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## **Music Education for a Nation: Teaching Patriotic Ideas and Ideals in Global Societies**

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## Music Education for a Nation: Teaching Patriotic Ideas and Ideals in Global Societies

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### Introduction

It may be seen that music and dance provide “affordances” (Karlsen 2007, 44; DeNora 2000) for constituting, shaping and experiencing identities, for both the individual and groups of people, including nations. As Hargreaves, Miell and MacDonald (2002) have noted, we can have multiple “social and cultural roles within music” (12), but also, music can be used as a resource when developing aspects of identity, such as nationality. Hence, it is not surprising that throughout history, music has often been used deliberately to express and communicate national identity, both in terms of creating and strengthening a sense of belonging within a nation and to signify to outsiders a commonality between them, a sense of cohesion and unity (e.g. Folkestad 2002). Recently, researchers have noted that “while patriotism in ... music education might have been reasonable for emerging nations ... as a functional device for the establishment of their national identity, it still plays a significant role today when it may no longer be as necessary” (Hebert and Kertz-Welzel 2012, xiii). As globalization may be seen to intensify “worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens 1990, 64), the need for patriotic sentiments to define the local as sovereign, as distinct or independent from the “Other” may be drawn into question. What are these patriotic sentiments in music education policy and practice? In the contexts of established, globalized nations, what is the role of patriotism in music education? Are projects aiming to give a sense of national cohesion and unity relevant anymore?

A sense of national cohesion and unity may manifest as either patriotism or nationalism. For the purposes of this article, patriotism, also referred to as *constructive patriotism* (Bar-Tal and Staub 1997; Kosterman and Feshbach 1989; Schatz, Staub and Lavine 1999), can be recognized by an “attachment to country characterized by critical

loyalty” (Schatz et al. 1999, 153; Staub 1989). Nationalism, on the other hand reflects beliefs of national superiority (Kosterman and Feshbach 1989, Schatz et al. 1999). Whilst these two distinctions should be regarded on a continuum, the implications of each may be very different, as suggested by Ariely (2012), “nationalism is inherently related to out-group devaluation, whereas patriotism is positively related to one’s own national group but does not necessarily lead to out-group devaluation” (3). In this article we examine, through the cases of Finland and Cambodia, expressions of constructive patriotism in educational policy, curriculum documents and music teacher actions and reflections. This study is part of a broader cross-cultural exchange project: *Multicultural Arts University*, between researchers and music education students from the Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki, Finland, and music and dance programs run by two Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Cambodia. As a multiple case study, focusing on Finland and Cambodia presents each nation as a “unique life” (Stake 2006, vi), very different contexts providing different perspectives and insights into patriotic expressions in music education policies and practices. These two cases have been selected not to maximise the generalizability by “sampling of attributes,” but to maximise “opportunities to learn” (Stake 1995, 6), to “understand an issue or problem using [these two] case[s] as a specific illustration” (Creswell 1998, 73). This article explores both “the common characteristics” (Stake 2006, ix) as well as “situational uniqueness” (x) of the cases to the extent they illustrate the phenomenon under study, as we ask the questions: How are patriotic sentiments expressed through music education policies and practices in Finland and Cambodia? In what ways can patriotic sentiments be seen to reflect the changing notions of national identity, in the context of globalization?

### **The (Inter)National in Finland and Cambodia**

Following centuries of rule by the Swedish kingdom and Russian empire, Finland’s independent history of the 19th and early 20th century can be characterized by deliberate attempts to construct a unified national identity. Originating as an academic movement—primarily amongst Swedish-speaking,<sup>1</sup> educated Finns—Finnish National Romanticism manifested through the enthusiastic studying of the Finnish-speaking peasantry, ‘their’ folklore and history creating “an idealized image of the ‘common folk’” (Ollila 1998, 128). In addition to this, scholars and practitioners worked to establish a canon of Finnish artistic

work, including literature, paintings, and music, alongside national symbols and rituals. As seen elsewhere in Europe, part of this national self-determination was the understanding of the “folk” as the link to the cultural heritage “as the bearers of performance traditions attesting to the distinct character of the emergent Finnish nation” (Ramnarine 2003, 3). The aim of nation-building through the establishment of a unified cultural identity became a priority, with nation-state makers mostly ignoring indigenous ethnic and national minorities (for example the Samí and Romani communities) that had called Finland home for centuries. This process of nation-building also ignored the well-established immigration and migration between neighboring countries, particularly Sweden and Norway (Karlsen 2011). Rather than embracing a unique form of cultural diversity, the project of creating the Finnish national identity was based on emphasizing particular features of culture, language and history to distinguish “Finnishness” from other cultures and ethnicities. A famous phrase of uncertain origin coined in the early 19th century states, “we are no longer Swedes; we cannot become Russians; we must be Finns,” reveals a searching “for the expression of a uniform, national identity and for exploring what could be uniquely manifested as ‘ours’” (Karlsen 2011, 7). In this sense, defining the self in relation to the “Other” depended on a coherent consistency that arguably, never existed. This definition of Finnishness was maintained and perpetuated throughout the second half of the 19th century as “the educated classes took on the task of educating the common people, so that the latter would be worthy of constituting a nation” (Ollila 1998, 130–31). These “common” people in turn, met and perpetuated this idealized view of the “folk” held by the educated classes. In this way, “the origins of the system of popular education” (131), including music education (particularly evident through an emerging “Finnish” repertoire) may be seen to be based on grounds of patriotism, establishing an idealized citizenry (for a more in-depth account of the emergence of “folk” music in Finland, see Ramnarine 2003).

