Boundary-Walkers

Contexts and Concepts of Community Music

by

Lee David Higgins

A dissertation submitted in satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D. by research.

University of Limerick

Supervisors: Professor Patricia Shehan Campbell
Dr Helen Phelan
For Dod

Your spirit is always with me

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### Abbreviations

**Texts by Derrida**

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After Chapter One outlines the thesis' proposition and the parameters in which it will proceed, Chapter Two examines the practice of Community Music from historical perspectives. Seen initially as a sub-discipline within the ferment of the community arts movement, Community Music is considered through cultural change, employment opportunities and...
Abstract

This study develops conceptual tools in which Community Music practices in the United Kingdom (UK) can be analysed and understood. From a proposition that suggests that the effectiveness of Community Music has been reduced due to the neglect of theoretical enquiry, this thesis attempts to redress the balance between Community Music practice and theory. Data collection includes interviews, questionnaires, participant observation, auto-ethnographic memory, documentation, journals and texts. Circumnavigating the fields of anthropology, community arts, cultural theory, sociology, philosophy, ethnomusicology and music education, this thesis pushes the boundaries of current notions of Community Music and presents a theoretical framework that can support claims that Community Music is a distinctive area of musical discourse. The thematic threads of identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy provide the organizational structure that helps guide the work throughout its six chapters.

After Chapter One outlines the thesis' proposition and the parameters in which it will proceed, Chapter Two examines the practice of Community Music from historical perspectives. Seen initially as a line of flight within the ferments of the community arts movement, Community Music is considered through cultural change, employment opportunities and
professionalization, providing the springboard from which to discuss its future in general and its place within tertiary education specifically. Changing gear from the practical orientation of its history, Chapter Three considers notions found within Derridean deconstruction as a philosophical space in which to layer the voices and deepen the thematic material. In order to locate a conceptualization of Community Music there is a return to the Idea of music before institutional contamination and thus prior to Community Music's marginalization from other forms of musicking. A rethinking of a primordial music considers Community Music as omnipresent within any music experience. Through the deconstructive trajectory the traits of Community Music, identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy are explored and summarized as an alternative viewing station from which to analyse and describe Community Music practice.

In Chapter Four and through an ethnographic method, the study of the Peterborough Community Samba Band brings the mechanics of Community Music practices to the foreground. Drawing from the project's twelve-year history, the descriptions provided by those who have participated furnish a thick narrative in which to test theoretical concerns. Casting the deconstructive lens over the ethnographic account, Chapter Five makes a significant gesture in the realization of Community Music theory and practice.

With respect to the initial proposition of the thesis, Chapter Six ascertains that Community Music projects provide a wealth of avenues in which people come to know themselves and the world in which they live. Logocentric attitudes towards the nature of music have diminished participatory opportunities and have reduced the potential richness of the human musical experience. Through greater consideration of the interconnectivity between practice and theory, Community Music as a
discipline can help to redress this balance. In this way, the thesis constructs a hinge by which to open discussions surrounding the efficacy of Community Music with music educators, music philosophers, performers, and makers of policy that guide, direct and make decisions as regards music and musical doing.
Introduction

Prologue

In the year 2000, I presented a paper and ran a practical workshop at a seminar organized by the Commission for Community Music Activity. As one of seven commissions that officially report to the International Society of Music Education (ISME), the Commission for Community Music Activity (CMA) attempts to reflect the developing role of Community Music in cultures worldwide, and as such attracts a diverse group of community musicians, educators, teachers, performers and scholars interested in Community Music from around the globe. Hosted by the University of Toronto, the seventh CMA seminar included a wide variety of presentations reflecting the commission's broad outline and breadth of engagement, as documented in past papers (Drummond, 1991; Leglar, 1996; Here Comes the 21st Century, 1996; Many Musics – One Circle, 1998). During the initial plenary session and introductory papers, I had felt disappointment that the discussions had embarked on an unwieldy and unfocused dialogue surrounding the question, 'What is Community Music?' Although all seminars of this type need to determine the terrain in which they speak, I had assumed that the self-selecting audience in...
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Toronto would have had an established framework for dialogue. This did not appear to be the case; a quest for a definition of Community Music was of paramount concern for many of the attending delegates.

At a national level, I had also experienced the overwhelming desire for delegates to define Community Music, although recently the activities of Sound Sense, the national development agency for participatory music-making, had managed to push the debate towards what Community Music does rather than what Community Music is. From my perspective, discourse surrounding the definition of Community Music had begun to frustrate and disrupt the progress of Community Music practice and theory. The question of definition had grounded Community Music into a discursive cul-de-sac and limited the ability for meaningful progress towards other insightful observations in both practice and theory. In short, questions of definitions sought essences and origins, and as such had the ability to close down the field of enquiry before it had even begun.

While I was in Toronto, a colleague and friend, Dr Sallyann Goodall, a keen advocate of Community Music in South Africa, recognized that I was experiencing philosophical struggles. During a frank and open discussion with Dr Goodall, I examined the issues that were causing the most personal concern. I concluded that there were three main issues. Firstly, the UK had a developed sense of what it means when one talks of, and practises, Community Music. I was a UK citizen and as such had inherited a historical perspective that reinforced particular securities. Secondly, those from the UK attending the seminar had engendered a tradition that allowed a particular confidence when talking about their work and the work of others. Although in situations such as the CMA seminar the confidence of the UK delegates was often a positive force, it also manifested itself in an arrogance that limited the experience of Community Music within wider contexts. In this way, my self-conscious accusations against other presentations were expressed in the phrase,
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‘What has this got to do with Community Music?’, when it should have been reorganized into, ‘What has this got to do with the Community Music I understand?’ Thirdly, a theoretical framework in which to understand Community Music may aid the development of its practice. In other words, other disciplines of music, such as music education, ethnomusicology and music therapy, have established a number of theoretical positions from which to articulate their respective practices: How might Community Music benefit from theory and what theoretical traditions would be appropriate?

During the week to follow, I reflected upon these three main issues, and with encouragement from Dr Goodall decided that I was well positioned to take on the challenge of considering theory and practice in Community Music. I had come to Community Music in 1990 through my work as a musician within a theatre that had a significant commitment to the local area. This commitment was beyond the sense of audience development and was deeply rooted within notions of arts as a mechanism for change (see note 11). Now, as a practising community musician and as a lecturer within a higher education institute, I straddled the seemingly great divide between theoretical and practical Community Music epistemologies. It is here that the kernel of this thesis began, an attempt to provide a kind of ‘get out of jail’ card for Community Music seminars, a springboard that would allow discursive dialogue a chance to escape the perils of the question that asks, ‘What is Community Music?’

Purpose

During the time-lapse between the Toronto seminar and registering as a doctoral student at the University of Limerick, I had refined my personal and professional concerns. The proposed study and the series of research questions were reflective of the Canadian encounter. Although the hypotheses have developed considerably since Toronto, they carry the
‘ghosts’ of those ideas and therefore flow directly from the practical interests of those who practice Community Music. Central to this study’s quest has been a proposition that suggests that Community Music has always been present as an agent of human musical expression. Within aspects of education, performance and music business, Community Music is marginalized by logocentric attitudes pertaining to music and music-making. These have included the emphasis of performance and virtuosity over teaching within university departments, the focus of school music towards the autonomous nature of the musical work, and the prominence of competitive ‘talent’ shows epitomized on TV with programmes such as Pop Idol and Fame Academy. Examples such as these demonstrate a particular perspective of music that is dominant and have reduced Community Music’s effectiveness within the gamut of musical understanding. In other words the importance of context, community, participation, and pedagogy have been delimited while performance, virtuosity, and consumerism have been emphasised.

In order to redress the balance between Community Music and other expressions of music, Community Music needs to develop a theoretical framework in which to consider its practice. Without this framework, I would suggest that Community Music will be disengaged, an isolated spirit dancing on the outskirts of musical practices that refuse to embrace its activities. As a peripheral activity in the catacombs of cultural realpolitik, community musicians will continue to be denied both social and cultural credence. A situation that continues this trajectory may result in Community Music’s vital and dynamic force being ignored and overlooked – the consequence of exclusion thus reducing the general human experience of music and more specifically constricting the engagement of practical music-making.

The title of this thesis is Boundary-Walkers and as such it captures the spirit of the work. Kushner, Walker and Tarr employ this phrase during
the introduction of *Case Studies and Issues in Community Music* stating that ‘[C]ommunity musicians are boundary-walkers. Uncertain as to their own professional status they inhabit territories that lie between other professions’ (Kushner, *et al.*, 2001, p4). The implication is in this instance negative and to some extent reflects the last paragraph. In the realms of this thesis Boundary-Walkers has a positive connotation. Boundary-Walkers inhabit margins, borders, limitations, and edges. It is however the parameters that point both towards the centre and beyond the limits of structure. It is in this affirmative sense of the transcending ability of margins that this thesis utilizes this phrase.

From the standpoint of this proposition the thesis sets out

- To develop a theoretical framework that can support claims that Community Music is a distinctive area of musical discourse.

- To develop conceptual tools in which Community Music practices can be analysed and understood.

- To present a philosophical enquiry that pushes the boundaries of initial notions of Community Music in the UK, engaging critically in aspects of practice and conceptualization.

In order to develop those areas presented above, the following questions have guided the purpose of the investigation:

- What do we mean when we talk of Community Music in the UK?

- What is its history and what can we learn from it?

- Which are the philosophical schools that best suit a conceptualization of Community Music?
• What might a theory of Community Music look like for the UK?
• How would a theoretical framework help the practical quest of community musicians?
• Is Community Music an isolated phenomenon within a particular musical culture or are there comparative epistemologies?
• How could a theoretical framework be used in an analysis of a Community Music project?

The units of analysis have included:
• Historical (re)construction of Community Music through documentation and autobiographical foreknowledge.
• Analytic deduction of Community Music's key characteristics expressed within the themes of identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy.
• A deconstructive account of Community Music utilizing notions espoused by the philosophical thinking of Jacques Derrida.
• An ethnographic account of an example of Community Music practice, including auto-ethnographic memory, individual testimonies, questionnaire responses and a participant reunion seminar.

The logic that links the data to the proposition is articulated through the ethnographic account of the Peterborough Community Samba Band (from the UK). Understood as an exemplar of Community Music practice, the Peterborough Community Samba Band displays the key characteristics of
Community Music practice as articulated within the themes, identity, context, community, participation, and pedagogy. As a site for study the group has an extended history of twelve-years. During this period the Peterborough Community Samba Band has had commitment to Community Music's practices and principles. This provides a secure foundation through which to test Community Music's traits of practice. It is through this Community Music site that the 'imaginative' conceptualization of Community Music is tested as a tool for analysing and describing Community Music in the UK.

**Significance of Study**

Community Music in the UK is a development that has its traces within the social activism of the community arts movement in the early 1970s. As an expression of cultural democracy, those working within Community Music had their focus on the practical concerns of this political enterprise. In order to generate music-making activities, community musicians have relied on the erratic world of grant-aid and project funding. This economic platform has created a landscape of job insecurity, and has resulted in the majority of community musicians assuming freelance status. Although the composer-in-residence schemes and the music animateur posts provide a number of fixed-term contracts that periodically relieve this situation, the imperative to generate funding has never been far away. As an ideological position, Community Music's initial venture also offered an active resistance towards institutionalized structures. This was particularly evident in its critiques towards the Arts Council and the education establishment, both seen as custodians of high art and therefore continuing the oppression of working-class musical vernacular.

The community musician as boundary-walker manifested instability in terms of resources, training, advocacy and political influence. Through the demands of a self-employed economy, community musicians needed to
secure income and jobs. Dictated by the capitalist imperative, practitioners developed a rich tapestry of practical projects but found it difficult to find time and space to critically reflect on their activities. The inheritance of this 'tradition' has meant a void in scholarly and academic writings pertaining to Community Music, community musicians and the worlds that they inhabit. This scholarly vacuum has most recently come to the fore with the growing interest from universities in providing both undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in Community Music. The significance of this work is in its attempts to provide such a scholarly endeavour. As a beacon of Community Music academia, this thesis aims to produce a conceptualization of Community Music while remaining connected with the practical and political imperative.

Previous scholarly writings dealing specifically with Community Music are rare. From a UK perspective, Saville Kushner, Barbara Walker and Jane Tarr's *Case Studies and Issues in Community Music* represents the most direct example (Kushner *et al.*, 2001). Other publications that pinpoint the practice of Community Music lean towards that of reportage and often lack critical insight; the most comprehensive of these reports is the excellent *Joining In* by Anthony Everitt (Joss, 1993a; Everitt, 1997; Matarasso, 1994; Higgins, 2000). In terms of research into Community Music, Vicky Wight has been exploring models of evaluation from her base in the south of England. Writings in music education that exert a secure sense of Community Music in the UK can be found in Andrew Peggie's *Musicians go to School*, Bruce Cole's article 'Community Music and Higher Education: a Marriage of Convenience' and within some of the essays in Gary Spruce's edited anthologies on music education (Peggie, 1997; Cole, 2000; Spruce, 1996, 2002).

There are a growing number of practitioner handbooks offering ideas and direction in the running of music workshops, the latest of these being *Community Music: A Handbook*, edited by Pete Moser and George McKay.
(Moser and McKay, 2005). Other handbooks, such as Trevor Wishart's *Sounds Fun*, Rod Paton's *Living Music*, John Stevens' *Search and Reflect* and Philip Dadson and Don McGlashan's *The From Scratch Rhythm Workbook*, vary in content and usefulness (Wishart, 1977a, 1977b; Stevens, 1985; Dadson and McGlashan, 1990; Paton, 2000). The majority of available documentation on Community Music projects and issues is best located in the quarterly magazine *Sounding Board*, the publication of Sound Sense, the national development agency for participatory music making in the UK.

International perspectives of Community Music have a stronger scholarly orientation than those emulating from the UK. This reflects in part the profile of ISME's Commission of Community Music Activity and the prominence of tertiary-level academics who make up the ISME membership. Papers published include the proceedings from Oslo, 1990; Georgia, 1994; and Rotterdam, 2002 (Drummond, 1991; Leglar, 1996; www.worldmusiccentre.com.cma.conference). Other isolated texts, such as Kari Veblen and Bengt Olsson's chapter on *Community Music: Towards an International Overview*, Bryan Burton's entry in the Encyclopaedia of Community, and Anne Cahill's *The Community Music Handbook: A Practical Guide to Developing Music Projects and Organizations*, all offer a variety of international perspectives, as does Marie McCarthy's brief citation in *Passing it On* (Cahill, 1998; McCarthy, 1999; Veblen and Olsson, 2002; Christensen and Levinson, 2003). It is also worth noting the chapter 'Community Music and Praxialism' by Veblen, recently published as a response to David Elliott's *Music Matters*, and the e-journal *The International Journal of Community Music* emanating from New York University and edited by Elliott (Elliott, 1995, 2005; www.nyu/education/music/meducation/ijcm/).

In synergy with the tone of this thesis, any present condition of Community Music must be aware of the memory of the past. In other
words, all Community Music practitioners either today or tomorrow inherit a history of Community Music practice. In order to prise open the kernel of Community Music and set free meaning, some amount of aggression and infidelity must be applied to its past practices. In resonance with Derrida's position, this action must not reject Community Music's tradition and historical significance. In the quest to advance into new territories, some of the ideas in this thesis will undoubtedly cause anxiety to other community musicians. I recall the international seminar in Tenerife 2004 hosted by the Commission of Community Music Activity, in which I presented a synopsis of this thesis's key objectives and ideas. The material provoked apprehension and insecurity, predominantly from Community Music practitioners active in the UK and Ireland. After reflecting on the responses my material provoked, I have concluded that these reactions were symptomatic of both the fear of theory as a corruption of practice and the feelings of threat that the unknown can cause. The fear of theory supports this thesis's position that Community Music has historically lacked any theoretical rigour, while the feelings of threat reflect a battle for territory. As Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari remind us, territory is authority but subsequently the enemy of desire (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988). The aggression and infidelity towards Community Music is an effort to deterritorialize its thinking and free its practices, a significant gesture that this thesis attempts to make.

Method

Historical perspective

In order to progress with the overall purpose of this thesis, a historical perspective was required as the foundation on which to build a conceptualization of Community Music. From the outset, I did not see my work as part of a historical trajectory, but rather a synchronic analysis, a consideration of the condition of Community Music in general. As I began
the initial thinking, it soon became apparent that a historic perspective was both unavoidable and critical if the goals of this thesis were to be achieved. Tim Joss, Anthony Everitt and most recently George McKay have all sketched a Community Music history, but none of them substantial enough for the purposes of this thesis (Joss, 1993a; Everitt, 1997; Moser and McKay, 2005). In order to construct a perspective that would be fit for the purpose, I looked towards *Sounding Board*, the magazine published for those interested in the work of the community musician. *Sounding Board*, published around four times a year since its inception in March 1990, has been a regular feature for many community musicians. I have systematically catalogued those articles most relevant to this thesis from Winter 1991/2 to Autumn 2005. I have to date over 250 entries on my database categorized under the headings Edition, Year, Page, Article, Subject Area and Author. Trailing through the database, I find myself overwhelmed by the diversity of the entries, a reflection of the breadth of work covered by those who consider themselves community musicians. Listed below, under a number of subheadings, is a patchwork of isolated articles that act as milestones since 1992. I have chosen these particular articles from the hundreds that have appeared since 1991 and therefore they reflect in some way the thrust of this thesis.


Special areas of social concern, such as the justice system, diversity, youth music and gender, can be sourced in (Justice) Tait, 1993; Deane, 1995c; Rust, 1997a; Bickmore, 2000; Holford, 2004b; (Diversity) Everitt, 1996; Lombos et al, 1996; Chinyelu-Hope, 2003; (Youth Music) Chamberlain, 1992; (Gender) Jones, 1998. The intersections between Community Music and the formal music education sector are considered in Berry, 1993; Peggie, 1993, 1995, 1997, 2003; Sound Sense, 1996a; Rust, 1997b; Deane, 1999c; Holford, 2003b; and Stephens, 2004. Funding issues are noted by Deane, 1995b, 2001; Sound Sense, 1996b, 1997b; and Holford, 2004a.

In support of the documentation above, I have employed autoethnographic memory, which is a critical recollection of participating within the area of Community Music over the past sixteen and also a consciousness towards the traces of my past. This has operated in two ways. Firstly, to quote Andy Medhurst from his paper 'Punk, Memory and Autobiography', it is 'because I was there' (Sabin, 1999, p. 219). Secondly, my musical experiences as a youth growing up in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s are subliminally included because I consider the experiences important in the decisions integral to this thesis. In the first instance my work as a community musician began professionally in 1989, when I joined the Dundee Community Dance Team as their musician-in-
residence. Through my experiences in Dundee and subsequent experiences as a music animateur and a freelance community musician, I have worked in many sectors that currently employ community musicians, including: health, prison and probation, primary, secondary and tertiary education, youth and community, and orchestral outreach. Experiences such as these have brought me into close contact with many other musicians, cultural workers and policy makers. These encounters have helped shape my historical account and subsequent thesis.

In the second instance, this research project has allowed time for considered reflection on the journeys embarked upon and the current point of arrival. Key moments of reflexivity have included my frustration with institutionalized music education and my informative music-making experiences as the guitarist in a local rock band. In terms of the latter, the frustration manifested itself on two discrete occasions. The first was while I was receiving secondary-level education, where, as for many other children attending state comprehensive schools, music education revolved around passive activities rather than active music making. Although I was passionate about music, I did not hesitate to reject music as an option when asked to select those subjects that would inform my final two years of learning. Secondly, after leaving school and in an attempt to pursue a career in music, I had applied for a place at the local technical college. Unlike the myriad of music courses available now, opportunities in music education were limited in towns and cities across Britain during the early 1980s. In short, the admissions tutor ridiculed my application and left no doubt that I was completely unsuited to the ‘serious’ study of music. My experience as a rock musician with an interest in jazz was not an accepted quality within this particular music department: the tutor did not even ask to hear me play. Stunned and humiliated, I doubted both my musical capabilities and my self-worth.
Set against a musical background of punk, new wave, and heavy metal, my musical education came to fruition through the domain of informal musical learning. Reflective of Lucy Green’s accounts in *How Popular Musicians Learn*, I began at first to teach myself guitar, and later found refuge with a good guitar teacher (Green, 2002). Although my musical preferences emulated from the ‘New Wave of British Heavy Metal’, the spirit of punk affected my attitude towards music participation. Those who have commented on Britain’s musical subcultures, such as Jon Savage and Roger Sabin, have described the *mentalité*, or cultural consciousness, that permeated youth culture during this period (Savage, 1991; Sabin, 1999; Gelder and Thornton, 1997). From the perspective of a 16-year-old, the punk *Zeitgeist* created positive energies. The spirit of the punk movement cleared the baggage that had prevented young people from having the opportunities to turn aspirations of musical performance into reality. It is from the ghost of the punk *mentalité* that my orientation towards Community Music initially sprang.

Documentary evidence plus auto-ethnographic memory has combined to shape the historical perspective presented in Chapter 2. The dynamic of this borderline between notated evidence and life in general, has a particular force and mobile potency that activates the writing. As such the autobiographical releases confusion between the notion of the author and that of the person himself. As Derrida suggested, ‘it is the ear of the other that signs’ (EO, p. 51). In other words, the ear of the other, your ear as a reader, constitutes the *autos* of my auto-ethnographic memory confirming who I am through the process of engagement. In order for this thesis to transcend the pages and thus make full sense of its many points, one must take into account the unrepresentable scenes of the life-journey each time one claims to identify with any utterance signed by Lee Higgins. The traces of my life are always embedded within this text.
The case study: the Peterborough Community Samba Band

Crucial to the overall design of this thesis is the ethnographic account of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. Those who write on ethnography as a strategy for research, such as Paul Atkinson, Martyn Hammersley, James Clifford, Martin Denscombe, Norman Denzin, Yvonna Lincoln, Robert Emerson, George Marcus, James Spradley, and Stephanie Taylor, helped support the decision-making process that eventually clarified the function of the case study as an ethnographic description (Atkinson et al, 2001; Atkinson and Hammersley, 1995; Hammersley, 1992, 1998; Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Denscombe, 2000; Denzin, 1997; Denzin, Norman and Lincoln, 1994; Emerson et al, Marcus, 1998; Spradley, 1979, 1980; Taylor, 2002). As 'the work of describing culture', ethnography has been chosen as 'a method that one might use as and when appropriate' rather than a 'philosophical paradigm to which one makes a total commitment' (Spradley, 1979, p. 3; Norman and Lincoln, 1994, p. 248). Although organized in the manner of case study research proposed by the likes of Robert Stake and Robert Yin, my extensive field research, that includes auto-ethnographic memory, and participant observation, constitutes the project's relationship to the ethnographic account (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994; Gomm et al, 2000). It is on this basis and with the supportive literature in mind, that Chapter 4 is understood within the ethnographic domain.

As a qualitative research method directed towards producing what is referred to as ‘theoretical’, ‘analytical’ or ‘thick’ descriptions, the ethnographic account has been the principal research method adopted by ethnomusicologists (Hammersley, 1992, p. 12). During my research, it became apparent that there were comparative intersections between what has been termed applied ethnomusicology and Community Music. As a musical discipline substantially influenced by the anthropological exploits of Clifford Geertz, ethnomusicology draws at least as much from
anthropology and the social sciences as it does from musicology and the humanities. In his essay 'Textual Analysis or Thick Description' Jeff Todd Titon explains that while modern ethnomusicologists have largely abandoned claims of scientific objectivity, ‘most have not abandoned ethnographic fieldwork’ (in Clayton et al, 2003, p. 173). Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology concentrates on these shifts in ethnomusicological method from a modern-era science paradigm towards more experimental forms of fieldwork (Barz and Cooley, 1997). Reacting to the ‘changing world orders’, the essays in the book confront current issues of ethnography in relation to contemporary ethnomusicology (p. 11). Ethnomusicologists, while not abandoning ethnography, have attempted to reform and reshape the cultural study of music based upon postmodern and poststructuralist thought, such as subject/object, self/other, inside/outside, and author/authority.

According to John Fenn, there has been an increased interest in the field of applied ethnomusicology, its visibility underscored by the emergence and growth of its own section within the Society of Ethnomusicology (Fenn, 2003). The nature of applied ethnomusicology was defined by Dan Sheehy as ‘perhaps most observable as an implacable tendency, first to see opportunities for a better life for others through the use of music knowledge, and then immediately to begin devising cultural strategies to achieve those ends’, has strong resonance with the social consciousness and practical engagement of Community Music (Sheehy, 1992, p. 324). Applied ethnomusicology’s application of ethnographic fieldwork creates a visible borderline between itself and Community Music. As a dynamic, this borderline exerts a force and mobility, providing a substantive influence within the design of this thesis.

Those interested in applied ethnomusicology, (such as Michael Bakan, Timothy Rice and John Miller Chernoff), have all offered a strong structural and methodological outline that I have found most useful
(Bakan, 1999; Rice, 1994; Miller Chernoff, 1979). All three authors make a case for the use of autobiographical perspectives within their ethnographic monographs. Rice admits that personal experience was central to *May It Fill Your Soul’s* narrative, not to simply establish that he was there but as a place ‘where understanding begins and in some senses remains located’ (Rice, 1994, p. 10). For Chernoff the character of participant observation meshes with ‘a sort of personal statement’ (Chernoff, 1979, p. 20). The method of study Chernoff employed was of a participant learning to play the music of the Other’s culture, in this case the drumming of the Dagomba. Chernoff freely suggested that as a participant observer within Africa, he moved into a level of involvement with African social life that ‘went beyond the limited participation practised in most ethnographic research orientations’ (p. 8).

In *Music of Death and New Creation*, Bakan makes a passionate plea for a reflexive ethnography, stating that:

> It is time for us to stop avoiding the issues of what happens when we interact musically with people we ‘study’ for fear that explicit attention to such issues might distract us from a focus on the ‘more important’ and central quest for knowledge and understanding of ‘the Other’; or perhaps for fear that open and honest reflection might reveal our fieldwork methods and subsequent musical understandings as less noble than we would like them to appear to others (Bakan, 1999, p. 333).

Bakan’s reflexive description summarizes a process of self-understanding that attempts to unclutter itself from critical theory. Utilizing Blacking’s phrase ‘tuning in’, Bakan suggests that most ethnomusicologists rely on the process of tuning in as a basis for their understanding of the musical traditions they are studying (p. 316). In ‘Towards an Ethnomusicology of the Individual, or Biographical Writing in Ethnomusicology’, Jonathan
Stock makes some insightful remarks about both Bakan and Chernoff. Bakan’s position, according to Stock, is an acknowledgement that ethnographers who fully adopt biography and/or autobiography are coming closer to acknowledging that their own participation may be individually exceptional (Stock, 2001). Noting that Chernoff’s work is biographical in nature, Stock emphasizes that Chernoff’s text, *African Rhythm and African Sensibility*, has been widely cited for generalizing local and regional experiences.

As a project that has resonance with those texts cited above, the Peterborough Community Samba Band as an ethnographic account provides a thick description of its musical and social activities. As the person who initiated the Peterborough Community Samba Band and subsequently led it’s musical decisions for the first three years (1993-1996), I consider myself part of the band’s thick description (detail as regards why the project was set-up can be found in Chapter 3). Because my involvement was intrinsic a number of it’s ‘original’ members still perform within the latest incarnation, access to bands participants for interviews and documentation was made easier. The material used in the case study has been generated from participant observation and subsequent field notes, video documentation, one-to-one interviews, large group seminars and questionnaires. I would attribute the pivotal moment in the collection of data to the reunion celebrations in May 2004. As a group with a twelve-year history, both past and present participants of the Peterborough Community Samba Band were invited to attend a weekend reunion event. Organized in conjunction with the current incarnation of the Peterborough Community Samba Band and advertised through the local media, the weekend was promoted as a chance to meet old friends, enjoy a weekend of drumming and contribute to the development of Community Music.
In order to avoid misunderstanding as to my intentions, arrangements for the event began some six months before the designated meeting in May 2004. Planning for the day included numerous telephone calls, pre-meetings with the current band and distribution of the questionnaire to those current participants. During the pre-meetings, my desires for the event were clarified, but care was taken to ensure some equilibrium with the aims and objectives of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. It was as a participant observer that I came to know the current performers, taking part in one of their regular weekly drumming workshops and addressing them during their break. I believe that these initial encounters dispersed most of the anxieties and suspicions regarding the intent of the reunion event.

Throughout the organization, it was important that the reunion celebrations remained accessible to both past and current participants. Because of such an imperative, an event strategy was discussed and formulated alongside the band itself. Listed below is the schedule that constituted the main event on Saturday 29 May 2004.

- Introduction and purpose of the day.


- Recent elaborations of *Samba Reggae* led by the current *mestre*, the established musical outline embellished with the latest ‘grooves’.

- Open floor: An opportunity for any member of the group to share and contribute further knowledge surrounding the piece in question.
Discussion and testimonies: A chaired forum that allows free-flowing conversation and reminiscence.

Shared picnic lunch.


Recent elaborations of Samba Batucada led by the current mestre(s), the established musical outline embellished with the band’s latest ‘breaks’.

Open floor: An opportunity for any member of the group to share and contribute further knowledge surrounding the piece in question.

Discussion and testimonies: A tighter discussion focusing on the four key areas of the questionnaire.

Summing up.

Evening socializing in a local bar and a family house.

Although I have considered the data collected during Saturday 29 May as pivotal, it was crucial to supplement group dialogue with individual discussions. Surrounding the reunion event, both before and after, one-to-one interviews took place in the homes of those interviewed. These sessions further explored themes linked to the purpose of this thesis, opening up other avenues of thought or qualifying themes already explored. Interviews with past and current band members allowed candidness unable to manifest itself within the group sessions. In most cases, the line of questioning followed that of the questionnaire. Arranged in four sections, this line of questioning probed for musical experiences before and after joining the Peterborough Community Samba Band. The
constructed questions offered prompts as to how the interviewee might think about them.

In other interview cases, my questions responded to the themes derived from the seminar discussions. All interviews and the seminar sessions were transcribed for analysis. The transcribed material helped pinpoint the thematic thread and was consequently organized and analysed around the five themes that permeate this thesis design: identity, context, community, participation, and pedagogy.

Philosophical encounters: deconstruction as choice
Community Music has its traces within the community arts movement a political active group operating in the UK during the 1970s. As such Community Music has strong ties to Karl Marx’s and Frederick Engels’ critique of industrial capitalism and their avocation of socialism expressed through writings such as the Manifesto of the Communist Party and The German Ideology (Marx and Engels, 1978a; Marx and Engels, 1978b; Marx and Engels, 1978c). As a manifestation of Marx’s socialism, the radical tone of the New Left penetrates early writings on community arts, such as Owen Kelly’s Community, Art and the State, the Shelton Trust’s The Manifesto: Another Standard, Culture and Democracy, and the Greater London Council’s Campaign for a Popular Culture (Kelly, 1984; Shelton Trust, 1986; Greater London Council, 1986). Those commentators who extended this writing to specifically consider Community Music also adopted this tone with a ‘call to arms’ as a direct response to those Arts Council foot-soldiers perceived as protecting the British heritage of classical music making (Joss, 1993a; Drummond, 1991).

As a philosophical discourse, Classical Marxism shifted Georg W. F. Hegel’s goal of history replacing the liberation of the mind with the liberation of the human condition. Marx and Engels provided the socialist movement with a sophisticated economic analysis of capitalism, a
ferocious critique of its social consequences and a theory of historical development. By placing the category of class as an inherent contradiction, Marxism proposed that the progress of history would eventually give birth to a socialist society. As a practical philosophy that famously stated that ‘The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it’, Marx believed that revolution was an inevitable consequence of human progress, and with it would come the democratic union of the human race15 (Marx, 1978d, p. 123). Towards the end of the 1960s and with the collapse of the Soviet communist states, Marxism was under constant attack from postmodern critiques that spoke of the ‘incredulity towards metanarratives’ (Lyotard, 1984, p. xxiv). The Marxist doctrine of historical materialism and its utopian vision of a communist society was philosophically replaced by the postmodern turn: a sceptical position of distrust, which was more likely to advocate interrupted histories, plurality and fragmented communities (Hart, 2004; Hutcheon, 2003; Docherty, 1993; Powell, 1998; Sarup, 1996; Ward, 1997; Appignanesi and Garratt, 1995; Harvey, 1990; Hassan, 1987; Lyotard, 1984; Jameson, 1991). With the growing interest in cultural analysis, interpreters of Marxism, such as Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse from the Frankfurt School, and E. P. Thompson, Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in England, have in their elucidations of Marx a strong resonance with the project of Community Music.16 Why then does this thesis turn on the Derridean deconstructive gesture? After all, is it not true that deconstruction is an offshoot of postmodernism and as such diametrically opposed to the Marxist position? How does this thesis’s deconstructive vision of Community Music integrate with its own historical tradition? In other words, why is deconstruction the theory of choice?

As a response to structuralism, an academic fashion that flourished most widely from the 1950s through to the 1970s, poststructuralism offered a critique of the human subject, historicism, meaning and philosophy
Poststructuralism had supported the idea that ‘reality’ is purely a discursive phenomenon, a product of codes, conventions, language and signifying systems. Derrida’s much-quoted saying, ‘[T]here is nothing outside of the text’, has helped propel this idea, and consequently the
notion that deconstruction operates as a system of thought that has no use for criteria of reference, validity or truth (OG, p. 158). As an output of work, Derrida’s texts have had the tendency to be categorized alongside some aspects of postmodernist thinking, especially those that support an irrational or nihilist outlook. As a discourse, deconstruction does not celebrate this infinity of ‘freeplay’, or a position that holds clear separations from the constraints of truth reference or valid demonstrative argument. As Christopher Norris asserts, ‘[O]n the contrary: what gives deconstruction its critical edge is its address to issues in [...] three main areas – epistemology, ethics, and aesthetic judgement’ (Norris, 1992, p. 32). Deconstruction is a passion for transgression, but ‘a passion for trespassing the horizons of possibility’ (Caputo, 1997, p. xix). Deconstruction does not set out to undo God or deny faith, to mock science or make nonsense out of literature: ‘[D]econstruction is rather a thought, if it is a thought,21 of an absolute heterogeneity that unsettles all the assurances of the same within which we comfortably ensconce ourselves’ (p. 5).

Derrida reinforces these assertions by suggesting that ‘it will be understood that the value of truth is never destroyed in my writings, but only reinscribed in more powerful, larger, more stratified contexts’ (AW, p. 146). For Norris, deconstruction demonstrates and sustains the impulse of the enlightenment critique, while subjecting the tradition to a radical reassessment of its grounding concepts and categories (Norris, 2000). Although Derrida has noted that deconstruction is not a simple progressive critique in the manner of the Enlightenment, Norris assures us that ‘it would be wrong to suppose [...] that deconstruction is squarely aligned with postmodernism in its antagonism towards the philosophic discourse of modernity’ (p. 47). Derrida’s ‘indispensable guardrail’ towards the ‘classical exigencies’ seeks to respect and in some ways conserve, while simultaneously showing that these other modes of thinking cannot set
absolute limits on the exercise of critical thought (OG, p. 158; Norris, 1992, p. 18). In conversation Derrida noted,

And I feel best when my sense of emancipation preserves the memory of what it emancipates from. I hope this mingling of respect and disrespect for academic heritage and tradition in general is legible in everything I do (TS, p. 43).

In *Specters of Marx*, Derrida’s sustained response to Marxism, Derrida stated that ‘[D]econstruction has never had any sense or interest, in my view at least, except as a radicalization, which is to say also *in the tradition* of a certain Marxism, in a certain *spirit of Marxism*’ (SOM, p. 92). Initially marking the distance between a general Marxism and his own enterprise, Derrida later affirms that ‘there is possible articulation between an open marxism [sic] and what I am interested in’ (AIJD, p. 239). Derrida concurs that ‘deconstruction would have been impossible and unthinkable in a pre-Marxist space’, the Marxist critique thus remaining urgent and necessary (SOM, p. 92). Within the cultural politics of difference, a position that I suggest is vital to the identity of Community Music, Derrida’s writing helps make sense of the absences in Marxist theory. Within the deconstructive gesture, there is a dismantling of essentialism and class reductionism, consequently allowing an increase in the sites of political antagonism. This movement, according to Rutherford, breaks the narrow theoretical parameters of socialist politics, removing the logocentricity\(^{22}\) that hides cultural diversity and conceals social structures that insist on the preservation of hierarchical relations (Rutherford, 1990). For Derrida, the ghost of Marx is always at work, but his ‘spirit’ need not bind us to the doctrine and to a history of totalitarian repression. Resurrecting Marx in a ghostly form, Derrida displaces Marx’s ontology and considers it as hauntology, the logic of the spectre. Proclaiming that ‘[N]ot without Marx, no future without Marx’, Derrida
affirms that ghosts should not be exorcized because they remind us of our responsibility (SOM, p. 13).

As a body of work, Derrida’s writings do not advocate that ‘anything goes’, a release of truth and reason as obsolete values, subsumed into an irrational Baudrillardian postmodern ‘hyperreality’. Through a keen sense of the ethical texts such as Of Hospitality, The Other Heading, Politics of Friendship, On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness and the Specters of Marx, Derrida advocates a democracy-to-come while critiquing the logocentric barricades that stand in its way. It is within this understanding of deconstruction that this thesis locates its energies. While wary of deconstruction’s resistance to the reduction of a concept, its strategy as a tool for thought and action has provided this author with a procedure and direction.

As discussed, the purpose of this thesis is to suggest a new Community Music-to-come. Nevertheless, in order for its successful emancipation, the ghost of Community Music past cannot be ignored. As a spectre, Hamlet’s father walked the battlements of the castle, an undecidable disrupting what is real and what is not. As a spectre, his coming was already a return. In the same way, Derridean deconstruction has allowed a thought process that can conceive of a fresh perspective of music (formulated in Chapter 3 as Community MUSIC) and its vibrating self, Community Music. The term ‘vibrating self’ indicates Community Music’s traits of practice; context, community, participation, and pedagogy. Community MUSIC is therefore the identity, one might say the ontology of music and the vibrating self activates the experience. Hamlet’s father was only visible because of the armour he wore, and it is in this way that the materiality of the spirit of Community Music has allowed a new perspective of Community Music. This ‘new’ perspective constitutes a return and a possible departure from the boundary it once walked. As a choice, deconstruction has provided a flexible tool, fit for the purpose of
this thesis. Comparative musical disciplines such as music education and applied ethnomusicology have utilized theoretical foundations such as aesthetics, praxial philosophy, phenomenology and hermeneutics (Reimer, 1989; Swanwick, 1979, 1988, 1999; Elliott, 1995, 2005; Bakan, 1999; Rice, 1994; Miller Chernoff, 1979; Titon, 1988). If Community Music is going to make its distinctive mark, it seems apt for it to carve out its own direction. From this position, the deconstructive vision of Community Music could (re)stake a distinctive claim within the gamut of musical disciplines while providing music education and applied ethnomusicology with a fresh perspective in which to self-reflect.

**Limitations**

A shortage of scholarly writings within the field of Community Music has previously been rationalized as the result of the growth and development of its practical concerns. Traversing this limitation, I initially investigated subject areas that appeared wholly influential on and pertinent to the work of the community musician. These included community arts, music education, music therapy, popular music studies, group work theory and practice, participatory development and sociology. Through the first layers of reading, the scope of this thesis extended to include ethnomusicology, anthropology, philosophy, music philosophy, cultural studies, and research strategy and method. As the focus became clearer, further refinements helped to stabilize this thesis’s proposition, including the consideration of applied ethnomusicology and its philosophical framework of phenomenology and hermeneutics, the praxial philosophy of music education, cultural theory and popular culture, postmodernism, poststructuralism and deconstruction.

Through my work as a lecturer and practitioner in Community Music, materials were tested and discussed with students and participants alike. This process enabled consolidation, refinement and convergence that were
reflected back through those that guided this project. The procedure of 'elimination' and the scope of the doctoral thesis have had the following 'limiting' impacts:

- Concentration on one case study as an exemplar of Community Music practice in the UK: focusing on one case study, although not unusual, raises issues of generalizations, and I have tried to avoid making those. The use of a samba band as an example of Community Music will undoubtedly generate debate among community musicians as regards what constitutes a prime example of Community Music practice. This thesis does not consider this debate; I hope it is clear that my case study could have been one among many projects that locate themselves within the domain of Community Music.

- The decision not to include an extensive debate that considers the comparative intersections of Community Music and other music disciplines: from a plethora of musical practices, such as music therapy, music performance, and musicology, for example, applied ethnomusicology and music education have the strongest resonance with my understanding of Community Music. The synergy between these approaches to music and music making initially grew from my encounters with the participants attending the international commission of Community Music Activity. It is through these international arenas that the border crossings between applied ethnomusicology and music education became clearer. Practitioners and educators such as Bajaly Suso, Joel Luis Barboso, Bryan Burton, Patricia Shehan Campbell, Don Coffman, Monte Mumford, Elizabeth Oehrle, Alvin Peterson, Graeme Wallis, Marlene le Roux,
David Elliott, Johnny Mekoa, Phil Mullen, Huib Schippers, Kari Veblen and Sallyann Goodall have all helped focus my attention on the similarities and differences between applied ethnomusicology, music education and Community Music. Although these border crossings have been important in the construction of this thesis’s proposition, an explicit chapter that outlines the dynamic has not been included.

- The decision to concentrate on the UK model of Community Music: Overall, this thesis limits its scope to that of the UK and does not discuss at any great length the breadth of work continuing beyond the country’s borders. Research into samba projects in New Zealand, South Africa and the US initially fed into this thesis but ultimately did not add to the overall proposition. It is important to add that although the UK is the prominent site of study, the contexts and concepts that this thesis concludes with are understood to have resonances with activity beyond the shores of the UK. It is for this reason that UK does not appear in the title of the thesis.

- The choice of deconstruction as philosophical framework: Although I have already presented a rationale as to the choice of my theoretical focus, it represents a particular critical perspective. Other practices that resonate with Community Music present other potential theoretical frameworks. For example, the study of applied ethnomusicology often cites Heidegger’s phenomenology, Hans-Georg Gadamer’s hermeneutics and Paul Ricoeur’s phenomenological hermeneutics as guiding philosophies (Heidegger, 1988, 2002a; Gadamer, 2003; Ricoeur, 1978, 1981). In contemporary musicology, the consideration of
music and postmodernism represents another interesting theoretical position for Community Music to consider (Lochhead and Auner, 2002; Lipsitz, 1994; Kramer, 1995; Alperson, 1998; Cook and Everist, 1999). Within music education, the praxial articulation and its application within the teaching of teachers particularly resonates with Community Music practices (Elliott, 1995, 2005). I was especially impressed with the logic applied by Estelle Jorgensen in her texts In Search for Music Education and the later Transforming Music Education, and wish that more time was available in order to examine these texts more closely (Jorgensen, 1997, 2003).

Although this thesis has gnawed at the edges of a range of disciplines, I hope it has enough self-reflexivity to be aware of the limitations it undoubtedly has. It is through this modesty that one may find its strength.

Outline of Chapters
This thesis sets out to develop a theoretical lens through which to develop contexts and concepts of Community Music. Chapter 2 provides the historical perspective that allows this process to begin. By locating Community Music as a manifestation from the ferments of community arts during the 1960s and 1970s, the first section, Traces: Pathway and Groundwork, describes the growth, ideology, context and definitions that shaped community arts practices. Demonstrating that community arts was a product of its time, a cultural expression that emerged from the professional community development practices initiated in post-war Britain, the first section describes the foundations upon which Community Music has become known.
Expanding upon these articulations, the second section, The Growth of Community Music Practices, is an account of the development of Community Music within the UK. Its focus, the musicians-in-residence schemes, the music collectives and their alliance with punk rock, the formation of a national development agency, training and education, and definitions, help establish what is meant by Community Music, while allowing the reader access to the practical mechanics of its practice. Categorized under the headings of context, community, participation, pedagogy, and identity, these elaborations generate the thematic thread that underpins the entire thesis. As both an organization tool and a way of seeing, the five thematic notions orientate the reader towards the thesis' conclusions.

In summary, Chapter 2 shows that community arts had attempted to provide a critique of Western capitalism with the concept of cultural democracy as its guide. As part of the counter-culture prevalent throughout the Western industrialized nations during the late 1960s and early 1970s, community arts objected to the perceived 'high' art domination of the ruling classes. As a trace of community arts, Community Music followed ideological suit, establishing a critical mass in the late 1980s and confirming its identity with the creation of a national development agency by the early 1990s. Through increased governmental interest in participatory music-making and the consequences of demands for training, Community Music in the UK has managed to establish a strong foothold from which to further develop its commitment to accessible music making, but still lacks any substantial theoretical underpinning.

Utilizing the thematic threads of context, community, participation, pedagogy, and identity, Chapter 3 provides the theoretical framework upon which this thesis' proposition hinges. Unpacking the categorical containers through the notions found within Derridean deconstruction, Chapter 3 layers the voices of Community Music and deepens the thematic
material. The first section considers the identity of Community Music as practice, but in order to do so suggests that a fresh look at music in general is in order. Within the formulation *Community* MUSIC, music as a diverse human practice is considered as a primordial activity rich in participatory spirit but marginalized by institutional contamination. Using the notions of *à venir*, trace, undecidable, and *differance*, the identity of *Community* MUSIC and its vibrating self, Community Music, is revealed.

The second section of Chapter 3 considers context, community, participation, and pedagogy as the four traits of Community Music practice identified in this study. Resonating deep within the condition of *Community* MUSIC, these traits allow Community Music's practice to be experienced as human activity. In a search for Community Music's deconstructive condition, notions such as subjectile, *iterability*, community without unity, intertextuality, gift, supplementarity, hospitality and democracy are explained as a way in which one can 'come-to-know' the phenomenon of Community Music.

Through the presentation of an alternative viewing station in which to consider Community Music, Chapter 3 provides the lens through which this thesis analyses and describes its practice. Through the deconstructive process, the infrastructure of any music-making is revealed, and Community Music is shown as a boundary-walker on the edges of institutionalized music activity. Through a system of thought that demands musicians, educators and policy makers to reflect on their philosophical positions and the actions that these positions impart, Chapter 3 makes a case for the importance of Community Music.

As the predominant case study, Chapter 4 considers the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band through the established themes of identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy. The chapter's
first section identifies the overarching spirit of the band and suggests that the band's philosophy, ideology and operation can be found in five foundational milestones – constitution, recording, gigs and instruments, rehearsal spaces, and Samba Sizzlers. Locating the band within three contextual layers, the City of Peterborough, the UK samba scene, and the Brazilian samba scene, the identity of the Peterborough Community Samba Band demonstrates a dynamic and vital Community Music force.

Exposing the traits of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, the second section explores issues pertaining to context, community, participation, and pedagogy through the stories of the participants themselves. In an ethnographic account, the human journeys expose the materiality of the band's operation musically, socially, and culturally. Pithy illustrations introduce each section, marking the territory and offering stand-alone examples of the main issues.

As an ethnographic account, Chapter 4 cracks open the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band and allows an access to its operation. Through participant observation, interviews, questionnaires and participation in a weekend reunion event, the participants reveal the band's inner mechanics. From the ethnographic account, the characteristics and intentions of what constitutes Community Music projects becomes clearer. Through the ethnographic portal, the philosophical identity of Community MUSIC begins to gather strength and thus provides a trajectory in which to recognize the importance of its vibrating self. Through Chapter 4's elucidations, Community Music is seen as an active force in people's lives, a necessary dynamic that needs nurturing through a greater understanding of its operation.

Chapter 5, Through the Derridean Lens: The Peterborough Community Samba Band in Derrida-Vision, casts the deconstructive framework articulated in Chapter 3 over Chapter 4's ethnographic account. This
movement makes the significant gesture in the realization of Community Music theory and practice. Like the chapters before it, the five themes of identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy provide the organizational stability. As a microscopic illustration of the diverse world of Community Music, the Peterborough Community Samba Band becomes a sample in which one comes to understand the deconstructive vision of Community Music. The first section explores its identity within the deconstructive notions of à venir, trace, undecidable, and differance, affirming the operation of the Peterborough Community Samba Band within the politics of difference.

The chapter's second section applies the conceptual understandings of the subjectile, iterability, community without unity, intertextuality, gift, supplementarity, hospitality, and democracy, upon the ethnographic account of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. The voices of the participants interact with the deconstructive vision of Community Music and help bring the theory to life. Through the Derridean lens, the Peterborough Community Samba Band serves as an illustration of Community Music as deconstructive practice. From the early inception of its foundational milestones, the Peterborough Community Samba Band demonstrates a commitment to Community Music and its vibrating self Community Music. Chapter 5's interaction between the traces of Community Music past, Derridean deconstruction, and the ethnographic account of the Peterborough Community Samba Band provides the first attempt in constituting a conceptualization of Community Music.

Finally, Chapter 6 summarizes the thesis' main findings. The practical implications of these conclusions are considered within Community Music generally and within the education sector specifically. Avenues of thought unearthed but unexplored constitute the section on future study, while the epilogue recalls the journey beyond those moments emphasized in the
prologue. This becomes the final node before the thesis' lines of flight are set free.

2 Community Music in the UK: Historical Perspectives

Traces: Growth, Pathways and Groundwork

Introduction

Anthony Everitt notes that 'community music' has socio-political overtones emerging from the ferment of the 1960s (Everitt, 1997, p. 16). In agreement with this observation and in order to provide a foundation in which one can place Community Music, the first section, Traces: Growth, Pathways and Groundwork, is an introduction to the development of community arts, and offers a summary of its growth, ideological perspectives and definition. It is shown that community arts was a product of its time, emerging from the professional community development practices initiated in post-war Britain and manifesting as a socially active force and a product of the political and cultural changes of the late 1960s and the early 1970s.
Community Music in the UK: Historical Perspectives

Traces: Growth, Pathways and Groundwork

Introduction
Anthony Everitt notes that 'community music' has socio-political overtones emerging from the ferment of the 1960s (Everitt, 1997, p. 15). In agreement with this observation and in order to provide a foundation in which one can place Community Music, the first section, Traces: Growth, Pathways and Groundwork, is an introduction to the development of community arts, and offers a summary of its growth, ideological perspectives and definition. It is shown that community arts was a product of its time, emerging from the professional community development practices initiated in post-war Britain and manifesting as a socially active force and a product of the political and cultural changes of the late 1960s and the early 1970s.
The second section, The Growth of Community Music as Practice, is an account of the development of Community Music within the UK, concentrating on musicians-in-residence schemes, the music collectives and their alliance to punk rock, the formation of a national development agency, definitions and training. During the construction of this chapter, five themes emerged: identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy. These themes became paramount in my analysis and are dominant as an organization tool throughout this chapter, but also Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Although my intention was never to write a history of Community Music, the lack of any substantial historical overview forced me to articulate a perspective. The historical perspective presented here has enabled a foundation from which to proceed towards an analysis of the deconstructive condition of Community Music, the chief theoretical position penetrating this thesis.

**Growth**

The Second World War had destroyed long-established working-class communities, consequently generating a new mobile employment trend as people moved from destroyed cities to new towns. These movements created new communities, and the comfort of 'knowing your neighbour' was not now a given. In order to try to overcome problems caused by this mobility, a new profession of the community worker arose towards the end of the 1940s. The necessity of these posts also led to the development of community education in the 1950s. Already established in the working men's institutes in the nineteenth century, community education was not a new idea, but its requirements were new in post-war Britain. The practical purpose for community education now revolved around assisting individual people to cope with the pressures of new social and economic organization. These included the interpretation of government forms, private employment law, benefit, rebates, pensions, and those who had English as a second language. Civil rights issues such as voting rights,
civil liberties and social responsibilities all began to grow through new
government legislation. Those working within community education
recognized the lack of cultural activities and so added a cultural element
to its practical purposes. Benefactors of these new elements began to
demand arts activities, and so these demands grew throughout the 1950s
and into the early 1960s. In many ways, these developments foreshadowed
the community arts movement of the late 1960s, and therefore also
Community Music.

Throughout the world, many industrialized nations began to acclimatize to
the changes brought about by the cultural and political shifts symptomatic
of the 1960s. Britain was no exception, and appeared to follow suit with
an impression of material prosperity, cultural innovation and youthful
rebellion. The community arts movement was a product of this cultural
upheaval. In attempts to break down established social codes, those
rebelling in protest and dissent in the late 1960s attempted new standards
in dress and behaviour, youth power, popular music and political
aspirations for change. Community arts gained energy from other political
and social stands, such as black consciousness, the feminist movement, the
gay and lesbian movement, and the student uprisings protesting against
the Vietnam War and the H-Bomb.

Considered a ‘movement’, community arts was loosely based on the
retrospective recognition of the similarities of aims and methods in the
work of its founders. According to Owen Kelly, community arts began as
one strand of activism among many during the late 1960s (Kelly, 1984). As
a watershed for cultural radicalism, the late 1960s are synonymous with
those attempting to reform social conditions and those attempting to
change ‘the human condition’, or to escape from it. The latter came to be
called the ‘counter-culture’ and had its values in anti-materialism, non-
After the long period of boom in Britain during the 1950s, a prosperous
capitalist economy governed by the Conservative party began to show frailty. Unemployment began to rise, and from the mid-1950s there was a steady increase in the number of strikes. The British working class had begun to show their concerns surrounding the country's gathering economic difficulties. These problems culminated in a wages crisis in 1961. For the first time since the election of 1959, the Labour party began to move ahead in the polls, and the Conservatives' close association with national greatness, the Church, the Queen and the Empire, began to look outdated. Throughout the 1950s, the Conservative government had appeared to be a smooth and efficient political machine. The public perception changed as the Tories lost their grip on British interests both at home and abroad. Harold Macmillan's government began to fade and was accused of economic mismanagement and the production of a declining economy and a diminishing empire. In the general election of 1964, Harold Wilson's Labour party narrowly defeated the Tory party and took office for the following six years.

The Labour government had inherited what many conceived as a relatively affluent society. This perceived prosperity had focused people's attention on private needs rather than social and public needs. With its new facilities and comforts, private ownership was becoming more important than traditional social activities such as the pub, the cinema or the fish-and-chip shop. Housing patterns were changing and undermining traditional neighbourhood solidarities, while car ownership opened up new horizons for private leisure, far beyond the local community. For some, such as the sociologist Anthony Crossland, the affluences were no more than a social fiction (Gilbert and Seed, 1992). Real social needs had been neglected while the middle classes were benefiting more from the welfare state than the working classes. In ways that would lead to public rather than private benefit, Crossland recommended a political stance capable of exploiting the new opportunities born of prosperity. In this way, Crossland
highlighted the growing shift towards politicizing the personal. Community arts and Community Music were to utilize this position within their strain of social activism. Projects that put social issues at the heart of the musical-doing provided advocacy springboards from which the communities involved could politicize themselves and their area of need. Examples of this work can be found in Dickson, Kershaw, Webster, Webster and Buglass, Fitzgerald, and Adams and Goldbard (Dickson, 1988; Kershaw, 1992; Webster, 1997; Webster and Buglass, 2005; Fitzgerald, 2004; Adams and Goldbard, 2001).

Frustrated by Labour’s direction, and critical of its policies, the New Left, formed through a belief that the forces of capitalism had triumphed over those of the traditional Left, began its ascendancy and influence in Britain (Easthope, 1991, pp. 6-10). In an effort to find a ‘third way’ between the rigidities of Stalinism and the pragmatism of right-wing social democracy, the New Left was interested in developing aspects of the Marxist tradition. According to the New Left, the Marxist ‘determinations’, such as competition, monopolistic control and imperial expansion, needed challenging. The New Left challenged the ‘Old Left’s’ construction of history and consequently rehistoricized its categories and retheorized its concepts of totality, determination and historical subjects (Storey, 1996, pp. 289/90).

Predominant cultural critics such as Raymond Williams, E.P. Thompson and Stuart Hall were all involved in the development of the New Left’s intellectual foundations characterized by a sense of personal responsibility. Perhaps the most significant political commitment of the New Left was the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). With an overwhelmingly metropolitan and academic ethos, the New Left’s social constituency predominantly included students, schoolteachers and academics, social workers and those working within the arts. The New Left initiated socially active demonstration that created pathways towards
the ideology of those who began an artistic journey within community arts. Culture had become the site not for contentment but for conflict, and community artists found solace within this politic.

Between 1964 and 1970 Labour's promise of modernization had failed miserably. Their cry of 'growth instead of stagnation' had ended with rising unemployment, embittered industrial disputes, systematic attacks on the trade union movement and support for the US in Vietnam. As one commentator noted,

Rarely in modern times can a parliamentary leadership have appeared as impervious to the policy preferences of its extra-parliamentary supporters as the Wilson government did in the late 1960s (Gilbert and Seed, 1992, p. 35).

Throughout the Labour rule there had been a series of important reforms that would have a direct impact on community arts and later Community Music, most noticeably state support for education, minority rights, such as those involving the gay community, and state support for the arts.

The ideological ruptures in the late 1950s and the early 1960s helped create a context in which the boundaries of political culture fragmented and split. Through these cracks, radical energies were released that offered a challenge to authority, tradition and convention. Countercultural dissent capitulated into the revolts of 1968, which challenged traditional repressions in both theory and practice. The New Left, with its emphasis on agency, culture, class consciousness and the centrality of the social experience, had reworked Marxism into an open, critical and humanist project. Alf Louvre suggested that the politics of the subject in the late 1960s was exceptional because of the lateral connections it made between different institutional sites, for example family, education, work, politics and leisure, and because it sought terms to analyse a culture in its
entirety (pp. 45–71). Not all understood the counter-culture as positive, and Daniel Bell, cited in Gilbert and Seed, suggested that ‘[T]he so-called counter-culture was a children’s crusade that sought to eliminate the line between fantasy and reality and act out in life its impulses under a banner of liberation’ (Gilbert and Seed, 1992, p. 4). Offering a parallel argument, Bernice Martin, a sociologist, acknowledges that the 1960s brought about significant change but understood the 1960s counter-culture as an impossible Utopian Dream (p. 4). Socially one might suggest that it was those seemingly trying to find a voice in the 1960s, young people, women, blacks, who suffered the worst effects of economic recession during the 1970s and 1980s.

Celebrating the counter-culture, community arts found a way into this critique alongside the recurrent charge against the 1960s avant-garde. Community arts especially resonated in the avant-garde’s attempt to destroy the very categories of art and culture, such as the erosion of the status of the individual artist. Community arts aligned itself to this idea and stressed group collaborations and the obliteration of the distinction between performer and the audience. Community arts insisted on a redefinition of the role of the artist, and attempted to demystify the artistic-doing and undermine discriminatory distinctions between ‘high’ and ‘low’ art. It was not long before community musicians were actively challenging the unquestionable state support for orchestras and opera companies at the expense of vernacular music.

