourced.

The Endowment changed the name Artists in the Schools to Artists in Education to provide flexibility in funding. The program, however, continues to raise the issue of whether the Endowment is in the education business. The answer differs depending upon the opinion of the chair. The Endowment did fund Arts in Schools Basic Education Grants (AISBEG) designed to help schools establish arts education programs, K–12. AISBEG has been as controversial as artists in education and is antithetical to traditional music education practices and instruction. Chairman Frank Hodsoll, who promoted curriculum development, testing, and evaluation, teacher preparation, research, and education of professional leaders, and who desired to see at least some schools move toward sequential arts education as a basic also maintained the position that the Endowment was not an education agency. Endowment policy was to support the 1994 standards based

upon recommendations of the Getty Foundation because professional artists were involved.

CURRICULUM POLICY

Entire handbooks have been written about curriculum policy in education such as *Handbook of Research on Curriculum* (Jackson, 1992) and *Handbook of Education Policy Research* (Sykes, Schneider, & Plank, 2009), both sponsored by the American Educational Research Association). Even so, curriculum policy in education is not a well-organized field of inquiry. Curriculum is the heart of teaching and learning although, as many have pointed out, there are the written curriculum, the intended curriculum, the delivered curriculum, the learned curriculum, the evaluated curriculum, and perhaps other modifications. What little research exists on music curricula indicates that district music curricula are not followed except by the curriculum committee members who wrote it. There is no evidence of a state, regional, or national curriculum despite efforts to assess learned competencies in music, and such efforts are more nearly a survey than an educational assessment. The field of music is huge; thus priorities on what objectives are essential for all must be established with core thinking. This may be impossible, especially if a curriculum is to have both depth and breadth with available resources. Without a grade-level curriculum, there is no way to assure that there are no gaps in sequential instruction and minimal duplication except for reinforcement and selected in-depth experiences. Curriculum policy can influence the content presented but has not been successful in influencing pedagogy. Music is like visual arts in not having accurate knowledge of the present. Teacher interest, knowledge, and musicianship are factors in the delivery of curriculum. Can students be taught to discriminate musical qualities in a democratic environment where they are faced with peer groups, the home, and a commercial environment?

CURRICULUM POLICY IN THE ARTS: A HISTORY

Upon retirement as executive secretary of NAfME, Charles Gary (1997) was hired by the US Department of Education to offer ideas for teaching and learning the arts. It is not clear that his experience at the national level convinced him that music or the arts have value in themselves. He begins his publication, *Transforming Ideas for Teaching and Learning the Arts*, by suggesting that students have daily instruction shaped by a curriculum with these characteristics: the arts offer the opportunity to practice decision making. Decision making requires knowledge of the elements and vocabularies with which to discuss them. Such decision making presents the opportunity to learn as much about oneself as about the subject matter. An opportunity to develop a craft while exploring originality and using analytical thinking may lead the student to new ways of solving problems through

unique challenges specifically in the arts, both mental and physical. The student is to employ modern technology that encourages imaginative use of material, enriching the experiences of students as they study literature, history, geography, foreign languages, math, or science with the major asset for education of making schools a more engaging learning environment. These suggestions are typical of those given to classroom music teachers.

The priority curriculum idea in visual arts has been to consider the child as an artist, a creator. It became clear to art educators, however, that visual arts, with almost the sole objective of creating could not be considered an academic subject (Dorn, 2005, xix). Elliot Eisner, conducting sponsored research (Kettering, a foundation established in 1927 to support scientific benefits to humanity) in the 1960s, concluded that art education should continue teaching art production but also include art history, art criticism, and aesthetics. Eisner continues to seek a balance between process and product. These broadening curriculum ideas were adopted by the Getty Foundation when it assisted in the adoption of the 1994 national standards, standards embracing all four competencies. Music, which faced similar criticism of an over-emphasis on performance, joined visual arts, dance, and theater, presenting a united front in a vigorous campaign to add the arts to the original list of academic subjects. Art education embraced critical, historical, aesthetic, and social behaviors in multicultural, interdisciplinary, environmental, and cultural domains and is basing its revised standards on creating, presenting, responding, and connecting.

Policy alternatives should be considered rather than attempting to align arts policy with policies for mathematics or science. Experience with making art or with museum education appears to change the way students think. Teachers continue to see the value of art in what it does, not what it is. With reform policies, Dorn suggests that a child is no longer thought of as an artist but as a social activist

Before most National Endowment for the Arts money was channeled to state arts councils, NEA funded 68 projects, 16 conferences, plus 52 research projects focused on cognitive research—cognition being the policy emphasis of education at least through the time of *A Nation at Risk*. The most important arts policy stems from the 1960s and continues to resonate from two NEA-funded conferences, one in visual arts and one in music. New York University's 1964 conference in visual arts resulted in the idea that art was good; it was art education that was in trouble. The hidden agenda was to bring the professional artists into art education. The comparable conference in music education was the Yale meeting hosted by musicologist Claude Palisca in 1963. With the Penn State conference in 1965, visual arts attempted to answer the criticisms as did music with the Tanglewood conference in 1967. How the criticisms were answered is informative and critical. The implementation of recommendations from Tanglewood was MENC's Project GO, comfortably described as an implementation failure. Visual Arts had the unlimited financial and policy support of the Getty, philosophical support from Harry Broudy, and the 1967 Kettering sponsored research of Elliot Eisner that art education had a cognitive component and consisted of more than creating.

POLICY PAPERS

Arts educators now had an agenda that could support educational research. Foundations scurried to support policy and research papers that broadened the agenda in arts education, similar to the Charles Gary paper mentioned earlier. A few are mentioned. *Toward Civilization*, a 1988 publication directed by Frank Hodsoll at the National Endowment for the Arts and funded by that organization, is an important policy document. The Knight Foundation supported the 2011 publication of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, *Reinvesting in Arts Education: Winning America's Future through Creative Schools* (Stevens & Lion, co-chairs). Again, policy research and analysis are ignored. The report states that the National Governors Association, the Education Commission of the States, the National Association of State Boards of Education, the SCANS Commission, and the Council of Chief State Schools Officers are using the same arguments as traditional advocates, namely, that of the National Endowment, the Arts Education Partnership, the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies, and Americans for the Arts. In 2012, the US Conference of Mayors urged school districts to use federal and state resources to provide direct instruction in the arts and to integrate the arts with other core subjects (p. 15). The report is typical of those of advocacy groups in suggesting there will be a transfer of skills to high-stakes tests and gives as an example spatial-temporal reasoning skills developed by music instruction, also motivation and engagement, habits of mind, and development of social competencies (p. 16). With leadership, foundations have provided equal, if not better, reports than government agencies. David Rockefeller's panel report, *Coming to Our Senses: The Significance of the Arts for Education* (1977), is a landmark and $300,000 study. It was supported by at least 15 other foundations and agencies including the National Endowment. It was criticized for insufficient attention to the argument that one teaches art because art itself has much to offer. A proper education was defined as the acquisition of knowledge, skills, and the power to reason; the development of critical faculties and moral judgment; the cultivation of creative potential; the promotion of self-knowledge and effective inter-action with others, little changed in the nearly 40 years since its publication. The panel identified three principles necessary. The arts had to become central to the individual's learning experience in and out of school; educators at all levels must adopt the arts as a basic component of the curriculum, and school arts programs should draw upon all resources in the community—artists, materials, the media, and the environment (p. 248). In choral music, the importance of diction in singing poses difficulties for minority students who audition for select groups. Those with even minor diction problems are almost always relegated to secondary vocal groups, which are less likely to perform the more challenging masterpieces appropriate to our musical culture (Fowler, 1988, 159–162). Present policy papers from multiple sources, stress integration of the arts into all school subjects. The emphasis of the Rockefeller report that art itself has much to offer has been lost.

The arts education partnership may be a viable organization for developing a public arts policy; however, their numerous publications have focused on non-select research, some of it fairly weak, dealing with increasing awareness of issues in the arts; education is only one focus. Their work represents implicit policy and has not addressed curricular issues that must be aligned with clearly stated policy. The organization has recently withdrawn from the consortium promoting the revised standards, an indication that the primary momentum for public arts policy is likely to begin outside of school districts. The present divide between elective and required music experiences makes public policy complex—the public and often the students think of music as an elective in and out of school and closely related to performance. At present, relationships with business and foundations often bypass the normal educational oversight of any instruction. Chicago, New York City, Los Angeles, and Boston are examples where major arts education funding in the schools is from grants and foundations.

POLICY AND NATIONAL STANDARDS

A comparison of the priorities for music and those for mathematics would be unfortunate and not because the writers of the revised standards have not done excellent work and been transparent about the process, inviting comments on each standard. The difficulty with any standard writing is that the profession welcomes almost any achievable outcome. The idea of standards promises better teaching and learning and is receiving strong support from the Business Roundtable, the National Alliance for Business, the National Governors' Association, the Education Commission of the States, and the Council of Chief State School Officers. The missing element is the federal government. The federal government is prohibited from involvement in curricular issue, and any music standards require close adherence to a progressive curriculum. With such wide support for one of the biggest policy changes since *Nation at Risk*, the Common Core was backed by $4.35 billion offered to states through President Obama's 2009 stimulus, which seemingly would be an encouragement to proceed. Without data indicating that use of a standardized core has improved instruction, one cannot counter the critics who argue that the reforms are untested and even poorly designed. Evidence indicates that teaching the core in mathematics does put an additional burden on teachers. Music education has never had consistent performance standards except in contests and festivals. Music education also does not have consistent standards for entrance or exiting teacher education. There seems to be little or no concern for incorporating Paul Woodford's democratic approach to teaching and learning and for his suggestion that students must be directed to learnings they had not envisioned when they enrolled in a music course. Symphony orchestras and chamber groups have taken the lead in educating the public to experience the excitement in contemporary music; the schools have done little to support this public policy initiative and the proposed standards do not address a competency

that would certainly require education. No one is suggesting a curriculum where instruction books can be written that are carefully aligned with specific standards and assessments. Perusal of the professional literature suggests that there is a continuing danger of music being eliminated from the school day and that a major policy effort should be made to convince the public of requiring its study for the good life. Not so. There is general public agreement that music instruction be available for all elementary school children. Policy changes, however distant, can make implementing excellent instruction more difficult and cumbersome. Costa, Garmston, and Zimmerman (2014) report that individual teacher inspections and standardized tests will not deliver the promise of quality teaching. The argument at the beginning of this chapter is that adopting policies is easy and bureaucrats feel comfortable with the process, but implementation is the important stage. When teachers reach a high level of competence, which characterizes most musicians who become teachers, these teachers will quietly reject directives and any attempts to force their teaching in a direction they consider unproductive (p. 2).

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3

The Context of Education Policy in the United States and the Intersection with Music Education Policy

ROSS RUBENSTEIN ■

INTRODUCTION

Depending on one's background and orientation, the phrase "education policy" may conjure a wide range of images: politicians, local school boards, state and federal bureaucrats, protesting interest groups, beleaguered teachers, test-taking students, and the like. For all but a handful of individuals, though, music education in unlikely to come readily to mind as a contested and critical area of education policy. As the chapters in this volume so aptly demonstrate, however, music education is a core function of education and, therefore, of education policy, though it only rarely rises to the forefront of public consciousness or debates.

In this chapter, I offer comments on the broad context of education policy in the United States and attempt to draw on the collective wisdom of the other authors in this volume to discuss how these forces may affect education policy and policymaking in the United States. I first describe the United States' federalist system and how this structure has shaped education policymaking; then I discuss the influence of this system on recent trends in US education policy. Next I focus on two broad themes I see arising from the chapters in this volume: disparities in educational opportunity and the role of educators in the policymaking process. The chapter concludes with some final thoughts.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF EDUCATION POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES

To understand the context of education policy in the United States one must appreciate the country's complex federalist system. Education policy and the processes by which it comes about were shaped more than 200 years ago in the 10th Amendment to the US Constitution, which states, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people" (US Constitution, Amendment X). The Constitution makes no explicit mention of education, thereby delegating control over education policy to the realm of the states (and the people). Though fundamental to the context of education policy in the country, this fact is not largely understood by the general public. For example, a front page *Wall Street Journal* article in 2006 claimed that the US Constitution guarantees the right to a public school education for every child in the United States, a statement since corrected (Boaz, 2006). And this author once encountered a vociferous argument that education is a basic right expressly guaranteed in the Constitution from a lawyer attending a League of Women Voters presentation on education policy. Given the outsize role education policy often plays in elections for federal offices, it is not surprising that the federal role in education policymaking would be somewhat ambiguous to the average voter.

The absence of any mention of education in the Constitution is a fact, however, and one that has had tremendous influence on the nature of education policy in the United States. One implication is that discussion of "United States education policy" is misleading—it would be better to speak of education policies and education systems in the plural. Much attention from the media and the public has focused on the increasing activism and influence of the federal government, dating back to the publication of the National Commission on Excellence in Education's *A Nation at Risk* in 1983 (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983), and accelerating since the passage of the *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001* and Race to the Top legislation in 2009. In fact, though, the roots of the growing centralization of education policy date back much farther and occurred largely out of view. Between 1940 and 1980, the number of school districts in the United States fell from more than 117,000 to fewer than 16,000, a period of dramatic consolidation that resulted in fewer, larger, and generally more bureaucratic school districts (Strang, 1987). Over the same period, the local share of total education revenue fell from 83% to 43%, while the state share increased from 17% to 47% (Snyder & Dillow, 2015). Examining the residuals in these percentage also suggests another important contextual factor. The federal share of funding over this period rose from close to zero to almost 10%—a dramatic increase, but still a relatively small piece of the overall funding pie.

While funding is not synonymous with control, it would be naïve to suggest that the two are not strongly correlated. Thus, the data from the last century indicate increasing consolidation, centralization, and a more hierarchical structure

to education policymaking and influence. It is worth placing this trend in context, though. While the United States has shifted away from the extreme decentralization of the 18th and 19th centuries, the share of funding from the central government is still among the lowest of the OECD countries (OECD, *Education Indicators at a Glance*, 2012, chart B4.3). And recent controversies over the voluntary adoption of Common Core Standards by most states notwithstanding, the United States is the rare country with no mandated national curriculum, standards, or examinations. Apart from potential violations of civil rights guaranteed in the Constitution, states are free to ignore federal education laws provided they are willing to forgo the financial carrots that come along with them, such as Utah's refusal to comply with portions of *No Child Left Behind* in the mid-2000s (Associated Press, 2005).

More recently, there has been a marked retreat from federal mandates and centralized control. Faced with growing grassroots resistance to state exams aligned with the Common Core Standards (Harris, 2015), and complaints from state education agencies over perceived federal inflexibility and a "one-size-fits-all" approach, a Republican-controlled Congress and President Barack Obama agreed in late 2015 to replace *No Child Left Behind* with the *Every Student Succeeds Act* (ESSA). While ESSA still requires states to test students in grades 3–8 and report aggregate and disaggregated results, it also provides states with "wide discretion in setting goals, figuring out just what to hold schools and districts accountable for, and deciding how to intervene in low-performing schools" (Klein, 2015). It is particularly noteworthy that ESSA was passed and signed into law during a time of divided government and extreme partisanship in Washington, and amid a contentious presidential election campaign. Reducing federal education policy mandates while increasing state authority, therefore, appears to be one of the very few policy issues with bipartisan support.

This context places the United States in stark contrast to most of the rest of the world. For example, given the strong resistance in this country to the voluntary adoption of Common Core Standards, it is difficult to imagine a scenario such as that described in Fautley's chapter in this volume in which a national inspectorate sends officials to schools to monitor compliance with national standards, or the centralized standards and curriculum of East Asian countries described in the Lai and Sung chapter. Local control of schools is a venerated tradition in the United States and may be at least partly understood by the results of public opinion polling conducted annually by the Gallup organization. When public school parents are asked to grade the school their own children attend, 70% give the school an A or B. But when asked to rate public schools nationally, only 19% of public school parents give public schools overall an A or B grade. (PDK International, 2015). This disjuncture between the abstract view of education policy and the concrete notion of day-to-day experiences suggests that while federal education policymaking tends to garner most of the headlines and a large share of the public's attention, one must look to states, school districts, and individual schools to truly understand education policy or policies in the United States.

Another ongoing, though perhaps less well known, area of policy and political dispute revolves around the governance of failing, typically urban, school districts. The traditional US education governance structure centers on elected school boards for each district whose members set broad policy parameters, hire and fire superintendents, and—in theory—leave day-to-day management of the school district to professional educators and staff. Concerns among many policymakers, advocacy organizations, and parents that large city school districts are prone to dysfunctional politics, sclerotic bureaucracies, and rampant corruption have led to several types of governance reforms in recent decades. In large city school districts such as New York City, Chicago, and Washington, DC, elected school boards were replaced by boards largely or completely appointed by mayors. In other districts, such as Jersey City and Newark, New Jersey, state education agencies have responded to low performance and corruption by taking direct control of district operations and appointing the superintendent, leaving school boards with limited governance authority. More recently, the state of Tennessee began taking over individual schools (rather than entire districts) by placing the lowest performing high-poverty schools in a state-run "Achievement School District" outside their home school districts (Zimmer et al., 2015). A further variant of governance reform—not mutually exclusive with the previously described initiatives—outsources management of local schools to a variety of third-party providers such as non-profits and charter school operators in a "portfolio strategy," while providing schools with substantially more autonomy than is found in a traditionally structured school district (Hill & Campbell, 2011).

Perhaps not surprisingly, the evidence on the effectiveness of these reforms has been decidedly mixed, though some positive indicators have emerged. Wong and Shen (2013), for example, found that five of 11 districts they examined with mayoral control made "substantial progress" on measures of student achievement. In perhaps the most high-profile example of the portfolio strategy, the state of Louisiana converted all schools in New Orleans to charter schools as part of the post–Hurricane Katrina recovery. Early studies of the reform by the Education Research Alliance of New Orleans found substantial gains in student test scores, graduation rates, and college attendance. The researchers note, though, that the generalizability of these results may be limited due to the unique character of New Orleans and the fact that the historically low-performing district had "nowhere to go but up" (Harris, 2015).

DISPARITIES IN EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

A recurring theme in this volume, and a critical area of policy concern in the United States, relates to disparities—in resources, opportunities, and outcomes. Owing again to the complex and decentralized federalist system operating in this country, these disparities play out at multiple levels. Because resources are a tangible and measurable—though certainly not comprehensive—proxy for educational opportunity, it is worth noting the many ways in which resource disparities

manifest through the country's–educational systems. While average current expenditure figure per pupil in 2011–12 was $10,677, nationally, state-level averages ranged from $17,982 in New Jersey to $6,441 in Utah, suggesting that educational opportunities are, at least in part, a function of a child's state of residence (Snyder & Dillow, 2015). These state-to-state differences are dwarfed, however, by district-to-district spending differences within many states. In New York State, for example, per-pupil spending varies from more than $30,000 in a handful of districts to less than $12,000 in others (Citizen's Budget Commission, 2010). At the same time, it is worth noting that even the lowest-spending districts in New York State spend almost twice the average in Utah. Cost differences can explain some, but not nearly all, of these differences (Duncombe & Yinger, 2011). While these variations are well known, and intrastate disparities have been the subject of hundreds of lawsuits over the past decades, a less-visible and more recently discovered phenomenon concerns intradistrict, school-to-school resource differences in large and midsize school districts, often caused by the sorting of teachers across schools. Because more experienced teachers are often able to select assignments in the most desirable schools, schools with the highest concentrations of poverty and students at risk are often staffed by disproportionate numbers of inexperienced teachers (see, for example, Clotfelter et al. 2006; Rubenstein et al., 2007). Thus, the quality and level of resources available to a student may be a function of the state, district, and specific school he or she attends.

As demonstrated by the authors in this volume, persistent inequality and inequity is a common feature not only of school systems generally but also in relation to music education more specifically. As Myers writes in this volume: "Many community music teachers and leaders have learned that access also involves location." And, as noted by Karlsen (2016) regarding Norway, "Since approximately 97 percent of Norwegian students attend state schools . . . most of the student population will receive the similar amount of music teaching hours; however the conditions under which these are delivered may vary greatly and so may the music teachers' competence." Thus, these within-school differences introduce yet another layer of potential inequality of access.

How might persistent inequity be addressed through policy? Unfortunately, the United States, owing both to its high level of decentralization and general lack of success in addressing inequities through legislation and policy, may not offer the most instructive case study. Much activity has centered on the courts. Federal courts were largely closed off as a venue for litigation after the *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez* (1971) lawsuit in which the US Supreme Court ruled that education is not a fundamental constitutional right and that the state of Texas had a legitimate interest in promoting local control of education, despite the large funding inequities that resulted (Koski & Hahnel, 2015).

While the federal Constitution provides no mention of education, each state constitution does include an education clause, though the language is typically brief and the guarantees embedded in the clauses vague. Georgia's constitution, for example, states that "The provision of an adequate public education for the citizens shall be a primary obligation of the State of Georgia" (Ga. Const., art. VIII,

§ 1, para. (1)) while the New York State constitution requires the state legislature to "provide for the maintenance and support of a system of free common schools, wherein all the children of this state may be educated" (N.Y. Const., art. XI, § 1). State courts have, therefore, been largely left to decide how to operationalize these phrases and determine whether the state is meeting its constitutional obligation. Evidence suggests that successful challenges to state funding formulas have significantly reduced within-state inequality of resources. Perhaps as important, the research suggests that successful litigation also led to increases in spending, particularly at the lower end of the distribution—thus leveling up rather than leveling down education resources (Corcoran & Evans, 2015).

It is important to note, though, that inequity and inequality are not synonymous. While inequality is readily measurable and quantifiable, equity is typically in the eye of the beholder and may suggest intentionally unequal access to resources—to overcome deprivation or cost differences, or to remedy past wrongs. And increasingly, litigation has focused not on the *equity* of resources but on the *adequacy* or sufficiency of resources. This emphasis, of course, raises the fundamental question "sufficient for what?" In the case of music education specifically, it may suggest that as long as music education and arts education remain outside discussions of core curriculum and standards, they may also remain peripheral to debates over equitable and adequate school resources. Thus, standards present a possible double-edged sword for music education—as a source of contention and resistance, but also a possible avenue to improved public support.

POLICY RESEARCH AND THE ROLE OF EDUCATORS

A recurring theme in this volume is the relationship of educators to policy. More specifically, policy is often seen as something "done to" educators, a force they must resist and subvert. Undoubtedly, it is true that education policies often reflect the agendas and worldviews of federal, state, and even local politicians, government officials, powerful foundations, and other well-funded interest groups—including teachers' unions—in a version of the classic "iron triangle" described by Allison and Zelikow (1999), Rourke (1984), and many others.

This conception of policy seems to place educators themselves on the outside looking in, as passive receptors of education policy. As Figuereido writes, in this volume, "It is necessary to build a new agenda for education professionals, considering the participation in the construction, implementation, and evaluation of policies as essential components in the education arena." But can educators play a more proactive role in the policymaking process? Can and should educators more actively understand the dynamics of policymaking and learn to speak the language of policy?

I would argue that successful engagement in policy debates requires a broad understanding of the policy landscape. In particular, public policy is fundamentally about trade-offs. No policy exists in a vacuum. Viewed as a singular decision point, most citizens support increased funding for elementary and secondary

education, just as they support additional funding for early childhood education, higher education, health care, public safety, infrastructure, national defense, parks and recreation—and lower taxes at the same time. Economics has often been described as the study of meeting unlimited wants with limited resources, and the same could be said of public budgeting and public policy more generally. Thus, a clear understanding and recognition of these policy trade-offs can be a powerful tool in policy debates.

The role of trade-offs may be particularly salient in the case of music education. Advocates generally recognize the difficulty in generating political and public support for public education, particularly in the face of competition for resources from other public policy crises and widespread support for tax relief. Within public education, the standards and accountability movement, as described in several chapters in this volume, has been a particularly powerful force, as have the state tax revolts dating back to the 1970s that resulted in tax and expenditure limitations in numerous states curtailing the growth in revenues for education (Ballal & Rubenstein, 2009). Given that accountability policies tend to focus primarily on literacy and numeracy, with some attention to science and social studies, music education faces the added pressure of competing for attention both outside and within the world of education policy. While often viewed as a "luxury," particularly in poor states and school districts, Colwell points out in this volume that "at least 45 states require that arts be offered and 26 states require an arts course for high school graduation." These requirements suggest that arts education has already established at least a partial foothold in policy debates. The challenge remains, though, to make the case for music education while acknowledging, recognizing, and addressing the short-run trade-offs that greater investment in music education inevitably entails.

Colwell, in this volume, also raises another important issue regarding the role of educators in policymaking. He cites a 2015 article in the *Phi Delta Kappan* by Rick Hess "arguing that teachers are often unsure how they can effectively change schools, systems, and policy and are skeptical that anyone will actually listen to them (p. 60)." In his earlier book *Spinning Wheels: The Politics of Urban School Reform*, Hess raised another important dynamic affecting teachers' roles in the policymaking process, what he calls "policy churn" (1998). As Hess points out, the average tenure of urban school superintendents is brief, typically three years or fewer. New superintendents are rarely hired on promises to continue the work of their predecessors and give reforms time to work. Instead, they typically come to their new positions with a menu of proposed reform initiatives, often drawing on "what worked" in their previous districts. The constant turnover of administrators and reforms ("churn") results in weak or nonexistent implementation, as teachers and school staff learn not invest heavily in reforms that won't last long, and leave researchers with little evidence to understand which reforms might be successful, for whom, and in which contexts.

In such a climate, educators may be well served on occasion to raise their voices in support of the status quo and to support continuation of promising reforms in the face of leadership turnover. Supporting the status quo is often a politically

fraught and unpopular position in a climate of policy churn and apparent low performance. Meaningful reform, however, takes time. Educators, by virtue of their positions working with students on a daily basis, may be the first to see the signs of promising change. Thus, both arts educators and other educators have a special responsibility to not only resist policies that appear ineffective or counterproductive, but also to support the continuation of promising policy initiatives in the face of the constant clamor for change and reform.

Certainly, exceptions to Hess's portrayal of urban school districts exist. In Syracuse, New York, for example, an ambitious district-wide reform effort called Say Yes to Education began in 2008, offering a wide range of wrap-around services and college scholarships for students in the city school district. The wrap-around services include health clinics, legal clinics, social workers, college counseling, and after-school and summer programs that often incorporate art and music. The scholarship component offers full-tuition, last-dollar scholarships to any public college or university in New York state to any Syracuse graduate, and free tuition at a range of prestigious private institutions for students with family incomes below $75,000 (see Maeroff, 2013 for more details). When the district superintendent announced his retirement several years into the program, the school board and city mayor made it clear that candidates for the superintendent position should pledge to continue the program. As of this writing, the program is in its eighth year in the district. While the jury is still out regarding the program's effects, it stands as one of the relatively rare reform initiatives to withstand the impatience of many politicians and stakeholders who expect immediate results.

Another important aspect of the Say Yes experience is that researchers will have sufficient time to analyze the program's effects. This raises another important potential avenue for educators to influence the policy process—support for rigorous research. The continued and growing emphasis on "evidence-based practice" in education (see, for example, the US Department of Education's What Works Clearinghouse (http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/) suggests that research may be increasingly influential in the policymaking process. While government and foundation support has, in recent years, generally favored the use of randomized experiments (Whitehurst, 2012), research utilization in the policymaking process is a complex, often iterative and interactive process (Weiss, 1979). Anyone with a passing familiarity with political rhetoric is certainly aware that a powerful and personal story can often galvanize public and policymaker interest more efficiently than the results of randomized trials. Educators are particularly well positioned to provide such stories and examples, which supply an important complement to, but certainly not a substitute for, rigorous research.

Teachers and other educators have several avenues to support research. First, educators can participate in the research itself in a variety of ways. In some cases they may be the subjects of the research, offering their valuable time to researchers hoping to study their experiences. In others they may assist researchers by providing access, data, and insights. In still others they may be active participants, helping to generate hypotheses, carry out research designs, analyze results, and implement changes based on the findings. Given the plethora of researchers

seeking access to schools and classrooms, it is understandable if educators feel overwhelmed with the demands on their time and skeptical of the relevance or utility of the research. Perhaps there are fewer requests for music educators to participate in research, which has tended to focus on subjects that regularly produce test score data more readily amenable to study. Regardless, helping to produce valid research offers tremendous opportunities for educators to influence policy.

Second, educators can help to stress the importance of research to their colleagues and to policymakers. As Myers (this volume) argues "Were university researchers, arts and arts education leaders, and the professional music education community to come together urging political support for worthy research about how music is generative in community well-being rather than merely supportive of other avenues, policymakers might be swayed to focus interests and funding on more substantive questions and issues than those that frequently appear in nearly predictable and vague language." The trade-offs described earlier in this chapter suggest that research funding often competes against direct services for students, but building requirements for evaluation into program funding can lessen "either/or" decision making.

Unfortunately, research tends to suffer from an image problem outside the academy. The Carnegie Corporation's Stephen Del Rosso (2014) states that "academic writing has been seen, especially of late, as providing increasingly precise answers to increasingly irrelevant questions." Del Rosso is speaking primarily about international relations scholarship, but does the same characterization apply to education research? As an admittedly biased observer, I would argue that while education research sometimes falls into this trap, the questions pursued by education researchers are rarely irrelevant. It is important, in this context, not to mistake "narrow" for irrelevant. For example, randomized control trials by their nature seek to isolate a single "active ingredient" and identify its effects, while recognizing that results may differ when policies are scaled up and introduced in the messy, uncontrolled larger world. California's experience with class size reduction in the 1990s, which resulted in large increases in the share of uncertified and inexperienced teachers in high-poverty schools (Jepsen and Rivkin, 2009), is just one such example. It is undoubtedly true that policymakers typically favor clear, actionable—if sometimes simplistic—research findings over philosophical debates about the nature and purposes of education. But rather than cede the advantage to imprecise research addressing relevant questions, researchers and educators alike must work to ensure that research that is both precise and relevant has a seat at the table in policy debates.

I am perhaps more optimistic than most that educators can play a larger role in the policy discourse, though it is by no means inevitable. The challenges may be particularly large for music educators, who must first work to first place music education squarely on the policy agenda as well as work to influence policy itself. At the same time, music educators may have a unique opportunity to help shape the discourse before it becomes overly politicized and each side retreats to its entrenched positions, as has happened in the United States with issues ranging from standards and testing, to teacher evaluation, to school choice. This volume, and

the work of its authors and editors, suggests that, while the United States may be well behind much of the world in thinking about and acting on music education policy, an important window for debate and action may be opening. How these opportunities shape the future of music education policy presents an interesting avenue for further research.

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4

Policy and Research Endeavors

KATHERINE ZESERSON AND GRAHAM WELCH ■

PINNING DOWN THE SPINNING TRIANGLE ...

In the course of writing this essay, the authors sought perspectives from a number of key people instrumental in the development of music education policy and practice in England, Ireland, and Brazil over the last decade or more. The political and economic circumstances in which each has operated are in many ways dissimilar, their roles and their stories are different, and their views on the success or otherwise of their endeavors also vary. However, three common points recur:

- Each is cautious as to how far systematic *research* really influenced the development of government or institutional policies in their situations; actions such as evaluations, feasibility reports, inspections, and other reviews are usually commissioned specifically to examine the impact of a particular policy initiative whereas the former, that is, independent research-focused studies, are often more indirect in their effect and, as argued by Nisbet (1974), can be more about "sensitizing" policymakers to problems rather than solving them.
- The key individuals agreed in having experienced recurring difficulties when trying to take action to influence policy on the basis of research evidence—or evaluative material—that is not aligned with the dominant political mood of the day.
- They are eager to see stronger connections between researchers/research, practitioners, and policymakers because they recognize that where those stronger connections exist, change is more sustainable and outcomes are better.

In each of the case studies in this chapter, it can be argued that policy-led structural or practice innovation, or practice-led policy or structural change have been achieved. Nevertheless, the degree to which research data have played a part in those achievements varies, as does the nature of the research material itself. Pollard (2015), in reviewing current research practice, observes that there is a growing sense that research users, such as policymakers, appear to prefer the terms "research-informed" and "evidence-informed"—or even "research-augmented" (Bennett, 2015)—to signify the often non-linear relationship between research and policy and to allow them flexibility in their interpretation and application of evidence for their own uses. This is understandable, given that the sense of "audience(s)" for the original research may not have accounted for the subsequent perspective of particular policymakers who decide to interpret research data for their own purposes. It is important, therefore, as Hammersley (2013, p. 54) argues, to remember that "what counts as evidence, and as good evidence, is always a functional or contextual matter: it is relative to the questions or problems being addressed. It cannot be determined in the abstract." What seems clear is that in each of the cases reported in this chapter, there is an iterative cycle in play—research, feasibility, or evaluative evidence is gathered, it is analyzed with varying degrees of objectivity, and that analysis subsequently informs aspects of the decision-making process (cf. Howlett et al., 2009, on the nature of policy cycles). It may be that a closer partnership between researchers and policymakers enhances the possibility that any "gap" or "mismatch" in evidence framing and interpretation is reduced. However, there is also the possibility that such close partnership may impede researchers from gaining an appropriate conceptual distance from policymakers.

For example, music education policy in England has changed significantly over the last 20 years, and it is possible to identify a series of reports and research papers that have been deployed to both drive and underpin those changes, such as the recommendation for the creation of regional "music education hubs" across the country in 2006 (DfES, 2006) that was implemented subsequently as part of a unique "National Plan for Music Education" in England in 2011 (DfE, 2011). However, research itself is clearly not enough. Among other factors, timing appears to be critical. The story behind the development of the National Plan for Music Education (DfE, 2011), for example, is peppered with moments of considerable skill and judgment on the part of colleagues in a variety of roles, seeming to know almost down to which day of the week and at which moment to present which piece of evidence to which civil servant or politician in order to advance a sector-wide strategic mission to increase access and quality of music education for all children and young people.

The behaviors of people at all levels are also critical. The implementation of policy change and the transmutation of research knowledge into practice are challenging and difficult to map. Opinions are widely and sometimes hotly divided as to whether those English music education policy changes underpinned by the National Plan for Music Education are being realized on the ground with the consistency and quality to be expected of a "National Plan," with evidence from recent

survey reports suggesting "not yet" (Derbyshire, 2015; Ofsted, 2012; Zeserson et al., 2014). Furthermore, there is evidence that the classroom and community practitioners on whose shoulders the responsibility for realizing change rests are often largely isolated from direct contact with research and researchers, or with useful evidence derived from practice contexts (cf. Johnson, 2015; Ofsted, 2012; Welch & Henley, 2014). For example, the Department for Education in England published (2013) a brief monograph of research priorities and questions concerning teachers and teaching, claiming that "Robust evidence needs to inform policy and practice in order to deliver effective education and children's services" (p. 3) and claiming that all teachers need to make effective use of research evidence. Nevertheless, this begs the question of "whose" robust evidence, given that researchers are not necessarily characterized as exhibiting a single voice and, in particular, one of the characteristics of education policy is that it is a contested topic area. Hammersley (2013) suggests that evidence-based policy is a convenient slogan whose rhetorical effect is to discredit opposition to a particular policy initiative.

It is as if this spinning triangle—research, policy, practice—slows down for brief moments, enabling connections to be made that then lead to significant innovations, but without an easily predictable, systemic, or observable algorithm in play. Why, for example, does a UK government commission action research into the development of whole class ensemble teaching in primary schools (Ofsted, 2004) and then decline to implement any statutory mechanism for integrating those effective models into the music curriculum? Why does a state in Brazil fund sustained extracurricular music education for more than 50,000 children, but without putting a systematic research or qualitative evaluation framework in place to assess practice in relation to outcomes? Why hasn't the forest-weight of evaluation studies and reports produced by every philanthropic or Arts Council funded music participation program in England had a more demonstrable impact on music education practice?

Of course at one level, the answers to all these questions can be seen to have the same three roots—political expediency, financial leverage, and systemic inertia. What can practitioners, managers, researchers, and music education leaders do to make more systematic, consistent, and fruitful connections between policy, research, and practice? Who's who in this matrix? How does the school-based or community musician develop as a researcher, bringing self-generated and external evidence to bear on practice development, and then how does (should) the manager or leader bring that developed practice to have influence on institutional, local, regional, or national policy?

It seems likely that our sense of agency is all. Teachers who feel powerless are less effective in supporting students to learn; managers and leaders who feel powerless are less effective in motivating teachers; students who feel powerless have no motivation to learn (cf. Zimmerman et al., 1992). Harnessing the power of evidence to shape policy and practice can both build our sense of agency and is dependent on it. Or to put it another way—each time children experience their capacity to change the world around them as they intended, they are more empowered to do it again. This works on the micro and the macro level.

The establishment of a National Singing Program in England, "Sing Up," supported by the Ministries of Education and Culture and funded by two successive UK governments for five years from 2007 to 2012 at a cost of £44 million (US $62 million), now operating as an independent company, was based on a rich mix of institutional leadership, empowerment, and support for visionary individual practitioners, highly skillful management of the political context, effective utilization of research evidence and feedback, a public relations campaign, and the promotion and celebration of singing in specific classrooms, led by specific teachers, working with and in support of others, over and over again (CUREE, 2012; Welch et al., 2010).

The catalyzing factors that unlocked the unprecedentedly high levels of government investment in Sing Up were generated by a combination of targeted lobbying by high-profile figures in music (e.g., composer Howard Goodall), passion from politicians with specific childhood associations with singing or music (e.g., Lord Andrew Adonis, then minister of state for schools and David Miliband then secretary of state for education), structured cross-sectoral advocacy and campaigning through the Music Manifesto, founded by David Miliband, as well as quiet cultivation of civil servants through both personal and professional networks. Very little research evidence of the benefits of high-quality singing in schools was deployed in this advocacy process, which was underpinned more by vivid anecdote, authentic craft knowledge, and appeal to an ethical and moral proposition about social inclusion.

Once the money was on the table and consortia of organizations were invited to bid for it, the role of research became more prominent, with different consortia looking to make their own particular case to lead the program. The successful consortium (a triumvirate of Youth Music, Faber Music, and Sage Gateshead, with campaigning agency AMVBBDO as partners) placed the aspiration to generate research outputs inside their proposition for the program. This meant that throughout the first four highly funded years, the Institute of Education in London was able to use the program to carry out a significant longitudinal study on children's singing behavior and progress (Welch et al., 2012; Welch et al., 2014). In addition, the Centre for the Use of Research and Evidence in Education (CUREE) produced a comprehensive evaluation of the whole program mapping dominant themes and phenomena, enabling robust conclusions to be drawn about various key issues, including teacher development needs, best models to support long-term singing development in schools, and more (CUREE, 2012).

In this way, the research evidence generated through the programe enabled its architects to help ensure that both the National Plan for Music Education and—crucially, the Arts Council England funding guidelines for Music Education Hubs (MEHs) which shortly followed—included a commitment to and requirement for MEHs to develop singing strategies for their areas, and to ensure that all children in schools in their regions are singing regularly and well.

In this story we can see a dynamic, fluid iteration between passion, politics, evidence, craft knowledge, ethics, values, context, and time. It's not possible to map

the journey of policy and practice change and the role of research in a linear way, because it is just not a linear process—the evidence of our experience tells us that.

So how to pin down the spinning triangle? In this next section, we articulate three case studies and a work-in-progress (presented via webtext) from which we extrapolate some patterns and principles that we believe could help build more consistently integrated and fluidly iterative relationships between music education policy, research and practice, at both individual and institutional levels.

CASE STUDY (1)—WHOLE CLASS ENSEMBLE TEACHING (ENGLAND)

One of the most significant paradigm shifts in English music education practice in the last 20 years has been the focus in primary schools on Whole Class Ensemble Teaching (WCET). Initially called Wider Opportunities, this inclusive approach to practical music learning was developed in response to the then Secretary of State for Education David Blunkett's pledge in the Department for Education and Skills' (2001) Schools White Paper: "Over time, every primary school child that wants to should have the opportunity of learning a musical instrument" (DfES, 2001). This commitment emerged from the confluence of several politically charged processes. From the music education point of view, one of the most challenging legacies of 18 years of the previous Conservative government's education policy (1979–1997) was the destabilization and partial deconstruction of the network of local (education) authority (LA/LEA) Music Services, which had existed in some form or other since the 1960s (Cleave, 1989), each with a responsibility for the provision of extra-curricular music education in a particular geographical area. By 1997, free individual instrumental tuition was being squeezed out of most areas of the country by a mixture of local authority funding cuts and increased devolution of budgets to schools. A Times Educational Supplement (TES) survey of 692 primary schools reported that one in five was "cutting down on music teaching as a direct result of Government policy" (Lepkowska, 1998). The TES led its report with the statement, "The musical life of British children is at risk" and began a "Music for the Millennium" campaign. The conductor Sir Simon Rattle's high-profile Channel 4 television documentary *Don't Stop the Music* (Rattle, 1998) increased the public pressure by calling for a renewed financial commitment to school music-making.

Furthermore, in some parts of the country, better-off families' ability to pay for music lessons was driving a somewhat patchy take-up of opportunities. In some local authority areas, group instrumental teaching had begun to emerge as a strategy for sustaining opportunities in this constrained (political and financial) environment. Significant lobbying pressure was brought to bear on the new government (elected 1997) from heads of Local Authority Music Services, educationalists, music teachers, and high-profile musicians and composers, calling for re-investment in LEA Music Services to ensure fairer access for all children to high-quality music learning opportunities.

Against this background, in 1999 the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) in England introduced the Music Standards Fund to protect and expand LEA Music Services, with an initial five-year funding pledge. The same year saw the establishment of the National Foundation for Youth Music (now more commonly known as Youth Music), distributing an annual grant of £10 million from the National Lottery, which spearheaded a gentle revolution in music participation for children and young people, "providing music-making opportunities for children and young people up to the age of 18 who mainly live in areas of social and economic need, targeting those who would otherwise not have the opportunity" (Davies & Stephens, 2004). This investment in community music focused on empowerment, inclusion, and learning in groups. Specifically, in relation to WCET, Youth Music's investment enabled a new generation of practitioners to enter the field with a focus on group music-making, dialogic learning, and popular/vernacular musics (Davies and Stephens 2004).

The nature of the evidence that underpinned the WCET policy initiative is cumulative across the previous 50 years and multifaceted. For example, post–World War II Britain had seen a growing interest in orchestral music, derived in particular from shared communal experience across social classes of wartime music provision (cf. Rainbow & Cox, 2006). The following decades saw the growth of new orchestras and sustained interest in instrumental music-making in schools, but partial actual provision. Limited access was due to insufficient numbers of specialist teachers and instruments, as well as a school examination system that favored non-music subjects (shades of the current situation in the UK); the exceptions were specific locations nationally where targeted local funding for music was made available, such as for local music ensembles drawn from across schools (Adams, McQueen, & Hallam, 2010). Although clear disparities were evidenced between the primary and secondary school sectors (few opportunities in the former, more in the latter), the actual proportion of the total pupil population in England who were receiving *individual* instrumental instruction at any one moment in the period from the 1950s through to the 1990s was small, varying nationally between 7% and 8% overall—as evidenced in a wide range of studies (see Purves, 2016, for a review).

And 1999 was an important year for arts in education more widely; alongside its significant new commitments to music education, the recently elected Labour Government established the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education (NAACE) chaired by Ken Robinson. The commission's report, *All Our Futures* (NAACE, 1999), laid the foundations for a decade of funded innovation in arts and culture in education, including the establishment of Creative Partnerships. This continues to have an impact today on thinking and practice concerning the nature and value of creativity in education, within and beyond the UK (e.g., Leong et al., 2012; Odena, 2012).

David Blunkett's 2001 instrument learning pledge was welcome—but challenging. A National Working Group was established to support the development of new models. This included Ofsted (then the Office for Standards in Education, now the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills) and

the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) among its members, and in 2003 the DfES and Youth Music between them commissioned 13 pilot programs designed to research and articulate best practice for delivering group instrumental learning.

The Ofsted/QCA report *Tuning In* reporting on 12 of these programs was published in 2004 with a DVD (Ofsted, 2004) and distributed to all English primary schools. It gave practical information about how to provide successful music programs, how these linked with the National Curriculum for music, and how they related to beyond school and/or out-of-classroom ensembles. Also in 2004, Youth Music published *Creating Chances for Making Music* (Davies, 2004), including considerable detail on delivery strategies, alongside research references and other resources to support effective replication/adaptation.

The pilots used a partnership delivery model, pairing a classroom teacher with a visitor—a Music Service teacher or freelance musician. The instruments being learned varied, as did the structure and teaching strategies. However, the findings from both reports were strongly positive. Over 70% of children who had participated for one year wanted to continue learning (DfES, 2006), and the pilots yielded a rich harvest of effective practice advice and resources. Using this material, in 2006 the DfES published *Instrumental and Vocal Tuition at KS2* [ages 7–11y]—*Making It Work in Your School*, which brought together all the findings and references to date into one guidance document for primary [elementary] schools.

The specific lessons extrapolated from the findings in both reports clustered around:

- The central importance of the partnership between class teacher and visiting musician and the need for time and energy to nurture that relationship.
- Ensuring that *all* music leaders—class teacher and visitor—had a secure pedagogy for this way of working and were supported by engaging, relevant Continuing Professional Development.
- Being clear about the holistic educational and musical purposes of the activities—not just focusing on technical instruction on an instrument.
- Involving all key stakeholders in planning, including the school leaders, class teacher, and visiting musician.

So far, so good. A clear focus was emerging on improving quality and reach of instrumental learning opportunities in the English classroom, supported by government, underpinned by research and evidence, and supported by case studies. What is less clear, however, is whether and/or how the findings and resources from that research found their way to the classroom. Several reports suggested, for example, that—at any one time—only 10% of children in Local Authority schools were actually learning instruments (cf. Purves, 2016).

In 2009, the Federation of Music Services commissioned Ann Bamford and Paul Glinkowski to carry out an evaluation of the whole class instrumental program Wider Opportunities. It was a febrile moment in the evolution of the English music

education infrastructure: The alignment between the Departments of Education and Culture, the music education community, and the university research community that had underpinned the National Plan for Music Education under the Labour Government was in danger of disintegrating for purely ideological reasons. Concerted lobbying by sector leaders and—again—high-profile figures in music succeeded in convincing the incoming Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition that music education should and could be seen as a non-party political issue, and (once again) individual politicians' personal passions for music and their own memories helped to ensure that the forward momentum of the Music Manifesto and the National Plan were taken forward under the new regime, albeit with some changes of flavor and a bit less money.

In that context, Bamford and Glinkowski's (2010) research was particularly important in helping to make the case for embedding whole class/large group instrumental teaching into the framework for new Music Education Hubs. The researchers found evidence of positive impact and engagement in their research sites—as clearly evidenced in the title of the report—and made precise recommendations about the conditions necessary to maximize that potential across the country. Their report also showed that the well-disseminated insights from 2004 and 2006 had not been as well embedded throughout the implementation of programs as all might have hoped. This points us to a finding that recurred throughout the Inspiring Music for All (Zeserson et al., 2014) review: there seems to be a structural disconnect (in the English context at least) between research evidence, initial teacher education, and subsequent CPD, and practice innovation.

In 2013, the delivery of what was re-named Whole Class Ensemble Teaching was made a core condition of grant funding from the Arts Council England (acting on behalf of the DfE) to the new Music Education Hubs, which incorporated Local Authority Music Services. Hubs were conceived as networked, diverse providers working together to supply geographic areas and groups of schools, including (and in most cases led) by Local Authority Music Services. Music Mark (the body that subsumed the Federation of Music Services in February 2013) has recently (2016) commissioned a further evaluation to see how the commitment to WCET is shaping up in the new environment, but anecdotal evidence from the field would suggest that the resources—financial and human—to implement the Bamford and Glinkowski recommendations in most cases have not been available, suggesting that delivery is unlikely to be achieving potential impacts consistently across the country. Notably, the new National Curriculum for Music published in 2013 (DFE, 2013) for enactment in 2014, set out brief expectations for children's instrumental learning as to "have the opportunity to learn a musical instrument," but makes no reference to WCET as a means, nor even to the Music Education Hubs as a mechanism. In other words, notwithstanding several policy initiatives by different governments over time to support widespread instrumental learning by children and young people, there continues to be a mismatch between the ideal and the reality on the ground.

