Eva Schurig & Andreas Lehmann-Wermser (Eds.)

Aspects of multiculturalism in arts education

Proceedings of the 3rd German-Dutch Colloquium

Institute for Music Education Research
Hannover University of Music Drama and Media

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Foreword

Eva Schurig, Andreas Lehmann-Wermser

On January 21 and 22, 2022 researchers from the Netherlands and Germany met for the 3rd German-Dutch Colloquium (GDC). As already indicated in the title, this meeting was the last one in a series that was made possible due to a unique cooperation between the two countries. In 2017 the first one was held in Amsterdam, organized and generously supported by the National Centre of Expertise for Cultural Education and Amateur Arts (LKCA) in cooperation with the German *Rat für Kulturelle Bildung* e.V. ("Counsel for Cultural Education")[1] and the German Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). Eight presentations mirrored the broad approach to impacts of arts education ranging from language skills to critical thinking in mathematics to electronic feedback systems.[2]

The second colloquium took place in September of 2018, this time in the Dutch Embassy in Berlin. Again, the multitude of possible ways to address the field was demonstrated and later on published under the title of "Contemporary Research Topics in Arts Education"[3].

The third German-Dutch Colloquium was scheduled for 2021 but had to be cancelled due to the pandemic and was postponed until 2022 when the pandemic was expected to be over. The Hannover University of Music Drama and Media was to host this conference giving opportunity for in-person exchange on matters of cultural education. But again, the original plans for meeting face-to-face had to be changed to in-person meetings in Hannover with only a limited number of people and the rest of the participants joining online. Similar to the previous colloquia, the program of the third colloquium also featured papers from various disciplines all addressing the topic of "multiculturalism in music and drama education". The keynote – a novelty, introduced in this conference – was given by David Hebert from the Western Norway University of Applied Sciences in Bergen, who has carried out extensive research related to the conference topic.

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1 The Rat für Kulturelle Bildung is a joint venture of seven private foundations, established in 2012 to collect expertise on cultural education, advocate arts education in and outside of schools and build networks of actors in the field. It has ended its activities in 2022.
2 The documentation of the GDC is available under
   https://ris.utwente.nl/ws/files/154772354/Contemporary_Research_Topics_in_Arts_Education_Web_DS.pdf [2.8.2022]
3 Online through the same link.

Focus multiculturalism

Arts education within school and outside of schools both in the Netherlands and in Germany is confronted not only with pupils from many different countries due to labor migration and movements of refugees. More general developments in the cultural life in all Western societies pose questions on how we teach which cultural elements to which students. What is easily said in general terms calls for precise research in a complex field and for careful consideration of the implications for education and society in general.

Not only is the field of multiculturalism very complex, but the application of the term is no less complicated. Multiculturalism is a term that has different connotations depending on the context it is used in. Since the topic of the colloquium was "multiculturalism in music and drama education", we would like to take a closer look at its discourse in German-speaking as well as English-speaking publications. Both of them differ significantly.

In Germany, "Interkulturelle Musikerziehung" (translated as multicultural music education by the researchers who work in this area, e. g., Stroh, 2021) is a specific research area in music education which deals with the question of how to approach and handle cultural diversity in school music lessons (Stroh, 2021). The terms interculturality, multiculturality and transculturality are used to describe different kinds of phenomena. Here, multicultural refers to the characteristics of a group, community, school or class (ibid.). Although these definitions exist, they are seldom referred to and the main question at the forefront of "Interkulturelle Musikerziehung" is how to define culture (Barth, 2007; Knigge, 2013; Kowal-Summek, 2021). Only once this questions is answered, one of the terms – mainly multiculturalism – is used, often without further clarification of its definition (Lehmann-Wermser, 2019). If the publication mentions definitions, the debate often is about which definition fits best more than any connotations and difficulties that go along with the terms (Kowal-Summek, 2021) or it is suggested that multiculturalism refers to ethnic or national distinctions (e.g., Knigge, 2013) without elucidating why this might be problematic.

While Lehmann-Wermser (2019) does not explicitly define multiculturalism, he implies that it refers to the coexistence of several cultures, which could be interpreted to mean more than ethnicity. One example, where difficulties of the term multiculturalism are addressed is an article by Welsch (2010 cf. Klingmann, 2012, p. 206), who introduces the term transcultural to overcome the emphasis on differences made by the terms multicultural and intercultural and instead wants to accentuate commonalities. Thus, although these examples of critically examining the term multiculturalism exist in German-speaking publications, they are few and far between.

A very different picture emerges when looking at English-speaking publications. Here the concerns about the use of the term multiculturalism and its effects are much discussed. Kertz-Welzel (2007), a

German researcher, writes that multicultural music education in the USA is used for commercial purposes, which is made possible because of a naïve understanding of multiculturalism that pervades music education there and that is accepted without digging deeper and acknowledging prejudices and tackling underlying exoticism (ibid., p. 86f.). A different issue with the term multiculturalism is pointed out by Bradley (2006), who explains that "multiculturalism" is often used synonymously for "race", which means that racism is less open but still present. This hidden racism causes issues, because "in avoiding direct language when talking about race we also severely weaken the possibilities for achieving racial equality through multiculturalism" (ibid., p. 5). Multiculturalism draws a beautiful picture of the equality of cultures and is used politically to create the impression of liberalism, but fails to acknowledge inequalities, injustice and racism (Bradley, 2015). Bradley even cites Brahm Levey (2012, p. 223, cf. Bradley, 2015, p. 21) who suggests that "the term 'multiculturalism has become so mired in controversy and is so maligned in public debate, that its semantic capital, as it were, has been spent". Similarly, Vertovec (2010) writes that "rightly or wrongly, the term has become associated with socially disintegrative effects" (ibid., p. 90), since it often gets linked with "a retreat into culturally and physically separate minority communities" (ibid., p. 90). He describes multiculturalism as a word that should no longer be used, while its goals are still worth pursuing, namely valuing diversity, support of cultural traditions and representation of ethnic minorities.

From an Australian point of view, Pakulski (2014) explains that the critics of multiculturalism often blame it for the differentiation between people, the creation of Ghettos, unassimilated immigrants and generally "for undermining national cohesion and promoting social segmentation" (ibid., p. 23) and if they do not blame it for something, they use the term synonymously to "the superficial celebration of cultural difference for its own sake" (ibid., p. 25). However, according to Pakulski (2014), those same critics confused their definitions and use the term multiculturalism where, in fact, its "rival" assimilationism would be more apt and everything that is blamed on multiculturalism is actually due to assimilationism (ibid., p. 24).

While we acknowledge that the term multiculturalism has very different connotations and opens up various questions and concerns depending on the context it is used in, and that it is important to be aware of the criticism aimed towards it, we as editors use the term in its purely descriptive sense as "several cultures that co-exist" (Olivera Pinto & Adam-Schmidtmeier, 2012, p. 56). The definition applied by the other authors in this book might differ.

About the contributions to this volume

This book consolidates presentations from the 3rd German-Dutch Colloquium that were turned into articles. Not all of the presentations, however, were converted into articles for this collection, and equally not all of the articles in this book were previously presented during the colloquium.

In his introduction based on the keynote given at the colloquium, David Hebert points out the difficulties arts educators across Europe face today, for instance, how to get students to appreciate and strive for excellence in their artistic endeavors, while simultaneously enabling them to embrace their individuality and creativity. He calls for an application of multiculturalism not as differentiation, but as recognizing human diversity and negotiating and understanding between people. Hebert also introduces the term "glocalization", which means that global forces are shaped by local concerns, and offers suggestions on how arts educators could further the students' artistic understanding while considering a critical and nuanced multiculturalism which recognizes both diasporas and glocalization. The author points out that the arts deeply matter to young people across Europe and that it would not take much to create an arts education that responds appropriately to human diversity.

Evert Bisschop Boele explicitly refers to different conceptualizations of culture by describing earlier concepts of culture in education in the Netherlands to explain the proposed logical shift to "idiocultural" music education. Idiocultural music education, according to him, encompasses the fact that each person is highly individual as well as highly social simultaneously, thus, idiocultural music education should take this into account and perceive individuals and social beings with complex and dynamic cultural backgrounds that deserve respect and should be the origin for the individual's further musical development. Bisschop Boele's description of earlier concepts of culture connects each concept prior to idioculture, e.g., monocultural, bicultural, multicultural, in five stages with a societal development throughout the last 70 years in the Netherlands. Two different theoretical lenses are applied to theoretically underpin these different conceptualizations of culture.

Another Dutch author, **Edwin Van Meerkerk**, explores the role of culture coordinators in schools in the Netherlands. These roles were launched to strengthen the position of the arts in school and are carried out by teachers that receive extra training and then act as a teacher as well as a culture coordinator. Their task is to negotiate between different priorities and get different people involved to further the interest of the arts in school. In his research, Van Meerkerk questions how culture coordinators manage their roles and what occupies their minds most.; particularly the latter is considered in this paper. Based on logbooks of 7 culture coordinators, the author showed that they have different concerns in their

role as teachers than in their role as culture coordinators, but the concerns as a teacher dominate. Thus, culture coordinators are under pressure not only from outside forces that they have to negotiate between but also due to time constraints and their teacher-related tasks.

Stefan Gebhard understands multiculturalism as a tendency within the local, social practices that is characterized by the coexistence of different orders of knowledge that actors can align their practices with. His argument is based on the understanding that the German educational system (re)produces a certain culture and subjectivity and that arts education can counteract this and create different perspectives particularly through artists-in-residence that have not undergone the same training as teachers and are not dependent on the curriculum. Gebhard suggests analyzing the processes of subjectivation and their relation to culture in the field of arts education empirically and provides an example from his own research which applied participant observation, pictures and videos of artists-in-residence and their practices in school. His analysis revealed that the artists-in-residence occupy a space between traditional school activities and knowledge from the arts, which opens up potentials for different learning settings.

In his article **Michel Hogenes** states that children in superdiverse societies such as in the Netherlands need to be treated unequally – there is no solution that fits everyone but rather, everyone should be treated according to their capabilities and needs. He describes two activities that were based on this assumption, namely music composition and building technology-based music instruments, with a particular focus on the latter example. The theoretical underpinning for the practical application is provided in the form of design-based learning, which is explained and its use in arts education deduced. Hogenes also offers an evaluation of design-based learning in the context of designing technology-based instruments.

Differently aged children have different abilities to reflect on culture on different levels and this cultural consciousness is reflected in a variety of skills, for instance, perceptive, imaginative and analytical skills in relation to different media groups. While there is a theoretical basis for approaching this cultural consciousness, according to **Lisa-Maria van Klaveren, Theisje van Dorsten** and **Barend van Heusden**, there is a lack of tool to measure it. The authors therefore aim to develop a research tool to map cultural consciousness of pupils. Based on research carried out in an educational program in the Netherlands and the data of 405 pupils, they designed a survey and evaluated it. They reflect on the final product, a survey which reflects on pupils' preferences for media, engagement types with these media and reflective strategies and explain that it helps to explore the contribution of cultural education to pupils' reflective skills in different contexts.

A particular focus on musical activities across the lifespan of young adults is provided by **Tanja Hienen, Veronika Busch, Eva Schurig** and **Andreas**

Lehmann-Wermser. Using retrospective interviews, the authors examine the musical activities through the lens of the Capability Approach. Hienen et al. interpret *multiculturality* in two ways: on the one hand, they take it to mean national diversity and, in this context, compare the statements of participants with and without a known migration background only to show, that as far as the study goes, it did not make any difference in the diversity or specific kind of musical activity they are engaged in. On the other hand, they apply the literal meaning of "many cultures" to music and identify a wide variety of musical activities that the young adults engaged in throughout their lives so far. This latter interpretation revealed that former musical activities influence current musical practices.

Valerie Krupp and **Jaqueline Beisiegel** also applied the Capability Approach as a theoretical framework, although in their case they examined reasons why students do not participate in extracurricular music activities in schools. Analyzing quantitative data of over 2.800 students they discovered that the number of offers of extracurricular music activities, whether someone already had instrumental lessons outside of school, and students searching for the right activity to engage in are the paramount reasons for not participating in extracurricular music activities. Additionally, the students search for something that fits their musical preferences and that they perceive to benefit them personally, which might hinder their participation, too. Based on their results, Krupp and Beisiegel carry on to discuss possible changes that need to happen in order for extracurricular music activities to appeal to more students.

A group of authors from several research projects supported by the Rat für Kulturelle Bildung **(Schurig et al.)** collated data from three different research projects to detect influences on student participation in music groups at secondary school in Germany with a focus on personality and socio-demographic information. The combined dataset with information from over 4.000 students from different parts of Germany allowed for a more overarching analysis than the data of one of the studies alone would have permitted and the results agree with previous literature that social status, gender and openness to experience particularly influence the participation in music groups. The authors also provide a more detailed analysis of participation of different people in various music groups and raise hope for musical participation in general by showing that social status becomes less relevant when young people are getting older.

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Diversity, diaspora and glocalization in arts education

David G. Hebert

Introduction

On January 15, 2022, an enormous eruption occurred at the Hunga Tonga-Hunga Ha'apai volcano on the South Pacific island nation of Tonga. Its shockwaves were ultimately felt around the world, and even detected in outer space. Within 24 hours, news reports of this event appeared on YouTube, both local reports as well as news from opposite sides of the Pacific Ocean, from California to Japan. During that time, I was preparing my speech for the Dutch-German Colloquium, and the distressing situation prompted me to reflect on global challenges. Years earlier, I had published some research on Tongan music in the *International Journal of Community Music* (Hebert, 2008). As a child I lived near the beach in California, while as an adult I worked in Japan for over five years, so with deep personal interest I watched news reports from all three of these places while enjoying the relative safety of my current home in Norway.

Then I noticed something rather striking that fits the central theme of this essay. In Australia and New Zealand, where there is large migrant community (or *diaspora*) of Tongans, the news reports featured footage from *on the ground* in Tonga – people fleeing for their lives as waves engulfed their homes and swept up their cars and gardens, even a woman reporting from inside a church as it became flooded with ocean water while the sky turned black with ash. The reporting from newsrooms in California and Japan, on the other hand, only showed abstract satellite images of the explosion, followed by scenes from the coastal harbors of *their own country*, where reports mentioned the tsunami warning and discussed the projected sea-level rise that might impact *their own citizens* by the local seaside. The volcano and tsunami clearly demonstrate that we are all connected, but the *reporting* shows how global forces are profoundly shaped by *local* concerns and interpretations. In the sphere of culture, similar tendencies are sometimes called *glocalization*, which I see as having an underappreciated yet steadily increasing impact in arts education, a defining characteristic of our time.

Dilemmas for Arts Education in Europe

It may be no exaggeration to suggest that in recent years arts educators have faced greater challenges than at any other point in the past 75 years. A global pandemic has profoundly disrupted schools and arts professions in ways that are unlikely to ever be forgotten. Due to the impact of Covid-19, arts venues were "entirely shut down and countless tours and events were cancelled" (EAEA/Pearle Joint Statement, 2020), and according to the International Federation of Musicians (2020), "The covid-19 outbreak has led governments to close all live performance venues and prohibit open-air concerts as soon as their countries were hit by the pandemic (…) these measures have brought the music sector to its

knees" (International Federation of Musicians, 2020). Moreover, according to the European Festivals Association, "The shutdown caused by COVID-19 is having dramatic consequences for all cultural and creative sectors and within the sector festivals particularly. The survival of many festivals is at stake" (European Festivals Association, 2020).

A recent report to the European Parliament, titled *On the Situation of Artists and the Cultural Recovery in the EU* (Semedo, 2020), confirms that "the music and performing arts sectors [are] experiencing losses of 75% and 90 % respectively." At the same time, EU governments acknowledge that the arts are important, representing "4.4 % of [the EU's] GDP in terms of total turnover and employing around 7.6 million people" while also contributing to "democratic, sustainable, free, fair and inclusive societies and reflecting and strengthening our European diversity, values, history and freedoms" and that "traditional culture and artists must be supported in order to protect cultural heritage." That is the formidable current situation for *arts*, but school education has also seen a crisis, so as *arts-educators* we especially face pressure. A report to the European Parliament, titled *Education and Youth in Post-COVID-19 Europe – Crisis Effects and Policy Recommendations*, concludes that "No EU Member State had in place disaster mitigation strategies for education. Throughout the pandemic, crisis management and decision-making processes rarely involved consultation with youth, or with representatives of the educational sector" (Dunajeva, Bankauskaite, & Siarova, et al., 2021, p.11).

Beyond Europe, the situation has been even more dire in some locations. In Uganda, for instance – where I am currently involved in a project with Norwegian development aid funding to co-create the nation's first *music education* doctorate – schools were finally reopened in January 2022, after a nearly 2-year break in education: the world's longest national school shutdown. Two years can seem like an eternity in the life of child, a key period in development that is lost forever, and Uganda is a country with about 24 million school students. Finally, a few months after the German-Dutch Colloquium, Ukraine was invaded by Russia, and we now face the largest armed conflict in Europe since World War II, with genuine concerns about the threat of nuclear war. Whatever we *were* saying about multicultural arts education just a few years ago, we must admit that the world keeps changing, and new challenges keep appearing as Europe necessarily evolves. Despite these concerns, I have some *hopeful* thoughts to share, a message of cautious optimism even in a time of global instability. In fact, I will argue there are signs that the arts continue to be deeply valued by young people from an array of backgrounds, and the pandemic is forcing teachers to finally think in new ways about alternative approaches to education. Among the examples to be discussed here are findings from a recent EU project on music among youth, broadened appreciation for the advantages of "blended" learning, and improved understandings of: (a) socio-musical diversity, (b) the impact of global forces on music heritage, (c) the value of "global competence" in education, and (d) ways of reconceptualizing interculturality in musical knowledge.

Music Talks and Online Opportunities

Across the past year, I have been working in the Music Talks project, an EU (Erasmus Plus) funded partnership between institutions and NGOs in Latvia, Norway, and North Macedonia for the aim of developing innovative lessons and activities for young people (ages 15-25) for use in non-formal education, with a focus on developing their skills to discuss important issues through *music as a tool for civic engagement*. We recently collected 377 questionnaires from youths in Norway, Latvia and North Macedonia and conducted qualitative interviews among 30 prominent leaders of diverse urban youth music activities in Bergen, Riga, and Prilep (Music Talks, 2022). Among the findings from this study were that across our sample from three different regions of Europe (Scandinavia, the Baltic countries, and the Balkans,) over 80% of youths indicated either "agree" or "strongly agree" in response to the statement "Music listening is an important and meaningful activity for me personally". This result indicates a strong consensus, particularly when compared with the broad range of responses offered to such prompts as "I am politically active and concerned about my community". Indeed, overall youth respondents indicate much more certainty about music mattering to them personally than other concerns. Additionally, 88% of respondents indicated they discuss music with friends "a few times per month" and over 57% say this is closer to "a few times per week". Of particular interest to educators is the fact that around 2/3 reported that they like when others are able to describe music in a "technically detailed way" (65.6%), which suggests there is an interest in learning more about music. Clearly, the *arts deeply matter to young people across Europe today*.

Returning to the challenge of pandemic-induced lock-downs and improvised forms of *online teaching*, we should note that the value and relevance of music technologies and online education has long been recognized by some institutions, and we now have a situation in which research in the field of arts education technology has become more broadly relevant and useful than ever before (Bowman, 2014; Brudvik & Hebert, 2020). As more arts teachers have begun to offer their lessons online, they tend to recognize (perhaps for the first time) that there are not only disadvantages but also some distinctive *advantages* to online approaches relative to face-to-face learning (Osborne, 2020). "Blended learning", combining the best of both synchronous and asynchronous interaction, in both online and face-to-face settings, seems likely to become more common in higher education even as the pandemic is controlled. Indeed, the challenges of the pandemic have caused both students and teachers to approach *arts* differently – arguably with both positive and negative outcomes – that are likely to have long-term impact.

Diversity in Arts Education

How does this situation relate to current understandings of *diversity, diaspora and glocalization in arts education*, as implied by my title? In Western Europe, several music education scholars have been grappling with issues posed by cultural diversity for some time, often with respect to diasporic or migrant communities. From Germany,

these include Andreas Lehmann-Wermser (2019), Alexandra Kertz-Welzel (2018), Bernd Clausen (et. al., 2009), Jens Knigge (2013) and others, while from the Netherlands, Huib Schippers (2009) and Ninja Kors (2007) have done notable work in this area. There has also been growing interest in this topic across the Nordic countries (Hebert & Hauge, 2019). Having never lived in Germany or the Netherlands, I cannot speak to specific educational issues, such as, for instance, effectively serving the large Turkish minority (and more recent immigrants from Syria and Afghanistan) in Germany, or postcolonial Indonesian and Surinamese communities of the Netherlands. I can only share some insights obtained across my career through the experience of making many mistakes while working in different places around the world and conducting research in diverse settings. Based on these experiences, I would like to emphasize that, as arts educators, we especially approach our teaching with diverse goals in mind, relating to vastly different kinds of knowledge, which is part of what makes our subjects especially interesting compared to say, math or nutrition. We not only would like our students to know basic facts about the art form, to understand why it matters in society, to distinguish between notable artists with a grasp of their unique contributions and why they matter, and to meaningfully critique with an understanding of what is a great or merely adequate work or performance. We also want them to produce original works that fit within the traditions of an idiom or genre, and even to experiment with creative innovations of their own. Additionally, we expect students to be able to achieve all of this through project development, requiring effective and sustained cooperation with their peers. These characteristics of arts education make ours an extraordinarily multi-faceted field, which is something that many administrators and policy-makers do not fully recognize, preferring to either treat educational subject areas equally or even to place *more* attention and resources on those regarded as most relevant for the economy, presumably math, science, and languages.

Paradoxes of European Musical Diversity

In the reports cited earlier, the EU asserts that arts are invaluable toward developing "inclusive societies and reflecting and strengthening our European diversity." With that in mind, how can we define *diversity* in the arts, and what are its limits? My very first visit to Germany offers an illuminating example. That was in 2013, and I had been hired to sing with a professional Norwegian choir, for the centennial performance of Schoenberg's *Gurre-Lieder* with the Berlin Philharmonic conducted by Simon Rattle. In certain ways, at least to me, this performance of an important masterpiece embodies both the *unity and diversity* of humanity, and our triumphs and shortcomings as a species on this finite planet. *Gurre-Lieder* is a major work that requires one of the very largest combinations of orchestral musicians, soloists, and multiple choirs, and I sang in the bass section, at the very top of the stairs to stage right, just above the bass drum, now visible as a stream in the Philharmonic's Digital Concert Hall. I stood next to a Korean singer, Hee-Kwang Lee of the Cologne Radio Chorus, and one of our soloists was Thomas Quasthoff. The chorus included people from different nations, races, classes, genders, sexualities,

religions, even those who face physical disabilities (such as Quasthoff), and we performed music that has mattered in much of the world for more than a century, but in a way that seemed to bring new life into it, reaching new audiences – *inclusive* of those who could never physically visit the concert hall in Berlin – available online for years into the future. During the height of the Covid-19 pandemic, the Berlin Philharmonic even made these video streams available without charge for a period of time.

Still, I sense recently that *some* in the field of music education now assume it is proper to feel guilty for apprehending something profoundly beautiful in Western art music, due to what have sometimes been elitist and Eurocentric associations, and that classical music represents *the opposite of diversity*. There are certainly many other profoundly meaningful kinds of musical experiences that are distant from Western art music, but can't we have *openness* without a *contrived and ultimately nihilistic relativism*? Are we to pretend that there are no masterpieces anymore that transcend cultural boundaries and withstand the test of time, that beauty is entirely in the eye of the beholder, and that the latest hit pop song is qualitatively as *good* as any other music because *objectively* it sells better?

As a jazz trumpeter, with a deep interest in improvisation, I have had the opportunity to perform with ensembles that take music in a completely different direction than *Gurre-Lieder*, yet with another kind of deep artistic fulfillment. On the same year of the Gurre-Lieder concert in Berlin, I jammed on stage with Girum Mazmur & Addis Acoustic Project (at the legendary *Jazzamba* club in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia) and performed for a music conference with my Tanzanian doctoral student Arnold Chiwalala in Dar es Salaam. In the following year, I sang in a professional chorus for a production of Bergen National Opera. Each of these experiences featured extraordinary artistic communication, and were deeply meaningful, but I have also faced situations that were mediocre (at best) in classical, jazz, and popular music, and have increasingly encountered arts educators who argue that in order to be *democratic and inclusive*, the notion of artistic *quality* should not be considered in schools.

Faced with such contradictions, I wonder how we can instill in students both a deep appreciation and determination to strive for *excellence* in diverse forms of arts, and do so in a way that both embraces their individuality and frees their creativity? And how can this objective be achieved in a way that is appropriately responsive to cultural differences and that counters all forms of social marginalization by affirming the democratic values of diversity, equity, and inclusion without promoting destructive forms of "anything goes" *relativism*? Indeed, if as Europeans, we truly aim to have democratic practices, this means that all individuals will have meaningful opportunities to fully participate and even to influence decision-making in education. These are arduous aspirations, not easily fulfilled, but worth our best efforts.

Sources of Music Glocalization

I lived in Japan for many years, and some of my books address music education in Japan, and across the past 15 years I have quite frequently visited China. I find that today, Scandinavia and East Asia seem to be almost at opposite ends of a spectrum when it comes to attitudes toward the role of teachers in education. Traditionally, in East Asia teachers are often placed on a pedestal as uncontested masters, which can be a problem, but in Scandinavia teachers are often treated merely as peers, which can equally be a problem. One concept I encountered in Japan that turned out to be especially helpful, is *dochakuka* or "glocal", which can be extended to nouns for the condition, *glocality*, and process, *glocalization*. This concept has great utility for arts education, yet has still seen surprisingly little impact. Most of us already understand globalization as the intensified global circulation of *people, products and ideas* in ways that engender global interdependence and integration. Globalization is why the Covid-19 pandemic spread everywhere (people), why we now have supply-chain disruptions (products), and why the same *fake news* conspiracy theories convince gullible people everywhere that vaccines are harmful (ideas). *Glocalization*, on the other hand, is when globalized entities simultaneously have local characteristics or are profoundly shaped by a local lens, like the news reports of the volcano in Tonga I mentioned earlier (coming from Japan and California).

This phenomenon of *glocality* is something I have noticed across my career. Indeed, concepts like migration tend to be glocalized, since seemingly everywhere people tend to worry there is too much migration to *here* (wherever here is, in each case), and tend to *not* notice all the migration *away from here*, or to apprehend how migrational patterns predictably fit into historical processes: essentially, *people go where they can, especially when desperate*. In other words, the global phenomenon of migration is interpreted as an issue that is especially problematic locally with particular groups of people. This even happens inside universities, with people sometimes expressing dismay to encounter so many students from China, without realizing there are now hundreds of thousands of foreign students enrolled at *Chinese universities*. Everywhere I have lived there are *products* that entail patriotic and nationalistic symbols (flags, national costumes, and so on) that are all *made in China* and of no use to most anyone *inside* of China (except, perhaps, foreign students), yet are held up as sacred symbols by local nationalists who *complain* about how everything is made in China. Everywhere I have lived, many people secretly know somehow – an *idea* without much real evidence – that their country is actually the best, and their *way of knowing and communicating that it is best* is also superior to other countries where people are strangely nationalistic. Human nature is perplexing, but in the case of *arts*, diaspora is helpful as a term that represents migrating *people* who bring "their" arts, along with everything else, to a new home (often perceived as *here*), while glocalization represents *migrating arts* (through media) being adopted and transformed locally by people anywhere (also often perceived as *here*). Noting these two processes, in the book *Music Glocalization* we tried to make sense of different forms and components of glocalization in the field of music (Hebert & Rykowski, 2018).

Arts Education and Global Competence

How do concepts like diaspora and glocalization matter for arts education? Public education is founded on the nation-state, although in some countries – like Germany and the United States – it is administered through local states (Lehmann-Wermser, 2013, p.127). Therefore, history, social studies, and even arts fields have historically tended to be conveyed in ways that encourage loyalty to the nation-state and its economic and political interests. Nevertheless, the value of international understanding has long been embraced by notable philosophers and literary figures, and since the mid-20th century there has been a steadily increasing movement to foster an appreciation for global problems and international cooperation in school education, all while there has also been increasing support for various *visions of multiculturalism*, which often seeks to unify a nation while simultaneously celebrating its cultural diversity. Recently the OECD, an organization that due to its PISA test must accept some responsibility for the excessive emphasis on STEM subjects in education, has modified its position to now endorse the notion of Global Competence.

The OECD defines global competence as "the capacity to examine local, global and intercultural issues, to understand and appreciate the perspectives and world views of others, to engage in open, appropriate and effective interactions with people from different cultures, and to act for collective well-being and sustainable development." (OECD, 2018, p.7). The OECD also promotes a particular vision of this concept with four dimensions: Dimension 1: Examine issues of local, global and cultural significance, Dimension 2: Understand and appreciate the perspectives and world views of others, Dimension 3: Engage in open, appropriate and effective interactions across cultures, and Dimension 4: Take action for collective well-being and sustainable development (OECD, 2018, p.9-11).

In 2020, the OECD released their first international assessment of global competence in education, which compared 15-year-olds across 64 countries worldwide. The results showed widespread dissatisfaction among this age group: "Even across OECD countries, just about two in three students reported that they are satisfied with their lives, and that percentage shrank by five percentage points between 2015 and 2018" (OECD, 2020, p.3). Additionally, although it is generally assumed that democratic values are especially associated with Europe, many European nations ironically failed to perform well on this assessment. Specifically, four out of the five lowest rated countries – out of 64 worldwide – assessed on "Understand and appreciate the perspectives and worldviews of others" are based in Europe: France, Italy, Lithuania and the Slovak Republic (OECD, 2020, p.17). Moreover, five out of seven of the countries showing the least positive attitudes toward immigrants were also in Europe: Bulgaria, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, and the Slovak Republic. (OECD, 2020, p.17). Additionally, when it comes to the category "Take action for collective well-being and sustainable development," several European states also did not perform well: "the lowest levels were observed in Austria, Germany,

Hungary, Latvia, the Russian Federation and the Slovak Republic" (OECD, 2020, p.18). An array of studies has demonstrated that music instruction can offer unique opportunities to meaningfully address a range of issues associated with peace, international understanding, and cultural diplomacy (Hebert, 2021; Hebert & McCollum, 2022), as well as the environment and sustainability (Hebert, 2022), but it seems more efforts are needed to effectively integrate such concerns into both teacher education and school subjects in Europe and elsewhere. It seems reasonable to advocate that higher education music programs include lessons to explicitly demonstrate such approaches to prospective music teachers (Coppola, Hebert & Campbell, 2021).

Lehmann-Wermser, has written about how in Germany many music teachers "remain within the older 'ethnic-holistic' understanding of foreign cultures while oftentimes falling short of teaching multiculturality in the more advanced way" (2019, p.204), which I regard to mean informed by the kinds of understandings associated with the aforementioned notions of *diaspora* and *glocalization*. In a recent book, Kertz-Welzel (2018) advocates for "Developing a global mindset" (p.80) in music education with "awareness and openness toward cultural diversity" (p.97) that is also "committed to life-long intercultural learning" (p.99). Kertz-Welzel calls for music educators to become "culturally sensitive" (p.2) within a "unified and inclusive yet diverse global community" in music education (p.9). Indeed, such approaches are qualitatively *different* from a notion of multiculturalism that implies "us vs. them" or "integration of minorities" but rather a recognition that human diversity is an important part of *who we are as music educators*, applicable to all of us worldwide, in all kinds of music and all kinds of teaching, and that we should all be negotiating to understand each other, and each other's arts, more deeply. This perspective on culture and human diversity prompts us to consider the future prospects for music education in some rather new and different ways (Buchborn, Burnard, Hebert & Moore, 2022).