As a result of recent decades of social and political turmoil, Cambodia is now looking to recover and reconstruct the national, both geographically and historically. In 1953, at the end of the French occupation of the nation, the national identity was flailing. Educational curricula, serving the nation’s elite, were in French, and literacy in Cambodian languages was almost “entirely in the hands of the Buddhist monkhood” (Chandler 2008, 194). After gaining independence, Cambodia has yet to experience political (or indeed cultural) stability. A coup

in 1970 saw the removal of the royal family from power and thousands of Vietnamese armed forces expelled from the country, followed by a United States-South Vietnamese invasion of Eastern Cambodia (Chandler 2008, 251). The years between 1975 and 1979 were marked by a revolution led by the Khmer Rouge, resulting in the deaths of millions of Cambodians, including an estimated 95% of the nation's musicians and artists, and 70-75% of the nation's educators and higher education students. The leaders of the regime declared 1975, "year zero," effectively erasing "over two thousand years of Cambodia history ... money, markets, formal education, Buddhism, books, private property, diverse clothing styles, and freedom of movement" (Chandler 2008, 256). Following the fall of the Khmer Rouge, Cambodians endured Vietnamese control, changes in both local and international political allegiances (which saw Cambodia identify as part of South East Asia rather than with Indochina), the Vietnamese withdrawal, United Nations Transitional Authority, and a violent coup d'état in 1997. Particularly resulting from the genocidal Khmer Rouge era, but attributable to the continuing instability, foreign influence or rule, and conflict waging for so many years, both Cambodia's artistic and educational fields have been recognized as being in a state of crisis (Sam 2008). Like Finland, Cambodia is a culturally diverse nation, comprised of the Khmer people, a number of hill tribes, the Cham people, Vietnamese-Cambodians, Chinese-Cambodians, and other minority groups making up the national population. However, with so many cultural traditions in need of urgent safeguarding, it appears that the government and aid agencies primarily concentrate on the majority Khmer culture (Khmer people account for over 90% of Cambodia's population) in promoting and recovering fragile music and dance traditions.

Interestingly, the people of Finland and Cambodia have both, at some point in their history, been under foreign occupation, strengthening the need for the development and maintenance of a unified national identity. Each nation has a unique language that differs from neighboring regions, and have their own unique cultural heritage and folkloric traditions, most clearly illustrated by Finland's National Epic, *the Kalevala*, and in Cambodia, the ornate and impressive temple complexes of Angkor Wat. The music and dance of both nations have drawn on folkloric traditions such as these, and both have been recognized as endangered or threatened at some point in recent history as a result of socio-political conflicts. In responding to, and resisting, foreign occupation or through the protection of the "unique" local, mass

education may be recognized as one means through which to promote patriotism, a love of nation and celebration of sovereignty.

Whilst both Finland and Cambodia are culturally unique, each nation may also be seen to be affected by globalization, and actively involved in the global community (for examples specifically relating to musical practices see Ayres 2000 with regards to Cambodia; and Ramnarine 2003, with regards to Finland). For the purposes of this article, “[g]lobalization ... is not the same as internationalization. It is not just about closer ties between nations, but concerns processes, such as the emergence of global civil society, that cut across the borders of nations” (Giddens 1998, 137). The world in which we live has been said to be characterized by “deterritorialization” (Appadurai 1996); indeed, “it has become a truism that the world in the global age has become a smaller place and that, hence, everything that happens in one place always and in some unpredictable way conditions what happens in other places” (Erlmann 1999, 3). Whilst the global village grows ever smaller, our *awareness* of that village grows ever wider (e.g. Bauman 2002; Wenger 2006). These views suggest that globalization is not only inescapable, but that nations and their peoples need to be equipped with the necessary skills and perspectives to participate in a highly mobile, interconnected, transnational, “runaway world” (Giddens 1999/2003). Thus far, this seems to have been understood as not merely a weakening, but an eradication of boundaries and increasingly rapid technological, economic, and social change, requiring new perspectives and accompanying actions. However, in looking at educational discourses, it may be seen that an emphasis is often on the local, defining and celebrating the unique, and carefully defining and reminding us of the borders that distinguish “us” as peoples of individual nations. These patriotic expressions *may* be seen as one response to “the problem of enculturation in a period of rapid cultural change” (Apparudai 1996, 43).