CASE STUDY (2)—MUSIC GENERATION IRELAND

Music Generation Ireland (www.musicgeneration.ie) (MGI) is Ireland's National Music Education Program. The story of MGI has its roots in the 1985 Arts Council Ireland report *Deaf Ears?—A Report on the Provision of Music Education in Irish Schools* in which the author asserted that "the young Irish person has the worst of all European musical 'worlds.'" In response to this criticism, the Dublin Institute of Technology convened and sponsored the Music Education National Debate (MEND) initiative. The public phase of that project lasted from February 1994 until November 1996:

> MEND took the form of a one-day Heralding Conference (October 1994), three weekend-long Conferences (including a central fully international one) representing carefully phased inputs (Phase I—April 1995; Phase II—November 1995; Phase III—November 1996). A half-day special seminar dealing with Irish Traditional Music was held as a pendant to Phase I in May 1995. The Music Education National Forum was established during Phase III in November 1996. There were, in all, 34 invited scholarly presentations including 14 from abroad, and 33 debates. The attendance at MEND (some 1500 recorded attendances over all the phases) was representative of the whole constituency of music education interests in Ireland.
>
> —Heneghan, *2002, p. 16*

Before we consider the legacy and impact of MEND, it is worth pausing to note the distinctive participatory character of the process. From the title through to the structured discursive process, this consultative approach built up a layered and consensual map of the needs and opportunities in the Irish music education landscape that underpinned the policy and investment actions that followed. This methodology brought together anecdotal material and quantitative evidence, creating a richly textured picture of what was happening across the country, how it sat within a wider international landscape, and what might be the routes forward to a more inclusive and comprehensive range of music learning opportunities. The broad range of contributors encompassed researchers, educators, cultural policymakers, and music practitioners, ensuring that the resulting recommendations and outputs would be truly representative and nuanced.

Following from the outputs of this major research initiative, Music Network (established in 1986 by Arts Council Ireland) was commissioned by the minister for the arts to carry out a feasibility study into a Local Authority-based partnership model for delivering "performance music education" (Music Network, 2003). This research took two years to complete and generated a rigorous and visionary document that recommended the following to the Irish Arts and Education ministries:

> A project where (those two departments) can find common cause: the establishment over time of a national system of Local Music Education Services that would enrich the lives of communities up and down the country. . . . [A] service that could transform the musical, cultural and community life of towns and townlands throughout the country. . . . Whole regions of Ireland lack appropriate provision and hundreds of thousands of citizens are thereby culturally deprived. This report rests firmly on the principle of equality of access for all citizens, complementing the right of an individual to realize his or her full human potential, including the potential for development musically. In structural terms the report offers the kind of "joined-up" thinking which is appropriate to lifelong learning and to public service efficiency.
>
> —Music Network, *2003, p. 1*

The report was received positively by the government, and in 2005, the Irish Department of Education and Science awarded €100,000 per annum for five years in the first instance to pilot schemes in County Donegal and City of Dublin. In 2007, Music Network established a Music Education Working Group, funded by the Arts Council Ireland, to raise awareness of the value of music education. From 2006 to 2008 Arts Council Ireland co-funded a research partnership between St. Patrick's College and three Local Authorities to investigate the potential role for Local Authorities to work with the wider music sector to develop provision of music education. The research report *Knowing the Score* (Kenny, 2009) made a series of detailed, practical recommendations, including sketching out the concept of the Music Education Partnerships. This development of structural models and innovative partnerships was taking place as Ireland's economy began to collapse after the heady years of the Celtic Tiger. The vision for local music education partnerships—bringing together large and small music organizations at a local level with the County VECs (Vocational Education Committees)—was well articulated and underpinned by some evidenced findings; two government ministries were in support of the vision and had invested in its development, but the economic model was difficult to conceptualize in Ireland's tricky economic circumstances. Enter U2:

> We had been looking for some time for a way to get involved in an initiative in music education in Ireland. After talking to various people in Ireland about what to do, we came to the conclusion that the Music Network scheme is really well thought out and that we, in partnership with the Ireland Funds, should just get behind it. The Edge (www.musicgeneration.ie)

In July 2009, U2 and The Ireland Funds pledged €7 million to Music Network to allow the roll out of the report's recommendations on a phased basis between 2010 and 2015, and in January 2011, Music Network established Music Generation as an independent subsidiary company to lead Ireland's National Music Education Program.

Music Generation Ireland (MGI) was developed as a clear response to identified need, based on a carefully researched model. The volume and depth of the underpinning research described above both arose from and pointed up the lack of joined-up thinking around performance music education and, specifically, the lack of clear, strategic policy and appropriate investment to address the inconsistent "patchwork" of provision for performance music education uncovered by the researchers.

In 1989 (the beginning of the journey described here), sustained performance music education (i.e., beyond one-off projects) was falling between the remits of two government departments—arts and education—and being addressed by neither. The partnership between Arts Council Ireland, independent education researchers, musicians, and music organizations generated a forward momentum that was sustained over a 25-year period, with leadership passing at different stages between the stakeholders.

To date (2016), MGI has established 12 Music Education Partnerships (MEPs), working with a total of 26,000 children. They are each funded on a tapered basis for six years and were selected through competitive application. Applicants had to demonstrate strength of partnership, inclusive social and musical strategies, commitment to quality, and a capacity to generate 50% of their revenue base from the beginning.

MGI set out clear goals for 2010–2015 (MGI, 2009). The specific "over-arching" policy goal for this first phase was to set up a national partnership infrastructure for performance music education. This infrastructure is now well embedded, and progress on the policy change can already be seen at the local level, as goals for Music Generation/music education are being written into long-term policy and planning documents for Local Authorities and Education and Training Boards, representing a significant shift from a local development perspective.

Research has been central to both the establishment and the evolution of MGI. Planning and development was approached from an "action research" perspective, and MGI embarked on a structured research partnership with St. Patrick's College Drumcondra in 2013, with a post-doctoral research study entitled "Possible Selves in Music" completed in autumn 2015 and launched at the International Society for Music Education conference in summer of 2016.

> The concept of diversity is central to Music Generation's approach in developing a national infrastructure for music education that includes many types of music and music practices, from pop to classical to marching bands to traditional and beyond. The ambition of the programme is to be inclusive; ensuring that access to performance music education of a high artistic standard is not limited by geographic, cultural, socio-economic or physical factors. . . . The Board of Music Generation commissioned this research in partnership with St Patrick's College Drumcondra in 2013, with the explicit wish that it would go beyond a survey-type evaluation and instead become a model that could guide the future directions of Music Generation and

> inform the strategic development of this new infrastructure for performance music education in Ireland. (www.musicgeneration.ie/research)

The research findings indicate that significant positive outcomes have been achieved for young people and show how the distinctive model of MGI has enabled those, as well as making recommendations for development and improvement. A summary report is available (Flynn and Johnston, 2016), with the full paper being made public at the end 2016.

In late 2015, U2 made further pledges of €2 million (US$2.16 million) and are committed to continue seeking support through the Ireland Funds. MGI has secured ongoing annual partnership funding from government (€2.5 million) and local Music Education Partnerships (€2.2 million), together estimated at €4.7 million annually from 2016 onward. In response to the significance of large-scale philanthropy in driving this national change program, MGI has also commissioned research into the principles of philanthropy and what it seeks to achieve. U2's Bono is very clear on that point: "What we want to do is really simple. We just want to make sure that everyone, whatever their background, gets access to music tuition. That's the idea" (www.musicgeneration.ie).

This private-public collaboration dimension of Music Generation Ireland also makes it an interesting case study of innovation in public policy development, private investment, and large-scale implementation in any field—not just music education. The relationship between U2, the MGI National Development Office, and the Irish Department of Education has to date—at least as seen from the outside—been characterized by high levels of mission congruence, notable absence of promotional egotism, and a well-defined synergy of roles in relation to delivering the goals of the program. Readers interested in how this case aligns with examples from other sectors and other countries may wish to explore the work of John Donahue and Richard Zeckhauser (2012) on this point.

CASE STUDY (3): GURI SANTA MARCELINA (BRAZIL)

Guri Santa Marcelina (GSM) (www.gurisantamarcelina.org.br) was established as a program of Santa Marcelina Cultura (www.santamarcelinacultura.org.br) in 2008 in order to provide music education programs for young people in vulnerable communities in the city of São Paulo, Brazil. The team operate alongside colleagues from a sister organization Projeto Guri (www.projetoguri.org.br) which runs a program with similar goals, commissioned through the same policy field, working with roughly 35,000 young people annually in the state of São Paulo.

The notion of music/culture as a both a context and tool for personal and social development is well established within the policy landscape of contemporary Brazil.

> . . . community action, NGOs and social movements. Almost all of these have used culture as a strategy of empowerment, and as an important stimulus of self-esteem in communities that have limited opportunities and few

> means of asserting their rights. In the face of severe social crises in relation to education, health, employment, social exclusion, and public security, Brazil has looked to culture as an important instrument for individual development and social transformation.
>
> —Heritage, *2009, p. 34*

The development of a socially interventionist music education policy for the state of São Paulo, backed by significant structural investment, emerged from a unique conjunction of national and local circumstances. The (2007) state secretary for culture appointed a special advisor for music to research the position of music education within the state as it related to the wider social agenda, considering the questions of quality and social access. This investigation took place within the wider context of Gilberto Gil and then Juca Ferreira's incumbencies as federal ministers of culture, and the focus of the Cultura Viva (Living Culture) program on "building the cultural capacity of social agents, activists and artists to shape rights, behaviours and economics" (Brazil Ministry of Culture, 2005, p. 8).

Within the state of São Paulo, the state government was actively constructing and implementing a strategy of delegated service delivery through the "organização social" model, that is, the contracting of public services to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on fixed-term (typically 3–5 year) contracts, tied to precise locations, outcomes, and financial parameters. This meant that the Culture Secretariat could out-source music education provision, thus enabling specialist leadership—in terms of music pedagogy, education management, and social provision—to drive innovation.

There are several contextual factors for this initiative. The teaching of an Art subject in the basic education system was enacted into law in 1996 (Brasil, 1996). However, although supplementary clauses to the 1996 law defined the nature of the Arts as visual arts, dance, music, and drama, the law did not state which particular Arts should be taught in the curriculum, nor what artistic qualifications were needed by the teaching force. Consequently, the tri-partite educational systems (federal, state, municipal) were free to devise their own particular Arts projects. This meant in some instances that a single teacher was responsible for all the Arts, drawing on an earlier conception of arts education from the 1970s (Figueiredo, Soares, & Schambeck, 2016). The outcome was a commitment to the Arts in principle, but very limited and inconsistent provision for music (Penna, 2002).

The articulation of the pedagogical plans for GSM were firmly grounded within the theoretical framework of Paulo Freire (Freire, 1995), and the influence of Freireian models) is clear in the organization's statement of values as expressed on their website:

Our Values

- Social responsibility;
- Use of culture (music) as a tool for the development of human values and promotion of social inclusion;

- High quality of teaching staff, social pedagogues and administrative staff;
- Artistic excellence: quality of teaching materials and musical practice (facilities, methods and musical instruments);
- Continuity, sensitivity of processes and social transformation;
- Commitment to students, families and communities;
- Working in line with the precepts of the Child and Adolescent (ECA) [this is a Brazilian law protecting the rights of the child] (http://gurisantamarcelina.org.br/como-estudar-aqui/sobre-o-programa#.V6d1OGXw-b8)

The program works with around 15,000 young people each year aged 6–18, in 46 centers (mostly community schools) across the city of Sao Paulo. Participants attend school in either the morning or the afternoon and can choose to enroll in music classes for the other half of the day. The music pedagogical plan is configured in stages: musical initiation for students 6–9 years old; sequential courses for students 10–18 years; modular courses for students 10–18 years; and music education for adults. Each student participates in roughly four hour-long collective music lessons per week (singing or instrument; choral; music theory and collective practice), and has the opportunity to join an ensemble, in addition. Provision is free, and fully funded by the state.

Guri Santa Marcelina (GSM) has developed sophisticated co-working models that bring together musicians with social pedagogues (Partington and Bezulle, 2014) so that young people's engagement is supported at a deep level through complementary activities that develop critical thinking, social interaction, and personal autonomy, as well as family support. The Freireian philosophy is actively expressed in daily action, as well as in the policy framework and contractual language that governs the program. Educational activities and social support go hand in hand with music learning sessions, creating a favorable environment for learning. Students and families are accompanied by social workers on a daily basis and encouraged to participate in group activities at the centers. They are also supported to attend concerts, exhibitions, and other cultural activities to enrich their personal development. Funding is in place to provide food and transport to facilitate student engagement.

There is a striking level of conscious commitment to developing inclusive music pedagogical strategies that integrates approaches from popular and vernacular music learning alongside European-style classical models, and a culture of critical reflection and continuing professional development delivered within a critical thinking model. Regular professional development for all 300 tutors includes the opportunity to develop and implement personal research enquiries within the delivery of the program. There is a high value placed on local celebration, sharing, and performance, with remarkable levels of family engagement in stressed, under-resourced communities.

Since 2008, GSM has been collecting statistical data on student outcomes/progression, and conducting an annual satisfaction survey. As yet, there has been no systematic research into the connections between social pedagogical strategies,

music teaching approaches, and underpinning cultural policy in driving the positive outcomes for young people, which are becoming increasingly evident through GSM's work and evidenced in reflective teacher action. However, the team has been gradually building a collection of student and family case studies that provide powerful testimony to the value and impact of participation in the program. It does seem likely that the insistent policy driver of social inclusion, based on a rigorous commitment to a Freireian approach, is producing a robust and beneficial music learning environment from which there is a great deal to learn.

The distributive model of policy development that supports the Guri program is prescriptive in that the contracts with the state, which are the foundation of the program, are detailed at a very precise level, covering day-to-day specific delivery and operations, musical organization (and some content—e.g., ensemble types), and teacher development over a five-year period. This micro-level planning demonstrates both great confidence in the actions of the program to bring about the intended goals and also the high level of state involvement. The task now could be to collect the evidence of the impact of the actions as delineated, and to see whether the policy field and implementation mechanisms can flex and adapt in the light of lived experience.

The Guri program would provide a rich site for research into the efficacy of several important components: local level implementation of state and government policy initiatives, the impact of musical pedagogies on the social inclusion of individuals, the relationship between wider social context and musical learning, and much more.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

We continue to have a pressing need for research-informed practice and policy change in music education—indeed in education as a whole—in the UK today. Although there is recent research evidence that the best music in schools is significantly more inclusive, more musically diverse, and of better quality than it was a decade ago, the quality and reach of schools-based music education is still unacceptably variable and inconsistent—in both the primary and secondary sectors (Zeserson et al., 2014). It is paradoxical that the UK music industry contributed £4.1 billion to the UK economy in 2015 (UK Music, 2015), outperforming the rest of the British economy—with increased turnover, higher staffing, greater exports, and live performances—yet the past five years of national music education policy has been characterized by, at best, ambivalence and, at worst, indifference concerning the value of music within the school curriculum. Overall, comparative data suggest that too little has changed in education overall for particular communities in the past three decades, despite myriads of successive policy initiatives[1] and at least £1.6 billion of investment in music between 1998 and 2014 (Whyte, private correspondence).

For example, the UK Commission on Inequality in Education reported in January 2016 that being in the top rather than bottom decile of family income

was a *stronger* predictor of attainment scores for children born in 2000 than for those born in 1970, and that the geographic area from which a child comes has also become a more powerful predictive factor for those born in 2000 compared to 1970. So why haven't we utilized policy initiatives and funding more effectively to transform the education system to balance these factors out and give all children the best possible chance to thrive irrespective of socioeconomic status and locality?

Furthermore, the last decade or more has seen tremendous growth in research across the clinical and social sciences, as well as the arts, that is focused on education and development *through* music, included that focused on social cohesion and community and individual health and well-being (cf. Benedict et al., 2015; MacDonald, Kreutz, & Mitchell, 2013). Why is this research evidence not having a more visible and sustainable impact on music education policy and practice in the UK and elsewhere? The answer, in part, relates to the biography of the researchers and the nature of the research that they undertake. What counts as evidence and its interpretation for policymaking is socially constructed and socially located, shaped by the particular and peculiar experiences that individuals bring to the research act. Although it seems sensible for the researcher to be an "insider," in the sense of having sufficient expertise and insight to be able to understand the likely multifaceted nature of the "problem" that is the subject of investigation, in practice, such understanding may limit the type of evidence gathering and interpretation. Keeping a sense of distance is desirable, not least to ground the research in a multiplicity of perspectives that might, subsequently, have applicability for a diverse group of users.

We can see from our cases described above that when the spinning triangle of policy, research, and practice slows down, dynamic lines of connection spark innovation, motivation, and commitment to transformation. Research-informed policy and practice can and do generate positive outcomes for children and young people—but it's a delicate business. Practice and policy change both take their own time, and that is often too slow for the patience threshold of governments. Nevertheless, in each case there was a "policy window" (Kingdon, 1995) that opened up in the identification of a particular need that resonated with at least two of the main groups of likely stakeholders—politicians, professionals, and researchers—thus allowing a coincidence of overlapping interests to urge the collection of evidence toward addressing that specific need.

We can see certain conditions in place in our example cases where policy, research, and practice are in optimum iterative balance:

- *Patience, persistence, and activism*: In all our examples, the research roots of policy and practice change go back at least 20 and as much as 80 years. Individuals who bring that research knowledge to bear on government thinking, program, and practice development keep testing and re-testing, proposing and re-proposing, and passing the baton to successive generations with an intense focus. There is *lineage,* and there is cultural memory.
- *Commitment to practice-led innovation*: It can be difficult for active teaching practitioners to find the time, space, and the right kind of peer-culture to

approach their work in a spirit of enquiry. Research materials and policy initiatives can be expressed in ways that feel remote from the daily business of music education, and senior leadership teams don't always respect the importance of trying things out that may not work the first time. A culture of enquiry-based Continuing Professional Development (CPD) within an active community of practice enables teachers to become researchers in their daily work, influencing both practice and policy.

- *Courageous, visible shared leadership*: It is beyond cliché to observe that as a species we are inclined to resist change. In all of our cases, change processes and the alignment of research, policy, and practice are vividly and visibly led, by groupings that bring together independent, government, and organization-based advocates, experts, and visionaries in common cause. Leadership is reflective, dynamic, vocal, and strategic.
- *Collaboration and partnership:* Bringing the right people together at the right time in the right place with the right information, as well ensuring that they stay committed and connected over long periods, is a highly skilled practice and is fundamental to both effective policy transformation and implementation. Geoff Whitty (Whitty & Wisby, 2016, p. 17) writes: "Building partnerships amongst different stakeholders and making use of a range of opportunities beyond official channels to disseminate findings can be crucial" and that is certainly borne out in all our case studies.

Practitioners, teachers, policymakers, advocates, musicians, parents, and learners all have a contribution to make in pinning down the spinning triangle. It *is* possible to bring together research, policy, and practice to change government policy, rebalance funding, transform quality of experience, and ensure inclusion. We know the difference music can make in children's and young people's lives if we get that right—so it is simply our duty to do so.

NOTE

1. UK government-related music policy initiatives have included five versions of a "National Curriculum" for music in England (1992, 1995, 1998, 2007, 2013), a "Music Manifesto"—jointly launched by the Ministries of Education and Culture—in 2004, a "National Singing Programme" *Sing Up* (2007–2012), small scale Sistema-type instrumental learning initiatives in Scotland (from 2007) and England (from 2009) and the launch of a National Plan for Music Education (2011)—a first for any subject area in England.

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5

Policy and the Question of Assessment

MARTIN FAUTLEY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers issues concerning assessment and policy, viewed through the particular lens of an English perspective. However, this should not be taken to mean that is simply a regional discourse, as many, if not all of the elements of this English viewpoint have significant ramifications for many countries and jurisdictions.

To begin with, highly significant to the English perspective is the notion of governance and how this finds its outworking in day-to-day practices of schools, classrooms, and music education in particular. De Tocqueville (1831/2003) described the separate but interrelated functionality of legislature, judiciary, and police. This is surprisingly relevant when considering the topic of assessment in music education. The legislature, in this case the UK government, passes acts of Parliament and other legal instruments which are then enacted by schools, and policed, to some extent, by the non-ministerial governmental arm of Ofsted—the Office for Standards in Education, which is led by Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Education, Children's Services and Skills. Included in the legislature was another non-departmental public body, although since disbanded, the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), later to become the Qualifications and Curriculum Development Agency (QCDA), which was closed in 2012. The notion of the judiciary is more complex, and in the English system it involves both the formal, in the role of Ofsted, acting here simultaneously as judiciary and police; and the informal, enacted largely through the highly significant role of the fourth estate in that the regular publication of school league-tables in national and local press, based largely on test and examination results that a school has obtained, functions as major determinant in what schools do.

This introduction sets up some of the policy tensions that are apparent in the English system. The QCDA, the body responsible for the National Curriculum and its associated assessments, was disbanded by an incoming coalition government of Conservatives and Liberals. There was a wholesale disbanding of public bodies, known colloquially as "the bonfire of the quangos" (quango = quasi-autonomous non-governmental organization, a body to which the government has devolved power). In this move, 192 quangos were axed, and a further 118 were merged (BBC website). Policy can be seen as being not only about control, but also of removal of ways of discussing alternatives. As Zahariadis observes:

> The ideology of the governing party (or coalition) shapes the kinds of issues that will rise to the agenda and demarcates the solutions available for adoption. For example, British Conservative focus on the elimination of government deficits gave an occasion to think about ways to shrink government.
>
> —Zahariadis, *1999, p. 80*

Ideology clearly has a part to play in policy. As Schmidt observes (in this volume), "policies exemplify and direct ways to engage with others, with contexts, and with needs, all the while inciting particular kinds of thinking and action," and ideologies, both tacit and declarative, underpin policies that are created. As an Australian teacher observed when interviewed by Scott et al.:

> Politicians use education as a political football. Those in power beat their chests about "reforms" they have achieved and those wanting power assault us with what they will do to make teachers work more efficiently and produce improved student outcomes.
>
> —Scott et al. *2001, p. 12*

We in music education need to be very aware of the political dimension to policy, and in England one of the ways in which this can be seen to be operating is by the provision of a national curriculum.

THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM IN ENGLAND

The formal nature of what is taught in the music classroom is governed to a considerable extent by the centrally prescribed National Curriculum (NC), which was first introduced in England in 1988. In the NC, music is one of the compulsory subjects until a student is age 14. Deciding on what will and what will not figure in a national curriculum is a political act, and in the UK at the time of the introduction of the first NC, many column inches in the serious press were devoted to the issue. As Blake noted:

> The [music] Working Group was arraigned for betrayal of the classical music tradition, for its substitution of multiculturalism for the values apparently

> inherent in the European tradition. . . . A series of letters and articles . . . rallied the intellectuals of both old and new right in defence of "traditional" music education, in other words, the abandoning of any idea of creativity of the young in favour of the appreciation, and where appropriate the reproduction, of the techniques and achievements of previous generations of male Europeans.
>
> —Blake, *1997, p. 216*

Political control of the curriculum can be seen in terms of what counts as knowledge in it, as Young (1971) had observed, with the notion of "high status" and "low status" knowledge types. This is a significant policy issue: Control the curriculum, control what counts as knowledge, and hegemonic control flows from this (see also Horsley, this volume).

Fast forward into the 21st century, and the National Curriculum was reviewed. Neoliberal governments tend to prefer "small" government, and so removing centralization from some aspects of policy is viewed as a good thing. The then minister of education termed this as freeing up schools from "the dead hand of town hall control" (d'Ancona, 2014). The UK system of schooling has a complex mix of state schools, including local authority, academies, free schools, and a significant independent schools sector (called, confusingly "public schools"). The National Curriculum needs to be taught only in an increasingly diminishing number of schools, significantly not academies or free schools (independent schools have always been free to do as they wish). At the end of 2014 free schools and academies accounted for 21.6% of all state-funded schools (www.gov.uk A).

The original National Curriculum documents were first published in 1988, with a clear delineation between what were termed "core" subjects, namely English, mathematics, science, technology, and physical education; and foundation subjects, which included music. This meant that it was compulsory to teach music to all pupils in state schools from the age of 5 through to 14 years old. The national curriculum was specified via two areas, *programmes of study* and *attainment targets*. Programmes of study delineated what should be taught and learned, and attainment targets showed how this would be assessed. The purpose of attainment targets was to

> establish what children should normally be expected to know, understand and be able to do at around the ages of 7, 11, 14 and 16, and will enable the progress of each child to be measured against established national standards. They will reflect what pupils must achieve to progress in their education and to become thinking and informed people. The range of attainment targets should cater for the full ability range and be sufficiently challenging at all levels to raise expectations, particularly of pupils of middling achievement, who are frequently not challenged enough, as well as stretching and stimulating the most able.
>
> —Department of Education and Science and Welsh Office, *1987, pp. 9–10*

Assessment in the National Curriculum attainment targets was achieved by a hierarchy of statements of educational attainment, known as "levels." The original intention for the levels was that they should be used once only, at the age points stated above, namely 7, 11, 14, and 16. The National Curriculum levels introduced in England were not like the American "standards" in that they were non-specific, holistic statements of general musical attainment. In many ways they are much more like the approach adopted in New South Wales, Australia, as outlined by McPherson (2008). For example, the standard delineated by level 5 was expected to be reached by the majority of 14-year-olds, the text of which reads:

> Pupils identify and explore musical devices and how music reflects time, place and culture. They perform significant parts from memory and from notations, with awareness of their own contribution such as leading others, taking a solo part or providing rhythmic support. They improvise melodic and rhythmic material within given structures, use a variety of notations, and compose music for different occasions using appropriate musical devices. They analyse and compare musical features. They evaluate how venue, occasion and purpose affect the way music is created, performed and heard. They refine and improve their work.
>
> —QCA, *2007*

The use of attainment level statements remained more-or-less unchanged until 2014. In this system, there were eight discrete attainment levels, plus an additional one for "exceptional performance." Results from the attainment targets were collected nationally and published in the form of school league tables, which appeared in the local and national press. Clearly there are political imperatives for doing this, and implications for taking such actions, as Murphy et al. (2009) note:

> The key element of being able to exercise choice in any market is information; this is informed choice. The government realized that while the market existed and the pressure of competition was being structurally built into the system, parents needed further information on which to base their choice of school. Thus the government introduced league tables based on the pupil performance.
>
> —Murphy et al., *2009, p. 52*

This is not to say that the introduction of league tables was a straightforward act, as Murphy et al. go on to observe:

> It should be noted that league tables have been very controversial; not least because when they were first introduced, they were based purely on the raw exam results that schools generated. They did not take into account issues

> such as the impact of poverty on children (usually taken as the percentage of free school meals provided by a school), number on school rolls of children with English as an additional language (EAL) or from single parent families, or any other measure of deprivation and social exclusion. Therefore, it was not surprising that the initial league tables resulted in schools in the more affluent areas being seen as the more effective schools. The tables did not measure the extent to which a school had successfully helped children to overcome the difficulties they faced.
>
> —Murphy et al., *2009, p. 53*

The role of the fourth estate is clearly visible in the practice of publishing league tables in newspapers. Local papers run stories about the "best" schools in their areas, as evidenced by assessment. National papers cherry pick the highest and lowest attaining schools and "name and shame" the "losers," whilst "winners" are applauded. This language and emotion, taken straight from the sports pages, shows the considerable impact of the media in being complicit with the policy process. Negative effects of naming and shaming are glossed over, but the subsequent stress, illness, and mental health of the leaders and teachers involved shows a very human cost to this.

CHANGES IN THE USE OF ASSESSMENT LEVELS—A POLICY-PRACTICE DISJUNCT

During the lifetime of the levels, there was a significant shift in the way they were applied. As we have seen, the original intention was that they were for use only at specified age-related stages of a child's education. The shift that took place was that they came to be used every time a pupil undertook a piece of work. This was problematic, as the wording of the level statements was, as would be expected of generalist statements of attainment, fairly broad, as observed in the example of the level 5 statement above. As level statements were designed to be used in a "best fit" manner, and applied singularly, they tend to imply only a matrix of progression; they do not clearly delineate or outline one trajectory. Indeed, the very notion of a "best fit" assessment profile means that each teacher can take an individual approach to this, which creates problems for consistency.

Returning to the descriptors such as those evidenced in the level 5 statement, it is apparent that they are unlikely to work very well as unitary curriculum assessment criteria, or even as generalized criteria, for assessing a single piece of music—for example, a pupil composition. However, this is what gradually became the norm, as school leadership teams (SLTs) focused increasingly on *proving* that progress had been made.

The shift away from age-related usage did not result directly from policy, but what was felt by schools to be satisfying the requirements of Ofsted to demonstrate attainment. As Dylan Wiliam noted:

> Schools started reporting levels every year, and then every term, and then on individual pieces of work, which makes no sense at all since the levels had been designed to be a summary of the totality of achievement across a key stage. And then Ofsted inspectors insisted students should make a certain number of levels of progress each year and started asking students what level they were working at.
>
> —Wiliam, *n.d., teachprimary.com*

This presents an interesting policy dichotomy: Something that is not statutory is subject to interpretation by the inspectorate. The inspectorate then realizes that for teachers to continue doing what the inspectorate had been asking them to is not such a good idea, and asks schools to stop doing it. The situation became so disjointed that teachers were being regularly and officially exhorted *not* to use level statements for individual pieces of work, a post hoc rationalization of what had by then become standard practice. At the same time, Ofsted inspectors were allegedly stopping children in the corridor and asking what level they were working at. Policy enactment in this instance became caught between legislative requirements and the changing requirements of policing. This, for example, is taken from the 2004 iteration of the National Curriculum:

> The level descriptions are not designed to assess individual pieces of work. They list aspects of attainment, based on the programmes of study, which teachers need to assess to build up a picture of a pupil's performance over time in a range of contexts. . . . Although not designed to be used at the end of each year across the key stage, the level descriptions can be used as a basis to describe pupils' progress.
>
> —QCA, *2004, p. 16*

The contradiction contained therein is immediately apparent, "although not designed . . . the level descriptions *can be* used . . ." This is the QCA's contribution, which could be interpreted to mean that they disagree with Ofsted. Little wonder that school management teams and teachers across England were confused!

THE PLACE AND ROLE OF OFSTED IN POLICY DISCOURSE AND ENACTMENT

Ofsted occupies an interesting position with regard to policy enforcement. Technically its role is that of independent inspectorate, as they say of themselves:

> Ofsted is the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills. We inspect and regulate services that care for children and young people, and services providing education and skills for learners of all ages. . . . We report directly to Parliament and we are independent and impartial. (www.gov.uk B)

It is difficult to describe the impact that Ofsted has on schools for an international audience. To say that "Ofsted inspections 'promote an unhealthy culture of fear'" (tes.co.uk) is but one way of phrasing it. Indeed, Ofsted no-notice inspections are termed "dawn raids," an example of language being used to enforce the notion of compliance-monitoring fear. Reasons for this fear cannot be blamed solely on the joint role of Ofsted as both judiciary and police in terms of policy and its implementation on the ground, but often upon schools' own worries of what Ofsted *might* do when they visited, such that schools went far beyond what might reasonably be expected in order to second guess and try to satisfy the inspectorate. Indeed, many teachers have compared fear of Ofsted to being akin to a fear of the Spanish Inquisition:

> When presenting itself before the public, the Inquisition wished to be seen above all as a deterrent. The coming of its officials to a town was therefore, in principle, designed to cause fear.
>
> —Kamen, *2014, p. 261*

Interestingly, as with the Inquisition, it was fear of what Ofsted might do, rather than what it actually did, that was often the most problematic area. After all, as Debra Kidd observes:

> The biggest barrier to the kinds of changes to assessment that would revolutionise our education system is the endemic lack of trust in teachers. . . . [T]his lack of trust, combined with an obsession with measuring, is rooted in fear.
>
> —Kidd, *2014, p. 25*

It was fear of Ofsted that made SLTs require dubious assessment practices. However, Ofsted itself is not entirely blame free. The majority of school inspections are carried out by additional inspectors (AIs), who work for outsourced private companies. In 2012 it was revealed that Ofsted did not know how many of its AIs actually held a teaching qualification (known as Qualified Teacher Status [QTS] in the UK). The *Times Educational Supplemen*t (TES) newspaper reported in July 2012:

> Senior Ofsted inspectors have been allowed to pass judgement on schools despite lacking even basic teaching qualifications, TES has learned.
>
> Tribal, one of the major firms that carries out inspections on behalf of the watchdog, employs at least five lead inspectors who do not have qualified teacher status (QTS), it has emerged.
>
> A leaked email, sent to all Tribal inspectors, reveals that the company does not keep any detailed records of the backgrounds of its inspectors. The email asks inspectors to let Tribal know whether they are qualified teachers, something the company says has previously "not been an issue."
>
> Concerns were raised after Ofsted admitted in April that it did not know how many of Her Majesty's Inspectors, the senior inspectors whom it employs

> directly, had experience of leading schools or whether they worked in primaries or secondaries.
>
> But the discovery that some lead inspectors do not have QTS "takes this to a whole new level," warned Adrian Prandle, policy adviser at the ATL education union. "Anyone who makes judgements about teaching must have the ability to do that themselves and understand what it's like to do the job. If inspectors are coming to schools, they need to be experts. No wonder they cannot command teachers' respect," he said.
>
> —Exley, *2012*

But since that time matters in the field of music education at least, have taken a significant turn. The problem of AIs is being resolved, we are told, and in music, senior Ofsted inspectors have shifted their attentions to the cause of music teachers operating in the ways they have been—in other words, onto the SLTs as described above. This is a point to which we return later.

POLICY AND PRACTICE CONFUSION—THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM ASSESSMENT LEVELS

As an instance of a confusion between a policy and its policing, we can return to the National Curriculum level descriptors we discussed above. We have noted that level descriptors were holistic and couched in generalities. Once levels began to be adopted more frequently than intended, teachers had the problem of trying to make them more specific, and using them to show smaller degrees of progress. To try to do this, many teachers rewrote the levels themselves, often into what was termed "pupil-speak," and subdivided them, the better to chart progress. Caught between a rock and a hard place, teachers were on the one hand—by the QCA—being told that it was normal to rewrite the National Curriculum level statements into pupil-speak, and on the other hand—by Ofsted—being damned when they did:

> Teaching is inadequate when . . . arbitrary grades are given for work, which are unrelated to national grade/level criteria or based on manufactured subdivisions of these levels.
>
> —Ofsted, *2013, p. 9*

These two arms-length bodies of the legislature working in this way caused considerable frustrations for teachers. The ultimate power was, and is, felt to rest in Ofsted, as their judgments of a school can profoundly affect its fortunes. Yet schools are so terrified of seeming inadequate that sometimes, as in the case of subdivided National Curriculum levels, they adopt their own policies, which run counter to the official ones. This confusion is hardly the fault of the poor overworked classroom teacher, and yet they were bearing the brunt of this mismatch between policy enactment and its enforcement.

LACK OF POLICY ANALYSIS AND ITS IMPACT ON TEACHERS

Problems associated with National Curriculum levels became so entrenched and difficult (inter alia Sainsbury and Sizmur, 1998) that the government decided to officially abandon the levels for all subjects altogether; consequently, as part of central reforms of teaching, learning, and assessment in 2014, the statutory requirement to employ National Curriculum assessment levels was removed:

> As part of our reforms to the national curriculum, the current system of "levels" used to report children's attainment and progress will be removed from September 2014 and will not be replaced. By removing levels we will allow teachers greater flexibility in the way that they plan and assess pupils' learning.
>
> —DfE, *2013*

The government also observed in this regard:

> We believe this system is complicated and difficult to understand, especially for parents. It also encourages teachers to focus on a pupil's current level, rather than consider more broadly what the pupil can actually do.
>
> —DfE *2013*

New freedoms for schools were described:

> The new programmes of study set out what should be taught by the end of each key stage. We will give schools the freedom to develop a curriculum which is relevant to their pupils and enables them to meet these expectations. . . . Schools will be able to introduce their own approaches. . . . The assessment framework should be built into the school curriculum, so that schools can check what pupils have learned and whether they are on track to meet expectations at the end of the key stage, and so that they can report regularly to parents.
>
> —DfE *2013*

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE INSPECTORATE—OFSTED

At this point the importance of the role of Ofsted, already outlined above, needs to be considered in more detail.

In 2014 Her Majesty's chief inspector wrote a letter to *all* schools stating that Ofsted would now "spend more time looking at a range of pupils' work in order to consider what progress they are making" (Ofsted, 2014). To address this, many schools are therefore continuing to teach music (and other subjects) according to

National Curriculum level requirements, even though there is no legal requirement for them to do so. Schools feel that what this Ofsted utterance has done is to focus attention away from *attainment*, and onto *progress*, even though the two are clearly linked.

The issue of what counts as *progress* has therefore become significant for English music teachers. Indeed, the very notion of progress as the most important signifier has overtaken attainment as being the key indicator of what schools are looking for. This has moved to such a pitch that teachers of all subjects—music included—are required to show that pupils are making demonstrably visible progress in time units of 20 minutes. Many online forums for music teachers are replete with questions and requests for help as to how this can be achieved (see theguardian.com 2012 for an example of this).

What has tended to happen is that schools are desperate to prove their pupils are making good progress and so have taken steps to ensure that not only is this the case, but that they can *prove* it is the case. To try to do this, many schools in England utilize externally produced assessment and attainment statistical packages that have been purchased specifically to track and monitor progress, and which can then be used when Ofsted does visit. So, when the inspectors call they can be shown statistical spreadsheets that demonstrate that all pupils in the school are making good progress and are on track to achieve good results in examinations.

What this means is that as a direct result of policy, trust is eroded in the judgments of the classroom music teachers, and they need external systems of inspection to ensure they are good enough, with their assessments audited:

> Efforts to render performance totally visible through the language of indicators, in draining away "trust" within the organisation, transforms it in counter-productive ways. . . . Colonisation through audit fosters "pathologies of creative compliance."
>
> —Gleeson & Husbands, *2001, pp. 201-202*

This is taking place in many countries; it is certainly not unique to the UK. Indeed, one of the worldwide phenomena affecting many countries at the moment is the way one particular policy indicator has seriously unintended consequences in the field of assessment; this is Campbell's law.

CAMPBELL'S LAW

Under Campbell's law,

> The more any quantitative social indicator is used for social decision-making, the more subject it will be to corruption pressures and the more apt it will be to distort and corrupt the social processes it is intended to monitor.
>
> —Campbell, *1976, p. 49*

What this means for assessment in music education in the way in which it is being implemented in English music classrooms is that statistical targets of progression are not a means to the end of raising attainment, but have become an end in themselves. This was a point also recognized by Campbell in his paper, when he observed that

> achievement tests may well be valuable indicators of general school achievement under conditions of normal teaching aimed at general competence. But when test scores become the goal of the teaching process, they both lose their value as indicators of educational status and distort the educational process in undesirable ways.
>
> —Campbell, *1976, pp. 51–52*

The way this policy of monitoring progression has found its outworking in school music departments is that teachers have become *required* to show that pupils are making the necessary statistical progress. This means that they have to use subdivided National Curriculum levels (the ones discussed earlier that do not officially exist) to show what could be termed uni-linear progression. In other words, teachers have to award a pupil a subdivided level for their latest piece which can *only* be an improvement on previous work. Penalties for teachers not doing this can be severe, with individual teachers having their salary progression suspended, or being placed onto competency proceedings.

Issues of required performance have coalesced around the term "performativity." Ball has written widely of the effects of performativity on the education system, and it is the slow drip-feed of "erosion of trust" referred to by Gleeson and Husbands above caused by policy enactment that finds its outworking in "the data-base, the appraisal meeting, the annual review, report writing, the regular publication of results and promotion applications, inspections and peer review that are the mechanics of performativity" (Ball, 1998, p. 147). But as Ball observes elsewhere,

> Who is it that determines what is to count as a valuable, effective or satisfactory performance and what measures or indicators are considered valid? Typically, at least in the UK, these struggles are currently highly individualized as teachers, as ethical subjects, find their values challenged or displaced by the terrors of performativity.
>
> —Ball, *2003, p. 216*

And these are very real issues for music teachers in the UK.

THE RISE OF "THE ASSESSMENT LESSON"

As a result of the pressures from school leadership teams, a new type of lesson could be observed taking place in music classrooms all over England. This was the

"assessment lesson" (Fautley, 2010). This can be seen as a representation of policy implementation at the micro level, in ways not originally intended—what Stone (1989, p. 5) referred to as "inadvertent causes, or the unintended consequences of willed human action." The policy intention was for assessment to take place, the reality was that it came to *replace* teaching and became an activity in its own right. As one music teacher observed, "We won't be doing any teaching or learning that lesson, as it's an assessment lesson" (personal communication). The sole purpose of the assessment lesson is the apportioning of a grade, often in the form of a subdivided NC level. What normally happens in an assessment lesson is that pupils perform music they have been working on during the course of a unit of work, and whatever they do during that lesson *becomes* the grade they are given for that part of the course. So deeply entrenched has this practice become that in some schools regular allotments of curriculum time for all subjects simultaneously are given over to assessment. This can be exemplified by a rather sad story from a student teacher, who told of a school placement she had been in, where a child on the autistic spectrum had been working alone (through choice) in a cupboard on a songwriting task, and had produced a worthwhile song as a result. However, the student teacher was told that only work evidenced in the assessment lesson would count, and as this involved public performance, something the child would not and could not engage with, the learner would not be awarded any marks at all. When the student teacher questioned this decision, asking if it would be in order to audio record the performance for assessment purposes, she was told it would not be, as that was not school policy. As she rightly observed, had she been able to grade the work from what she had seen, the child would have scored a reasonable mark.

We see here an example of teachers realizing that there is a position to be taken. As Danziger observed:

> Once they are aware of the key ideological battles among the major thinkers in their field, once they can define the conflicting paradigms available to them, they are more likely to recognize the crucial weaknesses of any particular perspective, model, or system.
>
> —Danziger, *1995, p. 446*

What we also see is that teachers are realizing that assessment has a political dimension that, as Stone observed, "reasoned analysis is necessarily political. It always involves choices to include some things and exclude others" (Stone, 1997, p. 306). Policy affects practice, and it is not value-free. After all, as Ball notes, "Ethical reflection is rendered obsolete in the process for goal attainment, performance improvement and budget maximization" (Ball, 2006, p. 11). The teachers doing assessment lessons were not intending to be anything other than compliant with directives, but in doing so they fall foul of Stone's notion of "unintended consequences." We know that policy affects the ways people act, and this is as true of organizations as of individual teachers:

> There is little doubt that policies such as performance tables, targets and Ofsted inspections that place great weight on test and examination data have driven behaviour in schools.
>
> —Assessment Reform Group, *2009, p. 24*

What we can see from this discussion is that assessment dysfunction can be one of Stone's "unintended consequences" of the enactment of assessment policy in the everyday reality of classroom practice. This has led to strange bedfellows, with teachers using Ofsted as their "friends" with regard to assessment policy decisions being made by school management teams.

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

This has created an interesting situation where many music teachers are now presenting Ofsted documents to their own SLTs as being of significance, especially when school policy asks the music teacher to do things that can be regarded as unorthodox assessment practices. In July 2014, Robin Hammerton HMI, then Ofsted National Lead for Music, took the hitherto unusual step of writing a blog entry for the online pages of the TES. In it he said:

> Using levels and sub levels to try to prove pupils' ongoing progress in music doesn't work, as Ofsted has pointed out many times. It is usually superficial, time wasting and neither reliable nor valid. It is most certainly not any kind of "Ofsted requirement." To be absolutely clear, our inspectors do not expect to see it. There are no, and never were, sub levels in music anyway, for good reason.
>
> —Hammerton, *2014*

This has been seized upon with glee by music teachers and has created the unusual situation of rank-and-file music teachers being in cahoots with the inspectorate in fighting against their own senior leadership teams. As one music teacher wryly observed, "My enemy's enemy has become my friend!" This accords with the observation of Marshall and Mitchell (1991, p. 397) who note that "schools are arenas of constant value conflicts."

THE NATIONAL PLAN FOR MUSIC EDUCATION

One of the ways the legislature can try to influence practice is by the careful use of language in policy documents. Critics have argued that this is clearly evidenced in a joint publication by the department for education and the department for culture, media and sport (DfE & DCMS, 2011), the national plan for

music education (NPME). Gary Spruce has written in a highly critical fashion of the NPME:

> To understand fully the ideological underpinning of the NPME, it perhaps needs to be seen as part of the government's wider education policy agenda. One of the key aspects of this agenda is the promotion of particular types of knowledge as being inherently of greater worth than other types of knowledge and the "distancing" of knowledge from many children's social context such that they are unable to make connections between their learning and their lived experiences. This "distancing" is achieved either temporally through, for example, the proposed emphasis on Romantic poets in the GCSE English literature specification, or by the abstraction of knowledge from "real life" situations/social contexts e.g. removing the debates around climate and atomic energy from, respectively, the geography and science national curricula.
>
> —Spruce, *2013, p. 29*

The nature of the NPME and the types of knowledge that Spruce was critiquing were described by him thus:

> In analysing the language of the NPME, I have pointed to its almost exclusive focus on performing, with "progression . . . almost always framed within the context of developing performing skills and more often than not exemplified with reference to groups most closely associated with western music practices: typically, choirs, bands and orchestras—the latter being mentioned twenty times" (Spruce, 2012). . . . Also unmentioned are informal pedagogies/learning and "inclusion." Although the NPME acknowledges the existence other musical traditions its examples and case studies are almost exclusively those of western art music.
>
> —Spruce, *2013, p. 28*

The privileging of one type of knowledge is, of course, not controversial at all to those pursuing this as being appropriate, and so the NPME was welcomed by those whom it served well. This is worth mentioning, as the NPME is regarded as highly significant for those providing the sort of music education it promotes, while for others, including generalist classroom music teachers, it has had very little impact at all. But it has caused disquiet among those for whom the English and UK tradition of multiple ways of knowing in music lessons are important. Its lack of emphasis on composing and improvising, for example, are matters for unease. Spruce again:

> The NPME thus privileges and promotes a relatively limited way of musical knowing, rather than the multiple ways of knowing which characterise inclusive music education practices. Furthermore, this particular way of musical knowing, rooted in the practices of western classical music, does not readily allow for the "the involvement of individuals in constructing process, content

> and decision making" (Spruce 2012) or the deployment of informal learning pedagogies.
>
> —Spruce, *2013, p. 29*

This has highly significant implications for assessment. Viewed through this lens, policy becomes a tool for hegemonic dominance, not one that allows for multiple possibilities of lived experiences in pupils' lives. This takes us back many years, to when Shepherd et al. (1977) were asking, " 'Whose music' counts?" An assessment system emphasizes what it values, and the converse is also true, so not valuing something means that it is likely to become alienated from assessment practices and therefore not count in educational terms. Even in music education, assessment is never innocent. After all, as Broadfoot reminds us,

> Assessment procedures are the vehicle whereby the dominant rationality of the corporate capitalist societies typical of the contemporary Western world is translated into the systems and process of schooling.
>
> —Broadfoot, *1999, p. 64*

ADDRESSING POLICY IN ASSESSMENT IN MUSIC EDUCATION

Marshall and Mitchell (1991) identified a number of what they refer to as "rules" of how fledgling school administrators deal with matters of policy and practice. These rules are, in essence, "shared understandings about how to act and think" (Marshall & Mitchell 1991, p. 400). They include these, among others:

- Limit risk taking (p. 401)
- Don't display divergent values (p. 404)
- Don't get labeled as a troublemaker (p. 406)

For the music teacher working in the classroom producing assessment data for the pupils they teach, these rules are likely to ring true in terms of the ways they delimit and enact professional assessment activities. Teachers will limit risk taking, as departing too far from an orthodoxy may not result in the sort of music lessons that the school leadership team will want. The music class will need to be neat, ordered, and, in some cases, not too noisy, in order to satisfy demands. The music teacher cannot display values that diverge too far from the school, especially in assessment terms, as assessment systems—often designed with core subjects in mind—are not subject to amendment, or, in some schools, even discussion. Teachers need to do what they are told or they will be in trouble (Fautley, 2012), and this is something to be avoided. All of these rules can be seen to be exerting control over practice and praxis, and have their origins in policy.

CONCLUSION—RECLAIMING ASSESSMENT

The impacts of policy and changing policy discourses described in this chapter can be seen to impinge on the very things that make a generalist music curriculum what it is. Control of assessment by external agencies means control of the curriculum, and this equates to a control over what types of knowledge are suitable. This in turn controls dissent, as not meeting the standards of assessment required means that professional competence is called into question.

We have seen that there are many complex ways in which assessment policy finds its outworking in the music classrooms of England. But from this local discussion we can pull together many threads that should be applicable across many jurisdictions. The lessons learned in one country can help illuminate experiences and understandings in others. To conclude this chapter, it is worth considering what could be done, and what would make a difference for teachers' everyday existence with regard to understandings of policy and its enactment. After all, as Schmidt observes in the Introduction to this volume, "policy is the realm in which educational vision is actualized," and this actualization is in the hands of classroom teachers with regard to assessment.

