Democratic Pedagogies: Perspectives from Ethnomusicology and World Music Educational Contexts in the United Kingdom

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Ethnomusicologists and music pedagogues often suggest that music education should acknowledge universal musicality, while questioning dominant elitist concepts in musical learning in the West. They believe that a universalist attitude toward all musics and peoples (Blacking 1987:126), and thus a culture of tolerance (Oehrle 1996), can be at the heart of music education. Such a view points toward an inclusive and democratic stance, necessitating a music education that leads beyond curriculum and compliance and toward the autonomous, thinking student (McGettrick 2005:5–7). Music education should not just be about imparting knowledge, but also about instilling compassion and care for self and others. It should involve discarding prejudice while recognizing cultural difference, and thus personal and social transformation (Blacking 1987:131). This is the concern of my paper, which suggests that ethnomusicology plays a pivotal role in democratic societies, as ethnomusicologists—in their role as educators—can pursue democratic ends as political beings and moral agents in discourses about musical, political, educational, and other values. At this point, a brief excursion shall help in establishing the context for my discussions.

An Ethnographic Excursion to the University of Manchester (UK)

In 2008, I arranged a program of research visits at the University of Manchester, where I observed formal ethnomusicology classes and spoke to some students (specifically Emma, Holly, and Jess) at length about their musical and extra-musical perceptions and experiences,. These three students were in their third year of the (undergraduate) MusB in Music that focuses predominantly on

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the study of Western art music, but also includes a range of optional modules in ethnomusicology/world musics,¹ led by my ethnomusicology colleague Caroline Bithell. Like most students entering this degree program, Emma, Holly, and Jess were well-trained in Western art music theory, history, performance, and/or composition, and came from relatively affluent socioeconomic backgrounds and Caucasian origin, some even being educated in the private school sector. Many students in this program will have already encountered world musics during their GCSE or A-Level studies,² while receiving training as classical musicians, though the emphasis in GCSEs and A-Levels is usually placed on the musicanalytical study of limited world musical traditions; Emma, Holly, and Jess were no exception, having specialized in Western classical music, with only limited or no knowledge or interest in world music cultures. Jess remembered that:

I came here as a classical musician [and] was quite focused on performing . . . [but] as soon as I got here, I was actually glad that I hadn't gone just into performing, because the academic side here really appealed to me [and] right from the beginning it's always been the more world music side of it. (Interview, Jess, 12 November 2008, Manchester)

When the three students began their studies in Manchester, they had seven lectures on ethnomusicology/world musics in generic core modules called "Music and its Contexts A" and "Music in its Contexts B" (20 credits each), which introduced them to the study of music of oral traditions and the concerns and methods of ethnomusicology. In their subsequent years, all three students opted to study a range of ethnomusicology modules that feature as part of the general music degree, including three second-year modules on "World Music" (20 credits; thematic study of selected world musics), "Gamelan" (10 credits; a performance-based module), and "Dylan in Context" (10 credits; American folk revival and protest movement). In the subsequent third year, students opted to study "Special Subject in Ethnomusicology: World Music in Africa" (20 credits; with specific focus on contemporary genres) and to complete a "Dissertation" (40 credits) that focused on an ethnomusicological topic. What I found immediately striking during my conversations with Jess, Emma, and Holly was their repeated emphasis on having had positive, mind-opening experiences during and through their encounters with world musics. To Holly, for instance, exposure to world musics enhanced a sense of global awareness, leading her to be more culturally aware and tolerant:

I'm not really politically aware at all . . . Doing the world music . . . I get a better understanding of the world . . . It makes me want to go and watch the news as well . . . The other day . . . the news were on and because I could relate to it, I watched it . . . It just gives me a bit more of an interest of what's going on in the world. And

it seems quite easy to . . . just be in a little bubble that you never leave. (Interview, 12 November 2008, Manchester)

Jess, meanwhile, commented on her personal transformation in attitude and perspective as a result of her experiences with different, unknown musics, while hinting at certain ethnomusicological approaches:

And I just found [there is] something about the study of different cultures and listening to different kinds of music . . . I found it's opened huge doors for me; it's no longer just "I play the piano" . . . It has really happened for me. (Interview, 12 November 2008, Manchester)

Emma provided more explicit reasons behind her personal transformation:

World music did not interest me at all ... partly because I didn't understand it ... Then I came to Manchester ... I think partly it was the anthropological and sociological side of it that excited me ... It made me appreciate people more and their cultures ... It makes me feel slightly less self-absorbed ... out of my English bubble. (Interview, 12 November 2008, Manchester)

It is widely accepted among ethnomusicologists that the anthropological study of musics enables us to gain deeper understandings of music-cultural practices. For Emma, studying musics in and as culture similarly enhanced an appreciation of people and their cultures, and also an ability to move beyond the self to acknowledge and appreciate the other. This finding resonates closely with my research experiences across universities in the UK, as certain experiences with world musics were so profound as to develop in some students a sense of care, responsibility, and compassion toward the people whose musics they studied. This is the central concern of my paper, with its focus on students' changes in attitude and perspective toward world musics and their makers. Yet I must emphasize here that bold assertions about "music education [as] part of a larger humanitarian project related to solidarity with the poor" (Fock 2009:386), and generalizations about ethnomusicology's capacity to instill a culture of tolerance must be treated with caution. Indeed, there were also instances in which ethnomusicology pedagogy resonated, reinforced, and even modeled some students' essentialist and racist imaginations. For instance, some students maintained that "other" cultures are traditional, primitive, and backward, and they conveyed a stringent ethnocentric worldview as a result of exposure to "other" cultural and musical practices, although my encounters with such students during research and teaching were, and still are, relatively rare. What follows here is thus not a universalist representation of the perspectives of all students, but instead a snapshot of two UK universities where the transmission of ethnomusicology led toward positive, mind-opening attitudes and perspectives among some students.3 First, however, I wish to contextualize the research that underpins my discussions.

