
The cultural dimension of music in the written curriculum: nationalism and ethnocentrism in primary education

La dimensión cultural de la música en el currículum escrito: nacionalismo y etnocentrismo en educación primaria

书面教学大纲中音乐教育的文化维度: 小学教育中的民族主义和民族中心主义

Культурное измерение музыки в письменной учебной программе: национализм и этноцентризм в начальном образовании

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Abstract

With the current globalisation, in which our movements and permanent interconnection blur the traditional concept of national culture, multicultural education policies are needed to offer students the possibility of critically thinking about the cultural diversity in which they are immersed. The official curriculum is one of the spaces in which this transition can be approached, particularly with regard to music education, which is frequently used to transmit nationalist ideologies and legitimize the dominant political order. The goal of this research was to study the cultural treatment given to music in the Spanish primary musical education curriculum. For this the curricular changes that took place in the context of the Valencian Community in the light of the three educational reforms that have taken place during the last 30 years were subjected to a mixed content analysis. The results indicate that the culturalist approach to music plays a secondary role, the formalist approach being given the leading role. Furthermore, when it is used it comes with a nationalistic and ethnocentric orientation, emphasizing the genuineness of the local identity, constructed around an *us*, and reducing non-Western music to the category of *other* music. In this context we here propose an approach that recognizes the students' cultural diversity while expanding their knowledge from a critical point of view and giving equal treatment to the different musical manifestations present in the world.

Key words: curriculum; educational policy; music education; primary education; music.

Resumen

En el actual mundo global, donde los movimientos humanos y la permanente interconexión desdibujan el concepto tradicional de cultura vinculado a la nación, se hace necesario el desarrollo de políticas educativas multiculturales que ofrezcan la posibilidad de pensar críticamente la diversidad cultural. El currículum oficial constituye uno de los espacios desde donde abordar dicha transición, especialmente en lo relativo a la educación musical, la cual es frecuentemente utilizada para transmitir ideologías nacionalistas y de legitimación del orden político dominante. El objetivo del presente trabajo es el estudio del tratamiento cultural que recibe la música en el currículum de educación musical primaria en España. Para ello, se han analizado, mediante una metodología de análisis de contenido mixto, los desarrollos curriculares implementados en el contexto de la Comunidad Valenciana, como concreción de las tres reformas educativas que han tenido lugar durante los últimos 30 años. Los resultados indican que el enfoque culturalista de la música ocupa un plano secundario, siendo el formalista el predominante. Además, cuando es utilizado se emplea una orientación nacionalista y etnocéntrica de la música, enfatizando la genuinidad de la identidad local, articulada en torno a un *nosotros*, y reduciendo a las músicas no occidentales a la categoría de *otras músicas*. Frente a esto, se propone un enfoque que reconozca la diversidad cultural de las realidades próximas de los estudiantes a la vez que amplíe sus conocimientos desde un punto de vista crítico que trate de forma igualitaria a las diferentes manifestaciones musicales presentes en el mundo.

Palabras clave: currículum; política educativa; educación musical; educación primaria; música.

概要

在当今世界中, 人口流动以及人与人之间的相互联系让和国家相关的传统文化概念变得模糊。为了可以从批判角度考虑文化多样性, 有必要制定多元文化的教育政策。官方教学大纲构成了实现这种转变的空间之一。尤其是音乐教育, 经常被用来传播民族主义意识形

态和对主流政治秩序的认可。本文旨在研究西班牙小学音乐课程教学大纲中音乐部分受到的文化待遇。为此，我们使用混合内容分析方法分析了瓦伦西亚大区制定的教学大纲发展情况，总结过去30年中实行了的三次教育改革。结果表明，音乐教育中对文化主义的关注居于次位，形式主义占主导地位。此外，音乐教育中文化主义的表现为采用以民族主义和民族中心主义的音乐为导向，强调与我们周遭相关的而当地身份，减少非西方音乐，并将其归为其他音乐的范畴。面对这样的情况，我们建议让学生认识到与其周遭生活密切相关的文化多样性，同时学会从批判的角度以平等的方式认识世界上其他不同的音乐表现形式。