#### *Current Music Education in Finland and Cambodia*

In Finland, music education is offered at every level of education, from general education to vocational and tertiary or community education, and is based upon a national core curriculum that all teachers must follow, as devised by The National Board of Education. However, the Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (2004) affords individual teachers “a large amount of autonomy in choosing the contents and methods used to gain the objectives

of the curriculum” (Korpela et al. 2010, 17) in not only music, but all subject areas. Local municipalities and individual institutes base their ‘local curricula’ upon this broad set of national guidelines, further refining music education policy to specific contexts and populations. All Finnish music education, at early childhood, primary, secondary and tertiary levels, and in comprehensive, extracurricular or community music contexts, is either offered free of charge, or highly subsidized by the government (Korpela et al. 2010).

In contrast, Cambodian music education appears on the margins of the national curriculum, included as part of teaching social science (indeed some schools disregard arts education altogether, see Nguonly 2004). There are few trained teachers and education in general is allocated little government funding. Education is heavily reliant on foreign aid and standards. School music education is virtually non-existent without community or foreign aid, with the result that music education takes place primarily in elite training schools (which few have access to), in pagodas as part of monks’ education, or NGOs.

The formation and implementation of curricula are processes that often experience conflict. As what is selected for teaching and learning in schools is “often connected to deeply held social and ideological commitments, what is legitimate for one sector of society is often illegitimate for another” (Apple 2003, 385). Thus, in exploring expressions of patriotism in both Finnish and Cambodian music education policy and practice, we may begin to explore issues of national identity as communicated through the teaching and learning of music, raising the questions: *who* and *what* is music education for?

### **Implementation of the Study**

As a multiple case study with an instrumental interest (Stake 1995, 2006), this study utilizes “generated data” (Huberman and Miles 2002, 308), incorporating a variety of data sources in investigating patriotic sentiments expressed through music education discourses, both at the macro and micro levels: Macro referring to the policy actors working at the *decision making* levels, such as government and state authorities; and micro referring to the policy actors working at the *implementation* levels, such as teachers.

*Macro level data sources*

At the macro level of educational policy decisions, we attend to curriculum and educational policy documents and reports. These curricula and educational reports were sourced through a search of documents published by various government agencies, aid agencies and organizations responsible for not only the construction of, but also evaluation of educational policies in each country. These included the Finnish National Curriculum for Basic Education (2004); the Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports Policy for Curriculum Development 2005-2009 (2004); the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports Cambodia Education Strategic Plan 2009-2013 (2010); and the UNESCO National Educational Support Strategy Cambodia 2010-2013 (2010).

*Micro level data sources*

At the micro level of educational policy implementation, specifically focusing on teachers, data sources include interviews conducted with Finnish secondary music teachers and interviews conducted with managers and founders of two NGOs in Cambodia coordinating three music and dance education programs. These organizations cared and catered for disadvantaged and/or vulnerable young people between the ages of two and twenty. Children included those who had been orphaned or abandoned, those whose families were unable to care for them (due to health, finances or other reasons), and those who had been removed from their family environments by government officials due to various kinds of abuse. Some children maintained contact with relatives or were part of gradual reintegration programs and, for others, the NGO *was* their family and their home.

The five Finnish teachers involved in this study were interviewed between August 2011 and May 2012 as part of ongoing research by the first author of this text (see Kallio, in press). This purposeful sample of teachers worked in different regions of Finland (Capital region, Central Finland, Eastern Finland, Lapland, Northern Lapland) and at a variety of comprehensive schools, including Swedish speaking, music specialized and local secondary schools. Three semi-structured interviews of one to five hours duration were conducted with each teacher, focusing on their processes of popular repertoire selection for students aged 13-15 years of age.



As music is not taught as part of comprehensive schooling in Cambodia, semi-structured interviews were conducted by the first author of this article in January 2012 (see Kallio and Westerlund, in press) with a purposeful sample (Creswell 1998) of nine music and dance teachers, three managers and two founders of three sites run by two Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO). As much of Cambodian music and dance tuition occurs outside formal educational contexts, these interviews are seen as valuable perspectives on music education policy and practices, which are not specifically addressed in curriculum documents. Focusing on arts programs in NGOs, we do not mean to advocate for music in Cambodian government schooling, and do not suggest that school-based instruction is the only, or best means through which children may be exposed to, and learn, traditional art forms. However, we do acknowledge the very real fears that arts educators expressed for the continuation, preservation and development of the traditional arts in Cambodia, and have attempted to attend to these views.

#### *Data analysis*

Analysis of the data was conducted by both authors, and followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis, "identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (79). In addition, this approach extends the analysis "and interprets various aspects of the research topic" (79). Thematic analysis of the data expressed various tensions to be navigated by teachers, between aligning with patriotic ideals and ideas and participating in an increasingly global society.

