Chapter 1

MUSIC AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF YOUTH ORCHESTRA PROJECTS

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Clarifying the concept of social inclusion

The concept of social inclusion is, necessarily, a multidimensional process. In other words, inclusion (inevitably related to exclusion) signifies a certain time span, a number of interrelated and cumulative situations, and exposure to a greater or lesser extent to systematic socialising patterns. Therefore, we may acknowledge the existence of inclusion whenever someone possesses economic, but also cultural, social, political, and not least, symbolic resources (Bourdieu, 1989), enabling a condition (objective side), and a feeling (subjective side) of belonging to a whole, be it a group, social class, institution, organization or country. Another way of approaching this issue is to think about inclusion within a system of inequalities, i.e., a systemic and relational vision that intersects social class inequalities with other types of inequalities that are substantively as important as those that lie at the origins of ethnic, gender, and sexual orientation. Such inequalities interact and interfere with each other (Bihr & Pfefferkorn, 2008), according to particular configurations (coherent sets of relationships), historical moments, and life cycles of individual pathways.

Originally, the binomial inclusion/exclusion was associated with a certain relaxation in the more structural visions of social inequalities and includes a semantic ambiguity, homogenizing a diversified continuum of situations. This notion began being widely applied in the context of the "new public management" to account for dysfunctions between the achieved results and the intended objectives and in view of a certain spending of public resources. Such an administrative vision overlooks, either implicitly or explicitly, the deepest reasons for the inclusion/exclusion condition in favour of the idea of fragmentation and individualization of the social relationships. As if, all of a sudden, the world might simply be divided into included and excluded people, with no origin, process, context or incorporation.

In the scope of this study, inclusion is approached:

i) As a (dynamic) process and not as a (fixed) state, as a moment in someone's trajectory and not as a bureaucratic classification;

ii) As the intersection of diverse inequalities and disparities in the production/distribution/ownership of resources;

iii) As a *continuum* of situations rather than a homogenous designation;

iv) As a condition that connects an objective position with one's life conditions but also as a feeling, a perception, an identity representation;

v) As an attribute recognisable by the others (hetero image) but equally as a condition for the production of autonomy and of a sense of legitimacy of the place in the world (therefore the crucial importance of the symbolic power);

vi) As a set of durable and structured dispositions (ways of feeling, acting, thinking, and doing)[1], that may be mobilised in plural contexts (family, friends, school, orchestra...), and activated in the body (postures, non-verbal languages...) and in the consciousness, or, more precisely, in the limbo between them, in that sort of interstice where the practical, common and daily acting emerges;

vii) As a set of shared, transferable, social resources, mediated by pedagogical practices and discourses, prone to multiplication over the course of the interaction.

In order to happen, inclusion therefore requires "playing on several boards" to nurture effects of contamination and dragging amongst different spheres of life producing affiliations and social integration, to be and to feel "part of", "inside of", in plenitude, i.e., without any need for either the approval of or being awarded by others.

A duly successful trajectory of social inclusion may lead to processes of social mobility whenever these encompass the incorporation of certain dispositions and skills. This is demonstrated by the cases of some students from less privileged social classes, who embark on "unexpected" or "atypical" paths of academic success and

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[1] See chapter eight for a more detailed explanation of the notions of dispositions and incorporation (internalization) and their theoretical implications

qualified and qualifying professional integration, despite deterministic prophecies perceiving only their social origins, and ignoring the guidelines for action and the power of their own projects. Hence, important factors include, for example, the capacity to manage timetables, certain stimuli for autonomy and self-organisation, interest in school life, conversations about learning experiences, care taken to provide a minimally calm environment, informal stimuli so that children read their family's mail, write notes or draft lists,. In summary, recognition within the household environment of a certain legitimacy of the school that counters the propensity towards self-depreciation and self-elimination (Lahire, 2004).

However, organisations also play a crucial role in that process. This study thus strives to understand how *Orquestra Geração* (OG) might function as a plural learning environment (socially, culturally and ethnically) within a framework of interactions that foster sociability, collaboration, the enrichment of codes and linguistics repertoires. In summary, the construction, of trajectories of social mobility.

Critical perspectives on music and social inclusion

Grasping the relationship between music and social inclusion represents the crucial goal of this study. That will help us identify aspects of the practices that take place at OG, which may suggest the social inclusion of its participants whether or not followed by processes of social mobility. Music for inclusion or the transformative power of music are flags long since hoisted but not always with the social implications that they have attained in recent decades. In general terms, the approaches have come from the domain of psychology of music, from the social psychology of music (Hargreaves & North, 1997) and, more recently, from the cultural psychology of musical education (Barrett, 2011).

DeNora (2000) played a fundamental role in the interpretation of the ways in which music marks the daily lives of individuals. Firstly, she refers to the contribution made by Adorno in terms of his commitment to studying the critical questions of fundamental importance to the human sciences. Secondly, as regards his conceptual work on the alleged role of music in the formation of social awareness, DeNora

criticises the 'grand approach' of Adorno considering that "it does not account, in any extensive manner, for how the genius of Zeitgeist[2] originally got into the bottle of music or, conversely, how music's organising properties come to be decanted into society" (DeNora, 2000: 3).

> In this regard, Adorno's work represents the most significant development in the twentieth century of the idea that music is a "force" in social life, a building material of consciousness and social structure. But because it provides no machinery for viewing these matters as they actually take place, Adorno's work also has the power to frustrate; his work offers no conceptual scaffolding from which to view music in the act of training unconsciousness, no consideration of how music gets into action. The weakness of Adorno's approach thus lies in its failure to provide some means by which its tantalizing claims can be evaluated. *idem*, 2000: 2)

DeNora maintains that the question of *process[3]* is fundamental to understanding just how the social gets inscribed into the musical and vice-versa. Only thus are we able to grasp up to what point the structural affinities between music and social formations are palpable and equally susceptible to change. Furthermore, she advances with a second path of analysis that she does not consider antagonistic to that of Adorno but simply more flexible and observable as regards this relationship between music and the social structure. In opposition to the 'grand approach', she proposes what she terms the 'small tradition' based upon, for example, the first studies by Simon Frith (1978, 1981) about the intimate involvement of young persons in music. Within this perspective,

> Music's structuring properties were understood as actualized in and through the practices of musical use, through the ways music was used and referred to by actors during their ongoing attempts to produce their social situations and themselves *as* selves. (DeNora, 2000: 5-6)

This vision helps us think in a more proximate manner within the context of this research about what might be one means of analysing the benefits of high art music as the predominant repertoire in the set of works played by OG, and the ways in

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[2] The word Zeitgeist, "the spirit of the time", usually appears in the literature in the original language.
[3] In *italics* in the work by DeNora