THE ROLE OF MUSIC TEACHERS IN DEALING WITH ASSESSMENT POLICY—IMPLICATIONS AND ACTIONS

Assessment in English music education has come a long way from the simple notion of helping pupils get better at listening, composing, and performing music. It has become a battleground for proving progression, for showing how well pupils are doing, and for amassing statistical datasets. But very few music teachers say they entered the profession to spend time filling in spreadsheets! There can be a real danger that with all the emphases on meeting requirements of school leadership teams, outside bodies, and Ofsted, the very essence of making, playing, and enjoying music can become submerged. What is needed is not so much individual acts of resistance to policy, as that could prove to be professionally unwise, but rational discourse as to what the objectives of policy are, and what their primary function is. There can be little doubt that the primary aim of music teachers is to develop and improve teaching, learning, and doing, and it might be expected that policy ought to help with that. But in England, at least, policy seems too often to be influenced by either well-intentioned but sometimes under-informed dilettantes, or, less charitably, neoliberals keen to privatize supply, and pocket profits!

For the classroom teacher, the construction of assessment should be based on the learning and activity being undertaken. Pointless linear acceleration helps no one. Assessment should reveal information that enables teacher and learner to do something with it. The purpose of constant grading may not be the most

appropriate way to do things. Sometimes learners might need to be taught how to hold the violin bow, for example; not be told what their grade is for bow hold, then not have the first idea about what to do to get better.

A policy action that would help considerably is for teachers to be able to reclaim classroom assessment as their own. National, but especially local, policy could help with this. Music involves creating and making. Privileging some aspects of musical learning and doing over others has the potential for reducing the rich complexity of this. We know that the arts in general, and music in particular, are significant earners of income, and so at a time when the arts are under threat in schools, with outcomes being measured within an inch of meaninglessness, it would seem wise to invest in an area that will bring income to the country. Maybe we need to try to win the economic argument, as we seem to be losing the artistic and the civilizing arguments!

To return to the opening discussions of de Tocqueville, the separated notions of legislature, judiciary, and police have had their functions confused somewhat in 21st-century England. It is not always clear what legislators had in mind when they drew up policy, and varied and not necessarily harmonious actions of judiciary and police have not helped music teachers establish clear understandings not only of what they should be doing but of what good practice involves, why it is good practice, and, most important, how it helps musical learning and doing. If we remain in a situation where schools spend most of their time trying to second-guess what the inspectorate might want rather than saying "This is good for our kids," then we are likely to remain mired in confusion.

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PART II

International Perspectives on Policy

6

Revisiting Bildung and Its Meaning for International Music Education Policy

ALEXANDRA KERTZ-WELZEL ■

INTRODUCTION

In every educational system, there are terms that symbolize what a tradition considers to be important. One of these crucial terms in the German and Northern European tradition is Bildung. It stands for the intention to educate mature and self-determined human beings who think critically and engage in a way of supporting society for the benefit of all. It is a guiding principle for curricula, teacher education, and individual teaching philosophies (Heimonen, 2015). Bildung also plays an important role in music education policy and offers opportunities for international music education advocacy.

This chapter investigates Bildung and its meaning in German music education policy as well as its role for advocacy. By identifying internationally significant issues, the chapter opens up new perspectives on the internationalization of music education and music education policy. It starts with an analysis of what Bildung is, emphasizing the perspective of music education policy. Then, Bildung's meaning in German music education and music education policy is scrutinized as it applies to curriculum and standards, advocacy, and cultural education. The final section discusses Bildung within the context of international music education policy.

WHAT IS BILDUNG?

Since the 18th century, the term "Bildung" has signified what many educational systems would like to achieve: knowledgable, self-determined, critical, creative,

and aesthetically experienced people. While these are ideals, which various educational traditions value, research on Bildung always emphasizes that there is no English word that captures Bildung's meaning adequately (Masschelein & Ricken, 2003, p. 141). Bildung is more than education, aiming at a development of character, knowledge, and abilities; words such as "cultivation" or "formation" indicate this meaning. In the Anglo-American educational world, concepts such as liberal education (Lovlie & Standish, 2002), critical pedagogy (Gur-Ze'ev, 2002) and also concepts to do with democracy and music education (Woodford, 2005) describe similar ideas. However, Bildung has some features that are unique to the German and Northern European educational tradition, but which could be valuable for international music education and policy.

The General Notion of Bildung. The etymology of the word Bildung reveals some of its original meaning (Bauer, 2003, p. 133). While the first word *Bild* (image) means *reproduction* or *sign*, the ending *-ung* indicates a process, particularly the "reproduction of a pre-given form (Gestalt)" (Schwenk, 1989, p. 209). Bildung in this original meaning is about revealing the true inner self of an individual, forming and shaping it through encounters with the world. The ancient ideal of the cultivation of the soul, as well as the Christian notion of the likeness of man to god, are important points of reference.[1] Enlightenment philosophy also influenced its meaning, emphasizing the need for self-cultivation and the education of self-determined and reasonably acting people (Schwenk, 1989, p. 210).

The original meaning of Bildung in the 18th century was shaped by the notion that the destiny of human beings was not fixed and determined, an idea resulting from the church having lost its sovereignty over the interpretation of the meaning of life. Bildung is a supplement for lost metaphysical security, indicating that people are free to choose their destinies but need to cultivate their selves (Masschelein & Ricken, 2003, p. 140). Bildung is an emancipatory process in terms of freeing oneself from various kinds of power. Masschelein and Ricken (2003, p. 142) state that the concept of Bildung "always contains an understanding of what is human . . . and how we can attain it." It presents a vision of individuals becoming the people they are meant to be, cultivated and ethically responsible, having a meaningful and happy life and also acting for the welfare of the state.

Bildung happens through the efforts of individuals as well as being supported by institutions such as schools. But even though instruction fosters Bildung, it is an open concept, not focused on any specific knowledge or skills, but rather aiming at self-formation within the context of a state. This was the original meaning when Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) shaped the notion of Bildung.[2] For him, Bildung in terms of *Allgemeinbildung* (General Bildung) was a goal for everybody, not only for the wealthy or powerful. Humboldt was consequently engaged in reforming the Prussian school system. But aside from Bildung for everybody, Humboldt founded a rather elite school type, the German *humanistisches Gymnasium*. This humanist high school for particularly talented students was focused on a specific canon of writings, mainly ancient Greek and Roman literature. This learning content was thought to be the best way to foster Bildung.

From the 18th century, Bildung was the key term in German education, although it was never unchallenged. Today's educational debates, for instance, question whether Bildung is still an appropriate goal for education, for example, in view of the discourse about competencies and standards or Bildung's foundation in Enlightenment ideals (Masschelein & Rick, 2003). But besides critical voices, there have been supportive ones, underlining Bildung's meaning for theories of creativity (Hammershoj, 2009) or critical theory (Gur-Ze'ev, 2002). In German educational studies there have even been attempts to update the notion of Bildung. The theory of the transformative processes of Bildung (Koller, 2012) is one attempt, integrating theories of habitus and social capital to prove how individual transformation happens and what role schools play. Bildung is also often used in educational debates against the instrumentalism of schooling and learning, for example,with regard to competencies and standards (Varkoy, 2010).

In German educational policy, Bildung plays a crucial role. Bildung is a fundamental right, as a term used to supplement the English word "education." The right to education, as mentioned in article 26 of the UN's *Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) and as a cultural human right in article 13 of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (1966), is in German "Recht auf Bildung" and is guaranteed by legislation in all German states. In the Bayerische Landesverfassung (Bavarian state constitution, 1946), articles 128 to 141 describe Bildung, schools, the protection of the natural environment, and cultural heritage.[3] On the German website of UNESCO, the English word "education" is always translated as "Bildung," for example, the program "Education for all" is in German "Bildung fuer alle."[4] In German curricula such as the Bavarian curriculum for elementary schools, there is often a framework for schooling and instruction, thereby defining Bildung as the overall goal of schooling; it concerns, for example, character education and knowledge about important values, or language learning.[5] The arts and music play a significant role in this process.

Bildung in Music. Bildung is the core idea in music education and music education policy in Germany. It concerns two different notions. First, Bildung in music is part of Bildung in general, supporting the development of a cultivated person; this concerns non-musical goals such as fostering intelligence or creativity through music. Second, there is a specific Bildung in music in terms of gaining musical knowledge and skills. This ambiguity of Bildung in music is also emphasized in music education curricula such as the Bavarian curriculum for elementary schools (2014):[6]

> Aesthetic experience, concentrated listening, reflective understanding of music and joint activities contribute significantly to the general and cultural Bildung and personal formation.

This statement also indicates that issues such as aesthetic experience or reflective understanding are crucial for Bildung. In his "Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Men," Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) presents a concept that describes education through the arts as a way to humanize people and to build a fair society.

Balancing the inner drives such as feeling and intellect through aesthetic experiences was thought to be the only way to attain the happiness of individual people as well as the welfare of the state. Schiller (1967, p. 161) states that "there is no way of making sensuous man rational except by first making him aesthetic." Schiller's thoughts have been very influential regarding Bildung in music, emphasizing that music offers a holistic education, uniting feeling and intellect.

The German music council (Deutscher Musikrat), the main German lobbying association for music, underlines this significance of Bildung in music for German society:[7]

> Bildung in music is a crucial part of general Bildung, because it cultivates heart, hand and head. Music's significance for individual development is undeniable. Its effect on enhancing intelligence, creativity and many other abilities is well-known. However, the main reason for music's significance for people is music itself and its aesthetic qualities.

Bildung is a concept uniting musical and non-musical goals. It helps people to find their cultural identity and fosters intelligence, tolerance, freedom, and intercultural communication.

While Bildung in music has been important in German music education since the 18th century (Vogt, 2012), in the 1990s a new interest was triggered by the attempt to implement the ideas of philosophers such as John Dewey (1859–1952) or Martin Seel (b. 1954) in the German discourse. This inspired a new significance of aesthetic experience and music as social and communal practices in theories on Bildung. In Kaiser's view (1998), Bildung is determined by the relationship between people and music. Music is action, practice, and aesthetic experience—something people do and use, not some remote work of art. Bildung in music means to deepen the understanding and experiencing of music. It means improving musical skills, learning how to responsibly use music, and how to enrich one's life through music. Rolle (1999, p. 5) states:

> Bildung in music happens when people have aesthetic experiences through musical practice. Music educators who try to foster aesthetic education and Bildung need to offer opportunities for musical activities and practice where such aesthetic experiences can happen.

Rolle underlines the meaning of musical praxis for Bildung in music. Bildung happens when people have the opportunity to be musically active and to have aesthetic experiences.

BILDUNG AND MUSIC EDUCATION POLICY

Bildung is the key term in music education policy in Germany. It is not only an educational ideal but serves as a point of reference for curricula and advocacy. It

is a powerful argument for securing music's place as a school subject as well as being an indicator for social justice. Bildung concerns various aspects of music education policy.

Curriculum, Canon, and Standards. Although the German school system is decentralized and the 16 federal states of Germany have different educational laws, there are nationwide commonalities in music education. Nimczik (2011, p. 34) identifies three main points as mentioned by the German national conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (KMK). From the perspective of teaching, music education should offer opportunities for broadening music's meaning in people's lives as well as enhancing musical knowledge and abilities. Various musical activities such as performing, composing, and improvising are chances to "fulfill the existential need of each person for self-expression" (Nimczik, 2011, p. 35). Among many other things, "music thus lays the groundwork for an independent and self-determined life" (Nimczik, 2011, p. 35). Regarding cultural policy, music education plays an important role in transmitting the cultural heritage to the next generation, thereby helping students to find their own cultural identity in a transcultural society. Finally, regarding schools as institutions, music education and public performances support "the school's image and promote a feeling of loyalty among its pupils, teachers and parents" (Nimczik, 2011, p. 35).

While these aspects are certainly part of many music education curricula worldwide, the interesting fact about Germany is that Bildung is the core idea to which everything is related. Without referring to Bildung, education or music education in Germany is almost unthinkable. Therefore, the first paragraph of many music education curricula is about music and its contribution to Bildung in terms of individual development, creativity, concentration, communication, or social behavior. The music curriculum for North Rhine-Westphalia also underlines one significant fact for music education and Bildung in Germany: music education in schools is supposed to offer regular access to music and music-making for those students who do not have other opportunities (Lehrplan Musik fuer Grundschulen in Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2008). However, it might be worthwhile to consider that music education in German schools has traditionally been general music education. Learning an instrument was never part of the school curriculum; students played Orff and classroom instruments, or whatever was available (e. g., rock band equipment). General music education was supposed to serve the goal of general Bildung in music best, because having musical experiences and specific knowledge was part of being a well-educated and cultivated person. Students interested in learning an instrument would have studio lessons at a community music school or private lessons with individual musicians.

Since learning an instrument seemed to be such a privilege in Germany, offering access for everybody, particularly in schools, has been an important goal for music education policy. For this reason, new approaches and projects have been implemented in order to offer instrumental music instruction in German public schools. The most popular program has been "Jedem Kind ein Instrument" (An instrument for every child). It offers children in elementary schools opportunities for learning an instrument. Originally established in North Rhine-Westphalia in

2007, it is a four-year music education program and is taught in addition to regular music education instruction in schools. In the first year, students get to know various instruments and learn musical basics so they can select the instrument they would like to learn. During the second year, students can borrow the instrument of their choice; in groups of up to five, children have group instruction every week. During the third and fourth years, in addition to group instruction, students play in an orchestra. The instrumental instruction is taught by two teachers, the regular classroom teacher and a teacher from a community music school as instrumental teacher. Regardless of its popularity, sponsored research by the German ministry of education,[8] and even a movie (2010) illustrating its success,[9] the program still faces much criticism. It does not, in general, accomplish what was intended, namely, that children from low-income families or with no opportunity for private music instruction have the opportunity to learn an instrument. While many students participate in the first year, when it is complimentary, only 50% participate during the second year when there is a fee. Additionally, there is often a lack of teachers or training, particularly in the matter of cooperating classroom and instrumental teachers. Sometimes there is no opportunity, either, for children at the end of the program to continue learning their instrument, because there are no teachers available in community music schools or parents do not have enough money—although financial support is offered. These and many more issues have been criticized regarding the program "Jedem Kind ein Instrument" (An instrument for every child).[10]

Not only does music education in schools foster Bildung but also do private music instruction and community music schools. The association of community music schools, the Verband deutscher Musikschulen, always emphasizes the significance of private music instruction and the musical opportunities such instruction offers for Bildung in music.[11] In their declaration (Verband deutscher Musikschulen, 2001), the association emphasizes the completely different goals of music education in schools and in community music schools. While music education in public schools provides a general education and Bildung in music, private music instruction is focused on students' special interests, particularly learning an instrument. But music education in public schools and music education in community music schools both serve the general goal of Bildung. However, one important question still remains: If music education should foster Bildung, what kind of lesson content or music serves this goal best?

Lesson content has always been an important topic in education policy and in research related to Bildung. There have been two basic Bildung theories defining the meaning of content. While the material Bildung theory emphasizes the significance of specific content, formative Bildung theories aim "to acquire methodological knowledge and insight with the aim of being able to apply it in other contexts as well" (Nielsen, 2007, p. 270). Regarding material Bildung theories, Nielsen (2007, p. 270) states "that cultural objects that have achieved the status of classics within our culture first and foremost have Bildung value." For music education, this could mean that certain musical works have more educational value than others. This might encourage creating a canon of musical works that

would serve best the goal of Bildung in music. This is exactly what happened in German music education when the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, a foundation close to the conservative Christian Democratic Party (CDU), published the policy paper "Bildungsoffensive durch Neuorientierung des Musikunterrichts" (2004) (Fostering Bildung through a new orientation in music education). The goal was to develop a new framework for German music education focused on Bildung, nurturing character development and national identity through required core content. Therefore, a canon of musical works was identified that every German student should know. This canon consisted of seemingly significant works, almost exclusively from the Western European Art Music tradition. Eleven jazz musicians, such as Benny Goodman or John Coltrane, are also mentioned, and 17 rock and pop musicians, from Bill Haley and Elvis Presley to Madonna or German singer Herbert Groenemeyer. This canon of works raises various well-known issues, since it is Eurocentric and focused on music as a work of art. Music from various cultures is explicitly excluded. Western European Art Music is intended to strengthen German cultural identity, even though there is no elaboration on this intent as to how this should be achieved, because it is not a specifically German tradition (Jorgensen, 2003). The canon is also gender-biased and focused on male composers. Criteria for the selection of works, the rather old-fashioned notion of eras in music history, or why certain genres such as Rap are excluded are also questionable. Furthermore, music education in German schools does not rely on required content or the great artwork tradition any longer; rather, it is student-centered and inspired by a life-world approach. It takes into account young people's musical cultures, including various musical activities such as composing, dancing, performing, or debating. Teaching a canon of works would not fit in with these approaches in German music education. However, criticism on the part of German music education scholars (Kaiser, 2006), together with the standards movement, has stopped all attempts to implement this canon in schools. But this canon of works illustrates that the notion of Bildung can also be used for a conservative political and educational agenda.

Aside from the notion of canon, the standards movement also revealed some of the political implications of Bildung. As an educational ideal, Bildung is focused on individual cultivation and formation; assessment and evaluation have never played an important role. Therefore, after the poor performance of German students in the first PISA test (Program for International Student Assessment) in 2001, Bildung was immediately identified as the reason for this failure, particularly its ambiguity and input orientation, but also the lack of precise assessment. Consequently, Bildung was almost replaced in German educational policy by standards and competencies, emphasizing an output orientation and precise assessment culture. The first standards in German music education were developed in the state of Baden-Wuerttemberg in 2004. These standards defined music as an aesthetic way of experiencing the world, physically, emotionally, and intellectually (Weber, 2008, p. 102). Music education should help students use music for their personal happiness. Three content standards were described in terms of (1) inventing and performing music, (2) listening to and understanding music,

and (3) reflecting on music. They aim toward a deeper understanding of music of all cultures and times. Achievement standards describe different ability levels. These standards show that there is often not much difference between the new competencies and the old objectives in curricula, even though the standards might be more precise. But there was one problem. These standards were not based on a competency model in music because none had existed so far. Only in 2007 did the KOMUS (Competency Model for Music Education) project start at Bremen University, Germany, developing a scientifically based competency model. This model was developed for the field of perceiving and contextualizing music and identifying different competency levels of perception; test items, too, were created and a pilot study was conducted in 2009 (Knigge, 2010). While it was politically unavoidable to develop a competency model, the tendency toward standards and competencies was intensely criticized, mostly by referring to the tradition of Bildung in music (Vogt, 2008). Many music education scholars and music educators feared that the openness of Bildung in music and the meaning of aesthetic experience would be lost, due to an emerging standards and assessment culture. However, this did not happen. In most German curricula, standards and competencies just replaced aims and objectives, but no specific assessment culture in music education was implemented. This underlines that, as in many countries worldwide, standards and competencies are part of policy documents and political rhetoric, maybe also mentioned in textbooks, but in the end with little effect in classrooms. Additionally, the Bildung tradition left marks on the standards movement. Standards in German curricula are often called *Bildungsstandards*, a compound word consisting of *Bildung* and *standards*. Even though German education and music education are part of the international standards movement, this signifies that Germans have not given up their tradition of Bildung completely.

Music Education Advocacy. The German music council (Deutscher Musikrat) is the most powerful professional association in music in Germany. Its main goal is to support Bildung in music, which is the one notion uniting all different interest groups and sections of the council. The German music council describes Bildung as paramount for society and its own functions as follows:[12]

> Our goal is to raise awareness for the significance of Bildung in music for the future of our society in such ways that politicians start acting to support our goal. Particularly in times of economic crisis, it is crucial to underline the goal that every citizen has the right for a comprehensive and qualified Bildung in music, not depending on anybody's social class or ethnicity.

This statement advocates Bildung in music as a basic right for everybody and asks for political actions to implement this goal. It argues for equality and social justice and requests politicians to support this goal. To promote Bildung in music, the German music council has published various statements and papers, indicating the significance of Bildung in music for personal development, individual well-being, and the welfare of the state. The policy document "Musikalische Bildung in Deutschland" (Bildung in music in Germany) (2012) provides an overview of

the current state of Bildung in music in Germany. Emphasizing everybody's right to have access to Bildung in music, it argues for offering more opportunities for musical activities for everybody. Various political requests concern more funding for different programs for Bildung in music such as early childhood programs, public schools, studio lessons, project work, or educational programs of orchestras and theaters. The general political intention of this document is to motivate politicians, administrators, or churches to support the goal of Bildung in music. The German music council also has a website specifically dedicated to Bildung.[13] There, one can find new publications, such as a paper of the German culture council regarding the significance of the arts in schools, as well as political initiatives, such as the inquiry to the parliament of the state of Brandenburg regarding the number of music teachers in the state.[14]

To pursue these goals, the German music council is also trying to develop a music education policy (Musikpolitik). This is particularly interesting because so far, music education policy has not existed as a distinct field of politics or research in Germany. Music education policy is defined by the German music council as "a means by and through which it is possible to conduct policy for a humane society."[15] This statement seems to refer to Schiller and his understanding of aesthetic education as a way to create a just society. It is certainly not an agenda ready to be implemented but rather a statement that needs to be further elaborated. The field of kulturelle Bildung is already one area where the connection between music, politics, and social justice is obvious.

Kulturelle Bildung. Since the 1970s, kulturelle Bildung has become a popular term in German educational policy. It is used to describe various creative activities and educational opportunities, such as in the arts, sports, or theater. At the core of kulturelle Bildung is the intention to offer everybody access to cultural activities. It aims particularly at those who might be excluded, due to financial or behavioral problems, cultural or social issues. Kulturelle Bildung is focused on social justice, participation, and inclusion. It also tries to compensate for the discrimination the German school system creates in terms of favoring wealthy families with a non-immigrant background.[16]

Although kulturelle Bildung is a well-known term, it is not easy to define. One reason might be that it is preferably part of political rhetoric and also often used by practitioners in various cultural areas. But kulturelle Bildung is also part of the scholarly discourse. Ermert (2009, p. 1) defines it as "the individual process of transformation which happens through experiencing oneself, encountering the environment and the society through the arts and creative actions." As indicated by the term Bildung, kulturelle Bildung is focused on individuals' cultivation and personal growth through the arts. Ermert states (2009, p. 1):

> Kulturelle Bildung means Bildung for cultural participation in terms of participating in the cultural life of a society. Kulturelle Bildung is one of the foundations of a happy and meaningful life, regarding the individual and the society. Kulturelle Bildung makes a significant contribution to general Bildung.

This definition suggests that participation, social justice, and equality are at the core of kulturelle Bildung. In order to implement these ideals, there are programs in kulturelle Bildung in every German city, provided by city councils. The program in Munich offers opportunities for getting in touch with music and instruments, art, reading/writing/listening as well as dance and theater, museums, media, nature and environment, circus and play, adult education, festivals, competitions, and institutions offering various education programs.[17] The activities consist of orchestras offering free concerts, kids' nights at museums, song-writing workshops, field trips, and other activities. The framework for these activities is the "Konzeption fuer Kulturelle Bildung Muenchen" (conception for kulturelle Bildung in Munich), a policy paper proclaiming the significance of the arts for people's lives.[18] It describes the specific political, economic, and social situation in Munich; the goals of kulturelle Bildung in terms of lifelong learning and communal engagement; but also the various opportunities for kulturelle Bildung. Schools, youth centers, and initiatives in various parts of the city are places where kulturelle Bildung can happen. Important aspects are intercultural encounters, voluntary participation, development of media competencies, lifelong learning, or kulturelle Bildung as part of sustainable development. The paper suggests how these ideas can be implemented and recommendations are made for successful programs. As a supplement, a 10-point-action paper indicates what guiding principles kulturelle Bildung in Munich should have. This concerns issues such as raising awareness for the significance of kulturelle Bildung, defining it as a task for schools, social work, cultural institutions, and artists, as well as initiating cooperation between various institutions to develop a meaningful program. At the core of kulturelle Bildung is cooperation between different institutions regardless of type: between social work, concert halls, theaters, schools, or individual artists. One goal is to bridge the gap between institutions of "high" culture and youth culture to offer meaningful opportunities for cultural engagement.[19]

Kulturelle Bildung demonstrates the versatility of the term "Bildung." This leads to the interesting question of what meaning the German notion of Bildung could have for international music education policy.

BILDUNG AND THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF MUSIC EDUCATION

Bildung raises many issues regarding international music education policy and offers new opportunities to shape the internationalization in a way valuing diversity.

First, Bildung stands for the significance of an educational ideal that dominates policy documents and the educational system. There are such notions in every country. Cross-cultural comparison and research could help to find similarities and differences. To know the goals of music education internationally would help music education policy and advocacy significantly.

Second, Bildung could inspire an international dialogue about significant terms in music education. As the notion of aesthetic experience indicates, there is a need to revisit the meaning of terms, particularly those that might be devalued in one music education tradition, but deeply valued by another (Fossum & Varkoy, 2012). It might be time to start "cleansing" biased terms through cross-cultural research, uncovering their true meaning, aside from controversial and ideological debates.

Third, Bildung raises awareness for the political dimensions of lesson content. What is taught in music education, as suggested in political documents such as curricula, illustrates conceptions of human beings or ideals of culture and society. This also raises the issue of the impact political parties and lobbyists have on music education, groups such as state music councils, political foundations, or publishers. They all have their specific agendas. It is important to raise awareness for these activities and to use them strategically for the benefit of music education.

Fourth, the notion of Bildung could be used as a powerful tool in policy and advocacy. It describes an ideal of music education that is valued by many music education traditions. Educating knowledgeable, self-determined, and aesthetically proficient people is one of the most important goals of schooling and instruction. Bildung stresses that education should not only be focused on employability, but that self-formation, finding meaning in life, and supporting the welfare of the society also play significant roles. It emphasizes that neoliberal thinking and an assessment culture cannot capture what education should really be about. Furthermore, the notion of Bildung unites musical and non-musical goals within one educational ideal. This could help to reconcile controversies regarding music education's meaning for individuals and society.

But there still remains an important question. Why should international scholars and music educators care about Bildung? Is it not just a German concept that has no meaning in a music education world dominated by Anglo-American thinking? Certainly, this is an issue worth considering. While English as the lingua franca of our time dominates the international music education discourse, including Anglo-American concepts and approaches, Bildung could be an example of a German term being meaningful in international music education through the educational ideal it represents. While Bildung was introduced in international music education by researchers a decade ago (Kertz-Welzel, 2004; Nielsen, 2007), it still remains a term reserved for very specialized German or Northern European music education discourses. Perhaps it is time to utilize Bildung as a term in international music education policy to indicate that international music education is as diverse as music and that different cultures of music education are valued. McCarthy uses the metaphor "tapestry of music education" (McCarthy, 2012, p. 62) to illustrate the diversity of music education internationally. To adopt Bildung as a term in international music education terminology could be a first step to show that internationalization does not equal Anglo-Americanization. A transcultural terminology in international music education, embracing significant terms from many music education traditions, could help to shape

internationalization in a more diverse, reflective, and global way (Kertz-Welzel, 2014). Music education policy could play a crucial role in this endeavor.

CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND ACTIONS

Music education policy should be the field of research that critically reflects the internationalization of music education and shapes it. As an area of research, it signifies the connections between theories and actions. Music education policy documents, whether political statements, curricula, or descriptions of standards, have practical implications and aim at action. Music educators and scholars sometimes neglect this fact. It is time to realize the actions political documents imply and the power everybody working in music education has to change music education policy.

The internationalization of music education offers many opportunities for powerful advocacy, uniting various music education traditions and using the most successful national concepts for the international music education community. Bildung could be such a notion, with similarities and differences toward concepts in various countries offering a powerful vision of what education and music education could accomplish. As an international topic, it could help to support a reflective internationalization of music education. This could also start an international dialogue on cultural sensitivity and diversity, overcoming the hegemony of Anglo-American music education. It would also help to establish music education policy as a field of research in countries such as Germany, where it has not existed so far. Claiming the internationalization of music education as field of research would be a very valuable contribution music education policy could make to the improvement of music education globally, starting with the notion of Bildung.

NOTES

1. German philosopher and theologian, Meister Eckhart (1260–1328), is thought to have created the term "Bildung."
2. For further information about Humboldt's educational ideas, see http://www.ibe.unesco.org/publications/ThinkersPdf/humbolde.PDF.
3. https://www.uni-augsburg.de/einrichtungen/gleichstellungsbeauftragte/downloads/bayerische_verfassung.pdf, 27–29.
4. http://www.unesco.de.
5. http://www.lehrplanplus.bayern.de/bildungs-und-erziehungsauftrag/grundschule/musik.
6. http://www.lehrplanplus.bayern.de/fachprofil/grundschule/musik.
7. http://www.musikrat.de/musikpolitik/musikalische-bildung/1-berliner-appell.html.
8. For more information, see http://www.jeki-forschungsprogramm.de.

9. The trailer is available online: http://www.kino-zeit.de/filme/trailer/jedem-kind-ein-instrument-ein-jahr-mit-vier-tonen.
10. http://www.nmz.de/artikel/jeki-die-zweifel-sind-uebermaechtig.
11. For more information, see the declaration of the German association of community music schools: http://www.musikschulen.de/medien/doks/erklaerg-vdm-vds01.pdf.
12. https://www.musikrat.de/musikpolitik/musikalische-bildung/.
13. http://miz.org/themenportale/bildung-ausbildung.
14. http://www.miz.org/downloads/dokumente/742/2015_4_resolution_kulturrat_kuenstlerische_schulfaecher.pdf.
15. https://www.musikrat.de/fileadmin/files/musikrat/Musikpolitik/DMR_Grundsatzpapier_Musikpolitik_final.pdf.
16. http://www.dw.de/germany-the-struggle-for-educational-equality/a-15906090.
17. http://www.muenchen.de/rathaus/Stadtverwaltung/Kulturreferat/Kulturelle_Bildung.html.
18. http://www.muenchen.de/rathaus/Stadtverwaltung/Kulturreferat/ Kulturelle_Bildung/Konzept.html.
19. http://www.muenchen.de/rathaus/Stadtverwaltung/Kulturreferat/Kulturelle_Bildung/Konzept.html.

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7

Policy and Governmental Action in Brazil

SERGIO FIGUEIREDO ■

INTRODUCTION

> Following his daily routine, a Brazilian student 11 years of age goes to school and participates in various classes that comprise the school curriculum. The music lesson is part of the weekly routine, as a compulsory activity delivered once a week. This class is taught by a music teacher with specific training to work in the school, having acquired the musical and pedagogical skills needed for this professional activity.
>
> In another context, a Brazilian student also 11 years of age goes to school and participates in various classes that comprise the school curriculum. Music is not one of the required disciplines and may be eventually included in some activities throughout the week as an auxiliary element or recreation. The school does not have a music teacher.
>
> For another Brazilian student of the same age, music is not part of the curriculum. But this student participates in a band that is one of the extracurricular activities offered by the school. The person responsible for the band is a practicing musician who has not received any formal pedagogical preparation.

The three situations described above illustrate school-based musical education in Brazil and other Latin American countries, and likely in other places globally. There are undoubtedly other situations with similar contexts; nevertheless, for Brazilian students, and their counterparts elsewhere, music in school is extremely diversified, ranging from being a required subject to complete absence as a practice in school. A similar diversity can be seen in the types of teachers responsible

for music education in schools: teachers with a university degree in music education; generalist teachers with some musical training; practicing musicians who teach classes and musical activities at the school; and unfortunately, other professionals with no formal preparation in the field of music or education.

The availability of music to all students during their school life depends on many factors, and such inclusion is bound by laws and public policies directed toward the democratization of music education to all those who pass through formal schooling. According to the Brazilian Law of Guidelines for National Education (Brasil, 1996), three levels constitute Basic Education: Early childhood—0 to 5, Fundamental—6 to 14, and Intermediate—15 to 17. The legislation established "arts education [as] a compulsory component in the diverse levels" (Brasil, 1996, art. 26). Music is a compulsory content in the curriculum under the umbrella of arts. Last, the cultural notion that the Brazilian society is "naturally" musical at times leads to arguments that music is therefore not necessary in the school curriculum, as it is part of the quotidian life of people.

Focusing on the Brazilian context, but assuming that in other countries similar cases could be found (see, for example, Gonzáles-Moreno [2015] in Mexico and Sanchez [2015] in Venezuela), the three examples of music education in Brazil lead to a question that guides the discussion in the text: *How can such different approaches to music education coexist, when educational policies are supposed to be unified and directed by law for all schools?* This chapter presents possible points of action emerging from analyzing and discussing ways in which music education policies have been developed and implemented within the Brazilian context.

PUBLIC POLICIES AND EDUCATION

The concept of politics could be a starting point for the discussion of public policies. The importance of political participation is stressed by Dallari (1984, p. 33) who argues, "individuals must participate in social life, seeking to influence the decisions of common interest." The "common" citizen, however, considers political activity to be a matter for politicians, and the absence of a general sense of responsibility among citizens is said to be one of the reasons leading to conformity and political alienation. As Ball (2011) argues,

> The prevalent view . . . is that politics is something that is "done" for the people. As beneficiaries of the first order, "they" "implement" policies; as beneficiaries of second order, "they" are affected positively or negatively by the policies. (45)

If we understand politics from the perspective that "all human actions that produce any effect on the objectives of social groups or on the rules of coexistence are political in nature" (Dallari, 1984, p. 81), political activity would be understood as a responsibility of all, not something restricted to the action of professional politicians.

Regardless of the contributions citizens can make to policy and political decisions that impact education, it is necessary to at least consider the role specialization might play in the formation of constructive and effective discourse and acknowledge that some individuals would be better prepared than others for certain policy discussions. Even so, all people affected by policies have ideas, interests, and opinions, which must be respected and when feasible addressed in a democratic society.

The same could be applied to music education where the participation of diverse social actors would be a desirable political exercise. Queiroz (2012) emphasizes the importance of political participation in the Brazilian context: "The [music education] area needs to consolidate a culture of participation in public policy scenario, generating, consequently, greater interest of the professionals in the subject and its ramifications on national education" (p. 44). Administrators, teachers, students, and the community can and often are involved in diverse phases of the process of policy design, as well as those regarding approval and implementation of policy. Consequently, stakeholders need to be empowered to actively participate in the whole process. Unsurprisingly, however, many people do not assume this political attitude.

Horsley (in this publication) emphasizes that "education is part of a wider political and social project; therefore it is imperative that those who are involved in it do not let their voices be silenced." A Brazilian example of a political exercise on behalf of music education in schools is presented and discussed below to demonstrate that such exercises are possible but dependent on a number of factors, including the capacity and disposition of music educators and other professionals to review and change educational orientation.

POLITICAL ACTION AND EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

When addressing public policies, it is important to understand that public agendas are connected to political action. As public policies are aimed at all, everyone should be represented in the process of drafting and implementing actions that affect the social life in a collective way.

> Each policy represents an attempt to solve a problem of society from decision-making processes in which a number of actors participate. . . . [A] public policy is an expression of public power, [it] builds a framework of action and [it] constitutes a local order.
>
> —Mainardes, Ferreira, & Tello, *2011, p. 161*

The formulation of public policies should involve a plurality of individuals with different profiles and competencies, all contributing to the complex processes of proposing relevant actions. Drafting policy in the education area within a democratic context that aims for well-informed processes and high-consensus outcomes would then necessitate the participation of education professionals,

teachers, school administrators, and representatives of families, among others. Different perspectives certainly generate tensions, but at the same time they allow the elaboration of policies that encompass aspirations of different social groups who will be affected by such policies. Fanfani (as cited in Cunha, Sousa, & Silva, 2011, p. xvii) affirms that

> educational policy seeks to guide education for socially desirable ends, through a series of interventions that consist primarily of direct resources and formulate rules to facilitate certain practices. Education policy dilemmas are of different nature (ethical, political, technical) and in its resolutions are involved a lot of collective actors (trade unions, political parties, churches, private corporations, companies). Each of them has their own traditions, interests and resources that determine their strategies, alliances etc. In short, the field of education policy is plural, complex and often crossed by conflicts.

Educational policies are proposed and implemented by people with different preparation, references, perspectives, interests, and habits, which offers a challenge to attend to everyone's needs. In other words, "an educational policy is a set of decisions taken in advance to indicate expectations and guidelines of the society regarding school" (Akkari, 2011, p. 12). And diverse actors participate in the decisions with distinct conceptions about what should be defined and implemented to improve the quality of education in different contexts.

The production of a political text is part of the policy cycle discussed by Bowe, Ball, and Gold (1992). From the political discourses constructed, a text is produced identifying political actions to be addressed by sectors of the society. For the authors,

> policy documents contain ambiguities, contradictions and omissions that provide particular opportunities for debates in the process of implementation. . . . [T]exts need to be read with and against others, i.e., understood in their articulation or confrontation with other texts.
>
> —Bowe, Ball, & Gold, *1992, p. 224*

Producing the text of a public policy, therefore, implies a process that incorporates different perspectives when it aims to foster democratic participation of different stakeholders who will be affected by the proposed measures. The diversity of perspectives and focuses produces texts that can be read in several ways. Fairclough (as cited in Shiroma, Garcia, & Campos, 2011, p. 223) considers that "policy texts are [typically] not 'closed,' but, on the contrary, give rise to interpretations and reinterpretations that generate, therefore, different meanings to a same term." A number of interpretations are expected in social contexts, and the actions defined to implement a policy certainly depend on such interpretations. Gonçalves et al. (2012) call attention to this process of interpreting documents: "Policy documents are usually understood as a kind of sacred documents that have a strong performative character once the reader understands their 'true

intention' " (p. 278). When documents are open, but people understand them as "sacred documents," the efficiency of a policy could be at risk, in fact suffering from a passive attitude of social actors. The Brazilian case in terms of arts education is illustrative, as various legislative cycles do provide opportunities for restructuring. Constituents' preferences toward older models and lack of self-efficacy to engage with the possibilities of change and improvement of the arts in schools have led to stagnation and status quo safeguarding.

Moving onward in the policy cycle it is imperative to be attentive to the context of practice, where the different components of public policies are experienced (Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 1992, p. 21). It is within a context that public policies are implemented and thus context impacts the feasibility of what is proposed. In education, public policies are received and implemented by schools, administrators, and teachers, affecting the students, parents, and society as a whole. According to Brazilian official data, in 2014 the country had 2.14 million teachers, serving 49.8 million students in Basic Education (http://portal.inegov.br/basica-censo). In this broad and diverse context, strongly marked by regional characteristics, one could imagine the complexity of implementing a national public policy, able to contribute to the development of education in general and at the same time respecting the diversity of every region or locality in the country.

POLICY AND PARTICIPATION

Democratic policy processes involve the participation of many actors. Some of them assume active participation, engaging in the process, while others remain passive, waiting for decisions made by others. Discussing deliberative democracy, Gutmann and Thompson (2004) present several elements that should be taken into consideration when analyzing the active and passive attitudes within political processes. Their analysis departs from the idea that "persons should be treated not merely as objects of legislation, as passive subjects to be ruled, but as autonomous agents who take part in the governance of their own society, directly or through their representatives" (3).

Before the 1990s, Brazilian educational legislation was presented in a prescriptive way, establishing standards and guidelines to be observed by all educational institutions in various school levels. Schools were responsible for what was established, with little or no participation of various interested constituencies in elaborating the legislative regulation. This educational strategy in Brazil contributed to a passive disposition in many education professionals who believed they should behave as spectators or performers of a vision established by others, often no better informed or prepared than they are and at times less so.

Pini and Melo (2011) explore democratic school administration and teacher work according to legal documents immediately after the approval of the new Law of Guidelines and Basis for National Education in 1996. The authors discuss the democratic structure proposed by the new legislation as a critical element with positive repercussions in today's educational realities. According to the design established in 1996, parents, students, teachers, and administrative personnel are

to be included in school decisions, participating, for instance, in the elaboration of the political-pedagogical projects for the school, to be developed through committees with large participation of the school community. Regardless of its potential, in practice such mechanisms "are not applied in a generalized way across the country" (p. 56), and the lack of preparation of teachers and school communities to embrace tasks related to democratic school administration lead to outcomes that were, regardless of opportunity for consultation, not necessarily well assimilated and policy that was not satisfactorily implemented.

In 1996, the approval of the law 9394 (Brasil, 1996) brought significant changes to Brazilian education. The law, still valid today, is broad and addresses issues such as the principles and purposes of education, organization of educational levels and their nomenclature, curricular affairs, teacher training, and educational finances, among others. As discussed by Severino (2014), a number of principles of the law remain unfulfilled because

> they do not compel the legal agents to apply it. . . . [T]he law presents the concepts, but it does not require, does not ensure its own accomplishment. Therefore, everything becomes dependent on the actions administrators of the systems will take. (p. 44)

A number of topics enshrined by the legislation could be considered quite progressive and would, if implemented, be considered a significant educational advance, including the autonomy and freedom of the educational system to organize its own political and pedagogical projects. Its implementation structure, however, has been significantly limited and narrowly interpreted.

In terms of the arts, changes depend on hiring discipline specialists, which requires decisions related to financial resources directly connected to what is considered relevant in the curriculum—and the arts are normally not considered as relevant as core areas. In sum, even after convincing administrators that the arts are relevant and that music education should be taught by a specialist, overcoming the obstacles to offering music in all schools in Brazil remains dependent on administrative elements that have logistic and economic implications. While these are not insoluble, in the absence of other political challenges, administrators by and large prefer status quo to changes.

POLICY AND RESISTANCE

Saviani (1997) analyzes educational policies in light of passive and active resistance. Passive resistance refers to individualized action, which, while significant, may not promote desired changes. In this sense, individuals react to the policy, but they are not committed to transforming such reaction into concrete action.

> When an educational policy is announced, there is a tendency for dissenting voices to arise expressing their criticism, formulate objections, warning of

> the risk and its negative consequences that may arise if the proposed policy will take effect. They are, in general, individual manifestations which, although significant and representative amount of widespread preoccupations and anxieties among active professionals in the educational field, [the resistance] ends up not exceeding the scope of the exercise of the right to disagree.
>
> —Saviani, *1997, p. 235*

Active resistance, in the other hand, involves the collective participation of those directly or indirectly affected by a legal action, committed not only with a reaction to new policies, but also with the formulation of alternatives being proposed with content and arguments that may indeed promote changes.

> This [active resistance] implies at least two conditions: the first refers to the shape, that is, the requirement that the resistance is manifested not only individually, but through collective organizations, strongly galvanizing those who are, somehow, affected by the measures announced; the second concerns the content, thus involving the formulation of alternatives to the proposed measures, without which it will be difficult to achieve mobilization.
>
> —Saviani, *1997, pp. 235–236*

People engaged in active resistance, according to Saviani´s concepts, have the commitment and the ability to create the greatest impact in terms of effective implementation of public policies, representing a collective (organizations, groups of individuals, or advocates), and presenting criticism and arguments in favor of positive actions for education in general while also potentially affecting conformity.

Ideally then, public policy should seek and involve the participation of different segments of society that are directly affected by a social action to be successfully and democratically developed and implemented. The plurality of ideas can generate tensions, but at the same time bring diversity to the debate, which may contribute to the development of more democratic and implementable politics, where many citizens have their expectations and needs addressed if not met. As posed by Steffek, Kissling, and Nanz (2008), people who are affected by democratic decision making, should have the opportunity to participate in the process, exercising their right of saying and manifesting their vision on a number of matters.

Jones (2009) discusses the concepts of soft and hard policies from the perspective of US music education. The idea of attraction and coercion in terms of educational policies could be connected to the notion of active and passive resistance, discussed above. When people feel attracted by some aspects of educational policies, they could be willing to assume an attitude that goes beyond serving as passive spectators of a process. The imposition or coercion of a policy agenda then could stimulate both active and passive attitudes. According to Jones (2009), "while some hard policies specific to music education advocate a progressive

music education, other hard policies may interfere with this agenda and soft policies seem to maintain the status quo" (p. 27).

Bartlett and Johnson (2010) point out the tension between "rigid" and "fluid" policies and the consequences of these kinds of legal orientation:

> Rigid state policy regulations may result in unnecessary and unproductive restructuring or restrictions at the local level. Yet, completely fluid policy may result in a lack of direction resulting in uninformed local decisions and less effective induction programs. (p. 869)

In both cases, however, rigid or fluid regulations are still dependent on the participation of diverse actors, and the same situation could be applied to policies in general. In the end, some policies could be more or less accepted and implemented by educators when people see themselves as powerful or powerless actors in the process.

MUSIC EDUCATION AND LEGAL ORIENTATION IN BRAZIL

In 2008, in Brazil, a new law established music as a mandatory content of the curriculum. Its implementation has been slow due to at least three main factors: (1) the tradition of *polivalência*—one "arts" teacher teaching all the arts subjects in school, that is, music, theater, dance, and visual arts—and the perception that it is the most appropriate way to develop a curriculum with all the arts subjects, ignoring the negative results presented by the literature about this model and the delivery of quality arts teaching in schools (Barbosa, 2001; Figueiredo, 2004, 2013; Penna, 2002, 2013); (2) a reduced presence for the arts in the curriculum, promoting a superficial and insufficient development in each of the arts in schools; (3) lack of financial resources for hiring new arts teachers with specific university preparation in each of the arts.

Decentralization has become another prevalent element in establishing this law, particularly in terms of distributing responsibilities for discussion and decision making (Akkari, 2011; Souza & Faria, 2004). "Decentralization is about shifts in the location of those who govern, about transfers of authority from those in one location or level vis-à-vis education organizations, to those in another level" (McGinn & Welsh, 1999, p. 17). In this sense, for decentralization to be effective, it was necessary that the actors involved in the process assume their responsibilities in an active way. As Cury (2014) argues, dialogue is of great importance

> . . . so that the plurality of sectors competent in the subject, individual and especially collective, can foster a reasonable consensus from the debate. . . . The national education (in Brazil) would benefit [from] establishing a differentiated way for its democratization, and also for the democratization of Brazilian society. (p. 83)

The OECD addresses another aspect of the decentralization process that could be related to what took place in Brazil, noting that "much evidence highlights the importance of contextual factors in policy development and implementation" (OECD, 2015, p. 28). The decentralization process allowed for the adjustment of policies with respect to regional differences, incorporating specific aspects that make sense in different contexts; an issue of particular importance if we want to understand the cultural plurality within a country such as Brazil.

In sum, educational policies should represent a collective exercise, where several actors participate and contribute from their experience and expertise in the various fields of knowledge. To reach this "ideal," a new form of understanding regarding educational policies should be assumed by educators in all fields. It is necessary to build a new agenda for education professionals, considering the participation in the construction, implementation, and evaluation of policies as essential components in the education arena. As the 2008 legislation process in Brazil shows, legislative success is rarely sufficient for the significant implementation of desired changes. As the case of music education indicates, without the participation of many actors, which demands active and persistent work on behalf of a quality education, policy change can easily become nominal and implementation processes can de facto deconstruct, distorting and even negating, policy outcomes.

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES, FREEDOM AND AUTONOMY

Powers (1995) offers two concepts that could be interesting to include in our discussion: *macro context* and *detail*. National policies are planned and formulated to be applied in educational systems, but it is necessary to consider that such systems are not prepared, in many cases, to follow exactly what was established due to specific conditions.

Discussing US Federal Education Policy, Elpus (2013) refers to the realistic component in policies. In many cases, he argues, documents are written "too far separated from the realities of schooling" (14). In terms of Brazilian educational policies, the intention in federal law is to reach the macro educational context, but its application depends on a number of details and particularities that sometimes represent challenges to the implementation of a new educational orientation.

Cunha (2011) refers to a number of educational reforms in Latin America from the 1990s that did not accomplish expected outcomes, mainly because they were "inspired in the neoliberal ideal" without consideration of differences and specificities guiding the internal political and structural capacities of these countries. In the same direction, Carnoy (2002) points out the necessity to more seriously address reforms that search for equity in regions of the world that are marked by high social inequality and injustice. In this sense the *details*, as indicated by Powers (1995), are crucial to the development of suitable policies in distinct contexts, contrasting with a macro context view of the reforms that is too generalist. Therefore, while flexibility, freedom, and autonomy are essential components in

educational reforms, to embrace implicit singularities of each educational context represents a huge challenge for the process as a whole. This is a central and common conundrum in policy, and awareness of its complexity is essential.

The policy cycle approach (Ball, 1994; Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 1992) could also be considered as we struggle to understand why some educational policies are not implemented in precise or cogent ways, even when the content of such policy is relevant to educational national development. The cycle could explain that the context of practice is the ultimate phase of a policy implementation, and educational systems represent a core part of this process. In other words, the educational policies established by educational administrators, with more or less participation of different actors of the community, only materialize when they can be assumed in different educational contexts. For this reason, the more realistic these policies are, the greater the chance that we can consider the details that affect differently each educational context, and the greater the chances for apt implementation.