#### **Macro level: Patriotic Directions and Directives**

Curriculum may be understood as formed by macro-level policy actors, who decide "which knowledge [is] to become sanctioned to be taught to others" (Wright 2012, 26). As such, music education may be understood as an "important, powerful, and, ultimately, political" process (Froehlich 2002) by which certain versions of national identity are foregrounded, as others may be marginalized. What constitutes national identity is embedded in both Finnish and Cambodian music education policy, as defined locally and in relation to increasingly global education discourse.

In the Finnish National Curriculum for Basic Education (2004), patriotic sentiments may be seen through constructions and understandings of what constitutes “Finnishness.” Finland has historically been understood as a rather homogeneous society (regardless of actual cultural diversities) with shared ethnicity, religion and cultural values. However, Finland has arguably never been monocultural, with considerable diversity, in language, religion, culture, and artistic traditions. As such, whilst the curriculum states that the basis of instruction is *Finnish culture*, the instruction must take into consideration “special national and local attributes, the national languages, the two national churches, the Sami as an indigenous people and national minorities.”<sup>2</sup>

The Cambodian national curriculum (although music as a distinct subject is not mentioned), has a more explicit reference to patriotic aims of education in general. The Cambodian Ministry of Education identifies the importance of self-identity and knowledge,

[students should be educated to] be active citizens and be aware of social changes, understanding Cambodia’s system of government and the rule of law, and demonstrating a spirit of national pride and love of their nation, religion and king; (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport 2004, 5)

In inspiring such patriotic sentiments, educational policy has a clear focus on “Khmer”<sup>3</sup> identity, as stated,

The standard medium of instruction is Khmer. Textbooks will be published in Khmer ... In schools where there are a large number of speakers of minority languages, teachers may conduct some instruction of the class in the minority language and may translate key vocabulary contained in textbooks from Khmer to the minority language as a means of assisting student learning. (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport 2004)

Similar to historical understandings of Finnish society, there appear to be assumptions of cultural homogeneity, constructing a unified notion of national identity, equating “Cambodian” nationality with “Khmer” ethnicity.

It is worthwhile to reflect on whether directives to take diversity “into consideration” (Finnish National Board of Education 2004, 12) or addressing minority needs to “assist student learning” through dominant educational frameworks, result in “multicultural engagement,” or may mistake an acceptance of plurality with hegemonic assimilation (Allsup 2010, 146). This is particularly relevant as Finland experiences increasing “diversification ... through the arrival of people from other cultures” (Finnish National Board of Education 2004, 12), and as Cambodia attempts to recover and preserve numerous fragile cultural heritages.

Allsup (2010) has suggested that a danger lies in well-intentioned music education policies that result in the “melting away of difference” (148) rather than its celebration.

As in other Nordic welfare societies, music classrooms in Finland are rapidly becoming meeting places for tradition and change, global and local, solidarity and diversity (Allsup 2010). Indeed, one of the National Core Curriculum’s (2004) cross-curricular themes that teachers are required to adhere to and take into account in their teaching is called “Cultural Identity and Internationalism.” The stated goal of this theme is

to help the pupil to understand the essence of the Finnish and European cultural identities, discover his or her own cultural identity, and develop capabilities for cross-cultural interaction and internationalism (Finnish National Board of Education 2004, 37).

It is interesting that in the face of globalization, the curriculum states that one of the primary objectives of instruction is to communicate the *essence* of Finnishness, taking into consideration the history and cultivation of the “Finnish” national identity. As Finland becomes even more multicultural through immigration, are these hankerings of a singular national identity related to a bygone (or indeed imagined) era? Is it almost the same as the educated Swedish-speaking Finns teaching the peasantry about “Finnishness”? Are the “Finns” still working on the same project?

Working on an altogether “new” project and essentially beginning educational policy from scratch (after the Khmer Rouge era, not to mention later political conflicts), the Cambodian Ministry of Education and Youth Services (MoEYS) sees part of its mission as “leading, managing and developing education, youth and sport sector in Cambodia in responding to the socio-economic and cultural development needs and the reality of globalization” (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, Education strategic plan 2010). These statements illustrate not only recognition of the significance of local challenges and needs, but also those of globalization. In recognizing that a response is a part of their mission to help Cambodian citizens develop economically *and* culturally within a new global system,

The Royal Government will continue to strengthen its partnership with the private sector and the national and international community to enhance and improve the quality of education services, putting increased emphasis on information and foreign language training at all levels of general education, technical and vocational training, and in higher education, consistent with international standards and the country's development needs. (Cambodia Education Strategic Plan 2010, 11)

Such an active involvement from the private sector and the recognition of the necessity, if not inescapability, of global participation comes with inherent risks. Reliance upon private sector or foreign standards may encourage the establishment of a supplier-customer relationship that either compromises educational integrity or leaves the Cambodian education system open to manipulation. This too has significant implications regarding which, or whose knowledge is legitimated and taught, potentially suppressing ideologies or values that do not align with those in political or financial power. This is not to suggest that foreign aid should be rejected regardless of nations involved, or circumstance, but if schools serve “as vigorous mechanisms for the reproduction of dominant... values of the dominant socio-political order” (McLaren 1995, 229), additional concerns may be raised when this “dominant socio-political order” has a particular, “outsider” story of the Cambodian people, and has a vested interest in the control of *who* learns *what*, and *why*.