Su Braden suggests that the community arts movement had gradually begun to understand the underlying forces that controlled culture and access to self-expression (Braden, 1978, p. 16). Those working in community arts understood that people in every type of community had been making art for as long as communities had been documented. It was clear to them that those who had been making art, rather than only the elite, privileged, and specially trained artists, were often marginalized
peoples. In the early 1970s, community artists identified the work made by the working class, women or the non-European as being on the fringe, suffering from an oppression of the dominant hegemony of contemporary capitalist society. In this way, community artists differed from artists in the community by acting as conscious facilitators for people in communities to express themselves artistically.

Reminiscent of the challenge to dominant historical perspectives, articulated by the likes of Michel Foucault and the cultural materialist, community artists sought to redress the balance between polarities such as 'high' art and 'popular' art. Community arts' earlier manifestations were therefore associated with the working class and working-class values, placing the work in opposition to the so-called elitist art worlds of classical theatre, art galleries and opera (Braden, 1978). In short, the general notion of community arts initiated a time of re-evaluation.

The figure below illustrates the polarity understood by the community artists, and supports Peter Brinson's view that suggested that community arts operates as an 'Athenian' approach rather than a 'Roman' approach to arts, that is a belief that every individual has within himself or herself creative and expressive possibilities often repressed by social circumstances (Brinson, 1991).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>People</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High art</td>
<td>Low art</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>Working class</td>
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<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td>Process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetic</td>
<td>Extra-aesthetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption</td>
<td>Participation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cultural idealism</td>
<td>Cultural democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authorship</td>
<td>Co-authorship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal education</td>
<td>Informal education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the early 1970s the ‘Association for Community Artists’ (ACA) was initiated.⁹ According to Malcolm Dickson, the ACA was ‘the single most important element in forging the community arts movement’ (Dickson, 1995, p. 17). The ACA enabled practitioners to discuss issues surrounding policy and practice, arguing and campaigning for adequate funding on behalf of the movement. Kelly suggests that initial discourse was somewhat stifled, attributing this to the tentative and exploratory stage of community arts development. Kelly also notes that there was reluctance on the part of the practitioners to engage in any serious theoretical debate, thus resulting in a lack of development of any political framework and practical strategy (Kelly, 1984). Deficiency in consensus resonates throughout community arts documentation of this period.

The instigation of the ACA was as a direct result of a seminar initiated by the Arts Council of Great Britain. The seminar, hosted by the Institute of Contemporary Arts, is generally recognized as the first national meeting of community artists. With a critical mass of like-minded artists, the Arts Council set up a working party in order to ascertain whether or not the Arts Council should be funding community arts in any way. The report of the Community Arts Working Party, under the chairmanship of Professor Harold Baldry, was published in 1974; it concluded that a community arts panel should be established and a dedicated officer should be appointed. Kelly notes that the Baldry report had described community arts so broadly that it made opposition almost impossible, and thus the Arts Council could find no real reason not to release funds¹⁰ (Kelly, 1984).

In establishing government funding, activities initiated by community artists were now being understood and identified in their own right.¹¹ One of the common problems at this stage of its growth was an over reliance on limited pots of money. During this period, Kelly describes the epidemic as ‘grant addiction’ (p. 26). Preceding the initial Arts Council funding stream, community artists faced allegations that the practice had been led by
whatever funding was currently available. This accusation was critical because community arts projects focused on providing communities with the tools to sustain their own cultural enterprises. Reliance on grant aid that would inevitably carry strings or implications distorted the work and was contrary to the ideas of sustained independence.\footnote{12}

A question levelled at the practice of community arts probes the notion that funding agencies have dictated the development of practice. Dickson cites this as a common tension problematic with those who seek high artistic standards while also assessing these demands against the temporal objectives (Dickson, 1995). The reluctance of community arts to engage in the development of a theoretical framework, then as now, results in short-term scrambles to obtain money and resources. Battles for meaningful funding packages are difficult without establishing strong foundations, robust enough to fulfil community arts’ initial potential and promise. Writing in 1997, Mark Webster reflected on funding, concluding that community arts have not had a great deal of influence on the funding system and that ‘the possibility of supporting long-term sustained change is becoming more remote’ (Webster, 1997, p. 70).

Characterizing the funding pragmatism, Kelly suggests that it had led the community arts movement into almost total dependence on revenue funding from limited sources (Kelly, 1984). Developmental work is reliant on adequate time, and Dickson noted that it has always been in the funder’s interest to organize revenue into short-term payouts. This is contrary to initial community arts projections that insisted that the work follow long-term commitment\footnote{13} (Dickson, 1995). Critically, Kelly suggests that it was the failure of practitioners to define their activities that generated the feeling of slavery to the funding bodies (Kelly, 1984). In 1984 Kelly summarized community arts as ‘a movement of naive, but energetic, activism which, bereft of analysis, drifted into the arms of those groups it set out to oppose’\footnote{14} (p. 97). The ‘addiction’ to funding or the
realities of any economic situation resulted in a complex web of idealism and pragmatism. Kelly is dogmatic when he notes that community arts was ‘ceasing to be a movement of activists and beginning to become a profession’ (p. 31). Bart-Moore Gilbert and John Seed underline this point by suggesting that an emerging orthodoxy about the 1960s was the apparent ease and speed with which the decade’s cultural radicals were absorbed into the Establishment they so vociferously opposed (Gilbert and Seed, 1992). The notion of the professional is still a ‘hot potato’ within Community Music, not least because the very idea is exclusive, but most of all I think because it surrenders to the Establishment and in many ways faces itself as a paradox.

The initial conceptualization of community arts as social activism meant that professionalization was viewed by many in the movement as an antithesis of its actions, even though as ‘artist’ many community artists had received some level of training. The position that led community artists to stand in opposition to collaborations with formal education institutes has shifted quite radically from the early 1970s to the present. From a position of opposing the formality of schools to working within the education environment underlines some of the economic imperatives of community arts practitioners. For those education institutes that have tried to embrace community arts the shift has continued to have tensions that are still played out in the work of the community musician. Andrew Peggie’s *Musicians go to School* attempts to address these in an effort to find common ground (Peggie, 1997). This can be seen through the work of the community musician who has on the whole interacted with schools since the 1980s. The number of projects described under the community arts rubric began increasing, and project managers were soon facing difficulty in finding suitable skilled artists. The sea change occurred with the recognition that most community arts projects needed at some point a professional artist or arts worker.
Between 1984 and 1988, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation set up an apprenticeship scheme to train would-be community artists. *Wanted! Community Artists* is a summary of those principles and practice implemented within these programmes (Brook, 1988). Rod Brooks considers the methods used by community artists, and notes that the skills required were not only good art skills but also 'the confidence and sensitivity to work in and with communities' (p. 3). The reinstatement of the apprenticeship model is currently instituted in the UK's National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ), describing its approach as a modern apprenticeship framework. These qualifications are the result of a government initiative to investigate continuing professional development among the arts development sector. Statistics and findings can be found in brief in 'Developing the Workforce', an article by Metier, the government's chosen research and development agency for this area of work (Metier, 2001). It is now possible to study community arts at undergraduate and postgraduate level.

Attributes described by Braden as a blend of ‘“community development” techniques and artistic skills’ began to find a place in the later 1970s within the employment sector (Braden, 1978, p. 108). Positions of employment described as Arts Development Worker or Community Arts Development Worker became a more frequent sight across the UK. Arts workers of this type occupied a number of statuses, including animateur, institutional outreach worker, community arts officers, and freelance worker. The growth of the arts centre as a focus for local activity helped stimulate arts projects and community recognition as regards the value of community arts activity. From the perspective of the arts centre, arts activity gained an elevated status that sought to undermine previous notions that the arts were no more than a ‘minority interest’ (Neumark, 1989, p. 10). The arts centre became a forum for communication and proved paramount in its role in the development of the social and cultural life of the community. According to Victoria Neumark, art centres that
employed artists with the right collection of skills ‘provided a jolt of aesthetic experience which can transform the recipients’ experience of the Arts and enable them to grasp techniques and forms for their own expressive needs’ (p. 11). François Matarasso’s book Regular Marvels, published in 1994, represents an attempt to provide a comprehensive overview of the skills, issues and context that underpin community arts work in general (Matarasso, 1994). Moving beyond the general, Matarasso explores the particular needs of the specific art forms of dance, literature, mime and music.

**Ideology**

Hélène Cixous’s description of ideology provides an image of a vast membrane enveloping everything (Corlett, 1993). Like Cixous, community arts practitioners understood that in order to change anything one had to constantly scratch and tear it. The cultural and political ambitions of community arts oscillated around the notion of empowerment through participation in the creative process. In ways that echoed Paulo Freire’s approach to liberatory education, outlined in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, many community artists fought for radicalization and transformation (Freire, 2002). Freire’s dialogical cultural action seeks synthesis through the overcoming of the ‘antagonistic contradictions of the social structure’ (p. 179). This distinctive Hegelian dialectic closely reflects the community arts imperative.

As a consensus, those working as community artists shared a dislike of cultural hierarchies, and believed in co-authorship of work and in the creative potential of all sections of the community (Dickson, 1995). For some practitioners their belief went further, suggesting that community arts could provide a powerful medium for social and political change. Webster suggests that ‘the Arts have the power to transform communities and to change the lives of people’, stressing that this is ‘the single most important feature about community arts activity’ (Webster, 1997, p. 69).
Braden’s report on the artist-in-residence schemes funded by the Gulbenkian Foundation supports the view that practitioners were intent on influencing a cultural change that re-evaluated the relationship between artists and society (Braden, 1978).

In order for community artists to achieve any sense of political democracy and change, it was widely considered that the instigation of cultural democracy was of utmost importance. Cultural democracy in its extreme condemned the cultural heritage of Europe as bourgeois and stood against the Arts Council’s attempts at the ‘democratization of culture’. As Herbert Marcuse noted, ‘such assimilation [the democratization of culture] is historically premature; it establishes cultural equality while preserving domination’ (Marcuse, 1991, p. 64). From the perspective of cultural democracy, the Arts Council, in its attempt to reach a wider audience through opening the doors of its galleries, theatres, concert halls and opera houses, had failed to understand that the debate centred around active arts participation. The Arts Council’s concern over the notion of cultural democracy appeared to lie in its challenge to the concepts of ‘excellence’ and ‘quality’. Misunderstandings implied that ‘high’ art was the custodian of standards, while through its argument for democracy community arts somehow advocated a reduction in artistic standards. As far as community arts had any common philosophy, it did argue that a cultural democracy in which creative arts opportunities, enjoyment and celebration would be available to all was paramount to its cause. Brinson suggests that essentially cultural democracy was a doctrine of empowerment (Brinson, 1991). As a touchstone, cultural democracy is still an important idea for contemporary Community Music analysis.

By the beginning of the 1980s, the government began insisting that charitable status for organizations applying for money was mandatory. This had the effort of neutralizing the community arts enterprise in terms of its community activism. Frustrated by the rules of charitable status, the
ACA attempted to circumvent these rules by becoming a charity itself. Through this switch, it lost its campaigning capacity but gained the Shelton Trust, which in 1980 took forward the national debate after the ACA disbanded. The Shelton Trust aimed to continue those ideas outlined by the ACA; to create an 'egalitarian and plural society, by the extension of democratic practice to all social relationships' (The Shelton Trust, 1986, p. 7). The Shelton Trust's political stance was rooted in Marxism, overtly describing its concerns as the radicalization of the 'Arts' against a background of 'a dominant hierarchical culture that causes and sustains oppression in society' (p. 6). This manifesto sets out its objectives with clarity, introducing the politicized term 'cultural democracy'. The manifesto stated that

Cultural democracy offers an analysis of the cultural, political and economic systems that dominate in Britain. More importantly, it offers a tool for action (p. 9).

Elaborating on the notion of cultural democracy, the manifesto notes that any genuine democracy must allow its people to create culture, rather than having culture made for them. Kelly provides us with an analogy – 'the compliant purchaser who has been taught that democracy is being allowed to choose between the different packets on the supermarket shelves, and that the choice of what should be put on the shelves in the first place is a job for experts' (Kelly, 1984, p. 98). Braden connects cultural democracy to the broad aims articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, citing the 'right to culture' (Braden, 1978, p. 14). The Council of Europe's response to its own directive implemented the creation of the 'socio-cultural animateur', described by Braden as 'part priest, part artist, who breathes life into a community' (p. 178). These types of post flourished in the UK in the 1980s, emphasizing local cultural expression and making available the appropriate media of expression, such as visual arts, drama, dance or music.
Braden underlines community arts commitment to the working-class ethic, suggesting that "[H]igh Art" is associated with the middle class and its values and Community Art is associated with the working class and its values' (p. 179). Braden's observations reflect those debates found within various government publications such as Roy Shaw's *Élitism versus Populism in the Arts* and the Conservative government's discussion paper *The Arts – the way forward* (Shaw, no date; St John-Stevas, 1978). With ideas grounded in socialism, and a desire for new social contexts in which to practise, community artists believed in a new classless politics. Community artists recognized that there was a weakening of social structures, and a growth of individualism coupled with an increase in consumerism. One of the key directives sought to enable communities to take control of their own lives, to resist dominant ideology and to forge out the most appropriate path for its growth. Somewhat simplistically, Kelly creates an image of 'giving it back to the people' (Kelly, 1984, p. 9).

**Context**

With the backdrop of 'Thatcherism', an era defined by the economic and social policies pursued by Margaret Thatcher, British Prime Minister from 1979 to 1990, the Shelton Trust's rhetoric fought against the dominant culture's ideological stranglehold. The polarity between consumerism and participation was a hot issue, and the Shelton Trust's manifesto proclaimed that as human beings, '[W]e receive rather than express' (Shelton Trust, 1986, p. 25). Braden's report into the artist-in-schools scheme of the mid-1970s cites the polarity of product/process as central to her findings (Braden, 1978). Understanding her research commission as principally concerned with the context for art, Braden's text is constantly concerned with the 'new' relationship between artist and the work in specific communities. Braden notices a shift from content and form to context and form (p. 10).
According to Braden, the emphasis on context was the stamp of the decade, 'an initiative to put art and artist back into social contexts' (p. 3). Recognizing an alliance with ideas discussed by the Marxist theorist Walter Benjamin, Braden advocates the necessity for artists to produce conditions where artwork will have greater relevance. The destruction of an elitist 'aura' emancipates the artwork and generates greater opportunities for wider participation (Benjamin, 1992). Braden also suggests that language and vocabulary are the greatest barrier in the efforts to change the context; 'the arts are not merely socially desirable, but socially necessary' (Braden, 1978, p. 16).

As an historical document, the Campaign for a Popular Culture demonstrated the attempt of community arts to inject radicalism into municipal and community politics (Campaign for a Popular Culture, 1986). When the Labour administration took control of London's County Hall in May 1981, there was a determination to initiate cultural democracy and 'radicalism' within the Greater London Council (GLC). Peter Pitt, the chair of the GLC's 'Arts and Recreation Committee', suggested that cultural politics had never figured as part of the political process emanating from County Hall. In short, the committee tried to redefine the whole notion of cultural politics, realigning the dominant concept of Arts as 'high culture' and increasing general participation across all art forms. To achieve its aims the GLC committee had to challenge popular perceptions surrounding the nature of art and those who make it. Barriers needed removing, enabling more of the capital's residents to actively engage in its arts programmes.

The GLC described this initiative as 'arguably the most major and radical cultural initiative which has been undertaken by a local authority in this country' (Campaign for a Popular Culture, 1986). Ian Henry offers a detailed analysis of political ideologies for both cultural and leisure policy, citing the role that community arts had in stimulating political action.
within the GLC (Henry, 1993). Henry stated that community arts could potentially help develop the ‘working-class consciousness’ (p. 43). Henry’s continuum model placed community arts within the promotion of the ‘New Urban Left’, a position reflected in the work of critical theorists of the Frankfurt School, such as Theodor Adorno and Antonio Gramsci (pp. 50/1).

In practice, issues of participation were brought to the fore because, as Baldry notes, the attitude of the community artist differs from practitioners of the more established arts in that they are ‘chiefly concerned with a process rather than with a finished product’ (Kelly, 1984, p. 16). Bruce Cole clarifies the community arts position by explaining that community artists rejected the traditional notion of the artist as ‘inspired’ professional, and ‘sought to develop a more participatory approach to art in which the process, the interaction between people, was given more emphasis that the product’ (Cole, 1999, p. 141). Community arts projects served the interest of communities in which they were located and in this way the work was with the people rather than on the people. Reinforcing this, Dickson noted that community arts ‘grew gradually and stridently, through trial and error’, through the efforts of both artists and communities (Dickson, 1995, p. 16).

The primary concern for the community artist was the impact upon the community and the relationships the artist had with it. As agents of change, the community arts practitioners developed skills beyond the aesthetic, encroaching across the psychological, social and political divides. Formalistic understandings of art were rejected for a belief in arts capabilities to incite affirmation. Brook describes community arts as ‘a living practice’ and one ‘which happens with people in their daily lives’ (Brook, 1988, p. 15). Roger Hill’s ‘The Arts of Life’ reinforces Brook’s sentiments with a project that stresses the importance of self-education through a breadth of arts activity that includes making clothes to one’s personal design, magic/conjuring, photography and gardening (Hill, 1993).
Community artists have understood that aspects of their work cannot be replanted from one context to another; the meaning of the work is situated within the locality. Brook highlights this notion by referring to the use of local skill within community arts projects (Brook, 1988). Projects supported by the Rowntree Foundation, such as those explored within the video presentation *Culture Makes Community*, indicate the emphasis community artists give to context and meaning (Wollheim, 1998). Concentrating on how community cultural activities contribute to programmes of regeneration, the six projects highlighted in the documentary video examine the empowering effect of arts on individuals in the light of local community. This document is a testament to partnerships with local councils, artists and funding agency and demonstrates the potential of cultural content within regeneration programmes. Projects like those initiated by the Rowntree Foundation have their roots within the work of the GLC.

**Definitions**

The early work of the ACA created no manifestos or official proclamation. There was no conscious attempt to create a membership, just a fluctuating group of mainly young artists working in an unorthodox manner. Through meetings and discussions, Kelly notes that the artists involved had common ideological motives, and this led to an understanding as to the nature of the practice (Kelly, 1984). Mark Webster comments retrospectively that ‘[C]ommunity Arts is, if nothing else, about change, and about using the Arts to achieve change (Webster, 1997, p. 69).

The Baldry report had stated that although it was offered many definitions of community arts, it ‘found none of them completely satisfactory’ (Kelly, 1984, p. 16). The report concluded that ‘the search for definition is probably futile’ (p. 16). Baldry summarized with the following, ‘[C]ommunity artists are distinguishable not by the techniques they use ... but by their attitude towards the place of their activities in the life of
society' (p. 16). Braden qualifies this statement, noting that ‘[C]ommunity Arts is not a specific form of art, but a specific attitude to art’ (Braden, 1978, p. 107).

The Shelton Trust’s bi-monthly magazine Another Standard described seven varieties of community arts and offered a five-point checklist as regards what constituted community arts practice (Shelton Trust, 1986). Described as a manifesto ‘that identifies an emerging movement that proceeds from people’s personal experiences and communal knowledge’, Another Standard is powerful in its commitment to radical arts practice (back page). The ‘checklist’ reflects a growing confidence in the aims of community arts and represents the formation of a working definition. The checklist reads as follows:

- Community arts is a way of working, not a particular art form.
- Community arts workers use the whole range of media from folklore to video, from fire shows to puppetry.
- Community arts does not aim to build up audience for traditional art forms like theatre, although this may be a spin-off.
- Community arts encourages active participation by ordinary people rejecting the trend towards passive consumption in all other areas.
- Community arts aims at being closely relevant to the communities in which it happens, enabling people to express local feeling or experience (Dickson, 1995, p. 22).

Both Kelly and Brook cite the policy paper written by the Greater London Arts Association (GLAA) as their terms of reference in defining community
Community Music in the UK

arts during the mid-1980s (Kelly, 1984; Brook, 1988). GLAA’s pivotal statement acted as a framework for the refinement of a community arts definition:

‘Community Arts is ... an Arts activity defined by its method of work and aims, rather than by its art form. It is an Arts practice in which artists and communities work in creative partnership in order to articulate, engage and address the needs, experience and aspirations of those communities, and which has as its final aim the creation of a culture of equality’ (Brooks, 1988, p. 7).

GLAA’s statement managed to embrace the key ideas of the time, emphasizing method, partnership, context and equality. Although it appears that a working definition was in place, Kelly insists that community arts failed to reach any agreed definitions (Kelly, 1984). This ‘failure’ meant that community artists could no longer be certain that they shared each other’s motivations and understandings. This echoed Braden’s perception that community arts practitioners had no unified philosophy (Braden, 1978). Kelly proceeded to suggest that the inability to affirm anything but the vaguest of aims became a major obstacle in the growth of community arts (Kelly, 1984).

Issues of definition have continued to provoke discussion and argument. During the 1990s, the Community Development Foundation released its report, *Arts and Communities* (Arts and Communities, 1992). Within the report, community arts was defined as a movement that aimed primarily to ‘stimulate involvement in the Arts among people in disadvantaged conditions’ (p. 85). The definition stated that ‘[I]t [community arts] sought to empower individuals and communities to participate more effectively in running their own lives’ (p. 85). The report illustrated the practical challenges involved in community arts, noting that success was often achieved by self-help groups and by intervention in public issues and
policy. Critically, the report suggested that community arts had become a loosely used term, and that the range of activities now taking place under its banner would best be described as 'arts in the community'. It is implied that the term 'arts in the community' would include community arts activities. Accordingly, the distinguishing marks of arts in the community are five-fold: social concern, the development of individual or group creativity, partnership, participation and consultation (p. 87).

Among the debates surrounding the definition of community arts was an attempt to disentangle the term from amateur arts. The *Arts and Communities* report suggested that the simplest definition of amateur Arts was 'all Arts activity which is self-motivated and unpaid' (p. 88). Everitt was later to use these findings to affirm that community-orientated arts are arts with additional social purpose (Everitt, 1997). These purposes included personal development and social cohesion; expressing or reinterpreting cultural, religious or ethnic affiliations; articulating feelings about social issues or local problems; and stimulating or contributing to local action, democracy and change (p. 38). Webster uses three directives to untangle community arts from amateur arts and the commercial sector: firstly, the promotion of participation regardless of skill or 'talent'; secondly, the work is undertaken by a group who have the same or collective identity; and thirdly, the work is developed primarily to provide opportunities for people who through social or economic circumstances have little opportunity to participate in the arts (Webster, 1998, p. 2). In the context of local council arts policy, Webster finally offers five bullets to pinpoint community arts activity: Empowerment, Participation, Access, Quality and Partnership (p. 7).

Contemporary texts emanating from the creativity and culture division of the Rockefeller Foundation (USA) have chosen not to employ the collective term community arts, although the term 'community artists' is used to describe the individual practitioners (Adams and Goldbard, 2001, 2002).
From the American perspective, community arts is understood to be British and is described as ‘conventional arts activity based in a municipality’ (Adams and Goldbard, 2001, p. 4). The Rockefeller Foundation concentrates on the phrase ‘Community Cultural-Development’, unravelling the term by describing each component individually. Firstly, the word Community acknowledges the work’s participatory nature, emphasizing collaborations between artist and other community members. Secondly, Cultural indicates a breadth of activity beyond just art. Thirdly, the term Development suggests the dynamic nature of cultural action, with its ambition of conscientization and empowerment (pp. 4/5).

Practical projects run within the notion of Community Cultural-Development embrace many of the key ideas housed within the UK’s model of community arts. These include active participation in cultural life, cultural equality (democracy), diversity, social transformation (change) and cultural expression as a means of emancipation (process over product) (Adams and Goldbard, 2002, pp. 9/10). Suzi Gablik understands this process as the ‘re-enchantment’ of art, described as ‘a kind of art, which speaks to the power of connectedness and establishes bonds, art that calls us into relationships’ (Gablik, 1992). With similarity to those arguments of commentators involved in community arts in the UK, the community artist is understood as an agent of transformation and needs to be seen as equal in legitimacy to those who occupy the mainstream art world. For ongoing debates that include all aspects of community arts work within the UK and increasingly reflecting international dimensions, the national magazine for participatory arts, MailOUT, is published six times a year.
The Growth of Community Music as Practice

Introduction
The growth of Community Music as recognised practice is understood as developing from the late 1960s finally arriving in 1989 as a conscious articulation of musical-doing. As another way of knowing and understanding the world, and as such an important addition to the notion of empowerment, community arts began to fragment finding method and expertise within specific art-form disciplines. Projects and practice grew from the general ‘attitude’ of community arts towards specialities such as Community Dance, Community Video, Community Drama, Community Theatre and Community Music. The following considers the growth of Community Music, offering a historical perspective through which to understand the phenomenon.

Matarasso describes the roots of Community Music as ‘extraordinarily wide’, citing among other origins the Brass Bands and the Folk Clubs of the twentieth century. (Matarasso, 1994, p. 14). Everitt also associates Brass Bands with Community Music and adds the Choral Society tradition into the milieu of what might be considered as Community Music. Like community artists before them, community musicians recognized that communities had been making music a long time before the term Community Music had been coined. It has been shown that between the late 1960s and the 1980s, community arts had gained some credence and some currency within the UK. Community Music fashioned itself in the environs of this consciousness, and around 1989 began to establish itself. As an initial strand of community arts, Community Music cut itself free from notions of ‘music in the community’ and ‘communal music-making’, where these terms related to a community being musical. Like community arts before it, Community Music was understood within the framework of those facilitators who actively encouraged people’s musical-doing.
The term 'musical community' is explored by Will Straw, who describes it as a population group whose composition is relatively stable and whose involvement in music takes the form of ongoing explorations of one or more musical idioms (Gelder and Thornton, 1997). According to Straw, these idioms are rooted within a geographical historical heritage. In contrast to this, Straw suggests that a musical 'scene' 'is a cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist' (p. 494). The notion of a 'scene' generates interactivity and difference in the way that cultural heritage often resists. Community Music is closer to this idea but has imprints of community arts, a conscious phenomenon that promotes the creation of access.

Community Music, with its capital 'C' and its capital 'M', should therefore be considered more accurately through a historical perspective that includes musician/composers-in-residence schemes, punk rock, music collectives, orchestra and opera outreach, music animateur's, music education and the formation of a national development agency. These tight parameters reflect the consciousness of music as a means for change and as such resonate with the politics of the New Left important for the initial impetus of the community arts movement. From a philosophical position that resists origins and essences it is not my intention to deny other traces important to the notion of Community Music, such as the Brass Band, Choral societies and folk clubs cited above, but I consider these expressions of musical doing marginal in terms of the overall trust of this thesis. The use of my chosen imperatives as parameters, rather than those of the Brass Band, Choral Society or Folk Club, serves to cement the milestones that represent Community Music. A historical perspective through these milestones provides a foundation from which to proceed towards an analysis of the deconstructive condition of Community Music.
Community Music in the UK

Context

Musicians-in-residence
The initial development of Community Music practices can be traced to the experimental music vocabulary of composers and educators such as John Paynter, Peter Aston, George Self, John Cage and Murray Schafer (Pitts, 2000, pp. 66–95; Paynter, 1982, 1992; Self, 1976; Schafer, 1975, 1992). The influence of the composer-teacher had been developing throughout the twentieth century, with Igor Stravinsky, Arnold Schoenberg and Paul Hindemith, all of whom shared musical ideas and techniques with students. In England, the composer Peter Maxwell Davies had since provided a high-profile example of an approach to teaching music within an avant-garde frame during his residency at Cirencester in 1959. This line of composer-teachers had all contributed to the development of ‘new’ classroom practices and was influential on Community Music pedagogy.

From the current trends in music education during the 1960s and the early 1970s, the increased attention given to popular and world music forms and styles were most outstanding in terms of the development of Community Music. This reflected shifts in music education and the growing influence that ethnomusicology began to have within the music education sector. Both Bruce Cole and Christopher Fox agree that Community Music’s beginnings stem from the experimental music education ideas of the 1960s (Fox, 1999; Cole, 1999). During this time there were changes in classroom teaching practices, shifts that were significant through the adoption of creative groupwork. Community Music practices, nurtured through the social activism of the community arts movement, extended many of these ideas and during the 1990s injected a new energy into the notion of creative groupwork within the school classroom.
As a form of activism located within the politics of socialism, Community Music initially resisted formalized music education and was a protest against perceived misunderstandings of music's nature and purpose. Politically constructed to maintain social and cultural hegemonies through ideas pertaining to high and low art, these 'misunderstandings' were seen as being rooted in a conception of music that has its genesis in the late eighteenth century. As tools of social stratification, education surrounding music's nature and purpose aligned Western European Art Music with the upper and middle classes, and popular musical forms with those from the working class. Gary Spruce notes that social engineering of this kind allowed the bourgeoisie to identify themselves with art music and thus confirmed their higher social status (Spruce, 2002). Cultural construction gave rise to the perception of art music's inherent superiority over other musical vernaculars and was hence reflected and reinforced in the music curriculum, manifesting itself most strongly as an ideology of musical autonomy.

Through the Weberian concept of traditional authority, notions of music as an autonomous, non-utilitarian construct propelled a music curriculum that advocated refined taste and sensibilities (Weber, 1978). Its central methods of control lay in its pursuit of the music 'object', codified in the restriction of access and musical 'ownership'. Music performance was relocating into the concert hall away from public venues, such as market squares and coffee houses. The concert hall was now only accessible to the upper classes and provided a powerful control mechanism for the ruling class. The reconceptualization of music from the medieval quadrivium alongside arithmetic, astronomy and geometry provided a shift from Platonic theoria to objectification. This brought music into line with 'object-arts' such as painting and sculpture through a new perception that considered music's meaning as the interplay between the notated score and the musical 'elements' such as rhythm, harmony and texture. As a
result, instrumental music became pre-eminent over vocal music. Perceived as having no reference outside itself, instrumental music provided an opportunity to distinguish between the ‘aesthetic’ and the ‘utilitarian’, the aesthetic gaining authority over the utility.

Although the publication of Carl Orff’s *Music for Children* paved the way for the shift in the music education climate, it was not until around the mid 1960s that the landscape of music education began to change with the emergence of the composer-educators such as John Paynter, Peter Aston, George Self and Murray Schafer. This period also brought about an increased interest in ethnomusicology, a professional scholarly pursuit generally noted as having its roots in the late nineteenth century⁴⁹ (Kunst, 1955; Myers, 1992). Ethnomusicology’s popularity rose with the founding of the Society for Ethnomusicology in 1955, and the subsequent incorporation of ethnomusicological studies in American universities followed⁵⁰ (Nettl, 2002; Shelemay, 1992). While music education was incorporating techniques of the prevailing avant-garde, Alan Merriam published one of ethnomusicology’s seminal texts, entitled *The Anthropology of Music* (Merriam, 1964). Merriam examines a range of definitions from contemporary scholars such as Jaap Kunst, Mantle Hood and Gilbert Chase, concluding that ‘ethnomusicology is to be defined as “the study of music in culture”’ (p. 6). As a field of study ‘that joins the concerns and methods of anthropology with the study of music’, ethnomusicology began to gnaw at those who continued to understand music as an autonomous object⁵¹ (Shelemay, 2001, p. 6). Those ethnomusicologists who performed and facilitated performances of world music were more influential to practice than those who concentrated on the scholarly pursuit. From this perspective those that were influential included; Ricardo D. Trimillos, Dale A. Olson, Patricia Shehan Campbell, David P. McAllester, and William Malm (Anderson and Campbell, 1989; Malm, 1977; McAllester, 1973; Solis, 2004).
Progressions in music education and musical understanding, compounded with the political ideology of the community arts movement, provided the foundations for the growth of Community Music. First published in 1977, Christopher Small’s *Music, Society, Education* provides a noted theoretical base in which advocates of Community Music, such as Cole, can argue for alternative orientations in music education. Small’s text cracks open aspects of music as a social force, analysing the ‘ritual’ of concert-going and traditional notions of music and music education (Small, 1996). Small’s emphasis is the importance of the art-process rather than ‘the relative unimportance of the art-object’ (p. 4). Through discussions surrounding music-making in other cultures, Small stresses the social imperatives, later stating that ‘[M]usic is not a thing at all but an activity, something that people do’ (1998, p. 2). Reminiscent of Applied ethnomusicologists’ alliance to Heideggerian phenomenology, Small suggests that ‘to take part in a music act is of central importance to our very humanness’ (p. 8).

Musicians such as Glyn Evans, Bruce Cole and Duncan Chapman were all influential in the development of Community Music practices. Through personal correspondence in the early 1990s, I was alerted to the fact that they were not only aware of Small’s contribution to musicology but also to John Blacking’s contribution to ethnomusicology. Connections run deep between Small’s and Blacking’s conviction that ‘music cannot be transmitted or have meaning without associations between people’ (Blacking, 1973, p. vi). In method and perspectives, ethnomusicology drew at least as much from anthropology and the social sciences as it did from musicology and the humanities. In his classic work, *How Musical is Man?*, Blacking notes that an anthropological approach to the study of all musical systems makes more sense than an analysis of the patterns of sounds as things in themselves (Blacking, 1973). Accordingly, no musical style has ‘its own terms’: ‘Its terms are the terms of its society and culture,
and the bodies of the human beings who listen to it, create and perform it54 (p. 25).

While ethnomusicologists pressed forward in the cultural study of music, the progressive ideal of the 1960s reinforced the emerging ideology of music education as providing opportunities for children to engage directly with music as composers and performers (Paynter, 1970, 1982, Self, 1976, Schafer, 1975, 1992, Swanwick, 1979). As music education began to emphasize creativity and self-expression, the teacher's role began to change from a possessor of pre-determined knowledge to one who facilitated creative exploration. Pitt's outlines these changes comprehensively by describing models of musical learning from the 1960s to the 1990s (Pitt, 2000). Community Music's beginnings stem from these convictions. As an addition to the new wave of creative groupwork in schools, musician and composer-in-residency schemes supplemented primary and secondary music education. Early Community Music practice found solace in Small's emphasis on the art-process rather than the art-object (Small, 1996). First published in 1977 Small's Music Society Education had influenced some of the first wave of Community Music practitioners. Small's ideas had equally found resonance with Blacking's conviction surrounding the social quality of music (Blacking, 1973). I am aware of these influences through Community Music gatherings I used to attend in the early 1990s.

Music Society Education projected a communal activity of 'musicking'55 bringing together a pluralist vision of music-making with a critique of formal music education. Multiculturalism,56 interculturalism and cultural diversity became popular terms, and for some ethnomusicology and music education became a crossroads for knowing music, education and culture (Campbell, 2003, 2004; Kors and Schippers, 2003).57 These ideas were to resonate with those involved as musicians within the community arts movement, and later with Community Music itself.58 Small understood
that some musicians were attempting to ‘restore lost communality’ in Western music, aiming for a restoration of the creative process over that ‘glossy finished product’ (Small, 1996, p. 152). Echoing Small’s attack upon Western European concert-going and the loss of participation to consumerism, Cole stated that ‘[T]he effect of groupwork in music education was profound, opening a new world of artistic communality which many commentators felt to have been missing in European culture’ (Cole, 1999, p. 142; Small, 1996, pp. 7–59).

Stemming from these shifts in music education in the UK the introduction of the musician and composer-in-residency schemes became fashionable within both primary and secondary level education. Recognizing needs within music education, these schemes served as an addition to the new wave of creative group work pioneered by the likes of Paynter. David Cain, a jazz and medieval music specialist with seven years’ experience in BBC Radiophonic Workshop, worked in the Cleator Moor area of Cumbria between 1973 and 1975. The experiences of Cain in this employment situation provide an example of these early music residencies (Braden, 1978, pp. 73–9; Joss, 1993a, pp. 3–18). The musical presence of Cain within a specified geographic area typified the nature of these initiatives, setting a precedence that was to influence the music animateur posts of the mid-1980s.

Braden’s interviews with Cain reveal the lack of clarity in the construction of the early residencies, highlighting confusion between musician, school and funding agencies. Expectations of partnerships within the participatory arts initially failed to realize that attempts to bridge gaps between professional and amateur music-making required more than just good musicianship. It became apparent very quickly that traditional training for musicians was not adequate within the Community Music arena. Braden had already made this point in relation to the visual artists who had received contracts for work within community settings.
Although Cole had understood the importance of the music residency, he had seen it as only one of three contributing threads to the growth of Community Music, pinpointing politics and welfare as the other two (Cole, 1999). From a background immersed in the ideology of community arts, Cole had been responsible for the Lewisham Academy of Music, which had been a very large music youth club with a membership of around 250 young people (Chapman, 1992b). Agreeing to host some student from the group enrolled in studying the new Performance and Communication Skills course at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, Cole had been critical as regards motivations, describing the students as having 'a kind of “holiday romance” with reggae and unemployed black kids in south London' (p. 10). It was at the invitation of John Paynter at the University of York that Cole became a teaching fellow in Community Music and developed what is now the Masters programme in Community Music.

In Everitt’s rationalizing of Community Music’s initial growth and reasons for its flourishing trajectory, he makes four broad suggestions that expand on Cole’s tripartite formulation. Firstly, Everitt notes a parallel between the ‘birth’ of community arts and the growth of rock and pop, citing its key instigators as being located in the working classes. Secondly, the growing economic strength of young people was brought about by increased job opportunities and increasing earning potential. Thirdly, new forms of music-making challenged conventional relationships between active performing and passive audiences. Fourthly, affordable instruments, namely guitars and drums, provided a wider base in which to encourage an atmosphere of music participation (Everitt, 1997). The next stage of growth is located with Everitt’s understanding of the rise of rock and pop.

**Music collectives and punk rock**

Everitt’s formulation rehearses a number of the ideas already highlighted but specifically pinpoints the cultural imperative of popular music.
Andrew Blake’s text *The Land Without Music* considers the story of British popular music, and although it does not directly comment on Community Music *per se*, it does interact with issues of audience, participation and politics (Blake, 1997). Scholarly investigations surrounding the nature of musical audiences, subcultures, histories and genres, and the music industry began to develop through the growing accolades of British cultural theoreticians such as Hoggart, Williams, Thompson and Hall (Negus, 1996; Gelder and Thornton, 1997; Turner, 1992). Punk rock, best characterized as part youth rebellion and part artistic statement, served as an interesting site for such cultural analysis (Savage, 1991; Sabin, 1999). Moving through the changes in music education highlighted above, the site of ‘punk’ overtly gave community musicians the oppositional stance rooted within its ideological beginnings. In this way, punk provided the political imperative community musicians had been afraid to lose in an association with music education. As one of the chief instigators in the creation of the music cooperative, punk and Community Music were brought together in a short-lived ideological allegiance.

With the social and economic problems of the 1970s, Britain had inadvertently provided a catalyst and timing for the development of a punk subculture. Against a background of young people’s frustration concerning Britain’s social and economic problems, and a reaction against the era’s rock super-stars, punk aligned itself with the Anti-Nazi league, and Rock against Racism. Like community arts and consequently Community Music, punk rock emphasized class politics, creating a potent fusion between music and political statements. Jacques Attali’s thesis on the political economy of music describes sound (noise) and music as instruments of socio-political power, ‘a tool for marking territorial boundaries’ (Attali, 1985, p. 6). Inscribed within the panoply of power, music’s primary function is not to be sought in aesthetics, but in the ‘effectiveness of its participation in social regulation’ (p. 30). As Wayne
Bowman notes, music's unrivalled capacities for affecting separation and integration makes it an ideal vehicle for the articulation, identification, reinforcement, and subversion of social structures (Bowman, 1998).

For many, the punk Zeitgeist created an atmosphere of dread and anti-social behaviour, but for (mainly) young people, punk created an environment of participation. The situation that supported the growth of punk also supported the growth of Community Music. Bowman’s retrospective of music as a social and political force highlights music as a potent social force that extends directly and deeply into some of humankind’s most pressing concerns. (Bowman, 1998, pp. 304–55). Through illustrative examples of Chilean, Cajun and Native American music, Mark Mattern also underlines community-based political action through music (Mattern, 1998). The visible potency of participatory music-making of this period began to galvanize Community Music, and attitudes resonated with what Attali describes as ‘the creation or consolidation of a community, of totality. It is what links a power centre to its subjects’ (Attali, 1985, p. 6).

Political unease coupled with an alternative vision of music-making encouraged musicians to work beyond the consideration of music as an autonomous object. Punk and consequently community musicians rebelled against the focus on consumerism perpetrated by the self-styled ‘music industry’. The business world of the music industry had generated a vacuum that had polarized participation and product. Small had already commented on the notion of the ‘experts’ as dictators of the vogue (Small, 1996). Suggesting that experts ‘tell us which of the products of the composing or performing experts we should be listening to’, Small perpetuates his position as an advocate for participation (p. 90).

As the result of an onslaught of the capitalist music industry and the loss of creative opportunities, the music cooperative or music collectives grew
throughout towns and cities during the 1970s and early 1980s. Punk disregarded the sophistication and virtuosity of many rock bands, such as Genesis, Yes and Led Zeppelin, replacing notion of virtuosity with performances of energy and passion. Dispelling the feeling of musical élitism created by iconic worship and unattainable technique, punk explored, celebrated and affirmed the identity of those who participated. The initial punk performances were not bound in traditional musical expectations. Performances were stripped back, fudging the barriers between performer and audience, thus propelling it towards a postmodern ethos. Mastering instrumental technique was not a prerequisite to performing. The act of participation was the barometer by which to evaluate a successful event. This type of affirmation is, as Simon Frith suggests, central to an understanding of who they (we) are; music is treated as a form of social communication (Clayton et al, 2003, pp. 92–101). Discourse surrounding the sociology of music can be found in the writing of Ruth Finnegan, who argues that music creates critical pathways through life, and Tia DeNora, who suggests that music acts as a cultural vehicle in everyday life, constructing who we are in profound ways (Finnegan, 1989; DeNora, 2000).

The punk embodiment of participation evolved a ‘have a go’ attitude, and actively encouraged an atmosphere that promoted the sense that anyone can take part in music-making. This position challenged traditional views of professionalism, ensemble and audience. Music cooperatives encouraged a communal spirit that often resulted in musicians pooling moneys. Consequently, bands were sharing larger and better-equipped rehearsal spaces with increased resources, such as PA systems and recording facilities. Through these endeavours, the music collectives recorded compilation albums, showcasing local acts and offering opportunities for exposure beyond the rehearsal garage. Local authorities and in some cases the Regional Arts Associations saw substantial value in these initiatives.
The value was understood to transgress beyond the cultural and extend to the economic. Joss cites job creation, skills training, education and youth provision as all factors that enabled music cooperatives to initially flourish (Joss, 1989). Many of the cooperatives were situated in London, and with the demise of the Greater London Council (GLC) in 1986 any financial support all but disappeared. The GLC had been of great importance to the development and support of the participatory arts in general, and its abolition led to the demise of many of the capital's music cooperatives. By this time the punk scene had faded but had left an indelible mark on many aspects of British cultural life. Contemporary assessments of punk overlook its impact on those radical musicians who turn towards the broader scope of music education under the banner of Community Music.

**Participation**

**Music animateur**

During the epoch of the music cooperative, a number of key developments ensured that Community Music continued to expand. Described by Joss as a ‘key year’ for the development of Community Music, 1984 witnessed several influential happenings. Firstly, the first orchestral education manager was appointed to the London Sinfonietta and the first full-scale community residency by a British orchestra. Secondly, 1984 witnessed the creation of the seventh International Society of Music Education’s (ISME) commission, the Commission for Community Music Activity. Thirdly, there was the creation of the Music Education Working Party (MEWP) organized and managed by the Arts Council of Great Britain (Joss, 1993a, p. 4).

As a key policy decision, the Music Education Workers Party’s (MEWP) mission was to forge a connection between the worlds of education, community development and music. The development of these links
generated a new breed of music professional and opened a significant space in which to actively enable and support music participation beyond the classroom walls. Leading to the creation of the music animateur posts, the MEWP’s recommendations ‘proved to be something of a turning point’ in the growth of Community Music (Matarasso, 1994, p. 15). The music animateur\textsuperscript{67} established a prominence in local communities during the mid-1980s, encouraging active musical doing in contexts yet untapped. The animateur posts attached to art centres, educational institutions, or as outreach workers for orchestras or opera companies. The locations of these posts were often the results of initiatives of individual practice and partnerships with arts organizations and local authorities.

In practice, the music animateur demanded a flexible approach to music-making. David Price suggests the analogy of a ‘Swiss Army Knife’ to describe the array of skills this type of professional required (Cole, 1999, p. 145). Joss employs the phrase ‘a new kind of professional’, pinpointing the combination of ‘musical, facilitatory, administrative and communication skills’ as keys to knowledge domains needed to execute the practice (Joss, 1993a, p. 6). Musically, many community musicians had adopted what George McKay calls ‘the spirit of improvisation’, a phrase that affirms Community Music’s link to the free jazz styles developed at the time of the 1960s counter-culture (Moser and McKay, 2005, p. 62). Prominent in establishing wider participation through improvised music-making was John Stevens, a founder member of Community Music Ltd.\textsuperscript{68} For Stevens, improvisation is the basis of learning to play a musical instrument. Although Stevens understands the usual routes of formal study, he pinpoints the limits of the one-to-one approach and advocates the group workshop (Bailey, 1993). Described as the ‘the first musician to run an improvising class’, Stevens’s developing pedagogy is outlined through a conversation with Derek Bailey published in Bailey’s excellent study, \textit{Improvisation: its Nature and Practice in Music} (pp. 118–23). Stevens’s approach to improvised music-making is presented in Search and Reflect,
a music workshop handbook that had a tremendous influence on music animateurs during the 1980s and early 1990s (Stevens, 1985). It is interesting to note that Christopher Small writes the foreword to Stevens's book, and begins by asking a question that affirms the position of community musicians at that time:

What is it that makes a musician important? Is it in the creation of compositions for performance in concert halls and opera houses for the delectation of those who like, and can afford, to frequent such places? Is it in holding halls full of such people enthralled with performances of past masterpieces? Or is it in using his or her gifts, skills and experiences to awaken and to guide the dormant musicality of those whose music has been taken from them? (p. iv).

Participation in active musical doing grew alongside the music animateur network throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. Through this process of growth and development there were shifts from a generic music worker to a worker with a remit that specifically reflected an aspect of the communities in which the work took place: for example the Jazz Animateur in Wigan and the Gamelan Animateur in Lincoln both reflected a commitment to particular types of music and music making.69 Towards the beginning of the 1990s, inadequate administrative support and a squeeze on local authority funding saw a decline in the music animateur posts.

Community

The formation of a national development agency
The momentum of the musician-in-residence schemes, the music collectives and the music animateur networks culminated in ‘Making Connections’, Britain’s first nationally focused Community Music event. Making Connections, held over the weekend of 15th and 16th April 1989
at the Abraham Moss Centre in North Manchester, was organized by the regional arts council, North West Arts. It attracted 130 delegates from a wide range of backgrounds, including music animateur’s, orchestra and opera outreach workers, community artists and local arts officers. Key activists such as Tim Joss, David Price, Pauline Muir, Andrew Bentley, Ben Higham, Hugh Nankivell, Duncan Chapman, and Pete Moser played a significant part in the formalization of Sound Sense. This group of musician represented the range of backgrounds through which community musicians were working and thus solidified its trajectory outlined in this historical perspective. The event in Manchester was an attempt to boost the national profile of Community Music as well as to celebrate and share the variety and diversity of the practice. Making Connections was also a chance to explore and discuss some of the emerging difficulties inherent in the practice of Community Music. Some of the key people who With echoes of the first national community arts seminar, those who identified with Community Music were present to discuss definitions, values and key principles. One of the most important aspects of this meeting was the suggestion that a national association representing Community Music activity would be to the advantage of those who were currently involved in its practice. This organization, eventually named ‘Sound Sense’, proceeded to hold its inaugural meeting in December that same year (Deane, 1999a). The initial emphasis of Sound Sense was on representing the interests of people working in Community Music, but the organization quickly broadened its perspective, describing itself as the National Community Music Association. Making Change Work, a document distributed to its board members in 1999, stated that ‘Sound Sense was born out of a conference on Community Music held at the Abraham Moss Centre, on the day of the Hillsborough disaster in April 1989. We exist because community musicians want and need support and because Community Music needs promoting’ (Deane, 1999b).
One of the key issues for Community Music was the identity of the investment and professional mission, so that during Making Connections those who attended committed themselves to seven basic principles. These principles were expressed somewhat clumsily, but nevertheless ascertained the position of Community Music alongside the attitude of community arts. The principles read as follows:

- By valuing everyone’s participation, Community Music asserts music-making as a human right.
- Music can be an integral part of social life but is under pressure to occupy a separate enclosed world.
- Community Music emphasizes participation, planning, organizing, composing as well as singing and playing.
- Community Music creates opportunities for skill exchange and as a consequence values group activities
- Community Music embraces and respects a diverse world of musical styles and contexts.
- In Community Music, the professional worker is a resource offering skills, ideas and support.
- Community Music needs a new kind of professional, and so training is vital (Drummond, 1991).

The introduction of Sound Sense and Sounding Board, the quarterly published magazine (or bulletin as it was originally called), established a mechanism for ongoing networking and dialogue of those interested in Community Music work. Consolidating its national status with a second conference in 1991, ‘Community Music – The Official Version?’, Sound Sense moved towards establishing the Community Music agenda.
Issues surrounding definition were still an imperative, and a sense of belonging and identity, coupled with funding imperatives, demanded clearer guidelines as to the nature of Community Music. As Joss remarks, ‘[O]nly in 1991, at the second national community music conference, did Britain’s community music practitioners dare to call themselves a movement’ (Joss, 1993a, p. 3). Practical illustrations followed by discursive exchanges helped shape the articulated expressions of what was meant by Community Music. A new sense of confidence emerged as the initial principles generated from the first national meeting were synthesized into five digestible criteria with a purpose to find distinction for the nature of Community Music activity.

These revised criteria suggested that, firstly, Community Music aims to provide access to music for people who are not usually able to participate in musical activity; secondly, Community Music aims to offer opportunities for active participation in making and creating music; thirdly, Community Music is based on partnerships where any ‘professional’ input is biased towards ‘enabling’ rather than ‘leading’; fourthly, community musicians are concerned with additional social purposes rather than ‘music for music’s sake’; finally, Community Music projects offer physical resources to outside individuals or groups (p. 3).

As community musicians across the UK found their voice, subsequent articles appearing in Sounding Board began to adopt a defiant mood. ‘Get Organized!’ says Pauline Muir, ‘Get Connected!’ says Duncan Chapman (Muir, 1992a; Chapman, 1992). Both Muir and Chapman echoed Sound Sense’s call for community musicians to unify in recognition that greater momentum and effect would be generated under a united critical mass. Across the gamut of Community Music users and practitioners, there were perceptive difficulties as regards its identity. In 1993, Joss stated that ‘a problem of direction has to be faced: a common definition of Community Music has so far eluded us’ (Joss, 1993a, p. 3).
Joss's comment reflected a desire to seek out a definition, thus enabling smoother communication between would-be participants and funding agencies. Although the need for a definition concerned many community musicians, practitioners such as John Stevens, an influential figure in improvisational pedagogy, had no need to fall in line with a definition. Stevens stated that 'Whatever it is that we do together, that we agree on, that is Community Music' (Burgess et al, 1995, p. 9). Stevens's practical intentions are analysed as being 'Identification, Communication, Collaboration leading to Integration' (p. 9).

**Pedagogy**

**Training and education**

Those attending Making Connections in 1989 drew boundaries around distinguishable areas of Community Music employment. These were discrete criteria different from those articulated previously, and focusing upon opportunities for work. The four broad areas of employment opportunity were, firstly, outreach work by professional music ensembles, for example orchestras and opera companies; secondly, people working within a particular community, these musicians often being termed 'Community Music Worker' or 'Music Animateur'; thirdly, music cooperatives or collectives; fourthly, freelance workshop and project leaders (Joss, 1992, 1993).

Once the Community Music movement had began isolating employment opportunities, issues of training and professionalization began to emerge. Discussions surrounding training began to proliferate in *Sounding Board*, and an early example is Mary Keith's explanation on the National Vocational Qualifications (Keith, 1992). The nature of Community Music practice had revealed similar issues that Braden had highlighted as
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regards the visual artists working in a community arts capacity (Braden, 1978).

Community musicians began to understand and value their work, allowing an identity of specific competences such as musician, workshop leader, project manager and instigator, and entrepreneur. As a response to the idea of a new music professional, training providers scrutinized the employment landscape and began to move towards vocational training. Initially the most noticeable courses were the Music Performance and Communications Skills, run by the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, and the courses for workshop leaders run by Community Music Ltd in London, Cardiff and Norwich. Those involved in Community Music were keen for expansion, but not at the cost of its core values. Organizations such as the Arts and Entertainment Training Council were in a position to enable growth but practitioners were hesitant. Their concerns oscillated around the potential failure of a curriculum that would fail to fully reflect Community Music's core principles.

Community Music training and the subsequent issues that surround it found momentum around 1994. Supportive evidence for this is located in the magazine Sounding Board, the journal published quarterly by Sound Sense. In spring 1994 there were eight national training programmes: Singing from Scratch, Contemporary Music-Making for Amateurs, Music for Youth, Share Music (work with young people with physical disabilities), Visions of Reality (management skills for community artists), Local Distinctiveness in Action (the celebration of local identity), plus programmes providing professional orchestral players with guidance and support in education work (Unknown author, Sounding Board, 1994b). It was also in this year that Pete Moser organized his first ‘Approaches to Composition’ weekend as part of the More Music in Morecambe project (Moser, 1994). Moser's ‘Approaches to Composition’ weekends have
expanded over the subsequent years and have become a regular and much anticipated training feature on the UK’s Community Music landscape.

Reflective of its beginnings, Community Music saw itself outside the formal parameters of music education. Largely rejecting a language that employed the term education, Community Music introduced the use of the term ‘training’. This move highlighted a polarity between vocational and academic ‘education’. This shift was a national trend towards closer partnerships between potential employees and those within the employment sectors. Addressing the issues of how community musicians become better community musicians, Sound Sense published an ongoing debate on Professional Development throughout 1995 (Burgess et al, 1995; Higham et al, 1995). The results of this work accumulated in Which Training?, a directory of courses in Community Music published in 1998 (Deane, 1998). Which Training? described itself as a “hitchhiker’s guide” to Community Music courses, and aimed to direct potential students and practitioners to courses that were currently operating within the UK (p. 5).

The reduction of Which Training? to a series of statistics reveals nine specific Community Music courses, twenty Community Music modules within larger programmes, seventeen modules that offered some aspects of Community Music practice, and four providers offering short training courses. Those providing Community Music training varied between local organizations such as More Music in Morecambe, Sound it Out and Community Music Wales; independent organizations with a national remit like Access to Music, Music Unlimited and the Drake Music project; colleges of Further Education (FE) running Higher National Diplomas (HND) and BTEC National Diplomas, for example St Helens College, Neath College and the City of Liverpool Community College; and those from the Higher Education (HE) sector such as the Guildhall, the University of York and Dartington College of the Arts. From a total of
forty-seven different establishments offering Community Music training twenty-four are Higher Education Institutes (HEI) and five are music conservatories. Only three HEIs, the Liverpool Institute for Performing Arts, Goldsmiths’ College and the University of York, are committed to delivering specific Community Music academic programmes, while fourteen HEIs offer specific Community Music content and seven offer only aspects of the work. Only one conservatoire, the Trinity College of Music, offers specific Community Music modules, and the remaining three conservatoires, the Royal Academy, the Royal College, and the Royal Northern, cover some aspects of practice.

From the mid-1990s, dialogue surrounding professional development becomes a feature of Community Music discourse. Advertisements, letters and articles pertaining to the nature of Community Music and training reveal an ebb and flow, reflecting the changing face of Community Music as reactionary politics to a professionalized discipline. As some corners of Community Music practice now looks towards an established place within the academy, notions of an MA in Community Music or a BA (Hons) in Community Arts seem some distance from the reactionary community arts movement highlighted at the beginning of the chapter. Curriculum designers should take heed of the past; an understanding of its spirit is necessary in recognition of the traces transferred to neophyte community musicians by those practising before them.

Identity

Definitions
Swingler states that ‘issues of identity and purpose are important’, suggesting also that there are dangers in getting absorbed in an ‘introspection which has less and less to do with the real world’ (Swingler, 1993, p. 32). Irene Macdonald expresses a need for Community Music to
become 'more of a consciously exercised, defined, recognized and known activity' (Macdonald, 1994, p. 24). She suggests that 'navel-gazing' debates are not necessary but that there is a need to 'draw lessons, define issues and clarify practices out of the actual experiences of Community Music (p. 24).

The desire to identify Community Music becomes confused with a resistance to any philosophical considerations. Although David Price warns us against the definition trap, suggesting that it would be 'an act of collective kamikaze', he is unable to confront an alternative perspective in which to deliberate over its meaning (Swingler, 1993, p. 32). The so-called 'real-world' is the world of practice, of doing, of projects, funding and people. Conceptualizations are marginalized as 'introspection', as 'navel-gazing' and a distraction to practice generally. Community Music rhetoric polarizes the world of theory and practice, with its historical beginnings still evident in its rejection of any formality by many within the profession.

Emma Goldblatt and Rivkah Cummerson made two insightful comments during the third national Community Music conference in 1993. They both recalled the opening speaker's address (David Price) and described their feeling of 'being outsiders', mystified at the definitions appearing to be either 'complicated or vague' (Unknown author, Sounding Board, 1994a, p. 29). They stated that '[P]eople were relatively content to define their work against old and outdated philosophies which appeared to have their roots in the 60s and 70s rather than looking at how things were in the 90s and tackling challenges head on' (p. 29).

As two undergraduate degree students studying at the Birmingham Conservatoire, Goldblatt and Cummerson represented a new breed of community musician. The pioneers of the 1970s and 1980s had a particular ideological emphasis that was now less vital to those musicians
encountering Community Music for the first time in the early 1990s. As a community musician who bridges both the 1980s and the 1990s, Price states that the 'ideologically pure community artists of the late seventies' demonstrated a certain 'righteousness' (Price, 1994, back page). This, Price suggests, was in part derived from a need to create an identity separate from commercial artists, a 'desperate shout for a re-allocation of funding to support this (then) new form of work' (back page).