Brazilian Law 9394/96 (Brasil, 1996) states that education systems (federal, state, and city schools) have autonomy and freedom to organize their pedagogic and policy projects, which means that schools could organize the curriculum in many ways. The curriculum could be adapted to each school context, respecting particularities and specific issues that are relevant for each school. This would be, in practice, a more realistic application of educational policies, instead of having authoritative orientation, not possible to be reached by all educational systems. In terms of arts, different artistic languages could be incorporated in accordance with (1) the understanding and the importance attributed to arts education in their diversity and specificity, (2) the organization and distribution of the subjects in the curriculum, (3) the availability of specific teachers to deliver these activities, and (4) financial resources to hire arts specialist teachers. The law allows educational systems to organize arts education with freedom and autonomy. Implementation, however, requires suitable conditions and willingness to do so.

The consequences of this Brazilian legislation in schools have been extremely diverse. In some contexts, the various artistic fields have been implemented in the school curriculum, counting on the participation of specialist music teachers. In other contexts the tradition of having a single arts teacher at school, responsible for all areas, remains as a relic and reminder of the past. There are still school contexts where there aren't any specialized professionals in arts education, and classes are taught by professionals from other fields with some affinity with different artistic languages. In this case, a history teacher, with some musical abilities, for instance, could be invited to teach music in schools, without specific professional preparation as a music teacher.

Florianópolis, a city in the south of Brazil, implemented music as part of the Arts Teaching in the municipal public schools in 1998. After a year of discussion among schoolteachers, university faculty, and the secretary of education, music was implemented in city schools, as a result of the new legislation approved in 1996. In other cities in different parts of the country it is possible to verify the implementation of music in the curriculum as a consequence of specific actions

of their teachers and administrators. The experiences of those cities demonstrates the freedom and autonomy enacted in some places.

The extreme variation in music education school curricular implementation across Brazil is related to at least three topics: (1) the tradition of having one teacher teaching all the arts is still strong in many educational systems, and the freedom and autonomy of the legislation allows schools to maintain such a tradition; (2) the curriculum hierarchy sustains the idea that some areas (like math, Portuguese, sciences) should receive more attention than music; (3) music educators lack interest in working in public schools.

Regardless of significant criticism, the perseverance of generalist arts educators in many schools in Brazil shows clearly the passive attitude in relation to the educational policy still widely present in the country. In this case, freedom and autonomy are used to keep the same old-fashioned model named *polivalência*—one teacher teaching all the arts. Arts classes, that may or may not include music, receive a very small portion of the weekly timetable in schools, which means underdeveloped arts experiences, which contributes to the maintenance of the low status of the arts in school curricula in Brazilian schools. Elpus (2013) also discusses the timetable issue in US schools, quoting authors who discussed the National Standards for Music Education and its capacity to help in the promotion of "the status of music education as a school subject, moving the discipline away from the margins of the educational experience" (13). A similar hierarchy issue is found in other contexts, and music and the arts have a low status when compared to other disciplines.

Beyond the status of music and arts in the curriculum, another challenge is related to the willingness and availability of music educators to work in public education. Soares, Schambeck, and Figueiredo (2014) collected data from 1,924 music education undergraduate students, and the analysis of the participants' answers showed that less than 30% of them intended to work in public schools. The reasons included low salaries, lack of appropriate space for music classes, devaluing of the arts in the curriculum, high number of students in classes, lack of appropriate equipment, among others. Most music teachers prefer to work in specialized music schools instead of assuming a commitment with public education (Penna, 2013).

Interestingly, there seems to be kind of a contradiction between what the law says and its practical application in schools. The freedom and the autonomy of educational systems are established, which could be considered a very positive aspect for the development of proposals that are aligned with the various educational contexts, respecting Brazilian social and cultural diversity. At the same time that schools have freedom of action, however, the strength of the school tradition for arts education is very well installed in different contexts, resisting a possible review of the arts teaching model, which involves new curricular proposals and decisions.

The autonomy desired by many education professionals needs to be addressed from various points of view when the discussion is focused on curriculum issues. Every change in the school dynamics has implications in different areas. Hiring

professionals for each specific artistic area will require financial resources and physical space and also time in the school curriculum. What can be concluded is that the exercise of autonomy in school is also a collective exercise, where many professionals will be talking about what could or should be done to accommodate all school subjects and concerns of all areas properly. And in terms of Brazil, the national legal orientation proposes autonomy and freedom, but such components are not necessarily being applied in implementing quality education, including music.

A BRAZILIAN EXPERIENCE IN POLICY INFLUENCE

In 2006 a national movement in favor of school music education was established. At different times prior to this date, various discussions had taken place, highlighting the need to have legislation with more clarity in terms of arts education in Brazilian schools. This movement, named *"Quero educação musical na escola"* (*I want music education in school*), was initiated by a group of musicians with the objective of acting with politicians on behalf of several issues related to music activities in general. The group invited a number of people and institutions to join the movement, and one of the main focuses was music education in general education. Detailed information about the movement is presented by Pereira (2010), who acted as the coordinator of the GAP—Grupo de Ação Parlamentar Pró-Música (Pro Music Political Action Group) responsible for various actions in the National Congress for the inclusion of music as a part of the compulsory curriculum in Brazilian schools.

The Brazilian Association of Music Education—ABEM was one of the leading figures in this movement, working in a partnership with GAP specifically with relation to music in school. After several meetings between the members of the group movement, it was decided that a single focus should be addressed in the first phase of the process. Many aspects are involved with music education in school, but it was decided that it would not be possible to solve all issues in the same action. Thus, the improvement and the detailing of the law 9394/96 text was the focus of the movement over two years. In 2008 the law number 11769 (Brasil, 2008) that establishes the obligation of music as curriculum content in Brazilian schools was approved as a result of the national movement on behalf of school music education. This new law indicates that arts teaching includes music as mandatory content in Brazilian schools.

This Brazilian movement in favor of school music education could be analyzed from the policy cycle proposed by Ball. The context of influence, which starts the cycle, is where political speech is established. In this Brazilian example the movement involved musicians, music educators, and other education professionals, in addition to active politicians in the National Congress, responsible for the construction and alteration of Brazilian law. A number of politicians from Brazilian states and cities also joined the movement, bringing political reinforcement.

The second stage of the policy cycle, which refers to the production of political text, was marked by the construction of a text including music in basic education, bringing detailed orientation to the existing law. That text was written collectively, with the participation of people responsible for the coordination of the movement, including musicians and music educators who offered proposals for the expected law, as well as the participation of politicians who formalized the process in the National Congress. The proposed legal text changed in the process and the approved law presents a rather open text.

The next event in the policy cycle, proposed by Ball, is the context of practice in which the legislation is implemented following the definition of the political policy, and this represents the current situation in Brazil, where a number of states and cities are attempting to implement music in their curricula. It is important to emphasize that a number of educational systems in Brazil implemented music as part of the curriculum many years before the new legislation in 2008; it could be said they "read" and practiced the autonomy and freedom established in the educational legislation in 1996.

What was learned from this successful movement by Brazilian music education is that collective action was essential at all stages of the process. ABEM, in partnership with other public agencies such as Departments of Education, the Ministry of Education, and, in particular, the National Council of Education, has contributed to the gradual implementation of the law 11769/08. In 2013, the National Council of Education approved guidelines for the implementation of music in Brazilian schools (Brasil, 2013), and this document was recently approved by the Ministry of Education.

The implementation of the law 11769/08 has been effective in several Brazilian contexts but with certain slowness; in some sense, this lack of speed was expected considering the complexity of this public policy. More research is necessary to know exact numbers in terms of music education in schools, considering the impact of the law 11769/08. A study is under way to verify some of the impact of this legislation in all Brazilian states (Figueiredo, 2015), reviewing documents published by the secretaries of education in the 26 states, plus the Federal District, after 2008. Preliminary results of this research show some impact of the new law in educational systems across the country, but it was also found that in some contexts, no changes could be observed in terms of legal orientation to include music as compulsory content.

IMPLICATIONS AND ACTIONS

Although the Brazilian context is particular and culturally bounded in a series of traditions and habits, the experience over the past two decades has been remarkable and overall represents a substantive case where organization and individual participation generate significant policy change. While particular to this context these experiences could likely be seen elsewhere.

The issue of collective action regarding music education policies is the main emergent topic of this text. "I want music education in school" is a key example here, as the movement supported the search for a more democratic approach to music education in schools, making it accessible to all students. Assuming the complexity involved in any policy exercise, the collective involved in that movement decided to focus on changes at the national law level—a strategic decision aimed in bringing clarity to the arts teaching in schools, and establishing music as a compulsory content in the curriculum. That initial policy campaign was a success. Given the fact that the legislation allows freedom and autonomy to the educational systems across the country, however, how to embrace this task equitably in all educational contexts remains the current and key challenge. Habits, traditions, and passivity are some of barriers that remain.

The participation of the Brazilian Association of Music Education—ABEM must be pointed out as significant. Beyond the successful action that led to the approval of new legislation including music in school, the movement also reinforced the role of the ABEM in the Brazilian music education scenery, bringing new music educators to the association, who understood the importance of being represented by this entity responsible for the improvement of music education in Brazil.

Today, a number of music teachers, school administrators, university faculty, and education professionals are discussing music as a part of the integral education for children, youth, and adults all over the country. Some educational systems have already implemented music in their curricula; others are trying to include music education for their students; and others are still attached to traditional ways of teaching the arts, without a consistent approach to music; some others believe that music is only for those interested or talented enough to participate in bands, choirs, and other activities offered as extracurricular activities.

All discussion presented in this text emphasizes the necessity of people participating in the politic domain, assuming that in a democratic society all members are responsible for proposing and implementing what is considered relevant. Some words by Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educator strongly committed to a better education in the future, seem to be appropriate to reinforce the importance of a collective agenda to get a better world, which depends on the establishment of policies:

> In order for human beings to move in time and space in the fulfillment of their vocation, in carrying out their fate.... [I]t is necessary to permanently engage in the political domain, always remaking the social and economic structures, where power relations happen and generate ideologies.... Without the political struggle, which is the struggle for power, these conditions are not created.
>
> —Freire, *2014, p. 11*

To be part of this process it is necessary to change minds and attitudes, beyond preparation to exercise citizenship and professional development. Such preparation also depends on the capacity of education professionals to engage in policy

issues, which are essential components in a democratic education, becoming a more active part of a process that requires commitment and persistence.

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8

Music Education for Both the Talented and the Masses

The Policy of Assessment-Based Reform

MEI-LING LAI AND YAO-TING SUNG ■

INTRODUCTION: MUSIC EDUCATION FOR WHOM?

For many countries, the debate on whether music education should be accessible to all students or specifically for the especially talented has lasted for decades. Egalitarians have proposed that music education should not be limited to those who are talented, gifted, and interested (Bruenger, 2004; Fowler, 1989; Paynter, 2002). Instead, they argue, there is an urgent need for music classes in school, especially high schools, for general students who often lack interest, ability, and time, or do not participate in school performing groups (Leman, 1988). However, despite the claims of egalitarian educators, specialists of music education urge that music education should not abandon the 20% of the most motivated and interested students to accommodate the other 80% of general students (Fonder, 2014). They hold that music courses should serve the talented few as well as the not-so-talented many (Nierman, 2014; Thibeault, 2015).

Is it possible to simultaneously satisfy the needs of both talented and general students in a single music education system? That is, how can we integrate specialist music programs with general music education or develop more inclusive performance/skill-oriented programs for non-music specialists? Recently, music educators have proposed several ways, such as revising the curriculum (Seddon, 2004) or developing pedagogies (Bartel, 2004; Thibeault, 2015), to fulfill these promises. This chapter tries to illuminate the process and results of how the Taiwanese government went about using assessment-based policy, such as high stakes entrance exams and low-stakes classroom assessment, to transform their music curricula to accommodate both the talented and the masses.

THE EVOLUTION OF MUSIC EDUCATION IN TAIWAN AND ITS CURRENT STATE

Taiwan was under Japanese colonial rule for 50 years (1895–1945). It was during this period that the Western system of primary education was installed in Taiwan and was later extended to include secondary education. In July 1898, the colonial government promulgated the Taiwan Common School Ordinance, establishing common schools that offered six years of primary education, with *singing* being one of the compulsory subjects in the curriculum (Lai, 2011). Thus, among Asian countries, Taiwan was one of the first to have music courses in schools, only slightly later than Japan. After the conclusion of World War II, the Republic of China (Taiwan) implemented education structure and policies that are fundamentally aligned with the United States' system, with a 6–3–3 year framework of education with characteristics of the single-track system. From 1945 to 2016, music education in Taiwan was compulsory from elementary to senior high school (grades 1–12). Currently, students have at least three classes for music, visual arts and performing arts every week.

MUSIC EDUCATION FOR THE GIFTED AND TALENTED

In this section, we introduce the Musically Gifted and Talented Programs (MGTP) in Taiwan, which were in practice from 1962 to 2009. Taiwan began to devote resources to gifted and talented children in 1962 in order to cultivate outstanding talent (Wu, Cho, & Munandar, 2000). Spanning 1973 to 1984, the Ministry of Education of Taiwan (MOE) launched a series of experimental programs for elementary school students who were identified as gifted and talented in general intelligence, academic aptitude, or visual arts and performing arts. All of these programs were managed within the public school system; the government played an important role only in setting up and funding the programs. The MGTP were extended to the junior high and high school levels in 1979 and 1982, respectively. All of these programs have gradually laid the educational foundation for the nurturing of professional music talent in Taiwan.

HOW TO SCREEN AND TEACH GIFTED AND TALENTED CLASSES

Identification. In Taiwan, the MGTP are managed within the public school system and a handful of private schools. Each grade in each school can establish only one such class. Most of the MGTP utilized some of the following to screen students: IQ tests, musical aptitude tests (MAT), academic tests, and auditions—which included performance and a musicianship test in theory, aural skills, and sight-singing. Students must also pass an entrance exam after

graduating from each school stage in order to stay in the MGTP. Until the announcement of the identification standards of artistically gifted students in 2002, in order to be accepted into the MGTP students had to meet at least two of the following criteria: they had to have MAT scores of 1.5 standard deviations above average or over the percentile rank 93; and they had to win one of the top prizes in a national or international music competition and could present recommendation letters from music professionals, teachers or parents, or documents demonstrating an excellence in musical performance. Practically speaking, almost all entrants into the MGTP tested into it, and thus competition was fierce.

Both the elementary school and junior high school levels of the standardized MAT were developed in 2003 and were commissioned by the MOE. Identification solely on the basis of superior performing skills remains a controversial issue because children need to start their lessons at a very early age and have intensive practice before taking the entrance exam (Wang, 1995).

THE CURRICULUM AND CHARACTERISTICS OF GIFTED AND TALENTED CLASSES

Curriculum. The curriculum of the MGTP focused on professional subjects, such as music theory, performance skills, and creativity. The curriculum was divided into two categories: common curriculum and individual curriculum (applied music). The former included ensemble, chorus, sight-singing and ear training, music appreciation, and music theory. The individual curriculum included the study of major and minor instruments. The curriculum was structured similarly to that of music departments in universities, and because the MOE did not ordain curriculum standards, the difficulty level of the curriculum lacked regulation, and the curriculum content of each school level often repeated itself at different levels. Aside from their professional subjects, musically gifted students were required to study general subjects, which resulted in heavier schoolwork for them compared to students in other classes. Although the government set goals for the MGTP curricula, it left local schools to develop their own curriculum content. This resulted in overlap in MGTP curriculum content being a critical issue (Chen, 2004; Li, 2008). Students could take an entrance exam after graduating from each school stage if they wished. There might be new students without experiences in the MGTP to enter the classes. After entering the MGTP, there was no further grouping or method to identify the exact level of a student. Therefore, every year at every level teachers might have to start from the basics. This ran counter to the MGTP's principles, which emphasized accelerated and advanced learning. In the national evaluation of the MGTP at the elementary and junior high school levels in 1998, fewer than half of the schools met the passing criteria. Curriculum and teaching was one of the most frequently failed components (Chen, 2011; NTNU, 1999).

ACHIEVEMENT AND LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE MGTP

Although there are many legitimate criticisms of the MGTP and their implementation, it should not be said that they accomplished nothing of worth. Taiwan has already started to see benefits from the programs. There are at least three achievements resulting from the implementation of the MGTP.

Nurturing High-Quality Musical Talent

Graduates of the MGTP are routinely ranked among the best in domestic music competitions and show excellent performance in international contests (NTNU, 1999). Almost 90% of graduates from the MGTP entered university-level departments of music, and 60% of graduates achieved master's degrees (Su, 2003). These graduates continued to attain prestigious positions in domestic and foreign universities (Lee, 1993; Su, 2003), and some of them went back to teach MGTP classes in elementary or junior high schools, which significantly improved the quality of music educators in Taiwan.

Improving the Level of Musical Performance in Taiwan

The MGTP improved the level of Taiwan's musical performance. Many graduates from musically gifted classes have won awards at international competitions. Violinist Chien-Tang Wang, conductor Tung-Chieh Chuang, composer Zisheng Li, pianists Ching-un Hu and Chun-Chieh Yen are all excellent examples of talent nurtured through the music education system of Taiwan.

Increasing Music Appreciation among the Population

The establishment of the MGTP not only made professional music study more common in Taiwan and significantly enhanced the quality of musical performances, but the programs also broadened the range of audiences. Before 1962, almost all professional musicians performed exclusively in urban areas. However, after these classes were widely established in local schools, local officials from rural communities began inviting professional musicians to perform in their districts, and schools sometimes spent MGTP funds on professional guest lecturers/performers, who would often perform while they were in town (NTNU, 1999). This greatly expanded the access rural people had to high-quality music.

Lessons Learned

During the course of the MGTP's existence, many problems appeared. First of all, because the definition of musical talent broadened, new laws increased the

diversity of topics that should be covered in classes for the gifted and talented, and increased the number of classes that should be available. While more students than ever were encouraged to join special classes, funding was changed in such a way that the central and local governments could no longer subsidize schools with funding and equipment as they did in earlier years. Because the cost requirements of these specialized classes surpassed the funding provided for them, this meant that wealthier school districts were able to meet these new, more diverse requirements, but poorer districts had to cut corners, such as by using pull-out programs instead of full-day ability classes, or risk not being able to offer the classes at all. Thus, the state of specialized music classes became quite uneven: Recruitment and curricula for classes for musically talented students varied between localities and schools, and because of declining government monetary support most schools were forced to raise their own funding.

In 2009, the Class for Artistically Gifted Students (CAGS), which emphasizes pull-out gifted music programs instead of full-day classes in regular schools, replaced the MGTP. This new policy aims to provide more flexibility in distributing the funds from central and local governments to balance the development of music education for both talented and general students. In addition to new programs for teaching and sources for funding, the new policy also initiated assessment standards for classroom learning, aiming to enhance the quality of general music education by formulating clearer performance-based assessment criteria for music learning and reforming vague curriculum standards and teaching practices.

COMPARING THE EDUCATION FOR THE MUSICALLY GIFTED EDUCATION IN HONG KONG, SINGAPORE, AND TAIWAN.

In Hong Kong and Singapore, music education for the gifted is implemented through the Education Bureau's Gifted Education Section and the Hong Kong Academy for Gifted Education. In Hong Kong, those who satisfy the entrance requirements become formal student members of the Academy and are enrolled in development programs that include workshops, master classes, weekend classes, exchange programs, mentorship programs, and field trips. In Singapore, the Music Elective Program (MEP) of the Singapore Ministry of Education was tailored for musically talented students. Students can enter the program by passing the exams for their education level. The MEP plans the courses for gifted and talented students, including listening, performance and composition skills, vocals, composition analysis, ear training, history of Western music, traditional Asian music, and other music activities, such as workshop and masterclasses; there are also overseas trips to allow students to experience the musical culture of different countries (MOE, Singapore, 2015).

Compared with the musically gifted and talented programs of Taiwan, those of Hong Kong and Singapore have larger budgets, as they are organized and funded by the central government whereas in Taiwan, the budgets were provided by the

local governments. However, Taiwan's programs were more mainstream-oriented, as all the MGTP classes were offered in general schools, and except for music-related training, most of the general lessons of MGTP students were similar to those of regular students, and MGTP students had ample opportunities to interact with students with different specialties.

MUSIC EDUCATION FOR THE MASSES

The Evolution of the Music Curriculum Standards for All Students

In addition to catering to the most talented music students, Taiwan has also tried to give all students access to high-quality general music education. After World War II continued with curriculum reforms that emphasized music and arts education for all: Music education was compulsory from grade 1 to grade 12, the teaching hours of arts and music increased from one hour to three hours, and the field of arts education expanded from music and visual arts to include music, visual arts, and performing arts (Lai, 2011).

In 1979, the Primary and Junior High School Act extended compulsory education to the junior high school level, and the development of citizen aesthetic ability was proposed. More significant changes to the music curriculum began only after martial law was lifted in 1987. The MOE reduced restrictions to the curriculum standards and progressively enacted revisions in three consecutive years, including elementary and junior high school curriculum (1993, 1994) and senior high school curriculum (MOE, 1995). These newly revised curriculum standards finally reflected the changes to music and aesthetic education policy established in the Primary and Junior High School Act of 1979. The content of the music curriculum is divided into music fundamentals (which includes music theory, sight-singing and ear training), singing, playing (instruments), composing, and listening.

In 1993 aesthetic education was again emphasized as one of the aims of national education to be developed with equal emphasis alongside ethics, and intellectual, physical, and social skills. The goal of the music curriculum standards began to include the development of aesthetic judgment (MOE, 1993) and aesthetic experiences (MOE, 1994). Because the music curriculum was expected to help students achieve aesthetic education, detailed music learning outlines were added with suggestions for teaching approaches, and music instruction time was also increased in grades 1, 2, and 7. The curriculum standards published during 1993–1995 were also coordinated with overall national policy, which at the time had just started the beginning of de-Sinicization (the elimination of Mainland Chinese influence) as well as a general promotion of Taiwanese local education. In terms of instructional materials, in addition to moving away from an emphasis on traditional Chinese music, special emphasis was placed on national and Taiwanese music to try to balance out the prolific Western music present in the youth culture of the 1990s.

In 1997, a new milestone, the Art Education Act was enacted, which provided a solid foundation in music education in Taiwan for all students. It stated:

> The purpose of arts education is to cultivate artistic talent, enrich the spiritual life of citizens, and to raise the level of culture. . . . Arts education is implemented in the following three ways: Professional arts education offered at schools; General arts education offered at schools; Arts education offered to the public.
>
> —MOE*, 1997*

The act not only provided the legal basis for music and other arts curricula in schools but also made schools central to all arts education. This gave concerned parents and teachers legal grounds to challenge schools they felt were not properly implementing arts education, which further served to expand high-quality art education nationwide.

In 2000, the MOE replaced the old curriculum standards with provisional curriculum guidelines meant to formulate a grade 1–9 continuous and school-based (instead of centralized) curriculum (MOE, 2003). These new guidelines, finalized in 2003, combined existing subjects in elementary and junior high schools into seven learning areas and emphasized that grade 1–9 curricula should place importance on integrated subjects, striking a balance between localization and internationalization for the new century (Wu & Kuo, 2004).

In the curriculum for grades 1–9, music is no longer a separate subject but is integrated with visual arts and performing arts in the Arts and Humanities Learning Area. The curriculum guidelines do not list specific objectives and content for music education; instead, they use competence indicators to represent artistic abilities that should be achieved at each learning stage. While the research on competence indicators before curriculum reform in 1997 did consider education in the United States, United Kingdom, and Japan (Huang, 1996), the new competence indicators were based on the curriculum system of the primary and secondary schools of Australia (Chen, 2004),

In recent years, the Taiwanese government announced its intention to make grades 10–12 part of basic public education. This extension of public education was inspired by international trends, such as the position of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) that "Education is a fundamental human right" (UNESCO, 2000). However, comprehensive curriculum guidelines are needed for the new system before it can be fully implemented. The first step in this process was establishing core competencies that all students should attain, such as high creative ability. Once these core competencies were set (in 2014), field-specific committees were formed to see how the curriculum of each discipline could best support them. Currently, the Grade 1–12 Curriculum Guidelines for arts education are being revised by an ad hoc committee to help students maximize their core competencies through art. This is the first time that the music curriculum in schools has been designed as part of a grade 1–12 framework, and the music portion of this system is expected to be officially implemented in 2018.

Until then, music is already part of school curricula and a required subject from elementary to senior high school. "Music curriculum" refers to the general music curriculum; although elective courses can be offered at the senior high school level, few schools actually offer them. This is mainly due to the heavy schoolwork required to prepare students for college examinations. But the future Grade 1–12 Curriculum will have expanded elective credits and a reduced number of required courses. This is expected to allow more specialty music courses to be offered.

ENHANCING STUDENTS' MUSIC COMPETENCE THROUGH STANDARD-BASED ASSESSMENT

We can see the emphasis of music education in Taiwan not only from the evolution of curriculum standards but also from the reform of teaching and assessment policy, discussed in the following sections.

The 12-Year Basic Education Project. More than 45 years ago, in 1968, Taiwan extended its compulsory education from six to nine years. In August of 2014, after years of study and planning, the MOE launched the 12-Year Basic Education policy (MOE, 2014) and expects to fully implement the system at all levels of school by 2020. The vision of the 12-Year Basic Education curriculum is to "facilitate self-actualization, adaptive learning to individual fulfillment, and lifelong learning" (MOE, 2014). Highly competitive exams used to be the only way to enter high school in Taiwan. To lessen the pressure for academic advancement on junior high school graduates, the MOE has gradually increased the quota for exam-free admissions. This change in the academic advancement system is aimed at creating more room for innovations in curricula and teaching methods and promoting adaptive instruction. It is under this system that new methods for assessing student progress are being developed and implemented.

Student Assessment. Evaluating student achievement through a national assessment standard is a mechanism that has long been in place in advanced countries—for example, in England there is the APP (Assessing Pupils' Progress), in Australia there is the Queensland Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting, and in the United States there are the Common Core State Standards. In view of this, the MOE commissioned the Research Center for Psychological and Educational Testing (RCPET) at National Taiwan Normal University to draw up a set of student achievement assessment standards that could be administered in individual classes. This was to provide teachers with a better basis of reference in their teaching, to make instructional evaluation more specific, and to enhance the professional development of teachers. Below is a brief description of the research and development process of the assessment standards.

The Junior High School Student Music Achievement Assessment Standards is a standard-based system including three parts: the content standards, the performance standards, and assessment tasks using standards and scoring rubrics. The content standards are based mainly on the competence indicators for Stage 4

(grades 7–9) of the Arts and Humanities Learning Area, Grades 1–9 Curriculum; the developers drew on the experience of other countries in creating the artistic achievement assessments, such as U.S. 2014 Music Standards, Australian Curriculum Achievement Standard-Music, and Music level descriptors of the Hong Kong Examinations and Assessment Authority (HKEAA, 2014; NAfME, 2014; Queensland Government, 2015).

The content standard for the student music achievement assessment standards is based mainly on the curriculum guidelines of the Arts and Humanities Learning Area, and uses three curriculum objectives—exploration and performance, appreciation and understanding, and practice and application, as the thematic framework. While alluding to the three arts processes (performing, creating, and responding) proposed by the U.S. National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), the six sub-categories of the standards—performing ability, creating ability, appreciation ability, basic knowledge, application, and collaboration—show what students are expected to know or do (see Table 8.1).

Table 8.1 Taiwan National Standards for Assessment in Music

Sub-category	Description
EXPLORATION AND EXPRESSION	
Performing ability	Be able to perform music pieces through singing, instrument playing and conducting, while having a strong sense of the multiple characteristics of art and its relation to society and culture.
Creating ability	Be able to apply the knowledge of music elements and techniques to create short music pieces without designated forms, while developing a unique and personalized performance as well as integrating emotions, social concerns with one's artistic creations.
APPRECIATION AND UNDERSTANDING	
Appreciation ability	Be able to describe the styles and characteristics of music from different periods, cultures, areas and ethnic groups, while being able to identify the embedded cultural meaning of each given musical work.
Basic knowledge	Be able to gather information on arts through technology use and grasp the concepts of music terms to broaden the understanding of the culture of music.
PRACTICE AND APPLICATION	
Application	Be able to understand that music is part of our life by engaging oneself in applicable musical activities and music appreciation.
Collaboration	Be able to plan musical activities and generate musical creations collectively while communicating and collaborating with mutual respect and a team spirit.

The performance standard defines "how good is good enough" for students of different competence levels after a certain period of learning (Sung, 2014). Performance achievement levels are measured using a 5-point scale (A–E). By way of example, one of the sub-categories concerning singing in the Performance Standard places students on a scale of five levels (Sung, 2014):

- Level A (Advanced): Able to use proficient singing skills to perform music pieces
- Level B (Proficient): Able to use fundamental singing skills to perform music pieces
- Level C (Basic): Able to use rough singing skills to perform music pieces
- Level D (Below Basic): Able to try singing skills to perform music pieces
- Level E (Far Below Basic): Below D

According to the performance level descriptors, assessment tasks were designed and implemented, and then served as exemplar tasks in classroom assessment; teachers may use them directly or tailor them for their own classrooms.

One of the advantages of the Assessment Standards is that they can change how the general public views the achievement assessment of music or arts. The Assessment Standards were designed to select suitable performance standards as well as to design scoring standards that correspond to the instructional objectives, and to define clear assessment parameters for music teachers through the selection of measured areas and description of different performance levels. In addition, the description of the performance levels, on which scoring is based, are written in straightforward language so they are easily understood by students. Combined with the learning objectives and assessment objectives of the curriculum the Arts and Humanities Learning Area, students have a clear idea of their learning achievement and where they might need to work harder. Research and development and promotion of the Junior High School Student Music Achievement Assessment Standards is still ongoing. In 2015 the Ministry of Education decided to extend this project to primary schools, and the performance level descriptor and related exemplar tasks are now being developed and will be available for teachers in the near future.

How to enhance the music literacy of all students? Previous music educators and researchers have proposed the importance of music education for all. For example, Thibault (2015) proposed that participatory ensembles are helpful for complimenting and enhancing music education programs for all. Seddon (2004) suggested that high school music education should initiate inclusive (instead of exclusive) curricula for non-performance-oriented students and focus on the acquisition of composition, improvisation, and aural skills through learning techniques. Taiwan music policy (MOE, 2011) for curriculum reform and assessment standards, which fulfill the objective of enhancing the music literacy and competence of all students through mandated teaching hours and assessment-led teaching reforms, may provide insights for those who are concerned with the issue of music education for all.

CONCLUSIONS: MUSIC EDUCATION FOR BOTH THE TALENTED AND THE MASSES

Based on the above overview of music curriculum and related policies of Taiwan, we can identify several features, common or unique, that may have implications for educational researchers and policymakers in other countries.

Using Centralized Curriculum Reform to Cultivate both Specialized Music Performance and Music Literacy

With respect to the current music education in Taiwan, music curriculum standards are promulgated by the national government; these are regularly revised based on national needs (e.g., extension of compulsory education, improvement of student's academic achievement, localization, nationalism), social changes (e.g., reduction of school attendance days, eliminating system entrance examination), and the evolution of educational thought (e.g., multiculturalism, curriculum integration). Music curricula in Taiwan are clearly influenced by relevant laws and policies. Once the laws are enacted, the job of promoting and executing the laws fall heavily on music education scholars, experts, and teachers, reflecting an essentially top-down mindset, which is quite different from that in the West. Most of the music educators in Taiwan take the music education policies for granted. Taiwan educators are, by-and-large, used to this top-down situation and don't actively advocate changes to music education policy. For example, due to lack of objections by teachers, parents, and others, in Taiwan the massively unpopular integrated-arts curriculum only met resistance after it had already passed.

Taiwan has a complicated political background; when political power has changed hands, educational policies have also changed, often reflecting national ideologies, such as nationalism. Despite these political differences, we believe that policymakers in Asian countries generally agree with the importance of musical literacy and a centralized political system that enables the government to thoroughly enforce its laws, contributing to the solid position of music courses in school curricula today.

Music Literacy Is Integrated and Enhanced Together with Other Arts Literacy

An integrated curriculum that includes the teaching of music is another common feature in Taiwan. Traditional arts curricula in schools included music and art. In the Grade 1–9 Curriculum Guidelines (tentative), enacted in Taiwan in 2000, subjects in primary and junior high schools were integrated into seven learning areas. Music was no longer a separate subject but was merged with the visual and performing arts to form the Arts and Humanities Learning Area. This shows a

heavy emphasis placed on nurturing students' integrated skills for the 21st century, of which the arts curriculum reform was one dimension.

Using Standard-Based Classroom Assessments to Empower Music Learning and Teaching

The Taiwanese entrance examination systems for entering senior high school or college usually produce severe examination stress and reduce students' motivation to learn music. Competitive entrance examinations not only exist at the senior high school and college levels but also at the junior high school level. Practically speaking, this leaves little room for the arts. To ensure that music classes were executed appropriately and music literacy was emphasized by teachers and students, Taiwan initiated standard-based classroom assessments, which gave teachers and students more opportunities to be recognized for their excellence in music classes, outside of the high-stakes entrance exams. Furthermore, the low-stakes nature of classroom assessments gave teachers space to innovate, and the performance level descriptors allowed them to better identify and adapt to their specific students' needs. We may say that the policy of implementing standard-based classroom music assessment empowered music teaching and learning in Taiwan.

Is music education for the specialist or for the general public? Our answer is that music education can serve both the talented and the masses very well with appropriate policy and measurements to back up the policy. We believe that Taiwan's policy of music education for the talented has fulfilled the requirement of cultivating those who are interested, prepared, and gifted students. Furthermore, the policy of compulsory music education from grade 1 to 12 and the policy of assessment standards for music have also fulfilled the promise that basic music literacy should be achieved by every student. These experiences can serve as examples for countries that want to promote music education to both general and elite students.

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9

Curriculum as Policy

State-Level Music Curriculum Creation and Reform

STEPHANIE HORSLEY ■

INTRODUCTION

"Curriculum decisions," wrote Levin (2008), "are often part of a much larger public debate that often extends beyond education to larger questions of public goods" (p. 22). This chapter presents a rationale of statewide standardized curriculum[1] as policies that are part of larger policy regimes. Such regimes represent the values of policymakers, groups, and individuals who are involved in a policy struggle, with the values of government officials often shaping the primary ideology underpinning curricular policy. Policy regimes can also reflect broader cycles of educational policymaking. As such, curricular document content constructs certain notions about the value and place of music education both within a system of education and within society itself. In addition, curriculum policies and the policies that support their implementation—both in music and in other subjects—can shape our ideas about what school music should "do" through guiding teachers' and students' actions and ways of thinking about music.

As discussed below, policymaking tends to be cyclical; however, the current trend of outcome-based education that relies on assessing students' performance within a standardized curriculum framework does not appear to be going away soon. Schmidt argues in the opening chapter of this book that this is in part because of an emphasis on comparing systems of education through international assessments as well as discourse on the value of raising educational standards as a component of a state's economic success and/or reform. With this in mind, this chapter explores theories of policy regime change within the context of larger policy cycles in order to address the question of conditions necessary for the

creation and conceptualization of statewide curricular policy at the end of the 20th century to the present. It then provides examples of development and subsequent reforms of such curricular policies governing music education in two locations: England and Ontario, Canada. This comparison allows a glimpse into how statewide standard curriculum policies are justified and situated in broader educational policy cycles as well as how the organization of policymaking structures can shape whose values are ultimately embedded in the music curriculum. The chapter ends with suggestions for how an understanding of the mechanisms of policy change and cycles can enable and empower music educators to become more involved in the creation, adaptation, and perhaps even subversion of statewide music education curriculum.

CURRICULUM AS POLICY

The work of policy scholars such as Codd (1988), Ball (2013), and Apple (2014) indicates that policy is much more than just what is written down at the end of the day in a document and circulated for attention and action. Policy is political and not value-neutral. It is a manifestation of the dynamics of power and control that undergird the process of policy development. Policy directives, statements, and documents outline what can and should be done in regard to specific resources, ideas, and actions. In creating policy, policymakers seek to institutionalize a set of norms in a way that appears as the "only" or "common sense" approach for moving forward in response to a particular problem or issue (Hall & O'Shea, 2013). This is not to say that once policy is created it is not negotiated, resisted, or subverted during the process of implementing it "on the ground"—particularly when policy made at the state level is intended for implementation in myriad local contexts, as is the case with statewide standardized curricula. Multiple levels of policy (e.g., federal, provincial, and municipal) must co-exist, and individuals who implement policy often must find a way to negotiate a path among these levels while drawing on their own experience, knowledge, and values.

The discussion below of the development and reform of statewide standardized curricular policy in two locations provides examples of education policy cycles and regimes. It demonstrates how broader economic and social values can be negotiated in the process of curricular development, resulting in certain values becoming more prevalent in policy documents. This has particular implications for music education given that the current global discourse on education is not particularly concerned with the value of music education—whatever that stated value might be within a policy regime—although this may change if discussion of the "creative economy" continues to become more prevalent in global culture (Florida, 2009).

The implications of statewide standardized curricular policy are profound, and some of those implications and how music educators might negotiate, adapt, resist, or subvert them are discussed in more detail in the final section of this chapter. However, before "looking forward," we first "look back" to better understand

the political mechanisms through which statewide standardized curriculum has become common in many of today's public education systems.

POLICY CYCLING, POLICY REGIMES, AND POLICY CHANGE

Two frameworks through which the current trend of developing and implementing statewide standardized curriculum can be viewed are *policy cycling* and *policy regimes*. The first, *policy cycling*, is the phenomenon whereby policy "oscillates" over long periods of time between specific sets of policies with conflicting values. The extent to which a state promotes a standardized approach to curriculum, and the related issue of centralized or decentralized policymaking power, is generally aligned with educational policy regimes that are either more traditional or progressive in nature. For example, the spread of the progressive education movement throughout the latter half of the 20th century influenced most state-level education policymakers in the West to "loosen the shackles" of strict curricular demands, traditional rote learning, and testing requirements. Such approaches to education gave way in favor of a model of learning that supported an emphasis on child-driven interests, needs, inquiry, and actions in order to foster among students a love of learning and democratic participation in a (hopefully) more fair and equal society. The progressive approach to education also supported local and teacher autonomy, with the rationale that local administrators and teachers are the individuals best equipped to gauge the needs and interests of their students and connect learning to the immediate world outside the classroom. Thus, in a progressive model of education, the power of curriculum creation should be largely in the hands of local administrators and teachers rather than in the hands of distant policymakers. From the 1980s onward, however, many countries have adopted *neoliberal education* policies, which have cycled back to state-level standardized curriculum and assessment policies that emphasize standards set by the state for what all children should learn.

We must remember, however, that there was no one conception of *progressive education* or *neoliberal education* with corresponding unified policies and actions spreading throughout the Western world. Rather, much as local enactors of state-level policy can affect the ways in which such policy is practiced "on the ground," different generations of policymakers and those responsible for enacting those policies have shaped and re-invented the core ideas of *progressive education* or *neoliberal education* in relation their sociohistorical and economic contexts and institutional structures (see Davies, 2002 for an illustrative example). One thing that is clear, however, is that the history of public education policy in the West has largely oscillated between more traditional approaches, with state-developed behavioral objectives indicating what all children need to know and be able to do by a specific age or grade, and progressive approaches to education that give teachers more authority over curriculum content. An important role for music educators is to uncover the variations of neoliberalism within current policies

affecting their work. Such work helps us to address the "return to the good old days" argument that is often used to justify cyclical policy changes. How this might be done is addressed in the latter part of this chapter.

The second framework, that of *policy regime*, is defined as the combination of four elements: (1) a set of policies concerning a specific issue (such as education) that (2) embody a paradigmatic or ideological lens through which an issue is discussed and addressed (such as a neoliberalism), and (3) which are shaped through organizational structures (such as a senate) by (4) individuals or institutions (such as an elected government, arm's lengths organizations, or lobby groups) that have the power to influence and implement the policy. Such regimes promote long-term policy and power stability (Wilson, 2000). For music educators, understanding policy regimes means being aware of current or developing educational policies and how they are situated within the current policy cycle (and where along the progressive-traditional policy cycle policymakers are at present) as well as being aware of the institutional structures and individuals that have the power (official or otherwise) to create and influence policy content and implementation. A closer look at how change occurs within policy regimes can help music educators better understand how they might have a voice in education policy development.

Policy regime cycling can happen quickly (*cyclical backlash* or *non-incremental*) or slowly (*hybridization* or *incremental*). Wilson's (2000) model of non-incremental policy regime change (or policy cycling) outlines five "stages" of regime change, with the understanding that these stages do not necessarily always occur in the same order or that they may happen simultaneously. Often, "new" policy is found in the ideas of older policy regimes, refashioned, then made popular once more through its presentation as the "common sense" solution to a particular problem that would-be policymakers claim current policy (and its makers) is no longer able address. The first is the introduction of a *stressor/enabler*. Stressors or enablers are social, technological, economic, or natural phenomena to which the "status quo" of current policy regimes appears unable to respond adequately. A common stressor is economic recession and unemployment, which enables a non-ruling government party to argue that education must be reformed to meet the needs of a changing economy—an argument that is commonly deployed today in a world that seems increasingly wary of unemployment and recession after the post-2008 market crash.

In Wilson's second stage, *paradigm shifts* are facilitated by intellectuals and intellectual groups, such as think tanks, that present new (or refashioned) ways of thinking about approaching policy problems. These ideas are then circulated by the media and reach the voting public. In the discussion below, *neoliberalism* is the policy paradigm underscoring policy regime change. Its main concepts continue to be widely discussed in the media during discourse surrounding democratic elections in the West. Refugee migration is a current talking point for proposing large-scale policy change and is featured daily in local and global new coverage. When *stressors/enablers* and *paradigm shifts* combine, the existing policy regime is often faced with the third stage—a *legitimacy crisis* where the populace are convinced that the policy of elected officials is no longer effective. Leaders

of opposing parties can "feed" the legitimacy crisis by attacking existing policy and arguing for why their proposed policy changes, based on a paradigm shift, are the most "common sense" way of moving forward. We have already seen the fall of several European governments and the election of new governments with radically different platforms based largely on policy positions responding to the stressors of economic decline and immigration. Policy surrounding "what to do" about these issues, particularly as it relates to education, should stay "on the radar" of music educators as such policies ultimately affect education policy, which in turn affects music education.

Wilson's fourth stage is the *power shift*. Power shifts can occur in many ways, some of which include a shift in the leadership role of the state, the rise of new classes, or the influence that a particular organization or social movement has on those who make policy. Power shifts may also include the mechanisms through which power can be dispersed. In the examples below, greater centralization over educational policymaking was enacted to facilitate the creation of standardized curricular policy, as was the creation of several arm's length organizations meant to oversee curriculum policy development and implementation, but there is also a heavy emphasis on the rise of the *knowledge worker* and the need to support his or her development through education reform. Wilson's fifth and final stage of policy regime change is *organization and policy change*, which relates to how institutional structures and the roles within them are re-organized in order to implement policy and the actual policy texts themselves. Standardized curriculum policy itself is an example of policy change *and* policy organization when it removes decisions about curriculum content from teachers and requires educational re-organization in order to facilitate its implementation. Looking to the future, as governments rise and fall in response to perceived legitimacy crises in the current global climate, what new governing structures, organizations, classes, individuals, and ways of organizing education through policy might arise or shift? How might these changes impact curricular decisions related to music education and the ways in which its value is justified and perceived?

Yet, even the radically different policy regimes that result from policy cycling cannot completely ignore the political structures and policies of the past. There are "rarely 'clean slates' to work with and [policy] practitioners are, as a result, frequently left with inconsistencies and contradictions that they must solve, suffering criticism if they do not" (Ball, 2013, p. 63). Such limitations to changing policy completely often result in policy *hybridization*, where new policy ideas are layered onto old ones in ways that, while limited by sociohistorical values or institutions, effect the greatest amount of change possible. Hybridization can also come from *incremental* changes to policy undertaken as a quick "stop gap" in response to an issue. Incremental policymaking is also often the most risk-free way of creating policy because such changes are usually inexpensive and draw on established local support, allowing policymakers to avoid notice from oppositional stakeholders (Majchrzak & Markus, 2014). It is important for music educators to be aware of the mechanisms of incremental policy change during times of policy stability: these smaller changes can be more difficult to detect but may add up to

significant policy changes that affect the content and quality of music education. With this in mind, I examine ways in which policy cycling and the mechanisms of regime change supported the conceptualization and creation of statewide curricular music education policy in two states: England and Ontario, Canada.

TWO CASES OF EDUCATION POLICY REGIME CHANGE AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR MUSIC EDUCATION CURRICULAR POLICY

England

The English National Curriculum (NC) was legislated into existence by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party government in the 1988 Education Reform Act and was a primary policy within a broader non-incremental regime change. The Conservative Party was not entirely successful in creating a curricular document that reflected a more "traditional," Western-centric approach to music education in the first four versions of the Music National Curriculum (MNC), and the MNC moved incrementally toward a more progressive approach to music education under years of Labour Party rule; however, the most recent version of the MNC (2013), created during a ruling Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition, contains many of the traditional elements that the Conservative government wished to introduce when the MNC was first produced in 1992. Thus, curricular reform was and continues to be part of a larger policy cycle related to social class structure, employment, and ideas of what (or who) might be considered "British."

Origins of the National Curriculum

Formulating a brief overview of the conditions that led to the conception, creation, and implementation of the English Music National Curriculum (MNC) is no simple task, as the creation of the NC was part of a larger education policy regime change that was meant to "swing" the policy cycle back to a more traditional, conservative approach to education in response to a legitimacy crisis. That crisis is well documented elsewhere (e.g., Fry, 2008, Rodgers, 1984), but to simplify, a series of external stressors in the mid- to late 1970s resulted in rising inflation and unemployment and caused dissension between unions, the government, and the general public. The Conservatives' education policies introduced and reflected neoliberal economic and social policies aimed at restoring traditional English values and developing employable citizens and new industries. England's entire system of publicly funded education was re-organized—including its financial, governance, curriculum, and assessment policies—in order to support individual school choice, forcing schools to become more competitive through demonstrating how well they could teach the NC. Prior to 1988, England had never had a NC for any subject. School curriculum was created at the school or Local Education

Authority (LEA) level. School structures had changed significantly since the 1960s due to education policy underpinned by a progressive argument that the English education system was too class based. Research on the actual day-to-day teaching of music in English schools consistently demonstrated a large variety of content, pedagogy, provision, and underpinning philosophies in the classroom (Swanwick, 1989).

Education reform in England, specifically the question of the development of the MNC or any other subject, was in many ways about power and who should have it. The 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) shifted power, centralizing it in the national government, which then ostensibly gave it to the National Curriculum Authority (an arm's length organization created by the ERA), who hired Working Groups for each subject to develop curricula submitted for feedback from a wide range of educational stakeholders and members of the public before final recommendations were made. However, the secretary of education could (and did) veto and replace a Working Group's recommendations (Graham with David Tytler, 1993). Thus, while there were opportunities for widespread engagement over NC curricula, organizational structures and power shifts gave the secretary of education the "final say."

The actual conditions under which the NC came to exist closely follow Wilson's model of policy regime change: Economic and cultural stressors were followed by a proposed paradigm shift to neoliberalism in response to a legitimacy crisis positioned around the role of education in making Britain great again. This led to a significant power shift in who had the authority to approve and change official curriculum and, ultimately, organizational changes that required every child in England to achieve specific learning outcomes and a system of competition that pressured schools into making sure such learning happened. However, the first version of the MNC and several of its revisions (although not the latest) are examples of policy *hybridization*.

This hybridization of values in the MNC is an example of Ball's argument that policymakers must frequently compromise their goals because of the pervasiveness of older policy values, but it also reflects the importance of transparency and access within the policymaking organizational structure and the role that public and professional involvement can play in influencing policy, particularly in the midst of power shifts. A series of British policy papers and writings of music scholars leading back to the 1960s had argued that music was a valuable school subject well suited to the child-centered, progressive model of learning supported by the Labour government during the 1960s and 1970s. The work of Christopher Small (1977), Keith Swanwick (1979), and John Paynter (1982) proved particularly influential in convincing music educators and LEAs to develop a progressive/aesthetic approach to music education in the 1980s. For example, in 1986, the assessment for a music education exam in the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) was largely based on feedback from a 1985 Her Majesty's Inspector's (HMI) report that reflected Swanwick's *Composition, Listening, Audition, Skills, Performance* [C(L)A(S)P] model. Thus, this approach had "trickled down"

through school music and become widely entrenched by the time the MNC was being developed, making it no surprise that the Music Working Group's (MWG) first draft of the curriculum reflected Swanwick's C(L)A(S)P model of education.