Regardless of which “project” is underway, both nations appear to acknowledge the significance of strengthening at least one national identity in addressing the needs of students participating in a globalized world.

### **Micro level: Imagined Pasts, Unpredictable Futures**

Within such globalized contexts, patriotic sentiments as expressed through music education practices; how teachers perceive their roles and choices they make may be seen to reflect tensions in changing notions of national identity. Informed by macro-level policy decisions, teachers must negotiate cultural tensions, questioning whose culture is legitimated in schools, why, and how.

The Finnish national curriculum and local municipal curricula do not outline prerequisite repertoire or content directives. As such, with the basis of instruction supposed to be ‘Finnish culture,’ *what* this is and how it should be communicated through music, are largely open to interpretation. On face value, *any* music could ostensibly fit within this category (particularly as the Finnish population is increasingly diverse); however, interviews conducted with Finnish secondary school music teachers illustrated that shared understandings and values *do* exist regarding *what counts* as Finnish culture.

It’s our culture... You have to know how to sing Maamme [the Finnish National anthem] when it’s needed to sing it. Raise your isänmaan tuntoja [fatherland feelings], know where your roots are (Music teacher, Central Finland)

Recent research has addressed the role of national anthems as part of school curricula. Hebert and Kertz-Welzel (2012) have suggested that “a renewed emphasis on patriotism in society at large and within schools in particular” (xiii) are in part, a response to national crises and political campaigning for more emphasis to be placed on the teaching of patriotic songs in schools (see, for instance, The National Anthem Project as referred to by Hebert 2012, Perussuomalaisten eduskuntavaaliohjelman 2011). Consequently, Jorgensen (2007) has warned that “music teachers need to take a measured approach that eschews fundamentalism, rampant militarism, and excessive patriotism, embraces musically the tensions between internationalism, nationalism, and localism, and expresses a sensitive world-view through the choice of songs that cultivate and express liberal and democratic ideals and foster peace internationally” (150). Such discussions highlight the role of music education in globalized societies. Goals of patriotism or of international relations and understanding are among many utilitarian and aesthetic functions of music education that require negotiation by teachers.

These ideological concerns extend also to religious musics and rituals, as particular dates and occasions during the school year highlight questions regarding what “the essence” of Finnish cultural identity is, or might be. This is especially the case for music teachers, who are often expected to take responsibility for providing musical accompaniment to Christian-based school festivities.

When you are in Finland, [a Lutheran value system and manner of celebrating in schools] is the main culture... Many people want to retain that culture and celebrate in the same way as many years ago (Music teacher, Lapland)

Complicating the inclusion of religious repertoire and celebrations as part of increasingly diverse school culture, lies in acknowledging that in Finland, “the church is seen as not only one of the primary institutions to uphold Finnish traditions (Taira 2012, 24), but a Finnish tradition itself” (Kallio, in press). One case exemplifying this tension can be seen in the considerable media attention and recent debate surrounding the inclusion of *Suvivirsi*, a traditional Christian summer hymn, at the conclusion of the academic year. In increasingly multicultural Finland, some teachers, parents and politicians have voiced concerns regarding compromising the curriculum requirement that basic education be “nondenominational and politically neutral” (Finnish National Board of Education 2004, 12) by the unquestioned inclusion of explicitly religious or political repertoire,

Nobody [in the school community] has asked these questions whether *Suvivirsi* should or should not be sung at our school. I have been thinking about this. Why is it good or important? Should we change it, or should we have something more fitting to the cultures represented at this school? Should we have something from other religions also? Should we just change the lyrics? (Music teacher, Northern Lapland)

Others, however, argue that such repertoire is to be considered part of the Finnish cultural inheritance, and is in keeping with, if not a cohesive, at least an assumed majority, national identity. Thus, *Suvivirsi*'s annual performance as part of school festivities is in line with the curriculum objective of supporting "the formation of the pupil's own cultural identity" (Finnish National Board of Education 2004, 12).

[songs like *Suvivirsi*] are things that I am not actively trying to change because they are a part of our national culture (Music teacher, Eastern Finland)

Indeed, the case of *Suvivirsi*, in addition to repertoire such as *maakuntalaulut* - provincial songs from the early 20th century<sup>4</sup>, that are often included in school festivities, bring forth additional questions raised as a consequence of local/global tensions. As such, there appear to be two somewhat contrasting values in the Finnish curriculum: on one hand, it is stated that the instruction in basic education has to be based on political neutrality; yet, on the other hand, the instruction is expected to support the construction of a Finnish cultural national identity, which arguably, is *always* influenced by or based upon political ideology.