Price's language evokes the need for Community Music to come of age, and by January 1995 Community Music in the UK finally had a set of statements that clarified its position. Sound Sense had recognized that if progress was to be made with the development of Community Music, then it was best placed to address the issue of what Community Music does. Irene Macdonald, the chair of the organization, explained that there were two important reasons why the organization needed to attempt an answer to the vexed question of Community Music. Firstly, it was to establish an agreement of shared values so that the organization had a common foundation on which to build. Secondly, it was to have a clear view about what it was that Sound Sense was trying to promote (Macdonald, 1995). The statement read as follows:

- Community Music involves musicians from any musical discipline working with groups of people to enable them to develop active and creative participation in music.
- Community Music is concerned with putting equal opportunities into practice.
- Community Music can happen in all types of community, whether based on place, institution, interest, age or gender group, and reflects the context in which it takes place (p. 29).
Described by Kathryn Deane, Sound Sense’s current director, as ‘not so much a formal definition, but a three-part “test”’, the composite declaration has been a stable backbone to Sound Sense’s work from 1995 to the present (Deane, 1999b). In 1998 Sound Sense published a promotional ‘green’ leaflet confronting the question, ‘[W]hat is Community Music?’ Initially responding to the ‘what is’ question with ‘[M]usic with everyone, everyone with music and much more besides …’, the leaflet practically considered the ‘three-part test’ (What is Community Music, 1998). In five discrete categories, Community Music was articulated as being about people, participation, places, equality of opportunity and diversity. These sentiments are consequently found in the student pack Making a Difference with Music and Sound Sense’s dictionary of training opportunities Which Training? (Making a Difference with Music, 1998; Deane, 1998). Sound Sense’s affirmations would appear to have been successful in bringing issues of definition to a steady silence among many practitioners. Other than a few isolated letters, Sounding Board remains quiet on the issue of defining Community Music. I would conclude that at this juncture community musicians in the UK are secure in their understanding of what they do and why they do it.

Summary

Chapter 2 has shown that Community Music in the UK has established a strong foothold from which to further develop its commitment to accessible music-making. Through a historical perspective, I have demonstrated that Community Music has traces of practice located within the endeavours of the community artists of the 1970s. As a critique of Western capitalism, the community arts movement was part of the fabric of the counter-culture prevalent throughout the Western industrialized nations during the late 1960s. Politically charged, community arts offered a resistance to the perceived ‘high’ art domination of the ruling classes. Philosophically, community arts appears indebted to classical Marxist theory and its
variants, such as those proposed by Althusser, Adorno, Marcuse and Gramsci of the Frankfurt School. Although not directly written about, community arts could also be understood within the frame of those early exponents of cultural theory and popular culture such as William Thompson and Hall. As a trace of community arts, Community Music followed ideological suit with the notion of redressing the balance between such things as musicians/non-musicians, product/process, individual/community, formal music education/informal music education and consumption/participation.

With the concept of cultural democracy as a guiding light, community arts had extended the gamut of activity employed by the new professional community workers. As Britain began to find strategies in dealing with the societal changes brought about by the Second World War, those working with communities in the late 1940s and 1950s were beginning to realize that a cultural element to their work was vital. Beneficiaries of this community service began to demand cultural stimuli, anticipating the work of the community artist a decade or so later. As an attitude to art-making, the community arts movement profiled its socialist alliances by taking defiant and oppositional positions towards Arts Council policy. Frustratingly, community arts’ attempt to rupture dominant ideology often left it being judged by those it opposed, particularly highlighted with issues surrounding funding.

Throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s community arts laid the groundwork for the independent development of specific arts practices, such as Community Dance, Community Theatre and Community Music. During the middle of the 1980s Community Music organized itself and began to find its own identity. Its traces were located within a number of significant developments addressed in this chapter: composer-in-residence schemes of the 1970s, the music collectives of the late 1970s and early 1980s, the music animateur posts developed during the mid-1980s, the
creation of a national development agency in the 1990s, and continuing debate surrounding professionalization and the links to training and education.

Substantial historical narrative pertaining to Community Music in the UK does not exist in any one volume but is probably best located within the pages of *Sounding Board*. *Sounding Board* has been publishing its quarterly magazine since 1990, tracking the Community Music debate throughout this period until the present. The magazine presents Community Music from a UK perspective, publishing short articles ranging from a few hundred words to around several thousand. These articles offer reports on practice plus insightful comments and reflections on issues that directly affect Community Music's development.

Inside these many moments of growth, pathways and groundworks, I have come to understand five key themes of Community Music practice: identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy. These five themes have already aided the organization of this chapter, and will continue throughout the next three, offering stability and reference for the subsequent theory-building and analytical application.
3

The Condition of Community MUSIC and its Traits of Practice

Introduction

Chapter 2 has demonstrated the importance of five key themes in the historical development of Community Music: identity, context, community, participation, and pedagogy. The overall drive of Chapter 3 is to unpack these themes through a set of notions that flow from deconstructive thinking, thickening the discourse and providing a working theory in which to consider Community Music practice. This chapter therefore layers the voices of Community Music and deepens the thematic material.

As a narrative reflecting time's arrow, Chapter 2 tracked a linear path for Community Music. In terms of David Harvey's analysis of Time-Space compression, we have moved from the linear nature of 'becoming' into the spatial domain of 'being' (Harvey, 1990). Two sections extend from the chapter's overarching aim of articulating a theory in which to analyse and understand Community Music. Under the
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Two sections extend from the chapter’s overarching aim of articulating a theory in which to analyse and understand Community Music. Under the
heading 'Identity', the first section describes the condition of Community Music, articulating this notion within the formula Community MUSIC and thus forcing a fresh perspective of music itself. An articulation of Community Music's condition provides the overarching space in which to consider philosophical perspectives and provides the trajectory along which to explore practical imperatives. This should be seen as a continuation of the debates surrounding philosophical perspectives of music – a supplement to the ideas found in Wayne Bowman, Philip Alperson, David Elliott, John Blacking and Christopher Small (Bowman, 1998; Alperson, 1994; 1998, Elliott, 1995, 2005; Blacking, 1973; Small, 1996, 1998).

The second section isolates the four traits of Community Music practice in this study: context, community, participation, and pedagogy. These four imperatives reflect the themes identified in Chapter 2 and provide a framework in which to discuss the practice of Community Music. As practical manifestations, the traits are understood as the brush strokes within Community Music's deconstructive condition. The traits resonate deep within the condition of Community MUSIC and allow us to experience Community Music's practice. Under the sub-titles context, community, participation, and pedagogy, theoretical articulations are explained through which one can 'come to know' the phenomenon of Community Music.

Identity

Community musicians have understood that issues of identity are important, but have been concerned that any extended meditations may draw practitioners away from the actualities of practice. This is understandable from an economic perspective but counter-productive within the overarching desire for recognition and development. Theoretical considerations surrounding Community Music have historically been
passed-off as ‘navel-gazing’, a procedure that has been understood within the limits of definition. Jacques Derrida has suggested that in order to set meaning free we must apply ‘aggression and infidelity’ while not rejecting tradition and historical significance (GS, p. 193). This sentiment is adhered to when Derrida notes that the Greek philosophers are always ahead of him: '[T]he problem is not behind me. Plato is in front of me' (VR, p. 10). Double gestures such as respect and disrespect, fidelity and violation, preservation and emancipation, description and transformation infiltrate Derrida’s work.

In synergy with the pertinence of the Derridean ‘ghost’, the deconstruction of Community Music must recall the memory of the past. While this is so, community musicians must also respect and understand Community Music’s position within the genealogy of history. Although initially grounded within the limited expanse that seeks rigid definitions, Sound Sense eventually made headway in describing Community Music’s shared values (Deane, 1999b). The ‘three-part test’ articulated as — (1), Community Music involves musicians from any musical discipline working with groups of people to enable them to develop active and creative participation in music; (2), Community Music is concerned with putting equal opportunities into practice; and (3), Community Music can happen in all types of community, whether based on place, institution, interest, age or gender group, and reflects the context in which it takes place. These later reappear as five discrete categories: people, participation, places, equality of opportunity and diversity (What is Community Music, 1998; Making a Difference with Music, 1998). Commissioned research projects such as Case Studies and Issues in Community Music attempted to construct a practice-based framework in which to excavate Community Music’s identity but lack adequate attention to a condition of Community Music within the larger network of ‘music’ (Kushner et al, 2001).
This section will articulate a perspective from which to understand Community Music as practice within notions of MUSIC. Utilizing Elliott’s tripartite formulation of ‘music’ will help differentiate Community Music as identity rather than for its issues of practice such as participation, context and process/product. David Elliott understands ‘Music’ as a multidimensional concept and summarizes this by combining three related senses of the word ‘music’. Firstly, ‘MUSIC’ is a diverse human practice consisting of many different musical practices, genres and music-cultures; (Throughout this thesis the term MUSIC is employed, it is in this sense that it needs to be understood) secondly, ‘Music’ indicates different genres of musical practice, for instance Rock, Jazz, and Classical, where each genre is conceived as a musical practice within an artistic social community or music culture; and thirdly, each contextualized practice-specific action can be termed ‘music’ in the product sense of musical works that embody values, standards and traditions of any given practice of culture (Elliott, 1995; Mark, 2002).

I will use four Derridean notions to identify the condition of Community Music: à venir, trace, undecidable and differance,¹ These notions support an argument for the dislocation of MUSIC and its (re)integration² with Community Music. In each case, I have written sound bytes that offer a poetic response to the four Derridean ideas discussed. Each sound byte reflects an aspect of Community Music practice and thus begins the process of finding a synergy between the theory and practice. Although they may appear abstract careful reading will illuminate the correlation between poem and theoretical notion. The overarching idea is discussed at some distance from the traits of Community Music. These traits are, however, never far away, always resonating within the condition, shaping and marking its structural heterogeneity.
The Condition of Community MUSIC

Community Music and à venir

Hello, and your name is....
Please join in
You are most welcome

The question of identity begins with 'What is Community Music?', and this question is returned to the past, positioned behind the question that asks 'What is MUSIC?' This movement of memory follows Derrida's interrogation of Heidegger's question of Being and seeks to disclose Community Music's identity away from a system of thinking that relies on essences and origins. In this way, my consideration of the identity of Community Music is set apart from any attempt to provide a definition or a set of reducible statements that answers the question 'What is Community Music?'

The question of Being, the question of 'What is?' is often the inaugural question of philosophy. For Derrida the question 'What is?' is not necessarily the first question; at the base of this question a prior question beckons. Revealing his Heideggerian inheritance, Derrida's preoccupation with the first question of philosophy seeks to uncover the very condition of the question itself. Derrida divides his interrogation into two parts. Firstly, is 'questioning' the privileged form of philosophy? In other words, is thinking really questioning? Could there be before the question a more ancient, profound and radical movement that is not questioning, but rather affirmation? Secondly, Derrida raises a suspicion of the tradition of privileging the present participle of Being. He asks if there is not something presupposed in the way one understands Being. In other words, has the interpretation of Being privileged a modality of time that relies on the present? Derrida stated that

As soon as one is suspicious of this presentness of the present, of interpreting Being as a presence of the present, are there not
serious consequences that follow this desire for the present, the desire to interpret Being as presence?' (OB, 2′49′).

Taking a lead from Derrida’s questioning of the question, Community Music’s conceptual isolation requires alternative perspectives. A challenge to the notion of MUSIC, rather than Music and music, creates a philosophical space in which to place Community Music as affirmation. When interrogation is inflicted upon the question of ‘What is?’, the question of the present is followed by the work of the trace. The trace invokes the experience of a return to something else, of being returned to another past, another present and therefore a different kind of future. The trace elaborates a different type of temporality, its challenge to the origin as self-generative and pure evokes a becoming that is always borne by something other than itself. Derrida thinks of a past, or a coming to be, as not just a modified present or a future presentation of past presents. His conception of a past or a future experience takes place via a rapport with the Other or Others.

In order to distinguish between these different ideas of what a future is, Derrida suggests that the future is that which tomorrow, later or the next century will be. This future (l’avenir) is a future that is predictable, programmed, scheduled and foreseeable. There is, however, a future to come (à venir), an unexpected arrival, and for Derrida this is the real future, that which is unpredictable. Reaffirming the importance of the Other, Derrida stated that:

As soon as you address the other, as soon as you are open to the future, as soon as you have a temporal experience of waiting for the future, of waiting for someone to come: that is the opening of experience (VR, p. 22).
The future beyond the other known future is *à venir*; the Other comes without detection and there is no anticipation of its arrival. To say 'come' is not to call something or someone into your presence whose identity has been fully determined in advance. By this movement, Derrida deprives himself of the idea of either a teleological (purposely driven) or an eschatological (driven by destiny) heading. John Caputo notes that a Derridean history is not a course set in advance, towards a *telos*, but rather 'to set sail without a course, on the prow for something “new”' (NS, p. 117). In this way the call to the 'event' has always unforeseen dimensions and consequently possible complications. Any event contains, as a structural feature, the possibility that it can fail to live up to our expectations but can also exceed them in some way.

Placing the question of Community Music's identity behind that of MUSIC enables one to visualize Community Music as temporality beyond human categorization. In other words, Community Music is MUSIC's infrastructure, the formal rule that regulates the very condition of MUSIC. As an open matrix in which hierarchical oppositions and contradictions are engendered, infrastructures are irremediably plural and are energized with the strength to form rapports and thus account for differences, contradictions, aporias and inconsistencies. Rodolphe Gasché suggested three key states of these infrastructures: firstly, their preontological and prelogical status; secondly, their synthetic character; and thirdly, their economical and strategic nature (Gasché, 1986, p. 147). Under this rubric, Community Music is conceived as a primordial component within any conception of MUSIC. Taking solace in a 'coming to be', Community Music moves towards a rapport with the Other, opening an experience that lies in *à venir*, a future that is both unexpected and unpredictable. In short, Community Music is a pre-condition of any considerations of MUSIC, finally understood within the equation *Community MUSIC*. The italicised 'community' is explained during this chapter (See p. 99).
Community Music is therefore to come, a trace that is always-already within the modality of MUSIC itself. The notion of à venir reflects the organic nature of Community Music as notion and as the nature of Community Music practice. Exploration, celebration and affirmation encapsulate the creative desire for change embedded within Community Music practice. Vibrating deep within its identity, practice-based gestures are never far away. Returning the question to the past disturbs comfortable ideas of what MUSIC is. The general structure ‘to come’ is to bring forth what can disturb by its very otherness. Community Music will not appear under the sign of the possible, what I know and am familiar with, but under the sign of the impossible, what will surprise me, challenge me, and perhaps even distress me. This effect ruptures the surfaces and opens the way for new experiences. The responsibility of MUSIC is to Community Music; its own identity is in fact constituted by this fact (OHE, p. xlvi).

**Community Music and the trace**

> It's not so much what you play
> ...as what you don't play
> Sounds: Silences: Invention
> Socializing: Musicking

As a crucial notion for Derridean thought, the trace is itself the condition of the non-preservation of the present. The trace is ‘the alterity of the past that never was and can never be lived in the ordinary or modified form of presence’ (OG, p. 70). Beyond Heideggerian discourse, the trace undermines ontology, suggesting that access to the present must involve an experience of the trace, an affinity to something else, and a rapport to the Other. The trace belongs to the very movement of signification, a priori written ‘[S]omething to something other than Being, to the Other past, the other future, ... an Other that does not appear as the present or presence’ (OB, 3’59”). Throughout Derrida’s early discourse on
phenomenological subjectivity, he purposes that one accounts for the representability of conscious life in terms of essential repetition. The trace is therefore constituted as ‘primordial’ and is conceived as ‘always older than [the] presence’, and thus prevents one from speaking about simple self-identity (SP, pp. 67/8). Implied by the trace of a past that inflects each instant of consciousness, the trace is therefore irreducible in presence and self-preservation.

In this instance, the trace involves an examination of the questioning form of Music and music, as well as the authority of the present of presence in MUSIC. Community Music becomes the sum of all possible relations, which inhabits and constitutes MUSIC. Vincent Leitch aligns the trace with the quark, the subatomic particles of which protons and neutrons are thought to be composed\(^\text{13}\) (Leitch, 1983, p. 28). Derrida remarks that ‘The trace itself does not exist’ (OG, p. 167). It is from its non-identity with itself that living present springs forth; the trace is ‘always-already’ (SP, p. 85). Seemingly subatomic, the trace is generically ‘intractable, unnatural and untrackable’, thus providing access to the edges of transgressive interpretation. (Leitch, 1983, p. 236). As a trace, Community Music comes before Music and before music, and therefore situates itself within any notion of MUSIC as a diverse human practice. Community Music is inseparable from the ontology of MUSIC, it is omnipresent, a residue that is prelogical. From within any experience of music Community Music operates as sound and silence, contaminating the social, cultural and political worlds of all musicking. Community Music is what you play and what you don't play.
Community Music and the undecidable

\textit{Ha Ha Ha, Hee Hee Hee}
\textit{...bet you can't catch me!}
\textit{Positive, Flexible, and Playful}

Traditional perspectives of music and music-making have generated positions that polarize the reality ‘while sending everything else off to the periphery as mere rhetoric or ornamentation’ (NS, p. 83). Derrida’s clarity on this issue assures us that binary thinking ‘is not just one metaphysical gesture among others, it is the metaphysical exigency, that which has been the most constant, most profound and most potent’ (LI, p. 93). This potency manifests itself in the marginalization of Community Music in favour of a distorted vision of ‘music’ that continues to operate within polarized thought. This exclusion creates a situation of hierarchy, one idea privileging the other, a centre ruling over the margins. Community Music is positioned within this type of binary system and is overwhelmed by the fixity of the dominant centre. Freezing any sense of play, the domination of institutionalized music-making or music theory, for example, relegates Community Music to a second-order activity. Even contemporary attempts to reverse hierarchical oppositions perpetuate other binary positions; I am thinking particularly of the trend in music education to privilege popular or world music over Western classical music or vice versa.

As an operation, Community Music must be aware of its place within the structurality\textsuperscript{14} of structure, and understand the neutralizing effect of the logos (SSP, pp. 351/2). Failure to recognize its location will ensure that Community Music remains a marginalized music activity, assured by the logocentric\textsuperscript{15} aspirations of the current dominant centre. This may include the domination of Western art music, popular music, music formalism or Sony Records. Structures such as these presume essences and origins within a comprehension of materialism such as institutions, instruments, notation and the so-called music industry.
Derrida underlines the function of the centre\textsuperscript{16} as neutralizing, reducing and generating claims of full-presence and fixed origin. Noting that structure ‘is the formal unity of form and meaning’, Derrida clarifies his paradoxical position by suggesting that ‘the notion of a structure lacking any centre represents the unthinkable itself’ (FS, p. 4; SSP, p. 352).

Derrida’s explorations of the logocentric initially oscillated around metaphysical enquiry with its aspirations to seek an ultimate origin, its desire to drive to ground truth in a single ultimate point (OOG, SP, OG, WD). Derrida’s detailed textual analysis of, among others, Edmund Husserl, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Plato, highlights the Western tradition of logocentrism and thus supports ‘the determination of the being of the entity as presence’ (OG, p. 12).

All the metaphysical determinations of truth, and even the one beyond metaphysical ontotheology\textsuperscript{17} that Heidegger reminds us of, are more or less immediately inseparable from the instance of the logos (p. 10).

Logocentrism promotes binary thinking, reducing the second term in each polar pair as the negative, corrupt, and undesirable versions of the first. The second term represents a falling away. It would therefore follow that Community Music is the fall from ‘professional musical-doing’ and that the extra-musical is the lack of the aesthetic while informal music-making is the distortion of formal music-making. Deconstruction engages a thinking of the force of non-centre, attempting to overturn hierarchical polarities and create a space for the play of differences. As a gesture which works against the ideas of self-sufficiency and absolute completion, play is ‘the disruption of presence’ and is reminiscent of the Nietzschean thought of joyous affirmation in the play of the world and the innocence of becoming (SSP, p. 369; AW, pp. 115/6; EO, p. 69).
As the ‘blind spot’ of traditional conceptions of MUSIC, Community Music ruptures structure and releases the pleasure of play. By constantly referring to a reassuring foundation, the play of Community Music is freed from the anxiety and insecurity that play may produce. As a ‘tolerance’, the play of differences infects the structurality of structure and provides a space for the work of the undecidable.

Older than human topologies, Community Music is neither present nor non-present, and thus becomes the play of possibilities within the gamut of identifiable musical subsets. Community Music is the movement back and forth, into and out of musical discourse and practice; it is (n)either, (n)or, and both. Under sous rature (erasure), Community Music yields to intertextual signifying chains rich with the alterity of the past. Community Music succumbs to deconstruction’s third gesture, allowing for the surrendering of traditional notions of presence and absence, dissolving any polarity to a play of differences. This movement renders Community Music as an undecidable, an identifiable ‘third thing’. Considered by Caputo as the ‘break-up of value in the Heraclitean flux’, undecidability engenders (and limits) the decidable oppositions upon which musical understanding feeds (Caputo, 1998, p. 257).

As a qualification to the notion of undecidability, it would be a mistake to consider it as a neutralized space, an inability to act or a state of apathy. Rather than a form of indecisiveness, the Derridean undecidable follows the condition of possible acting and deciding; any real decision travels through ‘the ordeal of undecidability’ (NS, p. 137). Derrida’s many accounts of the act of decision-making underline this aspect of the undecidable (GD, OCF, D). Accordingly ‘the instant of decision is madness’ because it demands a temporality of the instant without ever constituting a present (GD, p. 65). Drawing upon the work of Kierkegaard, Derrida suggests that any decision requires an undecidable leap beyond all prior preparations. The undecidable is not an act of ‘indeterminacy’; Derrida
makes this clear, stating that ‘undecidability is always a determinate oscillation between possibilities’ (AW, p. 148).

In ‘Plato’s Pharmacy’, Derrida presents a closely argued and textual analysis that oscillates around writing as poison and cure (D, pp. 63–171). ‘Plato’s Pharmacy’ is particularly important because it underlines Derrida’s assumptions of the hegemony brought about by philosophy’s logocentric inheritance; ‘like a mythic inaugural moment in the “logocentric” epoch whose effect (Derrida argues) reaches down from Plato to the present day’ (Norris, 1987, p. 28). ‘Plato’s Pharmacy’ concentrates on the end of Plato’s dialogue where Plato condemns writing as a means of communicating knowledge (Plato, 1973, 274–9, pp. 94–103). Through the retelling of the myth of Theuth, Plato views writing as second-hand, illusory, dead and full of nothing but fake wisdom. Derrida exploits the contradictory nature of the dialogue, focusing on Socrates’ response to Phaedrus’ speech. The critical point occurs when Theuth declares his invention of writing to Thamus. Theuth says to Thamus, ‘[T]his discipline, my King, will make the Egyptians wiser and will improve their memories: my invention is a recipe (pharmakon) for both memory and wisdom’ (PP, p. 75). Thamus replies to Theuth’s invention with a savaging attack, condemning its value as one that will produce forgetfulness and reduce the capacity of memory.

Through the Socratic mouthpiece, Plato deprecates writing as useless but for its ‘menace and its mischief’ (p. 76). Recalling Theuth’s statement that ‘my invention is a pharmakon for both memory and wisdom’, Derrida asks us to contemplate this word pharmakon and its translation (p. 75). Pharmakon is a word that has two differing poles. In the same way as the word ‘drug’ in the English language, it can be a good thing or bad thing, a remedy or a poison. Through the history of translation, translators have ignored the undecidability of the term pharmakon and have instead dictated a particular meaning. Derrida’s insistence is on transformation
rather than translation. Barbara Johnson, the translator of 'Plato's Pharmacy', suggests that everything in Derrida's discussion of the Phaedrus 'hinges on the translation of this single word' (D, p. xxiv). Derrida finally proclaims that the pharmakon is:

the movement, the locus, and the play: (the production of) difference. It is the difference of difference. It holds in reserve, in its undecided shadow and vigil, the opposites and the differends that the process of discrimination will come to carve out (PP, p. 127). 21

Derrida's pharmakon 22 has no proper or determinate character; it is the play of possibilities, the movements back and forth, into and out of the opposites; it is (n)either, (n)or, and both.23

As a practice that refuses oppression, Community Music is a metaphoric pharmakon. Throughout centuries of musical thought that privileged aspects of application such as Western classical, staff notation, concert-hall performance (and one might argue a reversal that now favours popular culture), identifying Community Music within MUSIC's formulation begins the process of undoing this tightly knitted web. Musical aspects such as those above forcibly reveal themselves within MUSIC's textuality, repressing Community Music beneath the surface and marginalizing its primordial character. Self-satisfying completeness is resisted, Community Music slips across the surface refusing repression. Community Music therefore has no essence; it cannot be assigned a fixed spot, therefore it is the pure possibility of play.
Community Music and *differance*

*In the mosh-pit the ghostly punks surf the crowd.*

*Dancing constellations.*

*Shape-shifting.*

Community Music is thus conceived as a future to come, a trace always-already constituted within MUSIC. Community Music is MUSIC’s condition of possibility, its primordial Other always haunting musical practice and thought. Within this matrix, Community Music refuses repression, resisting opposition while sliding across MUSIC’s intertextuality in a play of possibility. As an undecidable gesture, Community Music is carried by the middle voice of *differance*. Alongside *à venir*, trace and the undecidable, the neologism ‘*differance*’ provides another lever in the excavation of Community Music’s identity.

In an examination of phenomenological consciousness and in order to describe the simultaneous spatialization and the temporalization inherent in the creation of the play of differences, Derrida creates the neologism ‘*differance*’ ([Diff, 1973; Diffé, 1982]). As an idea, *differance* engages in a play of differences and deferrals and can be said to be the difference of difference. Because of the double meaning inherent in its composition, it has the play of both space and time: to differ is to be different from something else, and to defer is to delay, to put off until later. As Norris notes, *differance* ‘sets up a disturbance at the level of the signifier’, graphically resisting reductions to self-identical meaning ([Norris, 2002, p. 31]).

In order to access this neologism, *differance* is best thought of operating within four broad fields of concepts and words. Firstly, it is an insertion between speech and writing. Derrida asks, ‘[H]ow am I to speak of the *a* of *differance*?’ ([Diff, p. 134]). *Differance* cannot be heard but can be read; it privileges writing while inhabiting speech as a possibility. Secondly, it is an insertion between nouns and verbs; it is neither a noun nor a verb. It
plays between thing and doing, name and action, referring ‘to the (active and passive) movement that consists in deferring by means of delay, delegation, reprieve, referral, detour, postponement, reserving (Pos, p. 8). Thirdly, it is an insertion between the sensible and the intelligible: differance plays across both sides of Saussurian sign, the signifier and the signified, ‘it is the common root of all the oppositional concepts that mark our language’ (p. 9). Fourthly, it is an insertion between words and concepts, and differance ‘is neither a word nor a concept’ (Diff, p. 130). What is differance? Derrida writes ‘différance is’, placing the term under erasure (sous rature) (Diff, p. 6).

Differance is ‘the systematic play of differences, of the trace of differences, of the spacing by means of which elements are related to each other’ (Pos, p. 27). It functions both actively and passively simultaneously, it is both structure and movement, disturbing the security of concepts such as truth, presence and identity. The poststructural chain of signifiers asserts that nothing is independent of its exteriority to other things. Things exist within an intertextual field of space and time, there is no inside without an outside; ‘[E]very thing is “inside” the field or the play of the spatial and temporal relations “outside” of it’ (Lucy, 2002, p. 27). It follows that no matter what a thing is, it must include its difference from what it is not. Its difference belongs to it always-already constantly inhabiting its identity. Derrida famously argues that writing is a prerequisite of speech and as such disturbs the privileges that speech has been given throughout the canon of Western philosophy. As a notion, differance is vital in considerations of the play of presence and the trace; Derrida notes that, ‘without differance as temporalization, without the nonpresence of the other inscribed within the sense of the present’, nothing could be said to have value in itself (OG, p. 71).

Under the rubric of differance, Community Music firstly privileges active music-making while simultaneously inhabiting any anthropological,
sociological and cultural manifestations as a condition of their possibility. Secondly, as an undecidable, Community Music cannot be defined or bound within music genres. It is active and passive, neither a discipline nor not a discipline. As spirit, attitude, or trace, Community Music circumnavigates the wider human practice of MUSIC. Thirdly, Community Music plays across the empirical materiality of musicking and its place deep within the human psyche, a phenomenon that penetrates human existence.

Through the gesture of differance, Community Music becomes absorbed into MUSIC without the loss of its traits. Its 'pertinent features' are an interruption and excess beyond identity, they are irreducible to form or content, representation or meaning (TP, p. 5). As the trace of MUSIC there is not the disappearance of the origin-within. The origin was never constituted except reciprocally by the non-origin. Community Music is therefore understood between the transcendence of origin and the immanence of becoming. Community Music is an always-already contamination of any musical event.

**Community MUSIC**

The combination of à venir, trace, undecidable, and differance provides the conceptual space in which to describe the condition of Community Music. Within the domain of identity, this perspective has considered Elliott’s idea of MUSIC as a way of thinking about music as a diverse human practice (Elliott, 1995). Elliott states that 'MUSIC is a diverse human practice consisting in many different musical practices or Musics' (p. 44). From Elliott’s perspective, MUSIC is the arche term, and we must therefore consider this first. The term MUSIC becomes the pivot on which the formula that will articulate the condition of Community Music turns.

As a form of human agency, MUSIC is considered by Elliott as an important aspect of how humans come to know themselves and
understand the world in which they live. I would agree with this orientation. However, beyond the phenomenology of this idea, the deconstructive position makes claims that the condition of Community Music is always-already. An emphasis of this kind stresses a suspicion of the presentness of Elliott's notion of MUSIC. This wariness points towards a return to a primordial MUSIC beyond a presentness that implies human contaminations such as institutions, notations, instrument technique, and music business. The argument turns on the transcendence of origin and the immanence of becoming.

Within the prelogic of the primordial space, the trace of MUSIC, the absence of MUSIC's presence, is articulated through Community Music as à venir, trace, differance and the undecidable. As the sub-atomic particles of MUSIC, Community Music as à venir, trace, differance and the undecidable becomes the play, moving in and around distinctive musical practices. Its effect is beyond the presentness of MUSIC. Community Music as à venir, trace, differance and the undecidable thus provides the infrastructure to MUSIC's ontology; it is the primordial, and therefore the future to come. Community Music as à venir, trace, differance and the undecidable is returned to the past. Its location is initially behind the immanent becoming of a deconstructive MUSIC. Community Music as à venir, trace, differance and the undecidable is placed behind MUSIC and can be illustrated by the sign; Community Music: MUSIC.

In order to differentiate Community Music as à venir, trace, differance and the undecidable, and Community Music as practice, I intend to alter the visual form of the word. This is important for the discussions to come. Community Music has already been placed behind MUSIC, and as a play of difference within active music-making and social musical consciousness Community Music's 'Music' must be alleviated from its formulation as a genre. Music thus dissolves into MUSIC. Community Music's 'Music'
The Condition of Community MUSIC

moves through MUSIC, sliding in and between its rich textuality. Community Music becomes Community MUSIC.

The final movement must put the word 'Community' under erasure; its difficulty as a term and concept must not inhibit its uses here. Community MUSIC becomes Community MUSIC articulated more eloquently in this thesis as Community MUSIC. As a future-to-come, the term 'Community' is under erasure (Community or Community), thus demonstrating the inadequacy of the term to describe the general play of differences between the lines of flight within intertextual networks. The emphasis of the sign Community remains as a political gesture and emphasizes the attitudinal dissemination of context, community, participation, and pedagogy that is imperative to all music-making. As a fertile ejaculation, the sign Community disseminates throughout the diverse human practice of MUSIC, providing it with a fluid infrastructure. As an affirmation of MUSIC's potency, Community as the trace of music-making constantly disrupts attempts to solidify meaning. The trace has marked the impossibility of the origin (arche) and the full presentness of Elliott's MUSIC. Community MUSIC pushes beyond the phenomenological notion of Elliott's MUSIC as ontology and provides excess and supplementarity that demands an alternative evaluation of the question 'What is music?'

In Deleuzean terms, Community MUSIC considers the haecceity or describable quality of MUSIC as rhizomatic in structure, and as such, Community Music as practice constitutes one line of flight within a deterritorialized network (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Deleuze and Guattari use the rhizome as an idea to explain intertextual structures. These structures deny root-like hierarchies that are seen to fix order. Any point of a rhizome can be connected to any other, it has multiple entryways, ceaselessly establishing connections, decentring and deterritorializing (, pp. 3–25). By not assuming that what is conditioned by
history, by institutions, or by society is natural, my position is one that
does not seek to naturalize what is not natural. The deconstructive gesture
always works from the inside; metaphorically Derrida suggested that the
'stones [are] available in the house' (EM, p. 135). Through deconstruction,
the condition of Community Music (Community MUSIC) finds a seat in
which to dwell, disseminating itself throughout a network of
intertextuality. Constituted as a trace of MUSIC, the non-identity of
MUSIC, Community Music's traits of practice enable MUSIC's living
presence. Pushing beyond Community Music as practice, Community
MUSIC provides a sanctuary in which Community Music's vital organs
pulsate. This gesture projects the notion that Community Music has
always been always-already.

Derrida paints a picture of a 'simultaneously faithful and violent
circulation between the inside and the outside of philosophy' (Pos, p. 6).
This double play is true of Community MUSIC also. The formulation
Community MUSIC can now be understood beyond an inside/outside
separation. Formalized music education, the commercial music industry
and the concert hall season are examples of practices that attempt
govern the traits of Community Music. All these traditions have respect
within the Community MUSIC condition, although they relinquish their
assumed privileged place.

In attempts to sideline Community Music from the interior of tradition,
educationalists, policy makers, professional musicians and record
executive have all played a role in its exclusion. Community Music has
been understood as an outsider led away from the traditional interior, its
amateurness, its methodologies, its eclecticism and its political voice
poisoning the purity of music-making. This position has been challenged
with the understanding that for Community Music to have been led
outside traditional views of music-making it must have been already
within traditional views of music-making. Community Music as outside
was always-already an inhabitant of the interior. Through the à venir, trace, différence and the undecidable, MUSIC, Music and music becomes (re)acquainted with its primordial Community Music. As the unpredictable Other, Community MUSIC provides another viewing station from which to observe one of humanities diverse practices.

Within the formation of Community MUSIC, any musical practice is now affirmed as having a rapport with the Other, and as such has an identity within the politics of difference. Examples of Community MUSIC’s lines of flight are musical genres, music heritage and music disciplines. These gatherings intersect and interact with each other, giving birth to musical happenings through the trace. If the condition of Community MUSIC could be generally understood, its cumbersome term could be dismantled. The sign ‘music’ could thus be utilized with its primordial trace (re)instated. In this way, ‘music’ would be clarified as containing infrastructural vibrations that carry and release the traits of Community Music. The practice of Community Music would therefore be understood as an always-already manifestation of any musical-doing.31

**The Traits of Community Music**

**Introduction**

The first section features a rethinking of MUSIC and Community Music and a formulation of a notion described as Community MUSIC. This section draws from and extends the practice of Community Music as understood from a UK perspective and outlined through Chapter 2. Thickening the discourse surrounding the practice of Community Music four traits have been isolated: context, community, participation, and pedagogy. Taken in turn, each trait is interrogated as Community Music practice, using modes of deconstructive thinking to support the articulation. Consistency between Section 1 and Section 2 is maintained
through this procedure, resulting in a deconstructive theory of both the condition of Community MUSIC and its practice.

The traits of Community Music constitute the act of Community Musicking, its features and its marks. Within the Derridean rubric, the trait operates like ‘writing’, marking boundaries, limits and frames. The traits are transmissible and available to ‘read’, visible entities vibrating within the condition of Community MUSIC. Reaffirming a deconstructive position that denies purity, any traits that constitute Community Music must be understood against its (re)trait (MB, pp. 2/3). In short, the condition of Community MUSIC and its vibrating self, Community Music, is always open to repetition and subdivision. Derrida suggested that ‘[A] trait never appears, never itself, because it marks the difference between forms or the contents of the appearing. A trait never appears, never itself, never for a first time’ (TP, p. 11). As the brush strokes of its identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy allow the condition of Community MUSIC to be experienced.

**Context**

Chapter 2 highlighted the significance that community musicians place on an intrinsic relationship between music and the social world. Initiatives to develop a stronger relationship between music and musicians within social contexts became paramount for those working within the participatory arts. Musicians working under this guise followed a general shift from emphasis on ‘content’ and ‘form’ to that of ‘context’ and ‘form’. This displacement from ‘content’ to ‘context’ can be seen against a larger cultural shift explored through the lens of modernity and postmodernity. Referenced through political and artistic illustrations, shifts in cultural perspectives are exemplified by theorists such as Jean-François Lyotard, Ihab Hassan, David Harvey, Fredric Jameson and Linda Hutcheon (Lyotard, 1984; Hassan, 1987; Harvey, 1990; Jameson, 1991; Hutcheon,
The Condition of Community MUSIC 2003. Those writing on music have also responded to the postmodern turn, exploring a range of issues such as musical practices, commercial music marketing, music history, classical music, popular/world music, globalization, music meaning and gender (Lochhead and Auner, 2002; Kramer, 1995; Nercissian, 2002; Alperson, 1998, pp. 145–58; Lipsitz, 1994; Whitely, 1997; Bowman, 1998, pp. 356–409).

The historical isolation of musical processes from their embeddedness in social and cultural processes and the everyday lives of people has occupied a growing number of musicologists (Finnegan, 1989; Shepherd and Wicke, 1997; Campbell, 1998; DeNora, 2000; Clayton et al, 2003). Influenced by the ethnomusicological debates, characterized by the likes of Alan Merriam, John Blacking and Bruno Nettl, recent attempts to feed musicology into cultural theory has opened a discourse about insights into processes of effect and meaning as they operate in wider cultural contexts (Merriam, 1964; Blacking, 1973, 1995; Nettl, 2002). Music and cultural theory continues the discourse surrounding the tensions that arise between music’s sounds and the world extrinsic to these elements. The condition of Community MUSIC thickens this debate but from a perspective that seeks to eradicate polarized thinking. Oppositional concepts are of themselves never just a face-to-face engagement of two terms, but instead ‘a hierarchy and an order of subordination’ (Diffe, p. 329).

This section on context proceeds from the point of view that there are only contexts, that nothing exists outside context, ... the limits of the frame or the border of the context always entails a clause of nonclosure. The outside penetrates and thus determines the inside34 (AW, pp. 152/3).
As an underlining idea, community musicians are continually reinforcing the notion of context. This reflects the emphasis given to the importance community musicians place on making music where people live, work and socialize. This idea reflects a directive towards the significance of ‘belonging’, or as Schrag puts it, the phenomenon of ‘being-with-others’ showing itself in the ‘we-experience’ (Schrag, 1997). The issue of context is dealt with in two ways: firstly, context as a subjectile, and secondly, an analysis of context through the notion of iterability.

The canvas of Community MUSIC

From his commentary on Antonin Artaud’s drawings, Derrida acquaints us with the term ‘subjectile’ (SAA). In short, the subjectile designates ‘what is in some way lying below, as a substance, a subject, or a succubus’ (p. 64). The subjectile occupies a becoming of the between, the border that forms between beneath and above (support and surface), before and behind, here and over there, on this side and on that, back and forth. (p. 71). One can understand the subjectile as a ghostly figure marking a crossing and recrossing of borders, ‘[A] subjectile is not a subject ... nor is it the object either’ (p. 71). Such an aporia suggests the power of the subjectile to mark a text and to inform and make possible its taking place.

As a theme derived from Chapter 2, context is always posed and supposes operating beyond a leitmotiv that does not always answer as a stable support. Understanding context as a subjectile makes real the materiality community musicians work with. As a supportive structure that signs in advance, the subjectile (as people, places, consciousness, attitude and spirit, the metaphoric canvas and the easel) resists Community Music’s actions of force and provides the malleable fabric in which practice exists. The practice of Community Music is understood as a movement that mobilizes itself towards this subjectile. The subjectile remains between the many different music-making projectiles that constitute Community Music’s practice. Community Music crawls through
and around the metaphoric hymen, between the folds, inside and outside, from the over here to the over there. The traverse of the music-making trajectory projects towards the subjectile in a motion of being-thrown. This idea has with it the echoes of Heidegger’s temporal projections and Gadamer’s growth through the fusion of horizons (Heidegger, 2002a; Gadamer, 2003). Participatory music-making activities such as samba, rock, opera, children’s songs and techno ‘become’ with forces of action, propelled against the penetrable backdrop of context.

The subjectile supports MUSIC’s representation through its resistance and participates in MUSIC’s motion by allowing penetration. For example, the youth group or prison becomes the membrane and the trajectory of participatory music-making is thrown upon it. The contextual skin is perforated and passed through, the engagement of young people in songwriting or youth offenders in writing and performing opera is set against a resistant canvas, taught with its contextual restraints but often willing to retreat behind the scene of what makes it appear. Community Music as practice tears and manifests simultaneously, revealing its MUSIC against the contextual veil. Context as a canvas is painted upon with the traits of Community Music; the participatory brush strokes reveal Community MUSIC. Community MUSIC is thus unveiled from the (inter)contextual networks.

From the perspective of the subjectile, we can understand that the ‘visibility’ of Community MUSIC is seen through the motion of the music-making trajectory, assured by the resistance of context. Without an account of the subjectile wall, Music and music is unrepresentational, its dissemination halted before its birth. People, places, sounds, instruments and voices are all projections, supports, movements and elements in any given structure that allows for representation. The contextual support (subjectile) must be a necessary requirement in order to allow any music-
making representation. In turn, there is an equal need for the violence of the mark, penetrating and burning holes in the contextual material.

Stretching out under the projected musical figures, the subjectile subjects itself to the surgery of probing, cutting, scraping, filing, sewing and shredding (SAA, pp. 139–42). Haunted by participation, Community MUSIC is a performative event beyond the sound elements of music alone. Context is a living organism and as a subjectile it ‘breathes and flies’ (p. 133). Community Music practice aims to domesticate, flatten, tame and seduce the contextual subjectile through caressing but also through violent projectiles.

**Community music and iterability**

Chapter 2 has shown that the notion of context is fore-grounded as the vital ingredient by which community musicians effect participatory relevance, and thus ensures meaningful music-making experiences. Derrida insists, though, that we must question these communal norms even while acknowledging the necessary role that they play in our everyday lives. The first part of this section reaffirmed the importance of context by suggesting that nothing exists outside the context and that context is the very support that ensures any act of Community MUSIC. This part deals directly with context itself, and challenges presupposed understandings of context as self-contained and autonomous entities. Questions surrounding the issue of context need highlighting because of the dangers inherent in an understanding of context as self-sufficient. The desire of community relevance and deep-rooted locality can lead to a perspective that insists that Community Music projects reside only within the context in which they have taken place. From this standpoint, Community Music projects are unable to be replanted from one context to another. In short, the meaning of the work must ultimately reside within its place of birth. Challenging this position, I shall argue that the self-sufficient notion of context resides within logocentric thinking.
Context carries with it the traces of other performances, and as such the performance is always a palimpsest, building or arguing with previous performances, already layered by a rich cultural history. Thus, every event is a re-enactment, and this, paradoxically, also applies to the so-called 'original'. Philosophically, one might conclude that context in this way is of the moment yet also multi-layered. The contextual subjectile surrounds itself with other ghostly players, and for one short moment we can call it our own. In an analysis of J.L. Austin's proposition of the 'performative' utterances, Derrida discusses these issues, beginning with the questions: How could context assure correct meaning? Can proper communication be guaranteed by context? (SEC, pp. 1-23). Put another way, one might ask whether MUSIC communicates a determinate content, an identifiable meaning, or a describable value.

In *How To Do Things With Words*, Austin puts forward two types of utterance. Firstly, there are those that are performative, utterances that perform a speech act: for example, 'I do take this woman to be my lawful wedded wife', or 'I name this ship the *Queen Elizabeth*'. Secondly, there are those that are constative, those that assert or state facts: for example, 'The cat sat on the mat' (Austin, 1962). Austin's performatives are not true or false but can succeed or fail depending on a reliance of correct context. By highlighting Austin's disregard for performatives 'outside' correct context, such as an actor on stage or a delusive personality or a liar, Derrida alerts us to issues of non-serious language, a type of language that is parasitic or suffers from etiolations.41

In 'Signature Event Context' Derrida introduces the word *iterability*, a word that draws together the Latin *Iter* (once again) and *itara* from Sanskrit, meaning other (SEC, p. 7). According to Derrida, *iterability* undermines context; it is the logic that links repetition to alterity. *Iterability* implies that Community Music is context-bound and has the
ability to transcend any given context. If one draws upon the Derridean notion of *iterability* any suggestion that context masters meaning is understood as logocentric, the very thing Community Music must resist. For context is always context(s) - and even when we pick 'a' context, that context will be in play with the semantics of the MUSIC itself. Contextual understandings that perpetuate self-sufficiency would, for example, identify ingredients such as authentic instrumentation, knowledgeable performers, a specialized audience and an appropriate venue to determine the intention. A situation such as this insists on correct context that is grounded in the truth-criteria of the genre. Music-making beyond the 'correct' context would therefore be quotations of the original, ersatz or pastiche or imitation, an etiolation of its origin. *Iterability* challenges the logocentricity of these delineations. Community Music must not be allowed to surround itself in a kind of 'ditch', creating a perditional home where other types of music-making might never venture.

'Everything', Derrida says, 'depends upon contexts which are always open, [and] non-saturable' (Royle, 2003, p. 18). Derrida notes that 'deconstruction would be the effort to take this limitless context into account, to pay the sharpest and broadest attention possible to context, and thus to an incessant movement of recontextualization' (AW, p. 136). It therefore follows that no one is able to exert complete control to any given context, context knows no bounds; 'no meaning can be determined out of context, but no context permits saturation' (LO/B, p. 81). As Culler puts it, 'meaning is context bound but context is boundless' (Culler, 1983, p. 128).

*Iterability* pinpoints reiteration of representation, insisting that the condition of the singular must always contain traces of what has gone before. For anything to be what 'it is', it must be able to be reiterated. Every piece of music is a piece of music in itself and an example of music in general. The piece of music I now play on my guitar will be followed by
another rehearsal in an hour’s time. The pieces have singularity but they will both be the same. The piece I play now will be repeated in an hour’s time but it will not be the same as the one earlier. Every repetition produces difference. Every repetition also produces the structurality of the sameness. Structurality of the sameness and difference therefore condition every singularity, and this too can always be repeated. As Lucy suggests, ‘[R]epetition is never pure; it always leads to alteration. To repeat something is to alter it, to make difference’ (Lucy, 2004, p. 59). Iterability refers to this condition of possibility.

Iterability ensures that within the conceptualization of Community MUSIC and its vibrating self as practice, context must remain important and effective but must not act as an origin, freezing and solidifying meaning. Derrida confronts us with a paradox: repeatability is the risk of language but also its condition of possibility. In other words, repeatability is the jeopardy of Music and music, but without the possibility of (re)contextualizing one cannot have the real event. Operating like the trace, iterability is the non-presence within the presence. Culler confers that ‘[I]mitation is not an accident that befalls an original but its condition of possibility’ (Culler, 1983, p. 120). Community Music must understand the law of possible failure. This law is illustratively exemplified through Derrida’s postal metaphor, described as paradoxically the condition that insists that a letter’s arrival depends on the structural possibility of its non-arrival. Derrida suggests that, ‘[T]he condition for it [the letter] to arrive is that it ends up and even begins by not arriving’ (En, p. 29). In other words, without the possibility that Samba Batucada would be performed in a Brighton nightclub, no Batucada performance in Brazil could be said to be performed as intended. The same is true for the local garage bands who are covering songs of their favourite rock groups. Songs such as ‘Nothing Else Matters’ can only be said to be performed as intended by the band Metallica, who recorded it first, if it is possible that
those young people attempting to perform the song for the first time can reiterate the sound, melody and rhythm.

This notion unsettles the logocentric belief in universal or un-contextual truth as defined by metaphysical thought manifesting itself as the distinction between the interiority of authenticity and exteriority of mimesis. Derrida’s ‘postcard’ belongs to a specific context, but it must also be possible for it to arrive ‘out’ of context. Derrida notes that, ‘[I]t remains that the royal truth passes through so many literal pathways, so many correspondences, so many relays, so many postes restantes, so many fracteurs’ (p. 94). As Niall Lucy notes, ‘truth is contextual and therefore always open to postal effects of misattribution, misdirection, mistiming and so forth’ (Lucy, 2004, p. 100). In the same way Community MUSIC and its practice denies authenticity, engaging instead within the intertextual network of (re)contextualization.

Citation and grafting are implications of iterability. Sequences of sounds or sequences of events can be put between quotation marks, and as a result, can ‘break with every given context, engendering an infinity of new contexts in a manner which is absolutely illimitable’ (SEC, p. 12). Musical syntagma can always be detached from their chains without losing all possible means of communication: ‘[N]o context can enclose it. Nor any code, the code being here both the possibility and impossibility of writing, of its essential iterability’ (p. 9). Iterability does not eradicate context, it suggests that ‘there are only contexts without any center [sic] of absolute anchoring’ (p. 12). Music is never repeatable, but citable, and invites contextualization, a contextualization that in turn is never free of all other conceivable contexts in which these same sounds or events have been iterated.

In summary, this part has re-emphasized Community Music’s insistence that context is a key feature of its work, maintaining an understanding
that context makes meaning fluid and ensures participatory relevance. According to research for Chapter 2 and personal experiences, most community musicians define their projects by a bounded contextual understanding. This emulates from the shift from content to context as highlighted by Braden in *Artist and People* and as a general slide from modernism to postmodernism (Braden, 1978). This observation reflects a lack of problemizing the language that community musician's use and this has the consequence of grounding Community Music projects within fixed limits. A lack of insight into the dangers of a fixed notion of contextual understanding is that it contradicts Community Music's desire for an open accessibility and equality of opportunity. Although these notions are themselves driven through context, Community Music projects must strive for an excess beyond rigid borders. Examples of this work may be found in the many cross-cultural music projects enjoying music-making from other cultures; including Samba, Gamelan, Ghanaian drumming, South African choral ensembles and Hip-Hop. A misunderstanding of the notion of context would reduce these possibilities.

Contextual understandings built around notions of self-sufficiency are logocentric and as such push against the deconstructive vision of Community MUSIC. *Iterability* enables us to understand the importance of context and meaning, as well as the strength of other iterations, including the problematic ‘original’. For example, defined by those who take part, Brazilian samba is but the structure of repetition as difference, and as such allows for meaningful recontextualization. If *iterability* releases fixed notions of context, the subjectile allows us to perceive context as the material in which Community Music practitioners project their work. As forces of action, or paths of flight, Community Music needs a canvas on which to paint. The materiality of context provides the resistance, revealing beneath its veil the detailed landscape of Community MUSIC.
Community

As a trait of Community MUSIC, the term ‘community’ is significant because its signs itself and countersigns itself in the name. The term has always been problematic, community’s warm and fluffy glow jarring with music’s virtuosic exclusivity. Is it time to abandon the term altogether, its lack of clarity and diverse understandings ultimately rendering the prefix redundant? I argue that the time to lose ‘community’ from Community Music has not yet arrived; the term remains a practical necessity in the quest to encourage and advocate active music-making. It therefore follows that Community MUSIC needs a foundation on which to understand the prefix community. Though Derrida is not fond of the term community, his examination of hospitality, democracy, and arrivant provide a foundation in which to consider the Community within Community MUSIC and Community Music practices (OH, Hos, OHE, OCF, VR, NS, PF). In short, this section provides a site in which to think through the term community within the framework of deconstructive thinking, finally suggesting a theoretical position at which to accept the problematic prefix that haunts Community Music practice.

As a contentious term, community is both problematic and powerful. Any definition of the term ‘community’ remains illusive, but its designation is still formidable. As a term, ‘community’ often ignites romantic echoes of loss and recovery, and this can give Community Music practices an unconvincing gloss. This has led to some practitioners resisting the term altogether, an argument summarized in Andrew Peggie’s article ‘Let’s take the C-word out of Community Music’ (Peggie, 2003, p. 9). Peggie forcibly argues that the term community should be dropped from the phrase ‘community music’, ‘[I]t’s redundant. Music can’t exist if there are no communities to play it’ (p. 9). From Peggie’s perspective, the prefix community creates separation and division between participatory music-making (Community Music) and professional music-making.
Chapter 2 has shown that the general use of the term 'community' in Community Music is a ratification of its participatory ethos. Most noticeably, 'community' has been used to designate the use of creative groupwork. These music-making collaborations between artists and other community members emphasize Community Music's involvement with groups of people. Efforts such as these strive to enable the development of active and creative participation in music. The consequence of community as a trait brings to prominence an artistic communality that many commentators feel has been missing in contemporary European culture (Cole, 1999, p. 142; Small, 1996, pp. 7–59, 1998; Adams and Goldbard, 2001, 2002; Braden, 1978; Dickson, 1995; Kelly, 1984; Shelton Trust, 1986; Webster, 1997; Finnegan, 1989; Blake, 1997). Any calls for the complete removal of the prefix community would therefore erase an essential mark of distinction within its practice.

'Community' is etymologically untangled in several ways. Gerard Delanty begins with communitas, the Latin expression of belonging, irreducible to any social or political arrangement (Delanty, 2003, p. 11). William Corlett considers two different strands: firstly Communis, as in 'with oneness or unity', favoured by the communitarian theorists; and secondly, communus, emphasizing the doing of one's duty, 'with gifts or services' (Corlett, 1993, p. 18). Philip Alperson's description of community articulates the most general form as a reference to a state of being held in common: Alperson advocates that both ontologically and structurally, therefore, community refers to a relation between things (Alperson, 2002). In the field of anthropology the term is usefully isolated with three broad variants: (i) common interests between people; or (ii) a common ecology and locality; or (iii) a common social system or structure (Rapport and Overing, 2000, p. 61).

Anthropological and sociological excavations of the notion reveal a variety of perspectives, charting the term's changing pattern of application and
understanding. These include community as loss and recovery, society, belonging, communitarianism, citizenship, multiculturalism, globalization, diaspora, nationalism and imagined (Delanty, 2003; Adams and Goldbard, 2002; Brah, 1996; Anderson, 1991; Nisbet, 1962). Recent anthropological reflections have considered the practice of community in the contemporary world (Amit and Rapport, 2002). These explorations emphasize difference as a guiding idea in tackling tensions found between fixed social and political relations within communal frames, and the considerable pressures towards individualization and fragmentations. The polarities between community/individual and totalization/fragmentation are reflections of Hassan’s postmodern turn and Harvey’s comparisons of Fordist modernity and postmodernity’s flexibility (Hassan, 1987, pp. 84-96; Harvey, 1990, pp. 340/1).

Illustrative of the postmodern perspective also, Delanty suggests four categories in which one might reconsider community within the twenty-first century: collective identities, contextual fellowship, liminal communities and virtual communities. Vered Amit and Nigel Rapport expand on these notions to include fellowship and social belonging through modest daily practice. These include friends, neighbours, workmates and companions of leisure, parenting, schooling, political activities, etc. (Amit and Rapport, 2002). Although these communities are often partial and limited in time, they can transcend the original circumstances of their formation (p. 165). When the term community is opened this way, the phrase community without unity seems an apt one. It is with this in mind that this part begins its expansion through the Derridean notions of hospitality, democracy and the arrivant.

**Community (Music) without unity**

Throughout Derrida’s work there has been a reluctance to speak in terms of community. Derrida noted that the notion of community as ‘with oneness or unity’ evokes a fortress wall surrounding a city and the refusal
of any reception with strangers or foreigners' (NS, p. 108). The communality at the heart of community provides internal contradictions for Derrida. The very concept 'of the common and the community' lies behind Derrida's unwillingness to speak in terms of community (PF, p. 43). Derrida's position on the term community appears clear enough when he stated, 'I don't much like the word community', understanding it as 'a harmonious group, consensus, and fundamental agreement beneath the phenomena of discord or war' (P, p. 355). One can place Derrida's concerns within the perspective of Western European history. This history understands a progression from the Enlightenment to fascism as the ultimate end to modernity. Although the end of modernity is disputed by Jürgen Habermas in his polemical essay 'Modernity – An Incomplete Project', Derrida understands the tragedies of World War Two as being the results of a normative approach to communitas (Docherty, 1993, pp. 98–109).

Although Derrida does not embrace the word community, he is nevertheless concerned with its implications; his work on asylum seekers and refugees deals with the themes of displaced peoples and their treatment as strangers in new lands (OH, OCF). These works come face to face with the issues of community as understood by contemporary anthropologists and sociologists such as Amit and Rapport, Delanty, and Alperson (Amit and Rapport, 2000; Delanty, 2003; Alperson, 2002). Accounts such as these reside in an understanding of the postmodern, where postmodern societies are characterized by weakening ties with community, nation, and occupation, and where individuals become increasingly isolated from the large structures which used to bind them.

Derrida's explorations of the borders and limits of hospitality resonate with the condition of Community MUSIC as a welcoming of the Other. Section 1 (Identity) has shown that Community Music is to come, a movement towards a rapport with the Other, opening an experience that
lies in à venir, a future that is both unexpected and unpredictable. For Derrida, the term hospitality reveals this transgressive nature of crossing the threshold, probing the paradoxes suggested in the law of hospitality. With his examination of hospitality, Derrida locates his signatory double or contradictory imperative within the concept, isolating the unconditional and the conditional meanings of the term.

Hospitality is etymologically derived from the Latin hospes (formed from hostis), which means both ‘guest’ and paradoxically ‘enemy’ or ‘hostile’ (OH, p. 157, NS, p. 110). The identification of these two imperatives is not staged in order to paralyse discourse and action but rather to enable it. Hospitality carries within it its opposite and only really takes place when ‘we’ experience the paralysis of the impossible. Pushing the borders of hospitality, Derrida proposes a hospitality of right:

I open up my home and that I give not only to the foreigner, but to the absolute, unknown, anonymous other, and that I give place to them, that I let them come, that I let them arrive, and take place in the place I offer them, without asking of them either reciprocity or even their names (OH, p. 25, OCF, p. 5)

Derrida challenges us with the question: ‘Could the city, equipped with new rights and greater sovereignty, open up new horizons of possibility previously undreamt of by international law?’ (OCF, pp. 7/8). These ideals probe organizations in the development of tolerant policy; they are statements that call for the instigation of ‘cities of refuge’. Derrida notes that one cannot speak of the cultivation of an ethic of hospitality because ‘Hospitality is culture itself and not simply one ethic among others’ (p. 16).

Under this scrutiny, hospitality operates like the use of the word Community in Community MUSIC. In this way, Community signs and
The Condition of Community MUSIC countersigns itself within the notion of Community MUSIC and thus provides Community MUSIC with a resistance to demarcations, revealing itself as an arrivant. Community thus becomes a preparation for the incoming of the other, generating a porous, permeable, open-ended affirmation of and for the other (NS, p. 44). As an arrivant, both Community MUSIC and Community Music are not invaders or occupiers, 'nor is it a colonizer, even if it can also become one' (A, p. 34). Through transgression Community MUSIC becomes the one who comes to shore, a visitation without invitation: absolute hospitality itself (A, p. 33, Hos, p. 360).