Heritage and Musical Diversity

In English language publications, an array of arguments and approaches have been proposed for multicultural and intercultural music education (Campbell, 2018). Through a combination of social factors (such as religion and gender) as well as the divergent roles of both *diasporas* (people bringing "their" music to a new home) and *glocalization* (music being disseminated and creatively adapted by all people everywhere), many music genres are associated with changing identities. Still, despite recent arguments by some music educators, *to not acknowledge the geographic and ethnic origins of major music traditions is to deny history and heritage* (Church, 2019).

History matters when it comes to cultural artifacts. Beethoven may be performed more now in East Asia than anywhere else in the world today, but it still matters that he was a German composer. It matters whether students in Europe ever learn even one song from China or India – two of the world's oldest and most populous countries – regard-

less of whether or not any Chinese or Indians happen to be found in most European classrooms. It matters whether music educators, inspired by fashionable ideologies, use the banner of *democracy* as justification to have students only experience music they *already* know and like in the classroom, rather than embracing their educational *responsibility to open students' minds* with new experiences and challenges they would not otherwise encounter. Brilliant works come in all shapes and sizes, as does commercialized *kitsch*, but much of the human experience is shared across all circumstances worldwide, which is why similar sentiments can be expressed through entirely different artistic languages.

This issue is what drew me to research and theorization on the notion of musical translation, or how concepts from one idiom may be interpreted and adopted into an entirely different genre (Hebert, 2018). Rather than taking a reactionary and preservationist stance toward all traditions, I have argued that we should credit *music hybridity*, particularly that developed through *intercultural music transmission*, as the creative wellsprings of new musical innovations. Recently, ideas about musical translation from some of this earlier work are taking a clearer shape while completing a co-authored book with Stefan Östersjö, Thanh Thuy Nguyen and Henrik Frisk, based on fieldwork in recording studios with master folk musicians in Saigon, Vietnam. The concept "inversed ear" developed from that project as a way of understanding how musicians from one tradition learn through intercultural collaboration to understand how their music sounds to musicians coming from the orientation of an utterly different tradition, a critical step in the process of musical translation (Östersjö, Hebert, Nguyen & Frisk, in press).

Robust pedagogies have been produced for global music education. Recently, I contributed to development of a book with Patricia Shehan Campbell and another of her doctoral graduates (Coppola, Hebert & Campbell, 2021). The World Music Pedagogy approach, with its sequence of 5 dimensions, is one example of how students can be guided through different forms of knowledge in diverse genres from around the world. As part of that book, I developed a lesson on Nihon Ettim, a *Ghazal* interpreted by the great Uzbek singer Munojat Yulchieva who I met a few times in Samarkand. This song powerfully expresses an acute sense of disappointment and loss. To me, as a bass baritone, singing a classic work, such as Brahms's *Four Serious Songs* (op.121), despite being an entirely different musical language, is another way of expressing the same profound artistic message, as is Aretha Franklin's singing of "This Bitter Earth" and other soulful ballads. While music may not be a universal language, much of the human experience *is* universal, and conveyed through a rich variety of musical expressions.

Reconsidering Propositional Knowledge

How else can we go about guiding students toward discovery of artistic understandings that fit this vision of a critical and nuanced multiculturalism, tempered by a recognition of both diasporas and glocalization? Arts education entails many different kinds of knowledge, but we can even start with its most concrete form: *propositional knowledge*, or basic facts (Ichikawa & Steup, 2018). For instance, consider some examples of significant yet rarely noticed points that could be included in teacher education, and thereby reach school students. If all European music teachers knew the facts to be illustrated here in the form of a brief quiz (which I like to use in my teaching) and then communicated them to their students, it is likely we would see different attitudes regarding the notion of "the west vs. the rest" in the field of music. These are merely examples of the kinds of factual questions that I think matter, but please consider why few music teachers today can confidently answer them. The first set of questions is in the category of "Recovering Historical Roots of Western Musical Sensibilities," and each answer demonstrates how intercultural exchange has always been a feature of European music (Table 1).

Recovering Historical Roots of Western Musical Sensibilities
Model Questions:
1   Who authored *The Great Book of Music*, a major reference work that appeared in Latin translation on the curriculum when Music studies were first established in Medieval European universities (Oxford, Bologna, Paris), and in what language was it originally written? [see *Journal of Research in Music Education,* vol.1.]
2   Which technology – that scientists attribute to East Asia – became a major sacred symbol in European village life for centuries, used to define both *temporality* (time) and *tonality* (pitch), and profoundly impacted architecture and acoustics?
3   In which language are the brands that appear on cymbals in the percussion sections of most symphony orchestras?
4   Which highly-influential musician became known as "the Black Bird" in Cordoba (Spain) by the year 830, what did he look like, and where was he originally from?
5   What nation and genre inspired a *Rondo* by Mozart in 1783 and a *March* by Beethoven in 1809?
Exemplary Answers:
1   **Al Farabi** "Alpharabius" from near Afghanistan in Central Asia: **Arabic** language.
2   **Church Bells** (described in 585 by St. Gregory of Tours; endorsed by Pope Sabinian in 604).
3   **Turkish:** Zildjian, Sabian, Istanbul Agop, Agean, etc.
4   **Ziryab:** "very dark complexion," probably from near Baghdad.
5   **Turkey** (Ottoman Empire): *Mehter*, or Janissary marches.

Table 1. Recovering Historical Roots of Western Musical Sensibilities

The second set of questions is in the category of "Apprehending the Current Status of Western Music in the World Today". The answers to each of these questions demonstrate the profoundly changing role of western music as a global phenomenon (Table 2). Specifically, through such questions one may provoke students toward rethinking how western art music and popular music have been appropriated, transformed, and popularized in many parts of the world, with impacts that may generally be perceived as either positive or negative depending on value orientations.

Apprehending the Current Status of Western Music in the World Today
Model Questions:
1   Which company, from which European country, is responsible for first bringing the piano to an Asian country that is now home to the world largest musical instrument company?
2   Which system for learning European music, in which country, by 2015 included more than 400 music centers and 700,000 young musicians on western orchestral instruments?
3   In which country is a song by a German composer sung by tens of thousands of people in over 100 concerts during New Year celebrations?
4   What is the name and source of the world's most popular song from 2020, recognized by leading institutions of popular music (e.g., *Rolling Stone*'s "Best Song of 2020," Billboard Global 200's "Number One Song of 2020," Grammy Award for "Best New Artist"), and how many notes are sung in this music?
Exemplary Answers:
1   **VOC** (Dutch East India Company) in 1817 imported piano to **Japan** (now home to **Yamaha**).
2   **El Sistema** from **Venezuela** (South America).
3   **Japan**: traditional singing of **Beethoven's "Ode to Joy".**
4   **"WAP"** by US performers Megan Thee Stallion and Cardi B features rapping on top of a predictable drum machine track, an endlessly repeated 3-note bass motif, and a male voice repeatedly singing, "There's some whores in this house" on **one pitch**.

Table 2. Apprehending the Current Status of Western Music in the World Today

The above examples illustrate the relevance of the diaspora and glocalization concepts for propositional knowledge in the field of music, since these facts show how Western music is no longer merely "western", and continues to be connected to both national rituals and industrial forces, even when spread – often through diaspora and glocalization – to entirely new contexts beyond Europe. Still, beyond propositional knowledge, we need music programs to not only educate students more broadly about music, but also empower them to actively participate in a broader array of genres, with extra attention to the less commercialized forms that they might not otherwise encounter. Such

an approach ensures that students develop a more comprehensive understanding of music as a global phenomenon, while they also attain multi-faceted musicianship skills applicable to diverse situations.

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, I have aimed here to offer new evidence that despite some sobering challenges, optimism is warranted in arts education. As we have seen, across recent years not only is there new evidence of the value of music among youth across Europe, but also wider appreciation among music teachers for the advantages of "blended" learning, and more robust understandings of: (a) socio-musical diversity, (b) the impact of global forces on music heritage, (c) the value of "global competence" in education, and (d) forms of interculturality in musical knowledge. Diaspora and glocalization have proven to be key concepts in relation to the examples discussed.

In the film *Modern Times*, Charlie Chaplin showed us 85 years ago how optimism ensures *resilience* against the greatest of difficulties. Today's equivalent to Chaplin's 'Smile' might be seen in the work of YouTube stars like the late Adalia Rose Williams (2006-2022), whose viral makeup tutorials – ironic considering her obvious struggles with deformities characteristic to Hutchinson-Gilford progeria syndrome – show us that attitude matters, and beauty is still there to be discovered in even the gravest of circumstances. Indeed, recent data show that the *arts deeply matter to young people across Europe today* and it seems clear that tiny modifications can make a big difference in arts education as we envision appropriate responses to human diversity in our teaching. I have suggested that the pandemic has caused not only challenges, but also new opportunities, as greater numbers of educators directly experience the possibilities of online learning. Indeed, so much of learning today takes place outside the walls of schools, and educators would do well to embrace the potential role of music in ubiquitous learning.

I am also suggesting that we would benefit by teaching arts in a way that ensures a more accurate understanding of the role of international exchange across history, including its intensification in phenomena known as *diaspora* and *glocalization*. In other words, rather than an interpretation of multiculturalism that divides between "the West" and "the rest" we would best acknowledge how today the larger division is actually between North and South, or even along *intersectional* axis that are not so clearly delineated (including gender, social class, religion, sexualities, disability groups, and so on). We must recognize that across all recorded history – due to the Silk Road, Alexander the Great in India, Zheng He's voyages to South Asia and Africa, and the rise of science in the Medieval Islamic Golden Age – there has long been rich and multifaceted exchange of all kinds across the landmass of *Eurasia*, that also intersected with Africa through the ancient kingdoms of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Mali. Even in Scandinavian history, despite what composer Richard Wagner and others imagined, intercultural contact especially

holds true, where 1000 years ago the Viking slave trade created *diasporas*, and the oldest known eyewitness accounts of Viking rituals were recorded in Arabic language.

Additionally, due to both *diaspora and glocalization*, we owe it to our arts students to offer a relevant curriculum that is globally inclusive and provides an accurate representation of the *glocal* state of arts in the world today and their connection to *heritage*. Naturally, all effective education must begin with knowledge of the students, their backgrounds and capabilities, but to dismiss the cultural origins of music is to deny history. Moreover, as Liora Bresler (2009) pointed out, we especially stand to gain insights through "making the familiar strange" (p.11-14), since only through a comparative lens are we able to *re*consider cultural practices that are commonly taken for granted. Many arts serve a specific function, so a global and comparative view can be an illuminating way to understand how arts fit into society and why they matter, whether lullabies, wedding songs, or funeral songs, for instance. But to be relevant today, we must also consider such cases as the jazz arrangement of a Chinese lullaby, or a hip-hop influenced beat-boxing video by a young girl in Siberia, or Mozart performed by a steelpan ensemble in the Caribbean, and what such examples may tell us about multiple points of origin, compound forms of human diversity, and changing views of society and artistry.

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Mono --› bi --› multi --› inter --› trans --› idio?
On operationalizing concepts of culture in Dutch (music) education

Evert Bisschop Boele

1. Introduction

Since many years I have been working on the formulation of a concept of music education which I call 'idiocultural music education'. In an article in 2015 I wrote that idiocultural music education "might be the next step in a long line of steps: from monocultural through bicultural, multicultural, intercultural and maybe even transcultural music education we now go towards idiocultural music education" (Bisschop Boele, 2015, p. 91).

In this paper I want to elaborate on this idea by connecting my work on idioculture to earlier conceptualizations of culture in (music) education in the Netherlands. Specifically, I will try to understand how my attempts to coin the concept of idiocultural music education can be understood in the light of a shift away from the concept of culture in Dutch educational policies, occurring in about 2005. The main question of this paper is: what is the conceptual relationship between idiocultural music education and earlier conceptions of culture in Dutch (music) education?

This paper is divided into five sections. After this introduction I will present the main outline of my idea of idiocultural music education in section 2. I will then, in section 3, provide a short description of the development of ideas about monocultural, bicultural, multicultural, intercultural, and transcultural (music) education over the past 70 years in the Netherlands. In section 4 I will make sense of these developments by connecting them with larger societal developments. To do so, I will apply two different theoretical lenses, both suggested by German cultural sociologist Andreas Reckwitz. I will finish the paper in the concluding section 5 with some thoughts on the importance of these reflections for my own ideas about idiocultural music education.

2. Idiocultural music education

I have been working on the concept of idiocultural music education (see e.g., Bisschop Boele, 2013, 2015, i. pr..; Bisschop Boele & Van der Meer, 2019) since approximately 2010. My coinage of the concept of idioculture should be read against the backgrounds of an ethnomusicologically informed view on music as a social practice (cf. Small, 1998), an interactional perspective on musical meaning making (cf. Clayton 2001), a practice-theoretical view on the functions of music in daily life (cf. Bisschop Boele, 2013), and a biographical-existential perspective on learning (cf. Alheit, 2008; Jarvis, 2009).

I consider idioculture as shorthand for idiosyncratic culture. The word idioculture was used for the first time in the social sciences by sociologist Gary Fine (1979). He thought

of idioculture as the culture of a small group, in contrast with then current conceptualizations of culture as referring to complete societies. A further step was taken in a book called *My Music* (Crafts et al., 1993) in which the authors state:

> Each person is unique. Like your fingerprints, your signature and your voice, your choice of music and the ways you relate to music are plural and interconnected in a pattern that is all yours, an 'idioculture' or idiosyncratic culture in sound (Crafts et al., 1993, p. 2).

One of the co-authors of that book, Daniel Cavicchi, then applied this concept of idioculture to music education (Cavicchi, 2009).

Based on these works, I see idioculture as a concept referring to the fact that each individual is at the same time highly individual as well as highly social, a socialized and constantly socializing individual (a point made in practice theory; see e.g., Reckwitz 2000/2006). In idiocultural music education, individuals are therefore not seen as 'members' of a culture, or of more cultures, or of being between cultures. They are seen as social individuals, with complex and dynamic cultural backgrounds which should be respected and treated as 'funds of knowledge' or even as 'funds of identity' for further musical development (cf. Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014). In society, individuals then constantly negotiate their idiocultural (musical) identity on the basis of both its individual/idiosyncratic and its social/shared side.

3. Dutch developments in (music) education

In the introduction I suggested that idiocultural music education may be seen as placed within a history of different conceptualizations of culture in Dutch (music) education[1]. I will sketch that history here (cf. table 1), being aware that the history of Dutch music education requires far more study of historical sources when it comes to the often-implicit conceptualizations of culture than I am able to present in this paper. Additionally, in further studies the (non-)alignment of Dutch developments with developments in other parts of the world (cf. e.g., Westerlund et al., 2021) should be given attention as well. In the German-Dutch context of this book, a comparison between the situation in Germany (well-studied in many publications; see e.g., Barth, 2008; Knigge, 2012; Lehmann-Wermser, 2019) and the Netherlands might be specifically enlightening.

A first stage in the Netherlands might be realistically described as lasting from (at least) the end of the second world war to until approximately the late 1960s. At this stage, the concept of culture and its place in education was considered straightforward and remained mostly implicit. The main aim of music education was to contribute to developing pupils' musical taste by learning to appreciate good-quality – mainly classical – music. I consider this stage of Dutch music education as monocultural (Schippers,

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1 Probably due to the near-absence of dedicated structural academic attention for music education in the Netherlands, a general overview of the history of Dutch music education is yet to be written (but see Hartkamp, 2005; Hartkamp, 2007). Also, thorough theoretical or practical studies concerning diversity and inclusion in Dutch music education are, in sharp contrast to Germany, scarce.

2010, p. 30), although non-cultural might be an alternative epithet because the idea that music education is connected to a culture remained largely implicit.

Although (sometimes forced) migration from the (now former) Dutch colonies has been a reality in the Netherlands for many centuries, culture gradually became an important topic in education only from the early 1960s. This was triggered by the advent of migrant laborers from the south of Europe and, later, from Morocco and Turkey.[2] It gradually became clear, also in educational policy making, that many migrant laborers would not return to their countries of origin. Migrants brought over their families, and children were born in the Netherlands. For this reason, the concept of bi-cultural education was developed, and formally adopted in educational policies from 1974 to 1990 (Schumacher, 1981, pp. 102-103). Children with a migrant background received additional education in their home language and culture next to the standard Dutch education. This was believed to be important for their success in the Dutch education system. Music education must have been part of this education in home language and culture, but it is hard to find out which teaching methods and materials were used. Teachers were coming from the migrant communities themselves and probably used material from the home countries (see e.g., Schippers & Van Amstel, 1993).

In the next, third stage, the focus shifted away from the individual pupil with a migrant cultural background. In the mid-1980s educational policies were based on the idea that the Dutch society was composed of a variety of cultures. Education should contribute to the competency to live in a multi-cultural society; this was confirmed in the Dutch educational legislation from 1985 onwards (Wet op het Primair Onderwijs, 2005). Confusingly – and maybe differing slightly from developments in other countries – education that prepared someone to live in a multicultural society was not only called multicultural education, but more often intercultural education. In music education, scores of publications emerged. They contained children's songs, instrumental pieces and background information from musical cultures around the world (see e.g., S.a., 1997). Later on in the process, these separate publications became less necessary because general music textbooks started to incorporate culturally diverse material (see e.g., Vliegen et al., 1999).

A fourth stage in educational policies and practices included a subtle shift from a rather static and monolithic view on cultures as well as individuals' relationship to cultures towards a more dynamic and hybrid one. Contact between cultures became important, as well as mixtures of cultures, and people being able to move from one culture to the next and also in between cultures. Sometimes this was called transcultural education. It aimed at pupils who "by virtue of their transcultural identity are able to adapt to various cultural situations" (Dumasy, 1996, p. 40).

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2   To give an idea of the consequences for today's Dutch society: in 2022 the four biggest groups with a migration background are people with a Turkish (approx. 440.000), Moroccan (approx. 423.000), Surinamese (approx. 361.000) and Indonesian (approx. 347.000) background. Fifth in rank are the Germans (approx. 239.000). https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/dossier/dossier-asiel-migratie-en-integratie/hoeveel-mensen-met-een-migratieachtergrond-wonen-in-nederland-, consulted October 24, 2022.

Since the mid-2000s, educational policies have moved away from using the term culture. In Primary Education Law, until 2006 preparing for a life in Dutch multicultural society was explicitly mentioned as a goal (Wet op het Primair Onderwijs, 2005). In 2006 the term multicultural was abolished and replaced by the goals of active citizenship and social integration in a pluriform society (Ministerie van OCW, 2005). Recently, the wording has been further adapted in the direction of

- respect for the rule of law, democracy, and the universal values of mankind;
- enabling pupils to take part in and contribute to pluriform, democratic Dutch society;
- and acquiring knowledge about and respect for differences and for equal treatment
(Wet op het Primair Onderwijs, 2022).

Conceptualizations of culture in education	Approximate period
1 Monocultural	[1945 –] late 1960s
2 Bicultural	1970s – early 1990s
3 Intercultural education for the multicultural society	1970s – 2005
4 Transcultural	1980s – 2005
5 Active citizenship and social integration in a pluriform society	2005 – present

Table 1. Conceptualizations of culture in Dutch (music) education, 1945-present

4. Two explanatory theoretical lenses

How can we analyze these five consecutive conceptualizations of culture in (music) education in the light of more theoretical work on culture? How can we explain the disappearance of the concept of culture in the mid-2000s? And which conception of culture seems promising to further develop the idea of idiocultural music education? To that end I turn towards work on culture in the social sciences.

A first theoretical lens on the concept of culture is offered by German cultural sociologist Andreas Reckwitz in his *Die Transformation der Kulturtheorien* ("The transformation of theories of culture"; Reckwitz, 2000/2006). In this book he identifies four different overarching concepts of culture: culture as the cultivated (the normative concept of culture), culture as a societal subsystem consisting of arts and science (the differentiation-theoretical concept of culture), culture as a way of life of a group of people (the holistic concept of culture), and culture as the symbolic and meaningful dimension of the social (the meaning-oriented concept of culture).

Applying this lens (see table 2; for an application in Germany, see Barth, 2008), I suggest that in the first stage of monocultural (music) education, a combination of the normative and differentiation-theoretical concepts of culture were applied. The aim of education was to introduce pupils to what is worthwhile in the field of arts and science (differentiation-theoretical). To educate was to cultivate (normative). In the second stage of bicultural education, the holistic concept of culture – culture as a way of life of specific groups of people – was dominant. In the third stage of intercultural education for the multicultural society, the holistic concept of culture remained dominant in much work; but gradually, a shift seems to take place towards a more meaning-oriented concept of culture. This was continued in the fourth stage of transcultural education.

The turn away from culture and towards active citizenship and social integration in the fifth stage is more difficult to interpret: maybe it is a move back towards a normative/holistic conception of culture, as the 'social integration'-component may suggest. Alternatively, it may be interpreted as a continuation of more sophisticated thinking of culture in terms of meaning, given the stress on pluriformity, difference and equality.

Conceptualizations of culture in education	Central concept of culture
1 Monocultural	Normative + differentiation-theoretical
2 Bicultural	Holistic
3 Intercultural education for the multicultural society	Holistic -› meaning-oriented
4 Transcultural	Meaning-oriented
5 Active citizenship and social integration	Normative/holistic? Meaning-oriented?

Table 2. Central concepts of culture used in educational conceptualizations

A general tendency in the first four stages might then be described as a development from an implicit, normative and differentiation-theoretical conception of culture through a holistic conception of culture towards a meaning-oriented conception of culture. However, developments in the fifth stage are much less easily captured by Reckwitz' fourfold distinction. The theoretical lens seems to lose its explanatory power here. I will therefore now propose another theoretical lens, inspired by later work of Reckwitz.

In 2017, Reckwitz published his seminal work *Die Gesellschaft der Singularitäten* (translated in 2020 as *The Society of Singularities*). In revisiting his earlier thinking about culture, he remarks: "For our context (western late-modernity) (…) none of these four concepts of culture is really suitable. They are either too broad or too narrow." (Reckwitz, 2020, p. 53) Reckwitz therefore suggests making a new distinction, between a

broad concept of culture and a specific concept of culture. The broad concept of culture roughly coincides with the meaning-oriented concept of culture. But for Reckwitz, a specific concept of culture has to take center stage when it comes to analyzing western late-modern societies. Using this specific concept of culture, he defines the sphere of the cultural as the sphere of value and affect, and opposes it to the sphere of the rational, of utility and function. Late modern western societies, Reckwitz states, are heavily culturalized: they have become societies of the unique, the exceptional, the singular. In late-modernity, "we value the exceptional – unique objects, experiences, places, individuals, events, and communities which are beyond the ordinary and which claim a certain authenticity" (Reckwitz, 2020, cover text).

On that basis, in 2019 Reckwitz delivered a cultural analysis of late-modern western societies in *Das Ende der Illusionen* (translated in 2021 as *The End of Illusions*). The late-modern western society of singularities is shaped as a liberal society, Reckwitz states. But our current expression of what a liberal society is, is in crisis and in a stage of transformation. I will very shortly try to explain some of the main concepts Reckwitz uses in this refined societal analysis, because he formulates a number of theoretical concepts related to culture which are useful to me (see table 3).

Reckwitz states that the shaping of our society of singularities takes the form of what he calls apertistic liberalism, which I will rephrase here for reasons of convenience as open liberalism. Open liberalism focuses on deregularization and the opening of fixed social structures. In open liberalism, culture is hyperculture. Those who see culture as hyperculture look at culture as "the plurality of cultural goods that circulate on global markets and are available to individuals as resources for their self-development" (Reckwitz, 2021, p. 18). Within open liberalism, Reckwitz sees "a pair of often 'hostile brothers'" (id., p. 146) at work. In neoliberalism, individuals strive for self-realization in a market of singularities. In progressive liberalism, the empowerment of minority groups and individuals are central.

Both forms of open liberalism lead, according to Reckwitz, to a crisis in society because of the disappearance of reciprocal connections. What is left is "the egoism of individuals against institutions" leading to "cultural disintegration" (Reckwitz, 2021, pp. 152-153). That is why in current society a counter voice is growing in importance. This voice defines culture in essentialist ways as the collective identity of a community, of shared identity. Populist movements are representative of this counter voice.

As a way out of this crisis, Reckwitz suggests that open liberalism may be followed by a stage of regulatory liberalism. Its "challenge will lie in creating a general component of society that can be claimed by everyone, despite social differences and cultural heterogeneity" (Reckwitz, 2021, p. 161). Reckwitz states that this societal common ground cannot be defined a priori but must constantly be developed and reworked within the specific

contexts in which it has to function. Reckwitz calls this a culture of reciprocity (Reckwitz, 2021, p. 167-169), and assigns education a central role in shaping this culture.

Stages	Strands	Conceptualizations of culture	
Apertistic or open liberalism	Neo-liberalism	Hyperculture	Culture as self-realization on the market
	Progressive liberalism		Culture as the empower-ment of groups and indi-viduals
	Counter voice: anti-liberalism	Cultural essen-tialism	Populism: culture as shared identity of groups
Regulatory liberalism		A culture of reciprocity in a pluralist society.	

Table 3. Overview of analytical framework as suggested in Reckwitz (2020, 2021)

With this conceptual lens I turn to the conceptualizations of culture in Dutch (music) educa-tion again. Where the earlier theoretical lens led to unclarity in interpreting the final stage of the five stages, here I am unsure about interpreting the first two stages and therefore leave them blank (see table 4). It seems to me that the third stage, intercultural education for the multicultural society, is very much in line with the progressive-liberal idea of empower-ment. The shift to transcultural education in the fourth stage may be more in line with ideas about neo-liberal self-realization. Both stages would then work with the idea of culture as hyperculture. The fifth stage, in which a focus on culture is replaced by a focus on active citizenship and social integration, is interesting because it may be interpreted in various ways. As we have seen, based on Reckwitz (2000) it may be interpreted as either a return to a normative-holistic, even cultural essentialist and Eurocentric conceptualization of culture, or as a further development of a meaning-oriented conceptualization of culture. However, an alternative reading based on Reckwitz (2020; 2021) may imply this is a first attempt to formulate ideas about how to foster a culture of reciprocity in a pluralist society.

Conceptualizations of culture	Reckwitz, 2000	Reckwitz, 2020, 2021
Monocultural	Normative + differentia-tion- theoretical	
Bicultural	Holistic	
Intercultural education for the multicultural society	Holistic -› meaning-oriented	Hyperculture (progressive-liberal)
Transcultural	Meaning-oriented	Hyperculture (neo-liberal)
Active citizenship and social integration	Normative/holistic? Meaning-oriented?	Reciprocal culture?

Table 4. Central concepts of culture used in educational conceptualizations – augmented

5. Conclusion

In this paper I have presented a rough sketch of five stages through which Dutch (music) education policies and practices have gone in the past 70 years in relation to ideas about culture. My main question was: What is the conceptual relationship between idiocultural music education and earlier conceptions of culture in Dutch (music) education? I used two different theoretical lenses, both inspired by Andreas Reckwitz, to get a grip on the consecutive conceptualizations of culture in the history of Dutch (music) education. A social-theoretical distinction in four conceptualizations of culture made an interpretation of early educational developments possible as a shift from normative and differentiation-theoretical through holistic towards meaning-oriented approaches of culture. A societal-analytical distinction between open liberalism and regulatory liberalism allowed for a tentative interpretation of later educational developments as a development from hyperculture (and its 'other': cultural essentialism) towards reciprocal culture. The current stress on 'active citizenship and social integration' in Dutch educational policies may then be seen not so much as a return to normative/holistic, essentialist concepts of culture, but rather as a step towards thinking in terms of the formation of process-based reciprocal culture.

This analysis of developments also allows me to consider my own attempt at formulating the concept of idiocultural music education as building on earlier developments in a logical way. I consider my concept of idioculture as firmly grounded in a meaning-oriented conception of culture. Moreover, I feel that the idea of idioculturality does reflect Reckwitz' ideas about a culture of reciprocity in a pluralist society. As stated above, I consider individuals as shaping a society through a process of constant negotiation of idiocultural identities based on both individual/idiosyncratic as well as social/shared components. What I find attractive in Reckwitz' thoughts is that, although he claims that education plays a central role in shaping the reciprocal culture we need as an answer to the crisis of open liberalism, he also claims that reciprocal culture is not available a priori. It must constantly be developed and reworked within the specific contexts in which it has to function – a good match with the attention to individual and social processes in the continuous shaping of idiocultures.

This processual view on culture aligns with my attempt in the formulation of the concept of idiocultural music education to draw attention to the inherent contextuality of all teaching. In my ideas, teaching music consists of the shaping of contexts for musical development of pupils in directions relevant for those pupils, with a sharp eye for the fact that there is a valuable musical place for each and every human being in this world. And that living together with other human beings occupying (sometimes radically) different musical places in this world is what music education is about as well. As I expressed in earlier papers: music education is about acknowledging pupils as musical human beings, offering them possibilities for development, and enabling them to function in our pluriform musical society (Bisschop Boele, 2015, pp. 92-93). Reckwitz'

expression of the need for a culture of reciprocity in a pluralist society may underpin the further development of these thoughts.

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Matters of concern: the issues that occupy culture coordinators in schools

Edwin van Meerkerk

Arts education in the Netherlands is, despite many attempts from the government, a marginalized phenomenon in primary schools. On the whole, both the number of teaching hours and the number of teachers is low, as a result as well as a cause of the low status of the school subject in relation to the 'core subjects' language and mathematics (Van Meerkerk & IJdens, 2018). In order to strengthen the position of the arts in school, the national government launched a program stimulating the appointment of a so-called 'Internal Culture Coordinator' (ICC) in each school. A certificate training was started to qualify candidates for the task. The program was flanked by subsidies for visits to cultural institutions and hiring artists for workshops and individual classes. As a result, many schools have appointed a culture coordinator to act as an intermediary between the school and arts teachers and cultural institutions, as well as to act as an ambassador for the arts within school. These culture coordinators act as an intermediary, balancing the interests of their colleagues and arts teachers, in addition to their 'real' job as a teacher. How do they manage? What is on their minds as they work to integrate arts and culture into their school curriculum? These are the questions that this paper seeks to answer.

The vast majority of primary schools in the Netherlands do not employ an arts teacher. Moreover, the arts occupy only a marginal position in the training of generalist teachers. As a result, schools rely on external arts teachers and on a coordinator to facilitate this collaboration. Meanwhile, the Dutch government supports arts education programs in primary schools through a series of subsidy schemes originating in the 1980s (Hagenaars, 2020). One of the policy programs was the appointment and training of culture coordinators in elementary schools mentioned above. This initiative proved very successful, resulting in some 90% of all schools appointing a culture coordinator and the same percentage of coordinators completing the certification program. Culture coordinators are always one of the regular teaching staff, receiving between four and eight hours weekly for their task. With the increasing attention for the value of creativity in education, as well as well-rounded concepts like 'Bildung', the arts have received more attention in the curriculum, without, however, becoming a formal part of the program. Indeed, arts and cultural education are funded by the culture department, rather than the education department (Van Meerkerk & IJdens, 2018).

Similar positions to that of the Dutch ICC exist elsewhere, for instance in the US and Canada (Van Meerkerk, 2022). Despite differences in the formal demands and the cultural, social, and political context, the role of culture coordinators in school as an in-

termediary remains the same. It is surprising that hardly any specific research on their role and position exists, especially regarding the whole of their tasks, in spite of the existence of research on partial aspects of their work (Stankiewicz, 2001; Hanley, 2003; Theriot & Tice, 2009; Miszka, 2013; Bowen & Kisida, 2017; McKinley Hedgecoth & Major, 2019; Carter & Roucher, 2020). Previous research has indicated that the personal, affective side of teachers and artists working together is of crucial importance (Purnell, 2008). The same is true for the position of the arts in school, which depends strongly on the person advocating the value of the arts in education (Miszka, 2013). This paper is the result of a first attempt to catch a glimpse of the everyday life of a culture coordinator in school. Based on weekly logbooks written by seven coordinators during one year, this paper focuses on the participants' answer to the question what concerned them most, both as a coordinator and as a teacher, at that moment.