关键词: 教学大纲; 教育政策; 音乐教育; 小学教育; 音乐。

Аннотация

В современном глобальном мире, где человеческие движения и постоянная взаимосвязь размывают традиционную концепцию культуры, связанную с государством, необходимо разработать поликультурную образовательную политику, которая давала бы возможность критического осмысления культурного разнообразия. Официальная учебная программа является одним из пространств, из которых можно подойти к этому переходу, особенно в отношении музыкального образования, которое часто используется для передачи националистических идеологий и легитимизации доминирующего политического порядка. Цель настоящего документа - изучение культурного отношения к музыке в учебной программе начального музыкального образования в Испании. С этой целью мы проанализировали, с помощью методологии смешанного контент-анализа, разработки учебных программ, осуществленные в контексте Валенсийского сообщества, как конкретию трех реформ в области образования, которые произошли за последние 30 лет. Результаты показывают, что культурный подход к музыке занимает второстепенную плоскость, причем преобладающим является формальный. Более того, при ее использовании используется националистическая и этноцентрическая направленность музыки, подчеркивающая подлинность местной идентичности, артикулируемой вокруг "нас", и сводя западную музыку к категории другой музыки. На этом фоне мы предлагаем подход, который признает культурное разнообразие реалий, близких студентам, и в то же время расширяет их знания с критической точки зрения, которая одинаково относится к различным музыкальным проявлениям, присутствующим в мире.

Ключевые слова: учебная программа, образовательная политика, музыкальное образование, начальное образование, музыка.

Introduction

The current tendency to international mobility and the ever-increasing cultural diversity defy the structural logic of educational systems designed to construct citizens linked to the nation-state (Castles, 2009) and suggests the need to direct education towards the cosmopolitan global community (Santos, 2013). This transition involves Multicultural Education (ME)¹, which arises as a method of updating national systems char-

1 A series of devolutionary reforms were undertaken after the Spanish Constitution of 1978 that divided the country into Autonomous Communities that recognised cultural, linguistic and territorial differences, and created a political and legal framework sensitive to this diversity (Romeo, 2012). Specific competences were transferred to each Community such as Education. The Valencia Community was one of these territories. It is characterised by the use of the Valencian

acterized by assimilating differences and incorporating an equitable, democratic and just focus that reflects social diversity (Banks, 2009). It also opposes both neo-liberal proposals, which direct education exclusively towards employment in a market-society, and neo-conservative proposals, which tend to glorify the past and traditional values associated with “us” against a morally inferior “them” (Joshee, 2009). The multi-cultural approach has passed through different phases and internal changes and must now avoid essentialist and objectifying postures of the concept of culture and introduce an analysis of the discursive construction of the cultural identity, the role of power in it, and its dynamism and fluidity in a globalized world (May, 2009).

The official curriculum is among the educational spaces in which this power is shown and constitutes a selective tradition of a cultural canon that perpetuates the dominant culture (Apple, 1986). For this reason, ME tries to reform the curriculum so that it represents the characteristics and needs of different communities (Roberts & Campbell, 2015) with the double aim of recognising the diversity in education and that students should understand and respect the plural world they live in (Volk, 1998). An example of these changes can be given in the case of Spain; in 2004 a basic competence was introduced called *cultural and artistic competence*. This prescribed the critical understanding and evaluation of the different cultural manifestations and had to be approached from all areas of knowledge. At the present time, after the reform of 2014, this was given the name of *competence in cultural awareness and expressions* and lays down equivalent objectives and contents.

The music curriculum is often used by different governments to transmit nationalist and patriotic ideologies to legitimize the dominant political order (Marín-Liébana, Blasco, & Botella, 2021). For this they prescribe both folk songs from a common past, and national anthems and other compositions that extol the motherland (Cox & Stevens, 2017). This treatment of the syllabus is aligned with the folklore movement that arose at the end of the 18th century and among other objectives aimed to contribute to creating the new national states (Gelbart, 2007). In this context, music was particularly useful for representing the nation due to its capacity to evoke both an intangible and abstract national image and an essentialism that is usually manifested by natural landscapes, characteristic collective features and a common history and language (Bohlman, 2011). The Romantic Movement thus accepted folk music as representing the national essence (Herder & Bohlman, 2017; Samson, 2008) and considered folk songs to be “the product of spontaneous and collective creation by the people and the reflection of the national soul” (Cámara, 2004, p. 39).

Zoltán Kodály's proposals, which defended the need to take the students' musical mother tongue as the starting point, are a perfect example of this type of approach, assuming that the music is made up of folk songs children learned within the family or social milieu before going to school (Houlahan & Tacka, 2015; Járdányi, 1981; Pascual, 2002). He also postulated that folk music contributed to forming the national music culture, which has the same aesthetic value as classical music and runs the risk of being replaced by popular music (Járdányi, 1981). However, as Gómez (2005) has pointed out, some of the song books compiled on these principles are still part of present-day teaching materials and perpetuate an arcadian ruralism full of national clichés. In addition, the use of the folklore-nationalist perspective in educational environments

language (part of the Catalanian system) and its own styles of traditional music such as *cant d'estil* or *les albaes* and other types of folk and ceremonial music (Peñalver & Mora, 2020).

could give rise to a false sense of internal homogenization and cohesion while tending to make ethnic minorities invisible (Hebert & Kertz-Welzel, 2012).