An Ethnomusicology of Ethnomusicology

As my brief excursion shows, this paper has grown out of research into the transmission of ethnomusicology at universities in the UK which seeks, as do ethnomusicologists themselves, to understand the kinds of processes that shape people's experiences and perceptions during musical transmission. 4 The focus for many ethnomusicologists today is people relative to their engagement with music, whether through listening, thinking, making, composing, producing, or learning. Many (but not all) ethnomusicologists understand the discipline not as one framed by certain subject matters, but as an approach to the study of people during their involvement in music (Titon 1997:91; Reyes 2009). More specifically, Michael B. Bakan defines ethnomusicology as "the study of how music lives in the lives of people who make and experience it, and of how people live in the music they make" (1999:17-18). My research similarly seeks to understand people's experiences in their sociocultural contexts, and what these mean to them musically and personally, yet with specific focus on the transmission of ethnomusicology and world musics at universities in the UK. It seeks to illustrate the impact of ethnomusicology on students' attitudes and perspectives, asking questions as to what students learn about and through world musics—musically, personally, culturally. This paper thus draws extensively on the actual voices of student participants.

Until recently, the transmission of music in academia tended to be a rare topic for research among ethnomusicologists. Henry Kingsbury (1988) was one of the first ethnomusicologists to approach musical transmission, although with a focus on Western art music in an American conservatory, an emphasis followed later by Bruno Nettl (1995) with an ethnomusicological analysis of Western art music culture in an American school of music. More recent interest in studying the transmission of ethnomusicology in the Western academy is thus noteworthy. Ted Solís's rich volume (2004) brings together reflexive accounts by leading (mostly) American ethnomusicologists on performance practices in universities. Meanwhile, Lieth-Phillip and Gutzwiller (1995), Patricia Shehan Campbell et al. (2005), and Ninja Kors (2007) draw together insights by international ethnomusicologists and music educators under an overarching umbrella concern with cultural diversity in music education in the twenty-first century, with important contributions by Patricia Campbell (2007), John Drummond (2005), Trevor Wiggins (2005), Huib Schippers (2005, 2007), Peter Dunbar-Hall (2005), Keith Howard (2005, 2007), and Mark Slobin (2007), to name but a few. More recently, Huib Schippers (2010) provides a largely self-reflexive and positive, albeit equally important, account on performance practice and musical transmission as a reflector of a given musical tradition, and, more generally, on the practices and ideas of cultural diversity in music education in a globalized world.

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Clearly, the increasingly substantial body of research on this topic, both from the perspective of ethnomusicology (see also Krüger forthcoming) and music education (see also Floyd 1996) reflects a growing interest in the transmission of ethnomusicology and world musics in the Western academy. However, many of these accounts omit the actual voices of those whom ethnomusicologists seek to reach, educate, touch, and transform—their students. There are some, albeit few, noteworthy exceptions, including Kathryin Marsh's study of the role of fieldwork in changing students' attitudes in Australian tertiary education (2005) and Trevor Wiggins's research into the experience of UK students engaged in performance practice (2005), as well as my own work on students' experiences during listening, performing, and constructing ethnomusicology at UK and German universities (2009). The rare focus on students' experiences may explain the interesting range of reactions I encountered in response to my work: some ethnomusicologists conveyed a sense of unease and concern; others dismissed my research as unnecessary and tangential.⁵ And yet I wondered: aren't we, as ethnomusicologists, to a large extent involved with students during formal and informal transmissions of knowledge in our academic professions? And would we not—during endless hours of lectures, seminars, tutorials, workshops, supervisions, meetings, and so on—have an impact in some way on students' attitudes, perceptions, and experiences?

With such questions in mind, I became increasingly fascinated by the potential impact of ethnomusicology on students' changes and transformations in attitude and perspective, and particularly with claims in the literatures about the democratizing potential of students' exposure to world musics. For example, some scholars argue that musical diversity in Western education has a positive impact on learners by opening their minds to new musics (Campbell 2004:xvi), by heightening racial tolerance (Volk 1998:129), and by developing their sense of compassion toward all peoples and their musics (Blacking 1987; Koskoff 1999:558; Fock 2009:386). While I felt somewhat skeptical about such idealized views, even though there are grounds for such claim-making (e.g., Volk 1998; Campbell et al. 2005; Schippers 2010), I deemed it hugely important to further consider such pivotal claims by focusing on empirical, evidence-based research. My work in this area of theory thus became increasingly guided by the following questions: Could the transmission of ethnomusicological subject matter enhance in students a more globally, contemporary, and democratically informed sense of musics and their makers? Could the transmission of ethnomusicology really promote more culturally, socially, and musically inclusive and eclectic attitudes and perspectives toward self and others? Such questions are the general concern of this paper, which seeks to investigate the symbiosis between democracy and ethnomusicology pedagogy.

Democracy and Ethnomusicology Pedagogy

Ethnomusicologists have long been concerned with democracy, both in the disciplining and transmission of ethnomusicology. Indeed, the discipline itself grew out of the democratization movement in musicology to valorize "other" musical values that were thus far treated as peripheral to the canon of great Western art music. Within this context, Ellen Koskoff wrote on the role of ethnomusicology in education:

Our main responsibility as teachers is, I feel, to pass on [music] without canonizing. Instead, we should be helping our students to discover their own paths . . . with an underlying bedrock philosophy that all values, just like all people and all musics, have equivalent meaning to someone, somewhere What I want to be doing also is teaching them a new set of values that will enable them to know their own music well, but also to become good musical citizens in [the] world I want also to be teaching strategies for learning open-mindedness, fairness, and compassion for differences of all kinds. If we teach our students these values . . . ultimately it will not really matter what musics we teach. (Koskoff 1999:558–59)

So why should we revisit discussions surrounding democracy and ethnomusicology pedagogy? Indeed, most of us have become ethnomusicologists for reasons of social justice and to promote tolerance for difference, as well as for the music itself, and we want to encourage these values in our teaching. It is also no surprise that ethnomusicology, especially the anthropology side, can be used for social good, and that students, when faced with social and musical differences, are changed in many ways. To my ethnomusicology colleague Caroline Bithell, the purpose of ethnomusicology pedagogy is exactly that:

It's a more liberal education; it's not just about music. It's about the whole way of life, and it's about ethics, and it's about survival of humankind, and music is quite central to that! (interview, 12 November 2008, Manchester)