Theoretical framework

In this article, the culture coordinator is observed acting as an intermediary between the school and its cultural environment and between the school management and the team of teachers. As such, the coordinator has to deal with differences on an institutional level as well as with differences in views on the purpose, form, and intended outcomes of arts and cultural education (Van Meerkerk, 2022). Research by Penuel et al. (2009) has shown that it is important to look beyond the composition of these professional communities. In order to gain insight into the change process and its results, the researcher should look at all forms of network and social interaction. That means including parents and pupils as well as their personal lives.

Konings and Van Heusden (2014) investigated the conditions for collaboration between schools and cultural institutions. They found that the nature of the collaborative relationship and the formalization of agreements and responsibilities are of great direct importance, but that in addition, the goals set and the shared frame of reference indirectly influence the mutual trust that underpins collaboration. In other words, while contracts and other documents serve to anchor a collaboration, it will only be fertile and sustainable when both parties trust each other, based on mutual understanding. These findings are in line with an earlier study by Strand (2006) who researched success factors in the collaboration between schools and extracurricular art teachers. She distinguishes between the mission of the organization, the personal characteristics and goals of the teacher, the support from the organization and the degree to which the process, and not the product, is central to the education. Purnell (2008) also stresses that teachers and artists value pragmatic, personal forms of collaboration, thus underlining the importance of personal contact and value-based collaboration.

The culture coordinators are working at the heart of the networks that enable arts and cultural education in Dutch primary schools. It is their (implicit) task to bring together the frames of reference of their colleagues in school and those of the arts teachers

from outside the school. The coordinators have to find their way between the priorities of various subsidy programs, collaboration agreements, mutual financial dependence, public demands, and school rankings. In this neoliberal context, where arts education is reduced to a marketable good (Gielen 2012), the culture coordinator is asked to act as a tradesperson. In order to understand this process of interaction and the 'ecology of agency' (Biesta & Tedder, 2006), this article asks the question which topics concern the coordinators most, in order to bring to light the conflicting priorities within which the coordinators are operating.

Methodology

Following up on an earlier research project on arts education, this research used logbooks for data collection. Logbooks, or research solicited journals are a tool originating primarily in medical ethnography. Their purpose is to catch glimpses of the everyday life of participants, without direct intervention by the researcher. Especially in research where experienced time and repetitive tasks play a role, logbooks help to bring to light those aspects of work or daily life that are only rarely reported in interviews (Sheble & Wildemuth, 2009; Van Meerkerk, 2017). The short interval between activity and report, the repetitive nature of the logbook, and the absence of the researcher on site prompt participants to share events and activities they would normally find too uninteresting to share in an interview – if they remember them at all.

In this project, all seven coordinators sent in their logbooks, using a semi-open format, every Friday during one year, i.e. forty school weeks. The coordinators were recruited by snowball sampling from the author's network. The logbooks were coded by the author in several rounds. The present paper focuses on the final field of each log: 'What concerns you most at this moment?' The participants were given two fields to answer this question: one as a teacher and one as a coordinator. Other than that, there were no restrictions, either regarding the form and style or the content of their entries. These answers were coded and analyzed using ATLAS.ti software (version 9), working with open and axial coding to discover the underlying patterns in the answers (Saldaña, 2016).

Results

The participants were free in their answers to the question what concerned them most at that particular moment. Several times they wrote no answer, sometimes the answer was a list of topics, but most of the time the participants used full sentences to explain their concerns. Examples from the latter two types are:

– The culture co-ordination task is too time-consuming
– School production takes more time than planned – will I be ready in time?
  (Coordinator D, 9-15 January 2017)[1]

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1   All quotations from the logbooks have been translated by the author.

> Relieved about the course of the parents' evening, facing this group next Monday with fresh courage. However, I am struggling with the fact that, once again, I am [coming] home worn out on Monday and in the evening, while working on the calculations test with the toddler, I notice how much pleasure this gives me. I want to do something with this, to be continued. (Coordinator B, 20-26 November 2017)

The last quotation is typical for the way participants mixed emotions with both professional and personal events in their entries, feeling free to share details of their home life and personal struggles.

Overall, the entries for coordinator-related concerns contain nearly exactly the same number of words as the entries for teacher-related concerns. This is taken to be an indication of the importance attached to each task, as topics of little importance are likely to receive less attention when reflecting on the ongoings in the past week. Viewed per week, however, this differed greatly, reflecting the everyday issues in the school. Over the course of the year, the occasions that mark the school terms are clearly visible: exams and reports, holidays, and parents' evenings occupied the participants. When teachers' unions organized a national protest against workload and underpayment, most participants mentioned that as well, paired with their personal hopes and frustrations:

> What is wisdom in education? It seems that not all demands made by [the teachers' union] will be met. I think a choice will have to be made between prioritizing salary or workload reduction. Personally, I would choose a reduction in the workload, probably also because my partner is overworked at the moment. Reducing the workload should be achieved by employing more people in a school so that they can be deployed flexibly. Unfortunately, it will be difficult to find such people if the salary remains as it is. In other words....tricky circle! Glad I'm not in politics. (Coordinator B, 2-8 October 2017)

The analysis of the other logbook entries (Van Meerkerk, 2022) revealed that the position of the culture coordinator depends strongly on the relationship with the school director, far more than on other colleagues, arts teachers or representatives from cultural institutions. Both in frequency of reference and in familiarity (indicated by first name use), the director stands out as a decisive figure. This is indicative of the focus on the school as well as of the bureaucratic nature of the work of a coordinator. The analysis of the logbook entries also show that teaching tasks influence coordination tasks far more than the other way around. All in all, the intermediary role of the culture coordinator turns out to be heavily focused on the school, rather than finding a balance with the relationship with the cultural field supporting the arts in schools. This triggers the question whether this bias is also found in the answer to the question what concerned the coordinators most.

Coordinator concerns

The concerns that participants listed under the headings of their role as coordinator and as a teacher differ greatly. Where one of the participants reflects on her activities as a coordinator "It gives energy to be involved with the workshops, hopefully this also has a positive effect on colleagues", another writes as a teacher that "bonding with the children in the class" is a prime concern. In each role, a subset of codes emerge that are uniquely mentioned in one of the two categories. I will first treat the concerns that appear in only one of the roles. These are, coincidentally, five for each category. Unique coordinator concerns clearly reflect the core of this task: Cultural activities, Institutional collaboration, Coordination in general, The school's cultural policy, and Finance and subsidy. The mentions for 'Cultural activity' are generally very brief, such as this one: "Excursion visual arts lesson: wood." (Coordinator F, 2-7 October 2017). Entries regarding institutional collaboration are usually somewhat longer, reflecting the need for negotiations and the various preferences of the teachers:

> I am very curious which adjustments Museum A still manages to make. I have tipped off my colleagues about this exhibition and contacted [the museum educator] about planning the visits, I would feel bad if it is as disappointing as it was for us. A visit to Museum B would perhaps have been more fun and meaningful. (Coordinator C, 16-20 January 2017)

Mentions of coordination tasks in general are lengthier than those in the participants' role as a teacher. These entries are often related to the consequences of the school's cultural policy, as this coordinator indicates:

> The school plan states that, with regard to art subjects, we focus on visual arts and music. The culture working group (led by the culture coordinator) decided last school year to hold school-wide workshops on Fridays every month. The dates have already been planned. The details have not yet been arranged. (Coordinator G, 21-25 August 2017)

These entries reflect the ongoing work of a coordinator in keeping the activities in line with the school's policy (which they wrote themselves, often in collaboration with the school's director). The school policy itself is often only very briefly (though frequently) mentioned: "Update culture plan." (Coordinator E, 24-28 May 2017) The code 'Finance and subsidy', finally, shows a balance between concerns for the restricted funds available, such as the sigh of concern by Coordinator C that museum visits should be made cheaper, "or free, like in many countries around us." (9-13 October 2017), and the urgency felt when new funding is being announced and has to be applied for: "Plans for the music funds have been approved!" (Coordinator F, 27 February-3 March 2017)

The other concerns that were mentioned, such as parents, colleagues, and teaching materials are nearly all mentioned more often in the field for teacher-related concerns,

with the exception of school activities, that are indeed logically related to the role of a culture coordinator. Finally, positive or negative emotional connotations of the codes were analyzed. Comparing these between teacher concerns and coordinator concerns reveals that the former represent a mixed image, whereas the issues that busied them as a coordinator were generally positively connotated.

Refresher courses

The item that was mentioned equally in the entries for both teacher concerns and coordinator concerns were refresher courses and trainings. This an item where many of the tasks of a culture coordinator come together. As a teacher, they often understand that their colleagues have some reservations about extra trainings, as they are all busy enough with their daily tasks. As a coordinator, trainings and workshops are often the only way to reach all teachers and make them see the importance of integrating the arts in the curriculum:

> Extra training takes time and energy, but I hope that it also gives people energy when we can look ahead again. It would be great if there were more colleagues willing to commit themselves to the workshops and cultural education. But for the time being, I am happy that we are starting to look forward instead of backward. (Coordinator C, 3-7 April 2017)

In spite of its nearly even distribution between coordinator concerns (48%) and teacher concerns (52%), the code for Refresher courses is one of the least mentioned teacher concerns (only school activities are mentioned fewer times), while being a relatively average concern in the role of coordinator. The fact that half of the issues that concern a coordinator also concern them as a teacher, but that their teaching concerns them more in these matters may be a result of a hierarchy between the two roles. This is understandable given the fact that the allocated time for the coordination task is quite small, compared to their teaching. In order to get a clear picture, we will zoom in further.

When refresher courses are mentioned as a coordination-related concern, it refers to two types of training. One are specific training modules or workshops for the coordinator, which are nearly always referred to as inspirational and energizing. The other are workshops the coordinator wants to organize or has organized for the other teachers. The latter are often a source of frustration:

> I notice that the partly culturally filled planning of the study days that I had discussed in broad outline with the director before the holiday has been somewhat compromised by other subjects that are also important. (Coordinator B, 18-22 September 2017)

When refresher courses are mentioned as a teacher concern, on the other hand, are partly due to two of the participants also taking courses in management, as part of a

personal ambition to make a career in school management. The other mentions deal with team building issues within school.

Teacher concerns

The codes that are unique for the teacher concerns are Start and end of term, Personal circumstances, Class management, Pupils and class, and Class schedule. These, like the unique coordinator codes, clearly reflect the core business of a teacher, with the exception of 'personal circumstances', which might just as easily have been felt to influence the work as a coordinator: "What occupies me most at the moment are things that have nothing to do with school." (Coordinator C, 20-24 February 2017) The question is, then, why the coordinators all felt that such personal issues were more of a concern to them as a teacher than as a coordinator? A tentative answer is that teaching remains their core professional identity and that being a coordinator is a task, the way being responsible for cleaning up the school yard might be.

The other teacher-related concerns remarkably often come to issues regarding teaching methods, lesson series, and specific subjects:

> I am glad that the themes for the entire coming year have already been decided. This was also the intention last year, but due to circumstances, this did not happen and a new theme was chosen on an ad hoc basis, which had to start after the weekend, so to speak. (Coordinator C, 5-9 June 2017)

An interesting difference between the emotive codes and the two tasks is that the coordinators associate their coordinator tasks more often with positive emotional expressions, while they use both positive and negative emotional connotations when discussing their teacher concerns. Positively connotated expressions (such as 'happy', 'good', 'always fun', 'nice', 'great', 'looking forward to') refer most often to cultural activities, colleagues, task allocation, meetings, training, and teaching. Interestingly, both colleagues and training are also connotated negatively. This is explained by the fact that participants tend to complain about colleagues reacting negatively on trainings or not participating as well as hoped for:

> I am greatly frustrated that every study day ends with the same discussion (initiated by the same person(s)). The criticism is always that the direction is unclear, that pupil care is compromised, the pressure on the schedule, and general work pressure. (Coordinator C, 25-29 September 2017)

In the codes mentioned less often than 'Refresher courses', 'Teaching' stands out with a higher absolute number of mentions. These expressions very often refer to experiences of arts lessons with pupils: "What fun it is to do this with a few students!" (Coordinator F, 9-13 October 2017), but also "It was beautiful, but it made a mess in the classroom." (Coordinator F, 17-20 July 2017).

Conclusions

The tasks of a coordinator and of the teacher are, it may be concluded, clearly divided along quite logical lines. As a teacher, the participants were concerned with many issues that influence their work in the classroom, from schedules and task division to pupils and personal circumstances. Likewise, the concerns they had as a coordinator are clearly different from their task as a generalist teacher: budgets, policy plans, and collaboration. The influence between the two tasks is clearly one-directional: their work as a teacher is dominant – even though they used almost exactly the same number of words describing their weekly concerns.

These results confirm some of the conclusions from previous research, that the effects of arts partnerships on the quality of arts education are doubtful (Hanley, 2003), that much energy is needed to develop and maintain partnerships (McKinley Hedgecoth & Major, 2019), the crucial role of school directors (Miszka, 2013), This study also showed that the "general managerial routines" (Theriot & Tice, 2009), development of expertise among teachers and everyday issues such as scheduling (Stankiewicz, 2001), that are a prerequisite for engaging with the content of arts education often are the only things that can be done by school coordinators, thus begging the question of whether the content and quality of arts education receive enough attention.

It may be concluded from this analysis that the task of a culture coordinator is under great pressure. Many of the teacher concerns influence the work as a coordinator, a task for which the teachers have only little time available. Meanwhile, their responsibilities as a coordinator are great: they have to obtain the budget for school-wide activities, (co-)write the cultural policy, represent the school at cultural institutions, and keep their team engaged and committed. Not entirely coincidental, the major concerns for the culture coordinators are in line with the concerns for arts education in schools in general: low priority, low budgets, difficulty in formulating a convincing mission, difficulty in persuading generalist teachers, and difficulty in building sustainable partnerships with arts teachers and cultural institutions.

The answers to the question what concerned the culture coordinators most confirm the previous assumptions: the influence of teaching-related tasks is strong. This weakens the position of a coordinator, both in their single reliance on support from the school management and in the lack of time and attention for maintaining a balanced relationship with arts teachers and cultural institutions. Despite all these concerns, the clear enthusiasm of all participants for the work they do and the joy they express in witnessing the children in school working with arts and culture subjects are the best foundation we have for building a stronger arts education.

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The artist-subject and school culture.

Multiculturalism and Transculturalism within the perspective of empirical research on subjectivation in the context of Artist- in-Residence-Programs.

Stefan Gebhard

1. Introduction

This article analyzes processes of subjectivation in the context of Arts Education. With regard to the title of the conference, "Multiculturalism in Music and Drama Education", I propose to detach multiculturalism from its connection to an ethnological-holistic understanding of culture and instead to see it as tendency within local, social practices. Traditionally multiculturalism refers to the parallel coexistence of different cultures within one (territorial) society (cf. Song, 2020). Its theoretical premise is the ethnological-holistic concept of culture. This means that a culture can be attributed to a specific social group, and that this culture can be understood as the totality of the "unique spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional aspects" (UNESCO, 1982, transl. SG) of that specific social group. This article, however, tries to look at multiculturalism from a different perspective to make it useful for the empirical analysis of processes of subjectivation. Instead of understanding culture merely as a distinctive characteristic of certain social group, I would like to conceptualize culture as a specific order of knowledge that can be assigned to social fields rather than to a society as a whole, and that is expressed in and reproduced or transformed in practice, i.e. bodily actions that take place "within the framework of culturally pre-structured *ways of doing*" (Hirschauer, 2016, 46, emphasis added, translat. SG). In order to do so, it is necessary to recontextualize multiculturalism with the contemporary "meaning- and knowledge-oriented" (Reckwitz, 2000, 84, translat. SG) concept of culture and to discard the traditional ethnological-holistic concept of culture. In the pursuit of this argument, the concept of transculturalism also becomes more important, which emphasizes mutual entanglement and intertwining of cultures, so that the clear demarcation of supposedly 'uniform' cultures becomes obsolete (Welsch, 2005). From the perspective I would like to propose, multiculturalism then means the parallel coexistence of different orders of knowledge actors can align their practices with. Transculturalism, in contrast, means the combination and fusion of different elements of (already combined and merged) cultures in a way that something new emerges in practice.

With that said, I would like to examine different ways of "doing culture" (cf. Hörning & Reuter, 2004) in the context of subjectivation. In my opinion, the theory of subjectivation offers the possibility to understand culture as a framing, albeit not determinant, element of the production of a specific subjectivity. The central hypothesis of my article

is that the German educational system (re)produces a specific culture and correlating subjectivity that can potentially be transformed by Arts Education. However, it should not be assumed per se that the arts facilitate a somewhat better, freer, or more autonomous form of educational processes. Rather, it seems that the relationship between traditional schooling and Arts Education is that of a shift in the modes of power (cf. Foucault, 1995) that produce different subjectivities.

To unfold this argument, I will first draw on a classic critique of the reproduction of social relations through schooling formulated by Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu, 1988; 2018). Building on this critique, I will use the vocabulary of subjectivation theory, shaped primarily by the works of Althusser (2014), Foucault (1982) and Butler (1997) (cf. Saar, 2013), to show how the 'doing culture' of a school relates to the reproduction of social reality (section 2). This inventory leads to the question of what influence Arts Education can potentially have on this situation, that is, to what extent traditional mechanisms of schooling can be transformed. A critical examination of the procedures of Arts Education does not yet paint a clear picture (section 3). For this reason, I frame the question of the relationship between culture and subjectivity in the context of Arts Education as a question to be addressed empirically. The theory of subjectivation and the methodological premises for the empirical research are then presented, focusing on the integration of the linguistic and non-linguistic dimension of practice in order to analyze subjectivation processes in the appropriate complexity (section 4). This discussion is necessary because analyses of processes of subjectivation are currently primarily analyses of the linguistic dimension of the social (cf. the chapters in Geimer et al., 2019), but at the same time theories of practice have always emphasized the material, non-linguistic aspects of the social (cf. Schatzki, 2019; Budde et al., 2018, 67ff.); and this dimension is all the more important for the field of Arts Education, and the Arts in general (cf. Scholz, 2019).

An exemplary analysis of ethnographic data material from my dissertation project will demonstrate the possibilities of such an analysis (section 5). My data material here comes from a specific subfield of Arts Education: I accompanied artists working in an *Artists-in-Residence* program at a school in Rhineland-Palatinate over a period of more than two years. Artists-in-Residence are artists who are not only hired by schools for individual workshops, but who work together with schools over a longer period of time (up to several years) and regularly organize activities for the students (cf. e.g. Cohen, 1984; Styhre & Erikson, 2008). In the case of the funding program ('Generation K', www.generationk.de) in which the artists I accompanied were introduced to the cooperation with schools, there was also a focus on **L**earning **T**hrough **T**he **A**rts (LTTA), a pedagogic model in which artists and teachers plan and carry out teaching sequences together, with the aim of implementing artistic procedures in non-artistic subjects (Elster, 2001). Finally, an outlook will be given, which formulates a take on the relationship between culture, Arts Education and artist's subjectivity on the basis of preliminary results of my empirical research (section 6).

2. Doing Culture in Schools

One central reference with regard to the state of the German educational system in the 21th century is PISA. The *Programme for International Student Assessment* has shown, among other things, that students' achievements within the German educational system correlate with their social background, more so than in other OECD countries (Baumert et al., 2001). The central results of the first study in 2001 paved the way for several far-reaching reforms of the German educational system (cf. Kuhlmann & Tillmann, 2009). One goal was the expansion of all-day schools, through which Arts Education was increasingly embedded in schools in addition to the classic subject canon. But the steps taken and reforms implemented did not fully compensate the problematic mechanisms that PISA helped to uncover: There is still a correlation between the social background of students and their school achievements. Especially students with migration background seem to have less chances to exceed in the German educational system (Reiss et al., 2019). Even though one cannot single out one factor responsible for this finding, I would like to adduce the works of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu, 2018) for an explanation of this phenomena. Bourdieu studied the French school system of the 1960s and 1970s and discovered that schools tend to favor a certain student habitus – a certain set of knowledge, values and morals (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu, 1988) – that schools themselves (in conjuction with parents, cf. Bourdieu 1998, pp. 126.-137) seek to incorporate in the students' bodies. These values and morals of one's habitus are learned and incorporated en passant, incidental, so that in the end this social phenomenon seems to be a natural disposition. It is now important to note that this habitus is in fact in no way neutral or 'natural', nor do all students have the same way ahead of them when it comes to this long-term process on incorporating a certain habitus; instead, the school system favors habitus that correlate with the habitus of those who design and administer the school system – teachers, principals, politicians (cf. Harker 1984, p. 122). In the way that schools demand from their students and thus reproduce a bourgeoise-middle class habitus, schools reproduce and legitimize differences via framing them as natural disposition rather than eliminating these differences: those students whose family background aligns with the school habitus receive easier further affirmation, while those students whose family background differs from the school habitus are more likely to be disadvantaged (Bourdieu 2018, p. 22).

This criticism, formulated by Bourdieu more than 50 years ago, still applies in some respects today when we look at the German education system (cf. Krüger et al., 2010). My point here is not to discuss Bourdieu's work, nor to evaluate the PISA results, but rather to suggest what these results might mean for the 'doing culture' in schools from a sociological/educational perspective. For that, I shift the focus away from the classic bourdieusian concept of habitus towards the more contemporary concept of subjectivation. Subjectivation is a concept that is embedded in various poststructuralistic theories and that critically questions the traditional-cartesian concept of the subject.

Contrary to the assumption of a strong sense of autonomy and agency of the subject, its emergence under limiting social conditions and thus the conditional agency arising therein and therefrom come into focus (cf. Saar, 2013). In subjectivation theory, culture can be seen as a reservoir for possible processes of subjectivation that are realized in actual social situations via practices. Culture, as already mentioned above, represents a certain order of knowledge, which usually allows the processing and interpretation of everyday life to function smoothly. Subjectivation is the process of simultaneously internalizing and being positioned in a certain subjectivity, i.e. a specific relation to the self and others (cf. Ricken, 2013a).

With that in mind we can understand the influence that a school's 'doing culture' has on its students: When schools tend to favor a specific form of subjectivity, typically the subjectivity of the bourgeois middle-class (drawing on Bourdieu's work), then those middle-class students comply with the school culture's requirements (e.g. norms of diligence, tidiness, self-control) more easily than others due to their already incorporated knowledge and the correlating processes of subjectivation in which they already were and still are entangled. And even if the school's culture may contain elements, dispositions that positively evaluate cultural plurality, the narrowing of the way in which the correlating subjectivity is reproduced through a school's 'doing culture' is in itself precisely the opposite of cultural plurality. That means, schools tend to only legitimize a certain kind of culture, understood as a set of norms, values and knowledge about the world, and a certain subjectivity arising from it. Those who have a corresponding cultural background have much better starting conditions as well as higher chances to perform on a high level and achieve higher degrees that are still crucial for social security via employment or better paid professional positions.

3. The Impact of Arts Education

The question now is, what impact can Arts Education possibly have in regards to the transformation of these mechanisms? At a first glance, Arts Education may seem to be part of the problem. Music and Arts were part of the subject canon from the beginning of the public school system in the 19th century, they were thought to be helpful in regards to nation building (cf. Schiller, 2004 [1785]) – a matter of concern especially for Prussia, in which previously fragmented principalities were then united (cf. Van Ackeren & Klemm, 2011). Of course, the curricula have adapted to today's societies and have integrated intercultural diversity into the structure of learning contents (cf. Ministerium für Bildung Rheinland-Pfalz, 2017; Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Weiterbildung, 1998), but at the same time these curricula are still shaped by the European canon in arts and music (cf. Hassan, 2020; Kallio, 2020). Still, as I tried to formulate in my hypothesis, Arts Education can potentially transform this canon and can further induce transcultural elements with regard to what is learned and how that is learned. I use the following three justifications for this:

1. Artists-in-Residence are not subject to the same selective procedures as teachers. A university degree and the following traineeship are further hurdles in the course of teacher education that demand a certain teacher-subjectivity, incorporating (among other elements) so called evidence-based teaching methods (Herzog, 2017; Ladwig, 2018). So, the artistic profession might be more likely to be more diverse than e.g. one school's teaching staff. This should not hide the fact that artistic education is also highly selective (cf. Seefranz & Saner, 2012), even though the requirements and selection process are different from teacher education.

2. When working in schools, Artists-in-Residence can focus on genres that are not taught in school. While certain arts *are* taught in school – mainly visual arts, literature, music and theatre – there are other genres that are more marginalized, e.g. architecture, sculpture, digital art or other pop-cultural genres like graffiti or beatboxing. Now when artists introduce these marginalized genres into school, they can diversify learning contents and uncover students' talents, and with that potentially change the students' relation to themselves, which is a crucial aspect of subjectivation.

3. Artists have experience with ways of learning and knowing apart from the traditional cognitive-intellectual concept. Actors, dancers or musicians all rely on their embodied, incorporated knowledge (Richard, 2013; Berg, 2021) and students making their own experiences with these genres will also be able to gain insight into the relevance and acquisition of this kind of knowledge.

In summary, artists can potentially diversify the social composition of a school's staff, especially when they are employed there on a long-term basis such as in artist-in-residence-programs; they can diversify the learning contents by bringing their profession into the school curriculum; and they can diversify the way the learning contents are conveyed, focusing on other ways of learning than the cognitive-intellectual type predominant in the traditional school system.

Of course, there are counter arguments that I do not want to withhold for the sake of transparency: Artists themselves are often well-educated, which means they in fact do have adapted to the subjectivity schools tend to (re)produce (Jebe 2019). Plus, it is to expect that those artists who are satisfied with the ways schools operate are more likely to cooperate with schools in the long term (ibid.); This leads to the assumption that those who oppose the school system are more likely to be employed in other areas of the creative industries. Furthermore, it is well known that artists cannot change a school's curriculum singlehandedly, it needs more than one workshop to implement other art genres in a school's curriculum or the extracurricular activities (cf. Shaw & Bernard, 2022). And at last it seems plausible that with little or no pedagogical experiences, artists in schools may be more likely to resort to stereotypical teacher-performances in order to deal with didactic uncertainty rather than creating a new, more artistic style of teaching.

With that said, I want to argue that the underlying question of what I just described is a question that revolves around the *practice* of Arts Education. For the definition of *practice*, I follow the suggestion of Stefan Hirschauer: Practices are bodily actions that take place "within the framework of culturally pre-structured *ways of doing*" (Hirschauer 2016, p. 46, emphasis added, translat. SG). The knowledge of practices, about the ways of doing, is on the one hand embedded in the bodies of the actors when they perform these practices, and at the same time this embodied knowledge becomes public (cf. Schmidt & Volbers, 2011) in the performance of the practice and is perceptible to others; in the performance of practices, actors show themselves as gradually competent participants in a social situation (Alkemeyer & Buschmann, 2017, p. 271). In short, practices are bodily behaviors that are prefigured and structured by specific orders of knowledge (i.e., 'culture' in the sense proposed earlier). This understanding of practice, which is related to similar wordings in the contexts of sociological theories of practice (cf. Schäfer 2016), leads to the critical questions as I have formulated them in my dissertation project (cf. Gebhard 2022). These are the following:

- *In what practices are artists in schools engaged?*
- *How and as what are 'Arts' and 'Culture' practically carried out by artists in school?*
- *To what extent do these practices and school culture structure an Artist-in-Residence subjectivity?*

The dissertation's thesis is, that due to their special position in the structure of the individual school and their expertise in artistic processes, artists have the opportunity to change the traditional knowledge order of schooling and thus school culture. However, this change largely depends on how artists act in practice and with what knowledge order they align their practice with (cf. Hillebrandt, 2015). Both aspects can be reconstructed through the analysis of patterns of subjectivation, which reveal the simultaneity of a prefigured scope of action of individual actors as well as the irritation of this same scope of action through certain ('subversive') practices.

4. The Practice of Artists-in-Residence: Theoretical framework and methodology

The questions just presented suggest a theoretical approach that focuses on the theory of subjectivation (cf. Geimer et al., 2019). Subjectivation is a concept that is embedded in various poststructuralistic theories and that critically questions the traditional-cartesian concept of the subject. According to the work of Judith Butler (Butler, 1997), subjectivation is first and foremost a linguistic process, because the subject receives its plausibility through the grammatical subject:

> "Individuals come to occupy the site of the subject (the subject simultaneously emerges as a "site"), and they enjoy intelligibility only to the extent that they are, as it were, first established in language. The subject is the linguistic occasion for the individual to achieve and reproduce intelligibility, the linguistic condition of its existence and agency. No individual becomes a subject without first becoming subjected or undergoing "subjectivation"" (ibid., pp. 10-11).

Butler further argues, that the process of subjectivation has to be steadily repeated through performative actions, i.e. verbal as well as non-verbal practices, in order to maintain the status as (e.g. gendered) subject (Butler, 1999). These performative actions are to be understood as responses to certain interpellations that come from other subjects and/or institutions. In his well-known example, Althusser (2014, 190) depicts the call of a policeman ("Hey, you there!"), which causes a citizen to turn to the policeman, thus revealing himself as subject to police order. This prototypical scene of interpellation may be understood as a model of the relationship between interpellation, recognition, and the production of a specific subjectivity, but it does not consider, for example, the possibility of a more subversive re-addressing, which would consist, for example, in the pedestrian ignoring the call of the policeman.

My suggestion is that empirical research on subjectivation can answer questions about how Arts Education is performed by artist-subjects and how "intelligibility" (Butler 1999, 22) as an artist-subject is achieved or risked, that means, along which practices artists become recognizable *as* artists (or not). The central assumption of this theoretical framework is that the status as a subject is acquired in practices, namely through a physical-practical relation of one's own bodily actions to specific orders of knowledge, which are the continued result of previous discursive-practical negotiations of (il)legitimate knowledge (Spieß, 2018). That approach can thus explore to what extent Arts Education diversifies the contemporary ways of schooling by reconstructing the interpellated norms (e.g. diligence, tidiness, self-control, improvisational skills, or the ability to think dialectically) as well as the subject's responses to these norms in their way of doing student (cf. Kampshoff, 2013), or, in my case: *doing artist*.

Before we look at the empirical data itself, I would like to discuss the methodological framework. While it is now commonplace in qualitative research that as a researcher you are not just an uninvolved observer, but are actively involved in the construction of the field (Kalthoff et al., 2008), the research question and the results, the theory of subjectivation again points out that you only become a recognized researcher-subject through certain performances in scientific contexts, too (Knorr-Cetina, 1981). Therefore, right from the start of my dissertation project and since then, the question has repeatedly arisen for me how I place myself to my research and how I perform my researcher-subjectivity. During my field trips, I found myself in various positions: I was often an observer from a medium distance, but I was also often an accomplice to the students in

coping with everyday school life. I was a kind of assistant teacher (my teacher training proved to be both a blessing and a curse here) and in an exceptional situation on short notice, I even performed as an artist in a poetry slam-like school event. Now, not only was I passively pushed into these situations, rather I got actively involved in these situations and tried to shape them myself to a certain extent in order to be able to collect the data that I needed, or at least deemed helpful, in relation to answering my research question. Just as the process of data collection depends on individual strategic decisions (which I am trying to indicate here) dealing with theory is never neutral, but rather characterized by your own commitment in the scientific field. In relation to my research, this note is relevant in that the theory of subjectivation as formulated by Butler heavily draws on the written and spoken word, and for this reason empirical research on subjectivation often uses methods related to conversation analysis (cf. the chapters in Geimer et al., 2019). However, this type of qualitative research seemed insufficient for my research context for two reasons: Not only did Foucault make it clear in his early reflections on subjectivation that, in addition to it being a linguistic process, it is also to be understood explicitly as a physical matter (Foucault 1995, p. 152), but also the dimension of artefacts, and the question of the limits of what is linguistically explicable and what may elude language (expressed in the phrase *je ne sais quoi*) is crucial in the context of Arts Education. That is why I chose an ethnographic approach to my field of research and tried to look beyond the verbal level at the interaction between the actors and the different materials. In order to do so, I accompanied the Artists-in-Residence of a local school over a period of two years. I participated in LTTA-sequences, learning sessions for GFL-students (**G**erman as a **f**oreign **l**anguage), extracurricular workshops and other activities. These different activities were planned and organized by the artists, at times in cooperation with teachers. Most of the activities were conducted by the artist themselves, but at times again they cooperated with teachers or guest artists, who became somewhat recurring collaborators.