In the 19th century the interest in the oral tradition of national music extended to that of other countries and regions and in 1880 gave rise to the birth of comparative musicology (Cámara, 2004; Mugglestone, 1991). In line with the European desire to become the leader in the development of human civilization, this new approach took western music as the model of reference and studied the others, under the heading of "other" music in a de-contextualised, ahistoric and reductionist setting (Cámara, 2004; Nettl, 2015; Pettan, 2015). Some authors found that the official curriculum of primary musical education had been given the same treatment (González, 2018; Hess, 2015) and argued that although educational policies tend to express the need to use a multicultural approach, they still give priority to the western academic tradition, which they consider superior, and homogenize all non-western musical manifestations under the label of "other" music, which could involve a racial bias and an ethnocentric and imperialist logic.

In contrast to the nationalist approaches, the Multicultural Music Education (MME) proposed that the different musical cultures in the classroom should be recognized and included and that global diversity should be studied, with an emphasis on the relationship between music and its social function (Volk, 1998). A dynamic multicultural (Elliott, 1990) and trans-cultural (Schippers, 2010) model were later added that approached this diversity critically and from an egalitarian perspective, instead of using assimilating or mono-cultural approaches. This perspective fitted in with a third way of thinking, *ethnomusicology*, which in mid 20th century considered that music could not be regarded as objective or socially autonomous, but rather in relation to the cultural context in which it takes place (Blacking, 2006; Hood, 1969; Kunst, 1955; Merriam, 1960). After this conceptual change, it was no longer reasonable to talk of a universal, linear or progressive history that reached its zenith in European classical music and considered the rest as either previous stages in its evolution, as in the case of folk music, or as degenerate forms in the case of popular music (Martí, 2000).

Taking these three culturalistic approaches to the musical phenomenon as the starting point (i.e. the nationalist folklore, the ethnocentrism of comparative musicology and ethno-musicological relativism) the aim of this work was to determine the cultural treatment given to music in the present primary education curriculum and its evolution in recent decades. For this, the development of the curriculum in the Valencia Community² was studied in the light of the three educational reforms applied in the last 30 years in Spain.

Method

We used mixed content analysis to achieve our aim, with a combination of quantitative description and a qualitative interpretation. This is an empirical and systematic

2 A series of devolutionary reforms were undertaken after the Spanish Constitution of 1978 that divided the country into Autonomous Communities that recognised cultural, linguistic and territorial differences, and created a political and legal framework sensitive to this diversity (Romeo, 2012). Specific competences were transferred to each Community such as Education. The Valencia Community was one of these territories. It is characterised by the use of the Valencian language (part of the Catalanian system) and its own styles of traditional music such as *cant d'estil* or *les albaes* and other types of folk and ceremonial music (Peñalver & Mora, 2020).

method of studying one or a number of texts that draws conclusions on their contexts of use.

Sample

The sampling units were the three decrees emitted by the *Consell* of Valencia in the present democratic period that defined the primary education curriculum in this Autonomous Community. These decrees followed the Organic Laws approved by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport (Table 1). Each decree was assigned a code for the analysis in relation to the year in which it was published in the *Diari Oficial de la Comunitat Valenciana*.

Table 1
Sampling Units

Code	Decree	Law
D1992	Valencia Government Decree 20/1992, of 17 February, establishing the Primary Education Curriculum in the Valencia Community	Organic Law 1/1990, 3 October, General legislation of the Educational System
D2007	<i>Consell</i> Decree 111/2007, 20 July, establishing the Primary Education Curriculum in the Valencia Community	Organic Law 2/2006, 3 May, on Education
D2014	<i>Consell</i> Decree 108/2014, 4 July, establishing the Curriculum and Development of the General Legislation on Primary Education in the Valencia Community	Organic Law 8/2013, 9 December, for the improvement of Quality in Education

Measuring instrument

An analysis category system was used that was built on the concepts included in the theoretical framework and formulation types in relation to the repertory of the sampling units, i.e. a categorization that combined theoretical principles with the elements found in the empirical observation. Three categories were established to identify the determination level of the cultural references to the repertory (CRR) to distinguish between indeterminate (ICD), semi-determinate (SCD) and determinate (DCD), each with its own series of sub-categories (Table 2). The first included generic denominations of cultural diversity, the second references to "us" in contrast to "others", and to the general heritage, while the third included sub-categories that identified a specific context such as *Valencian, Spanish, Mediterranean, Western, or Global*.