In this instance the prefix Community in Community MUSIC and Community in Community Music reflects Derrida's stress on the notion of democracy. The question of democracy opens up the question of both the citizen as countable singularity and that of 'universal fraternity' (PF, p. 22). Derrida notes that, '[T]here is no democracy without respect for irreducible singularity or alterity' (p. 22). Democracy is like the notion à venir, an unpredictable future, and the promise of the unforeseeable. In these terms, democracy is 'the memory of that which carries the future, the to-come, here and now' (OHE, p. 78). This orientation towards the impossible future understands democracy as the future to come, a messianism without a Messiah. The import of Community as a tolerant expression of hospitality gives Community MUSIC its condition of à venir. This consequently ties Community MUSIC to an understanding of the impossible future. In practice, this rallies music educationalists, music policy makers and musicians to have openness beyond their horizons of significance, for, as an arrivant, Community MUSIC affects the very experience of any preconceived threshold (A, p. 33).

Community Music practices become a form of hospitality, a democratic musical practice promoting equality and access beyond any preconceived limited horizons of significance. The implication of the sign of democratic
community within Community MUSIC is a structure of the musical future to come. I have suggested in Section 1 (Identity) that Community MUSIC is the trace of MUSIC, the primordial presence occupying a space within any conceptualization of MUSIC, Music and music. This position understands Community MUSIC as MUSIC itself, and as such, the marginalization of its practice reduces the welcoming to the Other and is a direct violation of MUSIC as a diverse human practice. The yesterday, today and tomorrow has always been haunted by the spectre of Community MUSIC, itself an affirmation to the future of musicking. The notion of absolute hospitality, democracy, openness, diversity, freedom and tolerance reflect Community Music's use of the term community; each element vibrating together in a commitment of access and equality of opportunity.

As practice, Community Music has always understood creativity as an essential component in realizing human potential and thus enabling a greater participation in society as a whole. Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that, '[E]veryone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the Arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits' (www.un.org/Overview/rights.html). These ideals of empowerment and access are understood as a move towards better citizenship. Within equal opportunities legislation, equality is seen as a key to ‘creating a society that works and in which everyone has a stake’ (Equal Opportunities Commission, www.eoc.org.uk). Embedding music-making within these notions connects music and Music with MUSIC, and thus cements the idea that advocates it as an intrinsic part of human life.

Through deconstructive thinking, the community within Community MUSIC would thus be able to open ‘itself without being able any longer to gather itself’ (NS, p. 122). The condition of community moves beyond the Heideggerian interpretation that privileges ‘gathering’ over ‘dissociation’
because, granting gathering, this status leaves no room for the Other (SOM, p. 27). It follows that any privilege granted to unity conjures up the homogenized whole, becoming ‘a danger for responsibility, for decision, for ethics, for politics’ (VR, p. 13). Derrida is not advocating the destruction of unity per se; just the notion of ‘pure’ unity and ‘pure’ totality; this he says ‘is a synonym of death’ (p. 13). In this way, the irrepressible desire for a community to form must reflect on its limits and ‘for its limits to be its opening’ (P, p. 355). This aporia is not an obstacle to community but a condition of it, the condition of any unity as such (VR, p. 14, NS, pp. 151–5, SOM, pp. 23–9). Creating an impossible situation, the paradox of community is at once self-limiting, in order to retain identity and unity, while remaining open, in order to welcome. Like the condition of hospitality as hostis, the ‘we’ experience is understood through the paralysis of the impossible. A resolution to this paralysis is to enter into the impossible moment of the gift, a giving without return (GT, GD).

Community MUSIC and Community Music practice has respect for singularity and the universal, the process and the product, professionalization and participation. The paradox resides within questions of responsibility before a singular other and towards the others that we share with. This is difficult because ‘[T]here is doubtless this irrepressible desire for a ‘community’ to form’ (NS, p. 124). One might argue, as does Derrida, that the term democracy provides the most generous container through which difference may operate. In many ways, I am persuaded by these arguments, but continue to be mindful of the pragmatism needed during the development of Community Music practice and scholarship. A position that finds the term community an impasse would edge towards the reduction of the prefix Community altogether. This may yet come; Community MUSIC as a new dawn of MUSIC, a ‘new Enlightenment’ of MUSIC and music-making, may render the prefix superfluous. In the meantime, as a political manoeuvre, Community must reside as a prefix to Community MUSIC and
Community Music, although its state of erasure demonstrates its absence and presence, a flickering entity both essential and unessential.

This provisional acceptance must understand that community is in a continuous state of deconstruction, a 'community-to-come' or indeed a 'community-without-community'.\textsuperscript{58} As practice, Community Music requires the term community to level its fortress and weaken its defence against the oncoming Other. Weakness, however, demands strength, and strength is able to pursue the maintenance of integrity while welcoming the stranger from the foreign land. Community Music practice must pass through the ordeal of the undecidability, moving in and between the impossible condition of unity and dislocation. The Community in \textit{Community MUSIC} is a 'community-to-come' beckoning generosity to be washed upon the shoreline, and calling for a gift of a 'community without unity': community, hospitality, welcome to the Other, promise, democracy.

\textbf{Participation}

Within the isolated traits of Community Music, participation is the most visible. Encoded into Community Music is an emphasis on participatory access and equality of opportunity. These notions are generally housed within a desire to nurture, develop, and promote music as an important part of being human. Given that the participant is needed to countersign any acts of music-making, this section is an extension to the ideas found in 'Context' and 'Community'.\textsuperscript{59} Furthering these connections, notions surrounding participation as social capital are subsumed within discourse pertaining to community, democracy, individual responsibility and citizenship. Chapter 2 has highlighted Community Music's insistence on the active participation in 'musical-doing', promoting the development of active and creative music-making between musicians from any discipline working alongside groups of people. From an ideology that promoted cultural democracy, Community Music has always championed this
agenda, advocating the rights for musical education and access to music-making opportunities.

Community Music has not been alone with these convictions; resonance between Christopher Small and John Blacking are prominent examples within musicology, while educationists such as John Paynter, Murray Schafer, Trevor Wishart and John Stevens are examples of early practical influence (Small, 1998; Blacking, 1973; Paynter, 1992; Schafer, 1992; Wishart, 1977a, 1977b; Stevens, 1985). Community Music differs from the work of those musicians cited above because Community Music's orientation has been towards informal music-making, its initial trajectory critical of institutionalized music education. The resistance to so-called 'formal' music education has located Community Music on the margins of music education, and this position of opposition continues to dominate. Cultural shifts have of course affected Community Music, and the radical political stance of early socialist community arts and punk ideology have softened, resulting in the integration of Community Music into many mainstream activities.

Although Community Music has appeared to relax some of its oppositional perspectives, the fire that forcibly promotes participation in music-making has not receded. This part begins with an examination of participatory development, embedding the notion within acts and processes that include sharing knowledges, negotiation and empowerment. The genealogy of participation is considered, while a criticism of the effectiveness of its methodology provides a movement towards a more dynamic vision in which to situate it. Community Music is then located within the notion of intertextuality, noting its emphasis on practice and productivity while thickening the discourse that supports the formulation of Community MUSIC. Aspects of musical plurality are an important element for Community Music, and the notion of incommensurability becomes a useful device in cutting across contextual divides and aiding participation. As a
haecceity within a rhizomatic structure, Community Music, as a mode of becoming, is understood within Deleuze and Guattari’s conceptual manifestations.

**Participation and development**

Community Music is situated within the larger sphere of participatory development. This perspective is conventionally understood as emerging out of a recognition of the shortcomings of the ‘top-down’ developmental approach. The ineffectiveness of externally imposed and expert-orientated forms of research and planning within developmental projects became increasingly evident during the 1980s (Cooke and Kothari, 2002). During this period major donors and development organizations began to adopt participatory research and planning methods. Literature pertaining specifically to research methods and methodology supports this shift towards the ‘emic’ view, a perception that values and prioritizes the local and ‘beneficiary’ population (Day *et al.*, 2002; Brown and Jones, 2001; Gomm *et al.*, 2000; Denzin, 1997; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Clifford and Marcus, 1986).

The language that promotes participatory development has its roots in the radical philosophy of the exiled Brazilian, Paulo Freire. Freire’s resonance to the growth of Community Music has been highlighted in Chapter 2, and is summarized as an approach that promotes radicalization and transformation within the notion of conscientization. From the Portuguese, *conscientização*, conscientization is the ongoing process by which a learner moves towards critical consciousness (Freire, 2002). Freire’s pedagogy encourages people towards a process of permanent liberation. It is this ‘alternative’ vision of development, primarily articulated by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that grew throughout the 1960s and beyond, that provides the springboard for participatory development.
A particular exponent of participatory methodologies was a developmental approach championed by Robert Chambers, called Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). Defined as ‘a family of approaches and methods to enable rural people to share, enhance, and analyse their knowledges of life and conditions, to plan and act’, PRA’s impetus strongly reflects Community Music’s understanding of participation (Cooke and Kothari, 2002, p. 76). The correlations between the ethos of Community Music and PRA’s are unmistakable: an emphasis on structures that support a ‘bottom-up’ rather than ‘top-down’ approach to development, a stress on the inclusion of marginal peoples, a healthy distrust of the state, a celebration of local and indigenous knowledges, and an emphasis on empowerment.

With echoes of Braden’s articulation that would understand Community Music as a specific attitude to music, PRA’s defining characteristics lie less in its techniques than in its attitudes towards the tasks in hand (Braden, 1978; Cooke and Kothari, 2002). Participatory approaches to development are justified in terms of sustainability, relevance and empowerment. Presented as flexible and continuously evolving, participatory development methods are able to manoeuvre around problems of application and adaptation within specific contexts. Semantics such as flexible, evolving, application, adaptation and context are key terms within any Community Music project evaluation. These terms are often embedded within grant application criteria, and as such they become important for community musicians. Developmental arts projects operating within any notion of regeneration or social exclusion would certainly be encouraged to emphasize this language.

Deconstructive thinking has encouraged us to be wary of claims that gravitate towards centres and truth criteria, and one must apply the same scepticism to the notion of participation. Critical of the potential ‘tyranny’ of participatory development, Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari present concerns over the naivety in assumptions about the authenticity of
motivations and behaviours in participatory processes (Cooke and Kothari, 2002). Following this, Heiko Henkel and Roderick Stirrat suggest that much of the recent success of the terms participation and participatory as prefixes for development policies is due to the ambivalent connotations of the terms (p. 172). An apprehension within participatory development is that it may just re-establish structures that mirror existing bureaucratic structures.

As a key term within participatory discourse, and consequently Community Music, the notion of ‘empowerment’ needs interrogation. Henkel and Stirrat make this point in relation to what they describe as the ‘new orthodoxy’ (p. 170). Following a question that asks what people are empowered for, Henkel and Stirrat suggest that ‘[T]he currency in which this power is given is that of the project of modernity’ (p. 182). Attempts to empower people may therefore be misused within structures that set out to reshape the personhood of the participants. The root of empowerment remains in the concept ‘power’, and an over-simplified understanding of this term within the theory and practice of participation may lead to what Michel Foucault terms ‘subjection’ (Foucault, 1980).

Concerns such as these are similar to the discussions presented earlier, on Community; an argument that attempted to break from an understanding of ‘community’ as a fortress wall, towards notions of hospitality, democracy and the arrivant. Criticism within participatory development also includes a critique of the term ‘community’. Those concerned with the tyranny of participation oscillate their arguments around simplistic understandings of communities, those of homogeneous, static and harmonious units within which people share common interests and needs. Within this rubric, an articulation of community conceals power relations and masks biases in religion and gender, for example. Resonating with contemporary anthropology, ideas that portray the social as a heightened sense of
community neglect other social groupings and institutions and thus fail to recognize the current climate in which we live.

A genealogical trace of the term participation reveals two considerations. Firstly, it is a reference to people taking part in decision-making processes, thus providing a reaction to the dominant hierarchical approach to development. Secondly, within a religious context, participation has a connotation involving 'a specific vision of society as 'communitas' and at times, of evangelical promises of salvation' (Cooke and Kothari, 2001, p. 172). Although the first reading of the term appears close to the use within the practice of Community Music, Henkel and Stirrat date this notion later than the second and give it less credence within our psyche. As a reference to people taking part in the decision-making processes, participation refers to the bourgeois emancipation in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, signifying both the programme and the battle-cry of the political movement in its claim for a share in the economic and political sphere. It is suggested that the second notion of participation reaches much further back. Henkel and Stirrat note that its early modern usage meant primarily 'the participation of man in the infinite grace of God' (p. 173). Much like Corlett's etymology of community as communus, Henkel and Stirrat understand participation as a culturally specific concept rather than a matter of universal common sense (Corlett, 1995).

Community Music is a conscious attempt to encourage participation, with particular emphasis on developmental trajectories. Meaningful attempts to support participatory development require an acceptance that the notion might be flawed. Non-participation is the trace of participation, and as such should be part of the participatory strategy. The tensions of non-participation and participation are active within any strategy of empowerment. Drawing from the above discussion and mindful of the previous exploration of community, a dynamic structural vision is needed
in which to activate these notions of participation and community. The next section locates Community Music practice within the architecture of intertextuality. Here both participation and community can incorporate social networks and recognize dispersed and contingent power relations, the exclusionary as well as the inclusionary nature of participation.

Community Music as an intertextual practice

Through deconstructive thinking, the condition of Community MUSIC disseminates its practice, Community Music, throughout an intertextual network. This chapter's discussion on identity has surrendered previous manifestations of Community Music to Derrida's third movement within the gesture of deconstruction, dissolving any polarity to plays of difference. The practical results of this action submerge polarities such as active/passive, participation/consumerism, amateur/professional, process/product into the wider scope of intertextual signifying chains. These chains are rich with the alterity of the past and loaded with differance. The consequence of this thinking is the release of the undecidable, a positive affirmation inherent within any action and decision, its opposite not 'decisiveness' but programmability, calculability, computerizability, or formalizability (NS, p. 137). Derrida stresses this point, underlining that deconstruction does not 'proceed immediately to a neutralization'; neutrality 'has a negative essence [which] is the negative side of transgression' (MP, p. 329; Gasché, 1986, p. 138). As an undecidable within an intertextual structure, Community Music as practice challenges logocentric attitudes that repress the advocacy of participation.

First introduced by Julia Kristeva, the term intertextuality was defined as 'the transposition of one or more systems of sign into another, accompanied by a new articulation of the enunciative and denotative position' (Kristeva, 1980, p. 15). Mary Orr suggests that intertextuality is 'the power of the written text\textsuperscript{62} to impose a reorganization of the corpus of
texts that preceded its appearance’ (Orr, 2003, p. 10). Practically, intertextuality encouraged modifications in the manner in which texts were usually read, challenging pre-1968 ideologies, concepts such as a unified self, the pre-eminence of high-cultural expression and the direct referential connections between language and the world. Theorists such as Roland Barthes opened differences in the notion of the ‘work’ and of the ‘text’, Barthes emphasizing the reader’s role in deciding the meaning of any given text. In this instance, the reader is guided by the author’s signs but is not oppressed by them. Barthes famously states that ‘the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the Author’ (Barthes, 1977, p. 148).

As with literature, music had also been ‘tyrannically centred on the author’, the composer or virtuosic performer imposing limits on the text of music and music-making (p. 143). The results of such perspectives implemented the closure of the possibility of new interpretations, not just of ‘works’ but also of active music-making itself. Under the conditions of intertextuality, people are not passive vehicles in consumption but ‘reagents of the text’ (Orr, 2003, p. 35). Usually this refers to what Barthes terms the writerly or para-doxa states of reading. From this perspective I am suggesting that the intertextual space paves the way for participation within a structure that resists oppression and thus empowers through support and nurturing.

Kristeva’s extension to Bakhtinian theory proposes that ideas can never be presented as finished consumable products. The originality and genius of the author is a myth, as texts are only able to encourage readers themselves to step into the production of meaning. Using Mikhail Bakhtin’s emphasis on the multiple quality of words and utterances, Kristeva attacks notions of unity, claiming that these are associated with claims of authoritativeness, unquestionable truth, unproblematic communication and an overall desire for society to repress plurality.
According to Kristeva, unquestionable authority and singularity such as ‘God, Law, and Definition’ always work on the side of monologic power (Allen, 2000, p. 45). With notions corresponding to Bakhtin’s idea of the dialogic, Kristeva suggests that texts are not an individual isolated object, but rather a compilation of cultural textuality. Individual texts and cultural texts are constructed of the same textual material and therefore cannot be separated. Musicians and composer in this way do not create their own music from their own original minds; they are compiled from pre-existent traces. This corresponds to the previous discussion, where Community Music is understood as the trace of MUSIC and therefore constitutes MUSIC’s identity. It also reaffirms the practitioners’ emphasis on the contextual subjectile, the material that the community musician uses to encourage participation while promoting equality.

Intertextual notions suggest that music does not present clear and stable meanings. Embodied within society’s dialogic conflict over the meaning of sounds, words and context, music becomes Music, which becomes MUSIC. MUSIC is ‘practice and productivity’ and its relationship to the language in which it is situated is constantly being redistributed throughout the chain of signifiers (Kristeva, 1980, p. 36). The formulation Community MUSIC is to be understood beyond an inside/outside separation explored in more detail in the next section. This notion renders the textual meaning as a temporary rearrangement of different elements, all with socially pre-existent meanings. Within an intertextual network Community MUSIC understands that the meaning of MUSIC operates within a plural system; MUSIC is seen in a constant state of flux, always circular.

Refusing to bow down to influences, Community Music resists essences and unities but celebrates pluralities. Bowman notes that:

People have become acutely sensitive to the fact that music’s plurality cannot be assumed by a single set of values, that musical
differences cannot be reduced to differences in quality (Bowman, 1998, p. 357).

Responding to these issues, I would suggest that the notion of incommensurability has allowed community musicians to operate within a policy of diversity and plurality. Isaiah Berlin's doctrine of value-pluralism is useful in its affirmation towards incommensurability as a function within plural thinking (Gray, 1995, pp. 43/4). Berlin describes pluralism as:

... the conception that there are many different ends that men seek and still be fully rational, fully men, capable of understanding each other and sympathizing and deriving light from each other (Berlin, 1991, p. 11).

Berlin believes that both liberty and equality are among the primary goals pursued by human beings. He also suggested that equality of opportunity contains rival equalities if one carefully considers the idea. Values such as equality of opportunity are not harmonious wholes but arenas of conflict and incommensurability. An incommensurate quality is thus distinguished from rough equality and indeterminacy because:

... if two options are incommensurate then reason has no judgment to make concerning their relative value. Saying that they are of equal value is passing a judgment about their relative value, whereas saying they are incommensurate is not (Raz, 1986, p. 324).

Joseph Raz suggested that the test of incommensurability is a failure of transitivity: two value options are incommensurable if, firstly, neither is better than the other, and, secondly, if there is (could be) another option which is better than one but is not better than the other (p. 325). Incommensurability is not incompleteness or an imperfection in the
criteria of value of an object or option but 'the incomparability of valuable cultural objects, activities, reasons for action or forms of life' (Gray, 1995, p. 53). Although outside the main thrust of this chapter, Berlin and Raz's work on the politics of equality and pluralism offers a practical dimension worth considering within the intertextual experience of Community Music.

Within the rubric of intertextuality, Community MUSIC and its practice, Community Music, operates as a haecceity within a rhizomatic structure. As Deleuze and Guattari state, 'A haecceity has neither beginning nor end, neither origin nor destination: it is always in the middle. It is not made of points, but only of lines. It is a rhizome' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 263). As an exemplary form of becoming, music is an active and creative operation (Bogue, 2003; Buchanan and Swiboda, 2004). Existing as a refrain, music's passage of flight carves out pathways, breaking down territorial imperative and destroying the basis of authority.

Deleuze and Guattari represent this disruptive, dispersive tendency in the figure of the rhizome. The rhizome is a living, amorphous plant stem that operates in a non-hierarchical manner, allowing conceptual 'connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 7).

The rhizome works with the principle of heterogeneity and multiplicity, denying points or positions such as those found within structures that are defined by a set of points and positions with binary relations. Summarizing its principal characteristics, Deleuze and Guattari state that:

... unlike trees or their roots, the rhizome connects any point to any other point [...] it brings into play very different regimes of signs [...] The rhizome is reducible neither to the One nor the multiple
It has neither beginning nor end, but always middle (milieu) from which it grows and which it overspills' (p. 21).

The rhizome is made of lines, ‘lines of segmentarity and stratification as its dimensions’ (p. 21). These lines of flight signal the deterritorialization as the maximum dimension after which any multiplicity undergoes a metamorphosis.

Within this network, the sounds and silences generated through song and instrumental playing operate in a play with human socializing. A texture of sounds, silences, dialogue and human interaction creates a woven tapestry, a fabric of plurality in a constant state of flux, a mosaic of quotations that absorb and transform one and other. Community Music's operation within the rhizomatic structure of intertextual relationships provides the site in which a welcoming to the Other can take place. This gesture is the opening from which as practice Community Music promotes and insists on equality of opportunity. The manifestation of this insistence is through the advocacy of participation, the encouragement of creative music-making being the most visible of all Community MUSIC's traits.

**Pedagogy**

As a practice, I have suggested that Community Music's characteristics lie less in its techniques than in its attitude towards the task in hand. I have shown that this idea peppered the ideology of participatory development practice such as the Participatory Rural Appraisal, and consequently influenced participatory arts activity such as Community Music. The condition of Community MUSIC is experienced through its traits, and so these provide the spectre that manifests itself within a human attitude towards music and music-making. Mindful of this position and under the banner of pedagogy, this section will introduce the community musicians'
chief mode of musical transmission, the ‘workshop’, and consider the place of Community Music education and training within formalized settings.

As a framework for experimentation, creativity and group work, the workshop is considered within the rubric of the gift. The reciprocity of the gift subjects the workshop to a critique that may allow community musicians a deeper sense of their working method. In due course, this deeper understanding may alleviate misconceptions of the purpose and desire of those who practice.

Finally, using the logic of the Derridean supplement I consider Community Music's place within the education and training sectors. Echoing the condition of Community MUSIC, its identity as the trace of MUSIC, I suggest that the traits of Community Music haunt all music curricula. This position insists that Community Music's traits form an infrastructure to all curriculum development, and as such its oppression is a violation of MUSIC as a diverse human practice. Using tertiary education as an example, Community Music as a metaphoric scapegoat has been banished from many music programmes or more recently marginalized as an elective. In this instance I am drawing my conclusions from Which Training? an analysis of which can be found on page 78 (Deane, 1998). The evidence revealed that although there were 24 higher education institutes (HEI) that indicated involvement with Community Music practices most offered optional electives. My own experience within HEI's suggests that the issues stem from the staff who have a very limited view on the practice of Community Music. This gesture of ‘parergonality’ exposes the paradox of the inside/outside opposition and is recast revealing Community Music's place within any music curriculum.

The workshop as gift

Community Music practices have developed in order to preserve the value of the process while demonstrating attributes from its other traits, such as
(re)contextualization, hospitality, democracy, equality of opportunity, pluralism, etc. Within the UK, Community Music’s primary mode of practice is described as ‘workshop’, a term associated with experimentation, creativity and group work.72 Within historical perspectives, Chapter 2 has suggested that music educationalists such as John Paynter, Peter Aston, George Self and Murray Schafer all contributed to the development of ‘new’ classroom practices and were therefore an influence on Community Music pedagogy (Paynter, 1982, 1992; Self, 1976; Schafer, 1975, 1992). These so-called ‘new’ classroom practices were attempts to develop creativity, expression, spontaneity and cooperation – attributes akin to Community Music’s pedagogical approach.73 In resonance with Small’s suggestion that the creative activity be placed firmly at the centre of musical education, community musicians pursued the workshop as their means of achieving their pedagogic ideal (Small, 1996, p. 213).

The site of the workshop is nurtured to generate a spatial domain in which to engage in music-making. Music is an open structure that permeates and is permutated by the world, and Community Music pedagogy creates a deterritorialized space in which to foster and harness human desire. In order to fulfil Community MUSIC’s potential it is therefore imperative that Community Music practitioners understand the double-edged process of the workshop exchange. Reinforcing Community MUSIC’s position of à venir, both traits, ‘community’ and ‘participation’, have introduced the manifestations of equality of opportunity within its practice. In short, equality of opportunity as an idea within Community Music houses the desire for access and participation, and is thus transmitted through its pedagogical approach. Derrida’s notion of hospitality, the gift, yes, and promise enable a reflection on the practitioner’s position within practical community musicking.
Hospitality, the welcome extended by the host to the guest, is the function of the power of the host to remain master of the premises, the act of giving to strangers while remaining in control. Embedded within the trait that understands the signatory 'community' in Community Music, hospitality's mode of welcoming the Other is paramount in any Community Music pedagogy. The community musician has the power to host someone (facilitate), so that neither the Other of the participant, nor the power of the facilitator, is diminished in any way. This self-limitation preserves a distancing between the community musician as facilitator and the participant.

Derrida's law of hospitality gives to others with all the aporetics of the 'gift'. Gifts bind others to gratitude and consequently lead to reciprocation. According to Derrida a gift is something you can never be thankful for, it is something 'which never appears as such and is never equal to gratitude' (VR, p. 18). Marcel Mauss laid the foundation stones of economic anthropology, noting that a gift is never free, entailing as it does a triple obligation – to give, to receive and to reciprocate (Davies and Piero, 2002). Pursuing Mauss's theme, Derrida examines the economy implied in the idea of exchange and explores the circularity inherent within gift exchanges. These curricular economies bind the donee to a debt of gratitude, while the donor receives gratitude either from the gift-receiver or from himself/herself (consciously or unconsciously).

The aporetic result is that the donor, instead of giving something, has received, and the donee is in debt. The importance of a perspective that understands the workshop as gift is to conceptually break from the notion that Community Music 'helps' people. Mistranslations such as these from both recipient and naive practitioners create an unreal aura around Community Music that is neither helpful nor representative. In fact, I would suggest it generates another perspective in which to understand the practice as marginal from other forms of music-making.
Like the *pharmakon*, and the *hostis*, the gift carries its opposition within itself, potentially evoking a poisoned present: ‘to give a gift’ as to ‘give a blow’, ‘to give life’ as ‘to give death’ (GT, pp. 12, 35/6, PP, p. 131). For a gift to be a gift, there must be no reciprocity, no return, no exchange, no counter-gift, or debt, Derrida insists that ‘if the other *gives* me *back* or *owes* me or has to give me back what I give to him or her, there will not have been a gift’ (GT, p. 12). Gifts are exchanged and are therefore a self-limiting concept forming circular economies caught within the trading networks. As pedagogical practice, the workshop carries poison and remedy, a potential disappointment and negative experience or one that becomes a springboard for positive creativity, exploration and future happenings. As poisonous present, the workshop can make false claims, raise hopes or become a fleeting event that reinforces lack. Within the gamut of positivity, the workshop generates a safe space in which to nurture participants’ potential, creating an atmosphere where possibilities appear limitless.

Derrida understands that for a gift to be a ‘pure’ gift, its phenomena must be annulled: ‘*At the limit, the gift as gift ought not appear as gift: either to the donee or the donor*’ (p. 14). In short, the ‘pure’ gift is no gift at all; it has exteriority to the economic circle; like the logic of supplementarity the gift is full of exorbitance and founding excess; it is ‘*excessive in advance, a priori exaggerated*’ (p. 38). Within the circle of exchange, the gift disappears, but it is the desire to give something without getting anything back that ignites the economy of exchange and pushes it into motion. The pure impossibility of the gift79 does not require that we leave the economic circle behind: the gift’s impossible ‘something’ exceeds and makes possible the structure of the opposition of giving and receiving (Lucy, 2004).

As a gift, the condition of the Community Music workshop resides in the circle of exchange. As practice, the circle of exchange demonstrates
democracy and is perhaps 'future-producing' itself (PF, p. 31). A deep understanding of the gift may sharpen-up the workshop's emphasis on a 'bottom-up' rather than 'top-down' approach to music-making, and this has direct correlation to the notion of participation. The democratic circle of exchange thus enables accessible points of entry. Exchanges within a gift system that is aware of its restrictions are open possibilities and can transcend its limits. As a practical framework for participation, equality of opportunity, access and development, the workshop has the potential to be a formidable tool of engagement. Community musicians need clarity of understanding in order to harness the workshop as an empowerment tool. As I have shown during the previous discussion, misunderstandings of the theory and practice of participation may lead to 'subjection', an orthodoxy rooted within the project of modernity. As a method of participatory engagement, the workshop must avoid this ditch.

Community Music as supplement

Sectors that currently employ community musicians often perceive Community Music as a supplement to their core business, an additional activity that may be fun to do but is ultimately expendable. Educational institutes are also guilty of this attitude. Instances such as these condemn Community Music to the periphery, or marginalize the activity to such an extent that Community MUSIC, or the traits of Community Music, does not feature at all. In this section, I will consider philosophical issues pertaining to the inclusion of Community Music within institutes of education, and propose a mode of thinking in which to consider its location. Using the premise of Community Music as supplement, I will utilize the Derridean notion of supplementarity to conceptually address what supplement means and how it operates.

Much like the trace and differance, supplement is 'neither a presence nor an absence', it is 'the play of presence and absence' (OG, p. 244). As an operation of thinking, the supplement illuminates the complex and
shifting relationships between inside and outside. The mode of the supplement makes up for something missing as if there is a void that needs filling; 'it is not simply added to the positivity of a presence ... its place is assigned in the structure by the mark of an emptiness' (p. 145). The Derridean supplement 'makes possible all that constitutes the property of man', and in this way sits outside the regular understanding of ontology (p. 244).

A supplement is therefore Derrida's term for what is added on to something in order to further enrich it, and also what is added on as a mere 'extra'.

The supplement adds to itself, it is a surplus, a plenitude enriching another plenitude, the fullest measure of presence ... [B]ut the supplement supplements. It adds only to replace. It intervenes or insinuates itself in-the-place-of; if it fills, it is as if one fills a void. (pp. 144/5).

For Derrida the supplement is a crucial idea that has continuous currency throughout his writings. His starting point is the rhetoric of Rousseau's discussions surrounding nature, melody, sex and speech (Rousseau, 1953, 1986). Rousseau favours each of these terms as central, and regards their 'opposites', civilization, harmony, fantasy/masturbation and writing as supplements. As an example of Derrida's deconstructive analysis I will briefly focus on his consideration of writing as '... That Dangerous Supplement ...' (OG, pp. 141-64).

For Rousseau, writing was 'an addition to the natural resources of speech that always threatened to poison the springs of authentic human understanding' (Norris, 1987, p. 97). In conjunction with his views on nature, writing 'belonged to the stage of cultural development where the living community of face-to-face contact had given way to a vast,
impersonal network of social relations' (Norris, 1987, p. 97). Like Saussure's phontocentrism, Rousseau condemns writing as a destruction of presence, a 'disease of speech' (OG, p. 142). Derrida's summation of Rousseau's contradictory stance highlights that through writing a 'reconstruction of presence', Rousseau both 'valorizes and disqualifies writing at the same time' (pp. 141/2). Like many of the notions used throughout this chapter, the supplement attests to an inbuilt paradox, a paradox that sees the supplement as both an add-on and a means to take the place of. In Rousseau's case, writing can be seen as an addition to speech and as something which makes his speech complete. The conclusion that Derrida supposes is that that speech cannot be complete if it needs writing to supplement it; speech cannot have full presence and subsequently must contain absence. This logic is not to be understood under the rubric of ontology, it is much more akin to what Derrida later describes in Specters of Marx as 'hauntology' (SOM, p. 10). The supplement as a ghostly phenomenon has the effect of leaving its trace without ever being present or absent.

As a challenge to absolute inside and outside, the Derridean supplement reinforces the condition of Community MUSIC as a rapport with the Other, the trace of MUSIC, its very condition of Being. It therefore follows that any music curriculum's identity depends on its non-identity with, or difference from, its Other in the form of Community Music. In other words the popular music programme at the Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts is not to be understood as a closed idea, complete with the essences of what constitutes a good popular music programme. The recognition of this programme, as the programme advertised in the prospectus, is only identified as such in the relation to its Other as difference. It is not therefore complete and should not be considered self-sufficient. Staff that have written the course or teach on the course should recognise the intrinsic relationship between any musical doing and the traits of Community Music. As a simultaneously faithful and violent circulation
between the inside and the outside of music education, Community Music resides within any given music curriculum, snaking between the folds as an irreducible ghost.

The aporia of inside/outside is analysed in some detail within Derrida's major work on aesthetics *The Truth in Painting* (TP, 1987). The 'Parergon' is a lengthy essay emphasizing the nature of the frame as it appears in Kant's *Critique of Judgment*, and is particularly useful in unpacking the nature of the supplement (Par, pp. 15–147). From the Greek *ergon*, or 'work', and *parergon*, 'outside the work', Derrida's principal goal in the 'Parergon' is the displacement of the established borders of art and theory. Through the general tenets of Derrida's work, it is already clear that any notions of fixed borders limit the play of differences and as a gesture the *parergon* operates in much the same way.

The *parergon* pursues a manoeuvre that challenges the enclosure determined by the inside/outside opposition, and thus aims to recast the notion of what is meant by inside/outside. Carroll notes that Derrida's plan is to demonstrate how the frame itself delineates an inside and outside and how the frame in fact encourages 'a complicated movement or passage across it both from inside-out and outside-in' (Carroll, 1987, p. 136). It is worth recalling that Derrida warns us that '[D]econstruction must neither reframe or dream of the pure and simple absence of the frame' (Par, p. 73). This is important because Community Music must be wary of its terrain and if possible avoid falling into the traps it seeks to unhinge.

The aesthetics of Kant have intrinsic beauty, value and meaning, while contrary to this monetary value, circumstances of production, and location are distinguished as extrinsic. The Kantian frame encloses and protects an inside, consequently creating an outside. The *parergon* surrounds and sets
off the artwork itself (the ergon), Kant does not consider it as part of the work or in any way integral to it. Kant’s elucidations confirm that:

> Even what we call *ornaments (parerga)*, i.e. what does not belong to the whole presentation of the object as an intrinsic constituent, but [is] only an extrinsic addition, does indeed increase our taste's liking and yet it too does so only by its form, as in the case of picture frames, or drapery on statues, or colonnades around magnificent buildings (Kant, 1987, p. 72).

In a deconstructive demonstration that alerts us to the integral nature of the frame, Derrida’s final analysis sees the *parergon* form disappearing, burying itself and melting away (p. 61). The *parergon* becomes a metaphor for the invisible limits to the interiority of meaning and to all the empiricisms of the extrinsic. A frame, says Derrida, ‘is essentially constructed and therefore fragile: such would be the essence or truth of the frame’ (p. 73). The fragility of the frame metaphorically cracks, turning ‘the internal limit into an external limit’, allowing us to see the picture from the side of the canvas or wood (p. 74).

When Community Music plays a supplementary role in music curricula, a module, an elective or option, or a programme within a logocentric managerial structure, Community Music operates as a *parergon*. Metaphorically, Community Music education becomes mere finery, ornamentations like the drapery adorning the Kantian statue. The logic of parergonality sets the interiority of traditional music curricula and its exteriority, Community Music, as fundamentally interconnecting within a paradox. This logic designates that the distinctions between inside and outside ‘can only be a matter of stipulative warrant, rather than pertaining to the very nature of aesthetic judgement or experience’ (Norris, 2000, p. 61).
The man-made frame creates an artificial border oppressing MUSIC's essential condition. The frame is, however, fragile, and as such splintering its corners will begin the progress of revealing the Other. With an understanding of the condition of Community MUSIC, music curriculum builders can allow the current external limits of formalized music education to bleed through and around its interior. As another viewing station in which to observe one of man's diverse human practices, Community MUSIC would allow one to see an alternative edge of music education. The final analysis releases the rigid construction around music education, the glue that grips it to the sides loses its fixative and the construction dissolves into rhizomatic tapestry.

Community Music as scapegoat
The condition of Community MUSIC stresses that it has been always-already; Community MUSIC is the infrastructure that marks any musical experience. As the trace of all music-making practice, Community Music inhabits all musical experiences. The logic of the supplement divides and repeats, both adding-to and replacing. Following the iterability rule, Community Music curricula would be the same as but different from any other music curricula, but is repressed because of man-made borders prejudicing its engagement and marginalizing its practice.

Within music education, the traits of Community Music are often condemned as peripheral because of its perceived amateurishness, lack of product, unconventional performance frames, alternative aesthetics, etc. Among other traditional music subjects, Community Music appears as a scapegoat, a pariah and an outcast. In 'Plato's Pharmacy', Derrida presents the rite of the scapegoat as a metaphor for the inside/outside paradox (PP, pp. 128–34). This illustration underlines the current folly many music educationalists preside over while also providing a strong image in which to think about this gesture.
Banished from the city in a civil purification ritual, the scapegoat is both evil and outside, and is consequently killed in order to purify the city’s interior. Derrida argues that to be led outside the city, the *pharmakos* (scapegoat) must have been already within the city. Derrida states that ‘The ceremony of the *pharmakos* is thus played out on the boundary line between inside and outside’ (p. 133). Not only does the outside already inhabit the inside, the *pharmakos* has a double role, as medicine in that he cures the city of its impurities, and at the same time as a poison or an evil. The *pharmakos* behaves like the *pharmakon*, his meaning is never fixed, he is an undecidable. 93

From this perspective, conscious or unconscious decisions to exclude the traits of Community Music from a curriculum reveal an internal lack within the operational music programme. These types of violation against Community Music automatically identify its primordial existence. For example, to exclude the importance of context and participation from a conservatoire performance programme is to lead both context and participation from the inside to the outside. Any supposed purity within this hypothetical example is deemed nonsense because of the supplementarity contradictions. In this case, both context and participation reveal the lack in the curriculum, thus exposing a curriculum development process that operates within the metaphysic of presence.

**Community Music in education**

This position does not advocate that all music curricula should include all things; clearly, this would be inappropriate and naive. The stress is on music educationalists to grasp the condition of *Community* MUSIC and its consequential traits. In doing so, I believe that the education and training of today’s musicians would be more in tune with the realities of the cultural *realpolitik*. 
Chapter 2 offered a snapshot of Community Music’s education and training opportunities and showed a marked increase in the provision of Community Music training from the early 1990s to 1998. As a lecturer within the tertiary education sector, I would attest that this situation has shifted a little with an increase in the provision of optional Community Music modules within undergraduate and postgraduate programmes. Mindful of the *parergon*, the function of electives or optional modules reveals a supplementary relationship to a ‘main’ programme of study. The nature of electives is to provide choice, a ‘second string to your bow’ or an additional path of study. Although important within a programme of study, electives are susceptible to change and often take place only if there are sufficient student numbers.

Within an economic discourse, this is of course understandable and acceptable. The problems occur in the ability and processes for potential students of Community Music to make the decision to engage in the subject. For students to make informed choices they must have some sense of trust and knowledge, and this flows from the philosophy of the music department and those staff who inhabit it. Departments operating with a logocentric attitude that understands music and music-making enclosed within the Kantian frame will often deem a Community Music elective as non-intrinsic to the overall programme of study: this course of action demonstrates ‘parergonality’. I therefore suggest that bolt-on Community Music activities do not recognize logocentricity and so continue to promote Community Music as a marginalized activity.

If community musicians and those who support its activities can successfully challenge the role of the *parergon* and grasp the condition of *Community MUSIC*, this will create greater opportunities in which to understand the important role Community Music has in the broad sphere of music education. In the meantime, Community Music electives have their role to play in educating both music students and music staff. The
overall thrust of this discussion has been to suggest that the traits of Community Music, context, community, participation, and pedagogy, come embedded within all music curricula and therefore form an infrastructure to all curricula. Sensitivity to this will release relevant aspects contributing to a music education that is responsive and relevant to the early twenty-first century.

**Summary**

Chapter 3 has presented an alternative viewing station at which to consider Community Music. The rationale I had set myself aimed to provide a space in which to think theoretically through the notion of Community Music and its practice. This ‘space’ has led towards a Derridean deconstructive thinking, a process that best suited my purpose.

Through this process and with the help of Elliott’s categories of ‘music’, I have been able to articulate the condition of Community Music as Community MUSIC. This notion suggests that Community MUSIC is the infrastructure of any music-making activity and event and as such is its primordial Other. From this perspective, Community MUSIC has suffered historically from human intervention. It is therefore the onslaught of human-made frameworks, boundaries and constructions that have led to a marginalization of the Community MUSIC experience. The first section of this chapter (Identity) has aimed to point this out and thus encourage those involved in the shaping of our musical lives to readdress the inequalities.

Gleaned from Chapter 2’s historical account, Community MUSIC’s vibrating self embodied in the four traits of context, community, participation and pedagogy allow Community MUSIC to be experienced. The traits are not pure, nor are they essences; each trait is a condition of its retrait$^{94}$ and is presented within the rubric of deconstruction. Although
each trait has been described and supported using a range of Derridean notions, care has been taken to ensure that its practical application will be fore-grounded. Chapter 3 thus provides the hinge on which this thesis turns, an overarching view of the condition of Community MUSIC plus its practical applications. This system of thought prepares the path towards an ethnographic account of a Community Music project.
A Case Study: the Peterborough Community Samba Band

Introduction
Situated some seventy miles from London, Peterborough is an example of an English New Town. Built on the cusp of the meadowlands of east Northamptonshire and the flat fenlands, Peterborough has developed into a significant site within the East of England. Its geographic location places it within easy reach of some of England’s largest towns and cities, for Birmingham, Northampton, Cambridge, Nottingham, Leicester, Norwich and London are all within a hundred-mile radius. As a city within the county of Cambridgeshire, Peterborough is a commercial and retail centre for a sub-regional area of half a million people, an area designated within the counties of Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Rutland, and Cambridgeshire.

Over the last thirty-five years, Peterborough’s population has grown to around 156,000 people living in 65,000 households. In population terms, the city is one of the largest in the region. Peterborough is home to
national and global industries such as Thomas Cook, AMP Pearl, Perkins Diesel Engines, and Budget Insurance. Unemployment is low, reaching just 2.1% in November 2002, and some businesses and public-sector employers are experiencing skill shortages, a current challenge to Peterborough's governance (Peterborough City Council, 2003).

Between 1993 and 1996, I undertook the role of Music Animateur for the City of Peterborough and its greater constituency within the county of Cambridgeshire. The Peterborough Arts Council had responded to its previous research findings as regards the development of the Arts in Peterborough, and generated a music post with additional funding support from Peterborough's local council, Cambridgeshire County Council and the Regional Arts Board (Eastern Arts). The first few months of employment involved circumnavigating the area for which I was responsible, and the construction of a short-, medium- and long-term plan of music development. I was not a native of Peterborough and had moved to the area because of the employment opportunity. My initial reaction to the city suggested that there was a lack of cultural activities in general, but more particularly a void of socio-cultural opportunities for adults. Echoed through visual appearances also, these first responses detected a seeming lack of 'community' hustle and bustle that manifested itself most noticeably in the city centre, which was deserted after 6 p.m.

Although easily accessible from its surrounding areas, many people access Peterborough from the A1 dual carriageway. As one of Britain's busiest roads, the A1 runs from London to Edinburgh and provides a main route from the North-East to the South-East. As one approaches Peterborough from the A1, Junction 17 provides the slip road towards the city centre. From this entrance, it is initially difficult to detect that you have entered the outskirts of a large city. Peterborough's roadways radiate from its centre and are lined with trees and shrubs dividing Peterborough's interior and acting as a disguise for its everyday communal activities. As a
key feature of Peterborough's 'garden' design, its roads and roundabouts cut through the flat horizon of the fenland landscape, offering only glimpses of the community at large through the broken foliage. From this perspective, it is possible to think that you have entered a topography where vehicles flow but where people do not live.

Heading from the A1 on the A1139, it takes around five minutes before you notice on the left the huge sturdiness of Peterborough's Norman cathedral. The massiveness of the building is uninterrupted by landscape, its many steeples puncturing the sky in a celebration of Christendom. Peterborough Cathedral denotes one's arrival into the city. With a history dating back to 655, Peterborough Cathedral is a dominant force in the city's history, both past and present. Under the shadow of its structure Peterborough appears a 'sleepy town' unable to transcend the limits of its borders. As a reflection of faceless town planning and a failed attempt of creating community, Peterborough's landscape is a metaphor for its lack of vibrancy. Within the boundaries of eastern England, Peterborough's tourist information and its cultural strategy attempt to describe Peterborough as the place 'to be'. This is a hollow suggestion underlined by its prevailing nickname as the 'cultural desert'.

It was first impressions such as these that led to the decision to initiate an adult-orientated music activity that could wake-up the 'sleepy city'. During previous employment, I had witnessed the effectiveness of community drumming, and decided that this should be my starting point in Peterborough. It was this rationale that informed my first set of classes, and through these percussion sessions emerged the eventual constitution of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. The original objectives for the percussion classes were to create a space for adults to come together through music and for this to spill out into their social worlds. An understanding of the inter-relationship between the so-called aesthetic and extra-aesthetic initiated a dynamic that would have the capacity to
welcome participants beyond musical virtuosity. This enabled the classes to embrace both professional musicians and those who had limited or no previous musical experience. Musical competence was not a marker for the arrivant; emphasis was given to notions of participatory-development with its long-term goals as a self-sustaining agent.

Initiated against this background, the Peterborough Community Samba Band developed into a thriving cultural activity that has been able to transcend the city's 'sleepy' limits. In a similar vein to those musical treasures exposed by Ruth Finnegan in *The Hidden Musician*, the Peterborough Community Samba Band found cultural refuge in an activity that initially seems quite a paradox to the persona of the 'new town'³ (Finnegan, 1989). During this account, the Peterborough Community Samba Band is described as an evolving phenomenon, with various aspects of its identity and practices crystallizing throughout its existence. Through the inner mechanics of the band’s condition, the participants’ testimonies introduce their 'play'. As an ethnographic account of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, this chapter elaborates ethnographic detail and attempts to place the reader inside the project. Drawing from documents,⁴ testimony,⁵ experience and experiential memory,⁶ this account constructs the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band and its traits of practice.

The first section of this chapter searches for the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. Under the sub-heading 'identity', the overarching 'spirit' of the band comes under scrutiny. Fiona’s story begins the chapter as a pithy illustration that reinforces the section’s theme. Through her elucidations of self-identity nurtured through and around the band’s presence, one is immediately thrown into the heat of the ethnographic account. Isolating five foundational milestones – constitution, recording, gigs and instruments, rehearsal spaces and Samba
Sizzlies – an understanding of the band’s philosophy, ideology and operation begins to reveal itself.

In order to locate the Peterborough Community Samba Band (PCSB) within the wider socio-cultural milieu, the contextual parameters are broadened to include an account of the UK’s samba scene, and an account of the growth of samba within Brazil. Figure 1 provides a graphic illustration of this terracing. The first section concludes by suggesting that the growth of the Peterborough Community Samba Band and the UK samba scene has its construction within the manifestation of Community Music. Through Section 1, the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s infrastructure is exposed as an identifiable phenomenon.

![Diagram of Samba in Brazil: World](image)

*Figure. 1. Contextual Parameters*

P= Individual Participant

Continuing the previous chapter’s themes of context, community, participation and pedagogy, the second section deliberates over the four traits of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. The band’s contextual parameters are considered first, locating the Peterborough
Community Samba Band in its immediate locality, Peterborough, and within its initiating agent, the Peterborough Arts Council. The mark of ‘community’ opens with an illustrative account of the band’s interior supportive system, the so-called ‘aunties’, and follows with an account of the many friendship networks. These descriptions enhance our understanding of the binding relationships inherent within Community Music practices.

Martin’s story introduces participation, the third trait. His story is unusual and illustrative because Martin was a professional musician performing within a Community Music project. Following this, participants discuss their musical experiences before involvement with the Peterborough Community Samba Band. Pedagogy is the final trait, and begins with Nick’s story. Like a number of participants, Nick has cultivated teaching skills and now enjoys economic success in the field of music education. Nick’s story is an illustrative example of the transition from *bateria* to *mestre*, and from participant to tutor. The story’s narrative relays the effectiveness of the workshop as a teaching strategy, and Nick pays attention to workshops’ use in imparting musical knowledge while also enabling a confidence in the use of that knowledge. This example gives way to the consideration of the efficacy of facilitation. Finally, the chapter ends with the difficulties inherent in a move from *bateria* to *mestre* or from participant to leader.

Much of the material used for this chapter is the result of a weekend ‘reunion’, organized in conjunction with the current incarnation of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. Constructed as a chance to meet old friends, enjoy a weekend of drumming and contribute to the development of Community Music, the reunion began arrangements six months before the designated meeting on 29th May 2004 in Peterborough. In order to avoid ‘stepping on toes’, planning for the day included pre-meetings with the current band. During these initial meetings, the
research project was fore-grounded but balanced with an understanding that the day would further the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s practice of community musicking. During these first encounters, I got to know the current performers and took part in one of the regular weekly drumming workshops. This dispersed most anxieties and suspicions as regards the intent of the requested reunion.

Because it was important to allow all participants access to the day’s musical activities, clear programming was needed. Listed below is the format used.

- Introduction and purpose to the day.
- Recent elaborations of *Samba Reggae* led by the current *mestre*. The established musical outline embellished with the latest ‘grooves’.
- Open floor: An opportunity for any member of the group to share and contribute further knowledge surrounding the piece in question.
- Discussion and testimonies: A chaired forum that would allow free-flowing conversation and reminiscence.
- Shared picnic lunch.
Recent elaborations of *Samba Batucada* led by the current *mestre(s)*. The established musical outline embellished with the band’s latest ‘breaks’.

- Open floor: an opportunity for any member of the group to share and contribute further knowledge surrounding the piece in question.

- Discussion and testimonies: a tighter discussion focusing on the four key areas of the questionnaire.

- Summing up.

- Evening socializing in a local bar and a family house.

The day lasted around 8 hours. Open discussion and testimonies lasted around 3 hours in total and included between 15-18 participants. Discussion was recorded and latter transcribed. The reunion enabled a retrospective of reflections spanning the band’s twelve years of operation, and offered an opportunity to probe motivations and experiences from those who have shaped the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. In an effort to reach those who are no longer in contact, the local paper printed a couple of articles of this nature:

A samba band is holding a reunion to coincide with the return of its original leader: Peterborough Community Samba Band is searching for former members as they welcome Lee Higgins back to the city for a visit […] Current leader Fiona Lidgey said: ‘We must have had hundreds of different people in the band over the years. We have so many photographs but don’t know who half the people are’ (*Sounds of Samba Band to Return at Reunion*, 2004).

The reunion also served a purpose in the process of participatory development, providing an opportunity for participants both current and
past to meet and spend a day drumming and socializing. One of the direct outcomes from the day included two past participants deciding to reinstate their places within the band.

Around thirty people were able to attend the day, and they were representative of the band's twelve-year history. Participants' backgrounds were typically wide and echoed the historic diversity of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. Their occupations included administration officer, teacher's assistant, peripatetic drum teacher, chartered building surveyor, students, teacher, BBC radio programme maker, rural environmental worker, civil servant, musician, and those who were currently out of work.

The weekend also included one-on-one interviews with 3 participants lasting approximately an hour and a half each. These were recorded in the participants' houses on mini disc and transcribed at a later date. The questions followed a set pattern organised around 4 areas; music experiences before your encounter with the samba band, experiences while you were a member of the samba, experiences (musical and social) after your encounter with the samba band, and the experience of this reflection. Although I did stick to the overall questioning structure, open questioning did allow other avenues to be explored. These interviews exposed particular perspectives of the band's activities and led to the illustrative examples that begin each sub-section under the headings Fiona's Story, Aunty, Martin's Story, and Nicks Story.
The Condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band

Identity

FIONA’S STORY
Advertisements for samba drumming classes at the Peterborough Arts Centre were visible in local newspapers in May 1993. Just before 7:30 p.m. on a Thursday night, I sat nervously, not knowing if there would be any attendance at all. Fiona entered the building first, and I greeted her. She walked in awkwardly, short in stature, heavy in weight, and dressed in baggy clothes. As she walked towards where I was standing, she was apologetic of her musical incompetence, and appeared as nervous as I was.

Fiona has made an incredible life journey since our first meeting in 1993 and she remains a positive symbol for my professional work during my time in Peterborough. She considers the Peterborough Community Samba Band as a catalyst for a deeper understanding of her current identity. Throughout my research Fiona’s story has been outstanding for its orientation around personal identity and personal growth: twelve years after her initiation into samba, she stated, ‘By God, I am so glad that I went to this first Samba session, oh yeah’ (Lidgey-Hutt, 2004, p. 18). Through reflection, Fiona noted that,

‘It [the Peterborough Community Samba Band] made the biggest impact of anything I’ve done I think. I can’t imagine me not doing it now. It’s such an intrinsic part of who I am. It’s not just something that I do’ (p. 18).
During our interview, Fiona got visibly tearful as she recounted the process of change. She described herself as a ‘shadow-little-person’ prior to involvement with the Peterborough Community Samba Band, and expressed an understanding that,

‘All the experiences that I’ve gained have made me what I am now and I don’t wanna be not what I am now. If there wasn’t music in my life then ..., I can’t imagine who I’d’ve been now’ (p. 18).

Before involvement with the Peterborough Community Samba Band, Fiona had been unhappy with her self-identity, describing herself as ‘trying to make ends meet’ and ‘mumsy’, a derogatory description usually indicating dowdy-looking and worn-out (p. 12).

As an identity, Fiona notes her ‘phenomenal change’: the way she now carries herself, her hairstyle, her attitude, her lifestyle, have all undergone dramatic change. In this way, the Peterborough Community Samba Band and its broader intersections have become an intrinsic part of who Fiona is. ‘I am Fiona Samba’, she noted (p. 15). This statement is qualified by revealing that she has recently entered into a new relationship and therefore understands the need to strike a balance between her love for samba and all its community intersections and the commitment of the new relationship. Striking this balance has not been easy, and it is in stark contrast to previous times, where ‘the only thing that kept me sanely in that period was the fact that I was working with music’ (p. 14). Fiona admits that samba is ‘still very, very important, but it’s not the only thing, now there is something else’ (p. 15).
Foundational milestones

Constitution
The Peterborough Community Samba Band’s identity is constructed through its infrastructure. Chapter 3 has suggested that deconstructive infrastructures are irremediably plural and are energized with strength to form rapport and thus account for differences, contradictions, aporias and inconsistencies. Several infrastructural elements have allowed the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s purpose and philosophical ethos to flow from generation to generation. The creation of its constitution written by its members in January 1996 is a good example of this.

The constitution was drawn up with two broad reasons in mind, independence and funding. The first of these desires sought to provide independence from the Peterborough Arts Council, and as such the Music Animateur. This move was important because, although the Peterborough Arts Council had been a keen supporter of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, over-reliance on agencies such as these might have hampered its growth. The group understood these issues, in part because its inception had been lined with a drive towards a self-sustaining agent, and because a number of its members were active within youth arts advocacy. The progression towards independence initiated a process to establish its own identity. Within the traits of Community Music, the Peterborough Community Samba Band moved towards autonomy while continuing to recognize the structural imperatives of the group and the traces within this. The second reason for independence revolved around funding. As a group with a clearly documented constitution, the Peterborough Community Samba Band could open pathways for funding beyond those offered by the Peterborough Arts Council, for example Lottery funding, Eastern Arts Board, and private sponsorship. Within participatory development, self-sustainability is a crucial objective, and
the group needed to establish a range of income opportunities. Constitutionalizing the group allowed this to happen and paradoxically provided a stronger position from which to apply for localized funding, including that from the Peterborough Arts Council.

Within the Peterborough Community Samba Band's constitution there were four key aims: to provide regular opportunities to explore, and experiment with, music from varied cultures; to provide regular opportunities for improving these skills to performance level; to create a framework for the performance of live music by members of the community; To encourage community membership of the PCSB (Peterborough Community Samba Band, 1996a). To my knowledge these aims have never been revisited. I believe that the existing group today could refine these to better reflect their current activities. Nevertheless this constitution of nine years contains philosophical motives that have continued as infrastructural guidelines to the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band.

**Recording**

The constitution provided the Peterborough Community Samba Band with independence while allowing it to carry the traces of its initial philosophical trajectory. The recording of its demo tape, *Desfile*, in May 1996, furthered its identity and came about through an initiative to add an extra focus to its activities and to consolidate its presence. The group faced a range of new challenges, such as the matter of a recording venue, acoustic considerations, sleeve design, marketing, the hiring of recording equipment and operator, editing and costing such a project. One of the Peterborough Community Samba Band's ex-members had been a recording engineer, so the group enlisted help from him and eventually hired him to produce the tape. Acquisition of the knowledge necessary in contracting external staff became invaluable in subsequent years, with the need to employ external tutors.
As a set of individuals and as a group, the Peterborough Community Samba Band sourced a variety of income streams in order to pay for the projected cost of the recording. Income came from a variety of sources, including the Peterborough Arts Council, the Peterborough City Council, Eastern Arts, and Max Power. One of the partners of a band member worked for Max Power, a magazine associated with fast cars and bold graphics. Max Power kindly provided the resources to produce the artwork for the tape jacket. The group acknowledged this by naming a samba selection after the company; 'Max Power' became track number 4 and was the latest addition to the band's repertoire.

During the progression towards the recording, the band increased its rehearsal time and steadily increased its membership. Because of the realization of the nature of recording, many members consolidated their commitment both to the band and to the particular instruments they played. This period of rehearsal marked a decisive shift within the workshop situation. The levels of concentration increased dramatically, as did the musical expectations. Participants would get lost in the cyclic rhythms, closing their eyes in an effort to 'nail' their part. The realization was that their performance would be inscribed and boxed, sold and repeated. On a number of occasions, participants brought in tape recorders and recorded the evening's session. In one sense this was helpful in furthering the participants' understanding of the differences between performing live and recording. In another way, the happy-go-lucky 'spirit' began to dissolve into the background. These workshops were a demonstration of the fine line between Community Music transgressing its borders in order to fulfil potential while also remaining faithful to its ideology.

The final product, a run of 1,000 tapes, established a tangible product that boosted the confidence and the perceived status of the group while also
creating a much needed income stream. *Desfile*’s jacket inlay sleeve neatly summarized the band’s ideology and reinforced its constitutional commitment:

We’ve come from our houses, offices, shops, factories, workshops, warehouses, studios, community centres and classrooms to parade in carnivals, play in and around the city (even in the cathedral!) and perform with other musicians from rappers to Glyndebourne Opera to other sambistas from all over the country...Catch the spirit of samba. *Catch Desfile* (Peterborough Community Samba Band, 1996b).

**Gigs and instruments**

As a performance art, playing to an audience is the stable diet of many bands. The complex network of relationships within such a band helps bind the participants and their music goals. As a pedagogic strategy, performing had always constituted the finale of the classes that I had initially run at the Peterborough Arts Centre. These became more frequent as the members grew in confidence and pride in their achievements. Throughout their history, the Peterborough Community Samba Band had therefore regularly gigged, and have since notched up a varied and diverse list of performance types and performance locations, including: carnivals, festivals, special events such as Lord Mayor’s parades, charity events, sporting occasions, pub gigs and workshops.