The data, mainly logs of participant observations, photos and videos, will be interpreted with regards to the research question along the so-called addressing analysis (*Adressierungsanalyse*), the main question of which is: How is one explicitly or implicitly addressed as who by whom, in front of whom, and who is thereby 'made' a certain someone by whom and in front of whom (cf. Ricken 2013b, 92; Rose 2019; Ricken et al. 2017)? This main question is broken down into three individual, interrelated dimensions of analysis: the knowledge order (1), positioning and relation (2), and the dimension of self-relation (3) (cf. Ricken et al., 2017), with the self-relation referring to Foucauldian self-technologies (cf. Foucault, 2005). Across these three dimensions, moreover, lies a conversation-analytic dimension that focuses on the organization of the conversation (turn-taking, etc.). Due to this design, the *Adressierungsanalyse* can be seen as some kind of subjectivation-theoretical development of the classic tools of conversation analysis. However, as I noted in the introduction, the sole focus on language and the disregard for the material-spatial dimension of subjectivation processes is an unsatisfactory

simplification (this point is also made by the authors themselves; cf. Ricken et al. 2017, p. 220, Fn. 8). This applies to the analysis of subjectivation in general as well as to contexts of Arts Education in particular. Using the addressing analysis in the context of Arts Education therefore presents the question of how to adequately describe and analyze the material-spatial dimension as well as the linguistic dimension. Theoretically, the relevance of the spatial-material dimension for subjectivation can be reaffirmed with Foucault's concept of the *dispositif* (Foucault 2016, pp. 392-393.). While there are different method(olog)ical approaches to operationalize Foucault's concept of the *dispositif* for empirical research (cf. Jäger, 2006; cf. Bührmann & Schneider, 2008), these do not focus on addressing and therefore cannot be combined with the addressing analysis without further methodological adjustments. I still draw on Foucault and the *dispositif* here since the addressing analysis with its discourse-analytic aspects closely follows Foucault's theoretical work with regards to the conceptualization of power and its relevance for the emergence of subjectivity. For me, the *dispositif* works as a 'sensitizing concept' (Blumer, 1954) through which I look at the ethnographic data when trying to reconstruct artists' practices and what consequences this has for the *doing culture* in schools. To this end, it seems useful to me to think of school as a *dispositif* (cf. Pongratz, 2004), and to understand the interventions that the artists carry out on a long-term and regular basis in schools through their work as Artists-in-Residence as potentially new elements of this *dispositif*.

5. Research on subjectivation in practice

For a closer look on the empirical research on subjectivation, I now discuss a short excerpt from a protocol of a participant observation. The protocol is from a GFL-lesson). In this lesson the students (8th and 9th grade) held presentations about their home countries, and these presentations are the basis for a work of art yet to be specified by the artist who co-teaches the GFL-lessons with a professional GFL-teacher. The artist is a professional set designer, but also does paintings, performances and video art. The didactic arc, which spans an entire school semester, focuses on the development of a work of art to be presented at the end of the school year. Various research and presentation tasks are set in throughout the semester. The excerpt focuses on the end of the lesson I observed, when the homework is assigned. Until the sequence presented below, a longer time was spent talking about the presence/absence of individual students, and tablets were distributed to the students so that they could further structure their previously made notes (text and image material researched online) about their home countries. Both the teacher and the artist took on organizational tasks, technical support and gave advice regarding the contents of the student's research. While some students are still working on the tablets, the teacher and artist together formulate a homework assignment. I have logged this sequence as follows (I have translated the log text and the verbatim speech into English, verbatim speech already given in English in the field is marked with an asterisk (*):

[…] At the end of the lesson the teacher assigns the homework: "please write a text in which you summarize information about your home countries. It is up to you to write in German or in English. I will correct these texts later." The artist interrupts the teacher at this point by saying "with regards to what we're planning, I'd set the task a little differently." She thinks it doesn't make much sense to simply *provide information* about the students home countries, but rather write about what is *important to the students* in regards to their home countries, *what they care about*. The teacher accepts this suggestion saying she would have "meant that anyway." Nevertheless, the homework that the teacher had previously given each student individually is now being reworded, again individually. The teacher and the artist ask "where is your heart in Portugal?*", "What is fascinating about Bosnia?" The artist then wraps it up and concludes that the students are currently doing "research", yet that they "are going to do something with it […] we will do an artwork." She explains this as follows: "I need some information, so I can do something with it." […]

I would like to structure the interpretation along the dimensions of the knowledge order (1), positioning and relation (2), and the dimension of self-relation (3). The forth, more conversation-analytic dimension mentioned above is considered within the sections on the first three dimensions insofar as it is relevant for the reconstruction of the subjectivation processes.

(1) The artist rephrases the first assignment given by the teacher in a way that it is less focused on facts, but more on the students' emotions regarding their home countries. With that, the artist refers to the knowledge order of the arts when contextualizing the assignment as part of artistic research. With that, she implicitly differentiates her assignment from the previous assignment given by the teacher, characterized by its focus on providing facts, in that case in regards to the students home countries. With regard to the question of how a certain knowledge order is established in the context of this homework, it becomes clear that one's home country, which through the teacher's formulation was to become a (supposedly) foreign object of investigation, becomes an already known thing to which one can relate emotionally through the artist's rephrasing. The task thus addresses the students as competent 'insiders' in regards to their home countries, and implies an emotional-affective connection to it. With that said, the artist's rephrasing of the homework could not only indicate some kind of diversification in terms of what kind of homework can be assigned in classes – researching feelings instead of facts – but also builds integrally on students' highly individual and subjective experiences. Instead of wanting to form (or wishing for) a learning group that is as homogeneous as possible, here the individuality of the students becomes the starting point of a learning process that, according to the artist, should be understood primarily as an artistic process. With regard to the question of the extent to which 'doing culture' is practiced in this sequence, two different approaches can thus be identified. The teacher uses an approach in which culture –

essentialized as *the* culture of one's own home country – is framed as something to be learned. The artist also uses this essentialized concept of culture, but for her, the students' knowledge of their home countries' culture is not the goal, but the starting point. If we use the two terms from the heading – multiculturalism and transculturalism – here in the sense I suggested in the introduction, we would note a parallel coexistence of different orders of knowledge, that is, a *multiculturalist process of subjectivation* in the context of Arts Education.

(2) Furthermore, the artist positions herself as the director of the implied artistic process. This process, at this point, however, remains unclear: the students know *that* they are supposed to do research, but *what* this research will lead to is left unclear by the artist ("*I* need some information, so *I* can do something with it"). The artist positions herself as the expert that helps to turn the student's emotions into an artwork; that implies a master-student-like hierarchy of knowledge and ability; so even though she is implicitly referring to herself as an *artistic* expert, at the same time she reproduces traditional school-like hierarchies of knowledge. With the students being merely suppliers of the artistic process by sharing their background stories with the artist and the teacher, this setting tends to reproduce traditional teaching concepts. Further analyses would have to clarify in detail whether and to what extent this master-student hierarchy differs from the school-like teacher-student hierarchy, especially when this relationship is established in a school context. With regard to the artist-teacher-relation, the artist positions herself in relation to the teacher as an equal organizer of the pedagogical-artistic process ("with regards to what *we're* planning"), but immediately distances her approach explicitly from that of the teacher ("*I'd* set the task a little differently"). This distancing is reinforced by the artists interruption of the teacher's speech, which makes the conflict in the pedagogical approaches explicit and public. The teacher notices this conflict and tries to settle it by pretending to have intended to say this in the first place ("[I] meant that anyway"). The additional "anyway" also tries to minimize the difference between the different approaches. With the homework now being reformulated together for individual students, artist and teacher are a tandem again and the conflict is worked out and resolved through shared practice. It is this suspension of difference in favor of the artist's approach that suggests that local 'doing culture' is practiced here in a transcultural way – the fusion of different orders of knowledge. For processes of subjectivity that one wants to reconstruct along the sequence above, this passage is particularly interesting insofar as here both teacher and artist have to reproduce elements of their profession as well as integrate new elements of the other profession into their practice: school-traditional homework assignments are confronted with more artistic strategies of research.

(3) The artist assigns a homework that implies a certain relation to the self and one's emotions. I would like to use the term 'soul-searching' here because in a way that's literally the homework: "where is your heart in Portugal?" With that said, the assigned homework suggests, or demands some kind of self-reflective subjectivity: the students need to explicitly connect with and reflect on their emotions (even if that potentially involves experiences of violence and fleeing one's home country) in order to create a piece of art, and in this context, this is initially an end in itself. Along this interpellation for a self-reflective and somewhat creative subjectivity, the goal of learning German as a second language is meant to be achieved en passant. While at a first glance this seems to be a way to motivate the students, it has to be noted that these kind of strategies at the same time might present extra challenges: Speaking German is connected with speaking in front of a crowd of peers, and the presentations content will probably draw on very personal experiences. Furthermore, other sequences of the protocol mentioned above show how the media and artefacts related to the presentation (beamer, laptop, cables, slides) necessitate additional organizing practices.

If we consider school as a *dispositif*, then the way in which homework was assigned in the present protocol represents one way in which the *dispositif* can come into specific relation with new elements. This relation can present itself as, among other ways, conflict or adaptation, and in the present example an initially public conflict was dealt with and resolved in practice.

 In summary, this brief analysis shows how 'doing culture' can be practiced in Arts Education and what consequences this has for processes of subjectivation. The terms multiculturalism and transculturalism can be used to described different tendencies within local social situations. Multiculturalistic subjectivation processes are characterized by a certain ambiguity that is dealt with in practice. Transcultural processes of subjectivation, in contrast, emerge when a practice is composed of elements of two distinct orders of knowledge. It is important to note here, especially in the context of Arts Education, that the confusion of this more structural dimension of subjectivation with the content-related level of learning *about* culture (for example in its meaning as high culture) should be avoided.

6. Conclusion: Arts Education and Multiculturalism going forward

In conclusion, I would like to make the following two points. First, if we understand culture as a specific set of knowledge and norms, then multiculturalism initially means a parallelism between two distinct cultures. If we move away from an ethnological concept of cultures, then we can also ascribe specific cultures to schools and the arts – in general as well as in individual schools'. art genres. The relationship between artists and teachers, as expressed in practices in the Artist-in-Residence program researched

here, appears to oscillate between a multi- and transculturalism: the interpretation of the excerpt has shown that artists engage in practices that are traditional in the way school works (homework assignment), but confront these practices with elements of the knowledge order of the arts. The intertwining of these different knowledge orders might be typical for the work of Artists-in-Residence, plus it seems that this intertwining opens up potentials for different learning settings. With reference to the research of subjectivation processes in the work of Artists-in-Residence, this means that one's practice of *doing artist* is perhaps not limited to the mere reproduction of the traditions of the artistic field, i.e. the 'culture' of the arts, but is instead characterized by questioning and transforming different cultures and the associated logics of action, such as those of the school system.

Secondly, I would like to argue that a more intensive look at Arts Education in practice is needed in order to understand the educational processes taking place there as a complex web of social interaction and different cultures. Multiculturalism and transculturalism, in the sense proposed here, are not normatively charged political targets, but figures of the relation between actors and knowledge in practice.

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Design-based learning to enhance inclusive education

Michel Hogenes

Introduction

Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague are the biggest three cities of the Netherlands. The composition of the population of these cities can be considered superdiverse (Vertovec, 2007), which means a dynamic interplay of variables among a growing number of new, small and dispersed, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socioeconomically diverse, and legally stratified people with a migration background. It also refers to growing diversity inside migrant and ethnic minority groups as well as between them. Superdiversity is also called diversification of diversity. The studies described in this chapter have been conducted in these three superdiverse cities.

Ethnicity is not the only form of diversity teachers in big cities, but also villages and small cities, are confronted with. Diversity regarding socio-economic status, religions, and beliefs, as well as abilities/ disabilities impact on children's and youth's educational needs. This applies to people with and without a migrant background. All forms of diversity influence the content and form in which – in this case – arts activities can or even should be offered to the pupils, teachers work with.

In 2003, Diekstra wrote his constitution for upbringing and education. The first article of this constitution says: *"In order to be given equal opportunities to develop according to their capabilities and talents, children have the right to unequal treatment in upbringing and education" (Diekstra, 2003, p.8).* When teachers treat children equally, they often assume that all children will benefit from the same support. However, some children might still not be supported enough to be able to participate in arts activities. It might be better to give children different support, to treat them equitably. As a result, all children receive the opportunity to get equal access to arts education. However, the desired effect is the possibility for all children to participate in (arts) activities, not for all children to perform at the same level. Most ideal would be a situation in which systematic barriers can been removed. Differences between children should be cherished. As long as systematic barriers still exist, unequal treatment in upbringing and education is needed (Jorgensen, 2015). This chapter describes two activities – music composition and building technology-based music instruments – that offer opportunities to include all kinds of music as well as openings to consider the possibilities of differences between pupils.

How can we match developments in society with the possibilities that are available in 2022? After all, the context in which children and young people grow up and receive education has changed considerably compared to two decades ago. Children and

young people have much more access to all kinds of music (Campbell, 2018). YouTube, Spotify, but also TikTok make it possible to listen to and view music via the computer, tablet and smartphone. These devices often also offer opportunities to produce music yourself and share it with others. Of course, education itself has changed too. Science and technology have emerged in primary education. In practice, these are often used in the form of inquiry- and design-based learning, in which children conduct their own research based on the research or design circle. So let us take a critical look at our current music education.

Although Inquiry-based learning and design-based learning are linked to each other, they are not the same. Both strategies include pupils investigate a question, a problem, or a need, set up small-scale research projects, carry them out and present the research results (Clapp, Ross, Ryan & Tishman, 2017; Malmberg, Rohaan, Van Duijn & Klapwijk, 2019). Inquiry-based learning, however, focuses on a question, while design-based learning focuses on a problem or need. Design- and inquiry-based learning can therefore be distinguished but are difficult to separate. They have a different starting point, but similar steps, which require a same kind of attitudes, skills and ways of thinking of researchers and designers.

This chapter is about design-based learning which confronts pupils with a problem that they have to solve. They explore a problem and collect ideas for solutions. From these ideas, pupils select the most fitting, work out different concept designs and choose the concept that seems best to them. They then make a prototype of the design, test it, after which they can adjust or improve it. The pupils present the final designs in the classroom. Like in most educational concepts this approach starts with relatively simple problems that become increasingly complex as pupils develop themselves.

In many schools, design-based learning is mainly used during lessons in the sciences. But design-based learning can also be applied within arts and cultural education (Haarsma, 2021; De Koning, 2013). After all, art and science have many commonalities, such as the urge to explore, to be creative, and the need to think critically.

Theoretical framework

A wide variety of educational concepts for elementary and secondary education can be found in the Netherlands, such as Jenaplan, Steiner, Montessori and Dalton (see Onderwijsinspectie, 2022). The educational concept of a school determines the expectations teachers have of pupils, teachers' ways of interacting with pupils, and teachers' concepts of development and learning. Hence, it determines the way school subjects are taught as well. This is also the case for music as a school subject.

One of the contemporary educational concepts in the Netherlands is Developmental Education (Van Oers, 2021). Developmental Education has been chosen as educational

concept for this chapter because the author wanted to study design-based learning within an educational framework in which music education can be analyzed as and at an activity level. The Cultural-Historical Activity Theory, which underlies Developmental Education, provides such a framework with engagement in activities as a key characteristic. Developmental Education is an educational concept based on Vygotsky's Cultural-Historical Theory of human development and learning (cf. Van Oers, 2012). Vygotsky's approach was later completed by Leont'ev (1981) who developed a psychological theory of human activity. This led to an approach that is nowadays known as Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT).

The mission of Developmental Education is the development of a theoretically well-grounded practice for the education of pupils that would be inherently pedagogical, in other words an approach that aims to deliberately promote the cultural development of children, acknowledging the responsibilities and normative choices that educators have to make (and want to make) in helping children to become broadly developed autonomous and critical agents in society (Van Oers, 2012, p.13). Within Developmental Education, teachers and other educators derive their methods from the assumption that pupils develop as persons, because they do not only work on improving their skills and gaining knowledge, but also develop socially and emotionally – pupils are responsible for and admit responsibility for their own actions. Education becomes socially relevant in such a way that pupils feel engaged in their community and want to actively contribute to social practices with a positive yet critical attitude.

Characteristics of Developmental Education, as described by Van Oers (2012) are: (1) Developmental Education is a holistic approach. Affective and (meta-) cognitive aspects of broad development of pupils' identity are connected with specific skills and knowledge. What is characteristic of holistic approaches is that the whole is considered to be more than the sum of its parts. Hence, the pupil's identity cannot be built by teaching skills, abilities, and knowledge separately. (2) Education is based on meaningful activities and learning embedded in the context of sociocultural practices. In thematically arranged social-cultural activities, pupils influence the choice and planning of activities they are involved in. The educational arrangements for young pupils are constructed as playful activities, while activities for older pupils are arranged as activities of inquiry-based learning aimed at finding answers to their personal questions. (3) The teacher is a participant in the joint activities. He or she can play or carry out a research project together with pupils. The adult is a more knowledgeable partner for pupils in this process of learning. (4) Pupils construct instruments that are solutions to problems meaningful to them. While performing the activities, pupils encounter problems that encourage them to find solutions to these problems. In the search process, they form – together with the help of others – new operational structures. (5) A systematic hypothetical pathway is developed; it is systematic in the sense that there is a theme linking the activities that pupils can recognize, and that these activities are subject to intrinsic

coherence. The teacher knows what learning objectives he or she wants to achieve and has a schedule for a set period of time. This pathway is solely hypothetical, as it is likely to be adjusted where necessary while working with the pupils.

One may expect that teaching and learning music in a developmental context as described above should be different from teaching and learning music in schools that work with cultural transmission approaches that emphasize skills acquisition rather than integral identity development. Although several Developmental Education practices have been described for language acquisition, mathematics and so-called world orientation sciences (geography, history and biology), few practices have been described with regard to music education. De Jong & Van der Heijden (2005) were the first to contribute to practical thinking of music within the concept of Developmental Education. In 2008, Nieuwmeijer published a book on the use of picture books in music education, based on the same pedagogical concept. Both books focus on the lower grades of elementary education. An important question is how to follow up on this in the upper grades of elementary (Developmental Education) schools.

Using the key characteristics of Developmental Education as described above, design-based learning can be elaborated on as a holistic activity (characteristic (1) of Developmental Education). Apart from specific skills and knowledge, aspects of broad development, such as 'inquiry, reasoning and problem solving' and 'expressing and shaping' are needed to design an instrument or compose music. (2) Design-based learning can be encouraged in the classroom as a meaningful activity for elementary school pupils. As such, it might increase motivation for music education as pupils experience ownership of their music compositions, or musical instrument. Meaningful activities are also activities that match the developmental potential, possibilities, and impossibilities of pupils. Teachers take students' interests into account when developing meaningful activities. Meaningful activities are, by definition, inclusive activities. (3) In order to revise (improve) a music composition, the pupil has to collaborate with a more experienced designer, or composer. This more knowledgeable other can be their teacher, but also a more experiences fellow pupil. (4) In the process of building or music composition, pupils will face various problems. Through the musical activities they learn to solve these problems using certain "craft" skills, but also creativity/musical imagination. (5) The (music) teacher develops a systematic hypothetical pathway. Learning objectives that have to be achieved are formulated for a set period of time. The learning pathway toward these objectives is not to be followed in a strict mandatory way, but can be adjusted while working with pupils, according to their needs (Hogenes, Van Oers & Diekstra, 2015).

Music composition as regular classroom activity

As described in the 2018 edition of this German-Dutch colloquium, only a limited number of schools pay attention to the production of music (Hogenes, 2018). Although observations show that pupils enjoy playing pieces of music and singing songs by composers and songwriters, the question is whether composing music can be seen as a meaningful and productive learning context.

Although the profession of music is often seen as creative, it also has a more artisanal side. For example, pupils develop technical skills such as playing instruments. A lot of attention is therefore paid to the acquisition of skills. In school practices of active music making, this usually leads to activities in which the reproduction of music composed by others predominates. The question is, however, whether a more productive approach, for example by introducing music composition to the classroom could not be as meaningful, or even more meaningful for pupils than music education of a reproductive nature.

In music composition, pupils brainstorm (in groups as well as individually), write rough drafts, edit and revise them, and create finished products to present. By paying more attention to music education where pupils compose themselves, the step can be made from a reproductive to a more productive approach. A model for music composition was introduced by Hogenes et al. (2015) which was adapted from a reading and writing model used in schools for developmental education. In the first step of this model, pupils create a common base as a starting point for music composition. This can be listening to an inspiring composition, but also looking at pictures of architecture with clear forms that can also be found in music, such as ABA- or rondo forms. In the second step pupils generate ideas and write their own music composition. Part of this second step is the revision phase in which pupils revise their work with the help of more knowledgeable others. These can be a teacher, but also their own peers. The third and final step of this composition model is the presentation, publication or recording of the pupil's music compositions. Music composition should not be something pupils do for school or their teacher but should be a "real" activity. Pupils compose music that others value and really want to listen to.

This model was proven by the author to provide teachers with tools to motivate, stimulate and guide pupils in working on challenging activities, whereby they gain insight into musical concepts and develop musical knowledge and skills: Music composition activities in which pupils want to and can participate, that are always a step ahead of their development; activities that offer opportunities to include all kinds of (world) music as well as openings to take into account the possibilities of differences between pupils; activities that also offer pupils possibilities to discover and develop their musical talents. The strength of this pedagogical model is that it can enhance meaningful musical learning for primary school pupils.

Research by Hogenes, Van Oers and Diekstra (2015) comparing compositional classes with music reproduction classes showed that music composition based on the model for music composition as described above led to a significantly higher involvement in music education. Composing can therefore be seen as a meaningful activity that deserves a place as a regular activity within the music subject in primary school. It also showed possibilities to include all kinds of music, including world music, as well as urban and dance music, and to adapt music composition activities to interests, abilities and developmental differences of pupils within a group.

Building (technology-based) instruments

Starting from music composing, other possibilities were explored to allow pupils to interact with music in a (more) productive way (Hogenes, Diepenbroek, Bremmer & Hogenheijde, 2021). This quest led the authors to the idea of building (technology- based) instruments.

Education of the future and curriculum development are high on the agendas of Dutch educational organizations and politicians. More than ever, schools are expected to enable pupils to solve complex social problems such as climate change, social inequality and migration (Heijnen & Bremmer, 2019). Therefore, skills such as critical thinking, problem solving, creativity, collaboration and digital literacy are gaining more and more attention in education. These skills would enable pupils to become critical and creative citizens who can contribute to our (future) society (Tanis, Dobber, Zwart, & Van Oers, 2014).

One of the ways in which pupils in Dutch primary education are equipped with these skills is through Science & Technology (TechniekPact, 2018). Science & Technology is not a separate subject, but an approach to education in the form of 'Inquiry and Design Based Learning'. This approach is based on the way scientists and designers solve problems. It gives pupils the opportunity to explore problems, to experiment, but also to acquire knowledge and skills integrally (Kraaij, 2015).

Design based learning in music education

As mentioned before, this chapter focuses specifically on design-based learning, where they are asked to solve a problem. After collecting ideas and selecting the best solutions, they elaborate on the different concepts. In the next step, the pupils make a prototype of the design that is then tested, after which the design can be optimized. The final design is presented to others by the pupils (see Figure 1).
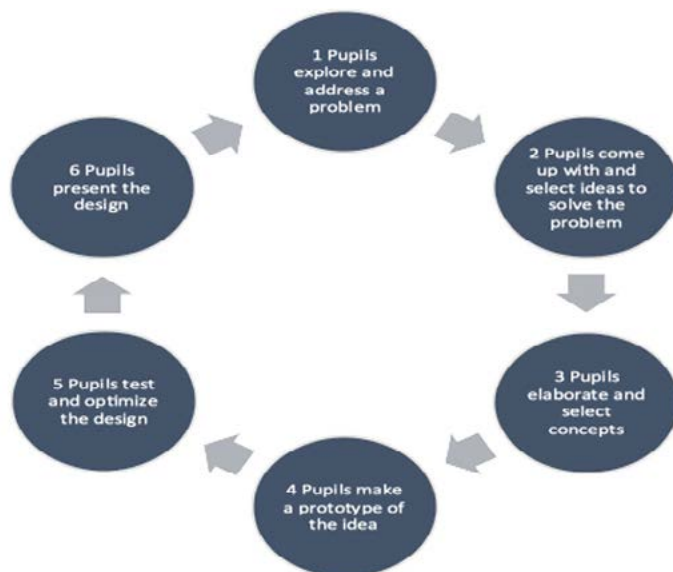
Figure 1:
The design circle (Malmberg, Rohaan, Van Duijn, & Klapwijk, 2019, p. 164)

Although the approach is intended for all areas of learning, design-based learning in the Netherlands is mainly applied in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) education. Within STEM education there has been a call to add the A for Arts to get STEAM (see e.g., Videla, Aguayo, and Veloz, 2021). The integration of science, technology and arts gives pupils the opportunity to study subjects both broadly and from various perspectives (SLO, 2018).

Starting from the premise of STEAM education, the question is how design-based learning can be applied in arts education. Using the subject of music as a starting point, building musical instruments can be an example. After all, this offers pupils the opportunity to sketch designs for a musical instrument, then build an instrument, test it and finally present the built musical instrument. Soltau (2014) notes that it is precisely new technologies, such as arduinos, Little Bits, Patchblocks and Makey Makey, that offer opportunities to build innovative musical instruments.

Research design

One of the examples where such new technologies and their use are explored is Sound-LAB. SoundLAB, as part of the Muziekgebouw in Amsterdam, brings primary and secondary school pupils into contact with innovative, technology-based (electronic, and electro-acoustic) musical instruments and allows them to improvise with them. Sound-LAB is also interested in the possibility of having pupils build these types of musical instruments themselves, developing skills regarding (musical) creativity, digital literacy, collaboration and problem solving. In order to investigate how such musical instruments can be built in primary education based on design-based learning, and whether

the aforementioned skills can also be developed, the arts education research group of the Amsterdam University of the Arts and SoundLAB have set up a design study (see Hogenes, Diepenbroek, Bremmer & Hogenheijde, 2021).

The present research study was set up as an educational design research study. Nieveen (2009, p. 89) defines this type of research as the "systematic study of analyzing, designing and evaluating educational interventions in order to solve complex educational problems for which no ready- made solutions are available". This intervention was tested in practice and evaluated afterwards. The educational intervention developed for this research consisted of four workshops of 45 minutes each, based on the design-based learning model, i.e. the design circle of Malmberg, Rohaan, Van Duijn, & Klapwijk (2019). The workshops were given by an experienced workshop leader of SoundLAB.

Four workshops as intervention

The first workshop focused on the steps of confronting and exploring a problem. Pupils watched a soundless film fragment from The Lego Movie, after which they were asked to make music on self-built musical instruments. To explore the production of new instruments, the workshop leader introduced, among other things, sound installations by Tinguely and a Theremin (an electronic musical instrument, invented in 1919, which is played by varying the distance between the hands and two antennas. – the player does not touch the instrument itself.). The pupils were also introduced to the Conductive Touchboards (see Figure 2) with which they would build their instruments.
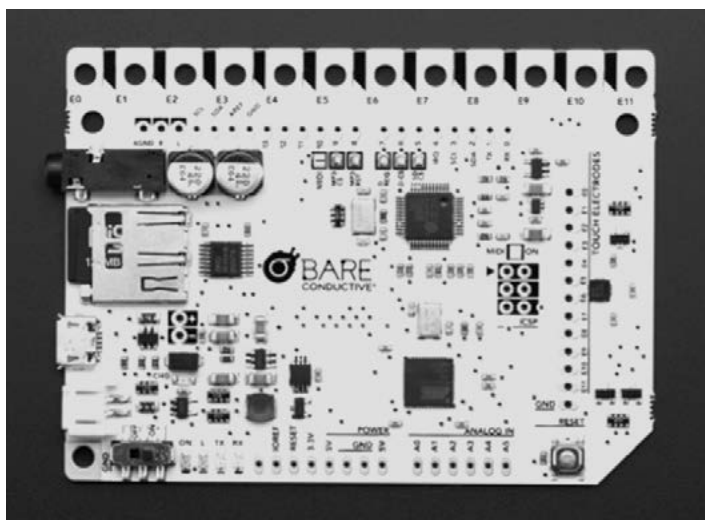

Figure 2: A Conductive Touchboard

A Conductive Touchboard is a micro-computer platform to which controllers can easily be connected. Conductive Touchboards are produced by several companies. They give pupils the opportunity to use almost any material or surface as a sensor. The condition is that the material or surface is conductive. Non-conductive surfaces can be made conductive by applying conductive paint or by covering them with, for example, silver foil. By means of the built-in MP3 player, the sensors can activate 12 sounds. The Conductive Touchboard is a tool to build one's own musical instrument. It could be compared to the processor in a synthesizer, or drum computer.

In the second workshop, the step of sketching a design was central. First, groups of three pupils were formed and each pupil was assigned a different role: designer (responsible for designing the instrument), sound engineer (who would collect and record sounds), or electrical engineer (who built the instrument). Each group was asked to sketch ideas for musical instruments as well as record sounds, edit them and import them into the Conductive Touchboards. The third workshop focused on the realization and testing of learning by design. Pupils in groups chose a definitive design for their musical instrument, which they then built, tested and optimized. In workshop four, the pupils presented their musical instruments to each other and as a class improvised a soundtrack to the soundless film fragment.

Testing and evaluation in two rounds

The four workshops were tested and evaluated in two rounds, based on observations, learner reports and questionnaires through a thematic-analysis approach (see Hogenes, Diepenbroek, Bremmer & Hogenheijde, 2021). The first series of workshops was tested in four classes in the middle and upper years at a primary school in Amsterdam (in total: 41 boys, and 27 girls, the average age was 10 years). The second series was tested in a middle and a senior class at a primary school in Koog aan de Zaan (in total 22 boys, and 19 girls, the average age was 11 years old). Both schools had a comparable population of pupils and hardly any experience with the combination of music, science & technology. The evaluations were used to improve the workshops. In order to be able to adjust the workshops, all workshops have been observed by two researchers. The focus was on what happened in the groups of pupils, as well as on what went well or could be improved in the different phases of design-based learning. Also, at the end of the four workshops, pupils completed an evaluation form in which they described how they had experienced the workshops and what they had learned. At the end of the workshops, the group teachers filled in a list of open questions about the (im)possibilities of learning by design-based learning in music education. Within the process of coding, the following themes were chosen for the analysis: 1) activities/actions performed by pupils (e.g., cooperation, problem solving, creativity); 2) successful aspects during the different phases of the pupils' design cycle; 3) challenging aspects during the different phases of the pupils' design cycle.