Table 2

Analysis categories and sub-categories

Category	Sub-category	Examples
Indeterminate Cultural Dimension (ICD)	Cultural diversity	Distinct cultures, different cultures.
Semi-determinate Cultural Dimension (SCD)	Us, others and heritage.	Our context, our culture, other music/ cultures, our own cultural heritage, other communities and nations.
Determinate Cultural Dimension (DCD)	Valencian, Spanish, Mediterranean, Western and Global.	From the <i>Comunidad Valenciana</i> , Spain, Mediterranean, International.

Procedure

The procedure followed was the one proposed by Krippendorff (2013), which consists of six phases: unitising, sampling, codification, representation, inference and narration. The initial sampling and register units were established, the former being the three decrees mentioned above and the latter their curricular elements (CE). After an initial superficial analysis a coding system was designed that included emerging categories and concepts extracted from the scientific literature and the register units were then codified. The analysis categories and sub-categories were then analysed and included in graphs according to their frequency of appearance in the different sampling units. The final results were complemented by a qualitative analysis, a set of possible inferences was established on teaching practices and the study was transformed into a narrative format for diffusion.

Data analysis

The mixed content analysis involved a quantitative analysis using as register units the CE, consisting of contents (CO) and evaluation criteria (EC). These units were codified according to the categories defined on an Excel spreadsheet for analysis by a statistical description of the frequency count, using bar graphs. Both the evolution of the three decrees and the internal progression of the present decree were studied. The qualitative study was carried out by an interpretative analysis of the textual elements that accompanied the CO and EC, such as introductions, objectives, or dispositions of content blocks. This enabled a hermeneutical analytic dimension to be added to the previous dimension to act as a semantic framework to give sense to some of the expressions found in the CE.

Results

CRR representativeness

The proportion of CRR to total references to the repertory was on average 17.56% in the three decrees. These were especially present in D2007 (Figure 1) and in D2014 rose by more than double between one cycle and the other (Figure 2).

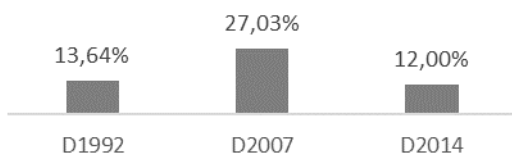


Figure 1. Proportion of CRR in the three decrees

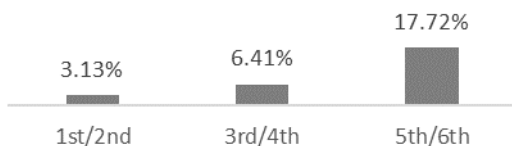


Figure 2. Proportion of CRR throughout D2014

A common feature of the three decrees was that they relegated references to music to second place in the curriculum, as seen in the fact that they generally occupy last place in the general objectives, evaluation criteria (EC), contents (CO) and blocks. For example in D1992 there is a reference to music in the last content of the *attitudes to music* block, also in the last content of those related to musical heritage and a cultural dimension of music. This reality was least apparent in D2007, in which objectives and CO were in intermediate or in some cases initial positions. However, CE were also present in final positions in each cycle. This question was again emphasized in D2014, in which the references in the listening block are in secondary positions and priority was given to music theory and analysis, and did not appear as a CO until the fourth year. On the other hand, the movement block, which gave most importance to DCD, was in last place and was given a relatively small space.

CRR determination level

The distribution of the three analysed categories was as follows: the CRR with a DCD were the most frequent ones (44.72%), followed by those that present a SCD (38.33%) and a ICD (16.94%). However, each decree had a specific distribution; CRR with DCD were only in the majority in D2007 (Figure 3). In D2014, CRR with ICD and DCD increased in the older classes while those with SCD tend to fall (Figure 4).

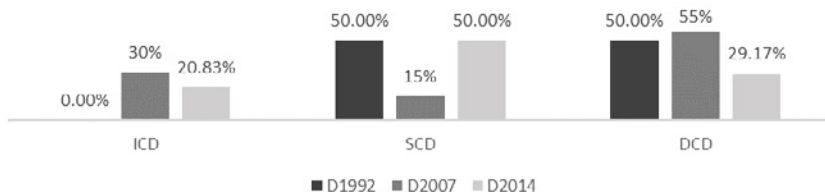


Figure 3. Distribution of the analysed categories in the three decrees

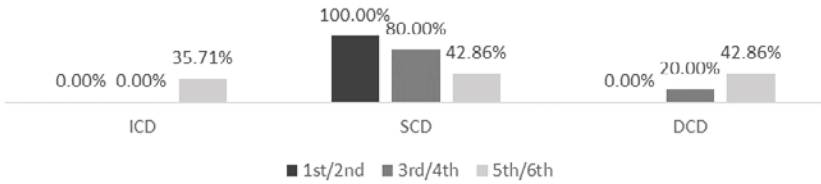


Figura 4. Distribution of the analysed categories throughout D2014

Distribution of CRR with SCD and DCD

Figure 5 shows the distribution of the sub-categories in the CRR with DCD: Valencian music is given preference in D1992 and D2007, while it falls drastically and is overtaken by Spanish music in D2014, in which references appear to Western and global music. D1992 gives importance to Western music and D2007 is the only one that mentions the Mediterranean context. In D2014, the CRR with DCD appear in the second cycle with Valencian music, while the third is more diversified and Spanish music predominates (Figure 6).