As Finland contends with increasingly diverse school populations in defining, or perhaps redefining, its national cultural identity, Cambodia can be seen to draw upon to its ancient cultural heritage, the Khmer empire of the 9th to 13th centuries, clearly depicted by imagery of Angkor Wat on everything from the national flag to the local brand of beer. Cambodian music education appears no different, drawing on ancient musical and dance traditions as a means to recover valuable, but fragile heritage, as a means to instill a sense of national pride and cultural identity,

There's a real danger of a whole generation of Cambodians not knowing who they are. Knowing who we are and where we come from is very healing. It gives a sense of dignity and self-identity. (Founder, Cambodian NGO)

Particularly as artistic and educated people of Cambodia were targeted so severely during the Khmer Rouge Regime, and as music and dance is under perceived threat by the influx of foreign culture, music and dance education is seen as one way to cultivate not only distinctly Cambodian practices, but distinctly Cambodian values. One manager noted that whilst

children clearly enjoyed foreign musics and dance, care should be taken by those in control with regards to what children are exposed to. Particularly, the manager noted that some foreign, popular music styles may not be in keeping with traditional values, particularly in the dress of performers which may expose areas (such as the upper thigh) considered immodest in traditional Cambodian culture, and that this was one aspect the staff wanted to shield children from.

I think some musicians' outfits are very different to what we wear here in Cambodia. Sometimes they are wearing very short shorts... in those cases we have to be careful because maybe our children will copy them, if we are not careful. Such things are not Cambodian. (Manager, Cambodian NGO)

This mission of cultural preservation is not peculiar to NGOs nor individual organizations, but was rather recognized as a national project, music serving as “a tool of self-preservation for the Cambodian state” (Crowley-Thorogood 2010).

[The government] want to keep our customs and traditions as they are, they want to keep it the same. This is the way we can recognize what is Cambodia. If we change, maybe we cannot recognize this is Cambodia. (Manager, Cambodian NGO)

As part of this mission to preserve cultural traditions, the “authenticity” and historical accuracy of music and dance education appears to be of primary concern. One example of this may be seen in the pinpeat tradition, a musical orchestra originally accompanying Cambodian religious ceremonies, funerals and shadow puppetry. Its historical meaning and value extend beyond mere performance, perhaps making it one of the more regulated and conservative of cultural revivals, as one teacher noted it was incorrect and inappropriate to use pinpeat instruments for entertainment music.

From comments from the Ministry of Culture, I understand that at this moment they are very strict on pinpeat groups. This seems to be because some of the pinpeat groups have used the instruments from pinpeat for the wedding music—it is different, it is not the right way. The Ministry will take care of this... Pinpeat it is also a kind of instrumental group that they use in worship and offerings, so it is a very traditional one related to religion. (Pinpeat teacher, Cambodian NGO)

This may be, in part, a response to music's role in cultural tourism, in protecting the original contexts and purpose of traditional performance, and by implication, education. This may be one avenue through which government agencies can separate “authentic” cultural traditions from those involved in the tourism industry. Educational policy is inextricably linked to cultural policy in ways that the government agencies “support, or fail to support, artistic output, and output that is considered part of a place's ‘cultural capital,’ referring to a place

being perceived as exhibiting positive cultural connotations, and hence being attractive to prospective cultural tourists” (Butcher 2005). As a result, tourism adds “a capitalist element to a previously religious, social and political activity” (Barker, Putra and Wiranatha 2005, 218). This is not inherently damaging, but recent research suggests conceptions of authenticity and cultural valuations based on potential market values be approached with due caution. An interesting distinction made between “our music for us” and “our music for them” that deserves further attention than can be given here (see Smith and Robinson, 2005 for further discussion on cultural tourism).

Staff at Cambodian NGOs expressed an awareness of the need to adapt and respond to an increasingly global Cambodia, in addition to securing fragile cultural identities. However, the arrival of more and more foreign cultural influences also raised fears among music and dance educators that younger generations would be uneducated in cultural traditions due to social and economic constraints, and perhaps as a result of their increasing participation with foreign media and cultures. Teachers feared that younger generations may lose their own national heritage.

I feel afraid that in the future maybe the country is developed, and the younger generations do not recognize [the Cambodian music]. (Music teacher, Cambodian NGO)

Indeed the founder of one Cambodian NGO noted that in some villages, the musical and dance activities and knowledge had already disappeared, and emphasized the educational role of performances.