The Peterborough Community Samba Band’s eclectic mix of people and philosophical approach enabled a welcoming of the Other. This attitude led to performances alongside DJs, rappers, opera companies, symphony orchestras, rock and pop acts, and other world music ensembles, such as West and East African drumming ensembles. *Desfile* had also included a venture into a fusion between samba and the popular dance style of the day, drum ‘n’ bass. In order to fulfil many of these diverse performance
obligations the Peterborough Community Samba Band needed ownership of instruments. This was particularly necessary as the band looked towards running workshops of its own, an initiative that flourished successfully in later years and continues today.

During the initial period of the band’s growth, I had spent around £1,000 of my project funds on the purchase of some samba instruments. Although these instruments were for the community’s use, the Music Animateur would often be working with them in other sites across the city. Consequently, the instruments would be unavailable for projects that involved the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s participants running workshops within their particular place of work or projects of their own initiation. Through the Peterborough Arts Council’s small grant initiative, the Peterborough Community Samba Band obtained some funds to buy its own instruments, and the likes of Larry Tannam and Eileen Locatelli, advocates for activities for young people, were able to run percussion projects within their respective playgrounds and playschemes. Later initiatives were more ambitious, including the purchasing of a trailer, and the creation of a mobile samba workshop entitled ‘Samba Grooves’.

**Rehearsal spaces**

A large percussion unit generates a lot of sound, and finding venues to rehearse in can present difficulties. The Peterborough Community Samba Band began its residency within the Peterborough Arts Centre, the initial choice because it was the site of the Music Animateur’s office and the community arts team. After complaints from its neighbours, the Arts Centre regrettably had to ask the band to find an alternative place to rehearse. This moment was recorded in the newspaper article, ‘Shhhh ... No More Samba – Band drummed out of art centre for being too noisy’ (Bartram, 1994a). Within a week, David Thorpe, then chairman of the Peterborough Pirates, the local ice hockey team, offered a venue for the
band to rehearse, stating that, ‘[O]ur fans make quite a lot of noise and the Samba musicians say it fits in well with their kind of music. I look forward to having them down here’ (Bartram, 1994b).

This first venue shift is significant, because the band’s infrastructure becomes strengthened through its ability to account for aporias and forge new rapports with the Other. The relationship between the Peterborough Arts Centre and the Peterborough Community Samba Band provides the first of many such affiliations between band and property owner. During the band’s history, it has moved venues on approximately nine occasions, and on each transition a new dynamic was initiated. This may be in the form of individual relationships, performance opportunities, sponsorship possibilities and membership changes. The ability for the band to maintain its identity and retain flexibility towards its hosts has provided strength of character initiated within its ideology. The current line-up of the samba group seems settled in a stand-alone drama classroom positioned some way from local residents.

**Samba Sizzlers**

Initially led by two of the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s participants, Fiona Lidgey-Hutt and Veronica Eden, the development of the ‘Samba Sizzlers’ was a response to a demand and a desire. It was common during the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s performances that audience members would ask if there were opportunities for young people to get involved in the drumming. The Peterborough Community Samba Band had been set up as an adult band and this aspect was still important for those in attendance. As Music Animateur, I had regular workshops within schools and it was clear that a structured format outside school time could be successful. This is supported by a current member of the Peterborough Community Samba Band who recalls that her young daughter was keen to play after my visit to her school: ‘[M]eryl thought it was absolutely fantastic. As soon as she
heard about the Junior group starting up, that was it, she was there' (Davies, 2004, p. 1).

The request that the Music Animateur should support this activity came from inside the Peterborough Community Samba Band, and it became clear that both Fiona and Veronica would be keen to run the class. Fiona recalls: ‘[W]ell you [Lee Riggins] said once “I’d really love to do this, and I know I haven’t got time to do it, you see”, and I thought, well, I have, but I haven’t got the knowledge to do it, but I’ve got the time’ (Lidgey-Hutt, 2004, p. 6). During the initial publicity, Fiona stated that ‘[T]his is all part of a master plan that will see samba take over the region’ (Beating out the Samba Message, 1995). It was suggested that both Fiona and Veronica ‘felt a big part of the whole point of doing Sizzlers was to encourage the confidence and the creativity of the kids’ (Davies, 2004, p. 12).

What soon became known as the Samba Sizzlers began in September 1995 at the Central Library in the Peterborough city centre. Because of the excessive noise, the classes suffered the same fate as the adult band and had to be relocated to another venue. Stating that ‘[I]t doesn’t seem right performing along Desfile [The Peterborough Community Samba Band] without T-shirts and it would give the juniors a sense of identity’, the Samba Sizzlers quickly established themselves as an independently thinking group (Samba Band’s Sponsor Search, 1996). Their half-term ‘Thrill of Brazil’ week attracted a National Lottery grant that enabled guest Brazilian artists to teach and perform. A spokesperson for the Peterborough Community Samba Band stated that ‘[T]he idea is to get people excited about Brazilian culture and music, and above all to have fun’ (Galton, 1997).

The Samba Sizzlers are important to the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s identity for two main reasons. Firstly, due in part to leadership changes between 1996 and 1997, numbers had steadily been dropping
from the adult band. During this period, the Samba Sizzlers had gone from strength to strength; ‘the Sizzlers were so big and were doing so many gigs and doing so well that we were even getting dads involved’ (Lidgey-Hutt, 2004, p. 6). For pragmatic and financial reasons, it was eventually decided to amalgamate the two groups. Operating as a supplement, the Samba Sizzlers were an enrichment to the Peterborough Community Samba Band.

The supplementarity aspect was not without its difficulties, as one commentator recalls:

There were all sorts of little reasons why that started to get difficult, because the adult band were perceived as an ‘expert band’. They produced a tape and they were very strong characters who felt quite rightly very accomplished. But then so did the Sizzlers. So it was quite a clash. And they haven’t done any recording or anything, you know, there was a real feeling of, well, they are coming into our band so they should be gelling in with what we are doing (Davies, 2004, p. 2).

Secondly, the amalgamation signalled a sharp shift in identity. Internal mechanisms and behaviours needed adjustment in order to establish hospitality between the adults and the young people. Over a period of time this happened, and the Samba Sizzlers influenced a rebirth of the Peterborough Community Samba Band that now had its identity with a greater cross-section of the community.

The UK samba scene

As an operation, the Peterborough Community Samba Band sits comfortably into a group of activities and practices broadly described as the ‘UK samba scene’. In 1998, my research suggested that there were seventy-nine active groups within this cultural space (Higgins, 1998a).
Four years later Daniel Bernstein estimates that there are approximately 300 active samba bands in the UK, and calculates around 7,500 sambistas (Bernstein, 2002, p. 4). What is remarkable about this figure is that the constituent members of a UK samba band are predominantly people who would not have necessarily called themselves musicians before their involvement with this activity. It is usual to find that participants have little or no previous music experience prior to involvement with their samba band, although some bands, including the Peterborough Community Samba Band, do attract professional musicians.

During the last two decades, this particular form of Community Music, the samba band, has gained momentum and steady growth throughout the United Kingdom. An outstanding feature is that such interest exists for Brazilian music, especially within a country that does not have a large immigrant Brazilian population. This issue is elongated when one considers that samba is so strongly associated with particular cultural traits, as Adolfo suggested: ‘[T]he Brazilian phrasing is linked to the Brazilian culture – the nature, the sun, the way we talk, play football, dance, etc.’ (Traasdhahl, 1996, p. 33).

Professional workers within cultural sectors promoting participatory development, such as the Community Music animateur and local arts officers, were all in part responsible for the growth of samba in the UK. Examples of those active in this work are organizations such as RedZebra Ecodecor, and Carnival Collective, as well as individuals such as Gavin Lombos, Graham Surtees, Mally, Anthony Watt, Ian Holmes-Lewis, and Mat Clements. Fuelled by local, national, and international samba aficionados, plus touring percussion ensembles such as Inner Sense Percussion Orchestra active in the 1980s and the 1990s, carnival street drumming took root within the UK. Professional cultural workers recognized that the musical structures indicative to samba gave rise to opportunities for participatory music development.
As an Arts and Promotion Officer in Cambridge, Graham Surtees was instrumental in setting up the city's drumming group. He noted that ‘[C]ontrary to most people’s thoughts, Cambridge was not a very multicultural place’ (Higgins, 1998a, p. 252). Surtees had suggested that Cambridgeshire City Council’s arts policy had a directive to explore art forms beyond the dominant white European art forms found within festivals such as the Cambridge Folk Festival. His samba initiative attempted to fulfil part of the county’s cultural strategy. These types of initiative also reflected the wider UK contextual interest in Latin-influenced pop music, such as The Goodmans’ ‘Give it Up’, Paul Simon’s ‘The Obvious Child’, Simply Red’s ‘Fairground’ and the Pet Shop Boys’ ‘Bilingual’.

Samba’s infectious dance rhythms and unmistakable energy demands the attention of passing audiences. The aural (and in many cases visual) assault of the senses has often drawn people towards the activity with a resultant desire to become a part of it. A large number of the samba groups maintain a participatory ethos and regularly welcome new members into its folds. In line with Community Music practice, the activity often has a strong social element, and this hospitality is extended through the music, where a communal atmosphere is often encouraged. In this way, a drink with fellow sambistas becomes as important as the playing itself. One participant of the London School of Samba suggests that:

Samba schools are as much about socializing and having fun, as they are about the business of dancing and playing music. Our Sunday workshops are a great way of meeting people who have a shared interest in music and performance (www.londonschoolofsamba.co.uk).
This idea is an adaptation of the Brazilian *escola de samba* model, and reflects the attributes of a community musician described by Su Braden as a blend of community development techniques and artistic skills (Braden, 1978).

As a multitude of coexisting musical practices, a large proportion of the samba groups can be understood within the Community Music rubric. This appears generally true, although there is a variety of methods and philosophical approaches that would not necessarily align themselves to the traits of Community Music. Ex-members of the Peterborough Community Samba Band who had moved from the immediate location and attempted to take part in other bands highlighted examples of approaches that fall outside Community Music practice. One of the *sambistas* noted that ‘I couldn’t go to the band in Glasgow because I had to go through an initiation’, she adds ‘I think that there are other groups where the leadership style is so different’ (Reunion Seminar, 2004, p. 28).

The spectrum of people playing in community drumming bands is surprisingly diverse. My visit to the Suffolk School of Samba allowed me to meet a taxi driver, a teacher, a potter, a full-time mother and a British Telecom engineer. As these multi-occupational groups extend their membership, the internal range of skills increase, creating an effective infrastructure that supports the music activity as well as organizing social events, fund-raising promotions and outreach workshops. This is certainly the case within the Peterborough Community Samba Band. Run sensitively and skilfully, diverse mixtures of people can become co-dependent and form a formidable, hard-working team. They can provide a safe and supportive situation for all current members and offer a welcome to potential participants. During the initial growth of the UK samba scene, the majority of people taking part had not previously been exposed to street drumming music of this kind. This issue may have contributed to the reasons that such mixes of musical abilities are found effectively
learning and performing together. In a situation such as this, musical baggage is reduced, creating a level playing field. Everyone is now a beginner, whether one chooses to call oneself a musician or not.

Bernstein's National Carnival Policy Consultation Document makes a bold attempt to list the 'typical' characteristics of the UK samba group:

- A group of 15–50 people will meet weekly to play music based on Brazilian instrumentation. Many groups also encourage dancers to come too.
- The individuals playing music are mainly people who would not have necessarily called themselves musicians prior to their involvement in the group.
- Most members of the group would describe themselves as white, and British born.
- One or two more experienced players will be the musical leaders of the group (mestre). They are likely to have formed the group and/or come from another group previously.
- Anyone can join the group, although there are usually levels of membership and/or skill to reach before performing publicly with the group.
- The group will usually perform a number of outdoor gigs during the year: anything from 10 to 50 performances. These performances are usually organized by others (parades, festivals, community events, town celebrations).
- Many of the groups also play a significant number of indoor gigs each year: at concerts, in bars or clubs.
• The groups are financed to break even. Members pay weekly/monthly subscriptions and performance revenues supplement income.

• A few groups have received RALP or other funding from Arts sources. A number of them have been set up with the help of a local Arts Development Officer.

• Most groups would fall into the unincorporated association category, although many might not know it! In other words they are informal groups of people who have come together to play music and dance. Some have constitutions and bank accounts; others are one-person organizations. Few bother with issues such as Public Liability insurance.

• The focus of these groups is a balance between social (a drink after rehearsal is as important as the actual rehearsal), fun (an interesting hobby) and performing group (where improvements in performing ability are key). A few are becoming more professional organizations, and beginning to employ administrators and arts managers.

• The teaching methods are oral/aural. Very little is written down by either teacher or student. However, a number of written materials are being made available for teaching purposes (Bernstein, 2002, pp. 4/5).

Bernstein's list is reproduced here because it does offer a good summary and is reflective in part to some of my early research articulated through the published article 'Carnival Street Drumming: The Development and Survival of Community Percussion Ensembles' (Higgins, 1998a). The list also provides some practical associations with the traits of Community Music explored in Chapter 3. Overall, I would agree with these
articulations. It is, however, interesting to note that during my research with the Peterborough Community Samba Band the overwhelming feeling was that, although there may be typical band characteristics, the group’s experiences at large samba events suggested that there was not a typical person who seemed interested in samba music (Reunion Seminar, 2004, p. 31).

Precise Brazilian terminology such as ‘samba’, ‘School of Samba’, ‘bloco’, ‘samba music’, and Bateria are used loosely within the UK scene. During previous writings, I had begun utilizing the phrase ‘carnival street drumming’ as an umbrella term to describe the different ranges of groups playing Brazilian-inspired percussion (Higgins, 1998a; Higgins and Ross, 2000). Although this term was imported into the ‘National Carnival Policy Consultation Document’, Bernstein rightly points out that the term has music as its focus and ignores the dance and costume sides of carnival arts (Bernstein, 2002). Although many of the UK bands are becoming gradually active within the broader concept of carnival arts, the growth of the scene oscillated around playing percussion in a Brazilian style, similar to the drumming heard at a Brazilian escola de samba and/or an afro-bloco.

In an earlier publication, I had alluded to a plateau in the formation of samba ensembles with the UK (Higgins, 1998a). Research since has indicated that this has not been the case, and in fact the growth of samba in the UK has been considerable (Bernstein, 2002). My concerns for that time oscillated around issues that understood that the samba model had produced a framework for participatory music-making, but that the practices appeared based within expectations of another culture. My questions probed genre, style and identity and asked whether we would see a development into a new kind of music that has a wider appeal and thus ensure a longevity beyond the community musicians’ expectations. Conclusions pointed towards examples of what one might describe as
recontextualization, including the London School of Samba and its fusion with rhythms associated with drum ‘n’ bass; Brighton’s Carnival Collective and its work with the local club scene; Sambanghra, a fusion of samba and bhangra that closely reflects Manchester’s South Asian population; and the venture into samba and new technology explored by Gordon Ross and myself (Higgins, 1998a, 2000a, 2000b; Higgins and Ross, 2000). Bernstein’s report suggests recontextualization ‘is well on the way to happening’ and offers recommendations that advocate resources to ensure that a ‘celebratory, participative, vibrant carnival tradition will continue to evolve in Britain’ (Bernstein, 2002, pp. 15/16).

Carnival Encounter: National Samba Meeting
Brighton’s Carnival Collective organized a Carnival Encounter to coincide with the locally coordinated Brighton Festival, a month-long festival that celebrates a wide variety of local, national and international arts activities. Described as a weekend event that includes workshops, performances and parades that celebrated carnival arts from all over the world, the encounter was the finale to the annual Brighton Festival that runs over the entire month of May. This event is becoming increasingly important for the UK samba scene and members of the Peterborough Community Samba Band take part in its activities. Through participation they gain new skills and network with other organised samba bands and individual sambistas.

The Carnival Encounter held during the weekend of May 22/23 2004 represented the third event of its kind, and had an additional aim in establishing an annual focus to the flourishing UK samba scene. Samba bands and those interested in samba constituted the majority of the participants and appeared to enjoy a range of drumming and dance styles, including Candomblé, Samba Batucada, Samba Reggae, Pagode and Maracatu. Although the majority of participants reflected those who regularly drummed in samba bands, the emphasis on the broader aspect of
carnival arts ensured musical and artistic styles from Africa, India, the Caribbean and England.

Saturday's parade revealed the enormity of the UK samba scene, providing a showcase for bands from the four corners of the UK. Over twenty bands paraded, and each group established its identity through visual images such as dedicated colours on T-shirts or costumes, and by offering interpretations and arrangements of standard samba repertoire and/or new hybrid composition reflecting the group's participants. This experience supported comments made a week later by members of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, who recalled an overwhelming feeling that, although there may be typical band characteristics as expressed in Bernstein's report, there was no typical person involved in samba and no typical band that could be heralded as representative (pp. 4/5).

There were six processional starting points spread throughout the city centre, each carving a pathway through Brighton's streets and heading towards a grand finale on the promenade. As an audience member, I encountered around eight bands converging in Queens Park, just north of the sea front. While standing in the middle of the park field, I was surrounded by the confusion of drumming styles representative of both the afro-blocos of north-eastern Brazil and the escola de samba more frequently heard in the southern regions of Brazil. Rhythms and grooves filled the bright early evening and I was reminded of the story that Charles Ives recounted, when as a young boy he experienced the polyrhythmic and polymelodic clashes of marching bands in New England (Hindley, 1971).

The Carnival Encounter had managed to attract for the first time in the UK a visiting Brazilian Carnavalesco. The Carnavalesco is the artistic director of a Brazilian samba school, a cultural mediator, negotiating
among various social groups and hailed as the single most important member of every samba school. On Sunday morning Cahe Rodrigues, Rio’s youngest *Carnavalesco*, held a workshop, where he showed visual aspects of his work and explained through an interpreter the *Carnavalesco’s* role within the *escola de samba*. Rodrigues commented that during Saturday’s samba performances he had admired the enthusiasm from both the drummers and the audience. Rodrigues suggested that the UK participants’ enthusiasm preceded any musical expertise, and concluded that the gulf between UK carnival and Rio carnival was very large in terms of playing, costumes and spectacle. I asked Rodrigues about the participatory nature of the *escola de samba* and whether there is an audition process ensuring a particular level of drumming expertise. His answer was simply that those born in Rio were *born breathing carnival*, and consequently one was expected to be able to play. He also suggested that if you added together the total number of UK samba participants this would amount to just one top-flight Brazilian samba school. Each *grupo especial esolao de samba* consists of 4,000–6,000 participants, and there are fourteen schools in just one division. Bernstein’s report had estimated that there were around 7,500 *sambistas* in the UK, so Rodrigues’s comment was well informed (Bernstein, 2002, p. 4).

I asked a question pertaining to the possible tensions between the cost of each school’s carnival entrance and the participants’ poverty. Rodrigues’s response to my question surprised me, but supported Alma Guillermoprieto’s, Lisa Shaw’s and Hermano Vianna’s suggestion that one of the myths that Brazilians hold most dear is that racial democracy is illustrative of Brazilian society (Guillermoprieto, 1990; Shaw, 1999; Vianna, 1999). Taylor suggests that the Brazilian denial of racism has changed, although the country continues to be fascinatedly contradictory (Taylor, 1992, pp. 41–93). Bryan McCann notes that ‘the concept of the “myth” has outlived its usefulness’ (McCann, 2004, p. 43). Rodrigues commented that there were no tensions as regards the work of the samba
school and the poverty of its participants. He proceeded to suggest that the carnival operated outside the political arena. The emphasis was firmly on the aesthetic, and he drew clear distinctions between this and the extra-aesthetic.

**Samba in Brazil**

The Peterborough Community Samba Band represents an activity within the larger umbrella of the UK samba scene, and thus its identity may be understood against and within this cultural milieu. The samba scene is also vibrant in many other parts of the world, most noticeably Austria, Australia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Japan, Poland, Sweden, the United States and Brazil. It would be no surprise to cite Brazil as the obvious blueprint for this samba activity; it is, after all, the country that played host to its inception. Although the UK samba scene is very different from its counterpart in Brazil, the music's traces are identifiable within Brazilian culture and are therefore identifiable within this tradition. It is for this reason that consideration must be given to samba's heritage, an inheritance that reveals Community Music's rhizomatic structure and intertextual location while continually confirming the conceptualization of *Community* MUSIC.

Brazilian samba and carnival emerge from a long process of cultural miscegenation bringing together the combination of Amerindian, Portuguese and African influences. As a human expression samba is considered as a direct descendant from the *batuque*, a circle dance performed by the slaves of Brazil's colonial plantations, and referring to community dances with drums and other loud instruments (McGowan and Pessanha, 1991; Shaw, 1999; Vinçon and Seldon, 1991; Fryer, 2000). Between the 1500s and 1800, an estimated three to four million African slaves were brought to Brazil. Forced to convert to Christianity and denied their own *orixas* (African deities), African slaves continued performing religious rituals but disguised their worship. Regional offshoots of the
batuque began to develop across the country, and its popularity rose. The transmission of the batuque became widespread and regional variations inevitably followed. Throughout these transmissions, the common movement gesture named the umbigada (bump with the belly button) remained prominent well into the early twentieth century.

Like the batuque, the Afro-Brazilian religion\textsuperscript{28} candomblé\textsuperscript{29} is also understood as an important catalysis in the development of samba and carnival. As an outlet for black self-expression candomblé was performed in various houses\textsuperscript{30} around Rio before and after the abolition of slavery in 1888.\textsuperscript{31} Tia Ciata\textsuperscript{32} was one of the most famous mãe-de-santos (priestesses) in Rio at the time, throwing dance parties and hosting religious ceremonies.\textsuperscript{33} Chris McGowan and Ricardo Pessanha suggest that the location of the home of Tia Ciata is the most important site in samba’s evolution (McGowan and Pessanha, 1991). Vianna also cites ‘Aunt’ Ciata’s importance and describes her as ‘one of the fabled cradles of Rio’s samba culture’, providing the ‘scene of gathering crucial to the crystallization of our national music’ (Vianna, 1999, pp. 24, 79). It was during these gatherings that famed musicians such as Pixinguinha, Donga, Sinhô and João de Baiana met and performed. Encounters such as these shaped the urban Carioca\textsuperscript{34} form of samba that dominates Rio de Janeiro during carnival.

As a direct descendant from the batuque, the word ‘samba’ appears to be a derivative from the word semba, an Angolan term that has direct reference to umbigada’s invitation to the dance\textsuperscript{35} (McGowan and Pessanha, 1991, p. 28; Fryer, 2000, pp. 102–3). As a fertility gesture expressed through the touch of dancing, semba represents a link between contemporary Brazilians and their ancestors. According to Guillermoprieto, those living in the favelas\textsuperscript{36} proudly proclaim that ‘I am root’, meaning ‘I belong to my past’ (Guillermoprieto, 1990, p. 49). This deep sense of belonging and identity is also demonstrated through candomblé and penetrates samba’s
deeper identity. Nana Vasconcelos, the Brazilian percussionist, suggests that it was in Bahia that ‘the meeting of Africa’s took place and gave birth to a unique identity’. He continues, ‘In the realm of music, this is what gave rise to the birth of samba and all of the variety of percussive instruments in the country’ (O’Neil, 1995). Peter Fryer and Bryan McCann trace the transition from the batuque to the modern samba via the lundu and the maxixe (Fryer, 2000, pp. 154–7; McCann, 2004, pp. 44–52).

It was during the 1920s that ex-slaves and their descendants began to write and perform sambas. According to Shaw, there was a gradual divide into two strands: firstly, the samba of the sambistas, and secondly the samba of the morros (Shaw, 1999). The sambistas’ music and song were tolerated by the authorities and were given the label of cultura afro-brasileira. The second strand was the samba of the morros, Rio’s poor inhabitants, who after the abolition of slavery were stigmatized as unsuitable for modern life and process. Shaw highlights two individuals living within this regime, Ismael Silva and Nilton Bastos, and suggests that they founded the first bloco carnavalesa (samba school) in 1928, called ‘Deixa Falar’ (Let them Talk) (Shaw, 1999, p. 6).

The music of samba has intrinsic links to the annual carnival celebration held in Brazil just prior to the Lent celebrations. The early carnivals of Brazil found their home in the Portuguese-derived entrudos, a chaotic street battle where people threw soot, wax water-bombs, flour and water at each other. This form of celebration eventually died out in Rio at the beginning of the twentieth century, and was initially replaced with three separate events: the first in the poor Praça Onze district; the second in the middle-class Avenida Central; and the third a lavish costume ball for the wealthy white élite (Shaw, 1999).

Brazilian popular culture began to flow readily back and forth across the Atlantic during the 1910s and 1920s, but it was during the 1930s that
Brazil's cultural industry began to take shape, brought about by the birth of the radio, the talking cinema and the record industry. Guillermoprieto notes that the 'white love of samba emerged from the closet, thanks to gramophone records' (Guillermoprieto, 1990, p. 26). Between 1930 and 1945, Brazil and its people witnessed a series of dramatic social transformations which irrevocably altered their identity. This transformation from a rural to an urban structure centred on the changing capital of Rio de Janeiro and the rapidly growing city of São Paulo.

This sociological shift reflected Getúlio Vargas's authoritarian Estado Novo (New State), a government in power until 1945. During Vargas's reign, Brazil witnessed the birth of industrialization and continued its attempt at the integration of ex-slaves and their descendants, as well as European immigrants, into mainstream society. This period of Brazilian history witnessed a substantial growth in the carnival's popularity. The carnival's new-found recognition acquired an increased acceptability in the eyes of the white elite, and in 1932 Rio's largely African-Brazilian carnival was brought under government sponsorship and became a national festival. Vargas's Estado Novo demanded that the samba schools must dramatize historical, didactic or patriotic themes. Rio's sambistas accepted these regulations, and this provided the model for subsequent regional carnivals.

The carnival's force as a vehicle for ethno-cultural expression was hence reduced by the government's encouragement for it to be adopted into other social sectors. Rather than being the property of a single ethnic group or social class, samba was beginning to function as a shared musical idiom, facilitating its ascension to the status of Brazil's national music. Shaw's examination of samba lyrics tracks the relation of the sambista to the power structure of Vargas's regime (Shaw, 1999). Considering samba lyrics as historical documents, Shaw's work unearths a vivid picture of the
social and political changes within the *carioca* society, and articulates significant changes in community and identity in Brazil.

The politics of the Brazilian carnival reflect many of the issues prevalent in Brazilian society. Issues such as race, poverty and power are still at the forefront of Brazilian life today. Guillermoprieto’s account of organized crime within the *favelas*, and its intrinsic link to the maintenance of Rio’s samba schools, reveals some of these complexities (Guillermoprieto, 1990, pp. 73–86). Da Matta’s interpretation of the ‘Brazilian dilemma’, introduced as a concept by Gunnar Mydral in 1944, attempts to ‘open the door to the understanding of the blind authoritarianism that never ends’ (Da Matta, 1991, p. xi). Through a critical analysis of the major styles of world celebration, Da Matta’s text forms a reunion with Brazilian carnival and its central political figure, the *malandros*. As a character that parodied bourgeois values and lifestyle, the *malandro’s* negative attitude to manual labour flouted the work ethic of the Vargas government and presented an anti-establishment discourse. As support to Da Matta’s argument, Shaw’s study reveals that the *sambistas* songs drew their greatest source of inspiration from the ethos of the *malandragem* (Shaw, 1999).

Since the late 1920s, the Brazilian samba schools have steadily grown and are now a vital cultural institution, providing Brazil with one of its most valuable tourist attractions. The schools remain as an association of individuals who unite for the purpose of parading together during the carnival period, and for this reason remain identifiable to the community whence they come. Although some schools in Rio are located in middle-class neighbourhoods, the majorities are located in the *favelas*. For those living in the *favelas*, the schools are a source of pride. Guillermoprieto’s account of the Mangueira samba school places the samba activity at the centre of the community’s life (Guillermoprieto, 1990). Operating as social and recreational clubs, some schools sponsor educational activities for
young people and social action projects. The parade in the carnival is only a ninety-minute climax, in which life in an *escola de samba* revolves the whole year. Samba is, according to Vianna, ‘a great metaphor for the mixture’ (Vianna, p. xiii). Its anti-establishment roots, developed against a background of oppression, attempt to celebrate Brazil’s plurality. 54

From Brazil we now return to the Peterborough Community Samba Band. From here it is possible to reinforce the conception of the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s identity through the terracing of Brazil, the UK samba scene, the City of Peterborough, and the foundational milestones.

Multiple and fluid, the five foundational milestones, constitution, recording, gigs and instruments, rehearsal spaces and Samba Sizzlers, have provided the initial infrastructural elements that support the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s operation as a text to be understood. Within these milestones turn the band’s ideology, philosophy and modes of practice. The descriptions of the UK samba scene and its broader contextualization within the heritage of Brazilian samba have allowed the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band to reveal itself through a larger cultural domain. Like genetic DNA, traces of all these things are indelibly etched into the fabric of the band’s identity.

As a micro-illustration of the band’s human impact, Fiona’s story introduces the complexity of the participatory dynamic. In this case, issues pertaining to the band’s operational condition are echoed within the human subject. The Brazilian samba heritage, the UK samba scene and Peterborough are tied together and thrown over the five foundational milestones, creating an intertextual web that is full of excess. It is through these expanding spaces that the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band is revealed to us. As one knot within the band’s intertextual net, Fiona’s story offers a tantalizing example to the depths a Community
Music project can penetrate. It is, to other such accounts that Section 2
will now turn.

**The Traits of Peterborough Community Samba Band**

**Context**

As an example of Community Music, one initially moves towards the
Peterborough Community Samba Band through its contextual parameters.
These parameters include its locality and its inception. Both are important
but must not close down the activity with false assumptions of a bounded
context. This would reduce its effectiveness as an organic musical
happening and experience. In a situation that understands context as a
constraint, context becomes a dead weight. In this instance
misunderstandings of context would drag the Peterborough Community
Samba Band towards a ditch and leave its activities sited within closed
walls.

In order to understand the condition of the Peterborough Community
Samba Band as identity, the first section of this chapter has considered
the band's historical traces, both within Brazil and within the national
phenomenon of carnival street drumming. This section begins by providing
a brief overview of the City of Peterborough and then narrows to an
analysis of the Peterborough Arts Council, the initiating agent that
enabled the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. Each
of these overviews provides the context in which the Peterborough
Community Samba Band is initially bound. They are to be understood
within the larger perspective presented in the first section of this chapter.
For a graphic representation, see Figure 1, p153. The section entitled
'Cultural Desert' focuses on the fabled view of Peterborough as a black-
hole of artistic activity. This serves as an example of the difficulties
community musicians past and present faced while working within this location. The metaphoric ‘Cultural Desert’ also helps highlight the achievements to date of the Peterborough Community Samba Band.

THE CITY

Peterborough’s recorded history begins in the mid-seventh century with the founding of a Saxon monastery around which grew up a settlement called Medeshamstede. Danish raiders destroyed both monastery and town, but eventually a new abbey was built, which in 1541 became a cathedral, and the town became a city. Peterborough remained a small cathedral and market city until the nineteenth century, when it changed dramatically into a railway and industrial centre with a reputation for excellence in engineering (Brandon and Knight, 2001).

In 1967 Peterborough was designated a New Town, and a year later the Peterborough Development Corporation was created. The Peterborough Development Corporation had two main objectives: firstly, to help relieve London’s housing problem by providing jobs and homes in the city; and secondly, to improve its amenities for those who were currently resident. A fair proportion of those who have participated in the Peterborough Community Samba Band moved into the area from London. By September 1988, when the corporation ceased operating, the long-term city residents had witnessed substantial change. The population had risen from 86,000 to 135,000, some 26,000 homes had been built and thousands of new jobs had been created. Thomas Cook travel agents, AMP Pearl, and Perkins Diesel Engines are examples of companies which set up their national headquarters in Peterborough. As a commercial enterprise, the Queensgate shopping centre reflects this growth. Finished in 1982, the Queensgate shopping centre was considered a ‘trendsetter’ in undercover shopping malls, helping to make the city an attraction for visitors beyond the immediate vicinity (p. 122).
As a ‘bold experiment in town planning’, Peterborough attempted to marry an ancient cathedral city and a planned New Town (Brandon and Knight, 2001, p. 124). This history is still reflected in the current tourist brochures, which states, ‘[P]eterborough combines a 3,000-year heritage with all the comforts and conveniences of a dynamic regional centre that fulfils every wish of business and leisure visitors alike’ (www.peterborough.gov.uk). Peterborough’s garden design linked its housing estates, so-called ‘townships’, to its centre through a network of roads and cycle-ways. As one of Britain’s fastest growing cities, Peterborough attracted significant numbers of peoples of Italian, East European and African-Caribbean origin, but its ethnic minority population is dominated by Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and others from the Indian subcontinent. It is interesting to note that Peterborough Community Samba Band attracted very little interest from the City’s ethnic minorities despite a strong local profile. There may be many reasons for this, geographic, financial, gender, awareness, confidence, personalities and politics. As far as I know, there has not been a particular recruitment drive within these communities, although the current mobile samba workshop entitled ‘Samba Grooves’ works with children across the city’s schools and will by default involve those from the ethnic minorities. Arts projects particularly targeted at these communities have, however, fared well.

Along with other New Towns across the UK, Peterborough experienced a ‘baby boom’ in the early 1970s, and this is reflected in the fact that one-tenth of its population is aged 19–25 (Cook, 2002, p. 61). Although Peterborough’s population declined from mid-1965 to 1998, its population is back on the increase, standing at 156,500 in 2000 and predicted to reach 185,00 by 2016 (p. 62).
Peterborough Arts Council

The Peterborough Arts Council was set up in 1948 and was a direct result of the Peterborough Joint Education Committee. Born out of an educational department, it adopted as its main objectives the promotion and development of the arts in Peterborough, the support of existing individual organizations, and the provision and organization of activities beyond the scope of individual organizations (Greater Peterborough Arts Council, 1978). During the years between 1948 and 1965, the council's objectives focused on enhancing the city's artistic and cultural reputation through concerts, weekend schools and festivals. Although promoted by the Peterborough Arts Council, the funding came from the Education Department. This issue would appear to be important and to account for the Peterborough Arts Council's deep-rooted enthusiasm and commitment to participation.

In 1965, Peterborough underwent a governmental re-organization. Consequential shifts in authority produced a gap of around four to five years during which time there was very little artistic and cultural activity on an organized basis. In an attempt to address this deficiency, moves were made to form a new arts council, and this resulted in the creation of the Greater Peterborough Arts Council. The name change from the Peterborough Arts Council to the Greater Peterborough Arts Council was initiated in order to reflect the wider scope of its responsibilities. Although documentation around this time seems enthusiastic towards participatory arts, its reference to arts specifically or even generally is slight. This lack of insight and deeper understanding as to the nature of participatory arts strategy meant little progress was made in embedding regularly organized cultural activity into the city. Paddy Masefield later notes that 'It has to be accepted that arts development in Peterborough over the last 15 years has been essentially haphazard rather than strategically planned' (Masefield, 1986, p. 5).
Masefield’s development proposal of 1986 paved the way towards relieving Peterborough of its arts ‘vacuum’. The document offers a detailed analysis of the city’s provision, pinpointing current areas of activity and making recommended priorities. Masefield’s sensitivity towards community arts, its ideology and its practicality resonates throughout the report and lays the foundations for an arts strategy that not only promotes participation but also provides a methodology on which to achieve its aims. One of Masefield’s ‘three over-riding objectives’ states, ‘[E]nabling all the community to have accessibility to arts processes and products as both participants and spectators’ (p. ii). In Section 5 of the report, ‘The Objective For Arts Development in Peterborough’, Masefield sets out a philosophical and practical appraisal of community arts and encourages the commissioners to adopt this approach in the development of a five-year plan (pp. 22–9).

An important aspect of the Masefield report was the creation of a community arts team and the utilization of its existing Arts Centre, Lady Lodge. Created by the Peterborough Development Corporation, the Lady Lodge Arts Centre opened in 1980. The initial impetus for its generation had come as a response from four community and visual arts workers active within the locality. Housed within an eighteenth-century farmhouse with out-buildings, the Arts Centre was sited ten minutes (three miles) from the city centre in the Ortons, one of Peterborough’s townships. The Arts Centre transferred to the City Council as a community asset in 1988 and consequently changed its name to Peterborough Arts Centre, reflecting the desire to serve the arts as a whole in Peterborough and not just the Orton area. The Arts Centre’s financial reports and requests for grants were always submitted to Peterborough Arts Council, which had overall responsibility for its activities.

A survey of the Lady Lodge Arts Centre’s reports between 1981 and 1989 reveals an arts programme trying to respond to its community but lacking
deeper arts development insight and strategy. Throughout the early 1980s the ‘traditional’ arts and crafts dominated the Arts Centre’s programme; weaving, woodwork, needlework, patchwork and quilting were all regularly attended. Much like the arts and crafts programme, the initial music programme oscillated around a limited artistic understanding. The majority of the music programme in the early years revolved around classical concerts, monthly folk performances, and recorder and harpsichord workshops. Between the mid- to late 1980s the Arts Centre’s activities began responding to the wider cultural imperatives; the Synthesizer Workshop of 1987 appeared to be popular, as did the Jazz residency in schools during the 1988/9 season of events. The Peterborough Big Band was a regular feature, and there is evidence of discussion towards offering local bands a place to rehearse and perform at the Arts Centre.

As a response to Masefield’s report, the Arts Centre’s management committee produced a request for ‘The Arts for All – A team of Animateurs for Peterborough’ (Lady Lodge Arts Centre, 1988/9, p. 4). During this period, the creation of a Music Animateur post became one of the main thrusts of the Arts Centre’s music agenda. In October 1989, Amanda Stuart became Peterborough’s first Music Animateur/Composer in Residence. Her aim was ‘to reach out to different groups within the city, covering work with musical and non-musical young people, people with learning difficulties, multi-cultural groups, dance groups and GCSE music students’ (Peterborough Arts Council, 1990). Stuart’s work obtained a strong local profile and she provided the energy needed to forge new pathways against Peterborough’s historic subjectile. The growth of Community Music in Peterborough was temporarily halted when Stuart left in July 1991 in order to have a baby. In January 1992, Stuart’s replacement was Emily Blows. Blows struggled to create a new momentum after Stuart’s departure, and the annual report of 1992 described the year as divided into two parts – the first ‘fortissimo’ and the
second ‘pianissimo’ (Peterborough Arts Council, 1992, p. 4). Blows made some headway under difficult conditions but left after only three months in the post.

In 1993, the management of the Arts Centre transferred to the newly formed company, the Peterborough Arts Council.66 It was during this period that I joined the Arts Council as a replacement for Blows, one year after her departure. The Peterborough Arts Council was then providing full-time arts workers in video, community arts, dance and music. The documentation from 1993 to 1996 demonstrates the Arts Council’s maturity to arts development strategy and resonates with Masefield’s recommendations of 1986. The Peterborough Arts Council, under the direction of Fergus Black, consolidated its services and found its place within the national mood of participatory arts activity. The annual report of 1994/5 stated that ‘[T]he aim of Peterborough Arts Council shall be to encourage development of the community through all art forms and cultural activities’ (Peterborough Arts Council, 1995, p. 1). Alongside the rhetoric, the Peterborough Arts Council began to find a working methodology in which to achieve its goals.

During this period, as the City’s Music Animateur,67 I initiated and ran projects such as music residencies in schools, special education centres, prison and probation service, family centres, Rockschool, large-scale community arts projects alongside other agents such as Puppetworks and Glyndebourne Opera, and Orchestral outreach with the Britten Sinfonia. Although the work was varied and responsive to community prompting, the thread that often linked much of it flowed through the initial decision to set up percussion workshops for adults and the subsequent identity of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, as discussed in the first section.
Cultural desert

From the analysis of the Arts Council's documentation, the period of 1993–6 appears as the epoch of Community Music within the city. During this time, the activities of the Music Animateur were supported within a framework that understood participatory development. Historic readings of the documents between 1989-1997 suggest that this has been the objective, but a lack of strategic understanding and innovation has meant its potential has never been realized. In 1997, the Peterborough Arts Council ceased trading and the City Council took control of the Arts Centre and its employees.68

Peterborough's latest arts strategy (2003-2008) has prioritized the development of audiences in an effort to create a demand for the arts (Peterborough City Council, 2003). Those interested in music have turned their attention towards large-scale events such as pop, rock and classical concerts. During my visits to the Arts Centre in April 2004, I was informed by Karen Pincham and Colin Wise (Community Arts and Festival Development Officers) that although audience development is a priority, Peterborough still maintains its commitment to community arts. I left the city unconvinced that this was so.

The collapse of the Peterborough Arts Council and the failure of the city to maintain any continuity in its own mission appears a historic feature throughout the documentation. For many years, Peterborough had been a 'cultural desert'. Colin Wise, a Peterborian with an extensive history in arts development within the city, explained to me that 'cultural desert' means that not a lot is going on and that people have to travel to other places to get the arts activities they desire. One might have expected this slur to recede since the density of work produced by the animateur team during 1993–6, and the continuing efforts of the City Council since. It is also somewhat ironic when one considers that Peterborough has pushed hard for a cultural strategy that resonates with community ownership.
certainly since the early 1980s. Yet, the term ‘cultural desert’ is still very much in use and a pessimistic view of the arts in the city prevails (Lidgey-Hutt, 2004, p. 19; Bright, 2004, p. 9).

The reasons for the continuation of this designation are of course multifaceted. As one might expect, past political animosities and mismanagement play a significant part, but issues surrounding the lack of a university are often cited as a tangible reason. Brandon and Knight suggest that ‘[P]eterborough has lived too long with the dubious distinction of being one of the two or three biggest towns and cities in Britain without its own higher education institute’ (Brandon and Knight, 2001, p. 125). Coupled with a lack of vibrancy and a lack of the economic firepower that a university might bring to a city, Peterborough’s geographic location appears to work against itself. Although for many reasons well situated, Peterborough is a victim of its location: forty-five minutes from London and Nottingham, thirty minutes from Cambridge, and an hour from Birmingham. Because of its surroundings, Peterborough has never invested in a suitable venue for national and international performing arts. This lack of support also extends to local live music venues: the ‘Norfolk’, a pub just outside the city centre, used to play host to live music every night. It was a favorite haunt of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, but now it is an estate agency.

**Community**

**AUNTY**

When the Bahianas arrived in Rio as part of the migration following the end of slavery, their relationship with the African continent was immediately re-established. The ‘daughters-of-saints’, the women of Bahia who had set up the *candomblé* temples, sold sweets in the daytime and at night sponsored *candomblé* sessions and samba parties. These women
knew the religion and had ‘samba in the foot’; they were addressed respectfully as ‘aunts’ (Guillermoprieto, 1990, p. 52). In the colloquial sense, the identity of the Peterborough Community Samba Band is permeated by a practical expression of the ‘aunty’. This feature grew from the Samba Sizzlers and continued through the amalgamation of the junior band and the adult band, resulting in the current manifestation of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. This illustration reveals the creation of the aunties system and explores the effect it had on the Davies and Kenny families.

The initial ‘kids’ samba band workshops of 1995 generated enthusiasm from both the participants and their parents. During the first term of workshops, the leadership shifted from both Fiona and Veronica to just Fiona. Throughout this process of change, parents became aware that for all Fiona’s enthusiasm she was finding the group difficult. With limited teaching experience, Fiona became a little anxious and began to ask parents if they would be willing to lend a hand. Wendy Davies and Lin Kenny offered to help. Both had teaching experience; Wendy was a qualified primary school teacher and Lin worked within classrooms as a learning support assistant. As the Samba Sizzlers grew both in numbers and in terms of a performing band, a couple of other ‘mums’ also began helping out in managing them. As Wendy confirms, it was

in a proper sense of managing the band, you know, organizing it, being secretary and treasurer and sorting out the gigs and organizing the coaches and this sort of thing, because it really did grow into a successful junior band. And we got invited all over the place (Davies, 2004, p. 1).

Wendy and Lin’s initial involvement reflect the many relationships parents have with their offspring’s out-of-school activities; support for their own child plus the occasional taxi run for others. Because Wendy and
Lin attended the Samba Sizzlers' rehearsals, they began to absorb the skills required in the playing of certain instruments. In turn they formed a 'sticking-plaster-attitude' of playing anything that was needed in times of low attendance: '[L]in or I would jump in, you know, just to keep it going' (p. 2). From this perspective, the amalgamation of the Samba Sizzlers and the adult band can be understood as organically grown through necessity.

As a mother of two daughters involved initially with the Samba Sizzlers and later with the Peterborough Community Samba Band, Wendy's reflection over the impact the band has had on her family is dramatic. Wendy noted that

our two girls have met and experienced a much broader diversity of people than they might otherwise. We joke about it but in all seriousness .... They have good interpersonal skills, are not quick to judge, and are very worldly wise. Of course, it is not possible to quantify what, if any of that is a direct consequence, but my opinion is that it will have had an impact (Questionnaire, 2004).

Wendy's children Catrin and Meryl began playing with the Samba Sizzlers aged 8 and 10. Now 20 and currently studying at University, Catrin states 'I]t was a social thing from quite early on and I gained lots of friends, then my parents got involved in the organization and families started socializing out of the group.' As a hobby to begin with, Samba for Catrin was a distraction from school but soon became 'something which allowed me to express myself'. She noted that

The people that I played with became my family and as a consequence of samba I visited places and got involved with activities that I would never have been a part in otherwise (Questionnaire, 2004).
For Catrin, Samba ignited her interest in other cultures and was an influential factor in her decision to study Social Anthropology. Although Catrin came to know samba on British soil, samba was always being contextualized in terms of the Brazilian. This fascinated Catrin to the extent that it cultivated a desire to study people and culture. As her contemporary in the Samba Sizzlers, Nicole is also at university, and states that '[W]e always refer to it [the Peterborough Community Samba Band] as our extended family and I still feel that way.' Nicole understands the band as paramount to her history and reflects on her adolescent years: ‘[I]’ve grown up with the Peterborough Community Samba Band. Some of us went through those troublesome teenage years [while we were with the] Peterborough Community Samba Band’.

With a group of twenty or so performers,\textsuperscript{70} the parents became aware of the manner in which the children were speaking to the adults. Reminiscent of her own mother, Wendy remembers thinking, ‘[W]e really shouldn’t be allowing them to speak to other adults like that’ (Davies, 2004, p. 6). On the other hand, Wendy supported the development of the children’s individual and collective voices encouraged through an activity that gave ownership and responsibility. She recollects an alternative position to her initial reaction, stating, ‘Yeah, you’ve got a point of view and it’s valid and you’ve got a right to say what you think and I’m pleased and proud that you are actually standing up for yourselves’ (p. 6). The young participants of the Samba Sizzlers were encouraged to develop their voice, but this was not without its difficulties. Creating tensions between some children and some adults, the positive nature of this action was not initially understood by all involved. Wendy states,

I wanted the girls to be seen as individuals standing up for their own ... if they’ve done the wrong thing, fine, you tell them, they are out of line, you know, they’re out of order .... Don’t come to me as a
parent expecting me to shut them up, because actually they have got a valid point of view (p. 6).

Nurturing the voice of the participants had a profound effect on Hajar Javaheri. Hajar joined the Samba Sizzlers after performing in her school’s samba band, a group formed because of workshops I had completed while Music Animateur for Peterborough. Of Iranian descent, Hajar highlights that performing never seemed particularly ‘in-sync’ with her father’s beliefs:

Going to samba meant I was able to do something which he approved of, while I was also able to socialize and incorporate other less-conforming aspects of my personality, e.g. dancing, wearing bright clothes for carnival, etc’ (Questionnaire, 2004).

Hajar pinpoints the Peterborough Community Samba Band as ‘the first group of adults, that I had ever been told to address by their first names’!

Responding to the moments of tension between the children and the adults, both Wendy and Lin recognized the need to ‘look after each other’ and cultivate communication channels (Davies, 2004, p. 6). Through a network of inter- and intra-support, the Samba Sizzlers developed a cross-parenting textuality that allowed the children decision-making abilities within a responsible, creative and functional structure. Through an extended community responsibility, the adults became known as ‘aunties’. In a metaphoric sense, the Peterborian women had ‘samba in their feet’ and thus allowed the party to continue in full-swing.

For the Davies family, samba was something ‘we could enjoy as a family’. David Davies remarked that his main motivation for involvement with the Peterborough Community Samba Band ‘was a desire to have shared experiences with my family’. David had considered a career in music after
early exposure to singing in the Welsh eisteddfods, and later achieving Grade 8 at trumpet and Grade 3 at piano. His anxiousness as regards performing initially prevented him from joining the Peterborough Community Samba Band, but as the rest of his family became increasingly committed, he decided to overcome his 'fear', finally deciding to participate in 1998. Wendy explains the dilemma David was faced with:

Samba was sort of ruling the lives of those core few families and certainly was dictating what we did half of the summer-time. I think this is how David and Bob [Lin Kenny’s husband] and eventually Mary and Owen all ended up, we all ended up playing as families together, because essentially then the kids were saying ‘Well no, we’re not going on holiday then, because we got Strawberry Fair and we got, you know (laughs)’ (p. 10).

From the Kenny family, Nicole attributes samba as part of the reason she has ‘a great relationship with my parents as we do this as a family’. Both the Davies and the Kenny families recognized that to ensure the notion of hospitality the Peterborough Community Samba Band needed continued nurturing: ‘We have responsibilities to this community band and this is what we have to do for it and unfortunately this is gonna have to be considered within our family life’ (p. 10).

Samba family outings such as the annual Drum Camp embraced a wide variety of experiences and coloured the nature of parenting for both the Davies and the Kenny families. Wendy explained that ‘[I] think, it made us confident as parents to let go of the children quite a bit easier than so naturally’ (p. 15). Wendy cites an example of this, involving Catrin’s first attendance at the Glastonbury Festival:

She [Catrin] went with a group of friends and one particular man was virtually neurotic [with worry] and thinking, you know, ‘how
can you [Wendy] be so cool?' and I thought, 'Well, actually ... I'm quite happy that she knows where she is and she knows she's safe and she knows how to be safe around those people and at least we can explore the issues and laugh about it together (pp. 15/16).

The Davies and the Kenny families are still current members of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, although the children are occasional participants, performing when they can and attending during vacation time. Wendy commented on the positive effect the band has had on their lives: 'The Peterborough Community Samba Band led us as a family along a certain path which has greatly influenced our children's lives.'

As a signature and countersignature, the term 'community' marks the identity of the Peterborough Community Samba Band and at once releases community as a thematic trait. The first section of this chapter has pointed towards the initial objectives of the Peterborough Community Samba Band and described its inception as a space for adults to come together through music and for this to spill out into their social worlds. Beyond this simplistic explanation lies a complex intertextual web of hospitality, democracy and the *arrivant*. Through responses made by the band's participants, this section will stress these ideas and thus respond to the notion of community as a trait of the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band.

**Friendships**

Within the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, sharing a fish and chip supper with your fellow *sambistas*, or having a picnic mid-way through rehearsals, is the constitution of the wider implication of band identity. The friendships made throughout the band's existence are an outstanding aspect of its condition. Informants such as Lynn, Nicole and Bob noted the great sense of camaraderie and closeness
between the members of the band. Nicole is quite particular when she
suggests that 'it's this uniqueness of closeness that is so enjoyable and
probably the reason why playing with another band is not as good fun'.
Over the last twelve years the band has had a transient population of as
many as of four hundred participants. Although many members have
been and gone, the Peterborough Community Samba Band has managed
to maintain its initial philosophical ethos.

Through a deep understanding of its identity and the commitment of its
participants, the foundational philosophy is transmitted from one phase of
its operation to another. A deconstructive community welcomes the Other,
opening its arms to those who choose to arrive, and it is this notion of
community that signs and countersigns itself within the Peterborough
Community Samba Band. The 'community' within the identity of the
Peterborough Community Samba Band is a community-to-come, and
operates through the ordeal of the undecidable. In a positive, flexible and
playful manner, participants move in and between the impossible
condition of unity and dislocation.

For a number of participants the band was initially seen as a way to build
new friendship networks. Amy joined the band in 2002 soon after moving
into the area for work. She was looking for ways of social involvement.
Miriam had also moved into Peterborough for employment, and was
struggling to find new friends: as she explained it,

I'd moved to Peterborough, picked up a teaching job and knew
nobody here and I've been here two years and this was one of the
ways of trying to make friends in Peterborough. So that pretty
much these people are my friends in Peterborough (Reunion
Seminar, 2004, p. 27).
As well as the creation of new friends, the Peterborough Community Samba Band has also aided deeper relationships between old acquaintances; Wendy notes, '[I] have gained a whole new friendship group', but makes particular reference to the growth of her friendship with Fiona, another regular member of the band. Lin also states that one of her main motivations for attendance is '[B]eing with friends, odd and new'.

Within her questionnaire responses, Lynn suggests that friendships occurred in ways that she had not experienced before. Nicole also points towards these relationships, stating:

> It's a relationship that [is] hard to define as the only connection really is samba and this is the only time I see them. I don't think I would find a relationship like that in any other situation (Questionnaire, 2004).

As a band that regularly performs in a variety of quite diverse settings, its ability to engage with new experiences is paramount. This may account for informants suggesting that their time with the Peterborough Community Samba Band has opened new social doors. Bob states that '[A]ll in all I am glad I joined, it has opened up a whole new outlook on life.' From Bob's perspective, the band operates quite differently from his normal working day. He notes, '[I] work in a formal structured atmosphere where there isn't much "fun" or social interaction between staff.' In instances such as these, the band becomes an alternative to other social duties and a chance to relax and enjoy people socially.

Other friendships have aided significant changes of life style. As a professional musician, Martin joined the group around six-months after its inception, and left after the band's performance at the Notting Hill Carnival in 1996. Unlike the majority of the Peterborough Community Samba Band's participants, Martin had a formal music education, having
studied percussion at the Royal College of Music in London. Martin originally joined the Peterborough Community Samba Band because he wanted to do more playing and wanted to broaden his background in world music. Having joined, he recognized the band's value in expanding his network of friends, and in turn made some lasting friendships that continue today (Bright, 2004, p. 2). It is through his meeting with Nick Penny, a musician and instrument builder living in Oundle, that Martin began the process of changing jobs. The shift from record producer to workshop leader and teacher has its roots within this friendship:

Samba band also gave me the opportunity to do workshops with adults, which I hadn't done much before 'cause you [Lee Higgins] were away for a couple of weeks, maybe three weeks, and I did a couple of them (p. 3).

His musical relationship with Derek, another ex-band member, has also flourished, resulting in a number of music collaborations (Reunion Seminar, 2004, p. 16). During our interview, Martin finally reflected, '[S]o, you know, socially it did make a difference as well as musically' (Bright, 2004, p. 9).

One of the questions in my questionnaire revolved around the usefulness of the questionnaire itself, asking participants to consider if the experience of filling it in had consolidated an understanding of the experiential importance of participating in the Peterborough Community Samba Band. Ex-members reflected upon personal and social benefits, while current members suggested that this type of historic reflection regularly occurs. Wendy states, '[W]e as a social group, the band, do reminisce and discuss our progress.' Fiona also makes this point: '[W]e've been talking about it, but we do reminisce anyway when we do have our Samba and Christmas Parties (Lidgey-Hutt, 2004, p. 17). Through its social hospitality, the Peterborough Community Samba Band reciprocally reinforces its identity.
This motion is not restricted to normative understandings of community but rather is embedded within the paradox of hospitality. As an identifiable condition the Peterborough Community Samba Band is constantly preparing itself for the arrival of new participants; it is porous, permeable and open-ended. Just as the first participants were welcomed in 1993 with a greeting such as ‘Hello, and your name is … please join in, you are most welcome’, this future has remained open.

The Peterborough Community Samba Band openly rejects the logocentric attitudes that have manifested within other UK bands, described in the group discussion as ‘samba fascism’ (Reunion Seminar, 2004, p. 29). The band’s ethos is therefore not one of ‘invader’ or ‘occupier’, but through its transgressive condition, the Peterborough Community Samba Band welcomes new participants into its folds without formal invitation. Part of the band’s success lies in its ability to work through the aporia of the hospitality paradox. Although not always easy, the band appears to advocate a sense of belonging for those who participate. It is this welcoming, this sense of community, that has fertilized a network of friendships that have their seeds embedded within the band’s identity.

**Participation**

As a trait of Community Music and consequently a trait of the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, the notion of participation is paramount. Subsumed within a discourse pertaining to community, democracy, individual responsibility and citizenship, the Peterborough Community Samba Band encourages the active participation of musical-doing. Chapter 3 has explored the notion of participatory development, its relationship to the radical philosophy of Paulo Freire, and its connection to Chapter 2’s articulation of the historical growth of Community Music. It is within this discourse that this section explores the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s most visible trait.
MARTIN'S STORY

Although a number of participants in the Peterborough Community Samba Band had previous musical backgrounds, few would call themselves professional musicians. Martin was a classically trained percussionist and did earn his living through music. His perspective as a participant is therefore seen through a trained musician’s eyes, and is consequently different in its flavour from other accounts. Martin’s story has two interesting angles: firstly, Martin’s rapport with the band enabled some valuable musical experiences that enriched his professionalism; secondly, although Martin understood the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, his musical background shaped experiences that reveal differences between a professional musical performing band and a Community Music project.

In 1993, Martin was working as a record producer and a sales executive for Gamut Records.75 During this period, Martin had not been performing as much as he wanted and was looking for new performing opportunities. The Peterborough Community Samba Band provided an opportunity that was local and regular. Martin’s original motivation for membership was in order to increase his playing and broaden his background in world music, something that he had wanted to do for some considerable time. Martin’s time with the band helped consolidate his desire for world music experiences.

During our interview, Martin stated that ‘if I’m being brutal, I suppose – when it [the Peterborough Community Samba Band] stopped being useful to me is when I stopped coming’ (Bright, 2004, p. 8). A perspective that sees the band as having a practical ‘usefulness’ is not one that any other participant divulged. On reflection, Martin now recognizes that a number of musical experiences were probably over and above his initial expectations, and were directly transferable to his work as a professional
musician. He described his experiences: ‘[S]ome of it accidental, some of it not conscious for the time, some of it very consciously in that time’ (p. 4).

Performing at the Notting Hill Carnival,76 for example, provided an experience that Martin had always wanted. During the parade through London, the Peterborough Community Samba Band performed non-stop for nearly seven hours. The challenge of performing in a large carnival parade presents particular difficulties for musical groups. As a moving sound generator, and not in the static frame of a concert hall the music appears very different to an audience. As a performing musician, Martin had not experienced this type of aural landscaping before. Martin recalls specifically the role of enthusing and encouraging members of the band to continue playing, although at points they showed signs of exhaustion. Coupled with the feedback loop between vast crowds and the performers, Martin’s experience on that day has enriched his other percussive pursuits. After the marathon performance, Martin was proud to have been a part of that day and thus was proud to be part of the Peterborough Community Samba Band.