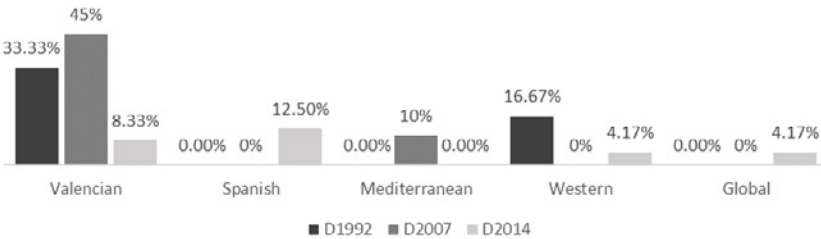


Figure 5. Distribution of DCD sub-categories in the three decrees

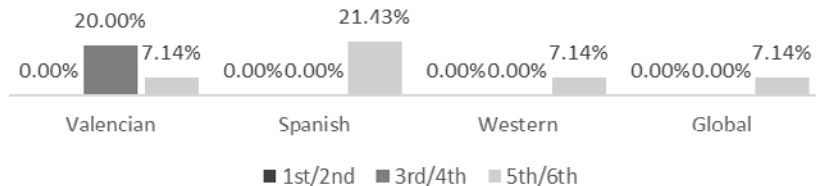


Figure 6. Distribution of DCD sub-categories throughout D2014

Furthermore, RCR with DCS were distributed throughout all three decrees as shown in Figure 7. References to *us* increase with time, especially in D2014, while those that refer to *others* decline. The opposite seems to happen in D2014; the *us* concept declines during this stage, while *heritage* does not appear until the second cycle and the idea of *others* until the third (Figure 8).

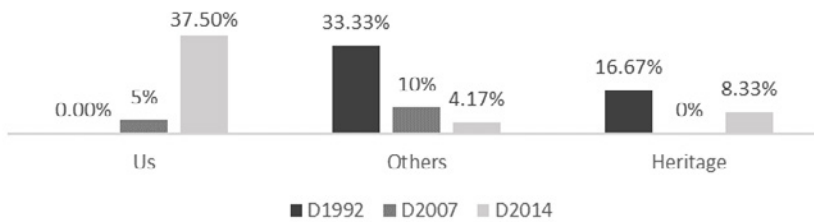


Figure 7. Distribution of SCD sub-categories in the three decrees



Figura 8. Distribution of SCD sub-categories throughout D2014

This data can be complemented by a qualitative analysis of the documents. For example, in D2014 the RCR relative to cultural diversity uses imprecise language with undefined terms such as *our environment*, *our culture*, *different cultures*, *common musical heritage*, or *other music and cultures*. These terms were disambiguated by the way the document sequences and differentiates the curricular elements and the language used in the introduction to art education.

It was then considered that *our environment* and *our culture* referred to the Valencian context due to both the association mentioned in the introduction and the fact that Spanish Music is explicitly mentioned in the sixth year as a differential element in the listening block, while in the movement one there is a progression from traditional Valencian music to global after passing through Spanish. Secondly, it was considered that the expression *different cultures* represented international musical diversity, while *other music and cultures* included non-Western music as opposed to Western music. Thirdly, to interpret the concept *common musical heritage* we used the sense it was given in the introduction, i.e. music from the Valencia Community. This could explain the decrease of the CRR with SCD that explicitly refer to music, as this formulation was replaced by the idea of *us* with a considerable increase over the other decrees.

Taking this interpretation as the starting point, a clear progression can be seen in the listening block from the most local to the most international (Table 3), in which Valencian music is given much more weight and is the only one prescribed for the first four years. The skills the pupils are expected to acquire for the different repertoires are also different. For example, while Valencian, Spanish and Western music are related to actions such as identifying, recognizing, appreciating, enjoying, commenting or evaluating, the references to other music and cultures are associated with the expression of opinions and respect as well as evaluating their contribution to the common heritage, which, as has been pointed out, is interpreted as Valencian music in this analysis.

Table 3

Sequencing of CO and EC in the listening block in D2014.