Yet while we agree on the wider role of ethnomusicology pedagogy in academia, relatively little has yet been written to substantiate our shared teaching philosophy. At the same time, thinking about the symbiosis between democracy and music education has only recently regained momentum, marked by Paul G. Woodford's important publication *Democracy and Music Education: Liberalism, Ethics, and the Politics of Practice* (2005). To Woodford, "today democracy is in retreat everywhere" (ibid.:80), which is a valid argument, specifically in the context of tribalism and globalization that continue to fragment and weaken society (ibid.). He goes on to argue that "our public institutions have been stripped and privatized in the name of efficiency . . . and corporate ideology" (ibid.), which have rendered peripheral more qualitative concerns surrounding music education. I would extend Woodford's argument to the university sector more

widely, specifically in the UK. Thus, the recent resurgence of interest in pursuing democratic ends through music education had a strong impact on me, and awoke an urge to bring back to mind the political, moral, and ethical role played by ethnomusicology in academia in the twenty-first century, also spurred in part by Tina Ramnarine's recent discussion on the role of advocacy in the academy, which she calls "pedagogic activism" (2009:87). Since democracy is a socioculturally constructed concept (Woodford 2005:79) that can mean different things in new, contemporary contexts, my discussions may thus help ethnomusicologists and music educators, old and new alike, to get a sense of direction in the transmission of ethnomusicology at universities. Perhaps more importantly, however, research in this area would also help us in proving to policy makers and university administrators the importance and value of ethnomusicology in our curriculum, specifically in light of the current serious funding cuts across the higher education sector and, with them, the wide-ranging closure of programs for study.⁶

Democratic Pedagogies Today

During my extensive talks with students across universities in the UK, I met Richard, a postgraduate ethnomusicology student at the University of Sheffield, whose comment I found particularly poignant:

Studying world music helps, for instance, ease racial tensions . . . but only when students really understand why this music is important to different people. (Interview, 8 December 2003, Sheffield)

Richard's comment confirms that certain learning may be more suitable for transmitting real understandings of meaning behind the musics and beyond a mere understanding of music as music. It is specifically ethnomusicology's anthropological concern with studying music in and as culture that can lead students to such deeper understandings of other musics and their makers (cf. Elliot 1995:197-98; Campbell 1996), as introduced by Alan Merriam in 1964 and later strongly advocated by UK-based John Blacking. Reflecting on his own teaching at the University of York, Neil Sorrell explained to me that "it actually is important and interesting when [students] learn about the sociocultural context of music too . . . It does just . . . give [students] a completely different perspective" (interview, 6 May 2004, York). The goal for many ethnomusicologists is thus to carefully plan musical transmission that enables students to understand music as expression of human experience in the context of social and cultural organization. Such musical transmission, designated here as "democratic pedagogies," involves teaching strategies that lead students toward deeper appreciation, care, and compassion for all peoples and their musics.8

More specifically, the term "democratic pedagogies" signifies a general concern with certain strategies for instruction, rather than curriculum coverage. It is about qualitative deliberations on the value of musical transmission, asking "for what" and "to what end" we want to transmit musics in the university classroom. The transmission of ethnomusicology is thus not just about imparting knowledge. Instead, democratic pedagogies in the transmission of ethnomusicology prepare students for life, and instill in them compassion and care for others. Democratic pedagogies imply certain virtues (friendship, love, neighborliness, mutual respect) and values (honesty, self-restraint, courage, and contribution to some greater good) (Woodford 2005:84). Through more democratic pedagogies, students learn to discard prejudice and essentialism, and recognize cultural difference by challenging the binary oppositions between past and present, self and other. The idea of democratic pedagogies resonates closely with more postmodern perspectives that celebrate multiplicity of position and perspective, and promote an inclusive and democratic stance toward all musics and their makers. The central aim of such an education is the development of the autonomous, thinking student through an involvement in discourse about power and representation, authenticity and ethnocentricity, postcolonialism and globalization, as well as students' own social and individual experiences during their music-cultural encounters. The ultimate goal in transmitting democratic values is students' personal and social transformation in attitude and perspective toward self and other, including "love for one's fellow men and women" (Woodford 2005:84). When students grasp both cultural difference and the commonality of all musics, they will recognize that all musicality is universal, that all people are inherently equal. Such an education is not just cumulative but also transformative, and it promotes learning that focuses on meaning, value, and perspectives—and humanity.

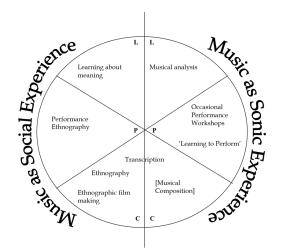
Modeling Ethnomusicology Pedagogy: Perspectives from the United Kingdom

So far, I have suggested that "democratic pedagogies" refers to the transmission and learning of basic humanitarian virtues and values. Jonathan Stock, while reflecting on his own teaching philosophies, agreed that:

Ethnomusicologists try to discover what people . . . think as part of their music, and why they are doing it, and what it's all about, what's at the heart of it for them . . . It's about words, or feelings, or emotions . . . I guess, in an ideal course, I would repeat all this stuff at the end to emphasize again that these are humans making music, and it's all about humanity, not really about the music. The end point is about humanity. (Interview, 6 October 2003, Sheffield)

However, democratic virtues and values "are difficult to intellectualize and teach because they imply personal experience, emotional content, and knowledge. [Instead] these must be modeled and experienced to be understood" (Woodford 2005:84-5). Thus, what do democratic pedagogies look like? At UK universities, I found that ethnomusicology is transmitted via a wide range of learning methods that engage students in musical listening, performing, ethnographic research and writing, musical transcribing, and ethnographic filmmaking, and thus promotes students' active construction of musical and cultural knowledge. In our work as academics, ethnomusicologists also utilize active participation as listeners or makers of music, and mediate our experiences through ethnographic writing, transcribing, or filmmaking (among other activities). In doing so, we still today differentiate between the sound-centered and sociocultural study of music (for recent discussions on this bifurcation, see Reyes 2009). The different methods deployed at universities in the UK similarly shaped the extent to which students learn about music as sonic or social experience (Figure 1). Thus, depending on whether they intend to develop musicological or anthropological understandings of world musics, UK-based ethnomusicologists have utilized a range of different activities, all under the three broad activities of listening, performing, and constructing. More specifically, "listening" denotes sound-centered and/or culture-centered learning about world musics through active listening; "performing" refers to active learning during occasional performance workshops, learning to perform, and performance ethnography; while "constructing" means learning that occurs during and from musical transcription, ethnographic research and writing, and ethnomusicological filmmaking.

Figure 1: A conceptual model for ethnomusicology pedagogy (L = Listening; P = Performing; C = Constructing). (Reprinted by permission of the publisher from *Experiencing Ethnomusicology* by Simone Krüger [Farnham: Ashgate, 2009], p. 211. Copyright © 2009.)