After leaving Gamut Records, Martin pursued a different musical path.77 When asked to produce the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s demo tape, Martin’s previous life as a record producer manifested itself through the band. Martin reflects on this venture, stating: ‘It was interesting, very, very different from anything I’ve done’ (p. 5). Although the musicians were not professional, Martin’s understanding of the band’s condition enabled him to work effectively with the ensemble. As it was the band’s first experience in a recording environment, mistakes were predictably frequent and Martin needed to make decisions as to when to re-record sections and when to move-on. The process was at times difficult, and compounded with neighbours complaining about the noise. In Martin’s terms, the work environment could not be described as professional, but he does not unnecessarily criticize the recording. An understanding of the
condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band allows Martin to suggest that he captured the spirit of the band and that the outcome was a representative recording. Martin notes, ‘[I]t was very intense but they did come up trumps, I mean it is probably the most intense thing musically that the non-musicians had done, I guess’ (p. 5).

As a professional musician, Martin’s frustrations with the band hinged around its lack of discipline and rehearsal protocol. As Martin recalled,

They sort of lack standard things or standard codes of behaviour that you do in terms of rehearsal technique, you know, you don’t play when it’s not your turn to play and you listen to what the person running it has got to say, you do whatever is next and you shut up when the person says stop and all that sort of stuff, and that in the end got to me (p. 6).

Alongside the lack of rehearsal technique, Martin also notes his difficulties with the band’s performance etiquette. He recounts the corporate booking the band had achieved alongside the soul singer Edwin Starr:

[Edwin Starr] was the main act and he asked people to come up on stage and to take part in the thing and I looked round and all of a sudden there were several members of the samba band up on stage, instead of ‘Barclay Card’ employees, for whom the gig was, and you know, and it’s that type of thing that made me cringe (p. 7).

Martin recognizes that this ‘innocent amateurism’ was only a small thing, but from his professional perspective, the band had been ‘employed’ and therefore had a job to do. Martin understood that the job involved providing the music and thus helping to give enjoyment to those whose night it was: He reflected that
you’re doing a job for ‘Barclay Card’, your job is to do the music and not get in the way and while there were four people up there singing with Edwin Starr, it could have been four people from the company, for whom it was designed (p. 7).

Martin’s perspective reveals some of the differences between Community Music projects and professional music projects. His account also illuminates a ‘professional’ musical value within Community Music projects such as the Peterborough Community Samba Band. As an embracing concept, Community MUSIC reduces the human construction of professional and amateur. Martin’s story demonstrates that a meaningful two-way learning process can take place when participants of all musical backgrounds welcome each other within the notion of unconditional hospitality.

**Participants and prior music experiences**

In response to questions pertaining to music experiences prior to joining the Peterborough Community Samba Band, most of those who replied underlined music’s importance to their life. These included comments such as, ‘[I] have always loved music in all forms’, ‘[M]usic was part of my life from an early age’, and ‘[I was] always a music lover’. Responses also articulated a range of practical musical activities, including ‘[I] have taught myself to play the electronic keyboard’, ‘[I] started learning the guitar at 15’, ‘[I] used to write songs with my sister’, and ‘[I] always tapped surfaces’. From my wider experience of working with community drumming bands, both at home and abroad, informal music-making experiences such as those expressed above are common to many participants. An interest in music is often the connection that leads someone from the initial ‘suggestion’, whether from advertisement, audience or word of mouth, towards the first samba workshop and ultimately towards a role as a committed performer.
Those participants who engaged in ‘formal’ music education revealed a mixed reaction to their experiences. Wendy, for instance, was ‘inspired by a great music teacher’ and consequently learned to play the piano and clarinet while also attending singing classes. This initial flurry of music education changed when the teacher left the school and no replacement was found. She eventually gave up, gradually stopping any musical involvement until she began attending the Peterborough Community Samba Band in 1995, some twenty-seven years later.

Younger informants echoed Wendy’s experience and included comments that pinpointed a lack of creative expression and rigidity embedded in a music education system that insisted on a Western classical tradition. Catrin notes, ‘[I] felt very restricted when it came to expression ... I didn’t continue to ‘A’ Level’; while Amy remembers ‘feelings of obligation and guilt ...I don’t remember it being a joyful experience’. It is particularly interesting to note that Derek’s formal music education stopped at secondary school when his teacher ‘‘suggested” I would not be a suitable candidate for “0” level study’. Derek has since been the Local Education Authority advisory teacher for music throughout the county of Norfolk. As a musical development, samba has been ‘informal’, but now recognizes a need to train its mestres. Many of those who have been attracted to the activity have had music education experiences like those cited above. The current training, such as those courses run by One Voice Music, reflects the desire for an alternative pedagogic approach and actively aims to attract those seeking to learn within a workshop environment.

As part of the work of Peterborough’s Music Animateur (1993-1996), workshops held within schools were part of the Peterborough Arts Council’s support for the Arts in the National Curriculum. The Arts Council’s ‘Schools’ Pack’ highlighted three potential support mechanisms: 1. Staff who can provide technical support and training. 2. Equipment that can be hired on or off site. 3. Facilities that are flexible enough to serve the
needs of the National Curriculum (Peterborough Arts Council, 1995. *Arts PAC for Schools*). Six schools in the area took part four primary and two secondary. Collaborating schools had head teachers that were committed to the arts within the educational environment and often attached a music-training day for the appropriate teachers. The length of the collaborations varied from 1-day taster workshops, 1-week residency, and at most a commitment of regular after schools sessions lasting a term. These encounters helped generate participants for the Samba Sizzlers and in turn infiltrated the Peterborough Community Samba Band. These links demonstrate the intertextuality of Community Music and places Community Music within a formal education setting. Hajar notes that ‘[I] was first introduced to samba when Lee Higgins came to a music lesson ... I was about 6 [years old].’ Hajar played in the school samba band run by the teachers until she was 10. After moving schools, Hajar joined the Samba Sizzlers as a way of continuing her ‘hobby’ and ensuring contact with her friend who was also a participant.

Participants of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, both past and current, have a wide and varied musical background. For example, some were professional musicians and teachers, while others were musical novices. Participants referred to their musical experiences in equally wide terms, ranging from listening to their parents’ record collection to engaging in formal piano lessons. The thread between all the responses was a conviction that music had been an important aspect in their life at some time. Lin’s response underlines this point; she stated that she had no music experiences before the Peterborough Community Samba Band except ‘being a fan of Ska’.

As a participant-observer during workshops and performances, those involved in performing with the Peterborough Community Samba Band would often appear in deep thought. Reminiscent of Rilke’s ‘strange moments’, the participants appeared to meditate on the aspects of the
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performance that faced them (Collins and Selina, 1999). Whether a particular rhythm or a new instrumental technique, the participants engaged on the possible situations that might disclose the meaning and value in the band’s music. Occasionally ‘snapping out’ of this zone, participants would often revert to intense levels of concentration. This led to a situation where the performers seemed somehow separated from the band but paradoxically intrinsically connected.

From the eye of the workshop floor, those participating within the Peterborough Community Samba Band slip in and out of this beautiful expression. The participants’ mixture of concentration, enjoyment, escapism, frustration, laughter, fun and self-achievement swirl together to form a potent blend of unpredictability. Released by moments of musical collapse and timely breaks, the Peterborough Community Samba Band rides a wave that hovers between amateur and professional. Each musical contributor enters the fray with differing agendas, but all appear to meet within the maelstrom of carnival street drumming. These moments of unity were at first rare, but with time their frequency increased. Observing the latest incarnation suggested that this state is now easily accomplished; the traces of the band’s identity Sounds, Silences, Invention, Socializing, Musicking are beckoned to the fore more readily. Throughout the existence of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, participants old and new have invested of themselves. This investment has thickened the band’s textual status, providing onlookers with the most obvious display of the band’s economy.

**Pedagogy**

In order to activate the traits of community and participation, the Peterborough Community Samba Band employs the strategic frame of the workshop plus its method of exchange, facilitation. As its pedagogic approach, the workshop has been a stable feature throughout the
Peterborough Community Samba Band’s twelve-year history. As a motivational structural, the workshop has pushed the band into motion and guided its course throughout its different manifestations. This section considers the ethos of the workshop within the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. As a literal and a metaphoric image, from *bateria* to *mestre*, an examination of the transformative nature of the workshop transpires and illustrates through the informant’s responses. The final analysis concludes that those who have facilitated the Peterborough Community Samba Band understand that their workshops are not ‘gifts’ to be returned. The pedagogy dissolves into the condition of the band and becomes part of its culture.

**Nick’s Story**

Nick joined the Peterborough Community Samba Band within its first year of operation and was a regular member for four years. A practising drummer in local bands, Nick’s initial motivation was to learn new drum rhythms and techniques. During the course of his membership, Nick embarked on a music facilitator's training course. Unhappy in his job, Nick explored the possibility of earning a full-time wage in music, noting that he ‘only ever had “casual” [music] lessons from peers, nothing formal’. Nick adds that formal music education convinced him that he was not musical, and proclaims it is ‘an attitude and belief system I still battle with’. Interestingly, Nick now considers the Peterborough Community Samba Band as being his first formal music training. In this instance, Nick understands the conception of formal as residing in ‘somebody else actually organizing and watching somebody else doing something’ (Reunion Seminar, 2004, p. 15).

Nick understood that the pedagogic approach fostered within the Peterborough Community Samba Band opened an alternative vision for music teaching, and one in which he could believe in. The combination of the music facilitator’s course and his participation in the Peterborough
Community Samba Band created the situation that allowed Nick to begin the transition from *bateria* to *mestre* and from participant to tutor: ‘The two experiences linked together enabled me to develop as a musician and educator.’

After a period of part-time agricultural work and part-time drum tuition, Nick has finally been able to earn a full-time living from music. He now has a full-time position teaching kit-drums in schools. Nick uses this as an opportunity to impart the attitude and spirit he gained while with the Peterborough Community Samba Band. He states that as a result of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, he ‘remains a firm believer that *anyone* can learn drumming [if taught] through a supportive facilitator’s style’.

### The workshop

The weekly workshop has been the predominant pedagogical vehicle for manoeuvring the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. The workshop is thus a key feature in the band’s abilities to nurture musical participation. Although styles and approaches have differed throughout the band’s twelve-year history, most of the workshop sessions adhere to a general strategy. Principally, the goal of each workshop focuses on the development of the band’s drumming repertoire, while aiming to ensure that the participants reap social and personal fulfilment throughout the duration of the session. This aim allows focus and provides an in-built yardstick by which participants consider the session’s efficacy.

As a Community Music project ideologically residing within the notion of participatory development, workshops have always been a key feature. Within this philosophical approach lies a tension between process and product. From the perspective of Community Music, process and product operate within a play of differences. They are not differing ends of the same pole, as each relies on the other in an act of supplementarity: process
haunts product and product haunts process. The practical application in
finding a balance has been a continuing issue with the participants of the
Peterborough Community Samba Band. One respondent notes that the
‘yearn for perfection’ can occasionally clash with the band’s general
ideology, stressing that the fine line between wanting a ‘tight performance
and people just wanting to have fun’ is sometimes difficult to achieve. The
band’s commitment to welcoming new members, allowing the development
of a range of instrumental skills, encouraging confidence in leadership and
the striving for high levels of performance, has to work within a fluid
pedagogic approach.

In order to balance the workshop’s strategic aims, the methods used
within its construction utilizes a range of creative groupwork techniques
and facilitation skills (Benson, 1987; Douglas, 2000; Deol and Sawdon,
1999; Johnson and Johnson, 2000; Hickson, 1995; Brown, 1995; Bee and
Bee, 1998; Whitaker, 2000). These approaches to working with people are
in combination with the workshop leader’s musicality and their skills in
instrumental technique and orchestration.

Leaders of the Peterborough Community Samba Band have honed their
musical skills from a range of sources, including experiential learning,
recordings, books, visits to Brazil, and visiting Brazilian artists such as
Claudio Kron Do Brazil and Atribo Macaca Band. Brazilian recordings are
now readily available in large High Street media chains such as HMV and
Virgin. Influential listening for the budding mestre includes the annual
release of the Escola de Samba’s enredo, recordings from Afro-Blocos
such as Olodum and Timbalada, plus recordings of Maracatu from
ensembles such as Maracatu Nação Pernambuco. Percussion manuals
can also be useful in underpinning experiential knowledge, and can aid
the development of technique and rhythmic repertoire (Jayasuriya and
Henry, 2000; Higgins, 1995; Vinçon and Seldon, 1991; Sabanovich, 1988;
Sulsbrück, 1982; Rocca).
Experiential workshops like those provided at the Carnival Encounter appear to be the main source of acquiring new repertoire and additional instrumental skills. Daniel Bernstein notes development in three areas, connecting these to the increase in demand for carnival street drumming workshops (Bernstein, 2002). Firstly, as schools respond to government policy to increase participatory opportunities in active musical-doing, the workshop structure inherent within many samba drumming workshops provides the opportunity to fulfil this directive. Secondly, the increase on a focus for creativity in industry has provided an opportunity for workshop leaders to develop carnival street drumming programmes in corporate settings. Thirdly, as more samba groups are asked to provide workshops by schools and business, the demand for leadership training increases. It is the leadership training courses run most visibly by One Voice Music, plus the one-off workshops found at festivals such as Drum Camp, that predominantly provide new repertoire and additional instrumental skills.

As a construction of Community Music practice, the workshop as a framework for experimentation, creativity and groupwork has allowed the Peterborough Community Samba Band to flourish. Each ‘leader’ of the Peterborough Community Samba Band has found his or her way within the workshop construction, carving out a particular style of facilitation. As a personality, those who have musically directed the Peterborough Community Samba Band have shaped its practice during their particular time of leadership. As an identity, the Peterborough Community Samba Band regulates these shifting personalities, moulding and remoulding around leadership styles. As a subjectile, the levels of penetration and resistance vary with every leadership, its participants reacting with and to each effort to direct.
Facilitation

As a method of delivering workshops, facilitation has been an effective pedagogic approach. The effectiveness of facilitations hinges on the attitude of the participants, and this flows from the band’s condition. In general, the participants of the Peterborough Community Samba Band are interested in samba and the wider implications of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, motivated by a desire to learn and achieve their own potential; they want responsibility and are comfortable with the philosophy that their own self-discipline will be stronger than any imposed controls, and have recognized that their creativity and ingenuity are greatly under-used. Based on a vision of partnership, shared objectives and shared achievements, the style of leadership within the Peterborough Community Samba Band has promoted empowerment and ownership.

This desire, pursued through a flexible framework, has attempted to cater for the range of participants’ learning needs. The play between the individual and the identity of the Peterborough Community Samba Band is dynamic and malleable. Facilitation is part of the band’s condition, and as such, the current members are all responsible for facilitating the dynamic between the individual participant and the band’s identity. As a pedagogic enterprise, the nurturing aspect of the workshop is reciprocal. Within the current line-up of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, more experienced players are imparting their knowledge to others in order to spread the responsibility of leadership. During a workshop I visited, there was less of a musical director and more of a democratic sharing of ideas. This framework has allowed the supplementary project, ‘Samba Grooves’, to flourish without a feeling of fracture.

Practical applications of this approach encourage individual responsibility for instruments and music and the day-to-day organization and logistics of the band. The play between the individual and the group can lead to effective teamwork, and this is strengthened through the encouragement
of peer teaching; each instrumental section can accommodate a range of playing abilities, with a leader of each operating a team within a team. As a condition, the Peterborough Community Samba Band embraces personal contributions and utilizes these to form a formidable musical and social force. In a musical sense, the overall sound of samba is reliant on all instruments; no one instrument is understood as any more important than any other. The facilitation model has allowed the Peterborough Community Samba Band to operate as an effective Community Music project, its pedagogic approach responsive to those who have participated in its activities.

Informants for this case study note that as a mode of teaching, facilitation has allowed one to ‘deal with people who had no sense of rhythm at all, [but] were incredibly enthusiastic members of the band. (Bright, 2004, p. 11). Others pinpoint the approach to facilitation as a significant contributor to the success of the Samba Sizzlers and suggest that someone else leading the band who was a little more authoritarian, someone who said, you know, we’re here to play, none of this mucking around. There was ... a certain dynamic and it was perhaps quite relaxed and perhaps it needed to be like that because there were quite a lot of youngsters in there (Reunion Seminar, 2004, p. 19).

Mindful of the young people in the band, Derek described the pedagogic approach towards the Samba Sizzlers as ‘nurturing’ (p. 20). In the context of the Samba Sizzlers’ teaching style, Derek’s use of the term ‘mumsy’, as in the nurturing nature of the adult women, and ‘welcoming’, as in hospitable and loving, supports a particular perspective of the feminine, and in some sense underlines the structural organization of the ‘aunties’. In relation to the Samba Sizzlers, Wendy also applies the term ‘nurturing’, and notes that the pedagogic aims centred on the child’s development and
emotional learning (Davies, 2004, p. 4). She later stressed that 'we were about educating these kids, not just to be musicians but to be people, to develop their confidence' (p. 8). Many of the children within the Samba Sizzlers have 'achieved absolutely their first choice of whatever they wanted to do' (p. 10). Although there is only speculation, the pedagogic approach employed by those leading the Peterborough Community Samba Band are described by parents as a catalyst to their child's future achievements (p. 10).

**From bateria to mestre**

Within the framework of participatory development, the Peterborough Community Samba Band has explored notions of the self-sustaining agent through the likes of its constitution. The workshop approach has supported the development of this structural desire by giving opportunities for participants to make the transition from *bateria* to *mestre*. Derek took over the leadership shortly after the Notting Hill performance in 1996, and consequently replaced me as the lead facilitator. At this time, Derek was best placed to lead the band into its next phase of development because of superior understanding of the materiality of music. Derek’s role as the *mestre* of the Peterborough Community Samba Band was not easy, and he describes it himself as ‘dreadfully difficult!’ (Reunion Seminar, 2004, p. 20). During his time as the group’s facilitator, there was a substantial decline of members. Participants recall a workshop style that was quite different from the style to which they had become accustomed. The recognition of different pedagogic approaches was discussed at the reunion seminar, and Derek reflected on his time as *mestre*:

> When Lee moved on, he asked me if I would lead the group. I never had that kind of relationship with the players because my personality is quite different, my musical aims were quite different, experiences and expectations are different, and different from
Lee's, different from yours, and we all tackle things in a very different way (p. 20).

In retrospect, the transition from *bateria* to *mestre* was under-estimated, while the dynamic balance between facilitation skills and music skills was perhaps not sharp enough. Derek notes that although this was a difficult period, he has used the experience of running the Peterborough Community Samba Band to inform other work. He states that '[I]t gave me the confidence to purchase and lead samba workshops in schools in Norfolk where I was working for the Local Education Authority.' Derek continues to use samba as a part of a mixed diet of music activities in both education and community settings, and currently leads the Kings Lynn samba band.

The transition from participant to able tutor was a gradual process for Fiona that extended over a period of about five years. Like a number of UK *mestres*, she enrolled on one of the samba leader's training courses with Dudu Tucci. Because of her past music education she was not confident in her musical abilities, and throughout the process constantly needed reassurance. I asked her, '[A]re you confident now?', and she replied,

I'm very confident now, and now I can say to people 'Yeah, I can teach you', no problem, and I really feel that I can actually say that but it's taken, what? It's only been in the last three or four years that I've actually been able to stand there and say 'Yeah, I actually do, that's what I do. I'm a Musician!' (Lidgey-Hutt, 2004, p. 6).

As well as the musical connotation in a transition between participant and tutor, there are also personal bridges to build. For many, the *bateria* is the metaphoric 'back row'. This has a positive image for some, but for others it can continually hide other potentials. A number of respondents relayed
the transition as the point that enabled other changes to take place in their social lives. One person suggested that

If I'd stayed just being a participant, then I don't think things would have changed so much, but going from a participant to being a tutor opened me up to a massive change in my life (p. 12).

Facilitation as a pedagogic tool also allows movement within the organization of the band. A shift from music participant to treasurer can be just as big a leap as from bateria to mestre. Lin notes that she has recently become a member of the Eastern Bloco's organizing committee, stating that '[D]ue to the expanding role I now have, it has given me opportunities to meet and work with other bands.' This sentiment is echoed by Fiona, who adds, '[I] had to be open to new experiences which meant that I was meeting more people, [and] I was experiencing different sorts of lifestyles' (p. 12).

The pedagogic framework in which the Peterborough Community Samba Band manoeuvres its operation has allowed for many personal transitions. Honed from music teaching methods initially introduced by the emergence of the composer-educators such as John Paynter, Peter Aston, George Self and Murray Schafer, the workshop has become a powerful tool within Community Music enterprises. The workshop’s democratic structure seeks to empower and enable, while calling upon the participants’ contributions to form, content and context. As practice, the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s mestres employ this pedagogic approach in order to adhere to the ideological condition of the band’s identity. As its stable environment, the workshop has allowed the Peterborough Community Samba Band to flourish in its particular way and given rise to an identity it can call its own.
Summary

As an ethnographic account, Chapter 4 has cracked open the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band and has allowed an access to its operation. Through the themes of identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy, it has been possible to get inside both the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band and the lived experience of the Peterborough Community Samba Band sambistas. Challenging the band to reveal its inner mechanics has enabled a view from the workshop floor and given access to behaviours and experiences unavailable if one were just observing a musical performance.

Through questions that have probed reasoning and motivations, individuals such as Fiona, Wendy, Martin, Nick, Derek, David, Nicole, Meryl and Lynn have all revealed aspects of themselves and have consequently brought the sound of the Peterborough Community Samba Band closer to our ears. Through the process of reflexivity, participants past and current have fleshed out the intertextual network of the band. These responses have provided a Geertzian thick description laced with the broad aspects of the band's musicking. Within the Peterborough Community Samba Band's understanding of Community Music, focused questions have allowed informants time to consider musical experiences before, during and since participation in the Peterborough Community Samba Band. These testimonies have found nodes of interaction, crafting a multilayered patchwork of experiential consciousness that through writing has allowed witness.

Those who have manoeuvred the Peterborough Community Samba Band's identity have been candid with their illuminations and have given scope for an interpretative analysis that brings its dynamic within range of understanding. From this act of ethnography, the characteristics and intentions of what constitutes Community Music projects becomes clearer. Through the ethnographic portal, the philosophical identity of
Community MUSIC begins to gather strength. This reflects a position that demands attention to the location of Community Music within the psyche of those educationalists, policy makers, professional musicians and record executives who have all played a role in its exclusion. As an incarnation of Community Music in practice, the Peterborough Community Samba Band provides an opportunity to consider the theoretical framework suggested in Chapter 3. It is towards these considerations I now turn.
Through the Derridean Lens: The Peterborough Community Samba Band in Derrida-Vision

Introduction

In casting the Derridean lens upon the ethnographic account of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, Chapter 5 makes the decisive move in the realization between theory and practice. The five themes, identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy, continue as the structural thread, each drawing upon the ideas and perspectives highlighted in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. As a theoretical notion derived from practical necessities and experience, the articulation of a deconstructive account of Community Music is rehearsed, using the Peterborough Community Samba Band as an example.

The purpose of this chapter is to single out an instance of Community Music practice and sharpen the analytic framework developed throughout Chapter 3. As a microscopic illustration of the diverse world of Community Music, the Peterborough Community Samba Band becomes a sample in
which one comes to understand the deconstructive vision of Community Music. Continuing the themes imported across this thesis’s surface, the first section considers the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s identity. Noting the band’s commitment to the notion of Community MUSIC and its vibrating self, I discuss the band’s inherent understanding of difference. As an operation within the politics of difference, the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s identity is never static: it is always engaged in a process, reaffirming its identification against a memory that Kristeva insists is always in a state of metamorphosis (Kristeva, 1991). This fluid modus operandi welcomes the participants both old and new constantly addressing its shape-shifting constellations under the formulation of à venir. Threading issues of identity crucial to the Brazilian predicament and the UK samba scene, the section on identity locates the Peterborough Community Samba Band as a plural, heterogeneous identity that is fiercely protective of its growth as a Community Music project.

The discussion on context begins with the subjectile, the canvas on which the Peterborough Community Samba Band is etched. As people, places, consciousness, attitude and spirit, the City of Peterborough is deemed the supportive structure that signs in advance and becomes the material in which the community musician works. Ideas pertaining to musical authenticity and recontextualization are considered against the notion of iterability. The implication of iterability is that samba is context-bound and also has the ability to transcend any given context. In this way, contextual understandings that insist on authenticity are set within the boundaries of self-sufficiency and are open to the critical account of logocentricity. Samba drumming both in the UK and in Brazil is understood as a reiteration within an insistence that the condition of the singular must always contain traces of what has gone before. Through previous chapters, context has been demonstrated as a vital component in
any act of Community Music: Through the Derridean lens context cannot be allowed to master meaning because this delimits any experience.

The term ‘community’ signs and countersigns itself within the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s name. Within a postmodern rubric that includes contemporary anthropological explorations such as those exposed by Amit and Rapport, the term community is discussed under the formulation ‘community without unity’ (Amit and Rapport, 2002). From a perspective that understands being as being with, informants who took part in the reunion and who responded to the questionnaire offer a rethinking of the band within a deconstructive formulation of community: The Peterborough Community Samba Band becomes the Peterborough ‘Community without Unity’ Samba Band.

Participation is considered next. As the most visible trait of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, participation is understood within the developments of participatory methodologies as described by Cooke and Kothari (Cooke and Kothari, 2002). The notion of participation is floated within an intertextual structure, described by one informant as ‘the ripple effect’. The impact the ripple effect has had on the band’s many participants is illuminated through short examples, such as Nick’s change of employment, David’s initiation of Samba Grooves, and Hajar and Beth’s increased self-confidence. The heterogeneous illustrations serve to strengthen the view that Community Music operates within a rhizomatic structure that has the ability to reach beyond the initial subjectile restraints.

As the metaphoric starter motor that engages the other traits and manoeuvres the identity of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, the workshop is understood as the chief pedagogic structure. Set within the framework of participatory development, the workshop is a nurturing agent used to generate a spatial and temporal domain in which to engage
participants in active music-making. Through *iterability* samba becomes an open structure that is permeated by the pedagogic system known as workshops. In the hands of the *mestres* the workshops of the Peterborough Community Samba Band create a deterritorialized space in which to foster and harness human desire. Beyond the gift’s triple obligation, the workshop exchange motivates the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s functionality, affecting its participants and generating the energy of engagement. As an attempt to realize the practical use of my analytic tool, Chapter 5 proceeds through the five themes of identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy, in a dialogic illustration that dovetails the nature of Community Music with a focus on the example project.

**Identity**

As a community group, the Peterborough Community Samba Band is proud of its philosophical groundings that are embedded within the condition of *Community Music*. Within a perpetual state of deconstruction, *Community Music*’s identity is constituted within divergence and self-difference, resisting homogeneous gatherings. In this way, productive identification can never be static and unchanging, it is never complete, always in process, ‘[I]t [identity] is an interchange between self and structure, a transforming process’ (Rutherford, 1990, p. 14). As a project that understands the transforming nature of identities, the Peterborough Community Samba Band has its identity founded on the basis of difference. Echoing Lyotard’s conviction in the vast pluralization of experience, a position that suggested that there is no unitary idea that holds society together any longer, the Peterborough Community Samba Band constantly reinforces Community Music as *à venir*, stressing the mantra, ‘Hello, and your name is … please join in, you are most welcome.’
The Peterborough Community Samba Band represents a local expression of those participants who attend the regular workshops and rehearsals. Haunted with traces of the past and traces of the future-to-come, the band constitutes its identity through diversity and plurality. As an operation, the Peterborough Community Samba Band exercises its identifiable-self through celebrating its self-difference: Wendy is different from David (although they are married), Catrin is different from Nicole (although they both go to university), the gigs are different from the rehearsals (although they are both music-making events), the band that recorded *Desfile* is different from the current band (although they both reiterate samba reggae).

Identity is about belonging, it is about what is in common and what differentiates. As a location for the Peterborough Community Samba Band, one may conceive identity as the stable core to the band's individuality. The foundational milestones under the headings of 'constitution', 'recording', 'gigs and instruments', 'rehearsal spaces' and 'Samba Sizzlers' articulated in Chapter 4, were an attempt to provide a sense of this. In terms of both the band and those participants who constitute it, identity is also about social relationships, those complex involvements with others. Within the vast pool of potentially contradictory identities which battle within us for allegiance, such as man or woman, black or white, straight or gay, able-bodied or disabled, British or European, which one we bring to the fore depends on a host of factors. Jeffrey Weeks noted that at the centre of identity politics 'are values we wish to share with others' (Rutherford, 1990, p. 88). As well as the dynamics between such things as class, ethnicity, race, religion and nation, Sarup introduces 'free-will', the process of choice in interpretation (Sarup, 1996, p. 48). Through free-will one can in some way limit or adapt the external determinations. In other words, as human subjects we can choose to place stress on certain elements that contribute to our identities. If an ever-growing social complexity, cultural diversity and a proliferation
of identities are the mark of the postmodern world, and it is in our common interest to learn to live with difference. Through an understanding of the wider implications of Community Music, the Peterborough Community Samba Band has attempted to do this.

From a springboard of difference, the Peterborough Community Samba Band has been able to flourish over a twelve-year period while retaining its identity as a musical group, as a social event, as a collection of individuals and as a Community Music project. The Peterborough Community Samba Band’s ability to welcome the other, while remaining mindful of the rules of unconditional hospitality, have allowed a postmodern flexibility that has enabled the band to weather personal, economic and cultural shifts. Within the decision to open up both the musical and the social space to the unknowable other, the Peterborough Community Samba Band embarked on something quite frightening. The act of faith, that is the decision to implement such a thing, creates opportunities to unsettle, upset, and undermine: It may even result in destruction. The commitment to the deconstructive identity does not give rise to a dialectic in the Hegelian sense; difference does not collapse into a synthesized sublated rational unity. This is a difficult course to hold and one that requires philosophical foundations. As Chapter 3’s poetic verse of differance implied, the ghostly punks, or the spirit of the delinquent, dance upon the constellation of Community Music, refusing to allow its fixity. As a Community Music project and therefore an identity that values difference, the Peterborough Community Samba Band is always-already in a state of shape-shifting, a processual identity in constant transformation.

Through its three broad contextual parameters; (1) the UK and the world samba scene, (2) its foundational milestones; constitution, recording, gigs and instruments, rehearsal spaces and Samba Sizzlers, (3) its participants, the Peterborough Community Samba Band has found ways
to negotiate the relation between the unconditional injunction and the necessary condition of hospitality. The band has been able to organize its commitment to hospitality through the development of rules of engagement. Although these ‘laws’ are often ghostly demarcations, they penetrate the band’s condition and allow its deconstructive identity, an identity embedded within the politics of difference.

Transcendental conditions such as essences, definitions and authenticity would nail the Peterborough Community Samba Band down to a fixed order and limit any sense of play. The act of concrete assumptions would pin the band’s identity in place and inscribe it firmly within rigorously demarcated horizons. Quasi-transcendental conditions, those undecidables that shuttle between the known and the unknown, such as differance, allow the Peterborough Community Samba Band, and Community Music projects like it, ‘to slip loose, to twist free from their surrounding horizons, to leak and run off, to exceed or overflow their margins’ (Caputo, 1997, pp. 12/13).

The trace of the undecidable is a vital aspect of Community Music, and consequently the identity of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. Protecting the tolerance of play ensures its life as a manifestation of Community MUSIC: It’s not so much what you play...as what you don’t play, Sounds: Silences: Invention. Socializing: Musicking. Through its association with an identity of difference, the Peterborough Community Samba Band allows itself to recognize the Other within its condition. By recognizing and celebrating difference, Community Music and consequently the Peterborough Community Samba Band can embrace other manifestations of musical-doing without the loss of its own identity.

The previous chapter has noted Shaw’s suggestion that there was a divide into two strands of samba during its initial period of development (Shaw, 1999). The UK samba scene appears to be suffering from a similar
identification divide: firstly, those bands that operate within the traits of Community Music; and secondly, those bands that continue a logocentric attitude to music-making, masking cultural diversity with a desire for Brazilian ‘authenticity’. The term used by some of my informants to describe the latter strand was ‘samba fascism’. One informant recalls a situation when he was performing with *sambistas* from other UK groups:

> Where I think my thinking is headed with this [samba fascism] is that where we started in the early nineties, it was basically a collection of quite informal groups with an enthusiasm. Now we've just seen the formation of the UK Samba Association with Steering committees and all that kind of stuff and now having stood in the Eastern bloco and been dug in the back by a mad woman with [a] Tambourine beater, when she perceived that I was doing something that she wouldn't have done personally. It just seems to me, you know, we are actually sort of heading to the less desirable, perhaps more political aspect of South American politics [that is] now apart from music (Samba Reunion, 2004, p. 29).

There is a concern among current members of the Peterborough Community Samba Band that the desire for a UK Samba Association would force universalisms in the genre, those transcendental forces that ensure fixity. This problematizes the ‘scene’ because it presents a contradictory stance to the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s understanding of its condition and its consequential location within the landscape of UK samba. The history of Brazilian samba demonstrates that as a vehicle for ethno-cultural expression the impact of the carnival was reduced with authoritarian interjections and the demand for historical, didactic or patriotic themes. Although this is not quite the case within the UK scene, it is clear that members of the Peterborough Community Samba Band fear the consequences of centralized demands. Energy towards standardizations reduces local and personal creative impulses. Although
Bernstein's 'National Carnival Policy Consultation Document' does acknowledge the need for a 'balance between community, fun, involvement and professionalism', it also advocates '[D]efining a common language' and a shift towards global associations (Bernstein, 2002, p. 11-15).

Bernstein's recommendations signify a common problem within any development of human endeavour. As I have recounted in Chapter 2, the desire for identity initiated at Community Music meetings often degenerated into normative yearnings through the introduction of closed structures. The results of these 'yearnings' often led to discussions around the definition of Community Music. Although the construction of definitions appears to offer safety, their effect of closure shunts growth and reduces development. The failure to recognize that identities are not fixed categories results in marginalization. In terms of this thesis's choice of theoretical bias, deconstruction instead of the more obvious Marxist approach to Community Music, it is worth reminding the reader that Marx stressed the category of class agents and consequently consigned notions of ethnicity and gender, for example, to the margins. Critiques of Marxism have illuminated that the emphasis on solely class contributed to the failure of socialism⁵ (Rutherford, 1990; Sarup, 1996). Within a system that attempts to universalize or categorize the UK samba scene, bands such as the Peterborough Community Samba Band may find themselves alienated from a language that fails to acknowledge identity as politics of difference.

This practical understanding of the deconstructive identity constituted in the Peterborough Community Samba Band is a micro-view of Community Music in general. Within the Peterborough Community Samba Band's wider contextual constituency, the four traits of Community Music practice — context, community, participation and pedagogy — echo throughout many of the carnival street drumming bands operating throughout the UK's flourishing samba scene. Parallels can also be drawn
with other bands across the world that have also grown through a consciousness of Community MUSIC and an understanding of its practice. This ‘understanding’ is not necessarily known as Community Music, but manifests itself as Community Music and provides further opportunities to consider identity. An example of this can be found within the Bahian afro-blocos.

As an African-Brazilian cultural movement, the Bahian afro-blocos arose in Salvador through the mid-1970s. Sparked by the revival of the afoxe, a new stage of re-Africanization saw the formation of a number of parading groups. The first of these, Ilê Aiye (House of Life), was formed in 1974 in Salvador’s working-class district of Liberdade (Fryer, 2000). These Bahian groups are reflective of the British music collectives and cooperatives prevalent in late-1970s Britain. In Chapter 2, where I discuss the music collectives, I demonstrated the connections between the music cooperatives, punk rock and Community Music. Like early manifestations of Community Music, punk had emphasized class politics and created a potent fusion between music and political statements, initially growing from the background of young people’s frustrations concerning Britain’s social and economic problems. Although their spoken vocabulary differs, Jamaican reggae and Brazilian samba-reggae also grew during the 1970s and against a perceived system of exclusion from the young Black community. Santos Godi noted that the appearance of reggae in Jamaica and of samba-reggae in Bahia were phenomena engendered by irreverent, black youth cultures, contextualizing new social experiences for which music would be the most fundamental reference (Perrone and Dunn, 2002, pp. 207–19).

As an expression of identity and within social and cultural perceptive, afro-blocos such as Olodum have turned away from nationalism towards a redefinition of their vision of the world. With its reconstitution as Grupo Cultural Olodum, Olodum marked a transition from a recreational vehicle
for Carnival to a year-round communitarian project with a strong reform agenda: Its two fronts of activity were artistic performance and social activism. These ideals resonate with the politics of community arts, and haunt the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. Armstrong suggests that the ideological mission of the leaders of the *afro-blocos* integrates aspirations of a new social order with reminders of the abuses of the past, as well as their continuity into the present (pp. 177–91). Opening the way for *à venir*, this gesture is described by Santos Godi as ‘long-distance belonging’, and can be seen within the descriptions of ‘rootness’ articulated by Guillermoprieto (Guillermoprieto, 1990).

Operating within the traits of Community Music, the Peterborough Community Samba Band respects these traces of ‘its’ samba heritage while actively embracing demographic identities that directly reflect musical conventions of those who participate. Although the politics between *Grupo Cultural Olodum* and the Peterborough Community Samba Band are incommensurable, their desires for equality, empowerment and change share identity traits. Through the deconstructive analysis of the Peterborough Community Samba Band and projects like it, one can make pathways towards a (new) international understanding of what one means by Community Music. From such a position, the broader condition of MUSIC as *Community* MUSIC might find greater currency against, with and inspired by the spirit of musical pasts.

The social presence of Community Music was initially marked by its exclusion and lack of legitimate power in the 1980s and 1990s and this is evident in Sounding Board, 1991 to the present. Buried within the policies and institutions of the 1970s and 1980s, Community Music could only scream from the margins. When the margins resist the prevailing centre the margins can discover their own words (or sounds). In this instance the edge not only decentres the dominant discourses and identities that have
suppressed it but also transforms its own meaning. In the text *Strangers to Ourselves* Kristeva’s exposition on the fate of the foreigner suggests that ‘the foreigner’ (which we can read as Community Music) ‘challenges both the identity of the group and his own’ (Kristeva, 1991, p. 42). Just as deconstructive visions of Community Music invade the dominant centre with its own difference, so Community Music is opened up to its internal differences.\(^{10}\) This gesture has manifested itself, for example, in the fragmentation of Community Music as social activism and Community Music as a supplement to music education. On the international circuit, Community Music’s penetration of the International Society of Music Education (ISME) has exposed a wide-ranging understanding of its internal identifiable traits, including aspects of music education, ethnomusicology and music therapy.

With a philosophical grounding in deconstruction, Community Music is in a stronger position to accept these differences and find ways to work with them. This is true also for the Peterborough Community Samba Band. With the colossal rise in participation, carnival street drumming is fast becoming a mainstream music activity, a common sight throughout the UK’s celebratory events and within the school curriculum. This hierarchical reversal will present the UK samba scene with its internal differences; I suggest that only an understanding of identity as difference will allow processual transformation. The ongoing nature of the UK samba scene will bring about a reflexivity that holds traces of new collective identities. In the articulation of new alliances between these identities and the social relations that originally constituted them, transformations will occur and bleed across the boundaries of initial categorization.\(^{11}\)

The articulation of the condition of *Community* MUSIC has expressed a resistance to logocentric attitudes. This gesture can be seen within a number of the *afro-blocos* and within the Peterborough Community Samba Band. As an *afro-bloco*, Olodum does not see its role as preserving
'authentic' Brazilian or Bahian culture. The cultural director, João Jorge, describes Olodum as 'very marginal', and labels the music it plays as 'trans-cultural' (Vianna, 1999, p. 103). Santos Godi notes that in a global context in which the music of the African diaspora represents the cultural reference, there exists neither centre nor periphery, but rather a space without border (Perrone and Dunn, 2002). Utilizing notions from Harvey's theory of time and space compression, Santos Gobi suggests that samba reggae grew through a virtual dimension, characterized by a cultural environment without a set position (Harvey, 1990, pp. 201–307). Although the traditional samba of Rio de Janeiro continues to be an agent of national unification, the afro-blocos have increased young listening audiences through both music and ideology. Even though the elaborately staged parades in Rio's purpose-built Sambadrome remain the national festival par excellence, Vianna suggests that most Brazilians now prefer the music of Olodum to that of Rio's escola de samba (Vianna, 1999). Through a structure that has reached out beyond its contextual parameters, Olodum, and afro-blocos like it, have managed to disrupt the dominant discourse and challenge its hegemony. Within a space determined by the undecidable, the Peterborough Community Samba Band, like the aforementioned afro-blocos, may also adopt many multiple global positions as sites of belonging and references of identity. As Community Music, a challenge to the dominant discourse of music and music education may also manifest itself.

Vianna's investigation into samba broadens the search for what he describes as 'the mystery of the samba', leading him towards the liminal edges of historic understanding (Vianna, 1999). His central theme oscillates around reasons that enabled samba to triumph from social outcast to national emblem. Vianna's focus concentrates on the role of popular culture in the construction of national identity, and ascertains an argument that suggested that the poor black inhabitants of Rio's favelas did not create samba in isolation from the rest of Brazilian society. Using
Fernando Ortiz's\textsuperscript{13} notion of transculturation\textsuperscript{14} and Gilberto Freyre's\textsuperscript{15} focus on a unique Brazilian identity, Vianna opens up discussions surrounding the Brazilian political challenge set within the sociological themes of unity and diversity. Vianna is adamant that people of other classes, other races and other nationalities contributed to the process, if only as active spectators who encouraged musical performance.\textsuperscript{16} Broadening Vianna's discourse, an understanding of the wider intertextual processes allows an insight into the condition of samba and thus creates a perspective from which to consider the Peterborough Community Samba Band and the wider UK samba scene. For example, Peterborough samba player Fiona appears to take on a 'Brazilian' identity, when she discloses, 'I am Fiona Samba' (Lidgey-Hutt, 2004, p. 15). As a micro-narrative of the identity of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, Fiona's Story demonstrates a participant coming to terms with who she is and what she wants to be. The UK audiences are also reflective of the growth of the UK samba scene. The delight of those who have watched the many samba performances up and down the country have given affirmation to the activity and contributed to its development. The co-existence of 'traditional' samba repertoire and the interests of the participants have helped create the samba music that one may deem distinctively British. Bands such as Brighton's Carnival Collective, Manchester's Sambanghra and Scotland's Macumba are good illustrations of this.

The Brazilian singer Caetano Veloso\textsuperscript{17} presents updated nuances to some of Freyre's ideas, as he writes, and later sings:

\begin{quote}
White is white, black is black, and mulato, there's no such thing.
Gay is gay, macho is macho, woman is woman, and money is money.
\end{quote}
That's how rights are bargained for, granted, won and lost up there.

Down here, indefiniteness is the rule, and we dance with a grace that I myself can't explain (Veloso, *Circuladô ao vivo*, Polygram, 1992).

In an analysis of Veloso's words, Vianna suggests that Veloso's 'rule of indefiniteness' is not as Freyre suggested, a matter of Brazilian superiority, but rather a distinctive path to follow; 'a path inviable without national unity' (Vianna, 1999, p. 108). Much like Community Music as *differance*, the rule of indefiniteness blurs or contaminates heterogeneity without erasing it, imparting a special 'grace' and offering the hand of hospitality. From this perspective the growth of Brazilian samba and the growth of the UK samba scene cross paths at many points, enabling a strength that flows deep within the nodes of the rhizomatic structure. In conversation at Brighton's Carnival Encounter, Rio's young *Carnavalesco* Cahe Rodrigues appeared to see few similarities between the UK samba scene and his understanding of the Brazilian carnival. In short, Rodrigues understood the UK samba scene as nothing more than enthusiastic amateurs. Within the rubric of Community Music, Rodrigues has missed the point or has been ill advised by British sambistas who have equally misunderstood the growth of carnival street drumming in the UK. Comparisons of this nature are incommensurable, clearly demonstrating a failure of transitivity. The identity of Peterborough Community Samba Band and the UK samba scene flows back and forth through the traces of Brazilian samba while retaining a resonance with Community Music.

Like its Brazilian counterpart, UK samba also provides a metaphor for plurality, and its continued growth celebrates this position. Many of those who currently participate in the 180 bands registered to the UK home page were educated in a system that understood the curriculum study of music in a school as a luxury. Samba in the UK has thus provided a 'performance' opportunity for those who do not consider themselves
musicians. Using Ted Solis's phrase, these bands may be considered as ‘experience ensembles’; opportunities to embrace a second culture (Solis, 2004, p. 7). Solis also notes Mark Slobin's categorization of the ‘affinity group’, described as ‘charmed circles of like-minded music-makers drawn magnetically to a certain genre that creates strong expressive bonding’ (p. 7). However one describes these structures, they have acted as an effective springboard from which to celebrate the diversity of local people. The Peterborough Community Samba Band is a microcosm of this condition, its identity constituted by foundational milestones embedded within an understanding of the condition of Community MUSIC.

**Context**

**Peterborough Community Samba Band, the subjectile and iterability**

As the contextual location of the Peterborough Community Samba Band, the City of Peterborough provides the band and its activities with an identifiable home. As the canvas upon which the band continues to apply many of its brush strokes, the City of Peterborough, as a subjectile, marks the borders and supports the Peterborough Community Samba Band in its music-making activities. As a supportive structure that signs in advance, the subjectile (the City of Peterborough), as people, places, consciousness, attitude and spirit, becomes the canvas on which the Peterborough Community Samba Band is etched. As a taught malleable fabric loaded with constantly metamorphosing memories, the Peterborough Community Samba Band has probed, ripped and torn at the city's challenge to the band's desires.

Through Fiona's Story, Chapter 4 has noted that in May 1993 the Music Animateur propelled the music-making trajectory of carnival street drumming against the City of Peterborough. Although Peterborough's
contextual skin was taut with historic resistance, such as that described in the section marked ‘Cultural Desert’, the city’s restraints became perforated and finally retreated behind the activity of samba drumming. Over the band’s twelve-year history, its performances during city-wide celebrations demonstrate that the action of recoil has aided growth and development for both the city and the music-making activity. In this way, the subjectile’s tolerance has provided a negotiated path in which the citizens of Peterborough can excel.

The contextual subjectile can never halt or close down; it is porous and is always in expectation for the *arrivant*. Mobilizing itself from the subjectile of Peterborough and its initial funding agencies, such as the Peterborough Arts Council, the Peterborough Community Samba Band has always found ways in which to move around the city’s resistance. The band’s constitution, the purchasing of instruments, and gigs outside the locality, are all examples of the band’s identity, as well as representations of the band’s constant restlessness, a desire for mobility and movement. Whether a dictatorship such as Vargas’s Brazil or the stigma of the ‘Cultural Desert’, Community Music reveals the potential of MUSIC to resist cultural oppression. The Peterborough Community Samba Band tore through the city’s contextual veil and established meaning and communication beyond its immediate locality.

Without the account of the subjectile wall, the Peterborough Community Samba Band as Community Music is unrepresentational. The City of Peterborough as a contextual support becomes a necessary requirement in order to signify this particular music-making activity. As a living organism, the City of Peterborough, plus its infrastructural agents, such as the Peterborough Arts Council, provided the breath and flight to the Peterborough Community Samba Band. The brush strokes of the Peterborough Community Samba Band against the contextual canvas demonstrate the intertextual web of significance that penetrates the lives
of those who participate. Within the rubric of Community Music, the subjectile of Peterborough is brought to the fore as a contextual condition in which the identity of Peterborough Community Samba Band operates. Within the deconstructive condition of Community MUSIC, context cannot be understood as self-sufficient. As a logocentric action, self-sufficiency freezes and solidifies meaning. A deep understanding of the penetrable context that resists self-sufficiency must be an important aspect in the development of Community Music practices. Community Music’s reliance on recontextualization demands this. Seen in this thesis both in terms of the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s mobility and in its expression of ‘samba’ drumming, the contextual subjectile surrounds the band with other ghostly players that for preciously short moments it can call its own.

As an identity the Peterborough Community Samba Band transcends its context. As a band and as individual participants, they push beyond the city’s restraints, marking other subjectile walls while engaging in a collection of different experiences. The Peterborough Community Samba Band’s varied performance history continues to develop and becomes a testament to its ability to offer meaningful performances in a variety of very different locations. It is this idea that Andy Nercessian explores in his text Postmodernism and Globalization in Ethnomusicology (Nercessian, 2002). Nercessian’s thesis examines music and meaning with particular regard to world music and what he describes as ‘the sovereignty of the emic perspective’ (p. 122). The terms emic and its counterpart etic were coined in the 1950s by Kenneth Lee Pike and adopted throughout anthropological scholarship soon after. The emic is from ‘phonemic’, or perspective of one born and raised within a culture, and the etic, from ‘phonetic’, or the perspective of someone born outside the culture of study (Campbell, 2003, p. 23). Nercessian concludes that the emic-etic model is a flawed idea if we are to understand world music within the notion of globalization. From the position of the global flow facilitated by many
aficionados of world music, the work of the community musician as 'samba teacher' can be understood within the sociological formulation of globalization. Nercessian cites the example of the world music festival, where the music heard has meaning for the listeners, although none of them may be from the culture of origin (Nercessian, 2002). Solis's *Performing Ethnomusicology: Teaching and Representation in World Music Ensembles* explores some of these ideas also, with emphasis on the university music department (Solis, 2004).

Although the deconstructive vision of Community Music would challenge Nercessian's use of the word 'origin', it is clear from the research that 'samba' has tremendous meaning for the Peterborough Community Samba Band's participants and its audience. The notion of *iterability*, applied to the contextual condition in which the identity of Peterborough Community Samba Band operates, is therefore important when decoding the band's music-making. As performers of samba, a musical genre strongly associated with Brazil, questions pertaining to the 'authenticity' of the music is never far away. An analysis of samba within the condition of *Community MUSIC* allows an understanding of the music's meaning within the Peterborough Community Samba Band. The music heard by the listeners and the music played by the performers has meaning because each performance is surrounded by traces of other performances and each context is haunted by other contexts. This perspective can be considered in the actions of the individual participants of the Peterborough Community Samba Band: Nicole's efforts with the Glasgow School of Samba, Nick's drum tuition in Newark, Derek's work in Norwich, Lynn, David and Wendy's music facilitation in local schools, Fiona's samba band in Spalding, and Martin's performances throughout the East of England (Samba Reunion, 2004; Lidgey-Hutt, 2004; Davies, 2004; Bright, 2004). These lines of flight extend through the contextual membrane of Peterborough, fertilizing new territory and disseminating back through participants and group alike. The multiplicity of these rhizomatic
networks extends in all directions: any point can be connected to any other and there is no ideal point closed on itself that serves as a foundation. This provides a strength and richness to the participatory activity, contributing to its style of growth and development.

Contextual understandings that insist on authenticity are set within the boundaries of self-sufficiency. Vianna tracks the shift of samba as popular culture to national identity, and references its consolidation within ‘standards of “authenticity”’ against which corrupting outside influences could be measured (Vianna, 1999, p. 84). Highlighting the example of *samba de morro*, Vianna notes that its invention became ‘the very emblem of a pure and ancient Brazilian essence, uncontaminated by outside influences’, and ‘[P]reserving this musical essence (from changes in rhythm, mood, or instrumentation) became tantamount to preserving the Brazilian soul’ (p. 113). These perspectives insist on correct context that is grounded in the truth-criteria of genre. From a viewing station such as this, the samba that the Peterborough Community Samba Band performs is a mere quotation of the authentic Brazilian sound, an etiolation of the Brazilian original.

Within the condition of *Community MUSIC*, contexts are always open and non-saturable, forever continuing towards a movement of recontextualization. The state of recontextualization is an arena familiar to Community Music, and the utilization of samba as a mode of music-making is an exemplar. The growth of samba within the UK and the responses from individuals within the Peterborough Community Samba Band demonstrate how this style of music-making has deep-seated meaning for those who participate. One could not describe these experiences as *ersatz*, *pastiche* or *etiolation*. Musical encounters such as those experienced by participants of the Peterborough Community Samba Band are ‘authentic’. These experiences are of themselves seated within a music that is not for any one to have and own.
Samba has no purity, no essences, and its condition exits within the notion of *iterability*. Without the samba performed by the Peterborough Community Samba Band, no samba in Brazil could be said to be performed as intended. In order for *samba-reggae* to be possible, it must be able to be repeated, and repetition is never pure. Repetitions generate constant alterations contextually bound within a boundless context. Brazilian samba belongs to a specific context but must also be able to be performed ‘out’ of context. Recontextualization therefore becomes recontextualization, relieving the stress of authenticity and thus allowing the force of *Community MUSIC* to flow through those who participate. Figure 2 presents a diagrammatic illustration of this idea. ‘Samba in Peterborough’ is a citation of ‘Samba in Rio’. ‘Samba in Peterborough’ is as an extract of ‘Samba in Rio’ and is grafted into another context. ‘Samba in Peterborough’ still functions meaningfully; the context of ‘Samba in Rio’ cannot enclose it. The same sequence may be considered between ‘Samba in Rio’ and ‘Batuque’. ‘Samba to come’ reminds us that the chain has not stopped.

![Diagram of Samba and iterability](image)

Figure 2. Samba and *iterability*
UK samba bands that have sought to extend their sound repertoire to reflect their geography and their participants are good examples of the implications of samba and *iterability*. Bands such as Sambanghra, a fusion of samba and bhangra; Macumba, which mixes samba and Scottish bagpipes;\textsuperscript{18} Bloco Vomit, a combination of samba and 1970s punk;\textsuperscript{19} and Inner Sense, which blends samba with Hip-hop-style rapping;\textsuperscript{20} all import citation and grafting, an implication of *iterability*. In ways such as these, musical phrases, rhythms, lyrics and sequences are placed within quotation marks and thus engender new illimitable contexts. Like Nercessian’s world-music festival and the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s performance at the Lord Mayor’s parade in Norwich, these ‘detachments’ do not lose their possible means of communication. Context remains important and effective but must not act as an original; no context can enclose and ground meaning.

**Community**

**PETERBOROUGH ‘COMMUNITY WITHOUT UNITY’ SAMBA BAND**

As an example of Community Music, community signs itself in the Peterborough Community Samba Band as a ‘community-to-come’, a ‘community-without-community’, a community in a perpetual state of deconstruction. From an identity that says, *Hello, and your name is ...,*  
*Please join in, You are most welcome,* the Peterborough Community Samba Band works towards a rapport with the Other, opening networks, friendships, associations, and performing experiences that lie in a future that is both unexpected and unpredictable; the future of *à venir*. As a condition, *Community* MUSIC resides within the dissociated community, a movement that resists the Hegelian dialectic that collapses difference into identity and moves beyond the Heideggerian interpretation that privileges gathering over dissociation, therefore leaving no room for the Other. Fractures of this kind insist on making space for the other, a
position that works towards that which is democratic. As an identity that values difference, Community Music must understand the underlying danger of seeing communities as unified wholes rather than loci of debate and division. This argument revolves around identity and the politics of difference noted during this chapter’s discussion surrounding identity.

I have stated that the time has not arrived for the rejection of the prefix Community in Community Music. The term community remains a practical necessity in the quest to overthrow logocentric notions of active music-making. As a deepening of this commitment and as a further elaboration to the instance that musical-doing operates within a deconstructive community, I have found Jean-Luc Nancy’s notion of ‘being singular plural’ most helpful (Nancy, 2000). As a phrase, being singular plural is a single gesture that can be considered without punctuation and without sequence; in other words, it can be swapped around to read ‘singular plural being’ or ‘plural singular being’. In this way, being singular plural is understood as having a continuous-discontinuous mark tracing through the entire ontological domain, as an idea being singular plural forces one to face questions pertaining to how we speak of a ‘we’ or of plurality, without transforming this ‘we’ into an exclusive identity. Because being singular plural means that the essence of Being is co-essence, Being is not therefore ‘being’ unless it is ‘being-with’. One might say that ‘I’ is not prior to ‘we’ and that the ‘with’ should be considered as constituting any being. This therefore locates the ‘we’ at the heart of being itself. From this perspective one might rethink the Cartesian cogito to read cogito ergo cum: I think therefore I am with.

As an idea that operates in the same way as collective power (power is neither exterior to the members of the collective nor interior to each one of them, but rather consists of the collectivity), the Peterborough Community Samba Band encourages its participants to behave in a manner to being singular plural. From this perspective, being-with is not a comfortable
enclosure in a pre-existing group, but a mutual abandonment and
exposure to each other. This shift allows one to preserve the T and its
freedoms in a mode of community without community. Being singular
plural understands ‘with’ as a constitution of being’s condition rather than
an addition.\(^{21}\) The notion of ‘with’ is a sharing of time and space. The
question of being and the meaning of being becomes the question of being-
with and being-together. Being cannot be anything but being-with-one-
another, circulating in the \textit{with} and as the \textit{with} in a co-existence of
circulation. Nancy floats being-with-one-another within Nietzsche’s
eternal return, a circulating passage of history and future that moves in
all directions.\(^{22}\)

Within its section on Community, Chapter 3 highlighted contemporary
anthropological notions of community, such as contextual fellowship,
liminal communities, collective identities and democratic individuality. All
of these categories emphasize difference as a guiding idea in wrestling
tensions between social and political relations within communal frames.
As a manifestation of Community Music, the Peterborough Community
Samba Band operates within these postmodern visions of community, and
as such welcomes difference and individuality recast in plurality.

During a meeting of participants past and present, the Peterborough
Community Samba Band spoke of their dismay when other bands abuse
the code of Community Music, as they understand it. One member noted:

\begin{quote}
We’ve tried to be very careful about what we play and how we play,
haven’t we, and also we’ve been very careful never to get sucked
into anything that was political. We got very upset when
\textit{Strawberry Fair}\(^{23}\) got high-jacked [by Rhythms of Resistance]
(Samba Reunion, 2004, p. 30).
\end{quote}
UK samba bands such as the Rhythms of Resistance attempt to bring protest and carnival together, and combine weekly practices with protest strategy meetings. The Rhythms of Resistance formed as a direct result of the ‘anti-capitalist’ movement of the late 1990s and came together as part of the Earth First action against the International Monetary Fund’s annual summit in Prague in September 2000. The Rhythms of Resistance website places it as a group of activists with ideological resonances with the political expressions of *afro-blocos* such as *Ilê Aye* and *Olodum* (see www.rhythmsofresistance.co.uk). The Bernstein report notes that the Rhythms of Resistance has quite different objectives from most UK samba bands in that they actively pursue a political mission (Bernstein, 2002).

It is not really the political stance of the Rhythms of Resistance that upsets the participants of the Peterborough Community Samba Band; they understand that carnival is a legitimate framework of political protest. The trouble with the Rhythms of Resistance, according to the Peterborough participants, oscillates around its disregard of the deconstructive community. Within the Samba Reunion discussions, the use of the term ‘high-jacked’ designates a delimiting of space and a disregard of the many other *sambistas* that see the carnival street drumming movement as an accessible space for musical-doing. In this way, musicking is seen beyond the singular ideologies of any particular group, like those of anti-capitalism and its association with the Rhythms of Resistance. On the part of the Peterborough Community Samba Band this example serves to highlight a deep commitment to the hospitable notion of participatory music-making. This commitment has been nurtured through the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s history as a Community Music project.