Year	Listening block
1st	Identify musical pieces from our environment [...] (EC)
2nd	Identify simple and varied pieces from our culture [...] (EC)
3rd	Recognise varied examples of works of different genres and styles in our culture [...] (EC)
4th	Recognise and appreciate varied examples of works in different styles by different composers in our culture, [...] (EC)
5th	Open-minded interest in listening and commentaries of musical works of different styles and cultures (CO) Enjoyment and evaluation of the importance of attention to and diffusion of the common musical heritage (CO) Recognise and value varied musical and audiovisual examples from our culture [...] showing respect for and interest in the heritage, and expressing open-minded opinions on different cultures (EC)
6th	Listen to and recognise a selection of pieces of Spanish music (CO) Listen to and comment on musical works of different styles from different cultures [...] (CO) Recognise and value examples from all stages of Western music [...] and show interest and respect when opinions are expressed on "other types of music" and cultures, valuing their important contribution to the common heritage (EC)

In the movement block (Table 4) the criteria on cultural diversity also respond to a progressive logic from the local to the international, i.e. traditional Valencian dances in the fourth year, Spanish in the fifth and from all over the world in the sixth. Also introduced is a conception of the dance as part of the musical heritage, social interaction and promoter of trans-generational continuity. A certain regional characteristic can be perceived in that local (Valencian and Spanish) music is given priority over international diversity. This is reinforced by the evaluation criteria that link traditional Valencian dances with the cultural heritage and local dances with trans-generational continuity, evoking the idea of a national identity that transcends the passage of time.

Table 4

Sequencing of CO and EC in the movement block in D2014.

Year	Music, movement and dance block
1st	-
2nd	-
3rd	-
4th	Interpretation of traditional Valencian dances (CO) Evaluation of dance's contribution to the cultural heritage in relation to other performing arts (CO) [...] interpret traditional Valencian dances valuing their contribution to the cultural heritage (EC)

Year	Music, movement and dance block
5th	Interpretation and precise execution of traditional Spanish dances (CO) Evaluation of the dance as social interaction (CO) Interpret Spanish dances [...] valuing the importance of the dance as a form of social interaction (EC)
6th	Interpretation and precise execution of traditional dances from all over the world (CO) Investigation of local traditional dances (CO) Evaluation of the importance of the dance for trans-generational continuity (CO) Interpret dances from all over the world [...] and investigate local dances to evaluate their importance in trans-generational continuity (EC)

This central position can also be found in the other decrees analysed; D1992 states that students “should know and respect the region’s principal artistic manifestations and the principal elements in the cultural heritage and should develop their own evaluation criteria”(Decreto 20/1992, de 17 de febrero, del Gobierno Valenciano, por el que se establece el currículo de la Educación Primaria en la Comunidad Valenciana, 1992, p. 1454). It also enters in the introduction, which states the following:

“Music is above all a form of artistic expression, a cultural factor whose conscious and active comprehension requires an educational intervention. The extension and origin of music in the Valencia Community are features of its cultural identity and a heritage that Valencian schools wish to reflect” (Decreto 20/1992, de 17 de febrero, del Gobierno Valenciano, por el que se establece el currículo de la Educación Primaria en la Comunidad Valenciana, 1992, p. 1451)

Table 5
CO in D1992

Cultural dimension
Interest in knowing and evaluating the musical heritage (CO)
Traditional Valencian music and from other regions and nations (CO)
Music by Valencian composers, Western music and from other cultures (CO)

In other words, Valencian music still has a central part in the curriculum as being a distinguishing feature of the Autonomous Community. The term *others* also reappears in reference to manifestations, and in this case also nations, other than the Valencian. D2007 presents these questions in similar parts of the curriculum, firstly in the introduction, where it refers to the Valencian Community as a particular space from a musical perspective which should be reflected in schools. It also situates it in a Mediterranean context in constant interchange both in the present and the past and under threat from globalisation. It also lays down a series of objectives and competences in the following terms:

[Cultural and artistic competence] The area, on providing the appreciation of diverse cultural and artistic manifestations from both Valencia and other nations, gives pupils the instruments to evaluate them and formulate informed opinions (Decreto

111/2007, de 20 de julio, del Consell, por el que se establece el currículo de la Educación Primaria en la Comunitat Valenciana, 2007, p. 30298).

[Objective 4] Explore and know materials and instruments bearing in mind Valencian traditions as well as acquire specific codes and techniques from other artistic languages for use for expressive and communicational purposes (Decreto 111/2007, de 20 de julio, del Consell, por el que se establece el currículo de la Educación Primaria en la Comunitat Valenciana, 2007, p. 30300).