The model in Figure 1 represents the three activities—listening, performing, constructing—as they actually have occurred across universities in the UK. It is the first model for ethnomusicology pedagogy that reflects the contemporary transmission of ethnomusicology in UK-based academia. The model amalgamates the educational concern with effective musical learning through active musical participation (see also Swanwick 1979:43) during listening, performing, and constructing, and the ethnomusicological concern with an approach toward understanding musics not just as an object in itself (though this is clearly important in the model) but also in the context of human life. The reader may rightly wonder about my claim of "firstness" with regard to the model, as indeed there is nothing new about its underlying concepts. Other, equally valid models and approaches for teaching world musics and ethnomusicology already exist that focus on the transmission of value, experience, and meaning, and I would like to duly acknowledge some of them here.

For example, Timothy Rice (1987) proposes an influential tripartite approach to studying musical traditions that is applicable to university education, whereby students learn about music as historically constructed, socially maintained, and individually applied (or experienced). Another useful concept, which is specifically aimed at writing subject-centered musical ethnography, is Rice's "three-dimensional space of musical experience" model (2003). Some ethnomusicologists favor more music-centered approaches for studying world musics, notably Jonathan Stock (1996), Bonnie C. Wade (2004), and Terry E. Miller and Andrew Shahriari (2006), all of whom place an emphasis on the study of musical elements and structures. Meanwhile, Bruno Nettl et al. (2004) conceive a three-part approach applying Alan Merriam's "sound, behavior, and ideas" model to the study of selected music cultures, thus promoting the culturecentered study of musics from selected geographical regions. A similar cultural approach is promoted by Kay Kaufman Shelemay (2006) via the thematic study of the role played by world musics in people's lives and communities, while taking processes of globalization into account. Along similar lines, Michael B. Bakan (2007) focuses on the unique treatment of musicultural traditions and transformations in diverse global contexts, while Jeff Todd Titon promotes "the study of people making music" (2009:xvii) by surveying selected music cultures. Finally, Patricia Shehan Campbell (2004) conceives a "world music pedagogy" that merges the disciplines of ethnomusicology and music education, and is concerned with "how music is taught/transmitted and received/learned within cultures, and how best the processes . . . can be retained in classrooms" (ibid.:26).

The model for ethnomusicology pedagogy presented here complements such discourses on the transmission of ethnomusicology in the academy. And yet I suggest that the model in Figure 1 is slightly more comprehensive in its treatment of diverse, multifaceted learning activities that move beyond listening to also include performing and constructing. For instance, the aforementioned models and approaches for ethnomusicological practice share a predominant concern with the first category of listening (music-centered and/or culturecentered), rather than performing or constructing, though attempts to integrate activities for performance and fieldwork are clearly made in some of the publications (e.g., Campbell 2004; Wade 2004; Bakan 2007). Furthermore, the aforementioned approaches and models may be defined as "models of practice" rather than representations of actuality in the form of a visual overview, which defines my use of the term "model" (e.g., Stachowiak 1973). There is only one other visual model by Huib Schippers (2010), which he calls the "Twelve Continuum Transmission Framework" (TCTF), and yet this model seems to be particularly useful as an analytical tool for describing specific situations of musical transmission so as to better understand a musical tradition (Krüger 2010). It therefore seems that the model for ethnomusicology pedagogy (Figure 1) is indeed the first representation of the transmission of ethnomusicology as it actually has occurred in UK academia.

The model usefully reflects certain canonical principles in the disciplining and transmission of ethnomusicology at UK universities, including a concern with music as social experience, and knowing through doing. These, among other principles (which are beyond the scope of the paper), characterize ethnomusicology's democratic pedagogies. More concretely, learning about meaning in world musics modules; engaging in performance ethnography; conducting ethnographic research and writing; ethnomusicological filmmaking; and (to some extent) musical transcription, all represented in the left sphere of the model, are strategies for instruction that serve us well for democratic ends, as they can have a positive impact on students' transformations in attitude and perspective toward self and other. In order to illustrate this in more detail, I would like to provide some examples from my ethnographic research, and focus more specifically on the first learning activity, namely students' learning about meaning in world musics modules, the reasons for which are twofold: first, listening is important for gaining a deeper appreciation of music, both in ethnomusicological fieldwork (Blacking 1973:10) and in formal education (Campbell 2004:9); and second, the importance of listening can be extended also to refer to listening to people, central to which is an understanding of musics in and as culture as it has occurred in modules on world musics.9

Listening to Musics and People

The transmission of ethnomusicology at UK universities is characterized by a range of modules which may be divided into world musics surveys, re-

gional area studies, themed studies, musical concept studies (though to a lesser extent), and modules on ethnomusicology (often featuring at more advanced levels), all of which seek to transmit a musicological and/or anthropological concern (for detailed discussions on each, see Krüger 2009;20-35). However, some approaches seem better suited than others to facilitating democratic pedagogies through which students may be led toward heightened tolerance and humanitarianism toward the peoples and musics encountered in the university classroom. To begin with, world music surveys are particularly useful for introducing students to the wealth and breadth of music cultures (e.g., Stock 1996; Nettl 2004; Miller and Shahriari 2006; Bakan 2007; Titon 2009). Yet world music surveys, in their endeavor to cover "everything," may in some instances lack the depth necessitated by learning that seeks deeper musical understandings (for similar critiques, see Campbell 2004; Shelemay 2006; Bakan 2007:xxix-xxx; cf. Massey 1996:18-9, 21). Also, the mapping and classifying of the world's music cultures that is evident in surveys is the legacy of comparative musicology (Cooley 1997:8), although ethnomusicology has since the 1950s sought to distance itself from such universal schemes. Some ethnomusicologists thus advocate regional area studies, with their narrower focus on fewer cultures or countries within a larger region, which may have greater educational value, as they accommodate deeper and more complete immersion in specific music-cultural practices (e.g., Oxford's Global Music Series; Routledge's Focus on World Music Series). While area studies approaches may still largely define ethnomusicology (Stokes 2008:209), this has also been critiqued by scholars from outside ethnomusicology, who see the continued geographical mapping of musics in ethnomusicology as ignorant of the critical project that sought to decolonize other disciplines such as anthropology (Bigenho 2008:32). Yet surveys and area studies courses, if carefully constructed, can instill in students deeper cultural and critical understandings, as textbooks and courses do not usually treat music as an "object," but as a means for understanding human life. Perhaps for this reason, many ethnomusicologists in the UK offer at least one such module, also because world music surveys are often deemed useful introductory courses that raise interest and enjoyment for students, as they can hear, often for the first time, the diversity of musical sounds from around the world (Krüger 2009:24-27). At the same time, survey courses can be facilitative of democratic ends in the transmission of world musics, as Caroline Bithell confirmed during my first round of research in 2003/04:

[World music surveys give] an insight into, experience of, enjoyment of different musics of different parts of the world; encourage them to think more broadly about our attitudes to music, and seeing music as not such a fixed category . . . [and] encouraging the interest in people . . . raise a humanitarian concern and to realise that it is real people. (Interview, 8 October 2003, Bangor)

An Ethnographic Excursion to the University of Sheffield (UK)

In exploring these matters, I worked specifically with a group of first-year undergraduate students at the University of Sheffield for the duration of one academic year (2003/04). Here, I participated in and observed the first-year world music survey module titled "Musics of the World," led by my ethnomusicology colleague Andrew Killick, and regularly met with a group of students consisting of two males (Graeme and Oli) and three females (Jessica, Sarah, and Angela), all of whom had little experience of world musics prior to their university studies. I also met with Chris (male) and Rachel (female), who expressed a liking for and openness toward foreign cultures, languages, and traveling. The situation in Sheffield is similar to that at the University of Manchester: Students are usually young (18–21 years of age), well-trained in Western art music theory, history, performance, and/or composition, from relatively affluent socioeconomic backgrounds, and mostly Caucasian in origin. There was one exception, namely Angela who was a Chinese national from Hong Kong.

What immediately struck me was how vociferously some students voiced their musical tastes after hearing, often for the first time, what sounded strange and in some way "other." Listening to Ghanaian drumming, which the ethnomusicologist drew from David Locke's chapter in an earlier edition of Worlds of Music (Locke 2009) in a session on African music, the student group expressed strong dislike, and Angela commented that "it's all so awful!" (interview, Sheffield, 10 October 2003). Listening to an example of Shona mbira music from the same chapter, Graeme added that "I find the instruments quite irritating, especially the little metal bits [referring to the rattling metal parts on the mbira] . . . If you could take off all these metal bits and make it a purer tone, I'd like that much better!" (interview, Sheffield, 17 October 2003). Also, peer approval played a significant role here, as the whole group instantly agreed on their dislike of African traditional drumming music (as heard in the first listening example) by nodding and laughing at Graeme's statement: "Who would actually listen to or buy this? . . . Imagine you say to your mates 'Look what CD I've got!" (interview, 10 October 2003, Sheffield). By comparison, African popular music was more frequently welcomed by these students because "it has a regular phrasing, there is a clear melody and the instruments are cool. The rhythms in African pop music are really interesting . . . I don't like any weird instruments" (ibid.). Meanwhile, Rachel and Chris, who appeared more open-minded and saw themselves in the light of "otherness" and "alternativeness," found such musical examples more appealing (for similar discussions, see Harnish 2004:137; Krüger 2009:63).

The opinions that students evinced in response to their listening experiences usually depended on their sociocultural identities. Markers such as class and economic background, age, and life experience, among other factors, shaped students' openness to and preparedness for new musical encounters (Krüger 2009:57–70). This explains the fact that even when inexperienced students became musically more familiar as a result of exposure to world musics, some of them maintained negative views about the music itself. As an ethnomusicologist, I would probably wish to persuade these students of the intrinsic value of the musics, yet current democratic thinking in music education acknowledges the opportunity for students "to criticize music or to exercise 'real' choice," as long as it does not enhance blatant judgmentalism and racism, intolerance, ignorance, and/or complacency (Woodford 2005:77). Woodford explains that:

Discouraging [students] from considering alternative values, may well be inimical to democratic culture. (Ibid.)

From a democratic standpoint, it simply isn't acceptable for anyone to impose his or her musical values on others . . . All of us need to be much more considerate of others. The issue is one of civility. (Ibid.:82)

Thus, it does not really matter whether students bring with them certain musical preferences. What instead matters is that students gain more tolerant attitudes toward the people studied as a result of carefully constructed strategies for instruction, which, in turn, may lead students to appreciate their musics better. This is of course a slow and gradual process. It implies personal experience, emotional connectedness, and knowledge, which cannot easily be intellectualized and taught, but "must be modeled and experienced" (ibid.:85). The ethnomusicologist achieved this via a number of strategies for instruction. First, he emphasized the cultural aspects of selected musical case studies and examples. For instance, the session on Africa (e.g., Ghana) transmitted an understanding of music as an expression of culture and a resource for understanding Ghanaian society. More concretely, students learned that mythical beliefs resonate with and shape musical structures. According to Andrew Killick, drumming music is often cyclic and reflects African concepts about life as a cyclic (rather than linear) process. Rachel found this focus particularly revealing and found it "interesting to think about how African music is repetitive and circular instead of . . . linear. This made us think about their strong mythic belief in reincarnation . . . or the role of seasonal cycles in their society" (interview, 10 October 2003, Sheffield). Meanwhile, Angela, the Chinese national who often voiced strong dislike for world musics per se, similarly understood that music is always made with reference to its maker's unique standards and criteria. She learned that there are many ways of making music which she came to regard as equally valuable and interesting:

It makes it more interesting to concentrate on the cultural background because the music itself is quite dull, not musical. But in the context of the culture or society it sounds more interesting, and I can understand better what they're trying to do. (Interview, 10 October 2003, Sheffield)

What Angela's comment highlights here is the idea that "if we can understand more about the culture, we know why that kind of music is being performed" (interview, 19 December 2003, Sheffield). Students understood why the music sounded in particular ways, regardless of their musical preferences (some clearly disliked some world musics). More specifically, a country's economic development, the availability of resources (natural, technological), and its political situation, among other factors, all have impact on that country's music's sound, as well as on its people's behaviors and concepts about the music (Merriam 1964:32). This understanding made the often strange-sounding musics more meaningful to the students, some of whom came to value the musics on their own terms:

African music is by no means simpler than Western music . . . I think it's just completely different because music is society . . . I don't think there is any way that we are above them. It's just a completely different culture. I think it's just completely different because music is society . . . I don't think of [music] as right or wrong; I don't think of it in terms of tonality. It doesn't matter whether the music is complex or easy. It's about the people and what they regard as right and wrong! (Group interviews, 10 October 2003 and 20 November 2003, Sheffield)

As a result, these students became more tolerant and respectful toward the people whose musics they studied, and this is of great importance for instilling democratic values and beliefs. During our numerous conversations, Rachel conveyed that:

It is really good to study world music because it's widening our outlook on different people! (Interview, 10 October 2003, Sheffield)

I feel we have to make an effort understanding other cultures It's not just us English who exist! (Interview, 5 March 2004, Sheffield).