Returning to the folds of the Peterborough Community Samba Band after a period of around seven years, Rob observed the supportive mechanisms
within the band's interior in a way he had not noticed before. Since Rob's last performance with the Peterborough Community Samba Band, the adult group had undergone its merger with the younger Samba Sizzlers, as discussed in Chapter 4. As an active manifestation of the Samba Sizzlers, the structural set-up of the 'aunties' had sharpened the Peterborough Community Samba Band's approach to its notion of community. The resultant support networks brought about by this amalgamation encouraged complimentary comments by a number of returning participants, but it was Rob who particularly spoke about it. He noted,

It's funny 'cause when I came back, this time and the two groups have merged – because when I left there was the Sizzlers and the Adult group – and the two groups have merged and I noticed this parent-children thing and how it was one big family group and you can see it as an outsider. It's really quite paramount. Obviously, it's evolving. So when I came in I thought, 'Oh, this is an interesting unit, you know, all these teenagers and all these mums and dads and just this big community', you know? Everybody's equal. (Samba Reunion, 2004, p. 21).

Rob's observations reflect the band's respect for the irreducible singularity and alterity. Although the 'aunty' network has acted as unification, it has not erected unnecessary fortress walls. The Peterborough Community Samba Band's support system has operated within the notion of a community without unity, a democratic musical activity that has reduced the status of gathering in order to advocate openness. The band sees the reduction of unity as strength from both the inside and the outside. The Peterborough Community Samba Band prides itself on its integrity and crafted support systems, but continues to maintain an ability to welcome new participants so as to ensure a 'we' experience through the paralysis of the impossible.
Participation

THE 'RIPPLE EFFECT'

Evident from the earliest manifestations of Community Music has been the emphasis on participation. Encoded into any account of Community Music is the play between participatory access and equality of opportunity. Notions such as these encased the desire of community musicians' to nurture, develop and promote music as an important part of being human and a way in which one comes to know the world. Subsumed within the discourse pertaining to community, democracy, individual responsibility and citizenship, participation is the most visible of all the Peterborough Community Samba Band's traits. Through informants’ observations and recollections, the nature of the participant within the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band has helped to generate an intertextual texture. Within this ethnographic fabric, discussed in Chapter 4, each node of experience is seen to contribute to the overall identity of the Peterborough Community Samba Band.

Described by one participant as the 'ripple effect', the Peterborough Community Samba Band has allowed connections from point to point but remains faithful to the principle of heterogeneity and multiplicity as suggested within the notion of the Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome (Samba Reunion, p. 12; Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, pp. 3–25). As a dialogic expression of sounds, words, context and human interaction, the ‘ripple effect’ moves in and around the Peterborough Community Samba Band and operates within a plural system forever in a state of flux. Movement of this kind acknowledges participants’ distinctive lines of flight while resisting territorialization. From this perspective, people have gravitated towards the activities of the Peterborough Community Samba Band for many different reasons.
Many of the participants are initially attracted to the band through recommendations of friends who are either already participants or who have seen the band perform. The questionnaires, individual interviews and the seminar discussions demonstrate that the majority of those who join the Peterborough Community Samba Band experience a shift from a purely social motivation towards a commitment to the music itself. Comments such as ‘[I] liked being able to play a range of instruments and bettering myself at each one’, and ‘[I] became very interested in technique and becoming good at the repanique (small drum played with a stick and a hand)’, underscores this point. For those who were already engaged in other musical activities, the Peterborough Community Samba Band was a chance to play music within a non-threatening environment and away from the pressures of leading such activities. Derek claimed that

All I wanted to be was just a member of the band and my work life is where I was leading musical activities all the time. And the best thing to come into a samba band for me is a chance to just be in the back row there, and just join in and enjoy being part of the sound (Samba Reunion, 2004, p. 24).

As a schools inspector for music, Derek was leading teacher-training sessions on aspects of music and musicianship as part of his day-to-day routine. For Derek, the Peterborough Community Samba Band was a chance to remind himself why music-making was important, an opportunity to play and perform without those pressures inherent in preparing the session and then teaching it.

After playing for as long as the Peterborough Community Samba Band has been in existence, Nick is now an experienced samba performer and is able to sympathize with Derek’s motivations for remaining in the metaphoric ‘back row’. Nick suggests that he is keen to keep his samba performing as ‘recreational’, although he does lead from time to time (p.
The pleasure in participating in the 'back row', outside any leadership demands, appears to be an attractive proposition for many *mestres*. Returning to the rank and file reminds those who lead of some of the reasons that they initially became involved in carnival street drumming: the energy of being in the middle of such a sound, the camaraderie, the effects of supportive peer teaching and the state of submergence in a music that has the ability to engulf the participant.

Through its understanding of participatory development, the Peterborough Community Samba Band has cultivated a supportive learning environment. This background has allowed some of its participants to excel musically and move beyond the identity of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. Fiona noted the first time she was confronted with the idea of joining the band:

> I remember, when I first met you [Lee Riggins], you came along to a meeting I was chairing of the Youth Arts Forum ... you said 'We're starting this new group. It's a percussion band and join and come along!' And I said 'Well, I'm too old for that sort of thing' and you said 'Don't be silly!' (Lidgey-Hutt, 2004, p. 4).

In this instance, Fiona has highlighted the seeds of the Peterborough Community Samba Band as an identity of difference. Because of its conception under the rubric of Community Music and as a future-to-come, the Peterborough Community Samba Band defined its location as a deconstructive enterprise. *Hello Fiona, of course you can join in, you are most welcome. Flexible and playful, socializing, musicking, shape-shifting: an organic constellation.*

In retrospect, Fiona recalls that the concept of playing in public was something beyond her wildest imagination. As she stated, 'To stand up and perform in public? Get a life!' (p. 13). It is a testament to Fiona's
application and the nurturing philosophy of the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band that she is now respected as a musician and a workshop leader. This is still something Fiona is coming to terms with:

People that I really respected musically and they were actually respecting me musically as well, and I'm thinking, well actually, okay, if all these people (I actually respect their musicality), are actually saying, well, you are really good and you are doing a grand job and you are a really good teacher and all this. I actually started believing them and thinking, well, alright, I can do it! That really, really gave me such a boost in my confidence because I never was confident at all, never, you know? (p. 10).

Nick also benefited in a similar way to Fiona. He was able to utilize the musical experiences in moving from a career in agriculture to one in music facilitation: ‘[T]he Peterborough Community Samba Band gave me the knowledge and confidence to be a key facilitator for “Access to Music.”’ It is difficult to quantify just how much of an impact the Peterborough Community Samba Band has on its participants. Fiona and Nick’s examples of employment shifts provide concrete examples that many of us can understand as being quite significant.

Since David joined the Peterborough Community Samba Band, he has become involved in playing other forms of percussion, such as the bodhrán and the djembe. Although these instruments are from the Irish and West African cultures respectively, for David the association was largely one of rhythm rather than tradition. During a period of membership decline, David was one of the participants who felt that those who remained must take some positive action in terms of membership recruitment. The condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band had cultivated an environment that allowed members to take ‘ownership’ of such situations
(Samba Reunion, 2004, p. 25). Through a constitution that encourages empowerment of this type, action was able to take place sooner rather than later. From a position that placed responsibility with its members, David recognized that a growth in other areas would increase samba’s popularity within the city of Peterborough. As an independent enterprise, a core of enthusiasts within the Peterborough Community Samba Band established Samba Grooves. A Lottery grant enabled the splinter group to purchase a trailer and instruments, allowing Samba Grooves to run workshops in local schools on a regular basis. Samba Grooves is seen as a supplementary musical activity, as it both adds to and replaces the Peterborough Community Samba Band.

For Hajar the growth in musical confidence has manifested itself in her singing. She recalls:

Five years ago [I] would never have thought I would have had the confidence to sing a range of songs from The Rolling Stones and The Beatles to Eva Cassidy and even my own songs – sometimes in front of up to 2,000 people (Questionnaire, 2004).

Confidence has been an issue for Beth also, who revealed that ’[I]t’s [Peterborough Community Samba Band] made me more confident to kind of be who I am’ (Samba Reunion, 2004, p. 17). After joining the Samba Sizzlers when she was 8, Beth began performing with the Peterborough Community Samba Band when the groups merged. She attributes events such as Drum Camp as being particularly momentous:

We were performing there [Drum Camp] and I met loads of people there and I kept going and every year I met like different people ... Everyone calls me ‘Oh, whenever we go somewhere you are the person who makes friends with people and talks to them’ and I
never saw myself as that, I always saw myself as the shy, quiet one (p. 17).

Those representatives of the ‘aunties’ who were taking part in the reunion discussions alongside Beth confirmed that she was shy and lacking confidence between the ages of 8 and 14, but has since blossomed. The aunties seemed proud to have been involved with both Hajar and Beth’s growth, and clearly understood their responsibility in their development. It would perhaps be wrong to suggest that the aunties saw Hajar and Beth as two of their own, but there is certainly a strong bond between the young people and the adults. This sort of commitment has been nurtured through an intertextual rapport that cements relationships but refuses fixity.

Other informants noted how the experience of performing samba had infiltrated their work and studies. Lynn suggested that ‘the Peterborough Community Samba Band would be great for team building in business’. On the other hand, Derek found an outlet for his skills in a re-recorded version of a Sparks’27 song, ‘Girl for Germany’. As a dedicated fan of this group, Derek’s re-recording was a response to the fan clubs’ calling for contributions for a new CD. Derek’s version of the song, quite different from the original, was constructed using samba rhythms, and sold as a compilation CD to other Spark fanatics throughout the world.

It is difficult to find one continuous line as to the motivations of those who participate within the Peterborough Community Samba Band. For some participants such as Derek, Nick and Martin, the music was certainly the initial impetus. For others such as Lynn, Hajar and Beth, the social stratification was a key determinant. It appears that throughout any length of commitment to the band, a complex mix of both serves as a distinctive individual balance. These nodes of experiences are incommensurable, but together form the rich tapestry that is collectively termed the Peterborough Community Samba Band. As a powerful
structure through which to manipulate participatory development, the Peterborough Community Samba Band has been able to grow organically. The result of this growth is a subjectile peppered with the traces of its many participants but strong enough in its identity not to rely on any one individual.

**Pedagogy**

**The workshop as the unconditional gift**

The structural frame of the workshop manoeuvres the intertextual nature of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. Reminiscent of a car’s starter motor, the workshop provides the initial energy with which to accelerate through the gears of the band’s functionality. Within the condition of the Peterborough Community Samba Band the two traits, community and participation, activate themselves through the pedagogic approach most often referred to as a workshop. The workshop as a spatial-temporal domain is cracked open by the workshop facilitator encouraging and nurturing a rapport with fellow *sambistas*. The workshop is often referred to as a ‘safe space’, where the music facilitator attempts to create an atmosphere that is mindful of the participants’ range of abilities but challenging enough to stimulate all concerned.

The community musician must insist that the working space is deterritorialized, so an open opportunity is created to enable the workshop space to become a place of tolerance and play. I would suggest that the workshop facilitators should aim for a philosophic plateau that advocates safety without safety. In this instance, boundaries are marked to provide enough structural energy for the session to begin. Care is then taken to ensure that not too many restraints are employed that might delimit what psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi terms ‘flow’ (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). According to Csikszentmihalyi, flow is
the state in which people are so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter; the experience itself is so enjoyable that people will do it even at great cost, for the sheer sake of doing it (p. 4).

Safety without safety permits community musicians to operate within a code of good facilitation practice, but also allows for excesses beyond the workshop's spatial-temporal realm. Practically, this has manifested itself within the Peterborough Community Samba Band as an allowance of the transitional: musical, organizational and social. The phrase I used as a subheading in Chapter 4, from *bateria* to *mestre*, is therefore both literal and metaphoric.

As I have discussed in Chapter 4, the workshop as a pedagogic structure within the framework of participatory development has encouraged the Peterborough Community Samba Band to explore itself as a self-sustaining agent through acts such as its constitution. The workshop approach has supported the development of the band’s identity of difference. As a structural desire, the workshop has provided opportunities for participants to make the transition quite literally from *bateria* to *mestre*. Informants such as Fiona and Nick have done this and in the process have changed their patterns of employment, an economic turn that serves to encourage further lines of flight in the cultural shift of music-teaching practices. Those participants, such as David, who founded the educational outreach group Samba Grooves, have spilled beyond the *parergon* of the Peterborough Community Samba Band in an act of supplementarity. Pedagogic practices that deterritorialize and divide their own *modus operandi* can create opportunities in which contemplations can become reality and thus foster new enterprises. Like the rhizome metaphor, the Peterborough Community Samba Band can be interrupted,
cracked or fractured, but will always start again following another of its intertextual lines.

As a positive, flexible, and playful delineation, the workshop environment gave rise to the aunties, a structural network of support that became a necessity within the Samba Sizzlers. After the merger between the Samba Sizzlers and the Peterborough Community Samba Band, the aunties network was so strong that it continued to operate albeit not with the same insistence. This system of encouragement, cooperation and regular maintenance provided Beth and Hajar with the support needed to grow in confidence and self-esteem, Beth in her relationships with others and Hajar in her ability to stand up and sing. As an open-ended pedagogic methodology, the workshop provided Catrin with ‘family’ and opportunities to visit places to which she would not have had access. Igniting her interest in other cultures, the workshop portal provided an alternative vision that was an influential factor in her decision to study Social Anthropology at university. The internal exchanges between participants have been a positive aspect in the history of the Peterborough Community Samba Band. These exchanges have included friendships, new working relationships, parenting, lifestyle changes, encouraging each other’s personal contributions, exchange of skills and peer teaching.

As a mode of operation, the band’s leadership has striven to ensure that its workshops do not create debt. If the starter motor faltered within the gift’s triple obligation, a stalemate would occur to freeze its functionality. The circularity inherent within the mode of facilitation might bind the participant to a debt of gratitude. This experience is generally not true for those who have participated with the Peterborough Community Samba Band. Those who facilitate the Peterborough Community Samba Band understand that their workshops are not ‘gifts’ to be returned. Within the circularity of facilitation, the structural framework of the workshop disappears and ignites the economy of exchange between facilitator and
participant and between participant and participant. This action pushes the Peterborough Community Samba Band into motion, enabling it to function as a meaningful social and musical force.

**Summary**

Chapter 5 has subjected the Peterborough Community Samba Band to a thematic analysis that has further illuminated its condition and its four traits of practice. Through the Derridean lens, the Peterborough Community Samba Band has served as an illustration of Community Music as deconstructive practice. Notions of the subjectile, *iterability*, community without unity, democracy, individual responsibility, hospitality, gift and supplementarity, have all demonstrated that the Peterborough Community Samba Band is a vital and dynamic intertextual force providing opportunities for human growth.

From the early inception of its foundational milestones, constitution, recording, gigs and instruments, rehearsal spaces and Samba Sizzlers, the Peterborough Community Samba Band has established a philosophy that has served its condition for twelve years. The participants' commitment to *Community MUSIC* and its vibrating self have allowed the activities of the Peterborough Community Samba Band to flourish. This impetus and connection to its beginnings has remained active through a deep understanding of Community Music's ideology and the flow of experience from person to person. Breaking through its contextual barriers, the band has performed in numerous venues and in numerous cities, participating in carnivals, fêtes and parades around the country. Its participants have learnt new skills both musical and social: For some the experience has been profound, while others have just 'hitched a ride'.

The sound of the Peterborough Community Samba Band has shaped the subjectile of its city. It has upset neighbours through the deafening sound
of its *surdos* (large bass drums) but paradoxically blessed Peterborough with its vibrancy and persistence. As an asset to the city of Peterborough and its citizens, the local press have described the band as producing ‘a refreshing and happy sound which is very hard to simply pass on by’, continuing that ‘they not only halted the passing crowds but also encouraged them to join in’ (*Peterborough and Oundle Herald and Post*, 1995, p. 16). Peterborough’s regular music reviewer suggested that the Peterborough Community Samba Band were ‘T]he band, who really do get the crowds going like nobody else’ and ‘are forging a good reputation’ (*Rick’s Review*, 1995, 1994). The local daily, the *Evening Telegraph*, noted that the ‘[S]amba band is music to our ears’, later running an article that began,

> Mad at your boss? Riled by road hogs? Then save it for the samba. A city band pumping out the hottest rhythms around is offering the chance for local people to strike out into a different way of making music – and get rid of pent-up emotion (‘Samba Band is Music to Our Ears’, 1995; ‘Banging Their Own Drums’, 1996).

The Samba Sizzlers are featured in a host of articles noticeably suggesting that new participants are welcome to ‘[S]izzle to the sound of the samba beat’ and that ‘[M]usical youth bangs the drum’ (‘Sizzle to the Sound of the Samba Beat’, 1997; ‘Musical Youth Bangs the Drum’, 1998). In typical carnivalesque style the *Telegraph* recounts that ‘[M]embers of the Samba Sizzlers managed to turn a few heads [and] stopped traffic when they went walkabout in Lincoln Road [Peterborough]’ (‘Samba Band’s Sponsor Search’, 1996).

Throughout its twelve years’ existence, the Peterborough Community Samba Band continues to invest in itself and find new ways of welcoming the Other. Initiatives such as Samba Grooves and the regional Eastern Bloco demonstrate this. Migrating participants such as Nicole, Nick,
Derek and Martin have all gone on to transmit the band’s philosophy and thus cause other individuals and other institutions to take up alternative modes of music education. As an identity that celebrates the politics of difference, the Peterborough Community Samba Band continues to be strong, positive and vital. Through my experience with this band and other such Community Music projects, I have extended the model to help provide opportunities for carnival street drumming within international settings. Examples include work at Nathan Hale High School and the University of Washington School of Music in Seattle, USA, the American School in Singapore, the Christchurch School of Music in New Zealand, and the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) project at the University of Durban-Westville, South Africa. As a force that is both context-bound and able to transcend contextual boundaries, Community Music, like samba, has shown itself as a translatable form. As a ‘dialect’, Community Music in the UK as understood within the bounds of this thesis is perfectly able to translate into other contextual parameters.

Throughout the Peterborough Community Samba Band’s history, human interaction has been paramount, and stories of transformation are plenty. Much more than just a music-making operation, the Peterborough Community Samba Band has changed lives and facilitated moments of becoming. The band has been through several manifestations, and its current line-up looks set to grow through forthcoming performance schedules. From its inception in 1993, no one could have imagined that the band would still be active. From my most recent visits there seems no need to think it will not still be in operation in another twelve years’ time. One might still say ‘Catch the spirit of samba. Catch the Peterborough Community Samba Band.’
6

Conclusions and Implications

Introduction

Flowing from both personal and professional concerns, this study has attempted to develop a theoretical framework that can support claims that Community Music is both an intrinsic and distinctive area of musical discourse and that its exclusion within the broader manifestations of music education reduces the efficacy of one of the most vital human activities. In order to achieve the aims implicit to the thesis' purpose, I have developed conceptual tools in which Community Music practices may be analysed and understood. Through a philosophical enquiry that has expanded the boundaries of traditional notions of Community Music in the UK, this study has engaged critically with aspects of Community Music practice and theory.

My central proposition has explored the idea that Community Music has always been present as an agent of human musical expression, but has often found itself marginalized either by itself or by others. I have suggested that exclusion has diminished Community Music's vital and
dynamic necessity, consequently depriving many people of the opportunities to actively participate in music-making. I have asserted that within the landscape of musicking, Community Music is well positioned to help redress the imbalance between those who participate in musical-doing and those who do not. In this way, Community Music is understood as an important facet in the ongoing arguments surrounding the significance of music and musical-doing.

There has been 7 key questions that has guided this work:

- What do we mean when we talk of Community Music in the UK?
- What is its history and what can we learn from it?
- Which are the philosophical schools that best suit a conceptualization of Community Music?
- What might a theory of Community Music look like for the UK?
- How would a theoretical framework help the practical quest of community musicians?
- Is Community Music an isolated phenomenon within a particular musical culture or are there comparative epistemologies?
- How could a theoretical framework be used in an analysis of a Community Music project?

These questions formed an integral part of overall text, disseminating throughout the research and throughout the final thesis. It is through the initial historic investigation articulated in Chapter 2, an organisational framework for the thesis was identified and themed through the sub-
headings of identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy. These themes offered a scope for theoretical probing that is entwined within practical imperatives. The guiding questions listed above were never far away. Investigations surrounding these questions revealed three board areas through which to answer them 1. Historical; 2. Philosophical; 3. Ethnographic. The philosophic domain of deconstruction as containing a series of notions fit for purpose. Comparative musical epistemologies such as music education and applied ethnomusicology helped to focus the choice of philosophical school, while ethnographic fieldwork provided the practical means of testing it. Through the four chapters, this thesis has arrived at the following conclusions.

**Conclusions**

Historical perspectives of Community Music are important because the character of Community Music is formed in its past. Questioning and exploring the circumstances that led to the growth of Community Music ensures continuity with its heritage and traditions. A perspective of the past is always oriented towards the future. Turning towards what has been thought and practised is the only way of turning toward what is still to be thought and practised. The chain of past events understood as Community Music takes meaning from those given contexts in which it is inscribed. This movement makes the appeal to other contexts in which Community Music will be known. Future Community Music contexts are therefore transformations of past Community Music contexts. The promise of the future of Community Music will open up new contexts, and these openings are still to come. In this way, historical perspectives of Community Music's traditions, characteristics and contexts become a liberating link on the horizon of the future of Community Music theory and practice. As an emancipatory activity within a rhizomatic structure, historical perspectives are to be understood as a key component to the
future providing pathways, flight lines, and openings towards events to come.

Destination can never be assured, but thinking as memory is inseparable from thinking the future. The location of Community Music past as a cultural response to issues concerning active participation in music-making will always haunt Community Music’s present and future. With the notion of the trace in mind, the recognition of a Community Music history has allowed a certain form of emancipation while preserving the memory of past Community Music encounters. Movement of this sort demonstrates respect and disrespect for Community Music’s past encounters, and therefore places the act of transformation within unfolding pathways. The expose of Community Music from a historic standpoint provided the bridge through which the rest of this thesis was able to progress. I would suggest that historical perspectives of Community Music deserve close attention. Community Music’s future comes to us from the passivity of the past, a necessity to the very appearance of the present. The possibilities of Community Music transformations are rooted in an understanding of the collision between past, present and future.

Philosophical enquiry is important for Community Music if it is to achieve its many desires. As an art of forming, inventing and fabricating concepts, philosophical enquiry exceeds the bounds of possible experience. Following a creative turn that has roots in Nietzschean thinking, the concept building within this thesis has an imaginative quality that has unhinged (although not lost) Community Music’s debt to the historical materialism of the Marxist critique. This has been important because it has provided a fresh view of what Community Music is and what Community Music might be. This thesis has argued and developed conceptual (or quasi-conceptual) ideas within a specific philosophical plane. Such pathways have provided a philosophical space that has allowed the creation of
concepts that are removed from the orderly or functional manner from which one most often thinks and acts. Economic imperatives that drive Community Music practice have historically restricted this type of broader theoretical engagement. This habit still persists and becomes most noticeable when Community Music is taught within formal education establishments. The results of such neglect have left Community Music conceptually marooned.

If Community Music is to flourish in the ways its protagonists advocate, those who preach its methodology must recognize the value of scholarly enquiry. In short, those who support the notion of Community Music would benefit from a greater understanding as regards the relationship between theory and practice. Philosophical enquiry allows the mind to venture beyond the day-to-day complexities of executing a Community Music project. Conceptual thinking allows a certain space in which to problemize practice and challenge orthodoxy. Theory is Community Music's inadequate dimension, and addressing this issue would allow significant steps towards Community Music's overall development.

Ethnographic approaches to the study of Community Music are important because they allow access to the mechanics of practice. Through narratives of those who participate, ethnographic strategy and method unmask the traits of Community Music in action. Intertextual webs of significance provide portals in which one can come to know Community Music as musical-doing. Stretching beyond sound and musical genre, phenomenological investigations unearth a rich and complex connectivity between context, community, participation and pedagogy. From such illuminations notions of what constitutes Community Music practice can find representation. Through contemporary anthropological discourse, ethnography has developed an open and flexible structure. This approach allows the polyglot nature of Community Music to be revealed. Emphasis
Conclusions and Implications

on participant observation reflects Community Music's traits of practice and finds resonances between research strategy and practice.

In conclusion, this thesis has drawn upon the spectre of Community Music and subjected its grounding ideas and categories to a reassessment. Through primordial considerations of what constitutes the general ontology of music, a platform has been created in which hierarchical notions that attempt to exclude Community Music can be challenged. This is important because in order for Community Music to fulfil the potential it might have, those who practise it and those who advocate it must be able to effectively negotiate and argue for its rightful place within the broad understanding of music and education in and through music.

Implications and future directions

It has always been my intention that Community Music should (re)claim a status of equal value among other forms of musical-doing and music education. This gesture of reclaiming reaches deep into the memory of the past, beyond the programmable future, and towards the future to come. Under the sign of the impossible, Community Music continues to surprise, challenge and distress within the politics of difference. The deconstructive condition of Community Music as boundary-walker must remain paramount, as the implications of this thesis may appear to march Community Music towards reputable protocols. As a line of flight within the rhizomatic structure of intertextuality, one must take care not to revert to hierarchical language that stresses Community Music's elevation rather than its unmasking. This section will outline the thesis' implications to practice and theory. Three sub-headings will guide the discussion: Teaching and learning, Practice and Employment.
Teaching and learning

Through the ideas presented within this thesis the reformulation of music under the guise of Community MUSIC has brought particular aspects inherent to all musicking to the fore. If context, community, participation and pedagogy are intrinsic agents within all things musical, then those who teach music, run departments of music, perform or write cultural policy documents cannot ignore the marks these traits make. Although the indelible signatures of these traits can be hidden from view, masked or displaced, they are always present and as such surround any music that is being made or discussed. From a perspective that insists on such things, it would follow that the traits of Community Music should permeate all music programmes from primary through to third-level education.

A statement such as this does not call for the immediate implementation of dozens of Community Music programmes and wholesale changes to music curricula; that would be ludicrous and inappropriate. The point is a philosophic one but with practical implications. Although there is growing interest in Community Music within Britain’s music conservatoires, colleges, universities and schools, it continues to be a marginalized activity. Situations that perpetuate this are complex and deep, but I believe rest on a lack of understanding as regards the full dimensions of music. This situation doubles and doubles again, as each new batch of musicians becomes exposed to a limited version of what music can do or can be. Readdressing our philosophical understandings of music will generate fresh perspectives, and these need to flow from the powerful base of music teaching in general.

Exposing music teachers and potential music teachers to the wider dimensions of music would enhance teaching and learning possibilities. As a result students of music will gain a wider grasp of music’s materiality and thus be open to greater choice. This does not dilute, reduce or shun efforts to train and harness specialized musical practices. The traces of
Community Music's traits are always-already, and as such constitute these practices. The point is to open musicians to the question of responsibility before themselves and towards the others with whom they share musical discourse. Within the politics of difference, music has respect for singularity and the universal, the process and the product, professionalization and participation.

By ignoring Community Music, those who teach music are doing both the students and music in general a great disservice. Throughout a career in music, most musicians turn their hand to pedagogy of some sort, which may include peripatetic teaching, orchestral and opera outreach or running workshops. Because the traits of Community Music are inherent within all musical-doing, their practical application is not limited to music teaching alone. Participation, community, pedagogy and contextual understanding all penetrate deep within acts of musicking such as conducting, managing or performing. The same is true for project development and sustained research in areas such as ethnomusicology and the psychology of music. As the twenty-first century progresses through its first decade, the cultural shifts in the UK indicate that the participatory arts are currently a substantial employer of artists, including musicians. The nature of arts subsidy is changing; musicians must understand the imperatives of music in all its dimensions in order to sustain a lifetime in music that is wholly meaningful to themselves and to the others they engage with.

In advocating a deeper understanding towards the traits of Community Music, I am also suggesting some cultural shifts within music teaching and music learning. These will take decades to change. One has to start somewhere, and perhaps the immediate location is with those institutes that already have a commitment to Community Music. Places such as the University of York, Goldsmiths College at the University of London, the University College of Chichester, the Birmingham Conservatoire, The
Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts\(^5\) and the Irish World Music Centre at the University of Limerick\(^6\) have all, through their actions, declared a responsibility towards Community Music. The good news is that graduates from these courses are advocating Community Music as a viable option of musicking, and in so doing, are advertising the wider dimensions of music. Student recruitment for these programmes is often difficult, and may be used as evidence in supporting the logocentricity that still permeates music teaching generally.

The ideas presented throughout this thesis could have a significant impact on the current operation of the Community Music programmes at all levels. The acknowledgement and application of those ideas discussed throughout this thesis would serve to boost the theoretical underpinning of Community Music programmes. As a lecturer and practitioner, I have taught on a number of Community Music programmes, and I have been concerned that the scholarly rigour is not comparable with other musical disciplines. Within the academy, especially, academic accounts of Community Music are overdue. I would suggest that the deconstructive vision of Community Music would enable significant strides towards addressing issues of scholarly research in both practice and theory.

**Practice**

The deconstructive vision of Community Music operates in and around the borders of both theory and practice. As a work of conceptual construction, its initial urges flowed through practical imperatives. The implications for practice are therefore inherent within the ideas presented throughout this thesis. The notion of *iterability*, for example, provides emancipation from forces such as the music business, which seeks to fix music and music-making. Economically driven to practise in a multitude of locations, the community musician needs both a flexible musical knowing and a conceptual outlook that allows play. *Iterability* with its expression of recontextualization provides ways of understanding the mobility of
contexts and the play between them. This type of knowledge helps locate musical-doing without the fixity brought about through concerns of authenticity and correct context. Those community musicians who lead samba bands, gamelan workshops, djembe drumming and steel drum groups would all benefit from engaging with such ideas. Iterability would enable healthy discussions surrounding music and cultural context while resisting the reduction of music-making opportunities brought about through the idea of origins.

As a concept, the subjectile points the community musician towards his or her art form of choice. My proposition insists that it is people who form the working material of the community musician. This has the effect of unmasking the status of facilitation itself and redressing its balance alongside competences such as instrumental skills. This movement enhances the value of the skilled community musician.

The subjectile is embedded within an open account of community described in terms of community-without-unity. Through these anthropological ideas, the community musician can address the complexities of today's societies with a greater degree of confidence. Ability to locate the work within an understanding of the politics of difference provides greater control throughout the structural life of a Community Music project. From inception through to final evaluation, the community musician needs to operate as a flexible musician and within a flexible understanding of community. Community Music practices rely on a rapport with the Other, and the premise of alterity marbles this thesis' proposition. Work within areas of regeneration, within the prison and probation service, and with those seeking asylum, all reflect the results of a late capitalist society. The community musician needs an awareness of these sociological shifts in order to be most effective.
This thesis has emphasized the act of participation within intertextual networks. Effective Community Music practice understands its impact beyond the workshop space. The community musician needs awareness of the participant’s line of flight. Foresight and sensitivity towards individual participants enables effective groupwork while aiding meaningful and appropriate project design. As a hospitable enterprise, Community Music bands such as the Peterborough Community Samba Band demonstrate the practical attention of intertextual operations. The implications for practice reside in the development of strong porous structures that nurture safety while not being at the expense of experimentation and creativity. The mestres who now run the Peterborough Community Samba Band have demonstrated this by establishing a repertoire of appropriate material while encouraging the individuals of the group to come forward and try new ideas. This genuine gesture results in the band performing pieces composed and orchestrated by its members.

Of particular importance to the practice of Community Music is the notion of the gift. Approaching the gift through the perspective of Derridean deconstruction reminds practitioners of the delicate relationship between the music facilitator and the participant. The notion of the gift removes the gross misunderstanding that Community Music is there to 'help' people. From the perspective of a Community Music practitioner, coming to terms with the tensions of debt found within the facilitation of musical-doing will encourage a stronger relationship between community musicians and their participants. The notion is equally important for those who are considering working in the field. Potential students might want to think hard about the reality of working as a community musician through the notion of the gift. The gift’s duality highlights the struggles (poison) and euphorias (remedy) that Community Music practice can entail.
Employment
As a political manifestation, community musicians have challenged the dominant position of 'high' art and its cultural implications such as elitism. This position is often understood within the rubric of Western classical music, but must now traverse the cultural changes that stress music stardom through television programmes such as 'Pop Idol' and 'Fame Academy'. The culture of the celebrity appears to influence the choices young people are currently making when thinking about a career in music. This demonstrates a distorted picture as regards the nature of music. This thesis has proposed a wider vision as regards the ontology of music. The ramifications of this gesture might result in redressing some of these balances, thus allowing potential musicians to make an informed decision as to their career path.

As I have suggested, Community Music projects are on the increase, and so are the training and education provisions to meet the demand. This is good news because musicians are beginning to see alternative role models beyond those traditionally cited, such as the band and orchestra conductors, the classroom music teacher, or the pop star. As musicians engage in a wider variety of music-making environments and contexts, they also engage with a diverse array of music professionals. When musicians can identify the community musician as a distinctive entity, they are far more likely to consider a career path that takes them towards Community Music employment. As a consequence musicians would be less likely to perceive the narrow focus of the music business as the pinnacle of musical achievement. Fiona's story is an illustration of this point.

Demonstrative examples such as the Peterborough Community Samba Band affirm music's role in the everyday lives of people. Combining aspects of sociology, anthropology, musicology and philosophy, this thesis has described the potency of the music-making experience. Through such descriptions, the work of the community musician becomes a positive force
that suggests that Community Music is a rewarding and viable employment opportunity.

In order for Community Music to affirm its place within those sectors that currently employ musicians (and perhaps those who have not recognized its potential), supporters of Community Music must advocate theoretical development. The integration of theory and practice will allow greater access through the educational and political arenas. This will enable pressure to be exerted in areas that are likely to lever meaningful employment opportunities. My conceptual account of Community Music resists the ditch of fixed definitions and technical rationality. Prescribed standards of practice are avoided because they would reduce openness. This is important because Community Music must operate as an organic force responding to the society around it. Community Music can be a professional career without adhering to prescribed standards and regulations. Community Music in Derrida-Vision is born of something other than itself. The chain of past events understood as Community Music is subsumed into its imaginative enterprise. This thesis has provided portals through which to gain access to the rich and diverse practice of Community Music. The implications of this may help propel it towards a valued profession.

Providing a scholarly approach to the analysis and description of Community Music, this thesis has asserted a conceptualization of Community Music practice. As discussed in the introduction, previous writings pertaining to Community Music within traditional research methodologies have been scant. An implication of this research has been to open the door, leave it ajar and invite others to walk through. In its effort to probe Community Music practice, this thesis has considered the domains of community arts, music education, group work theory and participatory development, sociology, ethnomusicology, anthropology, philosophy, cultural studies, and research strategy and method. Each of
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these subject areas has helped locate the place of Community Music and provided a space in which to contemplate its practical concerns. As a set of ideas that have been nurtured through my professional practice, the ideas pertinent to this thesis are currently being (re)sown in all that I do. As an individual journey, the implications of this project will always remain as a spectre; a hauntology that penetrates my practice, reminding me that it is always to come.

Epilogue

As an experiential moment between the past and the future, the Commission of Community Music Activity in Toronto forced this community musician to consider his understanding of Community Music. If one considers the autobiography within the question, ‘What has this got to do with the Community Music I understand?’, then it is reasonable to summarize the last five years of research as a journey that has brought me face-to-face with the historical progress of my life and its relation to music and music-making. Through the traces of auto-ethnographic memory, fieldwork, philosophical investigation and professional endeavour, this epilogue represents another experiential moment. It is the next node that in an instant gathers its threads, then releases them beyond these pages, through their lines of flight and towards a future to come.

As an analysis and description of Community Music in the UK, this thesis has emphasized difference and thus allowed hospitality towards other practical and theoretical interpretations of Community Music. Although the application of my ideas within a number of my professional engagements has been noted, the achievement of this thesis has yet to be tested. It was always clear that although this thesis took a position that emphasizes the lack of theoretical discourse pertaining to Community Music, the desire was to generate something that would have practical implications and uses. As a springboard from which to harmonize, in
either concordance or discordance, this conceptualization of Community Music has served to recognize and respect its past while making plans for its future. As an unprogrammable future, the deconstructive vision is always to come, and in the same way Community Music has yet to arrive. This does not make it any less real; the evidence of the Peterborough Community Samba Band underlines Community Music reality.

As a Boundary-Walker, Community Music affirms and embraces the margins. Like Hamlet's father Community Music is a ghost-like figure parading the castle's battlements. The spirit of Community Music is omnipresent a haunting presence that weaves in and out of all musical folds. As a 'ghost' Hamlet's father was only visible because of the armour he wore. Context, community, participation and pedagogy represent the 'clothing' of Community Music, it is these traits of practice that allow us to experience its force.

Community Music is the discipline of musical-doing and thought. This thesis has taken this idea and attempted to (re)cast the Community Music plight, providing a scholarly passage in which musicians, educators and policy makers can come to terms with its undecidability. As a positive affirmation, Community Music surrounds us and welcomes us to its shores. Those who understand music's many dimensions can and should respond to these calls. Those who have not embraced the wider implications of music might need convincing, and further studies may help with these transitions. Within this evangelistic formulation Community Music retains its activism and thus a direct connection to its past. Community Music as boundary-walker continues to circumnavigate the margins, but grows ever comfortable within the space, an operation tolerant within the play of differences and confident in its contribution to the human activity of musicking.
1. Introduction

1 Throughout this thesis Community Music is spelt with a capital C and M. My rationale for this decision is in order to accentuate Community Music as a particular and distinctive thing central to the dissertation. The protocol most often observed for naming musical disciplines, the use of lower case, is observed when discussing the likes of community arts, music education or ethnomusicology.

2 The International Society of Music Education has recently published a historical account of its activities, including those of the Commission for Community Music Activity (McCarthy, 2004).

3 For an explanation of this term and other important to this thesis see the Glossary on p301.

4 The evidence for this is supported in Which Training? (Deane, 1998). This is explored in more detail on pages 79-80.

5 Pitt’s historical perspectives of music education in British secondary schools provide evidence to this notion (Pitt, 2000). The recent tension between music education as aesthetic education and the so-called praxial approach amplified most prominently by David Elliott is also testament to this (Elliott, 1995, 2005).

6 The focus of White’s research can be seen on her website (www.communitymusic.50megs.com).

7 The CMA has been lacklustre when it comes to publishing its proceedings, and there is a growing amount of unpublished papers stretching back across meetings from the last eight years.

8 It is worth noting that a book titled Community Music Therapy was published in 2004. Although it describes itself as ‘an exciting read for music therapists, specialists and community musicians’, it sits outside the domain of this thesis. (Pavlicevic, Mercedes and Gary Ansel (Eds.), 2004. Community Music Therapy. Jessica Kingsley Publishers)

9 The International Journal of Community Music is an open-access, peer-reviewed academic journal that publishes research articles, practical discussions, timely reviews, readers’ notes and special issues concerning all aspects of Community Music.

10 Derrida is also aware that his work causes anxieties among others. Although Derrida describes himself as ‘not someone who is naturally polemical’, he recognizes that deconstructive gestures ‘appear to destabilize or cause anxiety or even hurt others’ (FOW, 0’33”). During this revealing interview to camera, Derrida says he writes as a means of necessity with no intimidation, but admits that occasionally he does have moments of fear. During moments before sleep, Derrida awakes in a subconscious panic; ‘You must be crazy to write this ... crazy to attack such a thing ... to criticize such a person ... crazy to contest such an authority!” (FOW, 1’53”). He confirms that he has never renounced anything that he has written, ‘[I] say what I think must be said’ (FOW, 1’26”).

11 The Dundee Repertory Theatre managed the Dundee Community Dance Team. At the time, the theatre was the only theatre in the UK with a full-time community outreach programme, specializing in dance and drama. These particular projects do not now exist, but their legacy has informed Dundee’s current (2003) position. The theatre’s Community Company is now described as ‘one of Britain’s largest and most acclaimed community arts organizations’. The theatre can boast a Community Drama Team, the UK’s only theatre-based drama therapy service, an Arts Advocacy Project, and a Community Outreach Project. The Stage, a weekly national paper reporting on issues surrounding Britain’s theatres, stated that the Community Company was ‘the country’s best example of how modern theatres have to be more than places of entertainment by providing services to the community’.
The Herald, a Scottish national paper, describes Dundee Rep’s community commitments as ‘a radical vision for the 21st century ... a pioneer in the field’ (www.dundeerep.co.uk).

12 Passmores Comprehensive School had around 700 pupils on its roll, between 11 and 16 years of age. The school is located in Harlow New Town, some twenty-five miles north-east of London and around forty miles from Cambridge. Harlow was originally designated as one of thirty-two new towns to be built in England. The new town planning scheme had an overall aim: to improve the quality of life and standard of living for the post-war generation. Harlow celebrated its fiftieth year in 2003 (www.harlow.gov.uk/tourism/tourism.htm).

13 The magazine Kerrang! championed the New Wave of British Heavy Metal. The first issue of Kerrang! emerged in June 1981. Kerrang! was originally conceived as a one-off ‘heavy metal special’ by the makers of the late music weekly Sounds. It was, they claimed, the loudest rock magazine of all time. This magazine continues today, and continues to reflect the current hard rock scene (www.kerrang.com).

14 The cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz influenced a generation of scholars with his seminal text of 1973, The Interpretation of Cultures (Geertz, 1975). Using Max Weber’s notion that ‘man is suspended in webs of significance’ as its starting point, Geertz develops the notion of ‘thick description’ (p. 5). According to Weber, man continually spins webs, and these create layers of meaning. Taking these ideas to heart, Geertz sees the concept of culture as ‘essentially a semiotic one’ (p. 5). The term ‘thick description’ is borrowed from Gilbert Ryle, who discusses that images represent ‘piled-up structures of inference and implication’ (p. 7). According to Geertz, it is the ethnographer’s task to pick through the layers of semiotic meanings and represent them in insightful writing. Geertz’s ethnographic description of a Balinese cockfight is cited as a key example of writing that illustrates the method of inscribing thick description (pp. 412–53). The ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl, for example, considers Geertz’s cockfight as a ‘classic description’, and lists this as one of his inspirations, as does Jeff ToddTiton (Nettl, 1995, p. 6; Clayton et al, 2003).

15 Criticism of the Marxist categorization of the working class as the universal subject-victim suggests that it overlooks the many other people who are also oppressed on account of gender, ethnicity or sexuality for example. Those advocating the politics of difference consider the Marxist view of class as inadequate (Sarup, 1996).

16 John Story’s Cultural Theory and Popular Culture offers a good introduction to the forms of Marxism and the forms of Culturalism (Story, 2001). See also his What is Cultural Studies? A Reader and Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader (Storey, 1996, 1998).

17 This paper was first given at a lecture organized by John Hopkins University in 1966.

18 As a term, deconstruction has been adapted and translated from the German Destruktion, or Abau, terms Heidegger had used in his re-examination of metaphysics (LJF, pp. 270–1, EO, pp. 86–7). Mulhall suggests that Heideggerian philosophy ‘forms the point of origin’ for deconstruction, while Johnson underlines these assumptions, suggesting that ‘de-construction’ is closely related not to the word “destruction” but to the word “analysis”, which etymologically means to “to undo” – a virtual synonym for “to de-construct” (Mulhall, 1996, p. 22, D, p. xiv). It is interesting to note that although Derrida’s work is most frequently associated with the term deconstruction, it is a term that he himself has never been satisfied with (LJF, p. 272).

19 Howells remarks that ‘[D]econstruction finds little favour with conservatives afraid that some of their most cherished beliefs are being undermined’ (Howells, 1998, p. 70).

20 Marxist commentators such as Terry Eagleton and Fredric Jameson have been critical in this way (Sprinker, 1999; Eagleton, 2004). Derrida on the other hand has seen deconstruction as a tool for use against political authoritarianism and injustice: Of Hospitality, On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness, Specters of Marx, plus Caputo’s commentaries within Deconstruction in a Nutshell, are examples of these (OH, OCF, NS, SOM). Accordingly, Derrida calls for deconstruction as ‘a new investigation of responsibility, questioning the codes inherited from ethics and politics’ (Strathern, 2000, p. 39).
21 Bennington offers an aphorism: "[D]econstruction is not what you think. If what you think is a concept, present to mind. But that you think might already be deconstruction" (Collins, 2000, p. 93).

22 Derrida states that "[D]econstruction starts with the deconstruction of logocentrism (SA, p. 15).

23 Jean Baudrillard conceives a postmodern world of simulations where signs bear no relation to any reality whatsoever. As a collapse of the real with the imaginary, the true with the false, the very definition of the real becomes that of which it is possible to give an equivalent reproduction (Baudrillard, 1992).

24 Francis Fukuyama had claimed that the fall of communism had ended the conflict of ideologies that had dominated the modern world since the French Revolution. There was now only one ideology (or system) — that of the liberal market. In effect, history, as understood by Hegel and Marx (dialectical interplay), had all but ended. Derrida responded to Fukuyama in the *Specters of Marx* and suggested that democracy should not be thought of as fully present now or as an entity entirely embodied in the future present: Democracy is always a democracy-to-come (SOM). See also *Derrida and the End of History* (Sim, 1999).

25 Derrida is clear: "[D]econstruction is not a method or some tool that you apply to something from the outside. Deconstruction is something which happens and which happens inside" (VR, p. 9).

26 Derrida warns us, we must not confuse the spirit with the spectre. The spirit has a material appearance and therefore must exist before its first apparition, that of the spectre (See Montag in Sprinker, 1999, pp. 68–82).

27 I would like to note here that although these books did provide an excellent systematic thought, Jorgensen’s brief mention of deconstruction is somewhat over-simplified and misrepresentative (Jorgensen, 2003, p. 120). Jorgensen does not seem to have grasped the practical implications of the Derridean project.

2. Community Music in the UK: Historical Perspectives

1 In the 1930s, Henry Morris developed an educational philosophy that initiated a series of village schools in Cambridgeshire. These became the prototype of Community Schools and Colleges found today in Britain. The schools became a focal point for the whole neighbourhood. The staff understood the community as a valuable educational resource, and the community saw the school as an educational opportunity.

2 It has been suggested that the sixties did not really begin until about 1963, and that they did not fade until around 1975 (Gilbert and Seed, 1992, p. 11).

3 It has, however, been noted that there was no single monolithic counter-culture or cultural opposition with a coherent programme, just diverse attacks on official culture in a myriad of locations, such as the academy and art institutions, but also upon the ideas of gender, class, race and generation (Gilbert and Seed, 1992).

4 Output had increased by over 35%, real average earnings rose by 2.7% per annum, profits were good and unemployment was low (Gilbert and Seed, 1992, p. 16).

5 Herbert Marcuse’s *One Dimensional Man* offers a critique of contemporary society that understands the technology of advanced industrial societies as eliminating conflict but assimilating all those who in earlier forms of social order provided either voices or forces of dissent. In other words, under such advanced technological circumstances, Marxist thinking could no longer rely on the working class as a saviour of mankind (Marcuse, 1991. See also MacIntyre, 1970, pp. 62–73).

6 According to Small the people of Bali have a saying, that they have no art, but just do things as well as possible (Small, 1996). Kelly suggests that one of the guiding notions of the nascent community arts movement was an orientation around this Balinese idea. Kelly’s version of the Balinese saying reads slightly differently, but is nevertheless similar in concept: ‘[W]e have no art, we do everything well
Notes

(Kelly, 1984, p. 10). Considering these non-Western ideas alongside the period’s contemporary community arts rhetoric, ‘everybody can do everything’, Kelly emphasizes emulating an underlining for the movement’s early days. Brook makes the point that there can be no suggestion that community arts is a new idea. Using examples of the local church, carnival and festivals, Brook highlights that people have expressed their needs and aspirations through arts and crafts activities for centuries before (Brook, 1988).

7 Cultural materialism offers a combination of historical context, theoretical method, political commitment and textual analysis (Wilson, 1995, pp. 3–25).

8 Dickson offers ‘Another History’ of community arts, locating the work alongside the environmental work of artists such as Latham, a member of the Artist Placement Group (Dickson, 1995, pp. 28–41).

9 In 1971 the final report of the ‘New Activities Committee’, a group set up by the Arts Council of Great Britain, recognized that a particular sort of arts activity had been taking place across the country. The replacement body for this committee, the ‘Experimental Projects Committee’, commissioned a report that was to be entitled Community Arts in Great Britain; this report led to a two-day seminar in London hosted by the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA). The meeting was the first national gathering for those working in community arts, and led to the inauguration of the national ‘Association for Community Artists’ (ACA). Critically, Kelly recalls that the criteria for membership of the ACA highlighted what you were against, rather than the project you were involved in. (Kelly, 1984).

10 The community arts sub-committee operated for six years, ending in 1979. This was due to the Arts Council restructuring programme; the responsibility for funding community arts was devolved to what was then called the ‘Regional Arts Associations’ (RAB). The idea of the RABs presupposed that regional bodies understood the immediate locality, and therefore had a better chance of distributing the money to areas of need. Recently (2003), the Arts Council has undergone another restructuring plan, moving from a system of Regional Arts Boards (Regional Arts Boards superseded the Regional Arts Associations), to nine Regional Arts Councils of England. Now known as the Arts Council England, they describe themselves as the national development agency for the Arts in England, distributing public money from Government and the National Lottery. (www.Artscouncil.org.uk).

11 Kelly cites the figure of £176,000 in its first year, and £350,000 in its second, to the benefit of fifty-seven projects in Year One, and seventy-five in Year Two (Kelly, 1984).

12 Questions of funding continue to have a great impact on the development of community arts practice, and issues pertaining to value judgments never seem far away.

13 The 1970s provided a range of grant support beyond arts bodies. Quangos such as Manpower Services, Urban Aid and Inner City Partnerships all provided valuable funding.

14 Kelly is able to extract three main threads. Firstly, there was a passion for creating new and liberating forms of expression. Secondly, there was a move, by mainly fine artists, out of the institutionalized galleries and onto the street. Thirdly, there was an emergence of a new kind of political activist, one who believed that creativity was an essential tool in any kind of radical struggle (Kelly, 1984).

15 See Brooks, 1988, p. 9.


18 These courses are still not that frequent and do not necessarily use the term community arts. Courses used a variety of words such as ‘applied’, ‘participatory’, and ‘education’. This may reflect the socio-political baggage that the term community arts represents.
The first art centres opened in the 1940s, but growth did not significantly accelerate until the end of the 1960s. Art centres still play an important role for participatory Arts within the UK; Neumark quotes the NAAC survey of 1984, recalling over 300 art centres during this time (Neumark, 1989). More current data are difficult to find to establish whether this number has fallen, but experience would lead me to believe that the role of the art centre, although important in many areas of the country, has become less of a feature. The Art Centre, Arts Directory, showed 199 sites, a significant reduction from Neumark’s early figure (www.art-centres.co.uk). See also Lane, John, 1978. Arts Centres: Every Town Should have one. London: Paul Elek; Nicholls, Derek, 1985. Education in Arts Centres. National Association of Arts Centres; Bellekom, Tony, 1988. Planning for the Future: The Development of the National Association of Arts Centres. National Association of Arts Centres.

According to Freire, the pedagogy of the oppressed had two distinct stages. 1. The oppressed unveil the world of oppression and through the praxis commit themselves to its transformation. 2. This pedagogy ceases to belong to the oppressed and becomes a pedagogy of all people in the process of permanent liberation (Freire, 2002, p. 54).

In comparison to the underground press, organized squatting, free festivals, the yippies and the Black Panthers, Kelly makes ideological connections between community artists and other sorts of social and political groupings (Kelly, 1986).

In 1978 the precise nature of the Association of Community Artists (ACA) was undecided. According to Kelly, members were split in three directions. Some members advocated an alignment with the Trades Union Congress (TUC), while others argued that community artists should unionize individually, or by group (Kelly, 1984). This would leave the ACA as a campaigning body. The third strand suggested the ACA open its doors to the people with whom community artists work, thus acting as a consciousness-raising organization for all interested in community arts (Kelly, 1984).

For instance, street art became a popular medium that could address the inequality of those art forms that had become inaccessible for the majority.

The Gulbenkian Foundation’s artist-in-schools scheme was set against a £30,000 scheme to encourage links between professional artists and schools. It was an attempt to break away from traditional concepts of the artist-in-residence in order to try new things, new environments, with the motive ‘to do it and see what happens’ (Braden, 1978, p. ix).

Braden qualifies this by adding that ‘the relationship between artist and their work, with people who had not necessarily chosen or expected to come into contact with any “art”’ (Braden, 1978, p. xiii).

The definition of new relationship does not imply the abolition of the skilled and the talented specialist. The formalism of modes contained within institutions needs re-examining (Braden, 1978, p. 140).

Relevance occurs when artists meet the real observations of their public, and in order to do this the artists must first know their public. According to Braden the specialist institutions separated their students from the very people whose reality they hoped they would later be able to enter (Braden, 1978, p. xvii. See also p. 11, Artist as commentator).

Arendt notes that Benjamin was ‘the most peculiar Marxist ever produced by this [Frankfurt School] movement (Benjamin, 1992, p. 16/17). The reason for this Arendt suggests is his fascination with the doctrine of the superstructure, which was only briefly sketched by Marx.

It is interesting to note that the then Arts Minister, Estelle Morris, believed that in order to push forward her new policies she needed a ‘new language for the arts’ (Deane, 2003, p. 4).

Braden’s research offers three practical examples of how artists attempted to reconcile to nature of context and ideology within their respective practices. Firstly, create a situation that makes available a means of expression and actively encourage local people to voice and analyse their condition. Secondly, create a context in which art-making is seen as something all humans can do. The artist must create a social reference for his or her own work while actively breaking down prejudices to artwork in
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general. Thirdly, allow the artist to demonstrate a commitment to the subject of his or her work and its
social context. This alone will mediate between artists and their public. (Braden, 1978, p. 132).

What a Way to Run a Railroad: An Analysis of Radical Failure. London: Comedia. Although these
books do not emphasize the arts, they are documentation that illustrates the broader struggle that
community arts was/is part of.

32 According to Brook, local skill had a multitude of meanings, and that local enthusiasm had to be
'maintained, worked at, and not assumed' (Brook, 1988, p. 8).

33 The Baldry report uses the word technique as a synonym for 'art form' (Kelly, 1984, p. 18).

Towns, 5. Festivals and Short-Term Projects, 6. Young People, 7. Work with Special Groups (Dickson,

35 Merseyside Arts added a further two points: 1. Work should occur in areas of cultural, social and
financial need. 2. Work should aim to be for lasting effect and to create autonomous and self-managing
groups and activities, which can evolve their own direction and priorities (Dickson, 1995, p. 22).

36 In 2003 the first Chair in community arts was created through the Welsh Assembly, and given to the
University of Glamorgan, Wales. Hamish Fife, who accepted the post, immediately changed its title to
‘Arts in the Community’.

37 The report clarifies that in practice the term 'amateur Arts' relates to independent societies, such as
traditional drama and music societies (Arts and Communities, 1992).

38 Conscientization is a word Adams and Goldbard use from Freire (2002). From the Portuguese
conscientização meaning the deepening of the attitude of awareness characteristic of all emergences,
conscientization is the ongoing process by which a learner moves towards critical consciousness

39 Matarasso attributes the first three Dance Animateur posts to Cardiff, Swindon and Cheshire, and
dates them around 1976 (Matarasso, 1994, p. 11). The National Association of Dance and Mime
Animateur predates Sound Sense by three years. Currently called Community Dance Foundation, it
publishes the quarterly periodical Animated... Animated, Norwich: BC Publications. Chapter 5 in Dance
as Education: Towards a National Dance Culture offers an excellent overview of Community Dance
from the 1970s until the late 1980s (Brinson, 1991).

40 See Braden, Su and Than Thi Thien Huong, 1998. Video for Development: A Casebook from

41 It is interesting to note that anthropologist Margaret Mead wrote an article published in 1941 with
direct reference to Community Drama. Mead, Margaret, 1941/2. ‘Community Drama, Bali and
America’. American Scholar, 11: 79–88. Kershaw cites John Arden as a key proponent of early
Community Drama and dates this to around 1963 (Kershaw, 1992). See also the work of the National
Youth Theatre and projects reports in publications such as Randell, Nick and Simon Myhill, 1989.
Kaleidoscope: Art Work that Works. Leicester: Youth Clubs UK Publications. See also Grant, David,
1993. Playing the Wild Card: A Survey of Community Drama and Smaller-Scale Theatre from a
Community Relation Perspective. Belfast: Community Relation Council. Upstart is a periodical
produced to reflect Youth Arts work. Upstart. Norwich: PCPublications.

Applied Theatre: Creating Transformative Encounters in the Community. Greenwood Press. For
London Routledge. Van Erven attributes the roots of contemporary Community Theatre to the same
period as community arts. According to van Erven, anthropological arguments could date the origins of
community theatre back to pre-Colonial and pre-Graeco-Roman times. Community Theatre's immediate antecedents, according to van Erven, 'lie buried in the various forms of counter-cultural, radical, anti- and post-colonial, educational, and liberational theatres of the 1960s and 1970s' (van Erven, 2001, p. 1).

43 Amateur and semi-professional musicians played and sang in brass bands, orchestras and choirs, and were according to Blake widespread at the end of the nineteenth century. Blake suggests that 'new machinery for non-participatory reproduction', such as player-pianos and gramophones, appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century, and marked a decline in participatory music-making (Blake, 1997, p. 79). Blake also highlights the importance of the amateur performance tradition, and suggests that one could trace a continuous thread through choirs and brass bands, through to the home-made instruments of skiffle in the 1950s, and punk in the 1970s.

44 Everitt details the choral groups of the Pottery towns, prominent in Stafford, England (Everitt, 1997). Using a study written by R. Nettel and published in 1944, Everitt retells the story of a flourishing amateur choral tradition in the nineteenth century that 'arose out of a natural urge for some means of expression denied to men in the lives they were leading' (p. 36).


46 I am disagreeing here with the untidy language of Fox, who stated that ‘“Community Music”, “Music in the community”, “the music education project” or however else one chooses to name the phenomenon … is a great British invention’ (Fox, 1999, p. 136).

47 Before the eighteenth century, musical ‘products’ came to be through performances that the composer had control of. In this way, the distinction between the relationship composer/performer was less clearly defined. Music was not understood as an ‘object’ and musical ownership was not understood in the way we understand it today. Because music was performed for the State, Church, or entertainment, the composer was considered part of the society. There was no rationale for the production of music for its own sake: music’s value was in terms of fulfilling a particular social function (Spruce, 2002).