[Objective 10] Know and evaluate different artistic manifestations of the Valencian, Spanish and European cultural heritage, collaborating in the conservation and renovation of local forms of expression and appreciating the enrichment of interchange with persons from different cultures that live in the same region (Decreto 111/2007, de 20 de julio, del Consell, por el que se establece el currículo de la Educación Primaria en la Comunitat Valenciana, 2007, p. 30300).

The central role of the Valencian Community is still present and now explicitly traditional, with the use of the term *others* to refer to types other than *our* music. The conservation of local music is considered and also a renovation by means of an appreciation of these *other* cultures. These ideas were also developed in the CO and EC of D2007, as shown in Table 6, with greater emphasis on traditional Valencian music within the international context of the Mediterranean framework.

Table 6

Sequencing of CO and EC in D2007.

Cycle	Cultural dimension
1st	Individual or collective interpretation of children's or popular songs, with special attention to traditional children's or popular songs, especially those of the Valencian Community (CO) Interpretation of dances and dancing games, especially those of the Valencian Community (CO) Know and interpret traditional Valencian songs, dances and games (EC)
2nd	Visual and auditory recognition and names of some folk orchestra instruments, of popular urban music and music from other cultures (CO) Group interpretation of traditional Valencian children's songs (CO) Interpretation of traditional Valencian dances (CO) Traditional music from the Valencian Community (CO) Participate in the execution of traditional Valencian dances (EC) Know and identify Valencian musical productions by means of concerts and rehearsed performances (EC)
3rd	Introduction to the history of music. Music of Mediterranean cultures (CO) Interpretation of different styles of dances, with special attention to the Valencian Community (traditional, didactic and historic) and group choreographies (CO) Seek, select and organise information on artistic manifestations of the Valencian and other cultural heritages, events, creators and professionals related to the visual arts and music (EC) Recognise Valencian social and cultural music and that of other epochs and cultures (EC) Participate in the execution of different styles of dances with special reference to those of the Valencian Community (EC) Know and identify Mediterranean musical productions by means of concerts and previously listening tasks (EC)

Discussion

The research on the cultural treatment of music in Valencian curriculum focused on both the current Autonomous Community's decree and the evolution of the three educational curricular reforms undertaken during the present democratic period. The results reveal that the cultural references to the repertory (CRR) represent an average of 17.56% throughout the three decrees and fall to only 12% in the current one. The musical cultural dimension was also seen to receive secondary treatment in all the reforms, since the CRR habitually appear in the last places in the list of objectives, contents, evaluation criteria and structural blocks, with prime importance being given to questions related to musical theory and analysis. Following the line of duality proposed by Rodríguez (2002), this indicates a formalist predominance that regards music as an autonomous object that responds to an internal grammar (Chua, 1999; Dahlhaus, 2006; Paddison, 2001) as against another culturalist type that gives the central place to its social function and the significance attributed by different human groups to musical manifestations (Blacking, 2006; Merriam, 1960; Pettan, 2015).

This involves an initial difficulty when implementing multicultural approaches in the classroom, since the formalist music paradigm rejects their cultural nature and conceives them as a set of objective structures that can be classified in a hierarchy regardless of their context. This type of approach to the musical phenomenon, typical of 19th century musicology and traditional educational institutions, was replaced by the contributions of ethnomusicology (Blacking, 2006; Kunst, 1955; Martí, 2000; Merriam, 1960). It would thus be interesting to give more importance to the culturalist approach in the official curriculum so as to create a legislative framework that encourages and promotes the use of Multicultural Music Education (MME). It would also be advisable to include reflections on the concept of *music* itself in teacher training, so that teachers can deconstruct their inherited concepts, reconceptualise them in the light of contemporary developments and thus have a greater capacity for critical interpretation of the curriculum that regulates their educational practice.

Secondly, three levels were identified for the determination of CRR, the most frequent being the references with a determined cultural dimension (DCD), in allusion to a specific region such as Valencia, Spain, the Mediterranean, the West, or the world. Within these, the central position was given to Valencian music throughout the three decrees, with an internal progression from local to global in the present one. The importance of Valencian characteristics was reinforced by the idea of the Valencian Community in the successive reforms, conceiving it as a region with a singular musical wealth as part of its cultural identity which distinguishes it from the other Communities. To this can be added the trans-generational function attributed in D2014 to traditional Valencian dances that transmits a national essence that transcends the passage of time.