Based on data from the first evaluation round, various adjustments were made to the workshops. The evaluation showed that the chosen film fragment was not meaningful for the pupils. As a result, they built musical instruments and produced music that had little connection with the film fragment. Furthermore, it appeared that pupils often skipped the step of sketching a design, stuck to their first idea (design fixation) and started building immediately. This skipped the process of divergent thinking where pupils create and investigate multiple ideas. Finally, a striking outcome of the pupil evaluation of the first round was that pupils were not able to properly describe what they had learned from the workshops.

Based on the evaluation of the first series of workshops, it was decided to play Pink Floyd's soundscape 'Several Species of Small Furry Animals Gathered Together in a Cave' in the second series, opposed to the film in the first series that was perceived by pupils as not meaningful. The pupils in this round were asked: 'Can you build musical instruments with which you can create your own soundscape?' So the question to design and build a new (technology-based) instrument remained, only the incentive had changed.

In the second series of workshops, the workshop leader also ensured that the pupils first started sketching before building. Also, the number of roles of the pupils was reduced from three to two because the difference between the roles for pupils was unclear: the role of designer was merged with the role of electrical engineer. The role of sound engineer proceeded.

The evaluations of the second series of workshops showed that the assignment of the soundscape worked well: it seemed to offer pupils more freedom than making music with a fixed film fragment. Furthermore, the increased attention for sketching a design did not lead to more creative designs. However, it led to smoother design processes. This seemed to be because pupils had a clearer idea of what they wanted to build. Reducing three to two roles also proved to work well. None of the pupils indicated that they were confused by the roles. What was striking about this evaluation was that again pupils were able to name only to a limited extent what they had learned.

Findings and discussion

Based on the results of this educational design research, it can be concluded that learning by design offers tools to structure the learning process of pupils with regard to designing and building new, technology-based musical instruments. Conductive Touchboards turned out to be a good choice: they formed accessible technology for pupils to build musical instruments. Learning by design within music education also seems to offer the possibility of developing skills, such as problem solving, creativity and collaboration. Regarding problem-solving skills, the pupils not only discussed solutions, but came up with a practical solution for building a musical instrument. This way of problem

solving – by making and assessing a product – can stimulate pupils to think critically in and about the world while working on a design task. Offering an open problem, creating a soundscape, and using accessible technology – Conductive Touchboards – challenged pupils to use their creativity. The groups of pupils built all kinds of different musical instruments. Finally: because there were two roles in a group of pupils, there had to be consultation and coordination so that pupils practice their cooperation skills.

Design-based learning offers possibilities to approach music education in an inclusive way. Teachers can design and conduct meaningful activities considering the different abilities and interests of pupils. Design-based learning offers pupils possibilities to discover and develop their musical talents.

However, the evaluations of the workshops also revealed challenges. For example, the role of workshop leader is not an easy one: he or she must have substantive knowledge of technology and music as well as of the didactics of learning by design. For example, the workshop leader must be able to guide pupils who suffer from design fixation in the design phase. It is therefore advisable to provide workshop leaders with training related to learning by design. Finally, a remarkable outcome of the evaluations was that pupils were only able to indicate to a limited extent what they learned from the workshops. The pupils followed the instructions of the workshop leader but insufficient time was spent on reflection during the design and creation process. Perhaps it will become clearer for pupils what they learn – both with regard to the process of design-based learning and the content of the workshops – by structurally integrating reflection into all steps of the design process. Overall, these workshops are a promising way to use STEAM as a music education approach.

Music composition can, like designing (technology-based) instruments, be seen as a form of design-based learning. Previous research showed that composition can be a meaningful design activity that should be included in music curricula (Hogenes, Van Oers & Diekstra, 2015). If teachers have access to appropriate tools to motivate, stimulate and guide pupils, they are able to scaffold their pupils' abilities to gain insight into musical concepts and develop musical knowledge and skills while working on challenging activities. Activities in which pupils want to and can participate, that are always a step ahead of their development.

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Mapping pupils' cultural consciousness: Design and evaluation of a theory-based survey

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Cultural education, in the broadest sense of the word, teaches children and adolescents to reflect upon culture. It teaches them to do so using a variety of cognitive strategies, and in different media. It ideally encompasses, but is not limited to education about arts and entertainment, heritage, the news, philosophy, and citizenship. It thus contributes to the development of pupils' *cultural consciousness*. We conceive "culture" as the whole of semiotic strategies that humans deploy to make sense of their natural, social and personal environment[1]. According to van Heusden (2015; also van Heusden et al., 2013), the semiotic strategies of cultural consciousness are also deployed recursively, to make sense of culture itself. Cultural consciousness is thus "culture about culture". It involves reflective *perception*, *imagination*, *conceptualization*, and *analysis,* engaging with different media groups: the *body*, *artifacts*, *language*, and *graphic signs* (cf. Van Heusden, 2009).

Although young children use a variety of reflective strategies already, older children may be able to reflect in more complex ways, engaging in more advanced reflective skills (Van Dorsten, 2015). Being able to assess pupils' reflective abilities (i.e., their cultural consciousness) may facilitate the design, implementation and evaluation of cultural education teachers' practice and allow for an in-depth analysis of the effects of cultural education programs on the development of children and adolescents. Currently, however, we face a lack of empirically tested instruments that are specifically designed to establish and measure cultural consciousness. In this study we aimed at designing such an instrument which would allow us to map pupils' preferences for particular reflective strategies. In this chapter we elaborate on how theory informs the design and evaluation of a survey that allows for the mapping of cultural consciousness of pupils aged 8 to 14.

1. Theoretical background

The current study builds upon the 'Culture in the Mirror. Towards a continuous curriculum in cultural education'-project which ran from 2009 to 2015 (in the Netherlands), respectively 2021 (in Flanders), and involved the Dutch and Flemish ministries of education, the Dutch national institute for curriculum development SLO, and 14 Dutch schools for primary and secondary education. The main goal of the "Culture in the Mirror"-project was to provide both teachers and the wider field of cultural education with a firm theoretical basis that would help them to make informed decisions when

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1   This differs from definitions that focus on culture as system(s) of meaning.

developing the curriculum and allow them to convincingly legitimize their profession. Cultural education, in the Netherlands, encompasses arts, cultural heritage, and media. The focus, however, is on arts education and, more particularly, on the production, or *making* of art. Favored disciplines are fine arts (drawing, painting, claying), music, and drama.

As an important reason for the confusion that haunts cultural education was, and sometimes still is the uncertainty about the meaning of the term "culture". We first addressed this concept. Instead of reducing culture to "art" or to "arts, heritage and media", we took a broader, anthropological perspective and identified culture as the cognitive process that allows humans to deal with a constantly changing environment. This process is characterized by a *doubling*, and *decoupling*: perceptual stimuli are processed simultaneously by two (sub)systems, one of which is relatively stable, absorbing only those sensory stimuli that fit available neuronal patterns, whereas the other is more flexible, allowing for the same incoming stimuli to work in different directions, combining multiple movements, activating a variety of patterns at the same time (cf. Gazzaniga, Ivry & Mangun, 2019). While the first system allows us to recognize the environment in terms of more or less stable memory systems, the second makes us experience reality as *an always novel combination* of memories available. This second system generates the experience of *difference* between memory and actuality which is the experiential dimension of the human capacity for *semiosis*, the ongoing process of relating the two systems. That is, connecting stable memories – in part personal and in part shared with others – to always novel, unstable combinations of these same memories. What we are used to refer to as *signs* are in fact the stable memories, which relate to an unstable, novel combination of memories, referred to as *referent*, or *reality*.

We then identified four basic strategies, building cumulatively upon each other, that humans use to deal with the difference reality confronts them with: perception of similarities, imagination of possibilities, interpretation of meaning or conceptualization, and analysis of structures. Each strategy has its preferred group of media: perception presupposes the bodily senses, imaginative thinking results in human-made things, or artifacts, conceptual thinking requires linguistic signs, and graphic symbols allow us to analyze the abstract structures we discover in reality. The process is, moreover, recursive: culture can, and often does, reflect upon itself. Instances of reflective culture include the news (self-perception), the arts and entertainment (self-imagination), philosophy (self-conceptualization) and scientific research into human cognition (self-analysis).

To refer to this reflective process we coined the term *cultural consciousness*, being "the capacity to reflect on culture, applying a variety of reflective strategies, while engaging with different media". The arts and entertainment are identified as cultur-

al consciousness in which imagination, understood as the ability to (co-)create, is the dominant strategy. It will not come as a surprise that the leading medium in the arts is the *artifact – the thing made*: from the body-as-artifact in dance, through the voice-as-artifact in singing and theater, via sculptures, acting, and literature to paintings and digital works on screen (cf. Harland et al., 2000). As stated above, both in the Netherlands and in Flanders cultural education tends to focus on the arts and on cultural heritage. From our perspective, however, cultural education should strengthen pupils' cultural consciousness in terms of all the reflective strategies as well as productive and receptive media skills. Yet this obviously also raises questions: How can we determine, evaluate, or even measure the development of cultural consciousness in children and adolescents?

This study is not the first attempt to measure the skills and abilities that are associated with cultural education. It may be precisely because of the lack of status within the school curriculum that arts educators are particularly keen to pinpoint these skills and potentially prove the positive effects of their cultural programs on children. However, empirical studies in this field are relatively scarce and often small-scale (cf. Bowen & Krisida, 2019; Harland et al., 2000). Moreover, many of the studies available have several theoretical or methodological downsides.

The first is that many studies are domain specific, meaning that they cover one cultural discipline only. For example, there have been studies about the effects of music education or museum exhibitions, but very few cover more than one cultural domain (e.g., Jaschke, Honing & Scherder, 2018; Luke, Stein, Foutz & Adams, 2007). Since we regard cultural education as a unity in which various cultural disciplines can play a role, this is a serious drawback. Teachers are often free to select which activities to offer and how, using a variety of cultural skills and media. In practice, this may mean that even within a particular cultural domain, say theater, the actual activity can be completely different in another educational context. In one classroom the pupils may have for example created their own play where they have acted out a scene from their own lives, while another could have visited a theater to study how a story is conveyed through the medium of actors and décor. In the first instance, the pupils will have mainly practiced their imaginative skills, while in the latter case the emphasis will have been on perceptive and analytical abilities. The reflective skills used by pupils are therefore not likely to be directly tied to a particular cultural discipline, but depend on many more variables, such as the topic of the activity, the mode of teaching and even the developmental age of the pupils involved.

Another drawback of many of the studies available is that they are very small-scale. They often describe one specific intervention, such as a play or a particular program which has been studied in only a few classes, sometimes even just one. Because of the specific context, the results are very difficult to generalize or even replicate. It be-

comes more challenging to build a body of knowledge for cultural education research since such studies are often difficult to compare or combine. In the Dutch context where cultural education consists of a wide range of activities, where multiple reflective skills are practiced and an even wider array of media are used, it makes more sense to aim to map the breadth of pupil's reflective skills, across ages and across schools. This way, more general trends in the development of cultural consciousness may be discerned.

Cultural consciousness and its corresponding reflective skills have been described and outlined theoretically by van Heusden (2015). However, up until now, they could not be measured empirically in a real-life setting. Even though cultural consciousness shares some characteristics with, and sometimes even overlaps with skills such as self-awareness, interpersonal skills and theory of mind which have been mapped empirically, most of these studies focus on self-confidence, social skills, or reflection on knowledge and beliefs. These skills may contribute to, but do not equate with cultural consciousness as defined by van Heusden. Therefore, since existing research is, both methodologically and theoretically, different from our aims and principles, and van Heusden's theory has not yet been operationalized into tools that can be used in an empirical setting, a new research instrument needed to be designed to map the cultural consciousness of pupils.

2. Current study

In 2019 *Kunst en Cultuur Drenthe en Groningen* (Foundation for cultural education and participation, K&C) and *Openbaar Onderwijs Groningen* (Public Education Groningen, OOG) have funded a 3-year educational program, aimed at the design and implementation of a continuous curriculum in cultural education based on the theoretical framework developed in the 'Culture in the Mirror'-project (as developed by van Heusden). This curriculum runs from the beginning of primary school (age 4) up until age 14 in secondary school. Working with a continuous curriculum should ensure that cultural education is systematically offered in all participating schools and that pupils participate in a cumulative program where teaching can build on previously acquired knowledge and skills. The reflective abilities of pupils are to be the focal point of this curriculum. Moreover, the reflective and media skills taught, as well as the topics selected for each age group should match the pupils' abilities, interests and culture. Both the OOG-board and involved teachers expect the implementation of this continuous curriculum to bring about a strengthening of children's cultural consciousness. As a research instrument to discern the cultural consciousness of pupils is currently lacking, the aim of the current study is to design a survey based on the described theoretical framework, and to evaluate whether it allows for the assessment of pupils' cultural consciousness on a large scale. This chapter gives an outline of the development process of the survey. It then evaluates how the output of the survey provides insights into the cultural consciousness of pupils.

2.1 Theory-based design

The survey development took place between June 2019 and September 2020. In the first phase, between June 2019 and March 2020, two of the authors (LvK, TvD) deductively selected items for the survey, taking the theoretical framework as a starting point. We operationalized cultural consciousness as pupils' preferences for reflective strategies while productively or receptively engaging with different media. We theorized that *how* a child wants to reflect (perceptually, imaginatively, conceptually or analytically) in a medium of its choice, tells us something about which media and reflective skills are either well-developed or, at least, preferred at a particular moment in time and development.

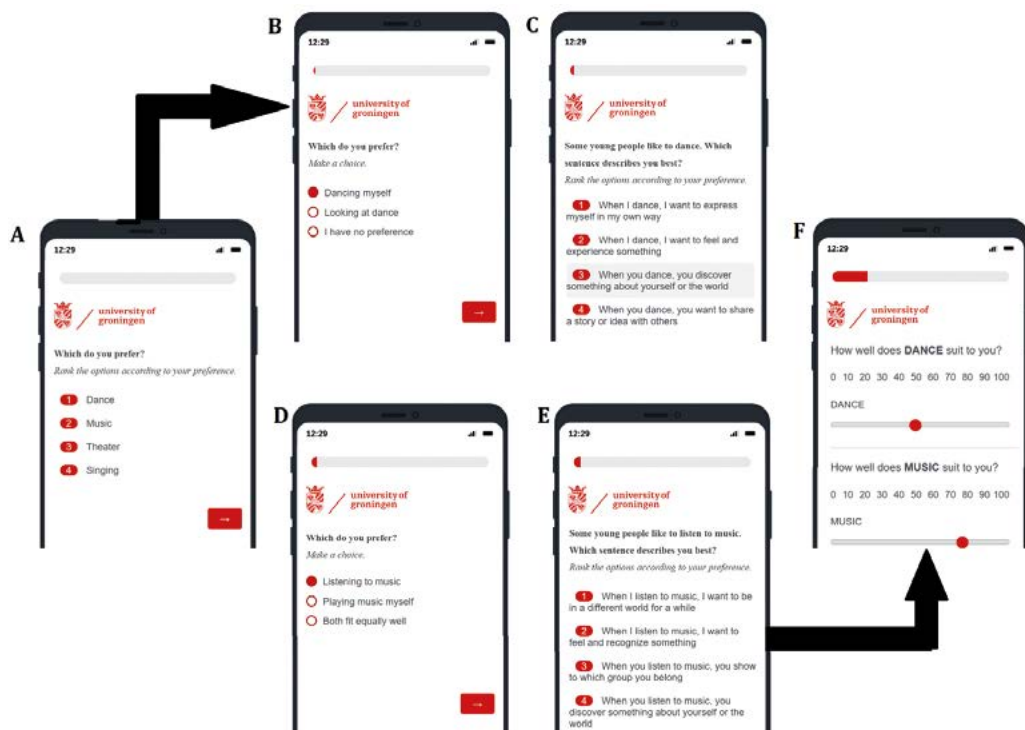*Figure 1.* Survey flow of the final survey exemplified for the medium body (translated from Dutch)

In line with the theoretical framework, the survey consists of items on preferred media (in the main groups of body, artifacts, language, graphic signs), preferences for engagement type (productive, receptive) and preferred reflective skills (perception, imagination, conceptualization, analysis). We translated the four main media

groups into more concrete subcategories to make them more recognizable for pupils. For instance, instead of asking about pupils' preferences for reflecting with the body in general, pupils rank their preference for dance, music, singing and theater as examples on a scale from 1 (highest preferences) to 4 (lowest preference) (*see figure 1A*). The next sets of questions on preferred engagement type and reflective strategy are founded on the previous answer given. Meaning that if a pupil has for example ranked music as their first or second choice, the following questions are about music. In this case, the next question about the preference for engagement type (productively vs receptively) involves choosing between either playing music or listening to music (*see figure 1B/D*). Next, pupils rank how they reflect (perceptually, imaginatively, conceptually and analytically) with the medium and engagement type of their choice. We translated the reflective strategies into expressions that pupils are more familiar with. For example, pupils rank their preference for "expressing myself in my own way' (imaginative strategy) in relation to other strategies" expressions on a scale from 1 (highest preference) to 4 (lowest preference) (*see figure 1C/E*). Finally, to check whether high-ranked media actually match the pupils' preferences, they score the subcategories of their first and second choice (i.e., music) on a scale from 0 (not suitable at all) to 100 (very suitable) (*see figure 1F*). Figure 1 visualizes the survey flow for the medium body as an example. Pupils go through this flow four times during the survey, once for each media group (the body, artifact, language and graphic signs). We randomized the ranking and selection options for preferred media, engagement type and reflective strategy to control for potential order biases. In total, the survey consists of 38 questions including two demographic items on gender (female, male, "other") and grade (primary school: grades 5 to 8, secondary school: grades 1 to 3) at the end of the survey.

After the design of the survey's basic structure expert judges evaluated its usability between April and July 2020. The expert panel consisted of a senior researcher (BvH), a senior secondary school teacher (OOG) and an education consultant (K&C). According to the experts, the items were well-aligned with the theoretical framework, relevant with regard to the survey's aim to assess cultural consciousness and suitable for pupils aged 8 to 14. In July 2020, we also asked a group of sixteen secondary school pupils (aged 13-14) to evaluate the survey's usability. They indicated that questions were clear and that the ranking of the answer options was easy. The length of the survey was perceived as being suitable and not too long. Moreover, pupils found the survey interesting and enjoyed completing it. Based on the positive evaluations of the survey's suitability by expert judges and pupils, the survey was deemed ready for implementation and evaluation. Ethical approval for the distribution of the survey was granted in September 2020 by the research ethics committee of the Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen.

2.2 Evaluation

Between October 2020 and November 2021, we implemented the survey to evaluate whether it allows for the mapping of pupils' cultural consciousness. Data was collected from a convenience sample of OOG schools consisting of six primary schools and three secondary schools. Data collection took place during three waves (autumn 2020, spring and autumn 2021) using the online Qualtrics software (Povo, UT). Pupils completed the survey on a smartphone, tablet, laptop, or computer during class. Due to the restrictions of COVID-19, data were collected remotely during wave 1 and 2. During wave 3 researchers were mostly present in schools. The observations during wave 3 as well as the feedback we received from teachers during wave 1 and 2 revealed that the survey was usable for pupils and teachers in educational practice. The distribution of the survey through the link provided by teachers or researchers to pupils in their online teaching environment went smoothly. Pupils could fill in the survey independently and within a short period of time. This was also confirmed by the analysis of pupils' response times during wave 3. After the removal of outliers, the mean time pupils spent on the survey was 11 minutes ($SD = 4$ min). Therefore, the survey's usability in educational practice opens up possibilities for its implementation on a larger scale. To evaluate whether and how the output of the survey provides insights into the cultural consciousness of pupils, we use one data point per unique pupil equaling 405 observations in total (*see table 1*). For the descriptive and exploratory data analysis we distinguish between three levels in the mapping of cultural consciousness ranging from more general to fine-grained ones. The next sections highlight these levels using data for the media group body.

Education level	Grade (equivalent age)	N	Girls(%)	Boys	Other
Primary school	5 (8-9)	79	38 (48%)	38	3
	6 (9-10)	51	29 (57%)	22	–
	7 (10-11)	48	28 (48%)	19	1
	8 (11-12)	45	25 (56%)	20	–
Secondary school	1 (12-13)	81	35 (43%)	42	4
	2 (13-14)	59	28 (48%)	29	2
	Missing data	42	40		
	Total	405	183	171	11

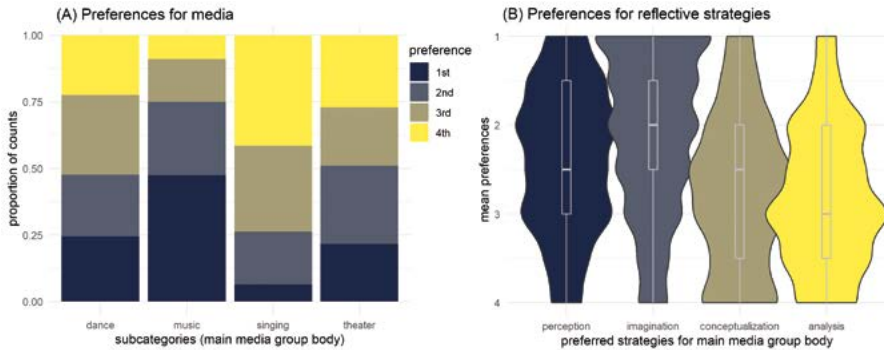*Table 1.* Overview of data for educational level, grade and gender

Figure 2. (A) Proportion of counts for preferences (1st-4th) for each subcategory (dance, music, singing, theater) in the main media group body and (B) mean preferences for reflective strategies (perception, imagination, conceptualization, analysis) on a scale from 1 (highest preference) to 4 (lowest preference) when engaging with subcategories in the main media group body (n = 382)

First, the survey data allow for mapping general preferences for media, engagement type and reflective strategies. For instance, for preferences within the media group body (*see figure 2A*), we see that the subcategory music is ranked first or second most often (*n* = 291). Around 75% of pupils prefer to use music to reflect on culture. Theater (*n* = 198) and dance (*n* = 185) are ranked first or second by about half of our sample. Singing (*n* = 102) receives least preferences. In relation to the preferred engagement type when using media of choice in the main group body, 10% of the pupils have a clear preference for productive engagement, while 27% pupils prefer receptive engagement for both media of choice. However, for most pupils (60%) preferences for engagement types were mixed: these pupils do not have a clear preference for either productive or receptive engagement with subcategories in the media group body. *Figure 2B* shows the distribution of pupils' preferred reflective strategies on a scale from 1 (highest preference) to 4 (lowest preference) averaged across dance, music, singing and theater. A Friedman's test shows that there is a significant difference between preferences for reflective strategies (X^2_F = 110.043, *p* < .001). Pairwise comparisons (Durbin-Conover) suggest that, when pupils in our sample are reflecting on culture using media in the main group body, imagination is the preferred strategy (*Mdn* = 2.0, *p* < .001) followed by perception (*Mdn* = 2.5, *p* < .001). Conceptualization (*M* = 2.5) and analysis (*Mdn* = 3.0) are preferred least. The mapping of general preferences as outlined above can also be applied to the other main media groups. Comparing preferences for engagement type and reflective strategies between groups of media allows for insights into pupils' cultural consciousness across media. For instance, while pupils prefer imaginative strategies when reflecting with media in the main group body, this may be different for language or graphical signs. Similarly, preferences for engagement types could be clearer for different media groups.

(A) Preferences for engagement type

(B) Preferences for reflective strategies for music or theater
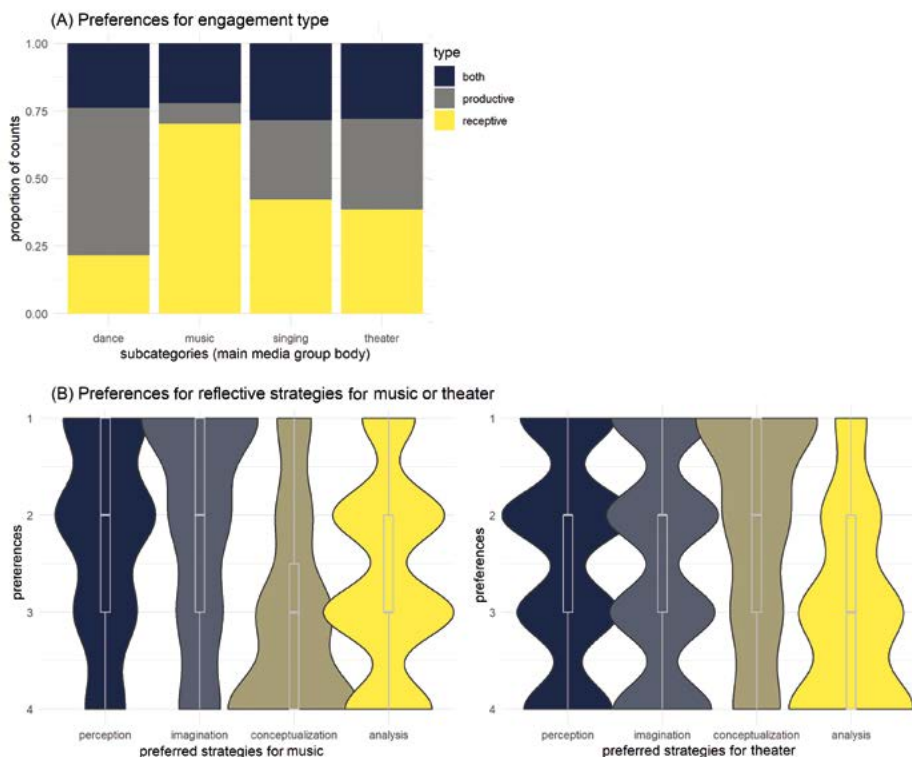
Figure 3. (A) Proportion of counts for preferred engagement type (1st-4th) for each subcategory (dance (n = 185), music (n = 291), singing (n = 102), theater (n = 198)) in the main media group body and (B) preferences for reflective strategies (perception, imagination, conceptualization, analysis) on a scale from 1 (highest preference) to 4 (lowest preference) when engaging with the music or theater in the medium group body (n = 123)

Second, on a more detailed level, preferences for engagement type and reflective strategies can be differentiated for subcategories. *Figure 3A* shows pupils' preferences for engagement type for all subcategories within the media group body. While more than 70% of the pupils in our sample prefer to engage receptively with music (listening to music), 55% of the pupils who prefer dance, select productive engagement (dancing instead of watching a dance performance) as their preference. For singing and theater, preferences for engagement type were distributed more equally among pupils. In the case of theater, 34% and 39% of pupils respectively prefer productive and receptive engagement. Zooming in on preferred reflective strategies for the two most frequent media of choice, *Figure 3B* shows the preferred reflective strategies for music and theater of pupils who rank music and theater as their first and second choices. Friedman's tests show that pupils' preference for imaginative strategies is higher for music compared to

theater as medium of choice (^2_F = 14.081, p < .001) while the opposite is true for conceptualization (^2_F = 30.044, p < .001). Pupils in our sample prefer analytical skills for music more than for theater (^2_F = 8.244, p = .004). Preferences for perceptual strategies are equal for both media of choice. These more detailed preferences can also be used for different media groups and subcategories. Comparing combinations of preferred media and preferences for engagement types or reflective strategies within and across media groups allows for a more complex understanding and mapping of pupils' cultural consciousness. For example, media within the main group of language may invite less varied preferences for engagement types and reflective strategies in comparison to the subcategories outlined here for the media group body.
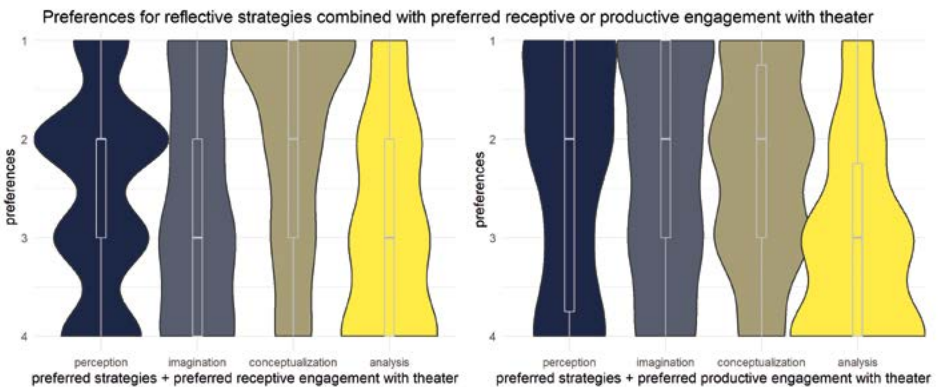
Figure 4. Preferences for reflective strategies (perception, imagination, conceptualization, analysis) on a scale from 1 (highest preference) to 4 (lowest preference) when engaging with theater productively (n = 66) or receptively (n = 73)

Third, leading to a more fine-grained level, preferred reflective strategies in combination with preferences for receptive or productive engagement with media of choice give insight into interdependencies of media, engagement types and reflective strategies. Figure 4 shows the distribution of pupils' preferences for reflective strategies on a scale from 1 (highest preference) to 4 (lowest preference) when they prefer engaging with theater as a medium of choice receptively (left) or productively (right). A Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test indicates that preferences for conceptual strategies are significantly higher for pupils who prefer receptive compared to productive engagement with theater (W = 1903.5, p = 0.026). In turn, reflective imagination seems to be more preferred during productive in comparison to receptive engagement (W = 2794.5, p = 0.026). There are no differences in preferences for perceptual and analytical skills between pupils using theater productively and receptively. These fine-grained analyses can be implemented within and across all media groups. Comparing these detailed differences between media of choices in combination with preferences for engagement type and reflective strategies unpacks opportunities to better understand the multi-layered nature of cultural consciousness.

3. Conclusion

The theoretical framework developed by van Heusden (2015) is meant to provide cultural education with a stable ground, focusing on pupils' cultural consciousness. However, an instrument to empirically assess cultural consciousnesses had yet to be designed. In this study, a survey was constructed to fill this gap, by mapping pupils' preferences for media, engagement types and reflective strategies according to van Heusden's theory. In the design process, this theory-based survey was evaluated by experts and pupils, and was found usable within the context of cultural education practice.

Between October 2020 and November 2021, 405 pupils (aged 8 to 14 years) in nine schools (six primary, three secondary) in Groningen, the Netherlands, completed the survey and the output was evaluated. The data collection revealed the survey's usability for large-scale implementation in educational practice. The data shows that the survey allows for an analysis of the cultural consciousness of pupils on three different levels, ranging from general to more fine-grained ones. The first level shows generic preferences for media, engagement types and reflective strategies of (groups of) pupils and thus provides a broad-ranging insight into their cultural consciousness. A more detailed perspective can be acquired by zooming into the relationships between the type of reflection that pupils prefer and the specific media of their choice. Lastly, the third layer offers insights into the more fine-grained interplay between subcategories of media, productive or receptive engagement and preferences for reflective strategies. All three layers of analysis can be applied to different levels of inquiry, ranging from individual pupils, to groups or classes, age groups, schools or across schools. Thus, the survey provides a flexible instrument that allows one to map cultural consciousness in different contexts of cultural education practice and research.

Yet while it is clearly an advantage of the survey that it allows for large scale data processing, assessing cultural consciousness and its development in a great range of settings and ages, it also has its limitations. The survey is language-based and may thus be less accurate in mapping the cultural consciousness of pupils less apt in that medium. Likewise, it is far less suitable for pupils younger than eight or for those with special needs because of the linguistic skills needed. In order to assess the accuracy of the output generated by the survey, a critical comparison between its output and other types of analysis such as observations, focus groups and interviews needs to be carried out.