Second, Andrew Killick also transmitted world musics from the perspective of more than one single dominant culture via an overarching, thematic concern with globalization and its impact on musics the world around. This approach enabled the students to draw meaningful connections between the most diverse musics, while at the same time allowing for considerations of the dynamic nature of cultures and their musics. More importantly, it also instilled in the students an appreciation of the global processes by which their own musics have taken shape. This emphasis on cross-cultural influences and their effects on Western music provoked thinking about such complex issues as (post)colonialism, multiculturalism, and globalization, pivotal concepts in contemporary education and democratic society. According to Andrew Killick:

The module is also tied together by a historical thread running through each session. I try to teach students the bigger picture, not just to survey several music cultures, but to try to show them what this other music has to do with them; I try to show them historical connections. (Interview, 6 October 2003, Sheffield)

Some students clearly grasped this idea. Graeme, again, who vociferously voiced his dislike of certain musics, felt that "it made it very clear because . . . the lecturer brought in the analogy to the tree . . . The roots are the various types of music coming together in the trunk, which symbolizes Western global pop. It amalgamated all these different musics" (interview, 24 October 2003, Sheffield). As a result of these carefully designed strategies for instruction, some of the Sheffield students began to see music in a far broader light. They were led to think beyond the Western art music canon, which some found challenging, particularly those who further specialized in Western classical music at university (e.g., Jessica, Graeme), while others, mostly those who already possessed certain experiences with and affinity for "foreign" cultures (e.g., Rachel), regarded their exposure to world musics as liberating:

I think studying world music widens our perspectives on music. (Interview, Rachel, 10 October 2003, Sheffield)

Other cultures may not be so strict, and pitch doesn't matter so much. It's not just about our own little treble clef! (Interview, Jessica, 20 February 2004, Sheffield)

We think of music as written, as strict. There is so much different and fascinating stuff, for instance how people read music. (Interview, Graeme, 3 October 2003, Sheffield)

Some students even began to reevaluate their own culture and started viewing Western concepts and beliefs in new ways. That studying other people's cultures can lead toward deeper understandings of one's own culture has long been recognized by ethnomusicologists (Blacking 1973:ix-x). By studying the other, students like Oli similarly revealed transformations in perspective and attitude toward the self, and were able to see their own musical values, concepts, and beliefs reflected in the music-cultural practices of other peoples:

This session helped us to understand the [African] culture a bit better . . . about cyclical lifestyles, reincarnation, and all that . . . The analogy to the [Western] orchestra in terms of hierarchy was quite interesting. This helped us questioning our own society a bit, something I have never done before. (Interview, 10 October 2003, Sheffield)

Third, the module also provided learning that involved students actively in the learning process during engaged listening (leading to an oral listening test); occasional demonstrations on musical instruments and performance workshops on Gambian *kora* and Iranian *santur*; and smaller-scale fieldwork exercises. In doing so, students developed new knowledge, but more importantly, had personal and emotional experiences of the musics and their makers. Accessing the

musical other through performance seemed particularly pertinent. Reflecting on his own teaching at the University of York, Neil Sorrell proposed that "musical participation is the key to all musical understanding [and] playing something is playing better than nothing . . . You have to have a practical musical experience before things actually seem to matter . . . Students should demonstrate a direct relationship to the music, and performing it is one way" (interview, 10 May 2004, York). Andrew Killick, in designing the strategies for instruction on this module, agreed that:

I think, students remember things better if they have actually done something in a practical way, rather than sitting and listening . . . So I try to get students involved as much as possible, get them to do something practical, physical every time. (Interview, 12 November 2003, Sheffield)

In ethnomusicology, we have long been aware of the value of participation in musical performance, and at universities, performing ethnomusicology is equally pivotal to students' musical and cultural learning, as it involves visual, aural, and kinaesthetic participatory experiencing (Solís 2004; Krüger 2009:105–53). Reflecting on a kora workshop, for instance, Jessica stated that:

The kora workshop was amazing! [It] was so good because we were improvising and singing along. I just thought "We need more of this!" It is really important to experience it musically . . . The music makes more sense when we are actually practically involved as musicians. Just listening to the music, I won't remember half those tracks in a few months . . . I definitely felt more connected to the music and understood the culture behind it better. (Interview, 20 February 2004, Sheffield)

During continued conversations, Jessica particularly emphasized the emotional aspect of the experience:

This was very enjoyable, as it was both an extremely exciting and interesting lesson, and it helped to bring the class mates together, as most of us had never spoken before. (Interview, 20 September 2004, Sheffield)

Jessica reacted to the fact that she had first-hand, direct experiences of the music and its maker, and responded with emotional outbursts of enjoyment within her social group. Ethnomusicologists across universities are aware of the importance of enjoyment, and thus wish to provide opportunities that are "fun mostly . . . not bore them silly!" (interview, Neil Sorrell, 17 May 2004, York) and where "performing would be fun for most students and they would learn from it" (interview, Andrew Killick, 12 November 2003, Sheffield). Such strategies are at the heart of democratic pedagogies, echoed by Woodford, who critiques that:

Music classrooms and rehearsal rooms are all too often drab and joyless places in which drill prevails over inquiry and in which students' heads are stuffed with "facts." The kinds of musical drill and knowledge to which students are subjected in school seldom have much connection to lived experience. (2005:85)

This criticism of current music education leads back to the fundamental idea that "it isn't what we teach that instills virtue; it's how we teach." (Menard 1997, quoted in Woodford 2005:85). Democratic pedagogies thus involve strategies for learning by doing and experiencing, and that lead toward a kind of deeper-level knowing. When such personal and emotional experiences are triggered by performing music, the students whom I spoke to often felt a sense of musical ownership that was unique to them, and which felt very special.