The fact that a political body such as the Valencian Community has authority over the school curriculum to give preferential, essentialist, nationalist and patrimonial treatment to traditional Valencian music is an example of the nationalist use of music (Bohlman, 2011). This is in line with the theories that since the end of the 18th century have attributed an association between a nation and folk music, which represents a popular spirit (Herder & Bohlman, 2017; Samson, 2008). Several authors have found the music curriculum being given a similar use by different governments in Asia and Europe throughout history, although with different nuances and to different degrees (Marín-Liébana, Blasco, & Botella, 2021). In addition, the use of national folk music in music education belongs to a teaching tradition based on Kodály's 20th century theses

that understood folk music to constitute the students' musical mother tongue and to be in danger of being lost as a consequence of globalisation (Houlahan & Tacka, 2015; Járdányi, 1981; Pascual, 2002). However, today the cultural products created by the globalisation process in the form of popular music make up the universe of sound in which students are immersed.

The predominant use of a cultural concept that represents the governed political territory seems to be a logical consequence of the original function of the present educational systems as constructors of the nation-states (Castles, 2009). However, its use in the classroom could give pupils a false sensation of internal homogenization and cultural essentialism besides depriving them of knowledge of other cultures (Hebert & Kertz-Welzel, 2012). Instead, MME maintains the need to deal with musical diversity in a complex, critical, dynamic and transcultural way (Elliott, 1990; May, 2009; Schippers, 2010), finding a balance between the plurality of educational contexts with their amplification towards other cultural realities that are not represented within it (Volk, 1998). In this regard it would be interesting to implement educational proposals based on the cultural diversity of the classroom and reflect on the different identities from a discursive, performative and intersectional point of view, i.e. from that of the multiple discourses, actions and systems of which it is made up and thus contribute to a less idealized cultural concept with a larger empirical and experiential base.

As regards the references to a repertory with a SCD, we found that allusions to an idea of *us* increase throughout the three reforms, especially in D2014, which is consistent with the nationalist use of music described in this paper. On the other hand, the references to otherness through the *other* were on the decline, although they did not completely disappear. This treatment was also identified by González (2018) and Hess (2015), who pointed out that this generates a hierarchy that favours Western music as being considered natural and homogenized and subordinates the rest under the same label, which implies an ethnocentric bias. It is also reinforced by the different treatment the others receive in the present decree.

This use of *other* music reminds us of the comparative musicology theses of the 19th and early 20th centuries that confronted exotic, oriental and primitive-graphic music with Euro-Western music and considered the latter to be superior (Herzog, 1946; Petan, 2015; Roberts, 1936). However, this posture has now been discarded and criticised for being Eurocentric, decontextualizing and simplistic (Cámara, 2004; Nettle, 2015) and has been replaced by an ethnomusicological one that sustains the need to judge music according to the cultural context in which it was produced (Blacking, 2006; Hood, 1969; Kunst, 1955; Merriam, 1960).

This approach coincides with the neoconservative educational postulates identified by Joshee (2009) that tend to eulogise a past and a tradition related to the concept of *us* above the cultural parameters of otherness. It also presents certain resonances with assimilationist (Banks, 2009) and monocultural postures (Schippers, 2010), especially when differentiating between *us* and *others* while considering the latter to be inferior. In response to this situation, MME sustains the need to implement impartial and socially fair educational approaches that recognise both the diversity and equality of other types of music (Banks, 2009), as well as critical reflections that reveal the power relations that intervene in the discursive construction of cultural identities (May, 2009). Some proposals in this direction include those that rethink the *us/others* relationship with the present-day cultural diversity in the classroom. For example, it would be interesting to allow migrant schoolchildren from other countries to explain their identity experiences. Sharing musical experiences with schools in other countries through the

social networks would also contribute to building bridges with different communities and human groups.

To conclude, it has been shown that the cultural dimension of music only plays a secondary role in the three decrees analysed and gives priority to a formalist approach. The treatment it receives is generally nationalistic and ethnocentric in that it gives the central role to traditional folk music as an essentialist reflection of the local culture and establishes an *us/others* duality that highlights the relationship between Western and non-Western features. However, many authors in the MME field have pointed out the need to change to a paradigm more in line with the ethnomusicological approach. Moreover, they defend a curriculum with the double aim of recognizing schoolchildren's cultural diversity and amplifying their knowledge of other musical realities to which they have no access (Abril, 2013; Campbell, 2018; Lind & McKoy, 2016; Volk, 1998; Walter, 2018; Wiens, 2015) in a dynamic, transcultural, multicultural framework that deals critically with diversity on a plane of equality (Elliott, 1990; Schippers, 2010). At this time in history when formalist and autonomous visions of music have been superseded by a culturalist approach that recognises the value of the different musical manifestations according to their context and function, it is required a type of curriculum that is based on these principles that explore music's cultural dimension and give pupils tools to critically understand the wealth of the different manifestations produced by groups from all over the world.

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