Although the survey provides important insights into the cultural consciousness of pupils, it is only one piece of the puzzle. A more complete picture of how cultural education contributes to the reflective skills of pupils is still lacking. However, some steps to overcome this issue have already been taken. To validate the survey results, observations of pupils engaging in cultural reflection during cultural education classes have been carried out. The findings of these observations need to be compared to the data of the survey. Moreover, the survey has been transposed into an easier version, suitable for young chil-

dren aged four to eight, in order to be able to map cultural consciousness throughout the full school period. Finally, results from the surveys from multiple waves will be compared with data from digital lesson forms filled in by teachers in order to be able to assess if and how the type of cultural education pupils have received affects their cultural consciousness and preferences. By combining the data of these various instruments, some of the survey's limitations will be tackled. However, more research into the workings and measuring of cultural consciousness is needed to grasp the complex nature of cultural education and to evaluate the multi-layered effects of educational programs.

⇛ Acknowledgements

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Aspects of multiculturality in musical participation of pupils and students in Germany

Tanja Hienen, Veronika Busch, Eva Schurig, and Andreas Lehmann-Wermser

Introduction

Since the turn of the millennium educational processes and professionalization courses in Germany have become more diverse (Friebertshäuser, 2008). However, they have in common that different and individualized opportunities open up and individuals have to make corresponding decisions. This is especially true for young adults who have to reorient themselves after finishing compulsory schooling. From a musical perspective, this phase in life seems particularly interesting, as previous musical practices often discontinue: school offers are no longer available, relocating for work or studies renders previous activities inaccessible, and peer groups change. These changes can present enormous barriers for young adults – often resulting in discontinuation of musical activities after finishing school, which happens not only in Germany, but internationally (e.g., Pitts & Robinson, 2016; Ayling & Johnston, 2005; Kuntz, 2011; Stewart, 2007). Thus, young adults not only have to decide whether they want to continue their musical practices at the beginning of their academic or vocational studies, but they also have to make an effort to find new suitable contexts for it. The presented interview study is part of the research project *Musik begleitet* (i.e. German for music accompanies) which investigated current musical practices young adults and to what extent these are influenced by music-related experiences from their childhood and adolescence. The research project consisted of two studies: firstly, a quantitative online survey with 769 young adults and secondly, the here presented qualitative study with 31 interviewees drawn from the large sample of the aforementioned survey. This paper aims to examine their musical practices in more detail, with a particular focus on different aspects of multiculturalism.

Educational opportunities after compulsory schooling

After finishing their general schooling, young adults have to decide what direction their lives should take. In addition to detaching themselves from their former socialization context, they have to make up their minds how to shape their professional lives. In Germany, within the boundaries set by the school system (cf. Köller et al., 2019), they can choose between university studies and so-called dual vocational trainings. The latter is specific to German education and connects theoretical learning at vocational schools with practical content in trade or industry. Young adults with a lower socio-economic status and lower school-leaving qualifications are more likely to attend vocational schools (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2020), while young people with higher socio-economic status tend to receive their university entrance qualifications and therefore study at university more often (cf. *ibid*., p. 186). However, the latter group

is also more inclined to bridge the time between school and further education with new experiences, for instance during a volunteer year, by working as an au pair, or by travelling (cf. Friebertshäuser, 2008, p. 617). Starting academic or vocational studies involves various challenges, such as getting acquainted with the new educational system or making new social contacts. Compared to their former experiences in school, young adults often experience this phase of life as demanding and exciting (cf. Pätzold, 2008, p. 603).

Applying the Capability Approach in a musical context

Cultural participation, and thus also music-cultural participation, is listed in the Declaration of Human Rights and described as the right to freely "participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits" (United Nations, 1948, art. 27, par. 1). The complexity of the construct of cultural participation (Bartelheimer et al., 2020) also influences the discussion in music education in German-speaking countries, where the term participation implies more than mere part-taking in cultural activities, and thus differs from the English use of the term (Schwanenflügel & Walther, 2012). Instead, participation includes an added subjective value (cf. Lehmann-Wermser & Krupp, 2014, p. 22), an active experience (cf. Bartelheimer, 2007, p. 8), and can fully be assessed only over a longer period of life (cf. ibid., p. 8). This notion of participation was already mentioned by Leo Kestenberg in 1921 (cf. Gruhn, 2021) and received increased attention since the turn of the turn of the millennium.

Sen's Capability Approach (e.g., 1992, 1999) has been used in research to frame musical participation in music education (e.g., Krupp-Schleußner, 2016). If young adults want to realize musical practices (*functionings*), they are dependent on sufficient possibilities (*capability*) to do so, which goes beyond resources (e.g., money, time) and includes individual and social factors (e.g., a supportive family, available music lessons). A person's realm of possibility (*capability*) points to his or her *freedom* to achieve participation, which results in the cultural activities a person takes part in (*functionings*). By actively aiming towards achieving these *functionings*, the person displays *agency*. Following Krupp-Schleußner (2016), this study focuses on subjective *well-being*, i.e. their assessment of *functionings* and *capability* (see Fig. 1). If a person is satisfied with his or her aspired and finally achieved practices (positive *well-being*), participation – in the aforementioned sense – is assumed, while dissatisfaction (negative *well-being*) points towards mere part-taking. Thus, in this study cultural participation encompasses a broad, meaning-based concept of culture (Barth, 2008), which enables the inclusion of a large variety of different musical practices. This definition of culture therefore seems to be more appropriate for investigating the music-related living environment of young adults than an alternative concept of "high"- versus "low"-culture (e.g., Kröner, 2013).
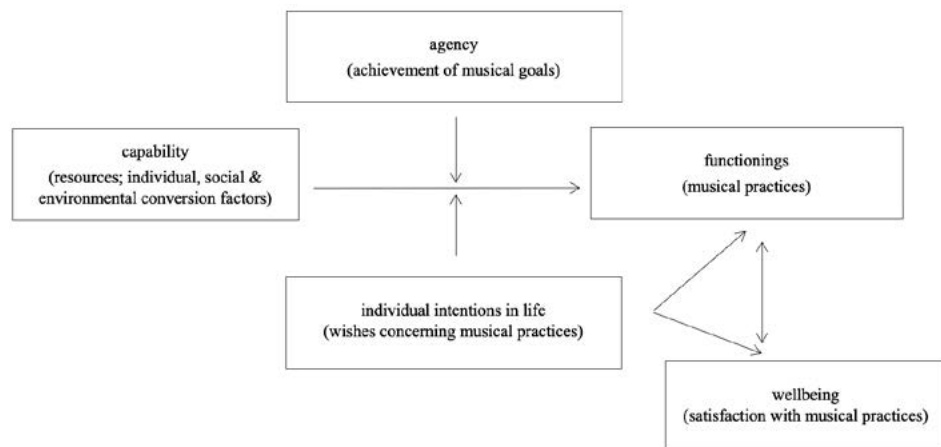
Figure 1. Musical participation adapted from the Capability Approach (Sen, 1992)

Musical practices of young adults

Most research related to musical practices in German-speaking contexts focuses on children and young adolescents, while later phases in life, such as the beginning of vocational or academic studies, have been neglected. Nevertheless, existing research provides insights that might be relevant for young adults as well. Nearly all young people regularly listen to music (Reinhardt, 2019), and media broadens access to musical participation (Jörissen, 2020), which becomes apparent in the intensive use of streaming services (cf. MPFS, 2020, p. 27) and the utilization of media to gather and exchange (information about) music (cf. Grgic & Züchner, 2013, p. 71). Overall, young adults are less musically active than youths which is attributed to their status changes in life (cf. Grgic & Züchner, 2013, p. 47) – i.e. their transition from being students in school to students at university or vocational school. Social status has been found to influence participation in musical practices of 17-year-old students among others, which indicates that the unequal access to musical practices in childhood is still present at a later age (cf. Lehmann-Wermser & Krupp-Schleußner, 2017, p. 11). Additionally, the personality trait 'openness to experience' favors the pursuit of sophisticated cultural activities (Lehmann-Wermser & Krupp-Schleußner, 2017, p. 19f.).

Several studies have investigated the effect of migration background on musical participation. However, the results were inconclusive: According to Erlinghagen and colleagues (2017, p. 21) migration background caused a disadvantage in accessing instrumental lessons, while Heye and Knigge (2018) described similar access and attributed any differences to social background. Another study (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2012) found that young people with a migration background seemed to be more musically active than those without a migration background.

Based on findings of previous research this paper aims to explore the musical activities of young adults, who are not normally the focus of research in cultural participation. In this context we will also contrast the experiences of young adults with a migration background with these whose families come from Germany.

Multiculturality and young adults' musical participation: Selected quantitative results of the research project *Musik begleitet*

As part of the research project *Musik begleitet*, an online study on the current musical practices of young adults was conducted (e.g., Schurig et al., 2021; 372 vocational students: M_{age}=21.1; SD=2.65; 74% male, 45% migration background; 397 academic students: M_{age}=21.6; SD=2.54; 38% male; 26% migration background). It was shown that young adults engage in many different music-cultural practices – from playing in an orchestra and creating own music on the computer to learning an instrument autodidactically. Within the context of the present study this plurality of cultural practices is defined as multiculturalism. Hence, this narrow usage of the term multiculturalism neither refers to the critical scholarly discourse on multiculturalism (e.g., Kallio, 2020) nor to the prevalent analogy to the term interculturalism (e.g., Kertz-Wenzel, 2007).

Using exploratory and bifactor analysis (e.g., Rodriguez et al., 2016), 27 practices were grouped in order to determine a general factor of music-cultural participation as well as to differentiate between different types of participation. The following three types were revealed: non-formal musical activities (type I), media-related musical activities (type II), and informal music learning (type III). Type I reflects activities within organized structures, such as choirs or orchestras; practices of type II involve using the internet or other media devices, for instance computer-assisted composing; and type III stresses the objective of learning or improving musical abilities, for example by seeking help in order to master a specific song.

Subsequent path analyses showed multifaceted influencing factors regarding the type of participation. Of special interest for this article is the result that young adults were more likely to engage in media-related activities when they have a migration background, attend vocational schools, are male, or display higher scores in the Gold-MSI factor 'active engagement'. Overall, the diverse music-cultural practices of young adults reveal a multiculturalism that will be explored in more detail below through the qualitative findings of the research project *Musik begleitet*.

The interview study of the research project *Musik begleitet*
Questions and methods

The rich qualitative and quantitative data material of the research project offered a wide range of possibilities for analysis. For example, the pathways into musical practices have been investigated in the light of the Capability Approach (Hienen et al., 2022) and possible connections between personality and musical activities have been analyzed across different research projects (see Schurig et al., in this volume). In this article, the analysis of the qualitative data will focus on potential relations between musical practices and multiculturalism, aiming to answer the question, which musical practices young adults with and without a migration background currently engage in and to what extent this shows multiculturalism.

The interview study was conducted with a sub-sample of the online study. At the end of the online questionnaire participants could declare their willingness to participate in the interview. Although this self-selection leads to a certain bias in favor of those interested in music, this was mitigated by incentives (cinema vouchers and an iPad raffle).

Due to the pandemic, the interviews were conducted via phone from summer 2020 to winter 2020/21, each lasting about 45 minutes. The semi-structures interview manual was based on the central constructs of the Capability Approach and included questions about remembered and current musical practices, satisfaction with these activities, social aspects, for instance the role of friends and family, and the participants' musical self-concept. The audio recordings were transcribed using content-semantic transcription (Dresing & Pehl, 2018) and then analyzed following structuring content analysis (Kuckartz, 2018). Most of the main categories were derived deductively from the Capability Approach, whereas the sub-categories were created inductively. All categories were coded in a consensual process between members of the project team (Kuckartz, 2018).

Participants

Thirty-one of the 34 interviews conducted met the criteria for further analyses, for instance a linguistic understanding between the interviewer and the interviewee (cf. Kruse, 2014, p. 288) and coherent and meaningful content. The included material contained information from 16 vocational students (2 male) and 15 academic students (6 female). Six of the young adults have a migration background, i.e. at least one of their parents was not born in Germany. The specific migration background can only be read from two interviews: Thomas[1] seems to have British roots, while Alisha's parents come from Palestine. The social status – ascertained through the number of books in the family's home (Schwippert, 2019) – of this group of interviewees with a migration background averages 3.33, which is slightly lower than the mean of interviewees without a migration background (3.72).

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1 All names mentioned are pseudonyms to protect the privacy of the interviewees (cf. Meyermann & Porzelt, 2014, p. 7).

Results

In the following, the results of the entire interview group are contrasted with the statements of the six young adults with a migration background and presented according to educational institutions – from kindergarten through to current academic or vocational studies.

Kindergarten

Only about a third of the interviewees remembered taking part in musical activities (labeled on the backdrop of Sen's approach as *functionings*) in kindergarten, where they sang (7 of 11), for instance for birthdays, during lantern parades, or morning circles. Two of the six interviewees with a migration background also remembered musical activities in kindergarten. Alisha explained:

> In kindergarten, let me think… I know that we had a kind of dance group, well a woman came and kinda did belly dancing with us kids and we were supposed to then copy her. And that was then performed at a little party, I remember that. Otherwise, of course, we basically sang a lot – you do basically sing relatively frequently in kindergarten. (Alisha, academic student, 197)

She evaluates this practice positively, which according to the Capability Approach can be interpreted as subjective *well-being*. However, instead of imitating her teacher's dance, she would have liked to dance more freely, to show more *musical agency* (Wiggins, 2015). Alisha explains that her parents came from Palestine. Depending on Alisha's ethnical and religious background, belly dancing could be part of Alisha's culture and a connection between the activity and the culture could be assumed., Nevertheless, as this practice was offered to all children in a German kindergarten, it is difficult to assess to what extent Alisha's cultural background favored her part-taking in this activity.

Primary school

The interviewees mentioned a variety of practices they engaged in during primary school, such as general music classes as well as specific music programmes. This is also true for the young adults with a migration background. Almost all of them (5 of 6) remembered general music classes, two recollected other lessons where music was integrated. Mareike gave an account of her time in primary school:

> we tried many instruments the school had. And we always sang, I remember one particular music teacher. She showed us how to hold our heads and always sang to us and we had to copy her. (Mareike, vocational student, 98-99)

In the memory of the young adults, the musical practices in primary school provided an access to music and musical practices that they had not known before and would

not have encountered in other contexts either. Recent empirical studies, for example on the *JeKits*-programme[2], showed that this access to musical practices is especially important for children from families with a low social status and less appreciation for music (Busch, in press).

However, many of the interviewees got to know musical practices outside of school. Several of them have received instrumental lessons, while others took part in more informal musical activities. Overall, these practices were largely influenced by the children's families and especially their parents (cf. Steinbach, 2018). Of the six young adults with a migration background only Lasse had instrumental lessons outside of school. He learned to play the cello from the third grade on. Alisha, who had taken part in belly dancing in kindergarten, continued to dance in her leisure time, preferably to non-European music:

> We were Bollywood-fans and always watched all of the Bollywood-movies and there are always a lot of dances and songs and such. And we always danced and sang along to those. (Alisha, academic student, 191)

Two things are striking in this quote: Firstly, dancing (and singing as well) is presented as a social practice, which might be part of its attraction for Alisha. Secondly, the reference to Bollywood indicates a practice that neither originates in Alisha's cultural background nor in Germany. This highlights the transcultural trait of Alisha's musical practices.

Listening to music outside of school was revealed to be less important, which also applied to our subsample of six interviewees. This finding corresponds with literature that shows, that the importance of music listening is at its peak in adolescence and not as central before that (North & Hargreaves, 1997).

Secondary School[3]

A variety of musical practices carried out in secondary school were mentioned, which were also evaluated in terms of *well-being*. About half of the participants positively remembered the joy of making music and the promoting of a community spirit in the context of their general music classes, while they disliked music theory and chaotic lessons. The same applies to young adults with a migration background. Especially Lasse's report about experiences during a year abroad in Norway stands out:

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2   *JeKits* (*Jedem Kind Instrumente, Tanzen, Singen*, i.e. to every child an instrument, dancing, singing) is a funding programme that provides access to musical practices to children from primary and special-needs schools.
3   In Germany, most pupils change school after fourth grade, which is around the age of ten, to continue their education in various forms of secondary schools aiming at different formal qualifications.

they had like thirty guitars. Everyone could take one and, in the end, […] we were supposed to learn a song and play it for the teacher. And I thought that was really cool, that you could just take a guitar, also to just play a bit […]. That was such, such a good incentive and I then had the motivation to learn something. (Lasse, vocational student, 149)

Due to this flexible and free learning situation, Lasse became interested in playing the guitar and began to teach himself even outside of school with the help of digital media:

I then watched Let's Play tutorials on YouTube – that went rather well actually, and then, because I really like Pink Floyd, I taught myself to play 'Wish you were here'. Then I felt like learning that first, because we had to. And then I had so much fun that I kept pursuing it. (Lasse, vocational student, 148-151)

Results of the quantitative part of the research project (Schurig et al., 2021) indicate that mainly male participants and those with a migration background tend to participate in media-related musical practices. Lasse's statement is a good example of this. For the other interviewees with a migration background only listening to music played an important role during secondary school. For example, Thomas liked to listen to music with his Russian friends – made possible because of the portable music system:

they played Russian party music through their speakers or Russian rap and yeah, then we just, I'd say, either danced, if it was party music, or we tried to rap half-drunkenly. (Thomas, vocational student, 111)

Participants also recalled other musical practices they engaged in during their free time outside of secondary school. Alisha, for example, explained that her Palestinian parents are Roman Orthodox and found an Arabic church in Germany to attend (since Roman Orthodox churches are uncommon in Germany). In this church she received free guitar lessons, for which she was very grateful:

The pastor [of this Arabic church] then taught us, that's my cousins and me, to play the guitar. And his wife as well. Because they both played and so we were kinda taught. […] Well, I thought that was really cool. And it was lots of fun. With hindsight I'm also really grateful, because instrumental lessons are just not particularly reasonably priced. And that someone agrees to do this for free, that's definitely a chance. (Alisha, academic student, 145-147)

For the time being, it remains to be seen in what way subjectively perceived barriers to non-formal music education (Lehmann-Wermser, 2019) and parental attributions of meaning and values – that are often named as important factors (Olbertz, 2018), but are not mentioned in this biography – interact.

Beginning of vocational and academic studies

With the start of vocational or academic studies, musical practices changed for all interviewees, for instance, the way they listened to music or what they listened to. Due to their new social environment, their musical preferences changed and their busier schedules led them to listen to music for relaxation as well. Listening to music was important for all of the young adults, and this would be impossible without the media. Lasse's account of his listening behavior is typical for the sample as a whole:

> Through Spotify actually. So, when I listen on my mobile phone then it's Spotify, if I'm at home then it's usually the record player. […] Well, with friends I also listen to a lot of music, if someone comes for a visit or generally, when we're up and about or relaxing somewhere. (Lasse, vocational student, 22-27)

In addition to these modifications in the listening behavior, other musical practices changed as well. Four of the participants no longer danced due to time constraints, which is also the reason why the majority of the interviewees did not play their instrument as often as they used to (cf. Ayling & Johnston, 2005; Stewart, 2007; Mantie & Dorfman, 2014; Pitts & Robinson, 2016; Fix, 2017). They had also stopped taking instrumental lessons or participating in music groups (e.g., orchestras, bands, or choirs) because they no longer had access to organized school activities. The pandemic has impeded finding similar activities in different contexts.

However, despite the pandemic, some participants started musical practices that they either did not know or had previously learned to appreciate. Throughout his interview, Thomas repeatedly explained that moving to music was important to him. After school he went on to work as a fitness animator abroad:

> Oh, all the time, really. That was either what I needed to do as a host – I was a sports and fitness host, that is I had to/ for the courses I had to choose specific music. […] Then I had to be on stage, also take part in shows in the evenings, moderate, dance and act and take part in musicals. […] That's why, at work I really always had to deal with music. (Thomas, vocational student, 47)

It can be assumed that Thomas has experienced participation in his childhood (e.g., moving to music in primary school or listening and dancing to music with friends) and that he then drew on this as a young adult. His positive experience points towards an expansion of his *capability*. Other studies have already shown that such positive experiences can lead to a continuation or a return to musical activities (e.g., Turton & Durrant, 2002; Gavin, 2001; Pitts, 2005; Selph & Bugos, 2014).

Discussion and Implications

In summary, the interview study confirms that the musical activities of young adults show an enormous diversity and thus – according to the definition used in this study – indicates musical multiculturalism. Some of the young adults still realize musical practices from their childhood and youth, while others use this phase of life to start completely new practices that were not relevant to them before.

Six interviewees had a migration background and we contrasted their answers to those of the young people whose families are from Germany. The results indicate that all the young adults are engaged in a variety of musical practices and that this did not depend on migrations background. Thus, the qualitative data does not confirm the differences in media affinity in terms of migration background, gender, or student status as revealed by the quantitative data (Schurig et al., 2021). It has to be considered that although a third of the participants in the online study indicated a migration background, only a fifth of the interviewees did – and they had spent most of their lives in Germany. They are therefore not re-presentative of the quantitative sample. But the quantitative data offer an overview over the activities pursued by the participants and allow the calculation of influences on these activities, while the qualitative data provide an insight into the music-related goals of the participants. Thus, the qualitative data enable a differentiation of the quantitative results.

This differentiation helps to explain how former musical activities might influence current ones. Here, the Capability Approach allows an understanding of the importance of musical practices for certain young adults and points towards a connection between *agency*, *well-being* and *functionings*. The qualitative data reveal that positively evaluated practices in childhood and youth enhance young adults' longing to continue these activities.

Examining young adults' musical participation at the beginning of their vocational or academic studies showed that this phase of life also offers the opportunity for reorientation. If they were dissatisfied with their musical opportunities or activities before, for instance, they can now shape their musical practices themselves and find ones that fit them. The time during academic or vocational studies appears ideal "for solidifying the potential for viewing active music making as part of a healthy, desirable lifestyle" (Mantie, 2013, p. 53).

Further studies should compare migration background according to country of origin and social status. Differences could be expected in that regard (cf. Settelmeyer & Erbe, 2010, p. 20), since migration background is not a homogenous concept (Hallenberg et al., 2017). Different backgrounds might influence musical participation in a variety of ways.

Building on our findings, we suggest that a variety of musical practices (formal, non-for-

mal, and informal) should be made easily accessible for children and adolescents in order to enable them to decide which of these practices they like and want to pursue further (*subjective well-being*). The experience of different practices broadens their realm of possibility (*capability*) and increases their *freedom* of decision once they finish compulsory schooling. Offering a variety of different musical activities increases the chance that all people are reached despite their cultural background. Additionally, the main focus should not only be on sophisticated musical practices, such as instrumental lessons or visiting concerts, but should equally include engaging with music through media or learning an instrument autodidactically. Since young adults carry out a broad range of activities, this introduction to a variety of musical practices would be more likely to correspond with their experiential aims in their daily lives.

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Why do children not participate?
An Investigation of Children's Refusals to Participate in Musical Activities

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Abstract

Public schools are important facilitators for music education and participation. Based on a sample of n=2.847 students, our study investigated which factors influence participation in extracurricular music activities (EMA) in schools, focusing in particular on the group of non-participants. We investigated the reasons that students do not take advantage of extracurricular music activities in schools. Using the capability approach as a theoretical framework, we specifically considered individual interest as a conversion factor. Such factors are, beside resources, crucial for the realization of participation. Our results highlight that in addition to the variety of EMA offers, instrumental lessons outside school and the students' feeling of "finding the right offer" are the strongest factors influencing their participation in EMA. In contrast, indicators of cultural capital are not significant. Students who refuse to participate in EMA most often cited the kind of music performed in EMA and having no perceivable benefit from EMA as the reasons for their nonparticipation. Our results indicate that EMA are in general a priori selective, reaching only a certain number of students. To reach more children, there need to be structural and content changes in the EMA offered in schools.

1. Introduction

Fostering musical participation and giving as many children and young people as possible the opportunity to discover musical practice are central concerns of many music education projects and musical offers. As cultural participation is a human right, this concern is often also related to questions of social justice: "Participation in arts, craft and celebratory activities is a fundamental human expression of culture, identity and community and is therefore of clear value *per se*" (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012, p. 9) and "improves the quality of life" (ibid., p. 17). So how can we give as many people as possible the chance to participate?

Public schools especially bear great responsibility regarding these requirements: They are spaces in which participation in music-related educational opportunities is open to all students. Thus, they can help to reduce educational and participatory inequalities. However, even though most schools in Germany offer music lessons as part of the curriculum and additional possibilities to taking part in extracurricular music activities (EMA), only a small group of students participate in and benefit from such activities (e.g., Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2012, p. 332). Thus, it is necessary to develop a deeper understanding of children and young people's reasons for participa-

tion in EMA but also to better understand the barriers that keep them from taking part. While there are many studies investigating musical participation outside school (e.g., Lehmann-Wermser & Krupp-Schleußner, 2017; Krupp-Schleußner & Lehmann-Wermser, 2019; Hasselhorn, Krupp, et al. 2022; Krupp-Schleußner, 2016; Nonte & Schurig, 2019), only few studies focus on extracurricular activities in music and why students do not take part in such activities (e.g., Keuchel & Larue, 2012)

In this article, using the capability approach, we investigate the reasons that students in Grades 5, 6, and 7 do not participate in musical activities in public schools. Those students are usually between 10 and 12 years old[1]. We draw on data from the study "Music and Personality", which was carried out from 2018 to 2022.[2] For a better understanding of why students do or do not participate in EMA, the assessment of i.e. financial resources, cultural capital (in the sense of Bourdieu) and knowledge about the school structure is not sufficient: These factors do not tell us enough about the students' individual experiences with educational offers or their refusal to participate. What are the reasons that keep them from participating and why do they not take advantage of opportunities to participate? What factors influence their capability to participate? The concluding discussion considers implications for the development of music educational offers in secondary schools, so they can reduce inequality with respect to music education.

2. Capability and the exercise of freedom

The capability approach was developed by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum in the 1960s as a philosophical approach to social justice. The approach has been widely recognized as a powerful research framework (Robeyns, 2017) in general educational research (Otto und Ziegler, 2010; Robeyns, 2017; Hart, 2019) as well as in music education research (Krupp-Schleußner, 2016; Krupp-Schleußner & Lehmann-Wermser, 2016; Ardila-Mantilla, Göllner & Reiland, 2021). With the claim that every person should be able to realize a life that she has reason to value, the concept of capability is central to the approach. It refers to what people are actually able to be and do rather than to what resources they have access to (Walker, 2005, p. 103f.).

This is opposed to egalitarian theories of justice, which mainly focus on the distribution of resources (see Sen, 2012; Stojanov, 2001). Sen "proposed a paradigm shift that broadens attention to include whether an individual has the *real opportunity* to achieve a valued way of living as well as focusing on the kind of resources that are at their disposal" (Hart, 2019, p. 584). Sen states that resources, rights, and entitlements are important prerequisites for participation. Together with different kinds of conver-

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1   As we are interested in class effects rather than age effects, the exact age was not collected during the survey.
2   The study was carried out at the Mainz School of Music and at the Hanover University of Music, Drama and Media. It was funded by the German Council of Cultural Education and the Mercator Foundation.

sion factors, they form each person's *capability*[3]. However, for a person to really lead a life that she has reason to value, individual capability has to be converted into *functionings* (realized forms of participation). For example, even when provided with the same instrument, two children in the same class, but with varying social and cultural backgrounds, can develop their musical skills very differently. The question is what opportunities do they actually have to realize participation by playing an instrument and why do they seize or refuse these opportunities? Participation is impacted not only by conversion factors but also by the *freedom* each person has to exercise agency and to develop, pursue, and achieve individual aims with respect to musical participation. The "mere existence of a school (resource) does not guarantee educational success for a given individual. It depends on how well suited the resource is to an individual's needs" (Hart, 2019, p. 584) or how it is embedded in the specific musical practice and how the individual deals with it. The specific roles of educational institutions are to broaden capability and future freedoms by a wide range of offers and to ensure each person's ability to make well-reflected choices that matter for themselves (Saito, 2003).

Consequently, empirical studies not only have to measure if and how people participate and which resources they can rely on but also whether they can achieve things they have reason to value. Here, Sen uses the concept of *wellbeing*, which refers to people's general life satisfaction or to their satisfaction with specific domains of life. This shifts the evaluative space from resources and activities to the satisfaction with *functionings* that are actually accomplished or the opportunities that are actually available (see Krupp-Schleußner, 2016).

Sen's assumptions can also be applied to the context of music education: Principally, all musical offers that state schools provide are accessible for all students as they are free of charge. Some of them might require that children already know how to play an instrument; others might focus on other musical practices. EMA offer the space and opportunities to realize *functionings*, which can in turn lead to the development of new forms of *capability*. Nevertheless, such musical opportunities are taken up by only a small proportion of students. This stands in contrast to musical practice that takes place outside of school. There seem to be other *barriers*[4] than those we already know (i.e. family support or cultural capital; see Krupp-Schleußner & Lehmann-Wermser, 2016) that keep young people from participating in EMA in schools.

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3   In our study, we distinguish between individual (family background, motivation, talent and giftedness, attitudes, …) and social (educational offers, public infrastructure …) factors of conversion although environmental factors could also play a role (Robeyns, 2017). The latter were less important for our research.

4   The term barrier is used in a broad sense and can be seen on many levels (physical, mental, psychological, economic; see UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012, p. 36).

3. Reasons for non-participation – what we already know

In recent years, there have been many studies exploring factors that influence the mu-sical participation of young people. One of the main factors is the influence of their parents: Their permission, interest, motivation, and encouragement play a decisive role (Dunn et al., 2003; Bailey et al., 2013). These results were confirmed by Sichivit-sa (2004; 2007) who found effects of parents' and teachers' interest and support on children's musical learning, their musical ability, and motivation to „continue studying music in the future" (Sichivitsa, 2004, p. 36). Besides parents and teachers, peers also play a crucial role in cultural participation: Friendship especially is an important reason to embrace an opportunity (Fredricks & Simpkins, 2013). Once the students have decid-ed to take part in a musical activity, the activities must be interesting and challenging and promote autonomy so that many children remain involved (Krause et al., 2019). Ex-tracurricular music activities in a broad sense were researched in the work of Metsäpel-to and Pulkkinen (2012; 2014) with regard to the significance of their relevance for development in childhood and adolescence: Children can "gain self-knowledge and a sense of their strengths, values, and interests [through participation in extracurricular activities], [the latter] setting the stage for identity exploration, a key developmental task in adolescence" (Metsäpelto & Pulkkinen, 2012, p. 168–169). But access to extra-curricular opportunities is not equally available to all students. Covay and Carbonaro (2010), who analyzed students' participation in EMA in the USA, showed an influence of extracurricular participation on cognitive and especially non-cognitive skills, which in turn is related to socio-economic status. Additionally, there was a correlation be-tween the development of non-cognitive skills such as self-perception, self-efficacy or self-concept and the well-being of the students (Cuadrado, 2019, p. 167). This connec-tion can be described in terms of the capability approach as successful participation and identification with functionings in the sense of achieving the individual goals, which results in well-being. Hasselhorn, Krupp, et al. (2022) have empirically shown this effect especially with respect to formal music education offers, which include EMA.