An Ethnographic Return to the University of Manchester (UK)

At this point, I wish to return to my ethnographic excursion to the University of Manchester, and draw again on the voices of Caroline Bithell, Emma, Jess, and Holly. Here, students' ethnomusicological learning became centered on lived experience—similar to the experience-based position of the ethnomusicological fieldworker (see Barz and Cooley 2008:4)—via audiovisual media, which brought music cultures alive in the university classroom. Caroline Bithell utilized a range of materials, including (a) professionally produced documentaries that usually combine sound with words and images; (b) anthropological and ethnographic films, a particular type of documentary; (c) educational videos aimed at introducing particular musical styles; and (d) field recordings without any explanatory commentary. She commonly integrated, by showing shorter snippets, the audiovisual media in a more holistic learning model that also involved students in reading, listening, and discussing. Here, it was still often the ethnomusicologist explaining the cultural contexts of the musics, with audiovisual media forming the primary evidence for her argumentation. Jess found this integrated learning approach particularly useful:

What I like about Caroline's lectures . . . is that she puts extra context in . . . So before I watch it I'm prepared; I've got context in my head . . . I think that's quite important. Afterwards, when she ties it in and then carries on, I find that really interesting . . . I think it works well to show a bit of the film. (Interview, 12 November 2008, Manchester)

In using film and video in her classes, Caroline Bithell sought to "bring things to life by letting them [students] see . . . the context, the country, the background, the situation in which music happens" (interview, 12 November 2008, Manchester). Film and video seemingly transported the three students to new, unknown places so as to gain first-hand experiences with the cultures studied. The visual dimension was of great importance here, enabling the students to observe—like an ethnomusicologist—the people, location, behaviors, movement, choreography, interactions, and geography, and to understand more deeply the contexts of the musics studied. This was particularly crucial in situations when

students found it difficult to imagine the realities of particular music cultures. Emma and Holly described the impact of film as follows:

Without being there you can't get the full experience, and the next best thing is . . . a video. (Interview, Emma, 12 November 2008, Manchester)

Experiencing it! When you experience it, I think you learn a lot better! (Interview, Holly, 12 November 2008, Manchester)

Audiovisual means clearly enhanced a more anthropological approach to studying musics. They have the capacity to mediate first-hand experience of music-cultural practices and "to intensif[y] the experience of experiencing music in its context" (interview, Laudan Nooshin, 18 December 2008, City University London). This also meant gaining deeper emic perspectives into people's concepts, values and beliefs, which was evident in Caroline Bithell's own educational philosophy, as she prioritized a democratic concern with "living musicians [who] speak for themselves," allowing students:

... to experience feeling, imagining what it's like to be someone else . . . I want them to see people because people are so central to what we're about as ethnomusicologists . . . To see those people and relate to them, I think, really helps them [students] to understand the music . . . So seeing it on video is making it embodied . . . You are looking at people, and you're getting a sense of their lives. (Interview, 12 November 2008, Manchester)

Such deeply democratic principles had a profound impact on the three students: "Seeing him . . . made him real and it made the whole [culture] more real." (interview, Jess, 12 November 2008, Manchester). Seeing people on video made the people whose musics were studied embodied, alive, and real:

There is a face there; there is a personality there . . . As soon as he had a face, he was a person, not just a name on the page . . . It doesn't feel like a subject now that I'm studying . . . as if they're something to be put under a microscope . . . I find that film has given me a link, a more direct link to the people. (Interview, Jess, 12 November 2008, Manchester)

In gaining a more real, deeper sense of people's lives, the three students moved beyond curriculum coverage to become politically and globally more aware, and this global consciousness transformed them in often powerful ways. For example, Holly felt inspired to travel and experience the world's cultures for herself and began watching the news, as she was more able to relate to it, while Jess opened her attitudes toward film and began to engage in world cinema:

It has made me want to go travelling more and really experience that more . . . It makes me want to go and watch the news as well . . . The other day . . . the news were on and because I could relate to it, I watched it . . . It just gives me a bit more of an interest of what's going on in the world. (Interview, Holly, 12 November 2008, Manchester)

Through watching films . . . I've started going to films I'd never have gone to; I've watched more world cinema . . . I have become so much more open-minded. (Interview, Jess, 12 November 2008, Manchester)

Holly experienced even more profound transformations, commenting that "sometimes I see things that really make me think [and] upset me" (interview, 12 November 2008, Manchester), while reflecting on her own way and place and meaning in the world. Film and video had the capacity to touch some students at a deeply personal level:

Quite often there are students who ... come to my course and have these windows—partly through films—into other worlds and start to question what the world is about. They start to worry about ethics and where the world is going ... and suddenly start feeling that there is a meaning and a mission and a fight, if you like, that they can be part of ... I think it's good for people. It's taking people outside the box ... out of their comfort zone ... I think it's part of what I think education is about ... to help people to find a place in the world and in their own lives where they feel there is a balance, and there is a meaning, and they can have a bit more courage. Again, it's a very human thing really not just to teach people to play the violin; you're actually helping them to find their way in the world and answer some pretty deep questions about why they are here sometimes. (Interview, Caroline Bithell, 12 November 2008, Manchester)

Caroline Bithell's philosophy on the role of ethnomusicology in academia resonates deeply with the concepts and ideas that underpin democratic pedagogies in contemporary music education and democratic society. Her strategies for instruction led the three students to see outside of their "English bubble," to be less rooted in themselves, to move beyond curriculum and become politically and globally more aware. Experiencing reality as it exists in the world transformed these students' attitudes toward self and other. It is specifically the anthropological study of musics that had an impact on these transformations. Film and video clearly enhanced this aspect of study.

Experiencing Democracy

Clearly, ethnographic study can bring a more nuanced understanding of the symbiosis between ethnomusicology pedagogy and students' transformations in attitude and perspective toward self and other. This was the focus of my paper, which illustrated the relationship between the transmission of ethnomusicology and its capacity to enhance more democratic and humanitarian views in students. Such a music education "implies thoughtful criticism and mediation of all experience coupled with a moral obligation to others" (Woodford 2005:xiii). Yet as cautioned at the outset, bold assumptions about the potential impact of ethnomusicology pedagogy on students' humanitarian, democratic attitudes,

and generalizations about ethnomusicology's capacity to instill a culture of tolerance must be treated with caution. Thus, my paper focused more specifically on the ethnographic portrayal of some students' perspectives in instances where ethnomusicologists successfully designed more democratic pedagogies around listening to ethnomusicology.

One such strategy, which was illustrated in the paper, involved the surveying of a range of selected music cultures, an approach at times criticized for dangers surrounding superficiality and canonization of music cultures for study. Yet as ethnomusicologists, we should be less concerned with our content selection in university courses and classes, and instead carefully design strategies for instruction and transmission that instill in students the belief that all people have equally important and meaningful musical and cultural values, and that lead them toward respect and responsibility, care and compassion for all peoples and their musics. Indeed, learning about meaning while listening to world musics can enhance in many students such democratic and tolerant attitudes toward people whose beliefs, values, behaviors, and practices are often significantly different from their own. I hope that my paper offers fresh thinking about such an ethnomusicology pedagogy, a pedagogy that can promote in students a global, contemporary, and democratically informed sense of all people and all musics. If we can teach our students the basic human values of inclusion, equality, and world peace, such ethnomusicology pedagogy would also be more thoroughly ethnomusicological for the benefit of all members of society.