Sometimes we give concerts in very isolated villages where nobody’s ever heard this [music]! (Founder, Cambodian NGO)

The importance of securing cultural heritage before engaging with the “Other” was also identified by music teachers working in Cambodian NGOs, understanding that on leaving the organization, children were likely to travel and participate in a global society.

It is important for all of the children, they have to know and understand about their culture, especially when they go abroad. So when foreigners ask them about their culture, if they don’t know about their own culture it is a shame. (Music teacher, Cambodian NGO).

It is interesting that despite the fragility and vulnerability of many Cambodian arts, only two of the many artistic disciplines, the National Ballet and the Sbek Thom (Khmer Shadow Theatre), have been featured on UNESCOs<sup>5</sup> representative list of the Intangible Cultural



Heritage of Humanity, a list that largely determines which cultural art forms receive funding and which do not. That two of the more mainstream traditions have been featured on these lists is noteworthy, particularly as ethnic minorities (which are not addressed by these cultural disciplines) were disproportionately targeted during the recent decades of violence, which would imply that the music and dance pertaining to these cultures is in an even more fragile state. This raises questions regarding the potential marginalization, or further marginalization of the many other cultural practices that continue to struggle for security in nations seeking to strengthen a national identity. Whose traditions are to receive advocacy and aid when all traditions are in need? Whose traditions are cherished by whom?

There is an apparent tension between establishing knowledge of Cambodian (Khmer) culture, and engaging with the many “Others,” in an increasingly global Cambodia. Ayres (2000) noted that “a struggle between traditional Cambodian culture and the drive to modernize has lain at the center of the country’s prolonged instability over the past several decades” (14). There are significant questions regarding how educators are to help young people develop “an understanding and appreciation of other people and other cultures, civilizations and histories” (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport 2004, 5) whilst simultaneously trying to help them develop an understanding and appreciation of their own peoples, and their own cultures, civilizations and histories.

### **Towards a Cosmopolitan Music Education**

As national curricula and educators strive to educate both students of a nation and students of the world, tensions between the global and the local may be seen to pervade both macro and micro levels of music education policy and practice (Ruud 1997). Within the contexts of globalized Finland and Cambodia, patriotic sentiments reflect changing notions of national identity, requiring music educators to “think locally and act globally” and also to “think globally and act locally”.

As seen through both the macro level of policy formation, and micro levels of the Finnish teachers’ expressions of patriotism through the use of particular repertoire, and the Cambodian concerns for promoting distinctly “Cambodian” values through songs and dances, there is a tension between enculturating students into a unified national identity, and recognizing the diversity inherent in globalized student populations. It may be seen that

curricula “strive to maintain repertoires which express national characteristics in one way or another, and which serve to stress the importance of national heritage to the rising generation” (Folkestad 2002, 158). However in practice this appears problematic, as teachers recognize ideological conflicts between narrow conceptions of patriotism and the diverse realities of their classroom populations: “we are swimming in deep waters” (Music teacher, Eastern Finland). As suggested by O’Flynn (2007) “far from being a redundant category” (19) under the influences of global contexts, “the idea of national identity continues to be of importance in musical discourses and practices” (36), particularly in educational settings.

Many have written of the importance of valuing and looking towards one’s own culture before engaging with the “Other.” Cowen (2002) has noted an apparent “paradox of diversity,” in that “the world as a whole may be more diverse if some societies refuse to accept diversity as a value. Those cultures will continue to generate highly unique creations, given their status as cultural outliers” (146). On the other hand, accepting plurality and diversity inevitably produces “cultural blending” (146) that may result in a loss of the unique, in favor of a blended, global uniformity. This may be the case for those Finnish educators wanting to maintain repertoire that has long been included in school activities and associated with a traditional, albeit narrow definition of Finnishness. In the Cambodian context, when the preservation of fragile traditions is a matter of such urgency, perhaps there are additional justifications for a focus on building, or rebuilding, a “national” music. As both nations are increasingly engaged with foreign medias, musics, arts and the globalizing of social life, perhaps maintaining uniqueness relies upon, at least in part, a denial of the many Others. In music education, this may entail a focus on the local and unique in ensuring that students are well versed in their own traditions. Know thyself. “In short, musical breadth is not necessarily a virtue” (Elliott 1996, 12).

Such views have been put forward by music education philosopher David Elliott (1995; 1996), whose writings have been highly influential in music education. According to Elliott (1996), the starting point for music education practices should be in the acknowledgement of, and focus on students’ “‘local’ musical culture,” and in that way, music education should strengthen their “sense of musical belonging” (12). In relation to this, Elliott makes reference to Sparshott (1987), in that “people for whom the music of their own culture is all the music there is can live into that music as people of broader culture cannot; their

musical world is a cultural entity that belongs to them and to which they belong” (86). Both cases of this study illustrate that protecting and passing on traditions has been understood to be directly related to the cultivation of a national identity.