The debates and compromises that were a part of negotiating the final values embedded in the official MNC policy documents are well documented elsewhere (Gammon, 1996; Horsley, 2014a; Pitts, 2000). Questions and tensions were underpinned by tensions between progressive and neoliberal/neoconservative ideologies and centered on whether the curricula should continue along a well-established progressive/aesthetic trajectory or if it should reflect "traditional" English values, histories, and culture and separate musical learning into more discrete areas such as knowledge, theory, and listening. It was situated within the wider policy cycle of British education. To summarize, Education Secretary Kenneth Clarke objected to the initial MWG report, and the MWG ended up with more than 700 responses largely in support of their interim report from music stakeholders and the general public. Their final report, submitted in mid-1991, occasioned officials at the National Curriculum Council to suggest that music should focus more on "knowing and understanding" music through rote memorization of musical facts and history and the accomplishments of Western composers rather than focusing on the development of musical skills through creative music activities (Finney, 2011). The final MNC was a compromise between the progressive/aesthetic vision of the Music Working Group and the desire of the education secretary and National Curriculum Council to stipulate a clear, standardized curriculum in music education. Those wishing to re-introduce conservative values by assigning Western art music a position of primacy in a traditional curriculum were ultimately frustrated by such earlier reforms as the GCSE, which valued students' abilities to create and express themselves through diverse and meaningful musical genres and which were already embedded in official policy, thereby forcing policy hybridization. In addition, the MWG's report had the support of most members of the English music education establishment and many members of the public. Awareness of and opportunities to engage in the process of curricular development allowed the interested stakeholder to engage in a highly publicized protest against the education secretary's vision of music education. In this case, debate over the matter within the media thwarted the secretary's attempt create a "common sense" paradigm shift and publicly pressured him not to continue a top-down imposition of curricular content, as was his right under the organizational structures put in place by the Thatcher government. On the other hand, some elements of his vision did remain, such as *End of Key Stage Statements*, which indicated (in the language of behavioralism) what each child should be able to do by the end of each Key Stage, as well as *Attainment Targets* and *Programs of Study* meant to do the same at each year level. Members of the MWG felt that the language of the Attainment Targets broke musical study into discrete subject areas, undermining the C(l) A(s)P approach. In addition, the curricular language still emphasized Western art music and a Western-centric emphasis on musical literacy and performance (Horsley, 2014a).

Revisions of the MNC

The MNC was revised in 1995, 2000, 2007, and 2013 with each revision but the last bringing it more in line with the ideals first espoused by the Music Working Group (Garnett, 2013). For example, in the 1995 revision, the End of Key Stage Statements were reworked into broad *End of Key Stage Descriptions* (EKSD) placed at the end of the NC document, and the layout of the document was changed so that programs of study for the two attainment targets were more intertwined, then finally eliminated and replaced with behavioral objectives that indicated how music learning is interrelated. These policy documents represented a form of policy incrementalism toward an increasingly progressive mode of music education that supported the MWG's initial vision for music education. The Labour government that made many of the later revisions to the MNC took power during a time of increasing global emphasis on statewide standardized curriculum and national comparisons of education systems, and so movement away from much of what the Conservatives established in education policy would be seen as going against global trends. Yet they did wish to make changes to the ways pupils were taught and thus address the public demands of music education stakeholders.

The 2013 MNC, however, represents a significant change in content and intentions and reflects what Ball (2013) has termed an education policy regime paradigm shift back to British cultural restorationism after a long period of steady incremental policy change led by the 2000s Labour government. In response to social and economic stressors related to the 2008 global economic crisis and rising concerns over immigration policies and national safety, the Labour government was replaced by a Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition in 2010. Accordingly, the most recent version of the MNC emphasizes music appreciation and performance over music creation, and reference to integrated music learning has vanished (Department for Education, 2013). Emphasis is much more on discrete (and thus more easily assessable) performance, listening, and recall/musical recognition skills that harken back to Kenneth Clarke's early vision for the MNC.

As with the original 1992 music National Curriculum consultative process, widespread dissent has arisen over this approach to music and arts curriculum. However, the Coalition government was able to circumvent objections to this paradigm shift in curricular policy largely because it moved power away from (mainly by abolishing) many of the arm's length organizations and consultative structures that previously oversaw curriculum development and giving that power to the secretary of education. Curricular policy regime in England once again cycled back to more traditional right-wing values, but this time without the organizational structures that allowed for voices of dissent and compromise within policymaking.

Ontario

Background

Axelrod (2003) wrote that "the debates around state-regulated schooling point to an ongoing theme in the history of Canadian education: the tensions

between centralized, bureaucratic authority and local, community-based control" (pp. 38–39). Textbooks, curriculum (including music), examinations, students' assignment to a school, and system of teacher training were all governed by the province of Ontario shortly after it appointed the first superintendent of education in the mid-1800s. Provincial control over curriculum changed little until the 1960s. Curricular policy shifted during the 1960s and into the 1970s, when, as part of an emphasis on furthering the goals of progressive education and supporting student interest in learning, the provincial government experimented with decentralization, giving schools and school boards control over developing curriculum, selecting resources, and assessing and accrediting students (Gidney, 1999).

As is the way with policy cycles, however, beginning in the late 1970s and leading up to the mid-1990s, a series of Ontario governments experimented with re-introducing provincial curricular guidelines, largely because parents, and even many teachers, had disliked the relative educational "freedom" surrounding graduation requirements and the lack of consistent subject standards (Gidney, 1999). By the mid-1990s, Ontario was in the grip of an economic recession and the electorate was frustrated with a New Democratic Party (NDP) government that it perceived as both unable to cope with a ballooning deficit and to reduce unemployment. Ontarians and their political parties were aware of growing talk of the "knowledge economy" and of how education reforms made in other states such as England and the United States were discursively positioned by successfully elected parties as solutions to similar economic and social problems (Majhanovich, 2002). The 1995 NDP Royal Commission on Learning[2] had already suggested that the province develop standardized curriculum and assessment procedures in "core subject areas" (i.e., not music or the arts) so that Ontarians could be better prepared for the world of work and administrators and teachers could better understand where improvement was needed. The NDP had just published a set of basic curriculum guidelines for what students should be able to do by the end of Grades 3, 6, and 9 when the 1995 election was held. These guidelines indicated a return to centralized curriculum in Ontario supporting the types of outcome-based policy that are part of a broader neoliberal education policy paradigm.

Can we say, then, that the election of the Mike Harris Progressive Conservative (PC) government in 1995 resulted in a non-incremental policy regime change rather than only incremental policy change? Yes. As in England, curricular reform was discursively positioned as a broader aspect of social and education reform in response to legitimacy crises positioned around the stressors/enablers of increasing economic global competition and the need to rein in public spending and deficits. The Harris government made education a major issue in its election platform, and after it was elected in 1995, the minister of education stated that the government needed to "create a crisis" to convince the public that the current system of education was "broken" and in need of radical reform (Snobelen, quoted in Cohen, 2001, p. 140). Such discursive positioning indicates a paradigm shift and is indicative of the type of "we" versus "them" mentality that enables the positioning of a legitimacy crisis.

For the Progressive Conservatives, creating a standard province-wide curriculum in all subjects, including music, was part of larger reform that involved the wide-scale re-organization of power to centralize educational funding, accountability measures, curriculum, and assessment, and to create various organizations to support the centralization of these changes (but whose suggestions the minister of education could veto). Unlike the English National Curriculum, however, Ontario curriculum is not law; it is secondary legislation created and managed by those who have the legal authority to do so, namely, the minister of education (Gidney, 1999). The development of a highly prescriptive standard curriculum for each subject in every grade was justified both in terms of raising educational standards and lowering the costs of education by removing the task of curriculum development from Ontario's school boards, each of whom previously could develop their own curricula. As an organization policy, then, Ontario's curriculum was positioned to increase institutional efficiency and serve as a benchmark of achievement for all Ontarian students rather than promote competition.

Development of the 1998 Music Curriculum.

Unlike in England, the process of creating the Ontario Curriculum, including its music section, was short (less than a year for each subject), minimally consultative, and highly secretive since members of the curriculum writing teams had to sign confidentiality agreements, though later some writers would breach them. Writing teams were chosen through a tendering process and were made up largely of coalitions of academics, classroom teachers, and members of the business sector. While no record at all exists for how or by whom the 1998 elementary arts curriculum was written, of which music was a discrete subject, the secondary curriculum was written in 1998 by a consortium headed by one of Ontario's universities and a private sector organization with experience providing educational services to the federal government. In this case, organizational structures limited the ability of music educators to participate in policy development because of the relatively short timing between the call for curriculum development proposals, which came out at a time when most classroom teachers were occupied with their teaching jobs, and the deadline. The arts consortium was left to write the curriculum with "relatively little political interference" (O'Farrell, 2001), unlike that experienced by writers in subjects where the government had placed a greater interest, such as mathematics, English, and science. There, the minister of education and his associates regularly pressured writers to include specific content knowledge and overrode the writers' decisions and advice as well as that of other educational consultants, much like the Music Working Group experience in England (Pinto, 2012). Ultimately, those responsible for writing the secondary music curriculum were satisfied with their work given the restriction to create an intensive curriculum based on behavioral objectives (O'Farrell, 2001). The process itself, however, provided very limited opportunities for public feedback and thus represented the largely uncontested vision and values of music education held by the writers.

Yet closer examination implies not so much that the Ontario government trusted the arts curriculum writers to create an appropriate curriculum but rather

(at best) it did not have a clear vision for arts education or (at worst) simply did not believe that the arts had an integral role to play in preparing students for the knowledge economy. By denying additional music education stakeholders a platform to voice their opinions about curricular content and the process of curricular creation, the government effectively silenced any discussion about the importance of music education or its potential value as a school subject in its new policy regime. The 1998 music curriculum reflects values that were long entrenched in Ontarian music education: emphasis on performance and music appreciation, development of learning through practical application (particularly at the elementary level), understanding of cultures, and the importance of cultural tolerance and cooperation. However, there are short sections that demonstrate the Progressive Conservatives' preoccupation with connecting school with the world of work. For example, the elementary arts curriculum contains "knowledge and skills that will help [students] compete in a global economy" (Ministry of Education, 1998, p. 3). In addition, both the elementary and secondary music curricula are highly prescriptive, containing literally hundreds of specific elements of knowledge and skills that students "will" be able to do at the end of each grade, most of which many music teachers agreed were impossible to fully address during the time allotted for music classes. In addition, the lack of clear state-level policy for assessing the ability of music teachers to implement the Ontario curriculum combined with a policy of administering highly visible statewide literacy, mathematics, and science testing, meant that music teachers quickly found that the time and resources that might have supported their own work were diverted to more visible or "priority" areas of education reform, having never really had a chance to publicly argue how the music curriculum might enhance a child's education in the first place (Horsley, 2014a).

On paper, the music curriculum documents fulfilled the Progressive Conservative promise that all new school curricula would be demanding and rigorous. When placed into the larger context of policy cycling and regime change, however, in some ways, the Ontario Curriculum in music is somewhat of a policy hybrid: Power shifts and organizational structures enabled the type of highly specific, rigorous curriculum document that the PC's wanted as evidence of the implementation their policy regime change (while simultaneously silencing discussion that would distract from their "back-to-basics" rhetoric), yet it still reflected the basic values of traditional music education in Ontario with which many music educators were comfortable. However, support for this curricular policy was low because most music educators felt the document was unrealistic in its demands, and they felt little connection to it or desire to closely align their teaching with its content given that they were largely unaware of how the document came about and there was no mechanism by which to ensure that curricular policy was implemented. Furthermore, power shifts and organizational structures made the role and content of music education in that province a "back burner" issue.

Revisions to Ontario's Music Curriculum

Unlike in England, the music section of the Ontario Curriculum for the Arts has been revised only once. In 2009 (elementary) and 2010 (secondary) it was revised

under a Liberal government (elected in 2003) policy to review every curriculum subject in a seven-year cycle. So much dissension had arisen among teachers, unions, and school administrators, the general public, and the PC government that the Liberal government developed policies to ensure that changes to education would be widely consultative, with the government promising to respect and seriously consider the expertise of educators and educationalists (Levin, Glaze, & Fullman, 2008). Their work with policy change can be situated as part of a cyclical backlash against the PC government's policies brought about by local and province-wide teacher protests and consultation. However, change remained somewhat incremental due to the continued global emphasis on educational standards and the importance of a standardized curriculum.

The most recent Ontario Curriculum was revised through a consultative process that solicited feedback from music education scholars, organizations such as the Ontario Music Educators Association, and province-wide local opportunities for teachers to suggest and review changes. This has allowed more modern notions of what music education might be and how it might serve the student and the community to enter into curricular policies. The current curriculum reflects past teacher concerns about curriculum overcrowding and contains a variety of philosophical underpinnings justifying the unique benefits of studying the arts. It also places an increased emphasis on the ability of the arts to foster creative citizens in a new type of economy: the *creative economy*. However, the implementation of this set of curricular documents has been affected by many of the same pressures as the last set. Ontario has recently been seen as a positive model for collaborative curricular and policy reform in relation to addressing teacher and administrative satisfaction and raising test scores on statewide and international literacy and mathematics testing. This change has been led in large part by educational consultants with strong ties to both the field of education and policymaking, such as Michael Fullan (2012, *Great to Excellent*). However, much of the "improvement" in Ontario's policy regime and international standing has happened at the expense of arts education—even if music educators now have a greater voice in curricular design—as more and more resources are directed toward improving "visible" indicators of success: indicators that do not include the state of music education. So, while the new Ontario Curriculum for music may reflect music educators' beliefs about the role that music might play in Ontario's future, very few others seem to share in this curricular vision.

WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM THESE CASES? IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE INVOLVEMENT WITH STANDARDIZED CURRICULUM POLICY DEVELOPMENT

Standardized curriculum development in both of these states was underpinned by a paradigm shift to neoliberalism supported, enacted, and implemented as a backlash to the previous governing party's economic, social, and education policy regimes. In each case, election reform and "raising standards" was a significant

part of election campaign discourse around perceived legitimacy crises, and power shifts and organizational change occurred in order to support policy change. Neoliberalism as an underpinning ideology to education reform was and continues to be influenced by larger global economic policies, and policy regimes that include standardized curricula do not appear to be going anywhere anytime soon. However, it would be incorrect to assume that these policies are developed and enacted in the same way in each location. While the policy players in each state continue to respond to the increasing homogenization in global economic and education policies, the state itself is not powerless. Just as those responsible for implementing curriculum and assessment at the local level do, it responds according to its own sociopolitical values, histories, and institutional structures and with the degree of change that the electorate (or parents/students) will tolerate. Thus, some of the examples of curricular change or reform cited above contain more *hybridization* than others, and all have fallen to varying degrees along the spectrum of *incremental* change, despite the party in power shifting one or more times since the initial policy regime was introduced. In addition, implementation at the local level has met with varying degrees of success depending on state- and local-level support for implementation.

If nothing else, the two cases presented in this chapter demonstrate how standard statewide curriculum as policy is part of a larger, messy political process that involves pressures from the supranational level, values and responses from state-level policymakers, and the desires and values of those at the level of the school. Both cases also demonstrate how power shifts and organization structures limit or encourage individual and collective engagement in and effect on policy creation or reform. As Woodford (2004) has argued, music educators cannot continue to act as if the world of music inside their classrooms has nothing to do with a broader social and political landscape, particularly when, as both examples show, dissent and well-formed arguments from educational stakeholders can lead to changes in curricular policy—and when these arguments reach the same public forums through which policy ideology is circulated. It becomes even more imperative for music educators to be attentive and involved when we recognize that part of the process of policy change is meant to convince us that policy solutions are just unquestionable "common sense." To that end, there is specific knowledge that individuals and organizations concerned with music education in public systems of education (including teacher training institutions) should acquire and actions they might take in order to be (1) better informed about curricular policy construction and (2) participate in that process.

First, music educators should have a basic understanding of the nature of political discourse and how it is used to create perceived legitimacy crises that support the introduction of policy based on the ideology of elected officials or those who wish to be elected. They should also be familiar with the broader policy cycles both in education and music education that have occurred within their state. Having such knowledge allows us to more closely examine (and thus better refute or support) suggested changes to curricular policy through our ability to understand the origin point from where specific policy ideas arise. This includes

how these policies may have been recycled or modified from past policy regimes and how effective they were in terms of supporting music education outcomes (or even music education as a school subject) in the "good old days." A logical place to acquire this knowledge is during collegiate teacher training, but it can also be collected and disseminated through local and national music education organizations.

In addition to this, "understanding the politics of curriculum requires an understanding of factors that affect elected governments and the powerful constraints that limit both understanding of what to do and capacity to act" (Levin, 2008 p. 9). There is no denying that education policy in these times is largely framed within the boundaries of a larger world economy and that this has serious ramifications for how music curriculum is created, valued, and supported at the state level (Horsley, 2014b). Governments, and those who wish to be elected to government, pose policy solutions to these issues. Those in the field of music education must know what these broader economic and social responses to such "legitimacy crises" and their stressors/enablers are. For example, the *creative economy* is becoming increasing prevalent in discussions of education reform. Rather than react to curricular change with advocacy, as those in our field have so often done, we should seek to understand implications of possible new and ongoing influences on curricular policy before and during policy reform so that we can better engage in debates about the implications of curricular policy on music education. This would be particularly effective in states such as Ontario, where the government has positioned education as playing a key role in developing a creative economy, yet any discussion of creativity in the wider field of education has mostly centered around technological innovation rather than any role the arts, specifically music, might play. In England, concerns over recent immigration trends is fueling discussion once again about the nature of what it means to be "British" and how publicly funded education can adapt to changing social demographics. Thus, part of preservice and additional teacher training should focus on understanding the global social and economic trends that currently influence thinking about the purposes of education, how the discursive language of policymakers reflects and interprets those trends, and where music education is placed within them (if at all). Music educator associations and teachers should also stay engaged with the current "policy" speak of local and regional politicians by tracking their statements in the news, through press releases, and on official party websites.

Those who wish to affect curriculum development must also understand the broader issue of power shifts and organization within policy formation. Specially, we should know the legislative status of curricular documents: Who has the power to institute reform? How are these individuals selected? What values do they hold? Who has access to them? How is research on the content of curricular policy undertaken? These are all part of a wider democratic issue of government accountability. In the two examples above, music educators were able to effect the most curricular change when the policymaking process was relatively transparent and the government supported a consultative process and engaged in a system of public review. Those who work in education, and the public in general, have

a right to transparency and consultation in the curriculum review process, and the government must be able to give an account of how curriculum is created. Education is part of a wider political and social project; therefore it is imperative that those who are involved in it do not let their voices be silenced. In cases where the organizational processes of curricular reform shut out the expertise of music teachers and their knowledge of their students and schools (either officially or through obscuring the policy reform process), teachers should not hesitate to make this known to the broader public in order to draw attention to the need for policymakers to be accountable to the ways in which they develop policy that affects society (Horsley, 2009). This might be done through the media but also through more political responses such as public protests and strikes. In addition, knowing how music educators in other states have worked to create and reform curriculum that reflects the knowledge and expertise in our field can help us to pose solutions for curriculum. For that reason, music teacher education should emphasize various models of how curriculum is created and reformed and examine case studies of how those working in the field of education and music education have affected curricular change. Researchers working in music education can also collect and document information on curricular creation and reform processes in various states in order to facilitate comparison. Individuals can participate in international or inter-regional conferences and share their own experiences of curricular reform processes in order to better understand how other systems of reform function. Perhaps most important, all music education stakeholders must be aware of when curricular reform happens and the various structures that allow access to the reform processes so that they can make their voices and ideas heard throughout the curricular reform and implementation process.

The idea of curriculum as policy is essential in the political life of the music educator. While the focus of this chapter was on conditions necessary for the creation and conceptualization of statewide curricular policy and its reform, we should not forget the extent to which these documents are intended to direct and organize the ways that students, teachers, and even the general public are meant to think about and "do" music in their educational settings. And while it is true that many music teachers may be able to shut their doors and ignore such curriculum entirely, such actions only disengage music education from a broader school community and the world outside the classroom doors. A refusal to become involved in the wider issue of statewide curricular development and a continued lack of knowledge about the mechanisms for curricular policy change and reform only further remove our voices (and thus our relevance) from a broader discussion of the value of music and music education at the local, state, and supra-national level.

NOTES

1. The term "statewide" indicates a geographical area with clear territorial boundaries and a recognized legitimate government that has the legal authority and means to enforce its laws. For example, England's National Curriculum can be considered

a statewide curricular policy, as can the curriculum documents of each Canadian province, where the federal government has no jurisdiction over primary and secondary public education. Countries such as the United States and Australia may have statewide curricular policies at federal and the state/provincial level as governing bodies exist at both those levels that direct curricular policies, albeit not without tension over the exact limits of jurisdictional power. *Standardized curricular policy* or *standardized curriculum* refers to curricular documents that are intended to designate the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that every student within the state should learn, except perhaps in exceptional circumstances.

2. Royal Commissions are independent reviews commissioned by the governor of a province in conjunction with its premier and provincial cabinet. While the findings are considered bi-partisan, directives that guide them may not be.

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PART III

Policy in Context

10

Policy and the Lives of School-Age Children

MARGARET S. BARRETT ■

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I consider the ways in which some trends in educational policy in general and music education policy specifically have been received and understood in the lives and education of children and youth. Key historical developments including the progressivist movement in education are outlined, serving as a point of comparison with current neoliberal policy thought and practice, and an illustration of the ways in which teachers' and children's autonomy and agency in the curriculum-making process are accommodated or suppressed. The chapter explores what is understood by the terms "progressivism" and "child-centered approaches" to education, outlining possibilities and challenges for both teaching and learning. To illustrate these issues I present one case study of children's engagement in educational policymaking and their beliefs, values, and practices in the arts.

THE POLICYMAKING PROCESS: DISRUPTIONS AND RUPTURES

Music education policy is understood and constructed in a myriad of ways; for example, it may be "understood as both text and discourse simultaneously" (Kos, 2010, p. 97). As text, it is represented in the official documents issued by formal policymakers such as federal and/or state government departments responsible for the oversight of public education. In Australia, for example, the national curriculum project, which is a bi-partisan initiative of successive federal governments, has

identified music as one of five subjects in the Key Learning Area of the Arts (See *The Arts: An Australian Curriculum*, 2014). Similarly, in the United Kingdom music has been recognized as a subject in the national curriculum since the 1980s with a series of policy documents outlining the scope and sequence of curriculum provision for music across the range of schooling (see Horsley, this volume).

Alongside these formal statements of policy as text, and at times functioning as a counter-narrative, policy also operates as a discourse whereby it "is constantly redefined as various individuals act on policy, changing the context in which interpretation and implementation occur" (Kos, 2010, p. 98). This discourse, viewed as a form of informal policymaking, may be developed and published at local levels by teachers who seek to present their school community (colleague teachers, students, and parents) with a coherent statement of what is taught in the music department, why, how, and with which outcomes for the child, the school, and the local community. More broadly, informal music education policies may be deliberatively constructed by local government institutions and not-for-profit organizations, including charities, subject associations (for example, the *National Standards for Music Education* in the United States, developed by the National Association for Music Education [NAfME]), and community groups. In an analysis of music education policy Kos (2010) identifies a range of informal policymakers in the United States including the *National Standards for Music Education*; curricular materials; subject associations such as the Music Education National Conference (MENC; now NAfME); and professional workshops.

Much of the above presents music education policy development as a "top-down process of codifying values" (Schmidt, 2009, p. 39) regulated by gatekeepers at various levels, and received in the classroom in a seamless manner. Implicit in such approaches is the view that policy development seeks to arrive at a singular unified vision for music education and a consensus view of what is valued and therefore (re)produced through music education.

Such a view tends to ignore the agency and expertise of teachers and children as knowledgeable contributors to policy development. Further, such views do not acknowledge that music education policy is not only constructed and enshrined as text (the official document), but it is also subsequently interpreted at every level of the education system (national, state, district, school, classroom), and enacted and experienced day to day as discourse by teachers and children. In this process the official policy (as text) may be disrupted, contested, and re-fashioned in ways that produce multiple perspectives and experiences. Crucially, the learnings that derive from such processes may well be at odds with those advocated in the official documents. Within the prevailing neoliberal context (see Schmidt, this volume), education authorities seek to control the degree to which curriculum practice at the local level differs from site to site and from the mandated policy developed by centralized agencies. Notions such as "teacher-proof" curriculum may be understood as efforts to ensure standardization of "accountability-explicit curriculum policies" (Sloan, 2006), and a means of restricting or suppressing curriculum autonomy and agency at the local level.

Forari (2007) examined the relationships between three levels of music education policymaking in Cyprus as evidenced in three contexts: those of curriculum formation (the official music curriculum), implementation (by music teachers), and reception (by students). She found a number of points of dissonance between and within these levels. She suggests that the official document espouses a progressive view of music education while enshrining topics and structures that strictly limit teachers' opportunities to move beyond what is mandated. As she observes, "Music education policy is understood as a text, an uncontested activity, and not as an action in which all actors are agents" (2007, p. 141). Forari's analysis of teachers' and students' perceptions of the curriculum reveals that teachers "pursue music education as aesthetic education" (2007, p. 142) while students view music education as an "escape from the stress of other curriculum subjects" (2007, p. 142). She concludes that music education policy is "polydynamic," "polyglot," and "polymorphic," involving complex "policy trajectories and points of origin," multiple actors, and, multiple contexts (2007, p. 144). Consequently, she recommends that policymaking, implementation, and reception might best be undertaken as a dialogic process that seeks a consensual trajectory between multiple parties.

Schmidt touches on similar issues in his call for an approach to policy development that embraces "sphericality," specifically, the admission of coadunation and simultaneity. He argues for a

> policy that is centered on (a) directives—derived from condensation and focus—and (b) conceptualizations that structure, suggest, and invite complex thinking and language. That is, policy should act as an invitation to discourse among a knowledgeable community, instead of a dictum to an uninformed field. (2009, p. 40)

This recognition of the dialogic possibilities of policymaking constitutes a significant advance—one that admits of the need to consider the ways in which policy development, implementation and evaluation interact across a range of contexts, including the micro, meso, and macro. Yet even in this confluence model of top down and bottom up policymaking, music education policy appears to be something that is "done to" and "received by" children rather than "constructed with" children.

CHILDREN AS CURRICULUM MAKERS

Children do not simply "receive" music education policy in the practice of the classroom; they also engage in acts of meaning-making and interpretation as they participate in the practical manifestations of music education policy. These acts of meaning-making occur regardless of whether or not we engage children actively in the process (see Barrett, 2007). Despite the evident need to encourage

children's investment in education, their voice is largely absent from policy discussions and debates.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) states explicitly that "State Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child" (Article 12). In later work, the Committee on the Rights of the Child recognized "young children as social actors from the beginning of life" (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2006, 2). These moves recognize children not only as social actors but also as knowledgeable beings and participants in sociocultural worlds who are capable of making constructive contributions to debates and policies on those issues that touch and shape their lives. This recognition contests historical views of children as immature, incompetent, and irrational, and creates an imperative to consult children in order to access their views and perspectives and consider their advice on policy and practice.

Within the research community there has been considerable effort in recent years to access the perspectives and voices of children and young people on a range of educational, social, cultural, and political issues (Clarke & Moss, 2011) and in relation to their experience of arts education in schools and communities in particular (Barrett, Everett, & Smigiel, 2012; Barrett & Smigiel, 2007; Barrett & Smigiel, 2003). Despite this increasing recognition of children's agency and the contributions they can make in speaking to and from their own experiences of schools and schooling, there is a disturbing absence of children's perspectives, needs, and aspirations in contemporary educational policymaking. Consideration of these issues prompts me to ask the following:

1. In what ways has the music education community recognized and drawn on children's voice in policymaking?
2. In what ways might we elicit children's voice in policymaking and the contributions, insights, and practical solutions they might offer to music education?
3. What might the lessons for music education policy and practice be?

As a preliminary move to addressing these questions I consider the history of the child-centered or "progressive" education movements and their recognition, accessing, and acknowledging of children's agency and voices. I then explore practical examples of engaging children in policymaking in and beyond the discipline of music. In this latter I draw on the findings of a national research project undertaken in Australia that sought to access children's perspectives on the meaning and value of the arts in their lives, and their practical experiences of these in both school and youth arts learning environments (Barrett, Everett, & Smigiel, 2012; Barrett & Smigiel, 2007; Barrett & Smigiel, 2003). Finally, I consider the lessons for music education policy and practice that arise from the findings of this research.

THE CHILD-CENTERED MOVEMENT: PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION AND THE FOREGROUNDING OF CHILDREN'S VOICES

Progressive education movements have their roots in the Enlightenment, with Rousseau's text *Emile: Or on Education* (1762/1979) perhaps the earliest manifesto of the movement. The central educational practice advocated in *Emile* is that of discovery-led learning, regulated by the child under the guidance of a tutor, governed by the child's interests and desires. The child in nature, unhampered by the society of others, and shielded from prevailing social and culture mores, learns "naturally" in this vision of education. These themes may be traced through various forms of progressive education including the theories of Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Montessori, and the developmental theories of Piaget. Progressive education has been placed in a dichotomous relationship with "traditional" education, content-based approaches to curriculum, and teacher versus child-centered approaches to learning and development (Carr, 2014).

Progressivism in education has also been coupled with ideas of democracy stemming in part from Dewey's early text *Democracy and Education* (1916) and includes in its history over the course of the 20th century educational innovations and approaches such as experiential learning, whole language learning, and cooperative learning. Within the arts, progressive education tenets may be detected in a curriculum emphasis on personal expression, unfettered play, and spontaneity over an apprenticeship in the skills, cultural history, and aesthetic field of the art form (Abbs, 1987).

Educational theorist Kieran Egan (2002) provides a comprehensive critique of the progressive movement as embodied in the work and writings of Herbert Spencer, John Dewey, and Jean Piaget. He suggests that the emphasis on "natural" learning approaches stemming from a view of "biologised psychology" has suppressed the search for and recognition of "much of what is most distinctively human in learning and development" (2002, p. 113). Egan draws on Vygotsky's developmental theories to argue that

> our intellectual abilities are not "natural" but are socio-cultural constructs. They are not forms of intellectual life that we are programmed in some sense to bring to realization; there is no naturally preferred form of human intellectual maturity. We are not designed for example to move in the direction of "formal operations" or abstract thinking or whatever. These forms of intellectual life are products of our learning, "inmindating" particular cultural tools invented in our cultural history. (2002, pp. 113–114)

Egan's condemnation of progressive education might be viewed as somewhat surprising in one whose work has focused on the promotion of imaginative approaches to teaching and learning that bear all the hallmarks of a child-centered approach (see, for example, Egan 2014, 2010, 2008). For the purposes of this

discussion, Egan's position points to a number of issues about progressive and child-centered approaches to education. First, as noted by Carr, "the approaches generally referred to as progressive or child-centred might be better understood as a diverse collection of rather different educational ideas or perspectives" (2014, p. 52). In short there is no singular definition of progressivism in education. Egan's critique of progressivism seeks to separate notions of child-centered education from ideas of the "natural" unfolding of development in age-related stages. As he asserts:

> The flaw in progressivism is the belief that we can disclose the nature of the child. Whatever is the substratum of human nature is less accessible and less useful *to the educator* than understanding the cultural cognitive tools that shape and mediate our learning, development, and everything else to do with the conscious world of educational activity. (2002, pp. 184–185)

These words suggest that the child is still central to Egan's concerns, that is, the "cultural" child rather than the "natural" child.

This separation of child-centered approaches to education from historical views of progressivist education has been evident in a number of educational policy developments. For example, in Australia the *Early Years Learning Framework* (DEEWR, 2009) policy document might be viewed as child-centered in the principles, practices, and learning outcomes advocated, yet not necessarily historically progressivist in its approach. Early childhood educators are urged to "promote children's learning" by

- adopting holistic approaches
- being responsive to children
- planning and implementing learning through play
- intentional teaching
- creating physical and social learning environments that have a positive impact on children's learning
- valuing the cultural and social contexts of children and their families
- providing for continuity in experiences and enabling children to have successful transition
- assessing and monitoring children's learning to inform provision and to support children in achieving learning outcomes. (DEEWR, 2009, p. 14)

In other statements the document refers to the need to scaffold children's learning in and through play, and it explicitly draws on developmental theories, sociocultural theories, sociobehaviorist theories, critical theories, and post-structuralist theories (DEEWR, 2009, p. 11). There is evident distancing here from any notion of child-centered education in which the "progressivist natural child" regulates her learning in all of its dimensions and complexities.

In a review and analysis of the development of child-centered education practices within the progressive tradition (1950–2010) in the UK, John Finney (2011)

charts a move away from child-centered music education policy and practice to an education policy and practice where the focus became one of "equipping children with knowledge, and (there was to be) one size of knowledge to fit all" (p. 90). Finney suggests that this move, from child-centered to outcomes-centered practice, reduced music education practice (and by inference policy) to the teaching of what could be assessed. This may be viewed as yet another variant on our understanding of child-centered education, one in which assessment and a particular understanding of learning outcomes is placed in a dichotomous relationship.

On reviewing these various developments I am struck by a singular absence in discussions of child-centered education: that of the child's voice as agent and critic. To return to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1986), specifically Article 12, it would seem that these historical views of child-centered education have not necessarily ensured that "children have the right to say what they think should happen when adults are making decisions that affect them and to have their opinions taken into account." Despite the ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of Children by all member nations it is curious that this document seems to play little part in the policy development process at a national level. In the following I provide some examples of approaches to education policy and practice that have drawn on a more consultative concept of child-centeredness.

TOWARD A MODEL OF CONSULTATION: CHILDREN AS ARTIST CITIZENS

Drawing on Freire's principle that "One cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action program which fails to respect the particular view of the world held by the people" (1983, p. 84), researchers Pauline Harris and Harry Manatakis embarked on a project (The Children's Voices Project) that engaged approximately 350 three- to eight-year-old children in a state government community consultation in South Australia. The focus of the consultations was "what is important to children in their communities and what children wish for in their lives" (2013, p. 16). The project was not only concerned with accessing children's perspectives on their worlds, hopes, and aspirations; crucially it was concerned also with "how we accurately and faithfully represent children's input in government reports and the like to progress to the next stage of decision-making, and how we track the uptake of children's input" (2013, p. 16).

The methods and techniques employed in the project drew on the concepts of the Reggio Emilia approach to early learning and development to provide multiple modes and media for engaging with and recording children's voices; these included using "music, dance, song, story-telling, drama, visual arts, photography as well as spoken and written words" (Harris & Manatakis, 2013, p. 17). Harris and Manatakis found that children "regardless of age or capabilities, are able to express their views and preferences through various means of communication" (2013, p. 258). They concluded that "it is the willingness of an adult to take the

time to listen and understand that child" (2013, p. 258) that is key to eliciting children's perspectives. The outcomes of the consultations with children were shared "with the wider community through media, professional journals and organizational networks" (2013, p. 259) and contributed to the State Strategic Plan of South Australia. Below I provide a case study of a consultative approach to educational policymaking which I undertook with my colleague Heather Smigiel, a drama educator and academic, in Australia. This project, undertaken nationally, has subsequently informed the educational policies and practices of one of the funding bodies, the Australia Council for the Arts.

MEANING, VALUE, AND PARTICIPATION: A CONSULTATIVE CHILD-CENTERED APPROACH TO POLICYMAKING IN ARTS EDUCATION

In 1999 the Australia Council for the Arts commissioned national research to identify the meanings and value of the arts for the Australian population and the nature and extent of the Australian population's participation in the arts. The project was intended not only to provide evidence of Australians' engagement with the arts but also to inform the Council's strategic planning for the new millennium. The final reports of the project (Costantoura, 2001) painted a diverse picture of engagement in and valuing of the arts among the Australian population. On reading the report, both my colleague Heather Smigiel and I were struck by the complete absence of children's voices in the document. Close inspection of the methodology undertaken in the project revealed that participants in the research were 18 years of age or older, on the premise that children's perspectives would be captured in their parents' and caregivers' comments, and that "some of the questions being addressed were considered too complex to expect reasonable answers beneath this age" (Costantoura, 2001, p. 371). The methodology employed may also have been a consideration in the decision not to involve any one under the age of 18. Data were gathered through two national telephone surveys (1,200 participants per survey); focus group interviews conducted in three (New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria) of Australia's eight states and territories; and "town hall" consultative meetings with arts workers and community members in capital cities and some regional centers across the country.

As this document was intended to shape future policy for the arts in Australia, we were concerned that one of the most relevant populations to engage with the arts in Australia's future, children and young people, had not been consulted. Heather and I immediately decided to propose a research project to the Australia Council, one which sought to

- Identify the meaning and value of the arts for children (ages 5 to 18 years) in school and community settings in Australia.
- Identify the ways in which Australian children engage with the arts in school and community settings in Australia.

We received funding to undertake the project from the Australian Research Council and the Australia Council for the Arts through the ARC Linkage Grants Scheme (Barrett, Smigiel, & Weingott, 2002–2003). The project was undertaken in two phases. In phase one we worked with children in government schools in every state and territory of Australia (Barrett & Smigiel, 2003). In phase two we worked with children in youth arts settings in every state and territory (Barrett & Smigiel, 2007). In each state and territory we sought a mix of school and youth arts populations in metropolitan, regional, and remote communities and worked in consultation with state and territory departments of education and local government organizations to identify potential sites for the project. Through these two phases we worked with approximately 570 children aged between 5 and 18 years.

A key concern for us was the development of participatory research methods that would facilitate children's contributions to the research as co-researchers. We sought to engage children in the process to ensure that their voices, perspectives, and viewpoints were heard in the policymaking process and contributed to the future policy and practice directions of the Australia Council for the Arts. Accordingly we developed and employed a range of participatory methods for secondary, upper primary, and infant and lower primary participants.

PHASE ONE: SCHOOLS

In secondary and upper primary school settings we worked with a group of approximately eight children over the course of a school day. The children, selected by the school and representing each of the grade levels in that section of the school (for example, 2 from grade 7, 2 from grade 8, 2 from grade 9, 2 from grade 10) participated in three forms of data generation:

- A 90-minute group interview at the commencement of the day that focused on eliciting children's descriptions of what constituted the arts, what the arts meant to them in their lives, and the ways in which they used the arts (now and in the future) in their lives.
- A 90-minute research task in which the children, working in pairs, were provided with a digital camera and asked to photograph the arts in their school. These were the guiding instructions for the children: (1) take as many photographs as you like but edit your collection to eight images that show the arts in your school; and (2) name each image.
- A 30-minute interview with each pair's collection of images loaded onto a laptop; a joint conversation probed why each image had been taken, what it told us about the arts, and what the image and its name meant to the children.

In lower primary and infant school settings we worked with approximately eight children over a 90-minute period. The session commenced with a group interview that sought children's descriptions of the arts, what the arts meant to them, and

the ways in which they currently participated in the arts. This latter was elaborated on through a second task in which children were asked to draw themselves engaging in the arts in their daily lives. As the children completed the drawing, they were interviewed so we could elicit their descriptions of what was depicted in the drawing and the meanings and values they attached to this participation.

Findings from the school phase of the project demonstrated that young people are highly articulate in communicating their interests in the arts. Regardless of age, participants were able to describe the many ways in which they defined the arts, valued the arts, and participated in the arts. Findings demonstrated that children held "open" categories of the arts with many referring to a range of occupations and activities, such as cooking, gardening, and carpentry as arts forms (Barrett & Smigiel, 2003). Importantly, the arts were not only defined by objects and events but also by the processes involved, those of reflective thinking, problem-solving, skill development, applying a known skill in new and unique ways, hard work, and the feelings evoked (Barrett & Smigiel, 2003, n.p.). For the youngest children, arts activity was a means for social bonding with family and friends, for developing interests and skills, and stimulating imagination, creativity, and self-expression (Barrett, Everett, & Smigiel, 2012). The findings demonstrated that Australian children and their families understand and engage in diverse formal and informal arts practices. For policymakers the challenge lies in "connecting" these practices to those offered through arts programs in schools and communities in ways that provide a bridge to expanded arts participation for Australian children and their families (Barrett & Smigiel, 2003).

PHASE TWO: YOUTH ARTS SETTINGS

In this phase we devised an artifact-elicited technique whereby children were asked to bring to the interview an object that embodied what their participation in the youth arts setting meant to them. Our rationale for this approach was that a conversation focused on an object or experience of great personal interest would move quickly to the heart of the matter: the meaning and value of the arts in these children's lives. In the information sheet forwarded to all potential participants we provided suggestions for these objects including costumes, posters, programs, recordings. At one point in the interview we invited the children to tell the story of the object and what it meant to them.

Analysis of data from participants in music youth arts settings (4 settings out of 28 in total) identified five themes concerning the meaning and value of participation in music for these young people:

- love of performance
- unity of purpose
- challenge and professionalism
- relationships and community
- personal fulfillment, growth, and well-being (Barrett & Smigiel, 2007)

As a means of providing further insight into these findings and demonstrating what children and young people might contribute to policymaking I provide below a narrative account of an artifact-elicited interview I conducted with one participant in phase two of the study, Sophie, an 11-year-old girl. Narrative approaches to data generation, analysis, and presentation provide opportunity to consult participant perspectives in depth, to pursue multiple lines of inquiry through the conversational interaction, to consider competing accounts as a means to deepening understanding of a phenomenon rather than a problem to be eliminated, and a means to presenting rich accounts of phenomena that illustrate the complexities and nuances of human thought and action (Barrett & Stauffer, 2009, 2012). Accordingly, this account is presented as an uninterrupted narrative that honors Sophie's experiences and perspectives.

Sophie's story

> "*We're a bit short on space,*" Sophie's mum said as she ushered me through the kitchen to the bedroom corridor. "*Do you mind going through to Sophie's bedroom?*" she inquired.

Sophie flopped onto the bed, apparently oblivious to the sub-zero temperatures of a winter's night in Canberra, while my numb fingers struggled to put the recording equipment together. Perched on a kitchen chair, I thought enviously of Heather, interviewing Sophie's young brother in the heated kitchen/lounge room next door. I noted the clouds of moist air in the neon overhead light, as we began to talk. Sophie started with a description of the things she did, a varied and lengthy listing that I was beginning to recognize as a familiar pattern in the lives of many of the young people we were interviewing across Australia.

> *"I am 11 and I am school captain. I play instruments. One of them is percussion so that probably means about five instruments, and the violin, and I also play a little bit of guitar but that really shouldn't count. I do drama in workshops in the holidays and I performed in a show. I play a lot of sport because I like being fit. I do a bit of painting. I like to read and I like to write. I entered a writing competition and got into the top 50 out of 300 people according to the judges. I play heaps of music all the time and last year I entered this school competition—well, it was really a private music night, and I played my violin there. I also enter a talent quest each year except for this year when we have got something really good planned where me and my best friend and my best friend's evil twin—he is evil and he is great at everything and it is really annoying—we are going to do a song and he is going to play piano and I am going to sing. I forgot to say that I sing. I used to do choir but I don't do choir any more because it got a bit annoying. I did tap dancing but I lost my tap shoes and I didn't have time to practice because of*

my violin, and my percussion, and everything else that I had to do, so I started falling behind. I also do public speaking just for the record. I keep on winning it for the school."

I was exhausted trying to keep the listing straight in my mind—where did these young people get the energy, let alone the time?

"Is that what all those 1sts and 3rds are for?" I pointed to several certificates blu-tacked to the wall.

"No," she responded. Pointing to the wall she continued: *"that is for sport, and that is for public speaking and I had another one, and two little medallions, but they all died. A lot of things died."*

I decided not to probe into that statement and began to think about Sophie's outspokenness, defiance almost, as I let my gaze wander around the bedroom. She was rummaging in her school-bag looking for a song she had written.

"I think it is in my workbook. I stood up and sang it in front of the class and my teacher thought I had come up with something good—harmony is good and we should all live together happily and I came up with this, and it was at that time when there were heaps of war rallies."

She pulled the book from the bag, found the page, and began to read:

> *"Australia loves Americans, we will follow them to war,*
> *In Iraq or in the Gulf, we have done it once before.*
> *John Howard*[1] *has big glasses and he has big eyebrows too.*
> *Why can't he see that war is not the decent thing to do.*
> *When we can see that war is not the decent thing to do."*

"And my teacher writes down the bottom—'interesting sentiments, Sophie.' Everybody was hoping that she would let me sing it at assembly for harmony day, but she didn't."

Sophie was back into the bag, now hauled up onto the quilt, looking for something else, talking all the while.

"I would suggest that you take my teacher and my band teacher out of the school system and put them into dog washing. They shouldn't work with humans. I think that you should bring drama back into schools and bring performances back into schools and really try to encourage it because it is a good way of helping students and maybe making plays because that can just give students so much. Try to keep the dorkie songs to a minimum because nobody wants to sing them and we all know that. Give the kids a choice as to what they sing and get the kids to come up with the rap—you know. Work to them and not against them."

I had been feeling uneasy all the way through the interview: was it Sophie's outspokenness? My exhaustion after a long day traveling and interviewing? Perhaps

it was the room itself? It seemed an odd jumble of things, not at all like the bedrooms of other young girls that I knew. I thought of my goddaughter's carefully chosen curtains and bedspreads, the collections of books, toys, and her current obsession with the color pink, and fairies. For someone with as strong a personality as Sophie, this was a curious make-shift mix of un-matched furniture, tacked-up posters, and certificates. And for someone who loved reading—*"I would be really dead without Harry Potter. I am rather addicted. I finished the last book the weekend it came out"*—not a book in sight.

Sophie moved on to describe the difference between school arts, and the time she spent at the local youth theater.

> *"We have got really friendly people—like really down to earth, friendly, happy, people instructing us. They don't have any people that don't want to be there. They all want to be there and they are all really happy here and they always come up with interesting ideas as to what you are going to do and you always get a say in it. You always get a say in how it is going to end up working even if it is already said that you are doing Shakespeare's* Macbeth. *You are going to get a say in how you are going to play your character and how it is going to be different. The arts should be counted as something that comes from the heart and something that is self-explanatory and has expression."*

Back to people and passion—the quality of relationships, the trust in young people that they can contribute original ideas, make things, and the enthusiasm for the subject. I wondered how this translated into music for Sophie.

> *"Listening to it—you feel not a part of it. You feel out of it. You feel like—you are listening to it and getting into it, but you are not there. With making music, you are a real part of it and you can hear how you contribute and there's that spot missing that they have written for you to go into, and you are really there. With improvisation, you feel it and you can make that sound and it will really mean something and it is live usually. And in listening to live music, it is amazing but you are always usually watching them but it is not the same as being one of them. When you play the classical stuff—I love the vibrations that you get from the violin and I love watching my bow and I feel the movement. It is sort of like dance, I guess, you are making a sound and it just looks really nice. So that is what I like about playing the violin. It took two years of nagging to get my Mum to let me learn so I am very proud."*

We began to talk about Sophie's violin, and why she had chosen to talk about it for this interview.

> *"I saved it. Damn it, I saved it,"* she said with some force. *"In the police car all the way to the evacuation centre, walking to the hotel at 9.00 at night, it was there. That is a very big reason. And because it is so old and I don't know where it has been. It has all this mystery."*

Of course. The fires. It had taken me a while to put all the clues together. I thought back to January, when Canberra had been hit by a firestorm, with devastating loss

of life and property. No wonder Sophie had talked earlier of a lot of things that had "died."

> *"It was German and so it is probably—and it is like more than 100 years old—it survived Hitler,"* she continued, lifting the instrument from the case. *"I have no idea where it has been. I saw it at the violin shop. It has got a really nice sound. It is old but it still makes a sound that can be considered new so I think it can be considered any age and it is beautiful. You can play it and it can be played by anyone. It can't be played well by anyone, but it can be played by anyone."*

I thought about resilience. What makes people resilient? What is it that keeps people going in the face of such adversity?

> *"I sort of want to make something. Everybody probably says that they want to make a difference in this world—I want to make something. I really want to make something that you can't get out of sports. You can't make something in sports. You don't make something. You run around kicking a ball or you run around saving goals but you don't make a play or a story or you don't make a picture or a piece of music. You don't make yourself be able to play it. It is a different sense. The stuff that I make probably won't get out to anybody that far but I want to make it for the little child that goes to see her big sister perform or I want to make it for the person who just comes to their child's reunion. I want to make something for them, I guess and I have got quite a lot of self-interest involved. I want to get better so in making it, I want to make it an achievement."*

COMMENTARY

Sophie's story provides rich insights into the role the arts play in her life. We see her engagement and learning in the arts over a broad range of activities: these include activities that occur formally as part of the school program, informally through initiatives with peers, and non-formally through her participation in a youth arts theater group. Each of these domains offers her a different experience and opportunity for learning. Crucially, she has strong views on what works and what does not work in these settings. Curriculum policy and practice as received by her in school is problematic. Her injunctions against "dorky songs" and suggestions for how to work with young people in school settings (through consulting them about their preferences and choices) are contrasted with her experiences at the Youth Arts Setting, which she describes as a consultative, collaborative, friendly environment that values and respects children's viewpoints and contributions, and challenges them.