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Further, I am greatly indebted to a considerable number of students from different universities, whose experiences I have studied over a long timespan, and it is impossible to name them all here. I thus warmly thank those students whose voices have found their way into this paper, including Emma, Holly, and Jess (University of Manchester), and Graeme, Oli, Jessica, Sarah, Angela, Chris, and Rachel (University of Sheffield). My gratitude is also directed at all ethnomusicologists, music ethnologists, and music tutors who have generously supported my work. Specifically, I thank Caroline Bithell (University of Manchester) and Andrew Killick (University of Sheffield) for allowing me write about their transmission strategies, philosophies, and values. I am also indebted to Jonathan Stock, Neil Sorrell, and Laudan Nooshin, whose voices are also heard in this paper. I am grateful to various funding bodies and organisations, including the Art and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and Liverpool John Moores University (LJMU) for supporting my research at various stages. My thanks are also dedicated to the anonymous reviewers for their constructive and positive (and not so positive) feedback on earlier drafts of the paper. And, finally, a special mention goes to Larry Witzleben (*Ethnomusicology* editor) for his encouragement and open-mindedness toward a paper that sits at the intersection between ethnomusicology and music education.

Notes

- 1. A detailed discussion on the use of the terms "ethnomusicology" and "world musics" is outside the scope of this paper. For clarity, however, I use both terms to denote differing subject matters in the transmission of ethnomusicology at universities, which has grown out of the separatist treatment of both subject matters since the 1950s in US academia. More specifically, the subject matter of ethnomusicology encompasses the transmission of theories and methods surrounding ethnomusicology as a discipline. Meanwhile, world musics refers to musical and extra-musical/cultural aspects surrounding music cultures from around the world. In the UK, the study of world musics is not usually structured around musical elements or concepts (e.g., time/rhythm, pitch/melody, structure/form, etc), but rather focuses on music-cultural practices in their various natures and functions, whether the musics are traditional or popular, Western or non-Western. Also, the term world musics should not be equated with the commercial genre of world music; nonetheless, world musics may include the commercial genre world music (for detailed discussions on the term world music, see also Schippers 2010:17–28).
- 2. The General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) is an academic qualification awarded in a specified subject, generally taken in a number of subjects by students aged 14–16 in secondary education in England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. Meanwhile, the Advanced Level General Certificate of Education, commonly referred to as an A-level, is a qualification offered by education institutions in England, Northern Ireland, and Wales, and is the standard entry qualification for assessing the suitability of applicants for academic courses in UK universities.
- 3. The expression "transmission of ethnomusicology" is used here to denote—relatively loosely—the exchange of ethnomusicological knowledge in formal education contexts, specifically universities. It does not imply a one-way process that places the ethnomusicologist as educator at the center of this process, but also includes students' learning experiences. Thus, I may use the term interchangeably with other terminology, such as "transmission of ethnomusicological subject matters," "transmission of world musics," or "ethnomusicology pedagogy."
- 4. Some of the ethnographic research presented here was conducted for my book (Krüger 2009) and involved the following: first, I organized a concentrated program of participant-observations of classes and performance practice across universities in the UK and, to some extent, Germany during 2003/2004 (though the latter has not informed the discussions here); second, I arranged follow-up observations and interviews, including telephone and internet interviews at selected universities, as well as reflexive analyses of my own teaching practices in 2005/2006; third, I arranged an additional program of research visits and interviews at three further UK universities in 2008. The observational part of the data collection was complemented by a substantial number of formal and informal interviews with students and ethnomusicologists across universities. More generally, the research provides an ethnomusicological study of the transmission of ethnomusicology in universities. It is "an ethnomusicology of ethnomusicology" that seeks to understand students' perceptions, experiences, and attitudes, asking questions as to what—musically, personally, culturally—students learn about and through world musics.
- 5. These observations were particularly made during national and international meetings of the British Forum for Ethnomusicology (BFE) and Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM). However, ethnomusicologists' reaction to my work was not always negative; indeed, some were clearly fascinated by the topic and its potential results, and I am greatly indebted to them for their generous support of and belief in my work.
- 6. As I am making the final corrections to this article, Higher Education in England is in a general state of uncertainty as a result of the UK government's decision for sweeping reforms, including substantial tuition fee increases (from £3K to £9K per year) and huge funding cuts for teaching grants (e.g., 80%, specifically in the arts and humanities), which will, on the long term, radically alter the system and structure of Higher Education in England (for a useful overview, see

http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-11483638.) It is against this political backdrop that I make this claim.

- 7. Ethnomusicologists in the UK often commented on Blacking's legacy, even more so than on Merriam's, given also that some of them had close contact with Blacking during his lifetime. They frequently mentioned Blacking's book *How Musical is Man?* (1973), describing it as a landmark publication for modeling the anthropological emphasis in British ethnomusicology.
- 8. I acknowledge that "democracy" refers to a political form of government. Nonetheless, I use the term here more specifically to refer to the most common principles and key qualities of democracy: equality and freedom (of expression). In applying it to the educational setting, "democratic pedagogies" thus means two things: (a) ethnomusicologists' educational philosophies in imparting in students the concepts of musical equality and artistic freedom, in which differences among people are valued and nurtured, and feelings of inferiority/superiority (musical and otherwise) are discouraged; and (b) ethnomusicologists' strategies for instruction in creating democratic classrooms where all peoples' experiences are acknowledged and affirmed, and where the broad participation of students, teachers, community members, and others is encouraged. Note that "democratic pedagogy" is not a new term, but has been in use for the past thirty years or so, usually referring to education that promotes democracy and social justice (see, for example, Shor and Freire 1987:72, 133; for more recent discussions, see Freire 1997 and hooks 2003; for a more hands-on account on how to teach democracy, see Becker and Couto 1996).
- 9. Of course, listening also occurs during performance, transcription exercises, or ethnographic research and writing, and there is necessarily some overlap between the different transmission strategies. However, in order to achieve clarity in my writings, the activity of listening has been singled out here to refer predominantly to the listening that occurred in courses on world musics.

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