In the German research context, there have been investigations in schools (Leh-mann-Wermser et al., 2010) as well as the JeKi programme (An Instrument for Every Child[5]; see Lehmann-Wermser, 2013; Lehmann-Wermser et al., 2014; Schwippert et al., 2019). Although financial resources influence participation, especially with regard to learning an instrument in formal contexts, factors such as attitudes towards music and the educational background of the family (cultural capital) are much more impor-tant (Krupp-Schleußner & Lehmann-Wermser, 2019, p. 113). Overall, musical activities are practiced more frequently by pupils in college-prep schools ("grammar schools" in Britain or "Gymnasien" in Germany) than pupils in other types of schools (Feiera-

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5 https://www.jekits.de/das-programm/jedem-kind-ein-instrument/

bend et al., 2020, p. 12). Despite the rising number of offers in the schools[6] that are at least supposedly open for all students, the number of children participating in EMA has not increased significantly (e.g.,Keuchel & Larue, 2012, pp. 123–124). In the second "Jugend-KulturBarometer" (Youth Culture Barometer) (Keuchel & Larue, 2012), the authors investigated reasons, in addition to factors such as resources or educational background, for non-participation in cultural activities (p. 79, p. 121).[7] The young people surveyed (aged 14–24) mentioned the lack of relevance of the activities to their own lives, their own lack of interest, but also the attitudes and behavior of peers as well as the lack of artistic disposition in their own families (Keuchel & Larue, 2012, p. 79). The latter is especially true for young people from educationally disadvantaged households. However, this does not necessarily mean that these young people are not culturally interested or active. In this context, Hornberger (2017) warns against labelling such groups as "educationally disadvantaged problem cases" (p. 33). Nevertheless, the focus of these studies was on participation in cultural activities in different contexts and as different areas of cultural participation are addressed, the results are only comparable to a limited extent.

In the following, we focus explicitly on social and individual conversion factors that can be interpreted as barriers to participation, which limit the students' scope for agency and freedom with respect to participation.

4. Research questions

In our study, we examined why students do not participate in extracurricular musical activities in schools (EMA). In addition to considering dominant measures such as social background, gender, attitudes towards music, and educational enrollment, we investigated more reasons that young people gave for not participating. This way, we could better access the children's actual capability and limitations. In this paper, we focus on those students who, at the time of the study, were not participating in EMA but who were interested in doing so. This way, we could get at the reasons why they had not yet taken up the EMA opportunities.

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6 In the German context, the structure and number of musical offers in school has changed: Projects like JeKi introduced models in which students learn an instrument with the whole class ("music profile classes") following American models. This was explicitly supported by a claim for more social justice in music and cultural education which gained great attention due to the UNESCO World conferences on Arts Education in 2006 and 2010 that led to national programs in Germany, such as "Kultur macht stark". (https://www.buendnisse-fuer-bildung.de/buendnissefuerbildung/de/programm/inhalt-und-ziele/inhalt-und-ziele.html)

7 However, the term "cultural activities" in this context refers to all artistic and creative leisure activities.

5. Study design and methods

5.1 Music and personality – project description

The research project "Music and Personality" was carried out from 2018 to 2022 and aimed at investigating musical participation of students in Grades 5 to 8. The research questions were related to participation in music, personality development, and questions of social justice. Within a longitudinal cohort design, three cohorts were surveyed with digital questionnaires three to four times each between 2019 and 2021. With the help of this design, the development of musical participation and its interplay with factors such as personality or life satisfaction could be investigated. First results have been published in Beisiegel & Krupp (2021), Hasselhorn, Krupp, et al. (2022) and Beisiegel (2022).

5.2 Sample

In this paper, we only refer to data of the first measurement in the autumn of 2019 ($N = 2'847$; see Table 1) and cross-sectional analyses we conducted for this paper. On average, the children were 10 (Grade 5), 11 (Grade 6), or 12 (Grade 7) years old. Different types of schools were considered, but college prep schools ("Gymnasien") are clearly overrepresented in our sample, which is a common problem of educational studies in Germany. The schools which participated in the study are situated in Rhineland-Palatinate, Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony. A total of 23 schools and 138 classes participated in the first survey. At the time of the survey, 30% of the children were attending a music profile class[8]; 52, 8% received lessons on an instrument.

Gender	Type of School	Grade	Total sample
male 1.054 (39.5%)	**Gymnasium** (grammar school) 2.134 (75.0%)	**grade 5** 917 (32.2%)	2.847
female 1.323 (49.6%)	**Different type of school** 713 (25.0%)	**grade 6** 991 (34.8%)	
no answer 470 (16.5%)		**grade 7** 939 (33.0%)	

Table 1. Sample description (measurement 1)

8 In music profile classes in Germany, all students learn an instrument or receive vocal training in music lessons, depending on the profile of the specific music class. In many schools, parents can decide whether their children attend a profile class or go to "normal" music lessons.

5.3 Variables and scales

Participation in EMA
All students were asked whether or not they participated in EMA , which included choirs, orchestras, bands, and other offers. The dichotomous items were answered by yes or no. In an open question, the type of the attended offer(s) could be additionally specified. These answers were subsequently recoded into the categories *choir, orchestra, band*, and *others*.

Reasons for non-participation
Those children who did not indicate that they were participating in EMA were additionally asked to give individual reasons for their decision against EMA (see Table 3). The reasons were partly derived from the second "Jugend-KulturBarometer" (Youth Culture Barometer) (Keuchel & Larue, 2012, p. 79, p. 121) (Reasons 1–2, 4–9, 11–12) and then exploratively supplemented by further possible reasons (Reasons 3, 5, 10, 13)[9]. The reasons could largely be attributed to the conversion factors. For example, interest (Reason 1) and musicality (Reasons 8 & 9) were individual conversion factors while time (Reason 4) was one of the social conversion factors. In addition, individual fit and norms were queried: coolness (Reason 12), participation of friends (Reason 2), bad experiences (Reason 10) or musical taste (Reason 5).

Further background variables and scales
An overview of all further variables and scales can be found in Table 3. In line with the capability approach, these variables can be interpreted as resources, social or individual conversion factors that influenced the students' capability, agency and freedom.

We assessed the children's and parents' affinity to music (individual conversion factors) in line with two previous studies that had shown a strong impact of these factors on children's participation in music (Krupp-Schleußner & Lehmann-Wermser, 2016). Cultural capital, which is also known to be a crucial indicator, was assessed in line with the PISA studies (Mang et al., 2019, p. 140) and the number of books per household (Paulus, 2009; Hille, Arnold & Schupp, 2013, p. 16).

All participants were asked whether they had received lessons on one or more instruments outside school (individual conversion factor). Furthermore, we assessed how many different EMA could be found at each of the schools (social conversion factor).

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9   The reasons were supplemented on the basis of a review of interview transcripts from the project 'Wirkungen und langfristige Effekte musikalischer Angebote' (Schwippert et al., 2019) and on the basis of informal conversations with teachers at schools.

Scale (n Items)	Answers	Mean (SD)	Cronbach's α
Parents' affinity to music (6) Example: We often sing together at home.	0 (not true at all) to 4 (totally true)	1.71 (0.86)	0.77
Children's affinity to music (5) Example: I can't imagine a life without music.	0 (not true at all) to 4 (totally true)	2.44 (0.93)	0.79
Cultural Possessions (PISA) (5) Example: Musical instruments	dichotomous	2.56 (1.18)	0.52
Single Items			
Gender	male, female, unknown	/	/
Number of Books	1 (no or very few books) to 5 (more than 200 books)	3.64 (1.20)	/
Instrumental lessons	dichotomous	/	/
My school offers exactly the right activities for me.	0 (not true at all) to 4 (totally true)	2.08 (1.39)	/
		Frequencies	
Number of EMA per School	1 (less than 5 EMA), 2 (5-7 EMA) 3 (more than 7 EMA)	835 (29.3%) 1218 (42.8%) 794 (27.9%)	/

Table 2. Scales and single Items (Background variables)

6. Results

6. 1 Overview: Participation in EMA

The descriptive results in the following section are based on the sample of Measure One which was presented in Section 5.2. The 23 schools participating in the survey offered between 2 and 14 EMA, with a mean value of 5.3. The most common EMAs were choir, orchestra, or bands – thus, for the most part, activities for which instrumental skills are a prerequisite. More informal offers such as musical groups, app music, songwriting or rhythm groups were rarely offered and thus categorized as "others."

The participation rate in EMA varied widely. In total, 24.5% of the students participated in EMA: 25.2% at college prep schools ("Gymnasien"); 22.1% at other types of school (n.s.[10]). This difference between participation in EMA at different school types is, although not significant, consistent with the results of other studies which showed that young people's musical activity differs between school types in general (Medienpädagogischer Forschungsverbund Südwest, 2021, p. 12). Depending on the school, between 6% and 35% of the students took part in EMA. The higher the number of EMA at a school, the more students participated (r = 0.271, p < 0.001).

grade 5 ■ grade 6 ■ grade 7
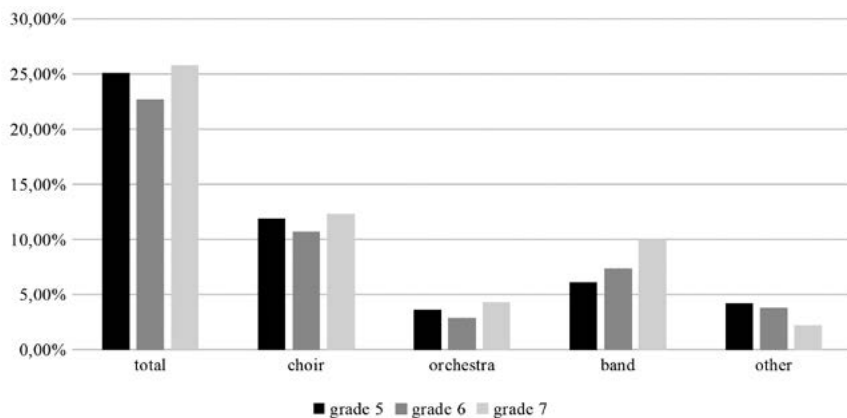
Looking at the development across the school grades, we could see that participation in EMA increased slightly from Grade 5 to 7. This is probably because most schools regularly offer more musical activities from Grade 7 onwards, and some students also switch from the music profile classes to EMA. In terms of the participation in the different types of activities, parallels could be observed between choir and orchestra: From Grade 5 to 6, participation dropped slightly, while rising again in Grade 7. One explanation for this is the availability of more offers from Grade 7 onwards. In all grades, participation in choirs was significantly higher than in orchestras, which certainly also has to do with the easier accessibility of the offer: Choirs do not require previously acquired instrumental skills. Our study also revealed that participation in band offers increased with grade level. This can also be explained by the instrumental skills required, which improve with age. Bands, in this case, also include big bands, which are often also attended by students who learn to play a wind instrument in the music profile class from Grade 5 onwards.

Other activities, such as musical clubs, dance clubs, guitar classes or app clubs, were taken up less frequently as the grade level increased or in some cases were no longer offered from Grade 7 onwards, which explains the decrease. If we look at participation

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10 Here, a t-Test for independent samples was conducted.

in total, we could see that in all grades, about a quarter of the students participated in EMA at all. So, what about those who chose not to participate in EMA at all?

6.2 Reasons for non-participation in EMA

The following analyses take a closer look at the subgroup of students in our study who did not participate in EMA (n=1707; Table 3, column 3). Table 3 shows the percentage of students who reported the reasons as true. The reasons most frequently mentioned were lack of interest (Reason 1, 61.3%), influence of peers (Reason 2, 52.8%), limited time (Reason 4, 45.2%) or perceived lack of benefit (Reason 6, 43.4%) and the fit of the offers (Reason 5, 43.6%). The direct influence of parents (Reason 13) was comparatively low – only 7.2% of the students stated that their parents did not want them to participate in EMA.

		Agree (n=1707)	Interested – agree (n=659)
1	I'm not interested in any EMA.	61.3%	
2	My friends don't participate in EMA either.	52.8%	**37.9%**
3	I never thought about participating in EMA.	49.9%	**41.3%**
4	It costs too much time to participate in EMA.	45.2%	**32.3%**
5	I don't like the kind of music provided by EMA.	43.6%	20.9%
6	It is not useful for me to participate in EMA.	43.4%	16.8%
7	I don't know what I have to be capable of for that.	39.2%	**31.6%**
8	I am not musically talented.	32.3%	18.1%
9	My musical skills are not sufficient to participate in EMA.	28.0%	17.5%
10	I have not had a good experience with EMA.	24.1%	14.3%
11	It is boring to participate in EMA.	21.5%	5.5%
12	It is not cool to participate in EMA.	12.8%	4.7%
13	My parents don't want me to participate in EMA.	7.2%	7.0%

Table 3. Reasons for non-participating in EMA

61% of the students who did not participate in EMA stated that they were not interested in participating. What did we find out about the other 38%? We could assume that those students might be generally interested in EMA but have other reasons for not partici-

pating. In the following step, we treated these students as a new subsample: If these students were interested in taking part, what reasons mattered most in determining their non-participation?[11] Taking a closer look at this second sub-sample (n=659; table 3, column 4), we see that most of them had simply never thought about participating in EMA (Reason 3, 41.3%). Friends, who were also not participating (Reason 2, 37.9%) and a lack of time (Reason 4, 32.2%) still played a big role, while the lack of knowledge about the skills needed for EMA became even more important (Reason 7, 31.6%) than the benefit or fit of offers (Reasons 5 & 6).

6.3 How do individual reasons interact with gender, cultural capital, affinity to music and instrumental lessons outside the school?

To see how the different factors impact children's decision for or against EMA, we conducted logistic regression analyses in three steps (3 different models). In Model 1, we tested how gender, children's and parents' affinity for music, instrumental tuition, cultural capital, and the number of EMA offers of each school influenced participation in EMA across the whole sample. The question whether children found an individually suitable EMA offer was also added to the pool of independent variables as this item was answered by all children (model 1) and can be considered from a capability perspective.

In a second step, we focused on the subsample of those students who did not participate in EMA (n=1707). Here, we were interested in what kept those from participating who were generally interested in participating (see Section 6.2). Thus, we chose *being not interested* as the new dependent. We first used the same set of independent variables as in Model 1 (Model 2a) and finally added those reasons, which more than 30% of the subsample indicated as relevant for their decision against EMA (Model 2b, see Table 4): participation of friends (Item 2), time (Item 4), having considered at all taking part in EMA (Item 3), lack of musical talent (Item 8), knowledge of necessary skills (Item 7), seeing no use in EMA (Item 6), not liking the music performed during EMA (Item 5).

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Variables	Model 1 (*n=2312*) DV: participation in EMA Odds Ratio [95%-C.I.]	Model 2a (*n=1474*) DV: interested in EMA Odds Ratio [95%-C.I.]	Model 2b (n=1474) DV: interested in EMA Odds Ratio [95%-C.I.]
Gender (female =1)	1.44** [1.15; 1.80]	0.57*** [0.45; 0.72]	0.72* [0.55; 0.93]
Number of books	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Children's affinity to music	n.s.	1.91*** [1.62; 2.25]	1.75*** [1.45; 2.12]
Parents' affinity to music	1.26** [1.07; 1.48]	1.25* [1.04; 1.50]	n.s.
Cultural possessions	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
0-3 EMA			
4-5 EMA (1)	2.07*** [1.52; 2.83]	n.s	n.s.
›5 EMA (2)	2.85*** [2.06; 3.93]	n.s	n.s.
Instrumental lessons	3.00*** [2.33; 3.86]	n.s.	n.s.
Finding suitable offers at school.	1.69*** [1.54; 1.86]	1.45*** [1.32; 1.59]	1.22*** [1.10; 1.35]
Reasons for not participating in EMA (1=yes)			
My friends don't participate in EMA either.			0.69** [0.53; 0.90]
It costs too much time to participate in EMA.			0.62** [0.48; 0.81]
I am not musically talented.			n.s.
I don't know what I have to be capable of for that.			n.s.
It is not useful for me to participate in EMA.			0.28*** [0.21; 0.37]
I don't like the kind of music provided by EMA.			0.43*** [0.33; 0.58]
I never thought about participating in EMA.			0,65** [0.50; 0.84]
x² (df)	539.57*** (9)	281.73*** (9)	238.90*** (7)
-2LL	2013.50	1671. 85	1432.05
% right	78.9	70.7	76.5
R² (Cox & Snell / Nagelkerke)	0.21 / 0.31	0.17 / 0.24	0.30 / 0.42

Table 4. Summary of the logistic regressions: Model coefficients predicting participation in EMA (model 1), or predicting interest in participating in EMA (models 2a/2b). * p ‹ 0.05; ** p ‹ 0.01; *** p ‹ 0.001

Participation in EMA (subsample 1, model 1)

Model 1 showed that girls were significantly more likely to participate in EMAs in our sample. While the parents' affinity for music also appeared to be a significant factor, the children's overall affinity to music did not influence their decision for or against EMA, nor was the number of books or cultural possessions (cultural capital). It seemed to be more important that children found suitable offers at their schools. This went in line with the impact that the number of EMAs offers per school has: If a school in our study offered more than 4 EMA, it was at least twice as likely that children participated than if there are only three or fewer offers.

By far the most influential reason was music lessons outside school: Learning an instrument already outside school made the student three times more likely to participate in EMA. We can conclude from this analysis that social conversion factors such as the structure of EMA (i.e., finding a suitable offer) and the number of offers have a high impact on children's decisions for or against EMA. The parents' influence and learning an instrument outside the school, which can be interpreted as individual conversion factors, were also important while cultural capital was not significant.

Not taking up the opportunity while being interested in EMA (Subsample 2, Model 2)

In Model 2a we couldsee first of all that boys were twice as likely as girls to indicate they were interested in EMA, although they did not participate in them. In this model, both the parents' as well as the children's affinity for music significantly influenced their general interest in EMA. The only other significant predictor in this model is *finding a suitable offer*.

To go more in depth with our analysis, we added more predictors to the model from the "reasons" section of the questionnaire (Model 2b). With R^2=0.30/0.42, this model explains more variance than the other two models and gives more detailed insights into the students' motivations: Out of the initial variables, only the children's affinity to music and finding a suitable offer remained significant. When it comes to further reasons, children whose friends did not participate, those who did not find the time, those who did not like the music performed in EMA, those who saw no benefit in EMA, and those who never thought about participating were less likely to be generally interested in participating in EMA. Seeing no benefit in EMA and not liking the music being performed in EMA were the most important reasons here.

In summary, our results show that the factors influencing general interest in EMA were different from the factors influencing participation in EMA: While the participation in EMA was determined by factors such as parents' affinity to music and already learning an instrument outside school, the general interest in EMA was rather determined by reasons such as friends and liking the music offered in the EMA. Such reasons are to be seen in relation to cultural identity and corresponding individual notions of participation. We will discuss theses discrepancies in the final section.

7. Discussion

In this article, we asked the question why children do not participate in EMA. To answer this question, we analyzed factors that influence the participation in EMA, reasons that children name for not participating, and factors and reasons that influence the interest in EMA for those children who do not participate. Even if this approach seems like a methodical detour at first glance, it allows for a more detailed insight into how decisions for or against EMA emerge. The capability approach as a theoretical framework now allows for a concluding discussion of our results. It should be mentioned here that our results and interpretations have to be seen in the context of the specific configuration of the German school system.

The core assumption of the capability approach is that each person should be capable of realizing doings and beings that she has reason to value. With respect to musical participation, this means that every person should have the freedom to choose forms of participation she prefers and to exercise agency when it comes to deciding about where, when and how to participate in musical activities. This freedom depends on the individual capability of each person.

The factors and reasons we accounted for in this article can be interpreted as conversion factors that help to realize participation (functionings), which means here participation in EMA. It is obvious that a larger number of EMA increases the probability of participation. The fact that already playing an instrument is such a strong influencing factor points toward a problematic situation: Such EMA, no matter how numerous they are, are designed for those children who already profit from musical lessons outside school. Instrumental skills that children acquire outside school endow those children with advantages that other children can hardly catch up with. Where, if not in public schools, could we then pave ways to musical practice for those children who arrive without being musically educated beforehand? By focusing too much on instrumental playing in EAM in schools, these offers do not fully serve as (possible) conversion factors for all children. The reason *not finding the suitable offer* can also be considered here and this raises the second question: Do school-based educational programs even address musical practices that are compatible with students' cultural identities? Why is it that students cannot find suitable offers or that the kind of music performed keeps them from being interested in EMA? The reason might be that EMA mostly reference practices connected to Western art music and that also here we find hegemonic structures that have been described for regular music lessons or music curricula (Blanchard, 2021; Lietzmann, 2021; Weininger & Lareau, 2018). Furthermore, these structures are strengthened by the fact that teacher education mostly focuses on such Western art music practices and not on popular music, jazz, or digital cultures (Buchborn et al., 2020). Additionally, dealing with cultural diversity is presented as some kind of a special content in study programs as well as in the school curricula (ibid.)[12]. Consequently, these

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12 In Germany this field is referenced by the term "Interkulturelle Musikpädagogik".

practices are not sufficiently represented in the context of EMA, and although there is a certain capability given by EMA, students cannot realize functionings that they identify with or that they value. In other words, they see *no use in participating* in EMA. Hegemonic structures appear as invisible barriers for participation.

Even though we didn't account for this empirically, we can assume that also family habitus plays a role in the decision for or against EMA (Hart, 2019). Hart (ibid.) conceives habitus as a conversion factor whose power is somewhat unclear as habitus might develop within institutional contexts and as one person might develop several habiti (ibid., 587). The question arises if "proactive social and educational policy […] could take the tack of a 'deficit' model that aims to make up for 'deficiencies' in an individual's habitus" (ibid.). Such a proactive policy would include an inclusive practice development that critically asks for valuable knowledge and practice in today's hyper-diversified societies.

In our understanding, educational endeavors for more social justice in cultural participation need to first respect cultural diversity and critically challenge the status quo of the system: "[B]ecoming conscious of the roles of educational institutions in the perpetuation of injustices and oppression is a first step on a long journey of development" (ibid.) towards a system aiming at capability development in a broad sense.

8. Conclusion and implications

The results of our analyses of students' reasons for non-participation consequently led to a number of important conclusions.

- Non-participation does not necessarily indicate a general lack of interest. Our data clearly show that many students who do not participate in EMA are nonetheless generally interested in doing so. They are often not well informed, and in their group of friends, EMA do not play a role. This is where more introductory offers are needed to bring students into contact with EMA.
- Most schools provide conventional EMA offers such as choir, orchestra, or band/big band. At the same time, factors such as finding a suitable offer and liking the music performed in EMA are factors influencing students' decisions for/against and interest in EMA. With respect to varied ways of musical participation, this might indicate that the structure of EMA and the music performed within EMA are not in line with the students' musical identities and their musical realities outside the school. Hegemonic structures act as invisible barriers to participation that we should critically challenge.
- The role of cultural capital has to be reconsidered in the context of EMA. Within the existing structures, children with higher cultural capital profit from a higher capability as EMA seem to be especially open to those children who already know how to play an instrument and who might also know how to deal with specific practices

of rehearsal and performance. This includes the kind of music which might not be congruent with their own musical identity or habitus.

- In line with this, it is more likely for students to participate if there are simply more offers. This increases the probability of finding a suitable musical offer.

Our results show that the provision of music educational offers and resources do not guarantee that every child has the same capability to actually realize functionings. The equality of educational chances is putative as it is compromised by many factors and motifs that come into play only after children have already entered the school system. It is crucial to acknowledge that those children who already benefit from music education outside school are advantaged with respect to actual EMA structures. This calls for an in-depth analysis of EMA and structures within schools and different school types. As our data indicate that EMA can possibly be interesting for more students if they find suitable offers and if they like the music performed in EMA, redesigning EMA to align with students' interest and needs seems to be crucial. Such a measure would overcome the initial influence of cultural capital and give more children the chance to profit from music education in the first place. This, in turn, would increase their chance for capability development.

Such changes cannot be implemented easily, because in school, of course, what is already initiated in teacher education reproduces itself. In the German context, music teachers largely come from a university context in which classical music is taught and in which structures prevail that foreground practices of classical music or Western art music. A diversification of offers can be better achieved if practices that go beyond this are already included in teacher education.

The real challenge for educational practice development is then to design music educational spaces and pathways in a way that they are open to manifold and varying forms of musical practice and that are inclusive with respect to differing musical identities and already existing musical skills. Only then is a real increase of capability, freedom and agency possible for all children.

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What influences student participation in music groups in secondary school? A multi-lab analysis

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Introduction

The factors influencing musical participation have been of interest in music education for a long time and many different influences have already been discovered (Armstrong, 2017; Green & Hale, 2011). In previous research, the focus was typically on the early school years and the effects of programs, such as JeKits[1], which aim to offer musical opportunities and introduce music to everyone. Such research investigated either musical participation in itself or its transfer effects into other areas, such as students' social behavior or academic achievement (Kranefeld, 2014; Nonte & Schwippert, 2014).

The present paper uses the unique opportunity to access data that was sampled across three projects in Germany, all of which collected similar information on students' musical participation in school as well as socio-demographic factors[2]. The aim was to discover more robust and generalizable findings on the influences of personality and socio-demographics on students' musical participation. Additionally, one project also collected data from young adults in vocational and university education (which are the typical educational options after graduating from school in Germany). In general, this age group, especially vocational students, are not investigated sufficiently. The present analysis allows us to compare the determinants of musical participation during and after secondary school education.

Theoretical background

Being musically active is part of the life of many children and adolescents. In Germany, about 25% of adolescents sing or play an instrument, and 22.5% of them participate in a choir, orchestra, or other music group at school (Lehmann-Wermser & Krupp-Schleußner, 2017, pp. 7-8). As students get older, their musical participation becomes more informal: A survey revealed that over half of the respondents between the ages of 18 and 20 organized their own musical activities (Grgic & Züchner, 2016, p. 70).

A closer look at the influences on musical participation in Germany reveals that girls tend to be more involved in the arts while boys are more committed to sports and IT (Ke-

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uchel & Larue, 2012, p. 110). This means that girls are more musically active than boys (Erlinghagen et al., 2017; Medienpädagogischer Forschungsverbund Südwest, 2020, p. 12).

Socio-economic status (SES) affects musical participation as well so that pupils with a lower SES are less likely to attend musical activities in school and also tend to participate for a shorter time span than other pupils (Albert, 2006). This finding was corroborated by other studies, in which the length of musical training correlated with a higher SES (Corrigall & Schellenberg, 2015, p. 5). Moreover, it was found that students with a higher SES tended to remain in high school bands longer than those with a lower SES (Corenblum & Marshall, 1998). Generally, adolescents with a higher SES are involved in a wider range of musical activities (Grgic & Züchner, 2016, p. 39), and whether or not they are musically active depends on their parents' educational background (Lehmann-Wermser & Krupp-Schleußner, 2017, p. 18). However, while this was true for formal and non-formal musical activities, the picture is very different when looking at informal[3] activities at home: Families with a low SES were found to be musically more active in family settings than those with a higher SES (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2012, p. 161).

The same observation was made with regard to migration background: Children from families with a migration background were less likely to participate in music groups at school and instead were more involved in informal music activities outside of school (Grgic & Züchner, 2016, pp. 220f.). A further study revealed that children and adolescents with a migration background were generally less musically active outside of school as well (Lehmann-Wermser & Krupp-Schleußner, 2017, p. 18). Erlinghagen and colleagues (2017) suspect that their lower involvement at school is due to fewer opportunities and financial resources of children with a migration background.

Apart from these socio-demographic variables, individual factors, such as students' personality, might play a part in determining musical participation as well. Especially the personality factor 'openness for experience' (e.g., Schupp & Gerlitz, 2008) has been found to correlate with learning an instrument (Nonte & Schurig, 2019, p. 33) and with participation in a choir or orchestra at school (Lehmann-Wermser & Krupp-Schleußner, 2017, p. 19). While openness seems to influence the musical participation of older children in particular, the personality factor 'agreeableness' is associated with a longer duration of musical training (Corrigall & Schellenberg, 2015, p. 5). In an earlier study, Corrigall and Schellenberg also noticed that more 'open' children remained in music lessons longer than other, less 'open' children; this, the authors argued, might be due

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3   Formal activities are those that lead to a qualification (e.g., going to high school), non-formal activities usually take place in settings that include a curriculum and teaching methods but do not lead to an educational qualification (e.g., playing in an orchestra organized by a charity), and informal activities happen outside of institutionalized settings (e.g., autodidactically learning an instrument) (Schmidt-Hertha, 2016)

to their love of learning, particularly in artistic environments (Corrigall et al., 2013, p. 8). Furthermore, Hasselhorn et al. (2022) pointed out that personality traits of students who take part in formal musical activities were different from those of students in informal contexts of musical participation. They found that participants of formal musical activities tended to be more open in their personality, while those participating in informal musical activities had high scores in openness as well as neuroticism and agreeableness.

Musical participation is also influenced by a range of other factors. Students, for example, who are already musically active in their leisure time are more likely to attend music groups at school as well (Corenblum & Marshall, 1998; Keuchel & Larue, 2012, p. 128). Additionally, parents play an important role when it comes to the activities of their children. Parental support is a strong indicator of whether or not young people take up a musical activity in middle or high school (Bowles et al., 2014), and continuation of these activities is also dependent on parental encouragement (Corenblum & Marshall, 1998). Parents seem to think that musical activities add to the education of their children and provide a balance to their busy school days (Arasi, 2006, p. 165), which is why they support and encourage their children to pursue musical activities. It was also found that parents who attend music programs with their very young children were able to create a supportive music environment at home that helped their children to engage in musical activities and therefore facilitated life-long music learning (Abad & Barrett, 2020). As a result, the musical life at home effectively seems to impact the musical participation of children and adolescents in their later lives. Once young people turn into adolescents, parents become less influential, while friends and teachers become more important (Smetana, 2018, p. 246). By the age of 17, 50% of the musically active children will have dropped out of their activities. This is due to the fact that other leisure activities become more important with age, for instance, athletics (Ruth & Müllensiefen, 2021, p. 11). However, even if some might no longer be engaged in musical activities at school, they might still be active at home in their leisure time (Lamont et al., 2003, p. 239).

Apart from being influenced by the parents to join a musical activity, students' reasons for participating in music groups are mostly social: for example, meeting friends and making music together (Adderley et al., 2003, p. 195). Moreover, they like their musical activities, the music in itself, or their instrument (Adderley et al., 2003; Ayling & Johnston, 2005). Their personal interest in music and motivation to play music, however, need to be particularly strong to get involved in voluntary music groups, such as the ones at school (Smetana, 2018, p. 250).

Against this background, the question posed in this paper is which socio-demographic and other individual variables influence student participation in music groups at school in general and with regard to specific activities, such as choirs or orchestras. A particular focus was placed on students' personality, but demographics, such as gender or social sta-

tus, were also considered. Additionally, the question was whether any differences could be found between pupils attending secondary school and young adults attending university or vocational schools. Based on the results of the studies discussed above, we hypothesized that gender, social status, migration background, and personality factors, such as openness, would have an effect on participation in music groups at secondary school.

For the purpose of this paper, data sets from three separate research projects (Mainz, Göttingen, and Hannover/Bremen) were combined. All three projects were part of the same funding program.[4] The researchers of these three projects had previously agreed to collect the same basic variables in all projects. In this paper, joint statistical analyses are presented which make use of the collation of these variables into one large dataset.

Methods

All three research projects followed a quantitative research design that utilized questionnaires. These questionnaires were presented either in a paper-and-pencil-format (Mainz) or as an online survey (Hannover/Bremen, Göttingen). The data collected in the projects based in Mainz and Göttingen were part of longitudinal studies. However, for the purpose of this paper, only the data of the respective first measurement time point were included in the following analyses. The research team in Göttingen gathered their data at a secondary school in Göttingen while the data from the Mainz project were collected at 23 schools in the federal states of Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony and Rhineland-Palatinate. The researchers from Hannover/Bremen carried out their study at three vocational schools and three universities in Bochum. The latter research project included questions about the current musical practices of young adults as well as their former musical practices in secondary school. Data collection in all three projects took place in 2019 and 2020. As a result, some of the answers might have been influenced by the prevalent Covid-19 pandemic.