Sophie's insights into the powerful distinctions between making music (*you are a real part of it and you can hear how you contribute and there's that spot missing that they have written for you to go into, and you are really there*) and listening to music suggest the level of engagement and challenge she derives from her arts experiences. We also see the ways in which the arts have sustained Sophie through times of great hardship. The one object she managed to rescue from the blaze that consumed her family home and the bulk of her family possessions has become

a talisman for the ways in which the arts can link us to old and new worlds, and provide a means to making sense of our experiences. We see Sophie's ambitions to continue to work in the arts, to make a contribution not only to her life but to those of others through sharing her desire to "make something" in the arts. In all of the above we see Sophie's love of performance, her desire to work with like-minded others who want to be challenged and introduced to professional practices, her appreciation of positive relationships, and a sense of community. Crucially, we see the ways in which the arts contribute to her personal fulfillment, growth, and well-being. These are powerful messages for policymakers, articulated clearly.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In this chapter I have explored the ways in which policy impacts the lives of children in ways that are both deliberate and inadvertent. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1986) Article 12 challenges us to consult with children as we construct a child-centered curriculum that serves their individual and collective interests and needs as well as those of the communities and nations in which they live. Research has demonstrated that children are articulate communicators of their perspectives and are able to provide unique insights into the educational process including its aims, practices, and outcomes, both intended and unintended. Our challenge is to review the policymaking landscape and practices to consider the ways in which we might more consistently include children in policymaking processes and value their contributions.

NOTE

1. Prime Minister of Australia, 1996–2007.

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11

Policy and the Work of the Musician/Teacher in the Community

DAVID MYERS ■

PROGRAMS, TEACHER ROLES, AND POLICY PERSPECTIVES REGARDING MUSIC IN COMMUNITIES

Community-based music learning, teaching, and content are a function of local interests, teacher initiatives, missions and legacies of community institutions, and market demand for musician-led engagement and education. Whereas school music programs may be defined by government and professional standards and institutional curricular policies, community music education lacks similar formalized policy stipulations. Community music educators work independently or as contract employees and thus function differently from their school-based colleagues in relation to governmental and non-governmental policies. Though those who work in community music schools or other venues may be subject to human resource and labor policies, no broadly based extramural policies require teacher qualifications or, with few exceptions, define or assess learner achievement.

Nevertheless, community music educators intersect with broader policy at the nexus of three important concerns: (1) policies that advance the importance of, and access to, lifelong learning for all citizens; (2) arts and cultural policies that advocate access to high-quality arts experiences and engagement, and that support practicing artists and the creation of art in communities; and (3) social and health welfare policies that recognize multiple avenues of support for the general well-being of citizens. To leverage the possible advantages of fiscal and programmatic support for their work, community music educators must be proactive, articulate proponents of the ways music learning contributes to and fulfills policies for the greater good of individuals, communities, and society.

A great deal has been written and discussed about whether "community music" refers to any work that musicians do outside the prescriptive curriculums of schools, or whether the definition should be constrained to socially constructed participatory-performing experiences facilitated by musicians who are accomplished in leading community "workshops." For purposes of this chapter, policy considerations are discussed in terms of work that musicians do relative to systematic teaching and learning. It must be understood, however, that the lines between teaching and learning and participatory workshop engagement may be relatively nuanced, with a certain amount of overlap being typical.

The chapter holds that practice and policy may be mutually influential, and that practice may serve as an organic source of policy initiatives. Concurrently, consideration is given to how policy influences, or potentially influences, the attitudes, knowledge, skills, and education of musicians whose careers, by default or intent, represent a professional portfolio that includes leading, administering, and teaching in community settings. Finally, the chapter considers the potential role of policy in assuring quality pedagogical and artistic dimensions of community work.

AN OVERVIEW OF COMMUNITY MUSIC EDUCATION

In general, community music emphasizes access to learning regardless of ability or background. The most historic functions of community musician-teachers include individual tuition to develop vocal and/or instrumental performing skills and conducting community-based ensembles. Community educators also offer shorter-term or longer-term group classes in performing, listening to, and creating music. Courses may be skill-based or knowledge-based, or a combination of both, and may cover a wide range of topics. In recent years, songwriting, music of diverse cultures, technology for composing and recording, and popular music have become increasingly frequent. A growing body of research in neuroplasticity across the life span has led to community music programs for older adults and for domiciled and special needs populations. Community music teaching may range from being largely informal to being systematic and programmatically prescribed. An example of the second type would be the syllabi and exams administered under the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM), where tightly defined repertoire and assessments provide a structure for content and student achievement (http://us.abrsm.org/en/about-abrsm/introduction-to-abrsm-our-mission-and-team/).

An expanding entrepreneurial field for community music teachers is in the profit and non-profit corporation and agency sector, where music and music learning experiences may be used to reinforce team-building, collaboration, leadership, creative problem solving, listening skills, and improvisational capacity. Pop-up concerts and teaching may be taken directly to offices and other venues to engage employees in musical experience. With the evolution of the digital age, community music teachers are utilizing technology to teach via the Internet, to

work with students in distant locations, and to connect students across geography and cultures in shared music learning experiences.

DEFINING POLICY IN RELATION TO COMMUNITY MUSIC EDUCATION

Policy discussions frequently conflate the multiple influences on practice that may be broadly referred to as "policy." Teasing out distinctions between practice and policy thus can be challenging. In P—12 education, for example, practice may be a function of privately published curricular materials that are marketed as consistent with governmental education policies. As such, the curricular materials themselves may be seen as part of a policy ecosystem that influences practice in schools, which in turn influences local school district policies about curricular content (Coburn, 2004; Cusick & Borman, 2002; Scott, 2001). In the field of music, policy and practice may additionally become conflated with advocacy for music as a curricular requirement. In this chapter, therefore, the reader is asked to maintain a rigorous differentiation among the following, which are frequently confused and semantically blurred in policy discussions:

1. Policy, or the statements, actions, and mandates of governmental and non-governmental agencies having some official power, proxy power, or the semblance of power to stipulate, enforce, fund, and hold programs and professionals responsible for implementation; in the context of this chapter, the primary policy considerations are those that relate to sustained music learning opportunities and programs in community contexts.
2. Advocacy, or the statements, actions, and mandates of organizations and agencies to advance the importance of the arts, arts education, arts exposure, and arts access, usually as a part of wider concerns such as cultural heritage, support for enhanced community life, improved schooling, health and quality of life issues, and transcending intercultural and socioeconomic divisions and barriers.
3. Legacy of Practice, or those conventions of institutionalized programs and procedures that have become commonplace, are widely assumed to be standard program elements, that may over time have been represented both in existing and new policy formulations, and that may be instituted and/or funded without analytic consideration of their assumptions, value, or relevance to contemporary society and its needs.

By way of example, in P-12 music programs in the United States, as Cutietta's chapter suggests, much of what passes for music education policy, particularly with regard to program structure assumptions—that is, elementary general music and high school ensembles—is actually a function of a legacy of practice rather than a function of policy per se for the well-being of society and schools. This

P-12 status quo has been enforced by the presumed political power of a professional establishment that *encourages* large conducted ensembles as core elements of music education, with personal music making as a secondary consideration. That power has been effected through a complex system of contests and festivals, as well as through collusion with the music industry that relies on such programs for its sales. Over the past three decades, professional and governmental agencies have patently affirmed this status quo, despite its failure to advance music learning for all, and despite the declining presence and influence of large professional ensembles in communities. Governmental policies do not stipulate the program models for schools—only that schools should incorporate arts instruction, though teacher certification policies may reflect the *legacy of practice* these models represent, and professional organizations may *advocate* their continuation. Moreover, the teacher who dares to institute a program of a different type, even if it occurs within curricular policy guidelines, may well incur enormous resistance from colleagues, organizations, community members, parents, and industry representatives who have a vested interest in maintaining this *legacy of practice* or informal policy.

Community musician-teachers, however, ordinarily do not face such explicit political pressure. As this chapter explores policy relationships with regard to community music learning and teaching, it recognizes that broad education, arts, and social/health welfare policies have only limited, if any, influential and specific impact on the practice and programs of community music educators; nor do they influence very much the presence or absence of financial support for such programs.

The policy interests of community music therefore should be based on leveraging opportunities to advance music learning for all people, and to connect music learning and music-making with policies that influence individual, social, and societal well-being. Community music teachers have the opportunity to promote alignment with more general policies as a basis for demonstrating music's value to society and, in turn, gathering research data to effect favorable policies that recognize and support the importance of community music. The 2002 conference report on lifelong learning in Asia by the United Nations Educational and Scientific Organization (UNESCO) offers a similar perspective more generally with regard to lifelong learning:

> While some societies have an explicit policy and discourse on lifelong learning, in other countries lifelong learning is part of the national discourse, and although not legislated, it is used to promote practice. Then there are societies which do not yet directly espouse a lifelong learning discourse but where NGOs and individual associations have started to make inroads. . . . [A]s Manzoor Ahmed rightly points out, "although there are policies and programmes, in varying degrees of comprehensiveness, on adult education, literacy, basic education and non-formal education, these are building blocks of lifelong education, they do not yet add up to a national policy and programme in any of the countries." (p. 2)

AN OVERVIEW OF POLICY CONSIDERATIONS RELEVANT TO COMMUNITY MUSIC

Policy that addresses community music education to any specific extent consists primarily of statements and positions by governmental, philanthropic, and professional organizations having a vested interest in the broad fields of music and music education. Local, national, and international professional music organizations (orchestras, opera companies, professional service organizations such as the US League of American Orchestras, etc.) may release policy statements that directly or obliquely reference aspects of community music, as may a host of music advocacy groups, governmental arts councils, foundations and other philanthropic organizations, education organizations, music industry organizations, and arts advancement groups. As a representative organization, the International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies (IFACCA) has a mission of enhancing the effectiveness of governmental arts funding agencies to benefit society. IFACCA's website contains summaries of arts and culture policies of many countries, across which relationships between arts and education are frequently mentioned, but which rarely provide any explicit mandates or guidelines, particularly with regard to music learning in communities.

The grant policies of organizations associated with the government-philanthropic complex may have significant influence on efforts of community musicians to achieve sustainable funding for their work. These policies may lead toward grant applications that attempt to fit music into the prevailing and often changing goals and interests of funders over time. Funders' expectations for applications tied to causes that are politically or personally motivated, or that are based on the perspectives of fund managers, present a challenge for community music workers who emphasize intrinsic aesthetic benefits over tangential benefits, or at least the integrity of inherent artistic values as part of instrumental values. When funding stipulations unwittingly compromise pedagogical and artistic decision making by community musicians, whose expertise may be a better determinant of how best to serve local interests and needs, not only are funds expended with a minimal return on investment, but the potential range of benefits may be thwarted. In the long run, if funders' policy efforts are misguided, results may not fulfill their assumptions, and their enthusiasm for further funding of music and arts activities will be diminished. Community musicians, therefore, need to be actively working for policies that incorporate their expertise in assuring funding for high-quality music learning experiences.

One example of policy that may work contrary to authentic values of music learning in communities is the well-intentioned effort in arts education emanating from the United States Department of Education (USDOE). Though the policy rhetoric of USDOE acknowledges intrinsic arts values and the importance of education *in* the arts, the true impact is to engender programs that primarily use the arts as a *medium* for instruction and, in some cases, to permit arts instruction in school settings to be delivered by community artists. The policies thus

fail to find rigorous balance between in-school and community arts learning, to differentiate between such programs, and to interrogate and analyze deeply the potentials for holistic communitywide approaches that include but are not limited to school settings.

Even where grant policies may incorporate community educators, those seeking funding typically must support the school-based goals and assumptions of agencies' priorities. In England, for example, the national Department of Education provides funding that schools use to purchase music services or instruction supplied by community musicians. In addition, through local music services and Arts Council England, as well as the Music Education Council, a large number of community organizations collaborate to offer sustained music instruction to schoolchildren. This collective approach to school-based instruction, however, does not seek or exploit relationships between schools and communities that could enhance communitywide learning and provide sustainable long-term benefits. Research that explores and innovates ways to bridge schools and communities might help support policies for increased funding of music in both sectors as a holistic initiative. Were community musicians to take on this broader cause and demonstrate mutuality among schooling and lifelong growth and development, a basis for relevant policy development could be laid with both governmental and non-governmental organizations.

POLICY OF MUSIC AND ARTS ORGANIZATIONS AND THE PRACTICE OF COMMUNITY MUSIC

In the past three decades, partially as a result of political changes that have had negative effects on school music programs and fostered the rise of the standards movement in education, a wide range of organizations and agencies has produced statements, positions, and policy-oriented declarations about the arts, including music and music education. In addition, a host of non-arts organizations has adopted philanthropic and programmatic policies that have influenced the community music endeavor. Examples are provided below of some of the most significant statements and positions, from which themes are derived that flow from the described organizations' documents and activities.

Professional Organizations. The relationship of music to community and social welfare played an important role in settlement houses or schools established in the United States in the early 20th century to serve immigrant populations. Music lessons were provided free or at very low cost to the children of immigrants as a part of programming designed to enhance their social integration into American culture. In 1937, this growing movement of community music schools coalesced into the National Guild of Community Music Schools, which in 1974 became the National Guild of Community Schools of the Arts. In 2010, the organization changed its name to National Guild for Community Arts Education (NGCAE), symbolizing in part its expansive range of activities. NGCAE works closely

with the National Endowment for the Arts, the Arts Education Partnership, and other agencies in promoting the place of the arts in community well-being. NGCAE states its objectives as follows:

- To build the capacity of community arts education providers to 1) deliver quality programs that are sustainable and equitable; 2) secure greater financial support, and 3) contribute to systemic change, through:
- To increase support of and investment in community arts education by:
- Developing strong relationships with and among policymakers, funders, researchers, higher education leaders, business leaders, and other stakeholders
- Leveraging the assets of current and emerging leaders
- Encourage and support [*sic*] efforts for member organizations to build awareness and increase investment in the field
- Building knowledge of community arts education and its impact(http://www.nationalguild.org/getmedia/a89106fe-0b6e-4a34-bc29-21e7bb17b560/Current-Strategic-Priorities-(June-2015).pdf.aspx?ext=.pdf)

In a research report prepared for The Connected Communities program led by the Arts and Humanities Research Council in the United Kingdom, McKay and Higham (2011) note, "The UK has been a pivotal national player within the development of community music practice," and that "in the UK community music developed broadly from the 1960s and had a significant burgeoning period in the 1980s" (p. 2). Though suggesting that community music from an international perspective has developed "a set of practices, a repertoire, an infrastructure of organisations, qualifications and career paths," they also acknowledge that "these have to date only partly been articulated and historicized within academic research" (p. 2). Based on a symposium they organized among a number of community music leaders, McKay and Higham reported that the group saw "adjusting to the demands of *external policy shifts and funding initiatives* as an important organizational feature" (p. 5, italics added). (http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/documents/project-reports-and-reviews/connected-communities/community-music-history-and-current-practice-its-constructions-of-community-digital-turns-and-future-soundings/)

In 1949, the International Music Council (IMC) formed under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). According to its website,

> IMC is the world's leading membership-based professional organisation dedicated to the promotion of the value of music in the lives of all peoples. IMC's mission is to develop sustainable music sectors worldwide, to create awareness about the value of music, to make music matter throughout the fabric of society, and to uphold basic music rights in all countries. (http://www.imc-cim.org/about-imc-separator/who-we-are.html)

Since 2005, IMC has sponsored biennial world forums on music. In 2013, the forum issued *The Brisbane Declaration*. Entitled "2020: A Sharpened Vision for the Musical World," the declaration speaks of an international music ecosystem within which its world forum delegates "would like to contribute to a sustainable, vibrant and diverse musical life on the planet. . . . The declaration asserts that "community engagement . . . is at the core of virtually all vibrant music traditions" and states that "We applaud communities . . . of all kinds who are harnessing music's power to break down divisions and challenge intolerance, particularly in situations of struggle for social change." (http://www.imc-cim.org/news-imc/imc-news/1975-the-brisbane-declaration.html)

The Commission on Community Music Activity of the International Society for Music Education (ISME) has, since 1990, provided opportunities for international sharing of research and practice regarding community music. Though not a policymaking body per se, the Commission advances the place and value of community music within the wider sphere of ISME's purpose. The Commission's website articulates its particular mission this way:

> We believe that everyone has the right and ability to make, create, and enjoy their own music. We believe that active music-making should be encouraged and supported at all ages and at all levels of society. Community Music activities do more than involve participants in music-making; they provide opportunities to construct personal and communal expressions of artistic, social, political, and cultural concerns. (https://www.isme.org/our-work/commissions-forum/community-music-activity-commission-cma)

Writing about publicly funded community music opportunities in Australia, Breen (1994) noted the breadth of activities influenced by organic characteristics of communities. Breen indicated that community music could exist concurrently as an art form for its own sake, as an expression of community development, and as a support for the music industry. He also suggested that community music appeared to be a "second cousin" to other community arts endeavors supported by the Australia Council for the Arts. In contrast to the Council's policy view that with appropriate resources communities may develop their own cultures through the arts and thus shape Australia's cultural identity, Breen maintained that "a more reasonable policy intention is for community music funding to generate social networks around musical activities" (p. 316).

In 1967, the Music Educators National Conference in the United States (now the National Association for Music Education, or NAfME), made its most important and influential policy statement on community music education, calling for comprehensive continuing music education that would offer "an opportunity to move as far in depth or in breadth as each [person] can" (Choate, 1968, p. 115). Since then, terms such as "lifelong learning" have been common parlance in the work of NAfME, but except for a few efforts to broaden the organization's profile to incorporate community music, it remains heavily oriented toward music education in pre-collegiate school programs.

A significant NAfME development occurred in the mid-1990s, when the Special Research Interest Group (SRIG) on Adult and Community Music Education was approved by NAfME's Music Education Research Council In the years since the SRIG's formation, its work has spawned considerable research activity and growing interchange among research, practice, and policy. Consistent with broader policies relating to positive aging, recent efforts have included looking at neuroscientific research on adult learning and the ways in which music processing may contribute to vitality in older adulthood. (https://acmesrig.wordpress.com/)

Governments and Agencies. As the major government agency for support of the arts, the website of the United States' National Endowment for the Arts includes this description of the agency:

> The National Endowment for the Arts is an independent federal agency that funds, promotes, and strengthens the creative capacity of our communities by providing all Americans with diverse opportunities for arts participation. (http://arts.gov/)

Though the NEA has consistently espoused a mission of strengthened communities through the arts, the most relevant document it has produced with regard to community music came from a symposium co-sponsored with the US government's Department of Health and Human Services. The report is entitled *The Arts and Human Development: Framing a National Research Agenda for the Arts, Lifelong Learning and Individual Well-Being* (2011). The executive summary of the report offers its central tenets:

> U.S. policy leaders in health and education have recognized a need for strategies and interventions to address "the whole person." They have urged a more integrated approach to policy development—one that can reach Americans at various stages of their lives, across generations, and in multiple learning contexts.
>
> The arts are ideally suited to promote this integrated approach. In study after study, arts participation and arts education have been associated with improved cognitive, social, and behavioral outcomes in individuals across the lifespan: in early childhood, in adolescence and young adulthood, and in later years.
>
> —Hanna, Patterson, Rollins, & Sherman, *2011, pp. 7–11*

One example of explicit policy relative to musician-teachers in communities arises within the work of the United States' National Association of Schools of Music (NASM). NASM is the nation's primary accrediting body for higher education schools and departments of music. However, NASM also incorporates standards for community programs under three categories: (1) non-degree-granting programs, which may encompass community or pre-collegiate education as well as postsecondary professional education; (2) procedures for joint accreditation

of community education programs affiliated with degree-granting music units; and (3) a process for accreditation of community schools of music and the arts by the Accrediting Commission for Community and Precollegiate Arts Schools (ACCPAS). Because of the variability in program content and operations, a great deal of latitude is allowed with regard to stated goals and their achievement. ACCPAS accredits institutions based on the following criteria:

- the mission, goals and objectives set forth by the individual school;
- the manner in which the goals and objectives relate to standards for accreditation generally characteristic of educational institutions as defined by ACCPAS;
- the comprehensive presentation of the educational philosophy and concepts that determine these goals and objectives; and
- the degree to which these goals and objectives have been achieved. (https://accpas.arts-accredit.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2015/10/ACCPASHandbook-MAY07.pdf)

ACCPAS policy, however, does not advance standardization of content or operations in community music schools, thus it has limited effect on the work of musician-teachers per se.

> ACCPAS standards do not promote standardization. While each school will have a mission, no two will be exactly alike. For example, while each accredited school must demonstrate adequate finances, no two institutions will approach this matter in the same way, or have the same set of needs. The standards address functions to be served rather than methodologies to be employed. (http://www.arts-accredit.org/index.jsp?page=Overview+of+ACCPAS+Standards)

Breaking the tradition of non-specific government policies with regard to opportunities for community music, the voters of the US state of Minnesota passed in 2008 a legacy amendment to the state's constitution. Over 25 years, three-eighths of 1% of the state's sales tax is dedicated to four areas of legacy and preservation: clean water; outdoor heritage; parks and trails; and arts and culture. The arts and cultural heritage portion of 19.75% of the total dollars "may be spent only on arts, arts education and arts access" (http://www.arts.state.mn.us/grants/machf.htm). The result of years of collaborative visioning and lobbying by a host of organizations in and beyond the arts led to the policy's implementation, with arts funds administered through a grant process overseen by the state arts council. Though artists, arts organizations, and social agencies are benefiting from this supplemental funding (the funds are not meant to be ongoing program support) for broadened arts access, the amendment does not assure or support or require evidence of potential for ongoing systematic instruction. Instead, it provides funding for short-term projects that may or may not receive future support. At present, it appears that the state arts board's funding panels are interpreting "access" and

"education" in the broadest possible light, including tours, technology, and broadcasting among its funded programs.

Some readers of this chapter may expect inclusion of El Sistema, the now globally influential program of orchestra education that began in Venezuela in 1975 under the direction of José Antonio Abreu, who remains at the helm of the Venezuelan program and is its primary promoter worldwide. On the face of it, El Sistema seems to be an example of governmental policy that has advanced social issues through the medium of orchestra education. El Sistema US website captures this assertion:

> Genuine worldwide movements for social change are rare in human history. Even more rare is the phenomenon of a worldwide movement for social change through art. We are fortunate to be experiencing the evolution of such a movement now, in the global blossoming of El Sistema, a program that seeks to change the lives of underserved or at-risk children and communities through immersive learning in musical ensembles. (http://www.elsistemausa.org/el-sistema-around-the-world.htm)

Recent research, however, has called into question many aspects of the program as it has been portrayed internationally. Questions include the authenticity of the program's claims regarding needy children, the appropriateness of instructional methods, and possible disparities between the program's most visible and highly promoted elements and the work of regional programs, also known as *núcleos*. Because of these unresolved questions at present, El Sistema is not cited here as an example of successful community music programming or of the fulfillment of social policy. (Baker, 2014).

POLICY THEMES RELATIVE TO MUSICIAN-TEACHERS AND THEIR WORK IN COMMUNITIES

Many so-called policy statements connecting with the work of community musician-teachers might be summed up largely as assertions that (1) music is good for people to learn and know; (2) music exists in every culture and is therefore important in society, is a significant avenue of cultural identity and understanding, and may help to bridge cultural differences; (3) music contributes to many areas of well-being; (4) everyone should have access to music learning throughout their lives; and (5) music education in communities is largely social and recreational, an extension of systematic instruction in schools, and a potentially valuable economic component of community fabrics. Though these are often worthy statements and positions, they generally emanate from the perspectives of advocacy and legacy of practice cited earlier in this chapter.

Nevertheless, they do warrant deeper interrogation and analysis than is typically offered in reports and program summaries, in part because of the complex relationships between policy and practice. As Cohen, Moffitt, and Goldin make

clear (2007), considering policy as the starting point for practice runs counter to research findings that, indeed, influential policy may more often be a function of effective practice. Looking across the wide range of policies that directly and indirectly harbor some real or potential influence on the work of musicians in communities, and that, conversely, may be subject to the demonstration of effective practice, a number of themes arise that help to clarify the policy-advocacy-practice distinctions referenced earlier.

Life Span Opportunity and Access. Ongoing access is a pervasive policy principle across organizations that advocate and deliver community music and arts activity. It generally grows from advocacy for people across the age spectrum, representing every background and ability level, to have a right to continuing education that connects with their interests, needs, and goals.

In this sense, community music is not restricted to adults who have completed formal schooling but is a function of needs and interests across the life span—from the youngest to the oldest in society. At the MacPhail Center for Music in Minneapolis, Minnesota, for example, 15,000 students from six months to 106 years old participate in lessons, classes, and ensembles that cross musical, social, cultural, and emotional goals and purposes. Programs and instruction are tailored to the developmental needs of learners, participants represent diverse cultural backgrounds, and technology supports not only local face-to-face instruction but distance learning for students across the state, nationally, and even internationally. Recently, proactivity on the part of MacPhail's leaders has resulted in increased attention from legislators and the NEA, thus opening the door to potential policy discussions that could have broader impact.

Other examples of playing out this theme with policy implications include the Community Music Center in San Francisco, which describes itself this way: "Community Music Center (CMC) was founded in 1921 with the mission of making music accessible to all people, regardless of their financial means. We offer classes for people of all ages, abilities and interests and financial aid to all who need it." Similarly, the Settlement Music School in Philadelphia states: "Settlement Music School's mission is to provide the highest quality instruction in music and the related arts to children and adults, regardless of age, background, ability or economic circumstances." (http://www.macphail.org/; http://sfcmc.org/; http://www.settlementmusic.org/about/).

Many community music teachers and leaders have learned that access also involves location. In a recent study funded by the James Irvine Foundation (2014), author Brent Reidy notes the disparities in the willingness of people from different cultural and ethnic groups to attend the "sacred" spaces in which art is experienced. Successful programs that link with demographic and cultural changes in society, and that bring instruction to new spaces and locations that are comfortable, non-intimidating, and within easy access of where people reside may influence policy development. The MacPhail Center, for example, has a number of satellite locations to reach people who may not choose or be able to travel to the Center for classes and lessons. Evidence of success could well be a basis for policy orientations among present and future funders of such programs.

Research and Quality Teaching and Learning. In accreditation procedures, NASM and ACCPAS reference the importance of measurable progress among students and the work of teachers and mentors in helping students achieve stated learning goals. Policy statements, however, tend to assume the practice of quality teaching and learning as a given, although it would seem that more explicit attention to the dual importance of research-based pedagogy and artistic quality would be an important area for policy to address.

The Connected Communities program (McKay & Higham, 2011) in the United Kingdom notes that research is necessary to enhance understanding of the ways in which the arts may contribute to flourishing communities and address important social and economic challenges. In trying to understand data showing declines in adult arts participation since 1982 despite what appears anecdotally to be increased engagement with the arts, the US NEA commissioned a study to look more deeply into its findings. Discovering a strong relationship between arts learning opportunities and arts attendance, the NEA concluded that "more fine-grained research is needed to identify the kinds of arts education experiences that are most likely to inspire students to pursue further or deeper engagements with the arts into adulthood" (NEA, 2011, p. 14).

A more recent NEA report entitled *When Going Gets Tough: Barriers and Motivations Affecting Arts Attendance* (2014) indicates that an important issue for policy makers is to understand nuances in data indicating correlations between arts attendance and higher income and education levels. The report asserts that the "education-related gap in attendance is due not to lack of interest among less-educated individuals, but rather to the barriers to attendance that they experience or perceive" (p. 49). In a 2014 research report on the Silver Programme at Sage Gateshead in Newcastle-on-Tyne (Abbott et al.), one older adult participant is quoted to have remarked, "If there wasn't a certain level of competence amongst the tutors one simply wouldn't stay" (p. 38). The combination of excellent music and teaching knowledge and skills in relation to understanding the age-related interests and needs of older adults was considered central to the success of the program (Abbott et al., 2014). Herein lies significant potential for higher education researchers and community musicians to come together around issues of access, relevance, sustainability, life course development, and other concerns that could weigh heavily in policy process for community music education and in policy analysis related to the role music plays in individual, social, and societal well-being.

Diverse Programs to Fulfill Diverse Interests and Needs and Advance Cultural Understanding. Many policy statements recognize the implications of a global, interconnected society and what that means for the content of music education in communities. The IMC, for example, has recently received funding through UNESCO to advance its policy orientation regarding cultural diversity. The newly funded program will "provide young African musicians and music professionals with opportunities and efficient tools for them to become the next generation of agents of the diversity of musical expressions in Africa as well as strong advocates of the role of culture as driver and enabler of development." The IMC's overriding

commitment to diversity is made clear in its program policy, which states: "IMC programmes aim to contribute to the development and strengthening of friendly working relations between all the musical cultures of the world on the basis of their absolute equality, mutual respect and appreciation" (http://www.imc-cim.org/programme/programme-policy.html).

Breen's 1994 analysis of publicly funded community music in Australia raises the question of imposed programs and outcomes versus those that rise organically from a community's needs and interests. Whereas some teachers or organizations may approach community music with predetermined content and outcomes they wish to share, others may operate from a deep understanding of the community, its distinctive traits, and what may be of greatest value to its members. San Francisco's Community Music Center offers a wealth of learning experiences in ethnic musics, helping to build bridges of understanding among people of diverse cultures.

At the University of Oregon, the Center for Community Arts and Cultural Policy (CCACP) "operates as a hub of support and connectivity for faculty, students, and affiliate members to work along a continuum of research and practice. This continuum spans concepts of community, art, culture, and policy and encompasses one-off projects, long term initiatives, professional development opportunities, practical skills development, and creative engagement with communities. Research and practice operationalized through CCACP partakes of a wide range of partnerships and collaborations, reflecting the working dynamics that drive the arts and culture sector, broadly construed."

This approach frames the Center's diverse projects representing multiple cultures, arts mediums, and programmatic models as aiding leaders in understanding relationships among arts in communities and the cross-cultural needs of 21st-century society (http://aad.uoregon.edu/ccacp/research/practice).

Collaborations and Partnerships. Given the vast complex of activities, goals, and programs relevant to musician-teachers' work in communities, most policy statements implicitly or explicitly advocate the importance of collaborative efforts to achieve broad aims. In its Arts and Human Development initiative, the NEA partnered with the US Department of Health and Human Services. The initiative's 2011 report urges development of a federal interagency task force "to promote the regular sharing of research and information about the arts and human development" (Hanna et al., p. 9). If the work of this group were to be adopted as policy, it might well provide avenues of strengthened support for musicians working in community education.

In 2001, the National Guild of Community Schools of the Arts (now the National Guild for Community Arts Education) undertook a project entitled *Partners in Excellence*, designed to explore and encourage partnerships among community arts schools and a variety of community institutions, including schools. The Guild's website notes this important consideration relative to partnerships:

> These linkages strengthen bonds to the community and, in a broader sense, integrate the arts into other community arenas. Artistic expression can help

communities address areas of common concern or need; working with partners can help community arts education providers develop a deeper understanding of and relationship with their community. (http://resourcecenter.nationalguild.org/Topics/Partnerships.aspx)

In the United Kingdom, Sound Sense, the professional organization for community musicians, sponsors a significant number of projects and programs to advance and support community music; its March 2015 "Expo" focuses on inclusion and disadvantage, familiar themes in community music. Sound Sense's website details its programs, including a collaboration for professional development for community musicians. It describes the organization's principal issues, which might be interpreted as a policy frame, as these:

Communities need music—Music can bring communities together, and it also acknowledges differences. Community music enables people to enjoy and learn from making music with each other and it enriches their lives.

A lifetime of music—Music and rhythm is in us all. Babies in the womb listen to their mother's heartbeat and hear music playing outside. Most young people live to the soundtrack of their music. And older people may participate in music to relax and reminisce. But music isn't only for all ages. It's for all people. That's what Sound Sense says community music work is all about.

Music, culture and society—Big issues face today's society. People of different faiths and cultures need to feel more included within a multicultural society. Many disaffected people are turned off from traditional ways of learning. A safer society that cares more for its citizens would be good for us all.

http://www.soundsense.org/metadot/index.pl?id=23786&isa=Category&op=show)

A COMPELLING POLICY CONCERN FOR THE MUSIC PROFESSION

It might be argued that community musician-teachers must, by virtue of the demands they face, represent strong levels of adaptability and expertise. It might also be argued that working in communities may require adopting open attitudes regarding service to a broad array of interests and backgrounds, practicing collaborative goal setting with students, providing universal access to music learning, and interacting with diverse populations, all considerations that taken together may be less common among teachers with captive students, such as those in schools and universities. Yet, ironically, there are limited professional education opportunities to prepare for careers in community music teaching and program

development, or to enhance one's professional development in this field through advanced professional education and degree programs.

Many community teachers of music have educational backgrounds in performance that they leverage for careers that include teaching as part of a wider professional portfolio; however, content such as life span development; the characteristics of learners in community settings; pedagogical approaches to students of different abilities, interests, and motivations; collaborating with diverse arts and social service institutions; and the business aspects of a successful career in community music are rarely taught in conservatory and university degree and certificate programs.

This may be the most relevant policy issue confronting the field of music education today. It is one that deserves the attention of professional organizations, community centers and institutions, and the field of higher music education. Social and cultural policy agencies must also be concerned, for without rigorous preparation of musicians who are equipped to implement strong programs, the frequently touted benefits of community music will not be realized.

PROMISING DEVELOPMENTS IN MUSICIAN EDUCATION RELATED TO POLICY

In analyzing general policy tendencies side by side with what might be termed promising practice in community music, examples may be found of programs that tie together the frequently amorphous goodwill statements of policy and the operationalized work of musician-teachers that make a difference in communities. In particular, the education of musicians to work in community settings and to fulfill policies by implementing clearly articulated goals that are satisfied through rigorous programs must be a high priority of the policy-education complex in community music. The programs below represent efforts to enlarge the preparation of musicians to work effectively in community settings.

Sage Gateshead (http://www.sagegateshead.com/). Founded in 2004, this center's mission as a community music education catalyst and program developer was clear from the beginning. In its capacity as an international leader and pacesetter in community music, Sage Gateshead offers a bachelor of arts in community music through the University of Sutherland, sponsors research projects, and conducts ongoing conferences and professional development courses. A particularly notable annual event is entitled "Everyone Deserves Music," a festival that features a diverse array of innovative programs and performances and includes an annual symposium on community music research and practice. The following description explains Sage Gateshead's approach to its BA in community music:

> Skills of musicianship and educatorship are developed in parallel, so that each informs the other, resulting in a well-rounded musician with an appropriate set of skills for a "portfolio" career in music. As a "musician who also

teaches," the range of career paths for our graduates includes youth work, teaching music, performing arts and social work.

(http://www.sunderland.ac.uk/courses/artsdesignandmedia/undergraduate/community-music/)

Guildhall School of Music and Drama and Barbican Centre (http://www.gsmd.ac.uk/youth_adult_learning/creative_learning/). Since 1984, the Guildhall School of Music and Drama has been a leader in educating highly talented musicians to connect with communities. Both undergraduate requirements and a master's degree in music leadership have been long-standing features of this effort. In 2009, the Guildhall and Barbican embarked on a new partnership entitled Creative Learning (CL). Described as "a pioneering cultural alliance between an arts centre and conservatoire transforming 21st century creative learning," CL brings "together our world class artistic partners with students and communities in groundbreaking new ways to create inspiring arts experiences for all." According to CL's website, "We create new routes for people to take part in the arts—from first experiences to higher education programmes and professional training—developing interests, skills, confidence and careers." CL is building on 30 years' work with immigrant populations in East London.

The second innovation stems from the CL program. At present, the Guildhall and Barbican are collaboratively instituting a new bachelor of arts degree program in performance and creative enterprise. With courses and experiences embedded in the work of the CL partnership, the new BA will focus on the following:

- developing students' individual artistic craft through bespoke training
- training musicians to work as part of a cross-arts company, creating new work which is live, recorded and digital
- giving students the opportunity to collaborate with people in a range of community settings (e.g., hospitals and healthcare, criminal justice, schools), creating participatory and socially engaged artistic work
- helping students to understand and develop creative enterprise skills, including setting up a company, fundraising, project management and cultivating employability and transferable skills.

Lectorate Lifelong Learning in Music, Prince Claus Conservatory. (https://www.hanze.nl/eng/research/centre-for-applied-research/art-and-society/professorships/professorships/lifelong-learning-in-music). The lectorate is a professorship and research group that explores relationships among music in social contexts, lifelong learning for professional musicians and community members, and the role of understanding lifelong learning as part of the preparation of musicians for portfolio careers. As with other projects and programs described herein, it fulfills many of the broad policy principles and synthesizes them in work that both prepares a new workforce of musicians to enlarge the connections between music and societal issues and continues a research agenda in areas such as music and aging, how music is learned, and innovative practice

in the field of professional music. Innovative practice entails rigorous analysis of changing cultural and societal characteristics that provide opportunities for reconsidered professional practice that extends beyond traditional schools and other educational institutions. Many of these emerging opportunities exist in community agencies that provide eldercare, prisoner rehabilitation, programs for youth, homeless shelters, and other venues not traditionally associated with the professional practice of musicians.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR FUTURE POLICY RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION

The National Guild for Community Arts Education in the United States notes on its website that

> in community settings throughout the United States, people of all ages, backgrounds, and abilities participate in professionally led arts education programs that develop aesthetic knowledge and skills, foster personal development, and enhance quality of life. These programs do produce many successful artists. But their true aim is to awaken a spirit of creativity in everyone, whatever their level of ability or artistic potential. (http://www.nationalguild.org/About/About-Community-Arts-Education.aspx)

The Guild acknowledges that community musician-teachers have not been recognized through policy as a professional group in ways that enhance resources and support for access to music learning and engagement for all people. The Guild sees as part of its mission the effort to build greater political and economic support, so that the goal of music for all people may be realized.

Universal access to music learning and participation continues to require resources that many do not have and, despite policy rhetoric stating universal intentions, is not a reality for large numbers of individuals. Further, issues of quality, the place of personal versus digital interaction, the importance of face-to-face social engagement, and performing and listening to music expressed acoustically as well as electronically remain important aspects of how and why music actually *does* provide the benefits claimed by much of the government-philanthropic-educational complex.

Too many policy statements are based on assumption and research for advocacy, as opposed to research intended to understand deeply and analytically the relationships between the human condition and music. A desire for publicity and funding may become the instigators of promoting music benefits that are far more recreational and short term than meaningful and lasting. Were university researchers, arts and arts education leaders, and the professional music education community to come together urging political support for worthy research about how music is generative in community well-being rather than merely supportive of other avenues, policymakers might be swayed to focus interests and funding on

more substantive questions and issues than those that frequently appear in nearly predictable and vague language.

The wide-ranging music and music education communities, including education, performance, and the music industry, need to encourage deep, rich policy dialogues that assure that investments are well made and that the citizenry is given the opportunity to experience music's richest values. Short of those conversations, it is likely that policy will remain largely irrelevant to community music except in setting funding priorities to which community arts organizations will respond in order to achieve program funding. On the other hand, proactivity relative to research, quality teaching and learning, relevant program development, and understanding of lifelong developmental learning needs could influence policy that in turn could affect practice that assures every person the opportunity to learn, participate in, and realize benefits of music engagement across the life span.

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12

Policy, Access, and Multicultural (Music) Education

SIDSEL KARLSEN ■

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I address matters of policy and diversity in music education with multiculturalism and access as the main nodal points. Following the guiding question of "who gets to participate in music studies today, and what are the policies currently preventing further access?" I give an account of policies of multiculturalism and multicultural education more broadly, before I trace such policies and their significance for student access within the field of music education research, theory, and philosophy of today. Second, I use one particular national context—Norway—as a case for looking into how multiculturalism policy can be detected at the national curriculum level of various forms of music schooling. At the same time, I keep a watchful eye on the factors that seem to regulate student access into these same educational programs. As a third endeavor, I explore a recent study on the music education of immigrant students (Karlsen, 2012, 2013, 2014), with respect to how it can inform us about generating meaningful and socially inclusive musical experiences by being policy savvy. Finally, I engage in a discussion of the limitations of the concept of "multicultural" as it is currently in use within the music education field, and propose a broadening toward a more intersectional account, all for the sake of developing pedagogies of accessibility and inclusion.

POLICIES OF MULTICULTURALISM AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Multiculturalism is not just a word used to denote a condition of cultural diversity, as when we for example employ the adjective "multicultural" to make the

statement that "we live in a multicultural society." On the contrary, first and foremost it signifies an ideological stance that gives guidelines for how to handle ethno-cultural diversity on the societal level, and as such it has perhaps been the most influential ideology applied in order to regulate and accommodate this specific kind of diversity, by legal and political means, in Western liberal and social democracies throughout the past 40 years. Giving an overview of the origins of multiculturalism and its main consequences, Kymlicka (2010) identifies three waves in its establishment as well as three patterns of multicultural policy development. In the following, I give a brief outline of each of these lines of ideological growth and impact.

As an overarching condition that spurred the emergence of multiculturalism, Kymlicka points to the illiberal and undemocratic relations to ethnic and racial diversity that characterized the Western world prior to and during World War II, and the urgent need to confront and battle such ideologies after the war, "in favour of a new ideology of racial and ethnic equality" (p. 100). As such, multiculturalism became part of a larger human rights revolution, which came to life through a series of political movements and events that were created to counteract and change the old hierarchies, challenge their ontological and epistemological premises, and remedy their consequent inequalities. According to Kymlicka, the three waves of such movements, impacting the establishment of multiculturalism, were "the struggle for decolonisation" (p. 100) from 1948 to 1965; the African American civil rights "struggle against racial segregation and discrimination" (p. 100) from 1955 to 1965; and "the struggle for multiculturalism and minority rights that emerged from the late 1960s" (p. 100). These struggles contributed to the emergence of various forms of multiculturalism enacted in a multitude of ways to fight ethnic, racial, and religious state-sponsored or more implicit and systemically embedded inequalities, and promote "the foundational ideology of the equality of races and peoples" (p. 100).

The widespread impact of multiculturalism has manifested itself in Western democracies as a set of public policies that have aimed to enhance cultural recognition, enable economic redistribution, and allow and encourage the increased political participation of indigenous peoples, national minorities, and immigrant groups. Consequently, the three patterns of multicultural policy development mentioned above correspond with the securing of the rights of these groups, respectively. Such policies typically involve recognition of land and territorial and cultural rights; guarantees of government and court representation, language status, and educational rights recognition; and promises to adopt a more general level of multicultural thinking that should permeate the state and municipality institutions of the country in question (see p. 101). Selecting from Kymlicka's list of in all 23 different policy areas and focusing on those that are most pertinent to the field of education, for indigenous peoples this implies "recognition of cultural rights (language; hunting and fishing, sacred sites)" (p. 101); for national minorities it involves "[receiving] official language status . . . [and] public funding of minority language universities, schools and the media" (p. 101); and for immigrant groups it means "constitutional, legislative or parliamentary affirmation of

multiculturalism at central, regional and municipal levels; the adoption of multiculturalism in school curriculum . . . [and] the funding of bilingual education or mother-tongue instruction" (p. 101). These broader policy ideals are, on a very general level, what underpin the pedagogical paradigm of multicultural education.

According to Banks (2009), multicultural education first appeared in the United States "as a response to the civil rights movement" (p. 13). It was an educational consequence of the second wave of multiculturalism-enhancing political movements previously referred to (Kymlicka, 2010, p. 100). On a general level, this pedagogical paradigm seeks to operationalize the policies outlined above, in terms of ensuring access and "educational equality for students from diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, social-class, and linguistic groups" (Banks, 2009, p. 13). On the nation-state level, however, the paradigm has had different practical outcomes, depending on both the country's state of and historical reasons for cultural diversity and its constitutional and legislative interpretation of the ideology of multiculturalism. In the following, I describe how multicultural education has been implemented in the United States and the United Kingdom, respectively.

Because the multicultural education movement in the United States emerged as a result of the struggle against racial segregation and discrimination, it is perhaps no surprise that its major concerns have traditionally centered around reforming schools, colleges, and universities so that students with different racial, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds would have the same level of access; be recognized and represented; and have the same opportunities to learn. Despite this evident focus, multicultural education in a US understanding is not only about ethno-cultural diversity. Rather, it includes parameters of gender, social class, and student exceptionality; it is "an idea, an educational reform movement, and a process whose major goal is to change the structure of educational institutions so that male and female students, exceptional students, and students who are members of diverse racial, ethnic, language, and cultural groups will have an equal chance to achieve academically in school" (Banks & Banks, 2010, p. 1). Summarizing the development of the US multicultural education movement, Nieto (2009) claims that due to the impact of a number of parallel movements, the current version of multicultural education is inclusive of even more parameters than those listed above, such as disability and gay rights, and fights against "many differences and oppressions not initially embraced in the early conception of the field" (p. 86).

In the UK, what has been termed multicultural education did not originate from the struggle of a civil rights movement but "began as a pragmatic response to the arrival of children from former colonies" (Tomlinson, 2009, p. 125). After World War II, the government invited people to settle in Britain, coming from, among other places, India, the Caribbean, and Hong Kong; the government's assumption was that these new settlers would easily assimilate into English society. However, by the late 1960s it was clear that "assimilation was not an option, and [that] evidence of discrimination based on color was overwhelming" (p. 122). A slow process began toward societal recognition of multiculturalism and reforming the educational system so that it would better cater to the needs and perspectives of students with minority backgrounds. While this resulted in, for example, a "1988

Education Reform Act [which] impeded the equitable incorporation of minority children" (p. 127) and Tony Blair asserting that "his government was committed to education as a means to create a socially just society" (p. 129) in the late 1990s, multicultural education in the UK has faced many obstacles. Consequently, according to Tomlinson, "by the early 21st century political hostility to multiculturalism, immigration, and diversity, combined with old-style post-imperial racism, has made the task of educating for a multicultural society very difficult" (p. 131). This tension aligns with the narrative, debated (and partly contradicted) by Kymlicka (2010), that there has been a "decline, retreat, or crisis of multiculturalism in particular countries" (p. 97), among them the UK.

HARD AND SOFT POWER (OR POLICY) AND ITS RELEVANCE FOR POLICIES OF MULTICULTURALISM

Policies of multiculturalism are carried out using both hard and soft forms of power, and this equally applies to policies of multicultural education as they are implemented within various nation-states. According to Nye (2008), *hard power* is the kind that "rests on inducements (carrots) and threats (sticks)" (p. 29) and can be exemplified as "police power, financial power, and the ability to hire and fire" (p. 29). *Soft power*, on the other hand, is about "getting the outcomes one wants by attracting others rather than manipulating their material incentives. . . . it rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others to want what you want" (p. 29). In other words, while hard power denotes coercive forms of power, soft power is executed by making people adopt or co-opt your ideas or policies. Regarding the multiculturalism policies mentioned above, many are implemented using hard forms of power, such as legislation (and its possibilities of executing threats), to ensure the rights of minority groups. Still, looking at the different areas borrowed from Kymlicka (2010), some of them certainly require the use of soft power, such as when the words "affirmation" and "adoption" are used to describe how multiculturalism policies are supposed to ensure the recognition of immigrant groups in society, on a general level, and in curricula, more specifically. As for multicultural education policies, they can be manifested, for example, in national curricula and as such be connected to the legislative hard forms of power that the implementation of such curricula involves. Still, for the multicultural education policies to be enacted by actual teachers in actual classrooms, the policymakers would also have to rely on persuading educators to adopt multiculturalism as an ideological stance, embracing it in their daily work and letting it permeate their teaching. Bringing the concepts of hard and soft power into the field of music education, Jones (2009) transforms them into notions of *hard and soft policies*, and discusses what characterizes this conceptual pair. In his opinion, music education hard policies are found in "compulsory requirements such as accreditation standards and government mandates" (p. 28), the latter, for example, expressed through national curricula pertinent to various forms of music education. Soft music education policies are articulated through "university admissions criteria

and [local] curricula, music teacher organisations' activities, text book and sheet music publications, and products for the professional performing arts and music industries" (p. 28). Regardless of their apparent softness, such policies may still have the power to maintain strong hegemonic traditions—for example, through advocating "a narrow [music department] curriculum that focuses on developing skills and tastes in [the] Western classical tradition" (p. 29). In this chapter, aiming to trace multiculturalism and multicultural education policies and their significance for student access within the area of music education, Jones's detailed description of hard and soft music education policy manifestations constitutes a helpful tool for having ideas of where to start looking and of what to look for.