48 Weber describes three pure types of authority: Rational, Traditional and Charismatic. Traditional Authority is legitimacy claimed for and believed in by virtue of the sanctity of age-old rules and powers. This type of organization is based on personal loyalty which results from ‘common upbringing’ (Weber, 1978, pp. 212–45).

49 The Dutch scholar Jaap Kunst suggests that ethno-musicology is an ‘independent science’ developed in the 1880s (Kunst, 1955, p. 10). Kunst describes ethno-musicology (the hyphen was officially dropped in 1957) as a comparative musical science, and qualifies its reference points as ‘[T]he study of music and musical instruments of all non-European peoples’ (p. 9). Chapter One of Myers’s Ethnomusicology: An Introduction gives a substantial historical account, and she cites Kunst as coining the term ethnomusicology, replacing the label of comparative musicology (Myers, 1992). Myers suggests that the new term ethnomusicology highlighted that the act of comparison was not a principal distinguishing feature (Myers 1993). If the scope of ethnomusicology is as Kunst suggests, a scholarly professional pursuit of music outside the Western canon, then Nettl agrees that the late nineteenth century seems about the right time in which to declare its inception. This is echoed in other texts, such as Merriam, who declares that ‘[T]he roots of ethnomusicology are usually traced back to the 1880s and 1890s’ (Merriam, 1964, p. 5).

50 Nettl offers a historical account of the growth of ethnomusicology within the Academy in Chapter Nine of his memoirs, outlining the anchoring of ethnomusicology and the subsequent program building (Nettl, 2002, pp. 149–75). Nettl goes further, stating that ‘the history of ethnomusicology in the United States is the history of the major programs at universities’ (p. 160).
Nettl presents us with an account of the lack of musical discussion within both social and cultural anthropology; this is a useful chapter in which to cross-reference ethnomusicology and anthropology (Nettl, 2002, pp. 62-73).

Those musicians who had a traditional music education appeared to be familiar with Small’s text. (Personal conversations with community musicians in the early 1990s)

I am particularly referring to the work of Titon, Bakan, Rice and Chernoff-Miller (Titon, 1988, 1992; Bakan, 1999; Rice, 1994; Chernoff-Miller, 1979).

Although Blacking agreed with the majority of Merriam’s thesis, he felt that music went further than ‘learned behaviour’ and ultimately concluded that Merriam had given insufficient attention to music itself (Blacking, 1995, p. 9).

The term musicking is described by Small as the present participle, or gerund, of the verb to music. The added k has historical antecedents (Small, 1998, p. 9).

Multiculturalism as it was articulated from the 1960s in legislation on racial equality embodied a notion of different communities evolving gradually into a harmonious society where difference was acknowledged and irrelevant (Rutherford, 1990, p. 92).

1992 saw the first ‘International Symposium on Education in Non-Western Musics in the West’ in the Utrecht, Netherlands. Renamed into the more palatable ‘Cultural Diversity in Music Education’, these symposia continue to run.


See Note 27.

Peter Renshaw and Peter Wiegold established the Performance and Communication Skills programme. Underpinning this programme is a commitment to a holistic approach spanning both the community dimension (the reaching out) and also the personal and artistic dimensions (the reaching in).

Huxley’s essay, ‘Ever get the feeling you’ve been cheated’ suggested that for some commentators, ‘punk rock was a music-based and music-centred phenomenon’, and for others it was significant as a wider subculture movement (Sabin, 1999, p. 81).

Much like the roots of community arts, the issues of exactly where and when punk began are hotly debated. Sabin cites a general acceptance that punk started in New York with bands like ‘Television’ and the ‘Ramones’, probably around 1973/4 (Sabin, 1999).

There were 11 million days lost to strikes in 1970, rising to 13 million in 1971 and reaching a staggering 24 million in 1972. This was the highest figure since 1926, the year of the General Strike (Gilbert and Seed, 1992, p. 38).


These three notions are drawn from Small: Explore is to try on identities to see who we think we are. To celebrate is to rejoice in the knowledge of an identity not only possessed but also shared with others. To affirm is to say this is who we are (Small, 1998, p. 95).
As a further remark pertaining to the importance of the GLC, Nicholson, the chair of the community arts Sub-Committee, wrote that the ‘immediate future progress [of community arts] will be interrupted because of the abolition of the GLC’ (Campaign for a Popular Culture, 1986).

The word animateur derives from the French animation socio-culturelle, and although the term was consciously chosen to reflect the ‘animation of people’, for many practitioners the term was problematic. Common misconception of the post led to mistakes of identity, including music ‘amateur’ and a belief that the musician worked with ‘animation’ or was an amateur. When I worked as a music animateur for Peterborough Arts Council, I had these semantic difficulties and eventually changed my job title to music development officer.

Community Music Ltd described itself as a comprehensive music resource offering a wide range of music services to the community as a whole, and particularly those disadvantaged groups who would not normally get the chance to receive professional musical guidance. Formally known as the National Jazz Centre Outreach Team, their base was in Islington, London. Community Music Ltd was project managed by Dave O’Donnell.

My own experience as a music animateur, circa 1993 to 1996, reinforces the structure and development of this type of work being discussed. Based at the local arts centre in Peterborough, the post I held was managed in partnership by the local Arts Council, the City Council, the Regional Arts Board and the County Council. Members of the community contributed to the steering group, and the funding was generated from three main sources: the Regional Arts Board, the County Council, and the Local Authority.

This second national event took place in the North-East city of Middlesborough in November 1991, and attempted to address issues on two distinct fronts. Firstly, it addressed the creation of radical alternatives for music-making. The emphasis was working in new contexts and allowing the community to lead to work. Secondly, the conference addressed disadvantage and prejudice.

See Drummond, John, 1991. The Community Musician: training a new professional. Oslo: The Norwegian Affiliation of International Society for Music Education. Although an international publication, UK community musicians have a prominence within this ISME report. Joss, Price, Kushner and Higham all attended, and have all played a key role in the growth of Community Music in the UK. Joss’s paper ‘Different Drummers: Developing Community Music in Britain’ is a forerunner to his ‘Short History of Community Music’. Price’s ‘A View from the Workshop Floor’ introduces a method of practice, and Higham attempts to put philosophy and practice to the test. Kushner presents an evaluation of performing artists in the community (Drummond, 1991). All four of these papers have the hallmarks of community arts practice and all three are decidedly British in their character and outlook.

Although located within an HEL the initial advertisement for the Liverpool Institutes for Performance Arts degree in Performing Arts: Community Arts described itself as being ‘unique in providing training in community arts within an integrated degree’ (Owen, 1995, p. 16).

Making A Difference with Music was published in 2000 and was designed to particularly target potential music students (Making A Difference with Music, 2000). As well as profiling practitioners and artists such as ‘Asian Dub Foundation’, this glossy brochure offered a boiled-down version of Which Training?

Irene MacDonald took over as chair of Sound Sense from David Price in 1994.

The third national Community Music conference took place in the East of England during a snowy November weekend in 1993. Stoke Rochford Hall played host and the overarching theme was ‘New Horizons’. The key area for discourse oscillated around partnerships, or more specifically preparing the ground for partnerships: for example, the Arts Council and Regional Arts Boards, Europe, education, promoters, music therapy, dance and mime, and new music technology.

Beyond national lines, the definition debate continues to reflect the diversity of the work and the incommensurable contexts in which practice happens. The CMA’s policy to create an inclusive set of
3. The Condition of Community MUSIC and its Traits of Practice

1 Derridean notions pack together, and it is common to find the same gesture called a different name. For example, Derrida says in Of Grammatology that ‘supplement, [is] another name for differance’ (OG, p. 150). Although this is the case and Derrida’s constancy stems from this fact, this thesis will use individual terms and gestures without always referring to its other(s). In so doing, a deconstructive vision of Community Music will be more straightforward to present.

2 The ‘re’ is bracketed here because of the general law of iterability to be discussed in Section 2: Context. In short (re) indicates that Community Music never has been separated from MUSIC and therefore it is not being reintegrated.

3 Derrida understands the origin as self-generative and therefore able to break the continuity of a linear and anticipated future. This is contrasted to the notion of genesis that is understood as being borne by something other than itself. For a detailed discussion on Derrida’s perspective of both the origin and on genesis see Marrati’s Genesis and Trace (Marrati, 2005).

4 Derrida comments that he will ‘always distinguish affirmation from the position of a positivity’ (SA, p. 26).

5 There is a strong etymological relation between ‘come’ and ‘event’ in French: viens and événement belong to the same family as venir, the verb ‘to come’ (Hart, 2004).

6 In terms of infrastructures, preontological indicates that an infrastructure must not be of the nature of the opposites for which it accounts, otherwise it would belong to the order of what it comes to explain. The infrastructure must be thought of as proceeding, in a non-temporal way, one might say the alternative between presence and absence, and in this sense of the ontico-ontological difference. (Ontic: statements about some entity or other; Ontological: statements concerning the being of such entities).

7 The laws that Community Music as an infrastructure formulates must account for the differences of the current understanding of MUSIC and therefore cannot reside in a logical principle.

8 As neither present nor absent, sensible nor intelligible, empirical nor transcendental, infrastructures are instances of an intermediary discourse (see Gasché, 1986, pp. 151-3).

9 They are economic in that they represent clusters of possibilities and serve to reinforce deconstruction’s affirmative action (see Gasché, 1986, pp. 153/4).

10 Geoffrey Bennington describes Gasché’s work as ‘explicitly and unashamedly a rephilosophizing of Derrida’ (Bennington, 2000, p. 155). In an interview with Derek Attridge entitled ‘This Strange Institution Called Literature’, Derrida stated that ‘[T]he word infrastructure troubles me a bit’ (AL, p. 70). Although this might be so, Gasché’s notion of infrastructure has been helpful to me and provides a good metaphor by which to understand some of my points.

11 In order to differentiate the condition of ‘Community Music’ from the traits of ‘Community Music’, I have employed two distinct marks: Community MUSIC as its condition and Community Music as its practice. When referring to the condition I will use Elliott’s MUSIC to signify a diverse human practice plus the prefix ‘Community’ in italics and in an alternative font. Within my final formulation of the condition of ‘Community Music’, the prefix ‘Community’ is under erasure, both necessary and un-
necessary; the alternative look clarifies intention. Throughout the process of writing this chapter, I have experimented with the visual appearance of Community MUSIC. The most satisfying of these employed the dissolving effect produced by altering the text’s effect. This effect was purely telematic and thus unable to be printed, so I have opted for a printable solution.

12 Derrida’s later work on religion and the commentaries that follow play host to this idea in terms of a call to the Messiah (see GD, AR; Hart, 2004, pp. 87–128; Caputo, 1997).

13 Derrida utilizes the idea of the ‘atomic structure’ in the essay ‘Différence’ (Diffé, p. 26).

14 Derrida refers to the ‘structuring’ or ‘structurality’ as the initial process of manufacturing and setting up meaning.

15 The etymon of logocentrism is derived from the ancient Greek for ‘word’, logos. John 1:1 ff. ‘In the beginning was the Word (Logos), and the Word was with God, and the Word was God’ (Life Application Bible, 1992, p. 1861). The term ‘the Word’ was used by Jews and Greeks as an agent of creation. 1992. Life Application Bible. Eastbourne: Kingsway Publications.

16 The word ‘centre’ is described by the Chambers English Dictionary as ‘the middle point of anything ... a fixed point of reference: the point towards which all things move or are drawn’ (Chambers English Dictionary, 1990, p. 231).


18 The opposite of undecidability is not ‘decisiveness’ but programmability, calculability, computerizability, or formalizability (NS, p. 137).

19 Using the case of Abraham as an example, Derrida suggests that he accepted his responsibility to God by heading off towards the absolute request of the other, beyond knowledge. Although Abraham has made the decision, his absolute decision ‘is neither guided nor controlled by knowledge’ (GD, p.77).

20 Theuth was the Greek name for the Egyptian god Thoth, the ‘scribe of the gods’, to whom was attributed the invention of writing (Plato, 1973, p. 96). The myth says that Theuth dwelt at Naucratis and was one of the old gods of Egypt. In order to gain approval for his inventions, which had included ‘numbers and calculations, geometry and astronomy, draughts and dice and above all writing’, Theuth needed the approval of his father, the great God of all Upper Egypt, Thamus (PP, p. 75).

21 The ‘difference of difference’ is a challenging collection of words that alerts us to the hierarchical assumptions often meant when one utters the word different. For example man is different to woman”, or Whites are different to Blacks The pharmakon as undecidable refutes polar opposites and moves between the folds contaminating each term with the trace of the Other.

22 There is no claim here that the word pharmakon is special, it is merely illustrative of the perils of translation.

23 Further discussions surrounding translations can be found in The Ear of the Other (EO, pp. 93–61).

24 Two translations of this essay exist: 1. ‘Difference’ appearing in Speech and Phenomena and Other Essays on Hussel’s Theory of Signs (1973) and ‘Différence’ in Margins of Philosophy (1982). Overall, I have chosen to use ‘Difference’ because the English translation of the term itself retains the writing/speech pun.

25 Derrida talks of difference as quasi-transcendental, which means it can never form a stable ground although it always conditions our speech and writing. In this way a quasi-transcendental idea ‘shuttles between what would be traditionally distinguished as transcendental and empirical planes, asserting the priority of neither and the subordination of both to a wider movement’ (Bennington, 2000, p. 19).
Lucy suggests that the spelling software on most PCs operates logocentrically, automatically adjusting the wrong spelling of the word difference, forcing a disappearance of the word and demanding one to ‘write over what has been written into the program’ (Lucy, 2004, p. 26). I have certainly found this to be true during this chapter, endeavouring to constantly check my ‘mis-spelt’ words!

The trait is seen as ‘an indiscreet and overflowing insistence … an over-abundant remanence … an intrusive repetition’ (Reynolds and Roffe, 2004, p. 87. See MB, TP, SA).

Gr. Beginning, origin; ruling principle (Mautner, 2000, p. 37).

See Note 11.

From the Greek rhiza, meaning root, a ‘rhizome’ is an underground root-like stem bearing both roots and shoots.

As an always already manifestation of music housed within a rhizomatic structure, the traits of Community Music are of course located in all other forms of musical doing. They may not be emphasized but they are there.

In deconstruction, ‘writing’ (or language) serves as grounds of Being, while in Husserlian and Heideggerian phenomenology and other forms of ‘logocentric’ philosophy Being grounds and precedes language. Derrida announces that ‘there is no linguistic sign before writing’ (OG, p. 14).

Gasché offers an insightful explanation to the re-mark (Gasché, 1986, pp. 217–24).

During the interview ‘following theory’ Derrida responds to a question from Christopher Norris as regards his often misunderstood quotation, ‘[T]here is nothing outside of the text’ (OG, p. 158). He affirms, ‘I didn’t mean “text” in the sense of what is written in a book; I first generalized the concept of text, of trace – “text” is not just, say, literature or philosophy but life in general’ (Payne and Schad, 2004, p. 27).

Derrida gives some detail as regards the etymology of the word, showing its sources in both French and Italian (SAA, p. 64).

The idea of support was also introduced in The Post Card. Derrida says a postcard must be made of something, ‘the cardboard is firmer, it preserves, it resists manipulations; and then it limits and justifies, from the outside, by means of the border, the indigence of the discourse …’ (En, p. 22).

Derrida makes use of this word in ‘The Double Session’, intrinsically describing it as ‘first of all a sign of fusion, the consummation of marriage, the identification of two beings, the confusion between the two’ (DS, p. 209).

Aletheia was the Greek word for truth. According to Heidegger, for the Greeks truth means ‘to take out of concealment, uncovering, unveiling’ (Heidegger, 1988, p. 218).

J.L. Austin was an Oxford don of ‘ordinary language’ philosophy. He investigated the nature of ideas like perception, knowledge intention, act or freedom, concepts that interested philosophers and examined their usages in ordinary language. He introduced the idea of performative speech acts, meaning that ‘we do not only say something, but do something’.

Austin’s ‘speech act theory’ attempts to account for the ‘the illocutionary force of an utterance’ ultimately understanding context as the master of meaning.

Austin’s opposition between serious language and non-serious language has been treated in the same way as writing has been treated in relation to speech throughout the metaphysical philosophical tradition (OG).
42 According to Culler, context is boundless in two senses: firstly, any given context is open to further description; secondly, any attempt to codify context can always be grafted on to the context it seeks to describe, yielding a new context that escapes the previous formulation (Culler, 1983, pp. 123/4).

43 As Kamuf explains, the ‘postal principle’ subsumes and replaces Freud’s ‘pleasure principle’. Whereas the pleasure principle is conceived as regulating the ‘psychic apparatus’ from within, Derrida’s postal principle traverses the whole field of message transmission, of delegation and representation (Kamuf, 1991, p. 459). The Post Card implies the postal principle as traversing the history of Western metaphysics from Socrates to Freud and beyond.

44 Arrivant can mean ‘arrival’, ‘newcomer’, or ‘arriving’. (A, p. 86).

45 Corn munis. Common + Defence.

46 Corn munnus. Having common duties or functions. Doing one’s duty to the whole, mutual service.

47 In The Ritual Process, Victor Turner isolates three approaches to communitas: Existential or spontaneous, normative and ideological (Turner, 1969, p. 120).

48 Étranger like the Greek xeno covers the word ‘stranger’ and foreigner’ in English. As well as meaning ‘the stranger’ or ‘the foreigner’, l’etranger is also equivalent in English to the word ’abroad’ (OH, p. ix).

49 Derrida considers the name ‘cities of refuge’ inscribed in the constitution of the International Parliament of Writers.

50 Kristeva’s Strangers to Ourselves offers a further insight in the notion of hospitality, cosmopolitanism, strangers and foreigners. Pertinent here is her chapter that tracks some of these ideas through Kant, Rousseau, Herder and Freud (Kristeva, 1990).

51 Hospitality, the welcome extended by the host to the guest, is the function of the power of the host to remain master of the premises: the act of giving to strangers while remaining in control, self-referencing. The host has the power to host someone, so neither the Other of the stranger nor the power of the host is diminished in any way. This self-limitation preserves a distancing between one’s own (self, property, etc.) and the stranger.

52 Derrida refers to organizations such as The Charter for the Cities of Refuge and The International Agency for Cities of Refuge.

53 If absolute hospitality says ‘yes’ to the arrivant, what are the implications to this promise? The word ‘yes’ inaugurates the future to come, a promise that cannot be guaranteed, and a responsibility that always includes the possibility of turning out otherwise. Every ‘yes’ is structured by iterability (see Section viii). ‘[Y]ou cannot say “yes” without saying “yes, yes”’ (VR, p. 27). Derrida offers the example of the wedding vow, suggesting that when one says, ‘Yes, I will’, one is implying, ‘I will say “I will” tomorrow’, and consequently confirm my promise (VR, p. 27). Without reaffirming the original ‘Yes’ there will be no promise, and, much like tradition, ‘Yes’ keeps in advance the memory of its own beginning. Unlike Heidegger’s Versammlung, a gathering of beings united in common spirit, one might argue that a genuine community is founded on a promise. A community’s inaugurate ‘Yes’ (or ‘Yes, yes’ ) should promise to uphold an openness and maintain relations with others whoever they may be and whenever they may unpredictably come along. It is this relationship and not the laws of the nation or one’s cultural traditions that binds one to a sense of community.

55 Has not Heidegger, as he always does, skewed the asymmetry in favour of what he in effect interprets as the possibility of favour itself, of the accorded favour, namely, of the accord that gathers or collects while harmonizing? (SOM, p. 27).

56 Corlett explores the notion of community against the Derridean gift, using the idea of extravagance to signify ‘the madness of losing oneself in the practice of everyday life’ (Corlett, 1993, p. 211).

57 In *Politics of Friendship*, Derrida notes that the surplus of democracy, the excess of freedom and reaffirmation of the future is not ‘very promising for the community, communication, the rules and maxime of communicational action (PF, p. 40).

58 Derrida utilizes the phrase ‘community of those without community’ and attributes these words to Bataille (PF, p. 37, pp. 46/7).

59 Derrida suggested that without the political or social signature there would be no work of art: ‘There needs to be a social “community” that says this thing has been done … the signature does not exist before the countersignature’ (SA, p. 18).

60 Cooke and Kothari present three perspectives of the word ‘tyranny’: 1. Tyranny of decision-making and control. 2. The tyranny of the group. 3. Tyranny of method (Cooke and Kothari, 2002, pp. 7/8).

61 Sets of knowledges that have been disqualified or buried through particular historical perspectives.

62 Barthes reminds us in *Image, Music, Text* that the original meaning of the word ‘text’ is ‘a tissue, a woven fabric’ (Barthes, 1977, p. 159).

63 In the first instance, the text as ‘work’ becomes an autonomous idea, a work of pleasure (*plaisir*) linked to the comfortable practice of reading. In the second instance, the writerly ‘text’ finds bliss (*jouissance*) and pursues representation. This leads the reader towards meaning through the author’s deception. The readerly text creates an illusion that appears to be a product of a singular voice and directly underplays the force of intertextuality, while the writerly text advocates the condition of intertextuality. In relation to the readerly texts, Barthes uses the term *doxa* to suggest that stable meaning is possible and that a signified can be found or the text’s signifier. In the notion of the writerly ‘text’ Barthes finds a blissful state and utilizes the term *para-doxa* to denote that writerly texts resist and disturb the forms and codes of culture (Allen, 2000).

64 See Hatten’s exploration of the intertextuality in Beethoven and Mahler (Hatten, 1985).

65 Bakhtin’s work sought to replace Saussure’s ‘neutral’ formalism with ‘a socio-ideologically aware linguistic theory which could take account of language’s value-laden nature’ (Vice, 1997).

66 Kristeva introduces the concepts of the ‘subject of the enunciation’ and the ‘subject of the utterance’ as an attempt to both clarify and extend Bakhtinian theory. Allen clarifies the distinction: ‘[W]e can note that the important distinction between utterance and [enunciation] is that the former term links that uttered to its human originator, whereas the latter term concentrates attention onto the verbal entity itself’ (Allen, 2000, p. 40).

67 Bakhtin’s notion of dialogism translates as ‘double-voicedness’. Bakhtin uses the term to refer to particular instances of language perceptible in novels and popular speech. Dialogism is used to refer to the defining qualities of language itself in its most fundamental sense-making capacity (Vice, 1997, pp. 45–111).

68 Its application has three levels: 1. Within any code of conduct there will arise conflicts among ultimate values of morality that neither theoretical nor practical reasoning can resolve. 2. Each set of values is internally complex and inherently pluralistic. These contain conflicting elements, some of which are constitutive incommensurables (essentially having no common standard of measurement, not comparable in respect of magnitude or value). For example, equality of opportunity still contains rival equalities if a breakdown of analysis is carried out. Values such as equality of opportunity are not harmonious wholes but arenas of conflict and incommensurability. Different cultural forms generate
different moralities and values and contain many overlapping features, but also specify different and incommensurable excellences, virtues and conceptions of the good.

60 According to Gray, Berlin's pluralism distinguishes his liberalism starkly from that of John Stuart Mills. Mills's liberalism diverges from Bentham's utilitarianism. Millian liberalism tends towards human diversity, and he advocates a tolerance for minority ideas and lifestyles. Mills said, '[A] pluralist society is a healthy one, partly because it provides an arena in which "truth" will ultimately triumph over falsehood. There's more to morality than majority rule' (Robinson and Groves, 1999, p. 101). Mills modifies Bentham's original utilitarian doctrine. (See also Delanty, 2003, pp. 72-91).

61 As a term utilized in the musical sense, denotes a regularly recurring melody such as a chorus of a song. Its etymological roots stem from the Latin refringere meaning to break into pieces. For Deleuze and Guattari the refrain has three ingredients that are not successive in their moments: they are 'aspects of a single thing' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 312). The refrain is a point of stability, a circle of property, and an opening to the outside. It is an assemblage organized as an infra-assemblage, an intra-assemblage, and inter-assemblage. Each of these assemblages has respectively directional components (infra-assemblage), dimensional components (intra-assemblage) and passages of flight (inter-assemblage).

62 The concept of nomadic thought is ideal for Deleuze and Guattari as it is tied to no particular system or source of authority: nomads have no points, paths or land. Nomadism breaks down the territorial imperative, destroying the basis of authority.

63 These terms were being used by the likes of Paynter and Aston in the late 1960s and during the 1970s. The classroom was transformed into a 'workshop' space and children explored music in ways that were new to the British music education system. (See Pitts, Stephanie, 2000).

64 From the form hosti-pets, power of hospitality.

65 Derrida notes, '[T]hose who are deported, expelled, rootless, nomads, all share two sources of sighs, two nostalgias: their dead ones and their language' (OH, p. 87). In this rubric, the teletechnologies such as e-mails and the Internet (In Of Hospitality Derrida considers the parasite guest invading the home through phone tapping (OH, pp. 55-65) are the very rootlessness of place, but it is language that resists all mobility. Derrida suggested that, whatever the form of exile, 'language is what one keeps for oneself', a mother tongue that one wears as a second skin (Dufourmantelle highlights Derrida's interest in the Levinas sentence '[T]he essence of language is friendship and hospitality' (OH, p. 98) (OH, p. 82).

66 Derrida considers the French word cadeau as stemming from catena, meaning chain (GT, p. 12, NS, p. 142).

67 Mauss published The Gift in 1925.

68 During the seven years of auditioning for the undergraduate community arts course at the Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts, this became known as 'The Miss World Syndrome'.

69 Within the impossible moment of gift giving, Derrida places the act of death (GD, 1995). Death is always absolutely singular: '[E]ven if one gives me death to the extent that it means killing me, that death will still have been mine and as long as it is irreducibly mine I will not have received it from anyone else' (GD, p. 44). Derrida concludes that dying can never be taken, borrowed, transferred, delivered, promised, or transmitted, '[A]nd just as it can't be given to me, so it can't be taken away from me (GD, p. 44).

80 From the French supplément, meaning both addition and replacement.
According to Leitch, the work of Rousseau is selected because '[M]ore than any other between the late Renaissance and early Modernist period, it organizes an energetic defence of phonocentric and logocentric notions about writing' (Leitch, 1983, p. 170).

Rousseau’s work challenged some of the basic Enlightenment tenets; he was one of the Enlightenment’s formidable contemporary critics, outlining his main theme against the corruption of morals due to the trappings of culture. As an influence on the work of Levi-Strauss, Rousseau set about celebrating the original, natural, uncivilized man, the noble savage who was innocent of the ills of modern society. In short Rousseau yearned to return to a natural state of idyllic simplicity and innocence. He says of his contemporary philosophers, '[T]hey study human nature in order to speak knowledgeably about it, not in order to know themselves; their efforts were directed to the instruction of others and not to their own inner enlightenment' (Spencer and Krauze, 2000, p. 129).

Rousseau believes that melody is central because it is present to the natural voice: '[M]usic is born of the voice and not of sound' (In Discourse on Arts and Sciences Rousseau presents two chapters on music: Chapter 12, ‘The Origin of Music and its Relations’, and Chapter 19, ‘How Music is Degenerated’) (OG, p. 195). According to Rousseau, harmony is unnatural because it depends upon notation, and that is a form of writing. Rousseau suggested that as civilization became more complex, written harmonies replace the innocent grace of natural speech song, melody (see On the Origin of Language, Chapters 12-19, Rousseau, 1986).

In Confessions, Rousseau longs for the love of his stepmother, thus revealing a man who constantly supplements his desire for the one he wants through a world of fantasy and masturbation (Rousseau, 1953). Rousseau comments that '[T]his vice, which shame and timidity find so convenient, has a particular attraction for lively imaginations' (Rousseau, 1953, p. 109). ‘And indeed it is a question of the imaginary’, comments Derrida. '[T]he supplement that “cheats” maternal “nature” operates as writing, and the writing is dangerous to life’ (OG, p. 151). Johnson suggested that '[M]asturbation is both a symbolic form of ideal union, since in it the subject and object are truly one', continuing, '[J]ust as speech was shown to be structured by the same difference as writing, so, too, the desire to process a “real” woman is grounded in distance’ (D, p. xii).

See On the Origin of Language, where Rousseau describes why modern language is corrupt because it has departed from its original purpose (Rousseau, 1986). Gasché usefully summarizes both Saussure’s and Rousseau’s arguments concerning the origin of speech: 1. The supplement and writing are totally exterior and inferior to the origin and to speech, which are thus not affected by them and remain intact. 2. They are harmful because they are separate from the origin and thereby corrupt living speech. 3. If one needs to fall back on the supplement or on writing, it is not because of their intrinsic value but because the origin was already deficient, and because living speech was already finite before it became supplemented by writing (Gasché, 1986, p. 132).

Saussure describes two systems of writing: firstly, an ideographic system, and secondly, a system based on phonetics (Saussure, 1966). Writing is therefore described as a system and according to Saussure’s and Rousseau’s arguments concerning the origin of speech: 1. The supplement and writing are totally exterior and inferior to the origin and to speech, which are thus not affected by them and remain intact. 2. They are harmful because they are separate from the origin and thereby corrupt living speech. 3. If one needs to fall back on the supplement or on writing, it is not because of their intrinsic value but because the origin was already deficient, and because living speech was already finite before it became supplemented by writing (Gasché, 1986, p. 132).

‘Language and writing are two distinct systems of sign: the second exists for the sole purpose of representing the first’ (Saussure, 166, p. 23). In this respect, writing is bereft of the life of the logos, ‘Writing in general is interpreted as an imitation, a duplicate of the living voice or present logos’ (DS, p. 185). Focusing on Saussure’s hierarchical presentation of speech and writing, Derrida recalls the Aristotelian definition, ‘“[S]poken words are symbols of mental experience and written words are the symbols of spoken words”’ (OG, p. 30). Derrida is concerned that these notions are only representative of a certain type of writing, that of phonetic writing. He suggests that we should be suspicious of this.
During his interview with Kristeva, Derrida states that ‘Saussure, for essential, and essentially metaphysical, reasons had to privilege speech’ (Pos, p. 21). Elaborating this account, Derrida suggests that Saussure ‘turned away from the ‘most fruitful paths (formalization) towards a hierarchizing teleology’ (Pos, p. 21). Derrida describes writing’s fallen secondarily as a ‘signifier of the signifier’; speech has presence and writing absence (OG, p. 7).

87 Although speech is given privilege as a more direct expression of the self, Rousseau admits that he finds expression more successful by writing (D, 1981). Rousseau says: ‘[I] would love society like others; if I were not sure of showing myself not only at a disadvantage, but as completely different from what I am. The part that I have taken of writing and hiding myself is precisely the one that suits me. If I were present, one would never know what I was worth’ (OG, p. 142).

88 Derrida distinguishes between logocentric ‘writing’, which names an instrument, a phonetic­alphabetic script, that conveys the spoken word, and the grammatological or poststructuralist ‘writing’, which designates the primary processes that produce language. Derrida’s Grammatology replaces Semiology. Writing therefore appears as a palaeonymic (From the Greek palaios, meaning ancient, an old name, a name under sous rature (OGG, p. 18)) Difference is also described as a palaeonymic supplement substitution, an old name with new uses, no longer designating scripting rather than speaking, but the undecidable plays in both.

89 According to Derrida, the logic of haunting is not just larger and more powerful than an ontology or a thinking of being, it would harbour within itself eschatology and teleology, comprehending them but incomprehensibly (SOM, p. 10).

90 Derrida describes the polysemic of the fold in ‘The Double Session’ (D, pp. 175–286).

91 Derrida had previously discussed Heidegger’s assumptions that art is the ‘appearance of truth’, and later offered a critique on his ‘The Origin of the Work of Art’ (Pos, p. 11, TP, pp. 255–382). Like other aspects of the phenomenological project, Derrida supposes that Heidegger’s interrogation of art as a ‘history of truth’ proposes to think behind metaphysics (P, p. 30). Accordingly Leitch suggests that Heidegger’s ‘sign is by nature ontological, epistemological as well as linguistics’ (Leitch, 1983, p. 239). Heidegger had stressed the work-being of the art work, de-emphasizing the role of the artist and the traditional decorative status of the art object. In summary to logocentric understandings of art, Derrida suggests that ‘[O]ne makes of art in general an object in which one claims to distinguish an inner meaning’ (P, p. 22). With similarity to other poststructural thinkers, Derrida renounces this notion and claims ‘that the origin of the artist is the work of art, the origin of the work of art is the artist, “neither is without the other” ’ (P, p. 32).

92 Derrida’s examination of the frame highlights the importance of both theory and art and the problems arising in the various types of frame used to distinguish art from its environment.

93 This clarifies the Derridean centre, a centre that is within the structure and also outside the structure. Derrida articulates this idea: ‘[T]he centre is at the centre of the totality, and yet, since the centre does not belong to the totality, the totality has its centre elsewhere’ (SSP, p. 352). While simultaneously governing the structure, the centre in fact escapes structurality. Absence then ‘assures the presentation of truth’, and it is the notion of full-presence that entailed its distortions (D, p. xi). Oppositional concepts are of themselves never just a face-to-face engagement of two terms, but instead ‘a hierarchy and an order of subordination’ (Diffé, p. 329).

94 For example, participation is a feature of Community Music but through iterability has been always-already a condition of other (if not all) types of music-making. It is not unique to Community Music, and its appearance as a trait is therefore also as a retrait.
4. A Case Study: The Peterborough Community Samba Band

1 Originally, from Essex, I had moved around the country for my studies and employment. Before arriving in Peterborough I had been previously employed as a musician with the Community Dance Team based at Dundee Repertory Theatre in Scotland.

2 Percussion classes quite different from mine had happened in Peterborough before. Amanda Stuart had been Music Animateur during 1990–2 and had developed Percussion Works. Her emphasis was on composition, and her 'Peterborough performs Repercussion' was reported by the Peterborough Evening Telegraph in an article 'Musicians Strike Out!' (Musicians Strike Out, 1990). Her overall aims and objectives for Percussion Works were very different from the Peterborough Community Samba Band.

3 Finnegan explored the music-making of Milton Keynes, England's most famous New Town.

4 Documentation collected from Peterborough Arts Centre's archive on 2 April 2004. Because Peterborough Arts Council had been dissolved, all its archive material had been boxed up and stored. The archive was due for disposal later that month (April), so I was able to physically remove the material that was most important to this project.

5 Interviews and questionnaires were undertaken during the period of April and May 2004.

6 Personal reflections and documentation such as newspaper cuttings, promotional leaflets, posters, and reports spanning the twelve-year period since the band's inception.

7 The recording had the contributions of nineteen players.

8 Godlovitch's philosophical study of musical performance analyzes the nature of performance under the subheadings of musicians, musical activities, works, listeners and performance communities (Godlovitch, 1998).

9 For further reading on drum 'n' bass, see State of Bass by Martin James (James, 1997).

10 Peterborough Arts Council, Grant Application Form 1994/95.

11 Claudio Kron Do Brazil and Atribo Macaca Band. The 'Thrill of Brazil' was Claudio's first gig in the UK (Higgins, 2004a, p. 6).

12 There are 180 bands registered to the UK samba website www.sambistas.org.uk

13 Sambista is a Brazilian term for a person who plays percussion in a samba band or dances the samba. Originally, this profession was a male-only bastion (Shaw, 1999, p. 15).

14 London has the largest population of Brazilians, and consequently G.R.E.S Unidos de Londres (London School of Samba) appears to have been the UK's first samba school, formed in 1984.

15 Later renamed Inner Sense, this group from Manchester extensively toured the UK, performing in a wide variety of venues.


The Portuguese landed by chance on Brazilian soil in 1500. The aboriginal inhabitants had their own music—usually songs that celebrated the beauty of the natural elements, or religious rites.

Fryer notes that there are many terminological problems with the name *batuque*. He unravels some of these in the chapter 'The African Dance Heritage' (Fryer, 2000, pp. 86–108).

From the Yoruba òrìṣà.

Each òrìṣà was identified with one or more Roman Catholic saints.

Fryer notes that *candomblé* is not 'a mere collection of superstitions' and therefore a cult. *Candomblé* is according to Fryer 'a coherent philosophy of man's fate and the cosmos' (Fryer, 2000, p. 13).

*Candomblé* is a blending of Black African Spiritism and Portuguese Catholicism. *Candomblé* has close links with samba, and both were outlets for black self-expression at the beginning of the twentieth century (See Fryer, 2000, pp. 18–26).

Da Matta offers a useful analysis of the relationship between the house and the street in the chapter 'The Many Levels of Carnival' (Da Matta, 1991, pp. 61–115).

Fryer notes that the Brazilian slave trade was outlawed in 1830 but not stamped out until the 1850s. African slaves were, however, illegally imported into Brazil from Africa between 1831 and 1851. The 'currency' of slaves then continued between 1851 and 1885 as an inter-provincial slave trade (Fryer, 2000, pp. 5–8).

Ciata's real name was Hilária Bastista de Almeida (1854–1924).

Shaw suggested that her marriage to a policeman might have helped her in the promotion of black ceremonies (Shaw, 1999, p. 4).

Someone from the city of Rio de Janeiro.

Shaw suggested that the scholar N'Totilu N'Landu-Longa came up with an alternative suggestion in 1978. He suggested that the word *samba* derives from the Kikongo word *samba*, meaning originally the initiation group in which a person becomes competent for political, social and religious functions (Fryer, 2000, p. 103).

Hillside shanty towns.

The interior north-eastern state of Brazil.

The *Lundu* is noted as Brazil's first national dance, and pioneered the assimilation of black music into Brazil's towns and cities and therefore made a major contribution to the formation of the Brazilian musical tradition (Fryer, 2000, pp. 116–26).

A couple-dance with similarity to the 'tango' and 'polka' (Fryer, 2000, p. 154).

Shaw suggested that the congregation of a small Afro-Brazilian community in the port area and the central district of Rio ignited the samba evolution (Shaw, 1999).
41 Literally ‘the hill’, a reference to the favelas, or shanty towns where the poor people of Brazil were located.

42 The sambistas songs drew its greatest source of inspiration from the ethos of the malandragem. This style had anti-establishment discourse and offered social comment on the malandro’s negative attitude to manual labour, flouting the work ethic of the Vargas government (Shaw, 1999).

43 Pelo telefone (On the Telephone), registered in Rio’s National Library in 1916 and credited to Ernesto dos Santos, usually referred to by his nickname of Donga, was the first registered samba and hailed from the cultura afro-brasileira.

44 Those people living in the favelas were constantly subjected to authoritarian oppression and considered by the police as part of the criminal underworld.

45 During an interview with Guillermoprieto, Ismael Silva explains that the term ‘Samba School’ comes from their rehearsal space. The locals would say, ‘[T]hat’s where the professors come from’ (Guillermoprieto, 1990, p. 28).

46 When exactly Carnival begins depends on the ecclesiastical calendar: it starts at midnight of the Friday before Ash Wednesday and ends on the Wednesday night.

47 A tradition that originated in the Azores and became popular in Portugal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Entrudos meaning ‘to intrude’.

48 Shaw places it at 1900, Taylor during the early 1900s. Fryer and Vinçon and Seldon suggested that it was banned in 1853 (Shaw, 1999; Taylor, 1992; Vinçon and Seldon, 1991; Fryer, 2000).


50 Vargas rose to power in the revolution in 1930, and consolidated dictatorial authority in 1937-45. He fell from power in a 1945 coup, returned as elected president in 1951, and shot himself in office in August 1954 (McCann, 2004, p. 7).

51 See also McCann, 2004, pp. 52-4.

52 Kiel’s Urban Blues is another example of a study that explores the urban lower-class expressive male (Kiel, 1991).

53 Mangueira School claims to be the first of the schools to present the story of samba during the 1933 carnival (Guillermoprieto, 1990, p. 23).

54 Recently McCann has countered some of these claims by suggesting that ‘[I]n the case of samba, in particular, however, the extent of this repression was often greatly exaggerated by subsequent observers arguing for recognition of samba as a form of popular resistance’ (McCann, 2004, p. 44).

55 Meaning ‘the home in the meadows’ (Brandon and Knight, 2001, p. 4).


57 The best known of Peterborough’s engineering companies is Perkins Engines, now part of the global Caterpillar Group (see Brandon and Knight, 2001, pp. 58-81).

58 According to Brandon and Knight, few places in the UK had ever been transformed so much and so quickly; this was described as the ‘Peterborough Effect’ (Brandon and Knight, 2001, p. 123).

59 Peterborough’s latest township, Hampton, has 5,200 dwellings and is planned to cater for around 13,000 new residents.

61 Plenty of jobs and cheaper housing attracted young couples to move from London into New Towns.

62 A more accurate figure was given to me in April 2004 by the Town Hall. The figure 157, 962 was extracted from the 2002 census.

63 A document of 1978 reveals a Festival of Britain, an Anglo-French Festival, a Commonwealth Arts Festival and a John Clare Festival: These festivals were jointly funded by the Arts Council of Great Britain and the City Council (Greater Peterborough Arts Council, 1970).

64 See Chapter 2, Note 13, for historical perspective of art centres in the UK.

65 During 1989, both a dance animateur and a community arts worker were in place.

66 At this stage the Arts Council designated four main core activities:
   • Run the Peterborough Arts Centre
   • Programme Arts Development Work
   • Provide Grant Aid and advice for Arts activities via Umbrella Service Committee
   • Advise the City Council on Arts Planning (Peterborough Arts Council, 1993).

67 I changed the job title in 1994 to Music Development Worker. Although the term ‘animateur’ had been useful in its early manifestations, during the mid-1980s it began to lose favour and was continually misunderstood — either ‘amateur’ or one who works with ‘animation’. (See Chapter 2, Section 2, Participation.)

68 When I left Peterborough in August 1996, the council did not employ a replacement.

69 Peterborough Regional College now runs a degree course validated and linked to Loughborough University.

70 Wendy notes that there were many boys in the band, but it was particularly the girls who appeared strong minded (Davies, 2004, p. 6).

71 Annual festival in Wales in which competitions are held in music, poetry, drama, and fine arts.

72 An annual three-day workshop event that is a celebration of percussion, dance and culture from around the world. July 2004 saw the event in its ninth year, and it brought together a multitude of artists and musicians teaching everything from Bodhrán to Bata, and Djembe and Didgeridoo. Inspired by Mickey Hart’s book Drumming at the Edge of Magic, Drum Camp was founded by Gary Newland, a percussionist, teacher and founding director of Karamba World Music and Dance. Together with a group of friends, he staged the first Drum Camp in the summer of 1996 (www.musicworldwide.org).

73 There are no accurate statistics to confirm this. The figure of 400 is a conservative estimate.


75 Gamut Records was based in Cambridge.

76 The Notting Hill Carnival takes place in London on the last weekend in August. It has been running for the past forty years. Its growth has been from a small procession in the 1960s to a huge multicultural arts festival, attended by up to two million people. It retains its initial Caribbean flavour, with colourful costumes and the pulsing sounds of calypso and soca, but also now includes hip hop, house and salsa to West African drumming, costumed masquerade bands, floats, steel bands, static sound
systems, and two enormous live stages. For many people the Notting Hill Carnival has become a celebration and reflection of London's multicultural make-up.

77 'Discover Percussion', an educational percussion show designed for schools, continues today, with Martin engaged with around sixty schools a year.

78 Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1926), German poet and prose writer, and one of Heidegger’s preferred authors. Rilke tried to write of the strange moments in which the very fact of existence seemed to make itself felt.

79 From the Latin facilis, meaning ‘easiness’, ‘to make easy, promote, help forward (an action or result) (Bee and Bee, 1998, pp. 1-21).

80 Each samba school composes a 'theme' (enredo) song, and these songs are released on CD just before carnival.

81 Olodum has released around fourteen recordings. See A Musica Do Olodum, 1993; Sol E Mar; Ao Vivo Em Montreux, 1995; Liberdade, 1998; and Revolution in Motion, 1996 as representatives.

82 Timbalada has released around ten recordings. See Timbalada, 1996; Dada Cabeça and Um Mundo, 1994; Andei Road, 1995; and Mineral, 2002 as representatives.


84 One Voice Music is an arts organization established in 1996 to promote the teaching and performance of Afro-Brazilian and Afro Cuban music in the UK (www.ovm.co.uk).

85 An ensemble of drummers.

86 Dudu Tucci is a Master Percussionist who was born in Sao Paolo, Brazil. Tucci is based in Berlin but has been a regular guest teacher in Britain since 1996.

87 The samba bands in the East of England have set up a communication network to inform each other of gigs, events and workshops happening in their region. The Suffolk School of Samba, along with groups from Cambridge, Ipswich, Luton, Norfolk, King’s Lynn and Peterborough, communicate with each other through e-mail. Many sambistas come together for the Luton Carnival (May), the Bedford River Festival, as well as other carnivals in the region. The Eastern Bloco has not as yet organized events itself, but may do so in the future.

5. Through the Derridean Lens: The Peterborough Community Samba Band in Derrida-Vision

1 Derrida’s thoughts around cultures articulate this point: ‘[W]hat is proper to a culture is not to be identical to itself’ (OHE, p. 9).

2 Lyotard’s resistance to unitary ideas can be read in The Postmodern Condition, where he defines postmodern as ‘incredulity towards metanarratives’ (Lyotard, 1984, p. xxiv).

3 Derrida draws upon the work of Kierkegaard when he says, ‘the instant of the decision is madness’ (GD, p. 65; see also AR, p. 255). The decision belongs to an undecidable leap, a leap of faith, and as such ‘it can never be a certainty’ (GD, p. 80).

4 As a practice of thinking, dialectical thought is used by Hegel to make progress towards his vision of totality. Auffhebung, or sublation, is a term used to describe the organic logic that overcomes and at the same time preserves. This is often understood in the triadic structure: thesis $\rightarrow$ antithesis $\rightarrow$ synthesis (Spencer and Krause 1996). In terms of Derrida, Bennington make this point (Bennington, 2000, p. 12).
Rutherford uses the miner’s strike of 1984/5 to highlight issues pertaining to identity as non-reducible to the single logic of class. He noted that the strikes produced new revolutionary forms of politics around both class and subjectivity such as men/women, black/white, heterosexual/homosexual (Rutherford, 1990, p. 18).

Ilê Aiye president notes, ‘[W]e are rewriting history from our point of view and not from the colonizers’ point of view’ (Fryer, 2000, p. 24).

Santos Gobi suggested that punk spoke of ‘violent destruction and sadomasochism. While reggae spoke of peace and love’ (Perrone and Dunn, 2003, p. 208).

Samba reggae was first termed música-afrí, afro-primitivo and later, samba reggae (Fryer, 2000, p. 25).

Olodum was founded in 1979 as a carnival club for residents of the historic Pelourinho area in Bahia.

Rutherford exemplifies this idea with an illustration of the women’s movement of the late 1970s and early 1980s (Rutherford, 1990, p. 24). Lesbian, black and working-class feminist politics confronted feminism with their differential natures. Feminism had to recognize its feminisms.

Antonio Gramsci’s concept of ‘articulation’ helps explain this type of movement. ‘Articulation’ has become a key term in neo-Gramscian cultural studies, especially utilized by Stuart Hall, who has developed the concept to explain the processes of ideological struggle playing on its double meaning: to express and to join together (Storey, 2001, p. 106). Underpinning the cultural politics of difference, Gramsci’s comment asserts the politically negotiable and incomplete character of identity and social formations.

Brazilian carnival becomes a national symbol in the 1930s.

Fernando Ortiz was a Cuban anthropologist. The term ‘transculturation’ appears in his published work of 1940 entitled Cuban Counterpoint of Tobacco and Sugar.

Malinowski describes transculturation in his preface to Cuban Counterpoint of Tobacco and Sugar: ‘[A] process in which something is always given in exchange for what is received. It is a “give-and-take” . . . modifying each side of the equation, a process from which a new – compound and complex – reality emerges, a reality that is not a mechanical aggregate of characteristics, nor even a mosaic, but rather a new, original, and independent phenomenon’ (Vianna, 1999, p. 36).

Gilberto Freyre’s most important book is The Masters and the Slaves, published in 1933. He concluded that the co-existence, together with the sexual promiscuity, of the Portuguese and the Africans had created a unique society in which races mingled and intermarried freely (Vianna, 1999, pp. 53–66).

Small’s thesis would celebrate this as an intrinsic aspect of the musical performance (Small, 1996).

Veleso was influenced by João Gilberto, and alongside Gilberto Gil he initiated a radical new music movement, Tropicalia (McGowan and Pessanha, 1991, pp. 87–93).


In Latin, the word singuli already designates the plural, because it designates the ‘one’ as belonging to ‘one by one’. Paradoxically the singular is each one and also with and among all others (Nancy, 2000, p. 32). Heidegger formulation of Dasein (there-being) also reflects this idea.
22 The ‘eternal return’ is an idea that affirms meaning as the repetition of the instant and sets out to convey a sense of the infinite depth of the world. As dialectical thought, every moment of experience is defined as a meeting of past and future (Nietzsche, 1969, pp. 176–80).

23 A free annual fair held on the Midsummer Common, Cambridge, on the first Saturday in June for the benefit of the local community, with the children particularly in mind (www.strawberry-fair.org.uk).

24 Their website says that 'Rhythms of Resistance is a drum band that plays at demonstrations and direct actions that fall within the broad definition of 'anti-capitalist'. From Prague to Barcelona to Holland to France to good old Blighty, we've been around for a good while now and have spawned various 'sister-bands' throughout Europe and, indeed, the world. We consist of a fluid number of members from all walks of life who have an interest in empowerment for themselves and others, and in maintaining the energy of solidarity and of creative action against the interwoven constructs of those who feel like they need to suppress the humans and other animals of this beautiful planet' (www.rhythmsofresistance.co.uk).

25 The Schools Music Association ran a Profile of Fiona in their magazine. Date unknown, p. 11.

26 Access to Music now describes itself as the UK’s leading provider of popular music training (www.accesstomusic.co.uk).

27 A band formed in 1970 by Ron and Russell Mael. Most famously remembered in the UK from their Number 2 hit, ‘This Town Ain’t Big Enough For Both of Us’.

28 Madeline Hutchins, a freelance art trainer, has attempted to define some best practice in setting up carnival street drumming groups:

1. Choose an identity. Decide why you are getting together: is it for social, musical, political reasons or just for fun?
2. Evolve your membership, through workshops and performance.
3. Set up as a legal entity with a constitution (you can’t get funding without one, and it helps clarify to you and others who you are), but don’t let your constitution run your group.
4. Set up a solid organizational structure. This can act as a protective layer as your band develops. It should underpin what you do (make and perform music) not get in the way of it. People will be happier funding you if they know who’s who in your band, and how you organize yourselves (e.g. decide who organizes gigs, who deals with the finances, who is responsible for publicity etc).
5. Decide/create/evolve the style of the group. Keep some flexibility.
6. Agree how decisions are to be made, and how internal communication will work (e-mail, telephone, rehearsals, meetings etc).

6. Conclusions and Implications

1 Offers a discrete MA in Community Music.

2 Offers a Certificate in Music Workshop Skills.

3 Offers a Postgraduate Certificate in Community Music.

4 Offers a route through its Master of Music programme. Destination of MMus or Postgraduate Diploma in Community Music.

5 Are currently (2005) developing an MA in Community Music alongside the University of the Arts in Philadelphia, USA.

6 The University of Limerick offers a discrete MA in Community Music.
Examples of these dilemmas can be seen when discussing motivations for attendance at music projects. Recently a student at LIPA found this the biggest hurdle to overcome during his Community Music project. Martin Milner addresses these issues in the Chapter 'Bandwork'. (Moser and McKay, 2005, pp. 101-19).
This glossary highlights the Derridean terms used most prominently throughout this thesis. Any reader should understand that the very act of creating this list works against the Derridean project. With this in mind, these short introductions should be used as a guide by which to access some of the ideas within this thesis.

**Alterity**
The property of Otherness.

**Always-already**
A phrase that denotes the logic of *supplementarity* in which the purity of an origin is understood as already being divided and structured by what will follow from it. (See *Trace*).

**Aporia**
From the Greek *aporos*, which means 'without passage' and denotes a logical contradiction. Aporia is an expression of doubt, a perplexing difficulty. Derrida uses the word to refer to the 'blind spots' of any metaphysical argument. One might say that the aporia organizes the overall concerns of deconstruction both its conceptual strategies and its understanding of tradition and the future. Derrida's philosophy may be described as 'aporetic thinking'. Aporetic moments are something that cannot be explained within the standard rules of logic. (See *Gift*, and *Pharmakon*).

**Arrivant**
When one is open to the experience of the unpredictable future (*à venir*), one is preparing to welcome the *arrivant*. A term that means 'arrival', 'newcomer', or 'arriving', the *arrivant* is one who turns up at the door unannounced. The *arrivant* always surprises the host and therefore insists on hospitality.

**À venir**
From the French 'to come'. *À venir* is an expression that denotes the future to come. This term marks a difference between *l'avenir*, which is a predictable, programmed, scheduled, and foreseeable future. This type of future resides in the domain of the possible in the 'future present'. *À venir* is therefore the unpredictable future, a future where arrivals are unknown. Unforeseeable futures shatter the comfortable horizons of expectation that surround the present. *À venir* is located within the impossible, meaning something whose possibility we did not foresee.

**Democracy**
The question of democracy opens up the question of both the citizen as countable singularity and that of universal community. In Derrida's
hands, there cannot be democracy without respect for irreducible singularity or alterity, but equally there cannot be democracy without the community of friends. Democracy is like the notion à venir, an unpredictable future, and the promise of the unforeseeable. Democracy can therefore never fully finally arrive, it is always a promise and always to come. Democracy is entwined with the experience of the Yes.

**Differance**
Combines the French ‘to defer, postpone, delay’ and ‘to differ, to be different from’. The opposite of presence. A term that refers to the undecidability of signs, moments and events. Differance refuses assumed singularities and indicates that they are always divided both structurally and temporally. Differance marks the non-presence of the Other without which nothing could be said to have value in itself. Closely linked to the trace.

**Gift**
Gifts operate within curricular economies and bind those involved to gratitude and debt. From the moment anyone enters into gift giving something must be returned, either as another gift or as an expression of gratitude. In this sense there is no such thing as a gift, it is always gone right from the start. The gift is therefore never present, remaining always to come (à venir). However, it is the desire to give something without getting anything in return – the gift in all its impossible purity – that ignites the economy of exchange. The exteriority of the gift as an impossibility sets the circle of exchange in motion.

**Hospitality**
Derived from the Latin hospes (from the form hostis), hospitality can mean both ‘host’ and ‘stranger’ (hostile), and thus carries its opposite within itself. Hospitality, the welcome extended by the host to the guest, is the function of the power of the host to remain master of the premises; the act of the gift to strangers while remaining in control. Linked to Derrida’s work on ethical challenges, such as European policy on refugees and asylum seekers, the notion of absolute hospitality is linked to a tolerant welcoming of the unknown and anonymous Other. (See Arrivant, à venir and Democracy).

**Intertextuality**
From the word ‘text’ meaning ‘a tissue’ or a ‘woven fabric’. The results of concepts that emulated from the Enlightenment, such as unity, the autonomous, and the rational, all evoke perspectives that implement the closure of the possibility of difference. As a term, intertextuality breaks from these ideas and suggests that every text imposes a reorganization of the corpus of texts that preceded its appearance. Texts are never finished; they are always in negotiation with other texts; their pluralities are in constant tolerance with difference. (see Logocentric).
Iterability
A word that draws together the Latin iterum (once again) and the Sanscrit itara (other). The main function of the term iterability is to undermine the notion of context as self-sufficient entities. Iterability therefore suggests that although actions are context bound they also have the ability to transcend any given contextual situation. Through iterability any suggestion that context masters meaning is understood as logocentric. Iterability is another neologism that denies notions of origin and essences (see Trace, à venir and Differance).

Logocentric
From the Greek word logos, meaning word, truth, reason, and law. The ancient Greeks thought of the logos as a cosmic principle hidden deep within human beings. Logocentrism promotes binary thinking, reducing the second term in each polar pair as the negative, corrupt, and undesirable versions of the first. If you are logocentric, you believe that truth is the voice, word or the expression of a central, original and absolute Cause or Origin.

Other
The Other with a capital 'O' refers to a condition of alterity that is genuinely alien, ineffable or impossible to understand.

Parergon
From the Greek ergon meaning 'work' and parergon 'outside the work'. The parergon, like differance, and iterability, presents an opportunity to explore those fixed borders that limit the play of differences. The parergon pursues a manoeuvre that challenges the enclosure determined by the inside/outside opposition, and thus aims to recast the notion of what is meant by inside/outside. (see Supplementarity and Logocentric).

Pharmakon
A Greek word that has no proper or determinate character. Pharmakon can be translated to mean either remedy or a poison. Decisions that have determined the meaning of the word have been dictated to the reader through logocentric translations. The word pharmakon displays the characteristics of undecidability and access to this state has been denied through translation. Pharmakon should be understood as a play of possibilities, the movement back and forth, into and out of the opposites; it is (n)either, (n)or, and both.

Subjectile
Belonging to the code of painting, the subjectile designates what is between the beneath and above. It is both a support and a surface much like the porous cardboard that provides the writing surface and the support structure to a holiday postcard.
**Supplementarity**
A supplement is Derrida's term for what is added on to something in order to further enrich it, but paradoxically also what is added on as a mere 'extra'. Taking the picture frame as an example, it enriches the artwork it surrounds with its content and form, while simultaneously adding to the artwork with content and form that was not conceived as part of the artwork. Through the logic of the supplement, one is forced to consider what is intrinsic and what is extrinsic. Is the frame inside the artwork or is the frame outside the artwork? If the artwork is complete then surely there is no need for the frame? The frame demonstrates that the artwork is not complete. If the artwork were complete there would be no reason to employ a surrounding frame. To be an addition means to be added to something already complete, yet it cannot be complete if it needs an addition. (see Difference, Parergon and Trace).

**Trace**
The trace denotes a ghostly presence of things from the past and spectres of the future that inhabit any temporal presence. The trace marks the impossibility of the origin and establishes a relation between temporalization as spacing (see Differance) and the irreducibility of signification. The trace ensures that the future present is always haunted by the past and future and is therefore always different from itself. Access to the present must involve an experience of the trace and therefore a rapport with the Other.

**Undecidability**
The notion of undecidability engenders all oppositional thought. Rather than a form of indecisiveness, undecidability is a condition of all possible acting and deciding. The opposite of undecidability is not 'decisiveness' but programmability, calculability, computerizability, or formalizability. It follows that undecidability is the necessary condition of decidability and is exemplified through the process of decision making: once made, every decision could always have been otherwise. (see Yes).

**Yes**
The word ‘yes’ inaugurates the future to come (à venir), a promise that cannot be guaranteed, and a responsibility that always includes the possibility of turning out otherwise (Undecidability). Every ‘yes’ is structured by iterability. You cannot say ‘yes’ without saying ‘yes, yes’. Derrida offers the example of the wedding vow suggesting that when you say, ‘Yes, I will’, you are implying I will say ‘I will’ tomorrow and consequently confirm my promise. Without reaffirming the original ‘yes’ there will be no promise. Like the operation of the trace, ‘yes’ keeps in advance the memory of its own beginning.


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