Participants

Data were included from all participants who had provided information on all variables that were of interest to this paper. The resulting participants were $n=394$ from the project in Göttingen, $n=2.910$ from the Mainz project, and $n=769$ from the project in Hannover/Bremen. Thus, the joint dataset comprised $N=4.073$ respondents. Students in the Mainz and Göttingen project were in the 5th to 8th grade ($M=6.07$, $SD=0.86$), which corresponds to an age range of 10 to 14 years. The vocational and academic students from the Hannover/Bremen project were between the ages of 17 and 30 ($M=21.4$, $SD=2.61$) and provided information about their current musical activities as well as retrospective data on their musical participation in secondary school. 48% of all participants were male, 27.9% had a rather high social status (over 200 books at home) while only 8% had a low social status (10 or less books at home). Of the participants,

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4   All three projects were funded by the Stiftung Mercator through the Rat für kulturelle Bildung e.V.

n=3.304 were asked about the language that was mainly spoken at home. Two thirds of them indicated speaking German at home while a third spoke a different language with their families. Of all participants, n=995 (24.4%) took part in some kind of music group at secondary school while n=34 (4.4%) of the young adults in the Hannover/Bremen project also participated in music groups at their universities or vocational schools.

Measures

Three different types of variables were collated from all three projects: namely, information about musical participation, personality, and socio-demographics. As the data collection was not standardized across projects, an explanation of the different data-(sets) will follow, and their collation into one dataset will be explained. Each project had a different focus; thus, the only variables that could reasonably be used from each project are the ones described below, and these were summarized and, if necessary, dichotomized to their lowest common denominator.

Musical participation. All three projects were interested in participation in music groups in secondary school. While the Göttingen project also focused on other kinds of project groups at school (e.g., drama groups) and could therefore provide only information as to whether students took part in a music group or not, the Mainz and Hannover/Bremen projects focused only on music groups and specifically asked about the kind of music group that students attended. Both projects included choir, orchestra, band/big-band, and brass/string classes[5] so that these specific groups could also be integrated into the dataset. Questions in the Mainz and Hannover/Bremen questionnaires were multiple-choice and asked which of the above music groups students took part in at school. The aim of this question was to discover participation in the most popular music groups at school. Participation in music groups was summarized and dichotomized to enable its use as a dependent variable in logistic regressions. Additionally, dichotomous variables were created for each of the specific music groups from the Hannover/Bremen and Mainz data sets, which also allowed for these specific groups to be used as dependent variables in the analyses. In addition to music groups in secondary school, the Hannover/Bremen project asked their respondents about music groups they were engaged in at their vocational schools or universities.

Personality variables. Two different personality questionnaires were used: the BFI-S (Schupp & Gerlitz, 2008) in Hannover/Bremen and Göttingen and the BFI-K-KJ (Kupper et al., 2019) in Mainz. In line with other meta-studies (e.g., Goreis & Voracek, 2019), the study described in this paper assumed that personality traits that were gathered and calculated from different questionnaires are comparable. As the scale of the BFI-S ranges from 1 to 7 and the BFI-K-KJ from 1 to 4, the values of both scales were z-transformed to

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5   If a student chooses to be in a brass or string class, then participation is mandatory and part of the curriculum in 5th and 6th grade, while other musical groups are voluntary and not part of the curriculum. For the sake of the analysis, both kinds of participation were considered as equal.

make them comparable. The young adults participating in the Hannover/Bremen study retrospectively reported on their musical activities in secondary school. Most of them had left secondary school only recently. Although personality changes occur across the lifespan (Denissen et al., 2011), it can be reasonably assumed that the young adults' current personality traits are very similar to their personality during secondary school. Therefore, these data were was also integrated into the combined analyses.

Socio-demographic information. Students' background information included a range of different variables. For social status, participants were asked to indicate the number of books available in their childhood home (Lehmann-Wermser et al., 2013/14). The answer categories were, for instance, between 0 and 10, 11 and 25, or over 200 books. In the past, this measure was found to be a reliable indicator for the socio-economic status of the participants (see Schwippert, 2019).

Information about the participants' gender was also collected in all projects. As for age, only the researchers in Göttingen and Hannover/Bremen asked for this specifically. The researchers in Mainz included a question as to what school year the participants were in at the time of measurement, which was also part of the Göttingen questionnaire. Participants in the Hannover/Bremen project were young adults; they indicated their current age and not the age when they took part in musical activities in secondary school. It was, therefore, decided to use the school year to indicate age and only in reference to the data from Göttingen and Mainz.

These two research groups also collected information on the language(s) spoken at home, which was considered an indicator of the migration background of the participants[6]. Participants were asked to indicate whether they spoke German or another language at home and to name the language if it was not German. For this paper, whether students spoke German at home or not was used as a dichotomous variable in the analyses with regards to the data from Göttingen and Mainz.

Statistical analyses

All dichotomous variables were coded using contrast coding. The polytomous items, that is, language and research site, were dummy-coded and subsequently contrast-coded. Research site was included to enable the detection of differences that are due to the origin of the data. For all steps of the analyses, binomial logistic regressions with forced entry were calculated utilizing SPSS Statistics (version 28.0.1).

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6   Information about whether participants or someone in their family had been born outside of Germany was also included in the projects in Göttingen and Hannover/Bremen. However, since this was not considered to be comparable to language as an indicator for migration background, the decision was made to use only the data on home language because this information was available for more participants.

The first step of data analysis focused on factors that could potentially influence participation in music groups in secondary school. Hence, a first model included as independent variables the information that was available from all research sites: namely, gender, social status, personality, and research site; and, as a dependent variable, general participation in music groups. Subsequently, the impact of these factors on musical participation was calculated separately for each research site by splitting the dataset according to site. The aim was to allow for a differentiation and comparison of results between the research sites. As the Göttingen and Mainz projects had also included questions about students' school year and home language, for these sites, these variables were also entered into the model (see the outline below for an overview of step one).

1. Factors that influence participation in music groups in secondary school

a. combined dataset of the three research sites:
    dependent variable – general participation in music groups
    independent variables – gender, social status, personality, research site

b. dataset split by research site:
    dependent variable – general participation in music groups
    independent variables – gender, social status, personality, home language, school year

In a second step, the focus was on the students' specific musical activities and the question whether any influences on these specific activities could be found. As information on these music groups was only available from the Hannover/Bremen and Mainz projects, data from Göttingen were not considered at this stage. As before, gender, social status, personality, and research site were included in the analyses. Here, each of the music groups was used as a separate dependent variable (see the outline below for an overview of the second step). For comparison, the analyses were then carried out again for the dataset that was split according to research site (which again excluded the project from Göttingen).

2. Factors that influence participation in specific music groups

c.   combined dataset of Mainz and Hannover/Bremen
     dependent variable – music group (i.e., choir, big-band/band, orchestra,
     brass/string class)
     independent variables – gender, social status, personality, research site

d.   dataset split by research site (only Mainz and Hannover/Bremen):
     dependent variable – music group (i.e., choir, big-band/band, orchestra,
     brass/string class)
     independent variables – gender, social status, personality

The last step of the analysis concentrated on the young adults of the Hannover/Bremen sample only. It was investigated whether the young adults' participation in music groups at university and vocational school was influenced by the same factors as musical participation during secondary school. The analyses also allowed for a comparison between different points in time and for a first indication of long-term (or even lifelong) engagement with music. The specific music groups attended at university or in vocational schools were used as the dependent variables while the independent variables were the same as above (gender, social status, personality). Brass/string classes are only available at the beginning of secondary school in Germany, so this variable was not relevant for the young adults at university or at vocational school. Additionally, as information about musical participation of young adults was only available for the Hannover/Bremen project, research site was excluded as a variable (see below for an overview of the analysis).

3. Factors that influence young adults' participation in music groups

e.   Hannover/Bremen dataset:
     dependent variable – music group (i.e., choir, big-band/band, orchestra)
     independent variables – gender, social status, personality

Results

Descriptive statistics of the data (see Table 1) showed that 17.3% of the participants in the Göttingen project, 42.8% of the respondents from the Mainz project, and 35.5% of the participants in the Hannover/Bremen project participated in music groups in secondary school. Of the young adults in the Hannover/Bremen project, 4.4% also indicated that they were currently taking part in music groups at their vocational schools or universities. The participation rate in orchestras in secondary school was 3.7% (6.6% in the Hannover/Bremen project and 3.6% in the project in Mainz), 11.2% in choirs (18.3% in Hannover/Bremen, 11.6% in Mainz), 7.4% in bands/big-bands (11.7% in Hannover/Bremen, 7.9% in Mainz) and 21.1% in brass/string classes (3.0% in Hannover/Bremen, 28.8% in Mainz).

Variable	Research site:		
	Göttingen	Hannover/Bremen	Mainz
General participation in music groups (sec. school)	17.3%	35.5%	42.8%
Choir (sec. school)	N/A	18.3%	11.6%
Orchestra (sec. school)	N/A	6.6%	3.6%
Band/Big Band (sec. school)	N/A	11.7%	7.9%
Brass/String classes (sec. school)	N/A	3.0%	28.8%
Choir (higher education)	N/A	1.2%	N/A
Orchestra (higher education)	N/A	0.8%	N/A
Band/Big Band (higher education)	N/A	1.3%	N/A
Social status	3.53 (1.21)	3.17 (1.34)	3.63 (1.20)
Gender	50% female	44.6% female	56.3% female
Openness	-0.29	0.27	-0.03
Agreeableness	-0.03	-0.03	0.06
Extraversion	-0.08	0.17	-0.03
Conscientiousness	-0.54	0.03	-0.06
Neuroticism	-0.05	0.05	-0.03
Language	77% German	N/A	64.9% German
School year	6.54 (1.08)	N/A	6.01 (0.81)

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of all variables included in the analyses for each of the projects; participation rate for dichotomous variables, mean and standard deviation for the continuous variables; median for z-standardized personality measures

Variable	b	SE	p
Openness	0.166	0.043	<.001***
Conscientiousness	0.030	0.041	.466
Extraversion	0.051	0.039	.196
Agreeableness	0.027	0.041	.511
Neuroticism	0.020	0.042	.622
Gender (female=1)	0.453	0.078	<.001***
Social status	0.201	0.032	<.001***
Research site (M=1)	1.166	0.144	<.001***
Research site (H/B=1)	0.960	0.159	<.001***

Table 2. Influences on musical participation in secondary school according to Model 1

The results of the analyses to discover potential influencing factors on musical participation in secondary school are shown in Table 2 (*Nagelkerke's R^2*= 0.092). They indicate that taking part in music groups was associated with a more open personality (*Odds Ratio (OR):* 1.181; *CI* [1.086; 1.284]), female gender (*OR:* 1.574; *CI* [1.351; 1.833]), and a higher social status (*OR:* 1.222; *CI* [1.148; 1.302]).

Research site	Variable	b	SE	p
Mainz	**Openness**	0.218	0.054	<.001***
	Conscientiousness	0.015	0.051	.775
Nagelkerke's R²: 0.071	**Extraversion**	0.025	0.048	.599
	Agreeableness	-0.033	0.050	.511
	Neuroticism	-0.015	0.051	.769
	Gender	0.397	0.094	<.001***
	Social status	0.180	0.041	<.001***
	School year	-0.325	0.059	<.001***
	Language (1German=1)	0.081	0.048	.096
Göttingen	**Openness**	0.021	0.149	.886
	Conscientiousness	0.009	0.148	.949
Nagelkerke's R²: 0.036	**Extraversion**	-0.051	0.162	.754
	Agreeableness	0.100	0.158	.529
	Neuroticism	0.152	0.168	.365
	Gender	0.035	0.294	.906
	Social status	0.254	0.123	.039*
	School year	0.101	0.133	.447
	Language	-0.444	0.203	.029*
Hannover/Bremen	**Openness**	0.061	0.087	.487
	Conscientiousness	-0.109	0.089	.219
Nagelkerke's R²: 0.114	**Extraversion**	0.214	0.085	.011*
	Agreeableness	0.118	0.086	.169
	Neuroticism	0.066	0.087	.448
	Gender	0.822	0.170	<.001***
	Social status	0.249	0.061	<.001***

Table 3. Influences on musical participation in secondary school separated by research site

As research site was significant (see Table 2), binomial logistic regressions were separately carried out for each of the research sites (see Table 3). The musically active students of the Mainz project tended to be more open (*OR:* 1.244; *CI* [1.119; 1.383]), female (*OR:* 1.487; *CI* [1.237; 1.788]), of a higher social status (*OR:* 1.198; CI [1.106; 1.278]), and in a lower school year (*OR:* 0.723; *CI* [0.644; 0.811]). In the Göttingen project, social status (*OR:* 1.290; *CI* [1.013; 1.642]) as well as the language spoken at home (*OR:* 0.641; *CI* [0.431; 0.955]) were discovered to be significant while in the Hannover/Bremen project, the respondents involved in music groups in secondary school tend to be more

extravert (*OR:* 1.239; *CI* [1.049; 1.463]), female (*OR:* 2.275; *CI* [1.629; 3.177]), and of a higher social status (*OR:* 1.282; *CI* [1.137; 1.446]).

Regarding the influences on participation in different, more specific music groups (see Table A to D in the Appendix) that were calculated in Step 2, results for the whole dataset indicated that members of orchestras in secondary school tended to be more conscientious (*OR:* 1.266; *CI* [1.040; 1.541]) and had a higher social status (*OR:* 1.557; *CI* [1.314; 1.845]). This was found also for participants in the Mainz project (conscientiousness: *OR:* 1.450; *CI* [1.125; 1.869]; social status: *OR:* 1.431; *CI* [1.139; 1.797]) while in the Hannover/Bremen project, participation in orchestras was associated with higher social status only (*OR:* 1.696; *CI* [1.311; 2.194]). As discussed above, data from the Göttingen project were not available for separate music groups.

Results indicated that singing in a choir could be related to female gender (*OR:* 3.174; *CI* [2.460; 4.095]), more openness (*OR:* 1.163; *CI* [1.024; 1.322]), and a higher social status (*OR:* 1.222; *CI* [1.109; 1.346]). Again, research site was found to be of influence. The results for the Mainz project were the same as for the whole dataset (openness: *OR:* 1.251; *CI* [1.062; 1.472]; gender: *OR:* 2.684; *CI* [1.965; 3.666]; social status: *OR:* 1.205; *CI* [1.060; 1.370]) while in the Hannover/Bremen project, only gender (*OR:* 4.203; *CI* [32.706; 6.530]) and social status (*OR:* 1.230; *CI* [1.060; 1.428]) reached significance.

Participation in bands and big bands was associated with a more open personality (*OR:* 1.328; *CI* [1.137; 1.552]), a higher social status (*OR:* 1.161; *CI* [1.036; 1.301]), and male gender (*OR:* 0.968; *CI* [0.531; 0.916]). Openness (*OR:* 1.448; *CI* [1.186; 1.767]) and male gender (*OR:* 0.632; *CI* [0.454; 0.881]) were also found to be significant for the research project in Mainz while in the Hannover/Bremen project, social status (*OR:* 1.298; *CI* [1.086; 1.552]) was the only significant variable. Lastly, being a member of a music class in secondary school was correlated with higher social status (*OR:* 1.689; *CI* [1.170; 2.439]), which was only found to be significant in the Hannover/Bremen project (*OR:* 1.823; *CI* [1.231; 2.698]).

Music group	Variable	b	SE	p
All	**Openness**	0.431	0.281	.049*
	Conscientiousness	0.006	0.197	.976
Nagelkerke's R²:	**Extraversion**	0.334	0.200	.095
0.049	**Agreeableness**	0.035	0.194	.857
	Neuroticism	0.236	0.194	.225
	Gender	-0.184	0.388	.635
	Social status	0.118	0.138	.392
Orchestra	**Openness**	1.069	0.659	.105
	Conscientiousness	0.633	0.541	.242
Nagelkerke's R²:	**Extraversion**	-0.400	0.419	.340
0.137	**Agreeableness**	0.063	0.517	.904
	Neuroticism	0.070	0.438	.872
	Gender	0.621	0.921	.502
	Social status	0.349	0.358	.330
Choir	**Openness**	0.402	0.424	.342
	Conscientiousness	-0.273	0.375	.467
Nagelkerke's R²:	**Extraversion**	1.092	0.484	.024*
0.152	**Agreeableness**	0.490	0.436	.260
	Neuroticism	0.059	0.365	.872
	Gender	0.665	0.786	.398
	Social status	0.287	0.276	.299
Band/Big Band	**Openness**	0.175	0.376	.641
	Conscientiousness	0.140	0.369	.704
Nagelkerke's R²:	**Extraversion**	0.536	0.384	.162
0.068	**Agreeableness**	0.426	0.383	.266
	Neuroticism	0.221	0.355	.533
	Gender	-0.971	0.754	.198
	Social status	0.127	0.253	.616

Table 4. Influences on the participation of young adults in music groups at school/university

In the last step of the analyses, the music participation of young adults was examined to determine to what extent music participation changes over time (i.e., in comparison with secondary school students). The results (see Table 4) indicated that higher values in openness (*OR:* 1.538; *CI* [1.003; 2.360]) significantly relate to overall participation in music groups in young adults. None of the other variables relevant at school age were found to be of influence with young adults. In terms of specific music groups, the only significant result revealed that attending a choir was associated with higher levels of extraversion in young adults (*OR:* 2.981; *CI* [1.154; 7.698]).

Discussion

The aim of the present study across a combined sample of more than 4.000 participants was to discover which factors influenced the attendance of music groups at secondary school. , The study revealed that personality, gender, and social status tended to have a rather consistent influence on musical participation.

Regarding the personality variable, one of the findings was that more open pupils were more likely to participate in music groups overall and that openness also influenced their decision to join a choir or band/big-band. Orchestras, on the other hand, were attended by pupils who are more conscientious. These results concur with the outcomes of earlier studies, which showed that openness is often a trait found in students attending music groups at school (Lehmann-Wermser & Krupp-Schleußner, 2017, p. 19f.). Further, in earlier research, conscientiousness as well as openness were associated with a longer duration of music lessons (Corrigall et al., 2013), which would have helped students to learn an instrument and subsequently join an orchestra at school. The direction of the causal relation between participation and personality, however, still needs to be explored in more detail, for instance, through longitudinal analyses (see also Hasselhorn et al., 2022).

Only the data from the Hannover/Bremen project provided different results concerning the students' personality. While overall participation in music groups in the Mainz and the Göttingen project depended on the students' openness, respondents in the Hannover/Bremen project who were involved in music groups at school were found to be more extravert. Further studies are necessary to discover reasons for this connection.

An examination of the influences of student demographics on participation in music groups in secondary school showed an impact of social status. Thus, despite numerous music programs such as JeKits, which aim to overcome socially caused exclusion, musical participation still strongly depends on parental income or education. To understand the current results, it is necessary to know that participation in music groups at school is usually voluntary, which means that students' interests and motivations play a role in deciding whether or not they engage in these activities (cf. also Smetana, 2018). Thus, pupils from families in which actively making music is neither part of daily life nor expected of the children or families in which not enough financial resources are available to provide musical instruments (not to mention instrumental lessons) are less likely to attend musical activities (Albert, 2006). Additionally, the music groups included in the above analyses cover only a relatively small range of different activities, namely, music classes, choirs, orchestras, bands, and big bands, and might not illustrate all musical activities of the participants. Playing in an orchestra, band, or a big band usually requires prior musical knowledge and instrumental skills, which the pupils would have had to learn in their leisure time. But – as outlined above – this often depends on the social status of the pupils' parents (cf. Albert, 2006), which would in turn explain why

this factor also influences musical activities at school. However, even though social status influences participation in music groups at school, the current study could not provide any information about the activities that pupils carried out outside of school. Thus, even those with a lower social status might have been involved in a range of musical activities in their leisure time. Therefore, the rather negative picture that emerges from the present findings may not be so negative when the overall picture of musical activities is considered. Other studies, for instance, showed that most pupils are engaged in a large variety of musical activities, such as composing music on a computer, autodidactically learning to play an instrument, or playing in an orchestra (Schurig et al., 2021).

Moving on, the school grade or class that students were in at the time of measurement was also found to affect participation in music groups. This effect is most likely caused by the music classes that children attend as part of their curriculum in Year 5 and 6[7]. The pupils of the presented sample were in Year 5 to 8. As a result, attending a lower school year would correspond to higher participation in music classes. Moreover, around a third of the participants in Mainz (where the school year and the specific music groups pupils attended were part of the questionnaire) took part in music classes – as compared to about 4% who played in orchestras, 12% who sang in choirs, and 8% who played in a band or big band. As the Mainz project contributed the largest sample size to the joint dataset, it is not surprising that the high participation rate in brass/string classes of that sample would influence the overall results as well.

Another demographic factor that corresponded with attendance of music groups was gender. The results indicated that female pupils are more likely to participate in music groups at school, which agrees with previous studies on the influence of gender on musical activities (e.g., Erlinghagen, 2017; Keuchel & Larue, 2012). The finding that female pupils were more likely to attend a choir while male students tended to play in a band or big-band is also corroborated by results of earlier studies that discovered connections between gender and certain musical instruments: for example, girls tended to play the violin, flute, or clarinet and were thus enabled to play in an orchestra; while boys were more drawn to the trombone, trumpet, or drums – instruments that are necessary in bands and big bands (Abeles, 2009). Additionally, research suggests that boys have a more negative attitude towards singing and are, therefore, less likely to sing in choirs (Warzecha, 2013).

The language mainly spoken at home was also found to significantly impact the participation in music groups at school. In the Göttingen project, participants who spoke non-German languages at home were less likely to take part in music groups in secondary school. Assuming that the main language spoken at home is an indicator of

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7   When changing from primary to secondary school, children get to choose the school they want to attend next (which also depends on their marks in primary school). Many schools offer different specialisation subjects, and the children decide which one of them they want to focus on (e.g., MINT, music, languages). Choosing a brass/string class, therefore, is a choice even though it becomes mandatory and part of the curriculum once the choice it made.

migration background (see *Measures* in this paper), this result coincides with earlier literature that shows that children with migration background are less musically active than those from German families (Erlinghagen et al., 2017; Lehmann-Wermser & Krupp-Schleußner, 2017).

A comparison of the factors influencing musical participation in secondary school with those in vocational schools and universities revealed that social status plays an important role in secondary school but is no longer significant for young adults. It seems that young adults are less influenced by their parents (Smetana, 2018) and decide for themselves whether they want to participate in a musical activity or not. If music is of high personal relevance to them, they might find a way to actively engage in it irrespective of their social status or childhood experiences.

Limitations

While the large sample size of this study allowed for robust statistical analyses of the influences on musical practices in secondary school, there were also several limitations to it. First, about 75% of the data stem from one research site (Mainz), which was reflected in the results: Findings for this project were often the same as for the combined dataset. Therefore, the total sample was not as varied as it might seem to be at first glance. However, some differences were found between the results from the whole dataset and the sub-sets of the three research projects, specifically regarding the attendance of music groups. Thus, the impact of the other two research sites still needs to be considered as they add valuable insights, for instance, about the factors that influence participation in bands or big bands.

Second, some of the data were collected at the beginning of the Covid pandemic, which meant that most musical activities had to be cancelled. Therefore, the participants either said that there were no activities available for them to attend or they reported activities that they had only attended a few times before the closures due to the pandemic. The impact of the pandemic on the present data, however, is limited as most of the data were collected in 2019 and the beginning of 2020. During this period, a large number of participants (around 40%) still actively took part in musical activities.

Third, the data from the Hannover/Bremen project included information on the young adults' musical activities in vocational schools and at universities. Although we could not find an offering of music groups in vocational schools, some of the students indicated that they attended music groups at their schools. Thus, it remains uncertain whether these activities were actually organized and offered by their vocational schools. There might have been informal music groups which were not announced on the official school websites. It might also be that the students still attended the music groups of their former secondary schools. Thus, the results for the activities of academic and vocational students have to be interpreted with caution.

Although the three research projects agreed on some basic variables that were to be gathered in all projects, there were some differences in the way the variables were administered and collected. This might have also had some impact on the findings. Additionally, the decision to investigate the specific questions of this paper was made after each of the projects had already finalized their data collection. Thus, the present analyses could only be based on pre-existing data and could not make use of data specifically gathered to investigate these questions in more detail, such as information on extracurricular activities, subjective reasons for attending music groups in school, or parental support of these activities.

Conclusion and Implications

The current study revealed that participation in music groups at secondary school depended on individual as well as socio-demographic factors, such as personality (in particular, openness for experiences), gender (mainly female), and (higher) social status. The school year the pupils were in also significantly influenced musical participation – with lower school years correlating with higher musical activity. Differences for specific music groups could also be found: Pupils who were more conscientious and had a higher social status attended orchestras more often; those who were in choirs were typically female pupils, more open respondents, and participants of a higher social status; big-band or bands were attended by male participants and pupils with higher scores in openness and social status; finally, the attendance of music classes depended only on social status. A comparison with musical activities carried out by young adults in their vocational schools and universities showed that social status was no longer relevant at that age. Instead, personality traits such as openness and extraversion predicted participation in music groups.

The presented findings indicate that despite all the efforts made in recent years, the influence of social status on musical participation has not yet been mitigated although it did tend to become less as the participants aged. One solution to overcome these social differences might be through music groups that are mandatory or even anchored in the curriculum. Programs such as JeKits should therefore be compulsory not only in the first year of school but for a longer period of time. Musical instruments and lessons should be made affordable or even free of charge as a way of providing equal opportunities to a socially more diverse range of children and of introducing them to musical activities that they might not experience at home. Such compulsory music groups might also help to overcome the gender bias found in our results[8]. Additionally, the strong influence of student personality on music choice stresses the importance of pupils being able to choose between different music groups according to their personal interest und disposition. If a musical activity

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8 Although there are options for people in Germany who cannot afford instrumental lessons to receive them, there still seem to be barriers that keep people with a lower SES from being as musically active as those with a higher one (Lehmann-Wermser and Krupp-Schleußner, 2017).

meets individual needs, it might increase the chance that music is experienced as a valuable resource in life. However, other studies have discovered that taking part in music activities at school "is not necessarily predictive for lifelong engagement" (Bowles et al., 2014, p. 11). As a result, it is also necessary to inquire about the musical activities that students carry out across the whole range of different social contexts in their lives – in school, at home, at other institutions, and with friends. Such results would reveal if children already engage in activities that have not yet been the focus of research so far. If not, results of such studies could aid in deciding on the next action to introduce children to music and its positive effects at school.

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Appendix

Table A: Factors influencing participation in orchestras in secondary school

Research site	Variable	b	SE	p
Mainz and Hannover/ Bremen *Nagelkerke's R²: 0.063*	**Openness**	0.187	0.104	.073
	Conscientiousness	0.236	0.100	.019*
	Extraversion	0.031	0.095	.738
	Agreeableness	-0.135	0.095	.153
	Neuroticism	0.032	0.096	.737
	Gender	0.042	0.187	.820
	Social status	0.443	0.086	<.001***
	Research site (H=1, M=0)	0.688	0.188	<.001***
Mainz *Nagelkerke's R²: 0.055*	**Openness**	0.180	0.135	.184
	Conscientiousness	0.372	0.130	.004**
	Extraversion	0.031	0.118	.795
	Agreeableness	-0.231	0.118	.051
	Neuroticism	-0,0057	0.125	.643
	Gender	-0.058	0.232	.803
	Social status	0.358	0.116	.002**
Hannover/Bremen *Nagelkerke's R²: 0.093*	**Openness**	0.187	0.175	-283
	Conscientiousness	-0.069	0.164	.675
	Extraversion	0.106	0.157	.497
	Agreeableness	0.094	0.168	.577
	Neuroticism	0.203	0.163	.214
	Gender	0.105	0.323	.745
	Social status	0.528	0.131	<.001***

Table B: Factors influencing participation in choirs in secondary school

Research site	Variable	b	SE	p
Mainz and Hannover/Bremen	**Openness**	0.151	0.065	.020*
	Conscientiousness	0.007	0.062	.907
	Extraversion	0.090	0.058	.118
Nagelkerke's R²: 0.100	**Agreeableness**	0.061	0.063	.332
	Neuroticism	0.030	0.061	.620
	Gender	1.155	0.130	‹.001***
	Social status	0.200	0.049	‹.001***
	Research site (H=1; M=0)	0.731	0.123	‹.001***
Mainz	**Openness**	0.224	0.083	.007*
	Conscientiousness	0.022	0.077	.772
Nagelkerke's R²: 0.070	**Extraversion**	0.088	0.071	.215
	Agreeableness	0.040	.078	.612
	Neuroticism	0.010	0.076	.900
	Gender	0.987	0.159	‹.001***
	Social status	0.186	0.066	.004**
Hannover/Bremen	**Openness**	0.025	0.108	.818
	Conscientiousness	-0.068	0.111	.538
Nagelkerke's R²:	**Extraversion**	0.104	0.103	.312
0.144	**Agreeableness**	0.094	0.110	.393
	Neuroticism	0.046	0.108	.675
	Gender	1.436	0.225	‹.001***
	Social status	0.207	0.076	.007*

Table C: Factors influencing participation in bands/big bands in secondary school

Research site	Variable	b	SE	p
Mainz and Hannover/ Bremen *Nagelkerke's R²*: 0.037	**Openness**	0.284	0.079	‹.001***
	Conscientiousness	0.089	0.074	.229
	Extraversion	0.052	0.070	.460
	Agreeableness	0.002	0.074	.973
	Neuroticism	0.075	0.073	.300
	Gender	-0.360	0.139	.010*
	Social status	0.149	0.058	.010*
	Research site (H=1; M=0)	0.461	0.144	.001***
Mainz *Nagelkerke's R²*: 0.031	**Openness**	0.370	0.102	‹.001***
	Conscientiousness	0.050	0.093	.588
	Extraversion	-0.025	0.087	.770
	Agreeableness	0.008	0.093	.928
	Neuroticism	0.051	0.092	.579
	Gender	-0.459	0.169	.007*
	Social status	0.070	0.075	.351
Hannover/Bremen *Nagelkerke's R²*: 0.043	**Openness**	0.413	0.130	.279
	Conscientiousness	0.115	0.130	.376
	Extraversion	0.200	0.125	0.109
	Agreeableness	-0.020	0.123	.873
	Neuroticism	0.077	0.125	.538
	Gender	-0.225	0.251	.371
	Social status	0.261	0.091	.004**

Table D: Factors influencing participation in music classes in secondary school

Research site	Variable	b	SE	p
Mainz and Hannover/Bremen	**Openness**	0.169	0.243	.487
	Conscientiousness	0.043	0.234	.855
	Extraversion	0.011	0.218	.959
Nagelkerke's R²:	**Agreeableness**	-0.139	0.227	.542
0.943	**Neuroticism**	0.122	0.230	.596
	Gender	0.318	0.460	.489
	Social status	0.24	0.187	.005**
	Research site (H=1; M=0)	-9.996	1.045	<.001***
Mainz	**Openness**	-2.007	2.476	.418
	Conscientiousness	1.763	2.027	.384
Nagelkerke's R²:	**Extraversion**	0.704	1.340	.599
0.461	**Agreeableness**	1.945	2.603	.455
	Neuroticism	1.906	2.140	.373
	Gender	15.619	1438.396	.991
	Social status	-12.489	966.421	.990
Hannover/Bremen	**Openness**	0.216	0.253	.393
	Conscientiousness	0.020	0.239	.933
Nagelkerke's R²:	**Extraversion**	-0.014	0.224	.951
0.081	**Agreeableness**	-0,178	0.231	.442
	Neuroticism	0.093	0,234	.693
	Gender	0.223	0,472	.636
	Social status	0.600	0.200	.003**

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In January of 2022 researchers in the field of cultural education gathered for the third German-Dutch Colloquium at the Hannover University for Music Drama and Media. It was the 3rd symposium in a series that brought together researchers and discourses from the two adjacent countries. The symposium also marked the end of a research funding line under the auspices of the Rat für Kulturelle Bildung. Financed by the Rat für Kulturelle Bildung (Essen) and supported by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research two dozen researchers convened. The papers presented in this volume provide an insight into the issues and projects under scrutiny in the two countries in relation to multiculturalism in music and arts education.