MULTICULTURALISM AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION POLICIES WITHIN MUSIC EDUCATION

On the overarching, international level it is difficult to find hard music education policies carrying possibilities of coercion, whether the concern is multiculturalism or any other matter. The music education field has no unified way of implementing multiculturalism or multicultural education ideals. The closest we come is perhaps the mission statements made by our world organization, the International Society for Music Education (ISME), recognizing all forms of music and the importance of access for all to music education. Mirroring the broader multiculturalism ideals of racial and ethnic equality and recognition of all people's cultural rights, ISME states that all types of music education programs "should take as a point of departure the existence of a wide variety of musics," and that "there is a need for music education in all cultures" (International Society for Music Education, 2006). The multicultural education policy of access and educational equality for all students, despite their background, can also be traced to ISME, which maintains that everybody should be allowed to have "music learning opportunities and to participate actively in various aspects of music" (International Society for Music Education, 2006). As hinted earlier, the ISME mission statements cannot be considered hard policies, since there are no carrots or sticks to enforce them. Furthermore, the statements are so broad that their actual policy application value must be considered quite limited. Still, they are formulated with the hope that they will guide ISME members and operate as their principles of action. As such, the statements are attempts to create persuasive and soft policies for music education on the international level, hoping to "influence music teachers' perceptions, values, and personal goals" (Jones, 2009, p. 28) with respect to multicultural thinking. However, what might influence teachers' (and researchers') thinking on a more profound level and therefore work better as "soft-policy-in-action" are standpoints conveyed via textbooks and research literature. In the following I trace multiculturalism and multicultural education thinking in three selected books—one anthology (Campbell et al., 2005) and two monographs (Elliott & Silverman, 2015; Schippers, 2010)—which can be said to have soft policy-making aspirations and qualities. That is, when utilized by university

music teacher departments as course literature, these works might potentially play an important role "in the formation and professional development of teachers" (Jones, 2009, p. 29) and shape their preferences and thinking with respect to matters of multiculturalism and access within the field of music education.

Can Soft Policy Be too Soft? Challenges in Multicultural Music Education Thinking

The ISME statements above do not discuss any of the demographic parameters that may hinder students' access, and consequently they avoid dealing with some of the harsher realities of students' lives, such as being unable to attend music education because of socioeconomic disadvantages or lower-class origins. Approaching the task of looking for multiculturalism ideals in the above-mentioned books I have worked from a hypothesis of suspicion, having the presupposition that music education soft policy perhaps might have a tendency to be *too* soft and not adequately address underlying and potentially exclusionary societal forces. In this way I have focused on eliciting challenges of multicultural music education thinking as they might appear when viewed against the broader multiculturalism policy backdrop.

In his opening chapter in the Australian-based anthology *Cultural Diversity in Music Education* (Campbell et al., 2005), Drummond (2005) lists three justifications for "culturally plural music education" (p. 2), which largely follow the broader claims for multicultural education discussed above. The justifications can be summed up like this: (1) We live in a world that rapidly becomes increasingly culturally diverse, and the transition toward this state of plurality can be eased by (music) education; (2) minority group members living in culturally diverse societies experience disadvantage if education does not attend to their culture, too; and (3) the majority culture can learn "from the minority" (p. 2). Drummond further claims that justification number one presupposes a need to move "beyond one's roots" (p. 3), number two suggests that it is necessary to engage in "strengthening one's roots" (p. 3), while number three "moves towards the position that cultural traditions are processes not products, and that growth is more important than the roots of tradition" (p. 3). With all justifications taken together, however, access to a multicultural education experience seems to depend on the existence of "roots," understood as individuals acknowledging that they in fact do belong to specific cultural traditions that can either be moved beyond, strengthened, or understood as processes. Only from this "fixed point" can further growth be achieved and cultural icons be reshaped through tradition-transforming processes. Much traditional multiculturalism policy seems to support the "roots" thinking, protecting, for example, specific cultural rights of indigenous peoples (see Kymlicka, 2010, p. 101), and many of the chapters in the Australian anthology maintain such a stance, being concerned with musical roots in various ways; however, Drummond himself questions the conception of cultural or musical roots, at least when it comes to its relevance for all people and under all circumstances. He writes, with respect to identification and young people's identity work, "It seems that many

are now achieving a sense of identity that allows for multiple interactions with different cultures and subcultures . . . a much more flexible sense of identity than is recognised by those who have devised the claims for multicultural education" (Drummond, 2005, p. 8). Interestingly, in voicing his concerns about the irrelevance of multicultural education, it is in fact Drummond who might be late to the table, since recent multicultural education policy developments actually *do* acknowledge that "hybrid identities are becoming the order of the day" (Nieto, 2009, p. 91). Pointing out the first challenges of multicultural music education thinking then implies a warning against holding on to the cultural roots conception that seems to characterize much of the field, and at the same time reminding music educators not to be stuck with fixed policy perceptions, assuming that, for example, multicultural education as an ideology has not evolved.

In *Facing the Music: Shaping Music Education from a Global Perspective* (2010), Schippers discusses and deconstructs what he terms the "myth of authenticity," claiming that "almost all music is transmitted out of context" (p. 59), and that one of the major challenges and exercises for formal music education is to come up with versions that are sensibly and dynamically recontextualized (p. 58). He offers a framework "for understanding music transmission in culturally diverse environments" (p. 124) and critiques much formal music education for having been too narrowly "based on models developed for Western classical music" (p. 117). The goal seems to be to encourage us to broaden our approaches and consider "different styles of structuring and organizing music education" (p. 118), though with the caution that the styles must be fit for the purpose and appropriate "for specific contexts" (p. 118). With respect to policy, Schippers's book can be read as a "soft" way to challenge the strong and often soft policy-maintained hegemonic forces of the Western classical tradition within institutions for music education. As such, trying to co-opt these institutions into acknowledging and giving students access to a variety of musics, and also leading the way and showing how it can be done, Schippers's suggestions are far more tangible and ready to be operationalized than the rather vague goals of ISME, mentioned above. Nevertheless, the broader notion of people's access is only implicitly indicated in Schippers's book and might be connected to the second multiculturalism claim as conveyed by Drummond (2005), namely, that by including all (or at least more) musics, recontextualizing them in respectful ways and allowing a wider range of approaches to teaching and learning music, formal music education will be *made* or *feel* accessible to a greater number of people, since their ways of being and knowing are attended to. Schippers's (2010) book can hence be read as a multiculturalism claim for "recognition of cultural rights" (Kymlicka, 2010, p. 101), although it seems more directed toward debating access of a diversity of musics into music education than toward ensuring individuals' rights to access to music education. This musics-centered approach might be another possible challenge or pitfall of multicultural music education thinking.

In *Music Matters: A Philosophy of Music Education*, Elliott and Silverman (2015) discuss what constitutes an inclusive music curriculum. Their approach goes beyond the one outlined by Drummond (2005) above and also has a wider

span than the musics-centered perspectives of Schippers (2010). While Elliott and Silverman (2015) are concerned, like Schippers (2010), that inclusion implies that students are welcomed "into a variety of musical social praxes" (Elliott & Silverman, 2015, p. 445), they put more stress on the teachers' responsibility for making the students *feel* welcomed and making the curriculum content accessible for students despite differences in cultural background. In this regard, elaborating on their understanding of the concept of culture, this goes beyond customs and traditions connected to geographic, linguistic, or ethnic origin and encompasses "institutional . . . and corporate cultures, age-based cultures . . . gender-based cultures, religion-centered cultures, and so on" (p. 446). Here, the authors seem to align with contemporary versions of multicultural education policy, which emphasize a broad range of parameters as potential sources for educational inequality (Banks & Banks, 2010; Nieto, 2009). Elliott and Silverman (2015) also point to a number of ethically related questions that music teachers should attend to, such as how all students can be supported, how teaching can be conducted in ways that allow children to learn empathy, plus how "classroom communities [may] honor diversity and foster mutual respect and care" (p. 450). What they do *not* do, however, is to give any clear directions that would help music teachers shape their thinking with regard to the parameters that perhaps, above all, regulate students' admittance into music education, namely, socioeconomic status and social class. As I read their approach, it focuses more on teachers' *welcoming* than of students' actual *rights*, as the latter may emanate from multiculturalism or multicultural education policies. The last challenge to be elicited in this section then, concerns some of multicultural music education soft policy's disinterest in hard policy, and its neglect to remind teachers that providing an inclusive atmosphere is not at all enough for ensuring students' access to music education.

With respect to policy thinking, I conclude in line with my initially aired suspicions and answer the headline of this section with a distinct "Yes! Soft policy can indeed be too soft." If, as a potential policymaker, I would like to enhance students' access to music education, or investigate what prevents such access, I need to move beyond discussions of musical roots as well as attempts to allow a diversity of musics into formal music education. I also need to update my understanding of current multicultural education ideology so that I can form an opinion of its potential application for music education in contemporary society. First, however, I need to show an interest in the hard policies that shape music education and also in the underlying societal forces that enhance and sustain inequality, often despite the adoption of multiculturalism as the official ideological stance. With this in mind, I will now move on to exploring the case of Norwegian music schooling, its multiculturalism features, and its patterns of inclusion and exclusion.

POLICY, MULTICULTURAL (MUSIC) EDUCATION AND ACCESS: THE CASE OF NORWAY

The hard policy legislative regulation of formal music education in Norway includes, among other things, compulsory school music education available for

all children through grades 1 through 10; statutory access to low-fee and municipally run instrumental tuition in every Norwegian municipality; a range of music, dance, and drama programs in the upper secondary level; and free higher education available for all citizens. With respect to the latter, in the area of music education, access is limited only by entrance exams, but not by tuition fees or other economic expenses. These are the outcomes of welfare state educational and cultural policies set up during the past 70 years to provide all Norwegian citizens with access to free education and "equal opportunities for access to cultural arrangements" (Duelund, 2003, p. 490) and various forms of arts, including music. The Norwegian society is built on social democracy ideas, and the ideal, if not always the practice, of egalitarianism stands strong. The expressed goal of the current government regarding education is to create "an inclusive knowledge society characterised by diversity and cohesion" (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, n.d., my translation), and as a consequence of the egalitarian approach to culture, there is "a long-standing tradition in Norway for recognising everyday and lowbrow cultural forms on the official level" (Dyndahl, Karlsen, Skårberg & Nielsen, 2014). As an example of this inclusiveness, popular music has been included in school music education for several decades. The white paper *Official Norwegian Report on Cultural Policy 2014* (Norwegian Ministry of Culture, 2013) highlights cultural complexity as one of the main characteristics of the Norwegian contemporary state, and this notion encompasses both the above-mentioned lowbrow (and highbrow) forms of culture, transnational development of "national, regional and local cultures" (p. 58, my translation) and the acknowledgment of individuals' "complex cultural identities" (p. 59), and the hybridity that this entails. With respect to population structure Norway is becoming increasingly multicultural, with a current rate of first- and second-generation immigrants representing 15.6% of the total population (Statistics Norway, 2015).

Based on the above, on the educational rights level, children and adolescents in Norway have "an equal chance" (Banks & Banks, 2010, p. 1) to access to music education, at least as far as official, hard policy is concerned. Furthermore, the Norwegian softer (but still state-related) cultural policy seems to take into account updated multiculturalism and multicultural education insights, for example, connected to contemporary society allowing for the formation of "hybrid identities" (Nieto, 2009, p. 91). So far, it all looks good. However, following my previous angle of suspicion, while tracing multiculturalism features in Norwegian music schooling, I also looked for *policy paradoxes*, a term framed by Stone (2011) to denote practical policy outcomes that are formed, not only by political rational thinking, but also by ongoing processes in society. In other words, I investigate which population groups seem to benefit from and be included by the welfare and egalitarian state policies as enacted, and which are, in reality, excluded.

Compulsory School Music Education

The stances toward multiculturalism contained in the Norwegian national music subject curriculum can be read along two axes. First, much like Schippers (2010),

the curriculum seems to codify multiculturalism in music mainly to mean musical diversity, and it states that the music subject should embrace "musical diversity and a wide range of genres, Sami and Norwegian music, folk music from other cultures, art music and various forms of improvised and rhythmic music" (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2006b, p. 1). This points to a certain recognition of the cultural rights of indigenous people and other minority groups (Kymlicka, 2010). Second, it emphasizes that music as a subject should play an "important role in adapted teaching in the inclusive school" (p. 1), and that it is a vehicle through which tolerance can be achieved: "In a multicultural society the music subject may contribute to positive identity creation by promoting a sense of belonging in one's own culture with awareness of one's cultural heritage, and with tolerance and respect for the cultures of others" (p. 1). An understanding of the aforementioned "cultural roots" (Drummond, 2005) seems to be implied here, too.

With respect to access, the curriculum states that music should be taught to all children through grades 1–10. Since approximately 97% of Norwegian students attend state schools (Union of Education Norway, 2014), most of the student population will receive a similar amount of music teaching hours, which are specified in the curriculum. Still, the conditions under which these are delivered may vary greatly and so may the music teachers' competence. A recent report (Espeland et al., 2013) shows that there is a large gap between the music subject as outlined in the curriculum and as implemented within schools. Some of this discrepancy is due to lack of appropriate rooms, instruments, and other equipment, but the main factor is the uneven level of competence among the music teachers. Their formal qualifications vary greatly, and it is an undeniable fact that many "teach music without other subject qualifications than those achieved during their own compulsory schooling" (p. 160, my translation). Consequently, even though Norwegian students have the same right of access to compulsory school music education, its content and quality may vary in unjustifiable ways according to, for example, the schools' economy and the priorities of the schools' leadership. This discrepancy between the hard policy expressed *intentions* and the actual policy *implementation* is not exclusive to Norwegian music education reality; similar situations are found in, for example, Canada and Brazil (see the chapters of Horsley and Figueiredo in this volume).

Municipal Music and Culture Schools

As mentioned above, the Norwegian system of municipal music and culture schools is enshrined in legislation, and the law states that each municipality is compelled to offer such education to its children and adolescents (Norsk Kulturskoleråd, 2011). The music and culture school framework plan, *På vei til mangfold* [Toward diversity] (Norsk Kulturskoleråd, 2003)[1] emphasizes the importance of cross-cultural collaboration, and states that "Norway is a multicultural society. With minority language children in culture school, who cannot

easily communicate and cross linguistic borders, aesthetic forms of communication will function as bridge-builders across cultural differences" (p. 24, my translation). Sadly, I cannot help finding this quotation other than condescending, despite its presumed intentions of recognizing minority groups in line with multiculturalism thinking. In my view, the statement has segregational undertones, setting minority language children clearly apart from the other students, and suggesting that they need special treatment, instead of actually ensuring their rights to "educational equality" (Banks, 2009, p. 13). Looking into aspects of multiculturalism with respect to teaching content, the framework plan points to interaction between different kinds of arts and their respective teaching and learning traditions, but it also maintains that within one particular art form, in this case music, the content should be taken from more than one tradition and encompass "pieces originally written for the instrument . . . children's songs . . . Norwegian and foreign folk music . . . [and] music of the students' own production" (Norsk Kulturskoleråd, 2003, p. 32). Despite these guidelines, most of the municipal music and culture schools have focused on educating their students within the paradigm of Western classical music, and it is only quite recently that folk music and popular music have entered this arena, or that any attempts of recognizing, for example, the music of immigrant groups have been made.[2]

Even though the municipal music and culture schools are supposed to serve all citizens on an equal basis, this is not necessarily how the system works. As already mentioned, the tuition is low to promote access for everybody, but the fact that there *is* a fee in the first place seems to function in exclusionary ways for children from low-income families (Gustavsen & Hjelmbrekke, 2009). Still, high income is not the main predictor of culture school attendance; rather, the parents' high level of education is the dominant factor in this respect (Bjørnsen, 2012). Here, Norway replicates structures of social class found in countries worldwide (see, e.g., Bennett et al., 2009). Given that the parents have a high educational level, "students with non-Western backgrounds are not significantly underrepresented within culture school" (Bjørnsen, 2012, p. vi, my translation). In other words, municipal music and culture schools are mainly arenas for children with well-educated middle-class parents, regardless of geographical or ethno-cultural background. According to a report on culture school inclusion in the five biggest cities in Norway, the factor that by far constitutes the biggest hindrance to participation is lack of information; "people are simply not aware of the possibility [of attending culture schools]" (p. vi). This factor seems to be especially exclusionary for children and adolescents whose parents have non-Western backgrounds. Hence, despite policymakers' efforts to make municipal music and culture schools inclusive arenas, the actual *implementation* of this policy maintains a situation where these schools are in fact often sites for exclusion and even segregation with respect to musical cultures, social class, and ethnic origin. Here, the Norwegian reality seems to align with the historical multiculturalism and multicultural education challenges of race and ethnicity being the bases for inequality (Kymlicka, 2010; Nieto, 2009; Tomlinson, 2009). In addition, social class can be identified as an exclusionary force (Banks, 2009).

Upper Secondary School Programs for Music, Dance, and Drama

In the national curriculum of the Norwegian upper secondary school program for music, dance, and drama, multiculturalism aspects are mentioned mainly in implicit ways. However, in the music-specific part, both indigenous people's and national minorities' rights to cultural recognition are maintained, claiming that the education should contribute to "upholding and renewing Norwegian, Sámi and national minority and international musical heritages" (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2006a, p. 1).

The music, dance, and drama programs are available to students all over the country, but access is not unlimited. The students are either accepted on the basis of grades achieved at the lower secondary school level or on the basis of musical ability as assessed through an entrance exam, in addition to grades. Generally, a student needs well above average grades to be accepted into the program (Markussen, Frøseth, Lødding & Sandberg, 2008). Hence, the admission regulations implicitly favor students with well-educated parents, since those students are more likely to have higher grades (Statistics Norway, 2014), plus those whose parents have sufficient economic, cultural, and educational capital to enroll their children in municipal music and culture school or other kinds of instrumental tuition. It is thus reasonable to believe that the adolescents with the most efficient access to the music, dance, and drama upper secondary school programs are the ones from middle-class homes.

Higher Music Education

The higher music education programs in Norway cover a variety of different kinds of musician and music teacher education and are regulated by several curricula. To cover how multiculturalism is approached in all of them would exceed the limits of this chapter. Instead, I have focused on access— in other words, who has the opportunity to enter Norwegian higher music education.

With only a few exceptions, higher education in Norway is free, and this also applies to higher music education. To ensure equal participation, there are no tuition fees, and enrolled students are guaranteed state educational grants and loans to cover their living expenses. However, to enter higher education, students must have completed upper secondary school, and to have access to higher *music* education they must also sit for entrance exams and successfully compete with other potential students. So, when these factors are accounted for, who is excluded and who is welcomed? A recent study (Madsen, 2013) shows that the trends of implicit exclusion hinted at above are reinforced at the higher music education level. Across the range of music studies, students generally come from homes with well-educated parents and a high amount of cultural capital. Zooming in on performance-directed studies only, the path of recruitment becomes even narrower. The students who enter such programs typically come from the cultural

upper class and often have at least one parent who has completed higher music education. Consequently, students from "the economic segments or working-class segments [of society] are in scarce minority" (p. 90, my translation). In addition, students with non-Western immigrant backgrounds are largely underrepresented in the higher arts and music education spheres. The reasons for this are complex, but it is among other things connected to parents wanting to safeguard their children's future social mobility (Vassenden & Bergsgard, 2012).

Adding up this information, we see that access to higher music education in Norway is seemingly open and presumably guarded by a range of hard policy-related measures designed to promote equality. Still, access is highly regulated by demographic factors such as social class, cultural background, and racial and ethnic origin. As a result, this music educational field, like all the others explored in this chapter, embodies a policy paradox (Stone, 2011) with respect to some groups' privileged access and others' exclusion.

POLICY-SAVVY MUSIC EDUCATION: ON WHAT GROUNDS?

From the sections above, it is clear that regardless of how open, egalitarian, and inclusive music education policy-language might seem, its potential for enhancing accessibility can first be evaluated when it is implemented as de facto policy and its consequences are examined against specific societal backdrops. This applies whether the policy-regulating statements are formulated on ideological, theoretical, or philosophical grounds, or whether they are expressed through national curricula and framework plans. Consequently, even frameworks that strive toward openness, inclusivity, and equal access might function differently and even opposite to the intent when faced with the structural and socioeconomic regulating powers of society. Furthermore, since society is constantly changing—some would say at an ever-increasing speed—the solutions and formulas for increased access and inclusion invented yesterday may not be what we need tomorrow, or what might be fit for use even today. In what follows, I explore the findings from my own investigations into music education among immigrant students in the Nordic countries with respect to what can be learned from this research that can aid us in becoming more policy savvy (see the chapters of Fautley and Schmidt in this volume) and provide meaningful and socially inclusive music education for a larger proportion of our potential students. In particular, I focus on the concept of cultural or musical "roots," as discussed above, and the notion of "inclusion complexity," which I elaborate further below.

The (Re)construction, Transplanting, and Replanting of Musical Roots

The idea that individuals and groups of people more or less belong to or have their roots firmly planted within the traditional musical cultures that exist in

their places of geographical or ethno-cultural origin is an old one and can be found in several of the writings referred to above. As already mentioned, a central thought of more traditional forms of multiculturalism and multicultural education has been to recognize such roots, so that students other than those with majority backgrounds should not feel disadvantaged (Drummond, 2005; Elliott & Silverman, 2015). Another related approach can be found in the Norwegian curricula, namely, that it is the task of education to make sure that cultural and musical roots are recognized and respected. The importance of musical roots is acknowledged and maintained through both soft (textbooks) and hard (national curricula) music education policies. The findings of the Nordic study (Karlsen, 2012, 2013, 2014) however, show that although the concept of musical roots certainly has meanings for today's students, also in the customary sense, these may both be ambiguous and conflicting as well as totally different from the ones traditionally ascribed. For many of the students interviewed as part of this particular study, the music of their own or their parents' countries of origin quite rightly represented cultural heritage, imaginary homelands, and a vehicle for strong individual identification with a particular culture as well as for togetherness, cohesion, and collective identity (Karlsen, 2013). Still, the data also showed that these relationships were complex. For example, one student deliberately chose not to be identified with the musical roots "assigned" to him by the music teacher, but instead insisted on maintaining his self-definition as a musical cosmopolitan and protecting his right to learn something new instead of engaging with material he already knew. For other students, the school climate was so hostile that there were only certain kinds of music that they were socially "allowed" to identify with. Hence, exposing their preference for homeland music—far outside of the allowed range—had to be avoided at all costs. Furthermore, the data featured a student who had developed strong identifications with musical materials originating from cultures other than her own, but to which she had been introduced by a classmate with a foreign cultural background (Karlsen, 2013; Karlsen & Westerlund, 2015). This kind of musical anchoring is not part of the traditional conception of developing cultural roots, but it may nonetheless be equally important to the self-understanding of the students involved.

In a recent article, Heidi Westerlund and I propose that in a world characterized by diversity, fast change, and fluidity, and in which musical and other forms of "diversity [are] always-already present" (2015, p. 382) in classrooms, it may no longer be the best solution to pinpoint, construct, or recognize students' cultural roots. Rather than having their cultural identities falsely assumed or exposed in unwanted ways, or their learner agency or right to self-definition overridden, children and adolescents need to learn "how to sail and anchor musically, and how to interact interculturally and ethically at the most local, everyday level of diversity" (p. 383).

Perhaps this would be one way of creating a more inclusive music education also at the larger, societal level. In fact, in line with Schippers's (2010) ideas of accepting a larger diversity of musical traditions into music education institutions, one of the initiatives that actually seemed to function in order to include

new user groups into the Norwegian municipal music and culture schools was to broaden the range of what was taught, both in terms of musical instruments and styles and other forms of art (Gustavsen & Hjelmbrekke, 2009). Providing students with a wide range of possible routes of musical identification—much in keeping with Elliott and Silverman's (2015) wish to welcome students into a variety of musical and social praxes—would possibly make music education more accessible. However, paradoxically (cf. Stone, 2011), the opposite might happen if these routes are tied to a conception of fixed cultural or musical roots, as in the older versions of multiculturalism and multicultural (music) education thinking. What is needed is a hard and soft policy update in line with recent multiculturalism ideas about the hybridity of identity (Nieto, 2009), and also an update of institutions' and teachers' enactment of such policy so that they bear in mind that roots can be both reconstructed, transplanted, and replanted, and that some students may prefer not to put down roots at all but instead develop skills in temporarily anchoring themselves "to search for shared experiences in the musical eddies" (Karlsen & Westerlund, 2015, p. 382) of improvisation, hybridity, and musical experimentation. The question though, from an equality point of view, is whether it is enough to "open the space" to students' participation and experimentation, or if this is yet another example of policy directives being too soft. The story narrated above, of the inclusive and egalitarian Norwegian music education hard policies with the rather exclusionary outcomes, certainly suggests so. In line with Nieto (2009), I claim that multicultural music education will have to fight "many differences and oppressions" (p. 86) at the same time in order to achieve equality of opportunity for students. In this battle we should not shy naïvely away from economic, social class, and racial exclusionary structures. Neither should we let go of the opportunities to constantly scrutinize the paradoxes of inclusion and exclusion that exist in our everyday practices, as shown below.

The Challenges of Inclusion Complexity

Viewing the findings of my research among immigrant students from the point of inclusion, it was evident that in this respect the participating teachers were faced with no easy task (Karlsen, 2014). First, they were expected to handle matters of inclusion according to different parameters and in societies increasingly characterized by various forms of diversity. These expectations encompassed inclusion in relation to an increasing variety of musical styles and genres—the musical diversity; the increasing cultural and ethnic diversity of the Nordic countries, mostly brought about through immigration during the past decades; greater openness toward a variety of ways of life; and students' individual starting points for learning—biologically, cognitively, and culturally. Second, in the schools where the teachers taught, they were often faced with all the above parameters at once and required to handle them in real time and under curricular regulations that stressed that their subject—music—was especially fit for acts of inclusion. However, the curricula do not discuss "what or who should be included, by

whom, and how . . . and there exists no discussion about how the teacher should deal with it when different approaches to or considerations regarding inclusion appear to have unwanted side effects, or simply collide and hence show themselves to be incompatible" (Karlsen, 2014, p. 63, my translation). Not unexpectedly, such side effects and collisions were highly visible in the data, and came to be framed under the notion of "inclusion complexity."

The teachers' attempts to handle the complexity of inclusion in their respective classrooms, and the ruptures that appeared when their different tasks were incompatible, could be grouped in three different areas, namely, the students' identities; the students' knowledge and competence; and the representation and presence of musical styles in the music classroom (p. 70). In what follows, I give a brief example of the last theme, in order to provide the reader with an understanding of what an "inclusion-collision-situation" might look like.

In one of the classroom practices investigated, both the teacher and the students stressed that their school was characterized by openness and acceptance and that everybody had the right to freedom of expression. All of the students in this particular class had immigrant backgrounds, so diversity related to ethno-cultural and geographical origin was prevalent. The presence of musical diversity was also evident, since the teacher was well versed in a wide range of popular musics. He also brought Western classical music into the classroom and allowed the students to bring the music of their (or their parents') countries of origin as well as music of their own creation. The latter was also encouraged by the school's practice of staging a musical show once a year, for which the students themselves created the material and performed it in one of the city's theaters. The process of creating the show was facilitated by professional directors and the school's music teachers. For the show produced during the year of my fieldwork, the music teacher participating in my research had co-written parts of the music together with the students, taking their wishes and requests into account. Thereby, he had included the students' musical worlds, thoughts, and ideas as he was supposed to, according to the curriculum. The music requested by the students this year was dancehall, a style the teacher admitted that he was not acquainted with. Consequently, he had "Googled around and checked it out" (Karlsen, 2014, p. 76). Later, I had to do the same, since dancehall was also unknown to me until it appeared in my data. Imagine my surprise when I figured out that this style was heavily associated with homophobia (Skjelbo, 2015). In other words, by including his students' favorite music the teacher had at the same effectively excluded students with other sexual orientations than heterosexuality since in this particular situation these two parameters were incompatible. Hence, as Wildavsky (1987) points out, with respect to policy, there is no "solving the problem"; rather, there is a need for constant re-evaluation. One situation, like the one described above, will lead to consideration, then to adaptation, and then further on to new implementations. With this in mind, and with what we now know about multicultural music education and matters of access, what current policy considerations, adaptations, and implementations are needed to create inclusionary frameworks more fit for today's society?

ACCESS, INCLUSION, AND EXCLUSION IN MUSIC EDUCATION: SHOULD WE START THINKING ABOUT INTERSECTIONALITY?

In the beginning of this chapter, I asked who gets to participate in music studies today, and what the policies are that currently prevent further access. In the course of the chapter I have attempted to answer the first question by exploring some of the exclusionary forces that surround and implicitly regulate the field of music education. While my explorations have had multiculturalism as a starting point, somehow assuming that the lines of inclusion/exclusion would go mainly along ethno-cultural and minority population-related inequalities, such as those identified and partly remedied by the three patterns of multiculturalism described by Kymlicka (2010), the picture painted appears to be far more complex. Rather, inclusion into or exclusion from music education seems to run along many different lines simultaneously—ethno-cultural and racial origin, certainly, but also musical-cultural identification, social class, socioeconomic status, and sexuality, as is evident from the previous sections of this chapter. Curiously enough, none of the soft policy frameworks discussed above acknowledge the last three of these demographic variables to any notable extent when discussing what and who should be included in music education. Neither are they easily detected in the hard policies guarding the music education field as made visible in the Norwegian case. In that sense, tentatively answering my second question of what currently prevents further access to music education, in my opinion it might be the too-often experienced softness and one-dimensionality present in the thinking of music education policymakers concerning what access implies and to whom it should be allowed and encouraged. Consequently, we might need to rethink the concept of "multicultural" as it is currently in use within the music education field, and go beyond the tendency to limit it to denote, for example, ethno-cultural or musical diversity. Since all the parameters mentioned above seem to carry their own problematics and paradoxes of inclusion and exclusion, it is time to consider a far more *intersectional* version of multicultural education policy as an appropriate framework, one that has been available for a while (cf. Banks & Banks, 2010; Nieto, 2009) but which seems to have escaped much of multicultural music education so far. According to Dyndahl and Ellefsen (2009), students "negotiate, renegotiate and identify with narratives of themselves as male/female, straight/queer, white/black, native/foreign, local/cosmopolitan, young/grown-up . . . [and] experience a sense of belonging and connection to high/low social class and/or culture" (pp. 15–16) at the same time and all in the course of participating in music education. When developing soft and hard policies, pondering their paradoxes, and considering matters of access, inclusion, and exclusion in music education, it is high time we take these insights about the intersectional realities of our students and of ourselves into account. This might not "solve the problem" (Wildavsky, 1987) once and for all, but at least it will contribute to developing policies and pedagogies of accessibility, inclusion, and equality that might be a better fit for *our* time.

NOTES

1. As of this writing, a new plan is in the making but is not yet published.
2. In some of the bigger cities, the schools offer courses in the musics of some Asian cultures (see, for example, Oslo Musikk- og Kulturskole, n.d. in reference list), but this is a rare exception.

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13

Can Music Education Policy Save American Orchestras?

ALAN FLETCHER ■

INTRODUCTION

However marginal classical music may be in our society, we nevertheless see continuing signs of its importance. Splendid new halls have been built in our time in Los Angeles, Seattle, San Francisco, Kansas City, Dallas, Fort Worth, Nashville, and Miami Beach, to choose just a few examples, and the upcoming renovation of David Geffen Hall will likely be a project of staggering cost. Nor are magnificent and costly new buildings the only metric demonstrating a continuity of importance for classical music. The genre has proven enormously popular on YouTube and other digital media, even as the structure of the recording industry changes inexorably[1].

But as soon as one wants to plead for the relevance of orchestras and opera companies—to say that they are not hapless dinosaurs struggling to ignore the meteor of pop culture—one must confront the recent spate of financial and managerial catastrophes within this sector.

New York City Opera,[2] San Diego Opera,[3] Florida Opera,[4] Syracuse Symphony,[5] Louisville Symphony,[6] and many others have gone under or nearly under. The flagship symphonies of Detroit, Minnesota, and Atlanta have experienced disruptions on a most disturbing scale. Even the Chicago Symphony was not unscathed by recent labor issues,[7] and orchestras as historic as New York and Philadelphia, not to mention the grandest organization of all, the Metropolitan Opera, appear to have stubbornly persistent deficits.[8]

Our purpose in this brief chapter is to examine whether policies at the intersection of schools of music and these great performing organizations can improve this situation.

While the classical music profession debates whether there should even be a classical music profession, supported by elaborate and highly codified strategies and policies for education (see Robert Cutietta's chapter in this volume), or, in a related inquiry, the profession re-invents itself to reflect an entrepreneurial model in which each musician takes responsibility for organizing chamber groups, new music ensembles, enterprises of all kinds, many involving a mix of improvisation and notation (Claire Chase),[9] there is still a need for both continuity and reform in the sector of symphony orchestras and opera companies and the policies governing preparation for careers in that sector.

It is true that the classical genre represents a tiny percentage of the overall music business worldwide. One might wonder whether this has always been so: some like to say that "classical music was the popular music of Mozart's time,"[10] as a way of portraying classical music's current reach as pathetically diminished. But "popular music" is a term being misused in this way, since it depends on a global business model that didn't exist for Mozart. One might ask what actual percentage of the farmworkers and city-dwellers of Mozart's Austria were really regular consumers of classical music—ticket-buyers, for instance—to judge whether there was really a time when this musical tradition was not largely supported by a cultural elite, for a cultural elite.

But that is not the subject of this chapter. Instead, the subject is to consider that necessary combination of continuity and reform facing policymakers concerned with our largest performing organizations.

Smaller organizations seem to be thriving, working in the fluid genres of new music, chamber music, improvised music, and boundary-crossing music—organizations that perhaps don't need, or actively eschew, the grand performing halls and hieratic atmosphere those halls are meant to promote.[11] This may be evidence of a redefinition of the cultural agenda, as discussed elsewhere in this volume (Colwell).

But these nimbler, innovative groups also don't need the vast infrastructure of which those great buildings are only the outward manifestation. Despite Hartford Opera's ill-fated experiments,[12] one still needs a large, extraordinarily skilled orchestra to present Beethoven, Wagner, and Mahler. That orchestra's 90 or 100 musicians will be supported by an even larger number of staff, not only responsible for artistic planning and operations but also for marketing, outreach, and the ever-important fundraising.

Our American model turns squarely away from massive government support and faces instead the generosity of philanthropists. Every time there is a crisis for any local performing arts organizations, someone in the blogosphere laments that our government doesn't take care of the problem, as governments in Austria or Italy or the Netherlands do.[13] Or, rather, did. Support for the arts in Europe is patchy where it was once invincible.[14]

At any rate, to wish that the US government would enter the field of the performing arts is chimerical. Who would want to be dependent on Washington as it now presents itself? What is the likelihood we would experience the care that our culture of philanthropy has shown for the arts, as fragile as that care may seem?

It's all pure theory, in any case. The government does in fact support our arts-producing sector, by encouraging philanthropy through the tax code. Barring any misguided interventions, that will continue for the near future at least.[15]

In many comments occasioned by a great organization's budget struggles, there is a perception that fundraising is insufficient, or an unsustainable model.[16] This may miss the fundamental fact about successful philanthropic support: that it depends on belief and confidence.[17] Donors must embrace an organization's mission, with confidence that the organization can achieve success. If an organization's own leadership doesn't share this belief and confidence, doom is inevitable. If the mission needs to evolve, say, to more education and outreach, or to more pops repertoire, or to new presenting formats, it is essential that all constituents of the organization evolve together.

It's crucial to distinguish between the putative failure of a funding model and individual failures to manage that model.

The inflection point for all these discussions and observations about our large ensemble organizations is almost always the renegotiation of the collective bargaining agreement (CBA). This is when management, or the volunteer board, or both, say that the structural model for revenue is untenable, and costs must be cut drastically.[18] Or members of the unions say that management, or the volunteer board, or both, have not done their jobs.[19] An especially bitter element in the recent Minnesota and Atlanta lockouts was the accusation of extreme bad faith: on the one hand, management was said to have deliberately concealed or falsified essential information; on the other, musicians were portrayed as willfully ignorant of financial reality.[20] In some other labor disputes, there is the definite perception that union busting fueled by a particular political conviction is at play.[21] In others, the nature of a musician's service to the organization, including education and outreach, becomes a flashpoint.[22]

Work conditions are a crucial part of the CBA negotiation, not just salary, pensions, and healthcare. On the one hand, musicians may fiercely resist counting education and outreach as services equivalent to main stage performance. On the other hand, management or board members may count up the weekly hours of official services, as if they are the only real "work" hours; or they may publicize the numbers of vacation days as if musicians are not highly engaged in a true working profession. On both sides, these are failures to understand the reality of what a civic organization is trying to accomplish, and how it needs to accomplish it.

It has certainly appeared that volunteer boards—one might also say philanthropic boards—are increasingly taking a policy role in labor negotiations, and not always with good results. The smaller, nimbler presenting organizations, with lower budgets, smaller staffs, and a more intimate connection among local supporters and performers, are unlikely to have such a divide (and are generally not involved with collective bargaining in any case). These smaller groups—chamber music, choral, new music groups—will also have less trouble deciding how to link performance to outreach and community education, something about which larger boards may now have strong opinions.

It ought to be universally acknowledged that these organizations cannot succeed without the goodwill, extraordinary efforts, and exceptional preparation of all constituents. It's a familiar rhetoric that "the orchestra" is on the stage, not in the board room. But that is a false rhetoric. The orchestra is everywhere that actions are taken to create and support it. It is surely in the lobby, and back stage, as well as on stage. Here is an example of the tension between tradition and innovation—an example of how ideas about the civic role of an orchestra have outpaced educational policy. The recurring ugliness of CBA renegotiation is nothing new, but a pervasive breakdown of trust and respect is a very current problem.

CAN EDUCATION POLICY ADDRESS THIS PROBLEM?

I think so. Surely everyone involved in the preparation of musicians who will participate in orchestras wishes for them personal and professional fulfillment and satisfaction. Surely a thorough technical and musical preparation conduces to that fulfillment. But it isn't nearly enough. Musicians will be an integral part of complex organizations, and need to understand the nature of those organizations. They are not cogs in a machine, however high-performing a cog might be. (In some recent work disputes, musicians were indeed described as being interchangeable [Detroit, Minnesota, Atlanta]!)[23] A policy alignment between schools of music and orchestras, to produce musicians who are more than technically excellent in playing excerpts, could effect real change.

At a panel held at the June 2014 Seattle conference of the League of American Orchestras, a room crowded to capacity with orchestra managers, musicians, educators, and board members grappled with the question of how and why we are preparing young musicians to participate in the orchestra/opera world.[24] One aspect of the topic was whether we really need these super-sized, complex organizations. The brilliant Claire Chase, among others, thought not.[25] Another part of the discussion concerned the increasingly multifarious nature of an individual musician's career. It's indisputable that extremely few among those who leave schools of music planning on a career with an orchestral instrument will secure the kind of position that guarantees a comfortable life. Almost all who enter the profession will teach, organize community groups or festivals, and moonlight in many ways in and out of music. And those are the lucky ones who will be able to describe their careers as largely musical.

Another related question, and the one most relevant to this chapter, is what musicians need to succeed within the large presenting organizations. Should they be able to speak from the stage? Should they be able to design and carry out a great middle school visit? Should they testify to the importance of their work at a city council or county commission meeting? Should they be capable voting members of their boards, fully integrated into committees like finance, governance, development, and marketing?

In Seattle, for a while, the mood was extremely negative toward our great schools of music. "They aren't preparing people for the real world!" Then a representative

of the conservatory world took the floor and observed that the process by which orchestras select their musicians hugely emphasizes the arcane audition experience itself. Everything depends on performance of a few standard excerpts, under intense pressure. The whole world of tasks and experiences that the musician might expect to have in a career is reduced to a crucible that excludes almost all of them, and the skills and preparation they might require. Thus it is no coincidence that, even if a music curriculum includes rich elements of liberal arts, theory, history, pedagogy, and entrepreneurship, the inevitable focus for the student is going to be those excerpts. Everything will depend on them.

The stark, bright line is between a view of what schools of music provide as training, or as education. We do not doubt (at least in most US states) that an undergraduate history major might succeed as an attorney, or an English major as a doctor, or a classics major as an investment banker. But we view the education of musicians as untransferable. Much experience shows that the tremendous discipline and dedication required of every undergraduate music major—the solitary achievements in the practice room, the social achievements in ensemble, the triumphs of imagination and self-possession unique to the stage, the profound growth of empathy in learning to teach, the connection to a living past entailed in musicology, the sweat and sometimes tears of music theory—all these seemingly routine aspects of a music curriculum offer a platform for success in multiple careers. The typical music major repays this system with a devotion and enthusiasm for the work that very few other college curricula could possibly expect.

In fact, our music curricula are diverse, and educational policy has long recognized the need for diversity. It just doesn't gain much purchase in too many cases where sheer practicality enforces a vector toward the audition only, followed by a lifetime of activities largely unimagined in the practice room.

Eastman was a pioneer with its arts leadership curriculum, now active over many generations of students and continuing to innovate.[26] New England Conservatory was a pioneer with a career skills curriculum and service center.[27] Juilliard's Academy project with Carnegie Hall gives a powerful message about the diverse preparation that the most elite musicians need for true careers.[28] The McDuffie Center for Strings at Mercer University has a groundbreaking commitment to preparation in business, law, psychology, and pedagogy.[29] The Frost School at the University of Miami similarly gives a powerful emphasis on creative and innovative skills for all kinds of musicians.[30] The New World Symphony is a hybrid of performance and education, not offering degrees, but its concentration on preparing elite musicians for a very diverse career path is noteworthy. These are only a handful of many examples of schools of music engaging with the real world in a thoughtful way. But they cannot succeed if the industry itself does not respond. Too often musicians leaving the preparatory phase of their careers have tremendous idealism, only to lose it quickly on entering organizations whose ethos is firmly in the past.

A corollary to our special American funding model, favoring private philanthropy over government intervention, is our model for setting curricular policy. At the postsecondary level, this is dominated by peer review, centered for music

on the National Association of Schools of Music. A thorough consideration of NASM's history in policy, and its structural motivations would be a whole additional chapter. But it's worth noting that the largest growth area in numbers of students has been in applied music. Through the middle of the 20th century there was also significant growth in the number of presenting organizations, whether orchestras or opera companies,[31] but the number of full-time jobs available has been stagnating even as the number of schools of music, and their graduates, continues to rise. Whereas in the presenting organizations, fiscal policy is set by trustees and management policy by administrators, in the schools, curricular policy is more of a peer process.

If musicians are going to be the face of a performing organization throughout the community, not just while playing Beethoven on a magnificent stage, they need to be prepared for that, and, most important, they need to be evaluated for that as part of the hiring process. There is also the growth of experimental forms of presentation—New World Symphony's Musaic project,[32] for instance, or Michael Tilson Thomas's "virtual symphony."

If we are to foster connectivity within organizations, mutual trust, respect for the crucial roles of all parties, then musicians should be fully integrated into boards. But this takes specialized knowledge that should be factored into hiring. Who are we training, and for what? As Friedman and Mandelbaum (2011) so aptly put it: What world are we living in, and what exactly do we need to do to thrive in this world?

NOTES

1. Pianist Valentina Lisitsa rose to prominence through subverting a traditional relationship with a recording label and instead posted performances on her YouTube channel, often responding to suggestions from her online audience. Conversely, pianist Krystian Zimmermann stormed off stage during a concert after noticing an audience member video-recording the performance, claiming that free content on YouTube is a deterrent for record companies to sign artists for recording projects. See Anna Russell, "The Justin Bieber of Classical Music," *Wall Street Journal*, March 7, 2013, http://on.wsj.com/1ziJkpw, and Jeevan Vasager; "Pianist Krystian Zimmerman Storms Out of Concert in Protest at Being Filmed on Phone," *Telegraph*, June 4, 2013, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/10098301/Pianist-Krystian-Zimerman-storms-out-of-concert-in-protest-at-being-filmed-on-phone.html.
2. New York City Opera filed for bankruptcy and disbanded in 2013 after continually falling short on fundraising goals. See "New York City Opera Files for Bankruptcy," *New York Times*, October 3, 2013, http://nyti.ms/1zLWrgi.
3. After nearly closing, the San Diego Opera reversed course, reducing its staff, cutting costs, and reducing productions per season. See "Amid Choruses of Despair, an Area of Hope," *New York Times*, August 31, 2015.
4. Florida Grand Opera was unable to sustain its own growth after it increased productions and moved to a new venue in 2006, and has consequently downsized to fewer productions, cut stuff, and sold assets to reduce losses. See Jordan Levin,

"Florida Grand Opera Hopes Its Own Drama Will Have a Happy Ending," *Miami Herald*, November 6, 2014.

5. The Syracuse Symphony Orchestra filed for bankruptcy in May 2011. See Michelle Breidenbach, "Syracuse Symphony Orchestra Files for Bankruptcy," *Post Standard*, December 14, 2012.
6. Emily Grannis, "Orchestras Fight Hard Times through Bankruptcy Seeking New Model," *Bloomberg*, August 20, 2012, http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2012-08-21/orchestras-fight-hard-times-through-bankruptcy-seeking-new-model.
7. Heather Gillers and Jason Grotto, "Chicago Symphony Orchestra Strike Reflects Deeper Financial Woes," *Chicago Tribune*, October 17, 2012, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-10-17/news/ct-met-cso-finances-20121007_1_cso-bass-player-chicago-symphony-orchestra-riccardo-muti.
8. Michael Cooper, "Metropolitan Opera's Deficit Swells to $22 Million," *New York Times*, November 20, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/21/arts/metropolitan-operas-deficit-swells-to-dollar22-million.html.
9. Claire Chase, in her Opening Session Keynote Speech for the League of American Orchestras National Conference in Seattle (June 4, 2014), stated: "As we view the demise of the subscription ticket model and what the news characterizes as symptoms of the 'death of classical music,' (!) we're even more fired up. We're imagining the kind of story we want to tell in our second decade, and we're creating OpenICE, a kind of 21st century improvisation on the public library that combines crowd sourced funding, education and performance, production and curation, and live and online events—all free and open to the public. Our aim is to reach a million people annually with contemporary music by 2020."
10. Mary Sue Morrow's sociological study of concert life in 18th-century Vienna shows that classical music was "simply a part of [the upper class's] social obligations, a part of the round of entertainment [they] made every evening," while "for the lower classes, from shopkeepers and artisans down to the unskilled laborers, life granted little but hard work . . . and as a result, they had no part in the city's cultural life." Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*, pp. 224, 232.
11. In the absence of New York City Opera, Gotham Chamber Opera exists as New York City's most prominent alternative to the Metropolitan Opera, with a small staff and cast, frequently appearing at atypical concert venues such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art with modern and ancient repertoire. Ensembles Time for Three and the International Contemporary Ensemble have found success in exploring collaborative projects across multiple genres.
12. Facing insufficient funding for a fully staged production of Wagner's Ring cycle Hartford Opera attempted to stage the cycle with a synthesizer orchestra, resulting in severe backlash and the forced resignation of the organization's music director.
13. One online news source compares American National Endowment of the Arts spending per year ($146.2 million) to government bailout payments to financial institutions since 2008 ($245 billion), and Norman Lebrecht (slippedisc.com) frequently laments the shortcomings of state and federal funding for the arts in the United States.
14. Norman Lebrecht wrote about the 58% cut to funding at Vienna's Musikverein: http://slippedisc.com/2015/03/just-in-vienna-hits-musikverein-with-58-funding-cut/.

15. President Barack Obama has repeatedly proposed a limit on charitable giving tax deductions with the aim of decreasing the federal deficit, which would potentially result in a multi-billion dollar drop in donations to arts organizations. See Husock, "Tax Reform and the Charitable Deduction."
16. See Jonker, Meehan, and Iseminger, "Fundrasing Is Fundamental (If Not Always Fun)." http://www.ssireview.org/articles/entry/fundraising_is_fundamental_if_not_always_fun.
17. Ronald J. Schiller, *Belief and Confidence: Donors Talk about Successful Philanthropic Partnerships* (Washington, DC: CASE Books, 2015).
18. In 2014, the Minnesota Orchestra's CBA resulted in reduction to musicians' base salaries, larger ensemble size, revenue sharing, and increased musician contribution to health insurance costs, whereas the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra's CBA resulted in a reduced orchestra size, a promised four-year pay increase for the musicians, and higher healthcare contributions by musicians.
19. See http://www.atlsymphonymusicians.com/2014-lockout for the ASO musicians'-grievances against the organization's management.
20. In a December 6, 2012, press release from the musicians of the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra, the Woodruff Arts Center president and CEO was quoted as saying "The protracted financial challenges at the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra are very serious and threaten the health of the entire Woodruff Arts Center. The ASO has had 12 years of accumulated deficits, a severe reduction in its endowment and an annual operating gap that we cannot afford to continue. Over the last eight months, our team has proposed many potential scenarios to the musicians in an attempt to find a solution to the problem. We continue to ask the musicians for constructive ideas to help us address these challenges and we are frustrated that they have turned a deaf ear to the situation. We are saddened that they are attempting to disparage the reputation of Doug Hertz, our chairman. He is widely recognized as one of the most successful and generous leaders in Atlanta and we feel extremely fortunate to have his ongoing support at The Woodruff Arts Center. Our fervent hope is that a federal mediator will bring calm to the protests, picketing and petitions and get us back to meaningful progress at the negotiating table." See http://www.atlsymphonymusicians.com/2014-lockout.
21. "As I have noted before, if management retains discretion as to whether or not to fill positions, then management is unilaterally determining how many full-time musicians are in the orchestra. Long-term, management can shrink the group to whatever size it wants. That's union busting; and if implemented, would be a death warrant for the ASO and a dangerous precedent for the industry. There is simply no way the Atlanta musicians—or any group of musicians, for that matter—can agree to such an arrangement." See Kevin Case, "The Single-Issue Lockout: Why Complement Is so Important." http://www.caseartslaw.com/news/post.php?s=2014-10-30-the-singleissue-lockout-why-complement-is-so-important.
22. In a letter to the ASO Board, the musicians of the ASO wrote, "And while management touts education and community engagement, they actually propose to cut community outreach by ASO musicians instead." http://www.atlsymphonymusicians.com/news/letter-to-the-aso-board-from-the-musicians-of-the-aso1.
23. The CEO of the Minnesota Orchestra, Michael Henson, was quoted as saying, "When we get up and running again . . . as other orchestras in this position have,

we will advertise for the jobs that we need to replace, and I'm sure we will get an astonishing bunch of individuals who will want to perform and live in this great city." Michael Cooper, "Minnesota Orchestra Calls in Big Gun in Dispute," *New York Times*, August 30, 2013. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/31/arts/music/minnesota-orchestra-calls-in-big-gun-in-dispute.html?_r=0.