Conversely if we are to “think globally,” we may approach issues of culture with an acceptance of diversity and plurality. One example of this is Schippers’ (2010, 31) continuum of approaches to cultural diversity, between monoculturality and transculturality,



FIGURE 2.2. Approaches to cultural diversity

For Schippers, monoculturality refers to the marginalization of cultures outside the dominant culture. Multicultural music education is rather viewing “different peoples and musics” as existing in parallel, with different peoples learning the music that is taught to pertain to them, regardless of “the rapidly changing and blending cultural reality of musical tastes in our societies” (30). Interculturality refers to “loose contacts and exchange between cultures,” and finally, the transcultural refers to an “in-depth exchange of approaches and ideas. It suggests programs in which many different musics and musical approaches are featured on an equal footing, not in the margins but throughout general introductory courses, history, theory, methodology, and discussions on the role of music for the community, beauty, or ceremony” (31). Indeed this very research illustrates many moments of positioning on this curriculum, with the first author of this text being Australian-born, raised in Hong Kong and currently living in Finland; and having visited Cambodia a total of four times participating in cultural exchange projects (and intending to return). The second author of this text is Finnish, living in the United Kingdom/Australia. These global and decidedly un-extraordinary lifestyles culminate in complex “insider”/“outsider” perspectives and altogether confused national identities. This view of cultural diversity within music education (and indeed research) suggests an almost unavoidable global plurality, to the extent that it may provide “possibilities for new perspectives, and, through the tension created by difference, forces people to become engaged into processes of perspective shifts and many-sided reflection” (Räsänen 2010, 13).

It may be seen that neither Finland nor Cambodia can afford to “think” either wholly locally nor globally in constructing music education policies and practices. “Music carries

some capacity to separate and bring together, and in doing so, its power charges us as *civic* educators, not simply music educators... there might be such a thing as *musical* citizenship... a music education that is public-spirited, where learning is experimental, mutual, historically engaged, socially responsible, and forward-looking” (Allsup 2010, 10). In fostering a musical citizenry, we suggest that music education in both Finland and Cambodia may benefit from a move towards a “cultural cosmopolitanism”. Cultural cosmopolitanism may be understood as a framework within which, cultural complexity is not dismissed as problematic, but rather it is welcomed and embraced (Giddens 1999/2003, Partti 2012). This cosmopolitanism is not synonymous with transnationalism, but rather a “transformation in self-understanding as a result of the engagement with others over issues of global significance. It is concerned with identifying processes of self-transformation arising out of the encounter with others in the context of global concerns” (Delanty and He 2008, 324). In addition, viewing this cosmopolitanism as “rooted,” requires “a view of globality as seen through the lens of the local” (324). This is “an emotionally charged issue for several reasons, but most of all because it shapes our sense of cultural self” (Cowen 2002, 2), and has significant implications for music education policy and practice, and also for music teacher education. Can we afford to concentrate solely on musical contents and pedagogical models that train teachers “to know ‘what works’ without asking *why*”? (Hebert 2012, 2) Are we actively challenging future and current music educators to question traditional models, ideals and practices - however “natural,” “right” and familiar they might seem? How are we preparing music teachers to navigate between macro and micro level music education policy, to critically reflect on relationships between “systems of power and communication” (15) and music education content, methods and practice?

In this light, both the local and the global are not only profoundly relevant, but inextricably intertwined—“We know the meaning of our world through our individual lens or location. But that meaning must be constructed with others, others who see what we see differently” (Allsup 2010, 20). It is in this sense that we can understand Nussbaum’s (1994) suggestion according to which cosmopolitanism is, indeed, an important way to learn more about ourselves: “By looking at ourselves in the lens of the other, we come to see what in our practices is local and nonessential, what is more broadly or deeply shared” (11). This is not necessarily “a... reversal in the relation of cosmopolitanism to nationalism,” but rather a case

of mutual dependency, where each is reinforced, defined and constructed by the other, “[i]n any case it is a question of attachment not of disattachment” (Delanty 2000, 63). In both a local and global world, music education may support not only citizens of a nation, but citizens of the world, with a shared future that can only be faced with a deep understanding of our interconnectedness and moral obligation to our “own”, and each other.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> In the 17th century Swedish was the dominant language of the nobility, administration, religion and education. This use of the Swedish language in Finland is not to be confused with Swedish speaking Finns, a Swedish speaking minority in Finland.

<sup>2</sup> Finland has two official national languages, Finnish and Swedish. The two national churches are Evangelical Lutheran and Finnish Orthodox.

<sup>3</sup> Khmer people make up the ethnic majority of Cambodia, and represent approximately 90% of population. 95% of the population speak the Khmer language.  
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cb.html> (accessed 11.09.2012)

<sup>4</sup> maakuntalaulut in Finland often include explicitly political and/or religious references.

<sup>5</sup> However, these disciplines only appeared 2008, and have not since, and none of Cambodia's artforms have ever appeared on Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage lists of artforms in need of urgent safeguarding.

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