24. The panel met in a session titled "A New Generation of Musicians: What Does It Mean for Orchestras?" and included League president and CEO Jesse Rosen, Claire Chase, Joshua Roman, Christopher Rountree, and myself.
25. "As we view the demise of the subscription ticket model and what the news characterizes as symptoms of the 'death of classical music,' (!) we're even more fired up. We're imagining the kind of story we want to tell in our second decade, and we're creating OpenICE, a kind of 21st century improvisation on the public library that combines crowd sourced funding, education and performance, production and curation, and live and online events—all free and open to the public. Our aim is to reach a million people annually with contemporary music by 2020. All along, it's been the ICE musicians—not managers, not market forces—that have been in the driver's seat of every one of these innovations. As we'd learned in our earliest experiments at Oberlin, if the most creative people are artists, why not engage them as the engines of the organization, the necessary agitators of change? Where did we ever get this idea that there are people on stage who do creative things, and people behind the scenes who enable them? Isn't it time we challenged that binary? At ICE, our bassoonist, Rebekah Heller, is running development, alongside our new saxophonist, Ryan Muncy; our percussionist, Ross Karre, is running production; our pianist, Jacob Greenberg, is running our education programs; our clarinetist, Joshua Rubin, co-directs artistic programming; and they do these hybrid jobs because they see them as deeply creative enterprises. Like music-making, these organizational projects come of a place of curiosity, generosity, and love." Claire Chase, "Opening Session Keynote Speech," presented at the League of American Orchestras National Conference, Seattle, WA, June 2014.
26. https://www.esm.rochester.edu/iml/alp/.
27. http://necmusic.edu/em.
28. http://www.carnegiehall.org/ACJW/.
29. http://departments.mercer.edu/mcduffie/.
30. http://www.miami.edu/frost/index.php/frost.
31. The National Endowment for the Arts reported a 31% rise in the number of nonprofit performing arts organizations from 1977 to 1982 and a 27% rise from 1982 to 1987, while the number of taxable organizations stayed stagnant from 1977 and 1982 and rose 8% from 1982 to 1987. *Census Reports Number of Performing Arts Organizations Up 11% from 1982 to 1987; Receipts/Revenues Top $6.68 Billion*, prepared by the National Endowment for the Arts (Washington, DC, September 1993).
32. Musaic is a collaborative online library of orchestral performance videos curated by the New World Symphony and a host of music education institutions. http://musaic.nws.edu/.

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14

Policy and Higher Education

PATRICK M. JONES ■

INTRODUCTION

The music education profession has been slow to develop a body of research in policy and the capacity to conduct policy research, engage with policymakers, and influence their decisions. This lack of development might be attributed to a variety of reasons, such as unawareness, disinterest, or even fear. It could also be explained historically, with the profession having first developed abilities in basic—or pure—research and never having embraced applied research, such as action and policy research. The dissertations published in the field focused on policy are an indicator of the low level of activity traditionally seen in this area.

A search of ProQuest Dissertations and Theses revealed that probably less than one half of 1% of all dissertations in music education in the United States have been policy studies. Searches of the 7,719 dissertations tagged with the subject heading Music Education from all dates in the ProQuest database using the keyword "policy" or with policy or policies in the title returned only 36 dissertations, which is 0.46% of all dissertations tagged music education divided as follows: 0.74% of music education dissertations published in the last 10 years, 0.77% published in the last five years and 0.77% of all music education dissertations published in the last two years. Thus, it is safe to say that less than 1% of doctoral dissertations completed in music education have been policy studies of one sort or another. This indicates two things. For one, there is not a great deal of doctoral-level policy research occurring in music education, and second, very few music education faculty members conducted policy research for their dissertations. While the dissertation is only one research project conducted by faculty members, it serves as a viable proxy for the level of research activity in this area.

It is unwise for the music education profession to continue to ignore researching and influencing policies that determine what is taught in schools, by whom, and how. After all, all of the research in areas such as musical skills development, determining musical preferences, effectiveness of various methods and materials, teacher identity, and so forth, will be for naught if music is legislated out of the curriculum, or is taught by classroom teachers with no musical expertise or, worse, if music instruction in schools is relegated to merely consisting of exposure to musical works via short-term visits by artists in residence.

I propose that the lack of development in policy research and engagement in music education is partially a cultural problem, that it is due—in part—to the culture of the tertiary music schools in which music educators are trained and in which music education faculty members and graduate students conduct research. In short, the culture of music schools is hostile to faculty members and graduate students asking the kinds of difficult questions that challenge accepted values and practices and, thus, antithetical to developing the type of thinking needed for policy research.

In this chapter I address regulatory expectations that music education majors learn to engage with policy and cultural challenges to the implementation of those requirements. Specifically, I review applicable accreditation and certification requirements specific to music teacher education in the United States and discuss cultural challenges to their implementation posed by the culture of classical music training. I then make recommendations to help the profession begin developing greater expertise in policy research.

ACCREDITATION, CERTIFICATION, AND CURRICULAR MANDATES

Teacher preparation programs in the United States are typically designed based on national accreditation standards, state certification requirements, and the beliefs and values of faculty members. There are two national accrediting organizations that influence the content of music education degree programs. One is the Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP), which accredits 946 teacher education programs across the country. The other is the National Association of Schools of Music (NASM), which accredits approximately 652 tertiary level music programs.

Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP). For an educator preparation program to be accredited by the Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation, it must demonstrate that "all completers understand expectations set out in codes of ethics, professional standards of practice, and relevant laws and policy" (CAEP, 2015, p. 45). For music education majors, it mandates adherence to the standards from the Interstate Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (InTASC) and the National Association of Schools of Music (NASM). This is stated in CAEP standards 1.1 (p. 2) and 1.3 (p. 3). Both sets of standards include requirements for teachers to be proficient with policy.

Table 14.1 InTASC Standards Related to Teacher Preparation for Engagement with Policy (CCSSO, 2011)

InTASC Standard 5(a). The teacher develops and implements projects that guide learners in analyzing the complexities of an issue or question using perspectives from varied disciplines and cross-disciplinary skills (e.g., a water quality study that draws upon biology and chemistry to look at factual information and social studies to examine policy implications)[a] (p. 14).
InTASC Standard 9(j). The teacher understands laws related to learners' rights and teacher responsibilities (e.g., for educational equity, appropriate education for learners with disabilities, confidentiality, privacy, appropriate treatment of learners, reporting in situations related to possible child abuse) (p. 18).
InTASC Standard 9(n). The teacher sees him/herself as a learner, continuously seeking opportunities to draw upon current education policy and research as sources of analysis and reflection to improve practice (p. 18).
InTASC Standard 9(o). The teacher understands the expectations of the profession including codes of ethics, professional standards of practice, and relevant law and policy (p. 18).
InTASC Standard 10(h). The teacher uses and generates meaningful research on education issues and policies (p. 19).

[a] Underlines in table added by author for clarity.

InTASC Standards. There are five InTASC standards that specifically state that teachers need to be prepared to engage in policy. They are listed in Table 14.1.

As outlined in Table 14.1, the InTASC standards require that all teachers be able to teach students about policy, understand policies related to learners' rights and teacher responsibilities, use policy for analysis and reflection to improve practice, understand policy expectations of the profession, and engage in policy research. This is a clear expectation for teachers to not only be knowledgeable of policies and be able to follow them but also to be able to engage in policy research and to teach their students to be able to do the same.

National Association of Schools of Music (NASM). Regarding the specific subject matter of music, CAEP (2015) defers to NASM (p. 3). The NASM Standards for the Baccalaureate Degree in Music Education mandating that music teachers be prepared to engage with policy are included in Table 14.2.

These NASM standards require music teachers to articulate and present rationales, goals, and objectives, which are the direct result of policies; work within education systems and promote scheduling patterns, both of which require understanding, researching, implementing, and promoting policies; and evaluate policies in the arts, humanities, and arts education.

This review of both the InTASC and NASM standards reveals that music educators are to be prepared to engage in policy in robust ways and not simply accept

Table 14.2 NASM Standard IX.O.3.a. Desirable Attributes (NASM, 2014, p. 116)

NASM Standard IX.O.3.a.(4). The ability to articulate logical rationales for music as a basic component of general education, and to present the goals and objectives of a music program effectively to parents, professional colleagues, and administrators.
NASM Standard IX.O.3.a.(5). The ability to work productively within specific education systems, promote scheduling patterns that optimize music instruction, maintain positive relationships with individuals of various social and ethnic groups, and be empathetic with students and colleagues of differing backgrounds.
NASM Standard IX.O.3.a.(6). The ability to evaluate ideas, methods, and policies in the arts, the humanities, and in arts education for their impact on the musical and cultural development of students.

[a] Underlines in table added by author for clarity.

policy as a unidirectional mandate (see Schmidt in this volume). With these very clear requirements for music teachers to learn to engage in policy research and implementation, one would expect music teacher education programs to prepare them to do so. That is not routinely the case. If it were, policy research would be much more present in music education and there would be many more published studies of music education policy research. One reason that these requirements are ignored is that they are antithetical to the culture of music schools.

CULTURAL CHALLENGES

Requirements articulated in standards are filtered through the interpretive lenses of faculty and administrators. Faculty members exercise control over degree program requirements and content that is often unchecked by higher authorities. This should be a good thing in that studying at one institution with one set of faculty members should provide a different experience from that at another institution. The odd reality, however, is that music degree programs among institutions are remarkably similar not only because the same requirements are mandated across institutions but also because faculty members across institutions have the same educational backgrounds, beliefs, and values about music and what an education in music should entail. All too often, a music department groupthink—based on the culture of the classical music conservatory—overrides accreditation standards and supersedes institutional prerogatives when it comes to the music unit's curriculum. For a clear and blatant example of an institution simply ignoring accreditation standards, see Wang and Humphreys (2009). This is the result of values that are entrenched in the classical music culture of music schools. The power of this culture should not be underestimated.

Classical Music Training Culture. The overwhelming majority of music teachers are trained in the Western art music tradition in tertiary music units that, regardless of designation as department, school, college, or conservatory, mostly

share a common classical music training culture. This training stems from the European conservatory tradition of a master-apprentice trade school approach. It inculcates particular values, norms of behavior, and ways of thinking and engaging with authority. Unfortunately, while there has been a great deal of research about music teachers' role identity as performers versus teachers (Pellegrino, 2009), and there is also research regarding what is known as teacher disposition (Abrahams, 2011), missing from the literature is discussion of the effects of music school training on the intellectual development of music education majors. There are, however, studies of music schools that uncovered cultural and intellectual influences on music majors. They provide insight into challenges to the development of policy thinking and policy engagement by music education majors and faculty members.

Studies by Kingsbury (1984, 1988), Nettl (1995), and Roberts (1991) reveal that attending a university music school may be more akin to indoctrination than an education in the kind of critical thinking and liberal education normally associated with a university education. Taken together, their research exposes music schools as quasi-religious institutions that are performance-centric and emphasize replication of traditional practices via standard interpretations of approved texts instead of the development of critical thought through original scholarship. Further, they promote emulation of faculty via master/apprentice relationships, stigmatizing of music education majors as second class, and fostering uncritical thought processes.

Quasi-Religious Institutions. Nettl (1995) wrote that music is seen in university music schools as "a supernatural force to be worshipped and also as a system whose deities reign and require obedience" (p. 40). He described the university school of music as a quasi-religious organization, ruled by a pantheon of godlike Great Masters (e.g. Bach, Beethoven, Mozart) who handed down scriptures and rules of behavior and are "served by a priesthood of performers and musicologists; who are celebrated in and surrounded by rituals such as concerts, rehearsal, lesson, and practice session; and who are commemorated by controversies regarding the authenticity of manuscripts, letters, and portraits" (p. 15).

Performance-Centric. Roberts' (1991) study revealed that the centrality of performance over academics is instilled in music majors because "the majority of status rewards in the music school are valued as, and reserved for, events that students identify as musician activities rather than academic activities" (p. 111). He found that status is attained in a number of ways related to performance, such as the applied instrument one plays, the applied teacher with whom one studies, and ensemble and chair placement (p. 94) and that "identification with performance as the major [criterion] of worth and status reward emerges as the single most likely important underpinning of the music school" (p. 97).

Performance in music schools is not, however, judged objectively. Unlike scholarship in which one utilizes citations and employs accepted methodologies to make arguments or conduct research that might result in expansion or refutation of traditional understandings, performance in music schools is evaluated in a social system where meaning, and thus "truth," is based on the tastes of the

faculty. Kingsbury (1988) found that "musical performance, musical meaning, and musical structure are linked in a nexus in which each aspect is both product and producer of the others" (p. 110), that "musical meaning is a social meaning," and "social relations are integral to the meaning of musical performance" (p. 110). However, it is not an egalitarian social situation. The faculty hold the power in what he described as a patron-client system of social organization (p. 37).

Master/Apprentice Patronage System. According to Nettl (1995), music schools consist of a hierarchy modeled on labor with administration as executives, faculty as labor, and students as both customer and product. To Kingsbury (1984), however, such a perceived division of power is only on the surface. He found that the real power rests with studio teachers. He found that the music school consists of a "relatively decentralized system of patron-client relationships which obtain in the 'studio'" (p. 121) that "recapitulates the structural principles of political patronage" (1988, p. 45). And in this system in which performance faculty hold power, Roberts (1991) found that they were the "chief agents in the denigration of music education as a worthy enterprise" (p. 99).

Music Education Stigma. Roberts (1991) identified that music education majors are stigmatized by virtue of their major. The music education majors he studied identified themselves as being "put down, frowned upon, feeling lower, and other sorts of denegrative explicatives" (p. 94). He found that music education majors are both self-validated and externally validated as performing musicians, not as music education majors, and that they learn to embody the values of performing musicians and intellectually, physically, and socially cordon themselves off from the rest of the university.

The end result is that the experience of music education majors is as an apprentice to a single studio teacher and a minion of at least one, if not several, conductors in a quasi-religious induction into the classical music tradition. They segregate themselves from the rest of the university, with its liberal and critical thinking, and instead adopt performance values and come to see their own major of music education as denigrated and less worthy than musical performance. They are indoctrinated into a cult of personality around performance teachers who then denigrate them for being music education majors. They learn to think like performers in the cult of classical music, not like scholars in a university academic unit.

Intellectual Dispositions Developed in Music School. Nettl (1995) wrote that the university music school "aims specifically to teach a set of values" (p. 144) and contrasted the music school with the rest of the university writing that "despite the rational analytical and frequently positivistic approach of scholarship, music is seen in [music schools] as inexplicable, and the master musician is a strange person, a foreigner, or a supernatural figure in a special relationship with God or in league with the devil" (p. 41). Colwell (1971) described music schools as trade schools focused on the "development of specific skills rather than broad general knowledge" (p. 41). Roberts (1991) supported both of their findings, having found that academic courses in music, such as music history and music theory, were reported by students to interfere "with the ability to concentrate on

more important performing activities" (p. 124). He found that the acquisition of knowledge about music was valued for trade purposes, so that one could perform in the right style or with an appropriate sound (p. 130). Thus, even classes within music that might require the use of analytical and critical skills were devalued by students as opposed to repetitive skills-based performance study. Academic knowledge about music was reported as being useful only to the extent it could help one perform the "right" way. Thus, students appear to have understood academic studies in music as being a support system for proper performance, not for purposes of critiquing or challenging the discipline and practice of music.

This type of intellectual disposition is at odds with the thinking needed in policy analysis, which Geva-May (2005) described as "a creative iterative process in which hypotheses are challenged as inference cues are identified. The process is based on continuous data gathering as triggered by new cues, and re-formulation as information is acquired; the policy analyst continuously weighs costs, risks, and benefits" (p. 19). While the type of thinking Geva-May describes for policy research may be at odds with classical music training, it is precisely what music education researchers embrace. As outlined by Majchrzak and Markus (2013), the research process for policy is the same as any research project in music education and includes framing questions, synthesizing existing evidence, and gathering new evidence. Therefore, music education faculty members can create a counterculture within the music school that is aligned with the larger university and ensure that music education majors are inducted into ways of thinking that are required for music education research in general and policy research in particular.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The long-term solution to the dearth of policy expertise in music education is to develop a new generation of music education professors who were schooled in policy research. Considering that so few current music education faculty members have expertise in policy research, graduate students will need to be encouraged to pursue policy studies outside of the music unit. Research in policy studies is typically learned at the master's degree level, such as in programs leading to the award of the Master of Public Administration (MPA) degree. Unfortunately, there are sometimes regulatory barriers and disincentives for music teachers to pursue these degrees.

Each US state and territory determines the requirements for certification or licensure of teachers for its schools. For purposes of this chapter, the requirements from New York State are used as a proxy for all states. In New York, there are two levels of certification for classroom teachers: Initial Certification and Professional Certification. Initial Certification is received when newly prepared teachers begin working in schools. The Professional Certificate is required in order to teach music permanently. One of the criteria for receiving a Professional Certificate is to have a master's degree in music education or a related area of music. Thus, in order to

obtain a Professional Certificate to teach music permanently in New York State, one must acquire one of the following: a master's degree leading to certification to teach music, a master's degree in music education, a master's degree in music, or a master's degree in another area plus 12 semester hours of graduate study in music education and/or music. One may not strictly pursue a non-music degree such as a Master of Public Administration or any other type of degree focused on public policy studies. This regulation stymies the profession's growth in policy while non-musicians develop expertise in policy studies and proceed to influence decision makers regarding music education. Ultimately, the profession should work to overturn this regulation, and those similar to it in other states and countries, in order to allow music educators to pursue graduate degrees in policy research.

In the meantime, since music education graduate students cannot earn policy degrees toward Professional Certification, those pursuing music education master's degrees should take policy research courses outside of the music unit. This is allowable by NASM, which requires that "at least one-half of the curriculum should be required in music education research and the associated research areas" for research-oriented master's degrees in music education (NASM, 2014, p. 132). In universities with policy studies on campus, graduate students could be allowed, and even encouraged, to take such coursework to fulfill requirements in "associated research areas" (NASM, 2014, p. 132)." Unfortunately, the curricula of music education programs often make this difficult. Syracuse University serves as a perfect example.

Syracuse University. Syracuse University's Maxell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs is ranked by *US News and World Report* as the #1 graduate public policy school in the United States (*US News & World Report*, 2015b) and its School of Education was ranked the #50 graduate school of education by the same publication (*US News & World Report*, 2015a). Each school offers two courses in education policy. This means that a graduate student in music education at Syracuse University could theoretically take four education policy courses. This would account for 12 credits of her master's degree. If she were then to conduct a policy research study as her thesis, she would graduate with strong policy research background and skills. However, the curricular requirements of the music education master's degree programs at Syracuse do not allow for a student to take 12 free elective credits outside of music. The most one can take are 6 credits, and only if he or she pursues the Master of Science in Music Education instead of the Master of Music in Music Education. This is a missed opportunity for our profession that can be redressed by the university's music education faculty themselves.

Curriculum Changes. A change in curriculum is needed so that students can study policy research outside of the music and education unit. I recommend that all music education programs make such a curriculum change and encourage graduate students to pursue policy research. Such a move, implemented across the country now, would greatly increase our profession's abilities in policy in the near term and should result in future doctoral students in music education choosing to conduct policy studies. Some of those doctoral students would eventually become

music education faculty members. This could result in the music education profession being much more sophisticated regarding policy within a generation.

Such a change would not, however, meet the mandate for all music teachers to be able to engage in policy, nor would it affect all graduate students. Therefore, current music education faculty members must educate all of their students to engage in policy. They can include policy issues within existing music education courses by infusing policy into both undergraduate and graduate programs in music education such as Barrett (2006) outlined. There are several ways to do this. For example, routine undergraduate topics such as special needs adaptations and hours of instruction could include studying the policies that created mandates in these areas. Music education majors could be assigned readings of policy research articles and both undergraduate and graduate students could also take coursework in policy outside of the music unit. Introductory research courses for graduate students could include policy research in addition to the standard historical, philosophical, quantitative, and qualitative research paradigm overviews, and/or policy studies could be used as examples within those paradigms. In addition, a course on policy research in music education could be added to the topics courses offered to graduate students, and students could be encouraged to study policy topics for their master's theses and doctoral dissertations. In order to prepare themselves to include policy in their courses, music education professors can read policy journals such as *Arts Education Policy Review*, conduct policy research studies either on their own or with colleagues who are policy researchers, take a course in policy research across campus, and participate in policy research groups such as those of the International Society for Music Education and the Society for Music Teacher Education.

CLOSING

The music education profession is not powerless to improve the current situation. To become adept at policy, we simply need to encourage policy research and we need to graduate students who are more skilled in policy research than their predecessors. This is not a new idea. Sam Hope (2004) wrote more than a decade ago that the profession needed a small group of people with expertise in policy research to develop the policy capability of music education (p. 112). I added in 2008 (Jones, 2008) that we needed the entire profession to understand, value, and support policy research and engagement so policy researchers could collect the data necessary and that the results of their research would be acted upon by the profession (p. 78); I outlined such a music education policy ecology in 2009 (Jones, 2009) and strongly urged that the small body of scholars engaged in policy research start improving our profession's policy capacity and literature by developing and implementing a policy research agenda for music education. In the end, the music education faculty must take responsibility for developing the profession's capability to engage with policy.

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15

K–16 Music Education in a Democratic Society

ROBERT A. CUTIETTA ■

INTRODUCTION

I have been a judge for the GRAMMY© Foundation's "Signature Schools" competition for the past 15 or so years. This program identifies and rewards the most outstanding high school music programs in the United States. As one of the "Blue Ribbon" judges, I am part of a small group that evaluates only the school music programs that have been deemed "finalists" after going through preliminary judging that eliminates all but the top 25 schools. From this elite group we choose the final seven "Signature Schools" (the competition was originally funded by the makers of *Seven-Up*, thus the number seven) and from that group one "Gold Medal" school.

A few years back we had an interesting dilemma. There was one school (they are always kept anonymous to us) that was deemed by every judge to be the most outstanding school. The school's orchestra and chorus were amazing but they went so much further. There were robust (and excellent) supplemental programs in chamber music, class piano, musical theater, classical and folk guitar, music theory, song writing, and digital composition classes. Beautifully coordinated feeder programs for this high school started in kindergarten at multiple elementary schools and continued through two middle schools. What was also intriguing was that this school was not an arts magnet school but a public high school. Clearly this was the type of comprehensive, well-supported and well-executed program that the competition was meant to acknowledge. There was one problem, however. There was no wind ensemble or wind band of any kind to be found in the high school.

During our deliberations one of the judges asked if we were comfortable choosing a school music program as the most exemplar in the country that did not have a wind band. Would the majority of the profession see us as "out of touch" with what was happening in school music programs? Would we be seen as sending a message or a "snub" to the majority of American high school music programs? More important, would we alienate or insult the strongest force in music education, the high school band directors? We debated this seriously before deciding to award this deserving school the highest prize. But this award was granted against the wishes of at least one judge who just could not support the notion of rewarding a school without a wind band.

Porter, Floden, Freeman, Schmidt, and Schwille (1988) describe effective educational policy as having four characteristics: prescriptiveness, consistency, power, and authority. Under this definition it is clear that the music education profession that encompasses public education in grades K–12 and collegiate education in "grades" 13–16 has one of the most explicit, robust, and widely accepted policy practices in, arguably, all of education. Assuming you are a music educator, the fact that you even *understood* the story of the judges above speaks to how well accepted our policies are. The fact that you accepted the word "supplemental" in the second paragraph, let alone not think it was outrageously out of place, speaks to how well ingrained this belief system is in all of us who "went through the system."

Before jumping to the conclusion that I think our well-established policy is wrong, I want to acknowledge that there is a very positive side to this situation in that having such a strong and widely held policy to steer our profession has kept us from the distraction of following every educational fad that has come down the pike. This is what good policy *should* do. We have not been tempted to embrace, only to discard, fads such as collaborative learning, values education, back-to-basics, or even the core standards. Disciplines without a shared and accepted policy—like math, for example—have bounced to new trends every decade from "New Math" to "Discourse" ensuring that few students in a K–12 environment have the consistency of instructional goals throughout their schooling. Instead, music education has been able to forge ahead in what we feel is important without much regard or thought to what is happening around us in the school environment, society, or even our profession and art form. *What happens in the music room stays in the music room.*

While this strong sense of purpose coupled with corresponding practice and educational support systems has served us well for the past 50 or so years, there are signs that this success might be waning. Reduced numbers of school programs and falling numbers of students within the remaining programs may be the direct result of a policy that is so strong and so well-established that it cannot adjust, much less adapt, to fundamental changes around us. Friedman and Mandelbaum (2011) suggest that when creating good policy there are two questions that must be asked regularly: "What world are we living in, and what exactly do we need to do to thrive in this world?" (p. 9). While their comments were directed at creating public policy, they are also applicable to educational policy in a democratic

society where the goal of schooling, of which music is a part, is to prepare future adults to contribute meaningfully to society while having a fulfilling life or what our founding fathers called "the pursuit of happiness."

What is perhaps most concerning to our profession is that we have given very little thought to how the very structures we have created, the structures we accept as "givens," while meant to protect our policy have also made it almost impossible to entertain any thoughts of change or even adaptation. I believe this is intentional because policy creates power and privilege. Those who have the power in our profession will do all to protect it either consciously or unconsciously.

So what are these structures that reflect, protect, and support our policies? There are many. Some are so ingrained in practice that we don't even think of them as policy but more as "fact." I want to start at the collegiate level. It is here that we all learn the values and policies of music instruction. It is here where we all learn "how it is supposed to be done."

STRUCTURES THAT REFLECT POLICY IN COLLEGIATE-LEVEL MUSIC INSTRUCTION

We don't have to dig very deeply into the collegiate landscape of music to see strong indicators of our basic policy statements. With the exception of some liberal arts departments offering the bachelor of arts degree, one would be hard put to find a school that did not have the basic core faculty made up of private teachers who are assigned to teaching individual instruments. Most often we would find full-time, tenure-track faculty in the classical voice, piano, brass, single reed woodwind, and percussion instruments. In some schools this would be expanded to full time violin and cello teachers. Part-time or split assignment faculty would be in the double reeds, tuba, viola, and double bass. Beyond that, a school may or may not have faculty in classical guitar or harp. Next we would get to the completely expendable studios of electric guitar or bass, synth keyboard, pipe organ, drum set, and a wide host of digital and non-Western instruments.

There are valid reasons for this structure. First, with the exception of piano, this format mirrors the proportions of students who are leaving high school music programs and entering college. Second, this structure supports first the wind ensemble and second the orchestra and chorus, each that has fairly established "personnel" needs.

As sound as this structure is, it does make the assumption that the only way to organize a collegiate music department is around three large traditional ensembles, and maybe a fourth, which would be the jazz big band. In fact, there are any number of other, equally educationally sound, or even more educationally sound, ways to organize a school or department. If we stick completely within the classical realm, one can envision providing excellent music instruction to a school that is completely organized around piano trios, for example. This would require only piano, violin, and cello teachers. Another, less restrictive, approach could be a school based only on chamber music, or another based only on solo literature in

a few select instruments. What about a school that offered only piano and classical guitar? If the true mission of a collegiate program is to educate musicians, I would argue that any of these approaches would produce more independent and stronger musicians than what is currently on the higher education landscape. And this is assuming we are only considering the options in classical music. If we expand our definition of music, the possibilities become seemingly endless.

Unfortunately, even if one were to agree with the premise that there are countless ways a collegiate music program *could* be structured, the fact that we didn't embrace this policy in the mid-20th century makes it almost impossible to change today. For example, if a school has a tenured orchestra director then the administration is obligated to provide the ensemble for that faculty member to conduct. Thus, 38 violins are needed, followed by the proportional needs for each instrument throughout the entire ensemble. If the clarinet teacher retires, the administrator has no options but to replace him or her to fill the needs of the ensemble. The only way this could change would be for a major decision to be made to eliminate ensembles and revoke the tenure of most of the faculty or add many new faculty positions to a program. This can't happen easily for many reasons. Thus, the structure is exceedingly resistant to change; even our instructional buildings have been constructed to support this structure.

The current structure also changes the balance of power within the music department. Once the program decides it will be built around the ensembles, it hangs its reputation on those ensembles. All of this leads to the only logical outcome; the ensemble directors become the most influential and powerful faculty. They are also the faculty members least likely to want, or see the need for, change.

As negative as this may sound, for some programs this structure might be the perfect reflection of their artistic and educational goals. This structure is not, in itself, a problem. The true problem is much larger.

Where the true problem arises is that just about all schools in higher education have adopted this model. It is hard to imagine that this is truly the one and only way to educate musicians in college or that this is the only style of music that is appropriate to study. There must be some further reason; some policy gravitational pull that causes all college music programs to imitate each other.

And there is. In the early decades of the 20th century there were a few established college programs in music that were defining what music education at the collegiate level should look like. For all the best reasons, these schools became concerned because there seemed to be no consistency in what was called a "music degree." With most established schools still within the first few decades of their founding and new schools and departments popping up almost daily, there was a strong need to establish some minimal standards and also provide a way to share what today we would call "best practices."

Over the years this group of administrators from collegiate music programs became more formalized. They decided to create an organization that would determine the only way for a music school to become, and remain, a member—and this would be to meet a series of internally agreed-upon standards. This was the beginning of the National Association of Schools of Music or NASM.

Members internally voted to approve each so-called "Standard." Thus, by design the Standards were structured to reward what member schools were already doing and make it difficult for other schools to get in if they were doing something out of the ordinary. To become a member, a program would have to meet the curricular format and standards that reflected what the member schools were already doing. The result was a very powerful and structured approach to get schools that "aspired" to be part of the NASM to structure themselves like the established schools. By design, NASM was structured to reward compliance with the norm.

And it worked. Today there are hundreds of schools and departments that are a part of NASM. To gain membership each must "look" like all the other schools in NASM. This has not been a problem until recently when many of the very schools that originally founded NASM realized the music profession had changed and wanted to adapt to this change. Unfortunately, now hundreds of schools, large and small, that worked hard to become members have equal votes with all other schools and, naturally, they strive to keep things constant. When discussing policy change, Schneider and Ingram point out that those benefiting from a policy are the least likely to support, or even recognize the need for, change (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). That is an excellent example of such a group. After all, they worked hard to meet the standards. Why would anyone vote to change them?

It is unlikely that the founders of NASM ever foresaw this problem. However, today it is one of the prime reasons that all collegiate music education looks so homogeneous and is so resistant to change. In an interview for the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, David A. Bergeron, a former acting assistant secretary for postsecondary education and currently the vice president for postsecondary education at the Center for American Progress said, "The current accreditation system is more concerned with preserving the status quo," and goes on to lament, "The system is not driving change the way we would like it or at the pace we would like it" (Kelderman, 2015, p. A12). Later in the same article, Andrew Kelly, Resident Scholar on education policy at the American Enterprise Institute, is cited as agreeing that "the biggest problem with accreditation is that it inhibits innovation, from both institutions and accreditors."

NASM leaders realized the problem in the 1990s and tried to encourage diversity of programs, but the die was set. Today, the very schools that were instrumental in forming NASM for the collective good of the profession (Yale, Juilliard, University of Southern California, New England Conservatory, University of Washington, Oberlin, and others) are abandoning NASM for the same reason. But it will be hard to undo decades of conformity.

There is at least one more major policy that has worked in parallel with the large ensemble structure and NASM to inhibit change. That is the policy of colleges and universities preferring to hire faculty from established and well-respected college programs, and conversely, colleges and universities judging their graduate programs, in large part, on which institutions hire their graduates. Thus, we have a perfect storm of inbreeding. New faculty members bring new ideas from their own institutions but they are only new within the accepted structure of higher education.

The result of these policies is that the while the music profession outside of academia moves quickly and excitedly onward, the music profession within academia moves slowly, albeit equally excitedly, inward.

STRUCTURES THAT REFLECT POLICY IN K–12 SCHOOL MUSIC INSTRUCTION

School music programs in kindergarten through grade 12, especially programs in grades 8–12 mirror the collegiate programs described above. In many circles this is pointed to as evidence that there is truly only one proper way to educate students in music and we have that system in place. However, there are logical reasons for this homogeneity that have nothing to do with quality of either instruction or musical style. Instead, it reflects policy.

First, virtually all music teachers in the K–12 classrooms have graduated from a collegiate program that is almost certainly structured according the accepted norms described earlier for the reasons given above. Therefore, K–12 music teachers have been indoctrinated into the policies and values of the profession by the colleges.

However, there is another interesting phenomenon at play. Because of the limited structure of collegiate programs, they are equipped to accept only students who have completed a normal high school music program. The students who have learned music outside of the accepted system, be they a classical guitarist, accordion player, pop-style vocalist, or digital artist, cannot be accommodated in most high school or collegiate programs regardless of how intellectual or musically talented they are. Thus, we have a perfect example of a closed feedback loop. Colleges and universities are only able to accept students who fit a specific musical profile. Only students in high school programs fit this accepted musical profile. Thus, high school students from the high school music programs are accepted, become teachers, and return to the high schools to continue the cycle. Not surprisingly, more than 93% of teachers who teach high school band majored in a band instrument in college (Meyers, 2011). Students who do not fit the profile have no way to enter the system at any point and are, by implicit policy, excluded from receiving a musical education. Thus, by design, only the musicians who endorse the system can enter it.

Further, this is a small and elite group from which to choose. Elpus and Abril (2011) found that 21% of seniors nationwide were enrolled in music ensembles in 2004, down from 31% in 1982 (Stewart, 1991). Thus, by policy, almost 80% of high school seniors are practically excluded from advanced music study at the collegiate level and excluded from entering the system. This narrowing of the applicant pool is of concern for two reasons. First, it all but excludes students who have a "non-mainstream" musical background. Second, and of perhaps more concern, Elpus and Abril concluded that high school "music students are not a representative subset of the population of U.S. high school students" (p. 142). They found "certain groups of students, including those who are male, English language learners, Hispanic, children of parents holding a high school diploma

or less, and in the lowest SES quartile, were significantly under-represented in music programs across the United States. In contrast, White students were significantly over-represented among music students, as were 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 3.01–4.0" (p. 143).

Thus we have created a framework that allows our profession to function within a very limited and well-defined subset of the total population. We have chosen wisely. This subset (children of white, college-educated parents) is supported by parents who are probably the most vocal, most influential, and most powerful within a school setting. The insular nature of our profession has allowed us to largely ignore larger educational trends impacting society and education. Supporting this premise, Abril and Bannerman (2015) found that music teachers tended to concentrate on issues at their local school level and that "macro-level issues (state and national) were not viewed as impacting [music] programs in substantive ways" (p. 34). They found that the music teachers' actions, understandably, were primarily focused at the local level.

As well they should be. We have convinced the public that the role of our school music programs is to support the activities of the other teachers in the school. Our student musicians perform at football games to allow the athletes much needed time to rest and strategize for the second half of the game while allowing the fans in the stands time to buy refreshments (often from the "Band Parents"). We tell parents that by singing in choir their children will do better in math class. We ask for support for our music programs then interpret "support" as buying candy bars to raise money to travel to perform in far away parades and festivals to enhance the prestige of the school. Indeed, we reward music teachers who support the activities of the other teachers and their school instead of rewarding music teachers who reach new populations of students in new and vibrant ways.

But it is not just the school systems that have internal rewards with unintended results. As a profession, we reward our music teachers with ratings at Solo and Ensemble Contests, organized at the regional and state levels, that by design are only open to musicians of certain types. The positives of this infrastructure are that many schools produce truly world-class musicians and ensembles. The down side, of course, is that it rewards selectivity and normative programs in limited styles and instrumental and vocal make-up.

In the K–12 realm we have created such a strong, vibrant, and extensive infrastructure to protect our format that few teachers have the time, energy, or inclination to change. It would be hard to even imagine where one would start.

Yes, even the reward system for teachers is set up to ensure that our programs will continue as is. We have successfully created an excellent, vibrant, self-sustaining closed system that has no ability or motivation to adapt to outside forces. Our policy of exclusion of anyone who thinks differently has completely protected our profession from change.

This policy would be acceptable, even admirable, if not for the fact that while we work to defend and justify the system, every year there are fewer and fewer

programs reaching fewer and fewer children. This is not a trajectory that screams "success!" for the future.

CAN WE EVER THRIVE AGAIN?

The goals of education in a democratic society include educating as much of the citizenry as possible. Indeed, mandatory public education was inspired by the belief that a democracy works best when as wide a swath of the public as possible is informed, engaged, and has the requisite basic knowledge to make informed decisions. By extension, music education in the public realm should exist to create a musically informed and educated populace. We yearn for music to be considered a core subject but have adopted policies and created an infrastructure that ensures we will reach only a small percentage of the American population, a percentage that has dropped over time and will continue to drop in response to the sheer realities of America's changing demographics. We are not on a sustainable path.

I will yield to a fairly long quote of Rick Dammers who eloquently framed the issue in a 2011 blog post (Dammers, 2011) after digesting some of the same studies I have already cited.

> While I do not view education as a corporate enterprise, to some extent it can be helpful to view [the current state of music education] through an economic analogy. Any corporate board would view a 32 percent drop in market share as a huge threat. President Obama said in his 2011 [State of the Union Address] "In America, innovation doesn't just change our lives. It is how we make a living." This is especially true for music education, where it is essential that we innovate so that we begin to earn back our market share. Often music educators are heard to lament the fact that music in their school is not considered to be a core subject, which raises the question: how can we be viewed as a core subject when our reach is so limited?
>
> Extending our reach is essential to our broader mission of raising the level of musical citizenship in our country. In order to do so, we must not only teach the students currently in our classes, but we must figure out how to reach the students who walk past our doors. To continue the market analogy, this is not a matter of improved retention in our existing programs (although that is a worthy goal); it is a matter of diversifying our product lines. Past decades have consistently shown that a certain percentage of students want to (or are able to) perform. Instead of trying to reach the other students with the same offerings (which hasn't worked in the last forty years), we now need to add new and different classes to reach the other students. In other words, if we were Coca-Cola, we would need to look beyond trying to get everyone to drink cola. We would need to offer other types of drinks as well. This diversification strengthens the whole company without hurting the original brands. For example, when Coca-Cola sells Dasani bottled water, it doesn't

reduce the number of people drinking Coke, but the company benefits from making a sale to people who wanted water instead of soda.

Similarly, new secondary music offerings won't reduce our performance ensembles; instead, they strengthen our music departments by reaching new students (and there are plenty!). Expanding our market share strengthens our overall venture. The corollary of "If music is important, it is important for everyone" is "The more students that study music, the more important music is in that school." It is intuitive to state that a music department which reaches 60 percent of a school will be a more central component of a school than one that reaches only 20 percent. By expanding our offerings and reaching more students, music educators can have a greater impact in shaping the musical culture of our country, which should be one of our core objectives.

Bledsoe (2015) interviewed adult musicians who did not participate in their schools' music program when they were younger. His conclusion is that we need to ask two probing questions: "Why was there no place for them in school music programs?" and "Is there a place for them now?"

I have laid out what I feel is the answer to the first question. Our historical policies in music education were, and are, designed to be exclusive not inclusive, while being self-supporting of one particular mode of education. There is no doubt whatsoever that this policy has built high-quality programs and superbly educated students. However, we have embraced and sustained this policy at the expense of including many, many students who probably deserved a formal musical education.

The second question is harder to answer. There are places where some change is happening but it is hard to envision that any substantive change will happen incrementally; the infrastructure is just too strong and formal to allow this. Instead, it is more likely that one of the following scenarios will take place.

The first scenario is that there is a sudden resurgence and interest in music as it is currently taught, especially among non-white, working-class families. In this scenario, current trends turn around and we see substantial increases in the number of students being educated through our ensembles. Many believe this is possible but there is little evidence of it happening.

The second scenario is that the current trends continue and music programs reach the point where they are teaching a percentage of students that is in the teens or single digits. We are shockingly close to that now, and demographic trends would seem to predict a continuation of this trend. In this scenario the remaining programs can continue in select schools because of the policy of local control but become an insignificant part of the American educational system. This would be the end of the great American experiment to musically educate the entire American populace and lead to the conclusion it was a failure (Cutietta, 2012).

The third scenario is that some disruptive force comes in to alter how music is taught. We have seen this in the recording industry and in the performance industry. However, education is usually more conservative than industry as it involves

our children and we tend to not want to take risks with them or especially with their education. Still, if some schools start adopting new ways of teaching music that are more inclusive, more in alignment with the state and national educational conversations, and excite and galvanize parents, a change could happen quickly.

It is hard to deny that most school-age children love and value music. Formal evidence such as recording sales and YouTube views strongly supports their love of music and the import they place on it. Informal evidence such as the number of students with music related T-shirts and other accessories support this as well. The problem, of course, is that they don't necessarily love and support the music we do.

Still, it seems that the ingredients are in place for some sort of transformational change. If music instruction in the high school could figure out how to capture and relate to the inherent student interest in our subject matter, the problem would be keeping students away. Based on this, of the three scenarios, the third seems most likely. The question then becomes who controls the change. Who will ask, "What world are we living in, and what exactly do we need to do to thrive in this world?" and then act on the answer.

WHERE DOES CHANGE BEGIN?

If change does occur, and there are many voices calling for change, it can really come from only one of two sources; forces within the music education profession or forces outside the music education profession.[1]

If the change happens from an outside force, it will probably happen relatively quickly and will be very disruptive to the current system. There are organizations with alternative programs that are making major inroads into public schools in some of our largest cities. Once these programs are brought into a school, whether they are based on popular music ensembles, technology, media, world musics, or any other of a wide host of possible music venues, they quickly seem to overwhelm and obscure the traditional music programs.

The problem with this outside disruption is that it is fragmented and usually looks to "overthrow" the traditional programs with almost revolutionary fervor. So far, no such program has had the resources or a sustainable "business model" to truly establish itself for the long term. The support structures for such newcomers look ridiculously small next to the internal pillars of support we have created for our traditional programs. Disruption like this is probably contrary to the goal of sequential learning for the students and would be less desirable than a controlled and sustained change.

If the music education profession institutes change from within it will be less disruptive. New programs can be built along with traditional music programs and avoid "throwing the baby out with the bath water." But it is hard to see where this change will begin within the profession.

It is unrealistic to expect music teachers in the schools to be the main catalyst for any change. They are busy. They entered the existing system because they

believe in it, have invested heavily (through time and money) in preparing themselves to succeed in it, are consequently rewarded for succeeding in it—and they are trained for the system as it exists. No, we cannot expect the teachers to be the main source of change.

If change is to happen from within the profession it must happen at the collegiate level. I have sat in countless meetings where change was discussed and the conclusion was always that collegiate programs can't change until the high schools change. The faculty and administrators point out that colleges need the pipeline of trained students the high schools provide. Further, the college music education programs have an obligation to train students for careers, and that means training for the jobs that exist. At least once in every meeting someone concludes, "I guess it is like the question of the chicken and the egg."

I hope that is true because it confirms that change has to start at the collegiate level. The chicken and egg analogy is relevant only at the time of creation. Quite simply, after the cycle has started, the chicken lays the egg. It is the chicken that perpetuates the cycle.

The cycle created by the modern music profession in colleges and schools has existed for more than a century. It is well past the stage of "creation." The chickens, that is, the colleges, are responsible for making the first move toward change.

But even that is too simplistic. There have been calls for change since at least the time of the Tanglewood Symposium in the late 1960s and little has happened. That is because the forces keeping this system in place are so inherent, and so invisible, at the collegiate level that the decision makers don't realize how much policy is dictated to them without their awareness.

The music education, ethnomusicology, theory, or musicology faculty members often are the ones who call for fundamental change. Unfortunately, these faculty have very little influence in enacting fundamental change within the entire music unit. The external reward system for the head administrator of the music program, regardless of his or her personal belief system, is designed to assure that the ensembles, and by extension the individual studios, are the priority. It is from the musical performances that the accolades, the awards, the publicity will come. Further, whoever is above the head administrator for the music unit (a dean, provost, or president) inevitably sets up an unconscious reward system that favors the ensembles. I have often joked that after being dean of a music school for 13 years I can count on two things: first I will get at least one request from the president's office per week and second, it will always be a request for student performers and never for a student scholar.

Likewise, the ensemble directors and the studio teachers have the same reward system in place. They are rewarded when their students win competitions, when students are placed in professional ensembles, or the ensembles themselves are invited to perform at professional conferences. These faculty members are excellent at what they do; they have devoted countless hours to perfecting their skills because they believe in them. They do what they were hired onto the faculty to do. There is no reason to expect them to want or to support transformational change.

It should be clear that the system we have worked so hard to create, at all levels of education K–16, is unbelievably robust at protecting itself and resisting any change. This would not be a problem if it were not for the fact that while the music profession thrives, formal music education K–16 is in decline.

In reality, there is only one internal place for the change to happen. There is only one "fulcrum" within the cycle. That place is the administrator in charge of the collegiate music unit; be it a director, dean, or president. This is the only person who can work to fundamentally change the structure of the cycle and for that reason he or she can be the loneliest person on campus.

The process of change starts with asking fundamental questions such as these: "Why does my music unit exist at this college or university?" "What kind of program could we create that would serve the talents and needs of musical students who are currently not being served?" "What kind of programs would produce graduates who would improve the field of music?" "What kind of program can we create that does not exist elsewhere?" "What kinds of jobs exist in the music profession and what kind of program would give our students the skills to succeed in those jobs?" In short, "What kind of musical world are we living in and what do we need to do to thrive?"

Honest and open discussion of those questions would lead to wildly different answers for each institution. When acted upon, collegiate programs would start to differentiate themselves from one another in truly meaningful ways, thus undoing the harm done to our profession by the century-old nominative progression of music schools. In an ideal world, colleges would realize that they don't have to do everything. They don't have to look like every other school to be respected. They could work to find one area of the musical landscape to specialize in, do it better than anyone else, and work to meet the needs of the students in that area. The possible specializations are seemingly endless. Instead of competing against each other for the same students from a dwindling pool of applicants, college music programs would be part of a patchwork of musical institutions providing music for more students.

As more viable options open for students to pursue music at the collegiate level, high schools will respond with new and exciting classes to prepare their students to enter the college program of their choice. Conceivably high school programs could expand exponentially, ironically possibly increasing involvement in the traditional programs and making music an integral part of every high school.

And while it starts with asking the right questions, it certainly does not end there. Asking the questions will be stimulating and there will be no end to possibilities. The hard part will be actually implementing the changes. For this, the music administrator must have the courage to break the cycle for the good of the majority of students and our profession by hiring a different profile of faculty, canceling classes and ensembles that do not support the focus, and questioning the time-honored curricular "truisms" that "everyone knows" to be true.

The leader has to commit for the "long run." Because of tenure realities, curricular obligations to existing students, and current faculty expertise, the change

will be, by necessity, measured, but it also needs to be consistent and with a spirit of urgency. It took almost a century to get in the bind we are in. Let's hope we have the luxury of a decade to get out of it.

In summary, the sound bite for this chapter is this: Collegiate leaders should not be chicken to *be* the chicken. We need to hatch new ideas and new models of music education that will stand alongside our time-honored approaches in some cases and completely replace them in many others. Only through this innovation can we reach more segments of our young population, increase our market share, and thrive.

NOTE

1. I am discounting the possibility of change being mandated by legislation because historically very few politicians seem willing to invest political capital in advocating music education.

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INDEX