Polarizing interpretations of society as a challenge for music education.
Polarisierende Deutungen von Gesellschaft als Herausforderung für die Musikpädagogik

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*Hegemony in German School Music
Education and Music Teacher Training?*

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Hegemony in German School Music Education and Music Teacher Training? An Analysis of Current Curricula

Our analysis of study opportunities related to learning an instrument or voice as a main subject has shown that music teacher training in Germany (still) has hegemonic structures, as not all musicians have access to the music teaching profession (Buchborn, 2019). At many universities and conservatories study opportunities are limited to the "traditional" spectrum of instruments, which is oriented towards the canon of the conservatories as former orchestra academies.

In this paper, we take a look at documents that reflect the framing conditions of these practices: Which implicit or explicit concept of music can be reconstructed in curricula for music in school and for music teacher training at universities? Does our document analysis reveal hegemonies in school music education and music teacher training?

After a short introduction to the theory of hegemony and research connected to it in music education (1), we describe our research interests and study design (2). Our results (3) reveal an implicit prioritization of Western art music and an orientation towards notation-bound music practices. Focussing on the curriculum in the state of Baden-Württemberg, we analyze hegemonies in context of intercultural music education in the school curriculum. Our analysis of three teacher training programs shows that curricula implicitly and explicitly emphasize Western art music regardless of their very different profiles. We then discuss (4) these findings with regard to other studies that point to hegemonic structures in areas of music education in Germany and abroad (Buchborn & Bons, 2021; Blanchard, 2019; Wright, 2018; Pabst-Krüger, 2015; Wallbaum, 2010; Wright & Davies, 2010).

1.   Introduction: Hegemonies in Music in School and Music Teacher Training

In the context of society and culture, hegemony was first developed as a theory by Antonio Gramsci in the 1920s and 1930s, who pointed to the relation between political power and hegemony (Hoare & Smith, 1999). With reference to Gramsci, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (2001) further developed the concept in the framework of a poststructuralist discourse theory. Our understanding of hegemony is based on these works: if the value system or the interests of a (political or social) group are declared to be general values or interests, and are enforced without violence and mostly with the (unconscious) consent of other interest groups, this is called "hegemony". As studies in various areas of social life have uncovered and elucidated hegemonic structures, a broad discourse has emerged on hegemonies in society, politics, and the educational system, as well as in music education today.

Although it is in the end always individual persons who act hegemonically in their behavior and language, the underlying systematics can be generalized to apply to institutions. A common phenomenon in hegemonic use of language is the naturalization of what is presumed to be a common foundation for both the authors and readers of a document (Blanchard, 2019). On the one

hand, leaving out information is necessary in order to be able to communicate at all. However, any piece of text reveals its author's threshold of what is perceived to be a culturally developed practice (and is indicated as such) or to be a universal rule that applies to all cultures (and is therefore naturalized). Hence if, on the other hand, music universities systematically fail to mention certain cultural aspects, they implicitly impose them, in an act of cultural hegemony, upon everyone approaching the institution.

A prominent example is the study on British curricula carried out by Ruth Wright and Brian Davies (2010). Wright and Davies identified the predominance of Western art music in the British National Curriculum for Music. Concluding that this thematic focus redounds to middle- and upper-class students' advantage, they identify structural social injustice in the educational system:

> The National Curriculum for Music was influenced by the dying throes of the Thatcher era and an attempt to cling to the vestiges of an education system governed by twentieth-century, British, upper-middle-class values. Within this value system, the habitus of the dominant group was largely framed by public-school education and musically by the western art-music canon. (Wright & Davies, 2010, p. 48)

Compared to this, recent German curricula show evidence for change on a first glance (see 3.2). Especially the consideration of pop music seems to be becoming more and more common. In an analysis of the curriculum for primary schools in Bavaria, for instance, Daniel Mark Eberhard conclude that pop music is represented in different contexts, especially in music-making (Eberhard, 2015, pp. 88-89).

Studies analyzing other documents related to music in school, however, still reveal the subordinate role of pop music. This has been shown in regard to music education journal articles (Ahlers & Zuther, 2015) and final exam papers (Ahlers, 2016). With regard to curricula from the states of North Rhine-Westphalia and Lower Saxony Dorothee, Barth and Anne Bubinger (2020) state that school music education is currently focused on formal analysis and "sound knowledge of musical notation" (ibid., p. 30; translated by the authors).

Their findings are in line with our recent research that shows how music teachers orientate their teaching practice by giving central importance to Western art music and cognitive approaches to music (Buchborn, 2020; Buchborn & Bons, 2021).

Studying the field of intercultural music education, Olivier Blanchard (2019, 2020) also refers to Laclau and Mouffe's theory of hegemony in transferring this theory to music education. In this context, Blanchard discusses naturalization and hegemonic practice in school music education:

> In summary, when dealing with foreign culture one's own perspective is naturalized in school music education. Cultures are described on the basis musical objects that are analyzed with regard to "pitch, interval, duration of sound, dynamics, sound, harmony and counterpoint" (Böhle, 1995, p. 73). However, this is only one possibility to analyse music, which was, first, developed by European musicology (ibid.) and, second, implies that something like an object to be analyzed exists at all. Analyzing all music cultures with regard to musical objects and those objects with regard to their grammar constitutes a highly cultural-normative approach. Instead of learning about a foreign culture, what is learned, if anything, is the occidental culture (with regard to "foreign" music). (Blanchard, 2019, p. 95; translated by the authors)

Blanchard's analysis of music education literature and educational practice identifies Eurocentrism in intercultural music education. This leads him to doubt the claim of the equivalence of cultures that is often postulated within this discourse.

Comparing the results of such studies on curricula with studies that focus on other documents or reconstruct educational practices, we can observe a contradictory or at least inconsistent picture. However, hegemonies also appear in another important field of music educational practice. In an examination of music teacher training, Wright (2018) criticizes the narrow scope of study programs and identifies in this point one constraint to achieving more social justice in music educational practice:

> If higher music education were to have adapted to social change [sic] therefore, one might expect corresponding changes to appear in the form of broader repertoires and forms of pedagogy to reflect a general societal expansion of cultural taste. In compulsory education in many countries, other than the Nordic countries, however one sees a higher music education that still reflects an uncritical assumption of the superiority of western art music and reifies musics and musicians, languages and literatures, to reproduce an outdated cultural hegemony. (Wright, 2018, p. 18)

In two articles (2018, 2020), Bernd Clausen takes a critical look at music teacher training in Germany with regard to the integration of diverse music-related practices. He recognizes "a culturally essentialist core" (Clausen, 2020, p. 48; translated by the authors) in German music teacher training. He sees this expressed both in the teaching and learning content, which he analyzes as being monoculturally oriented towards European art music. In addition, he criticizes the requirements for admission to the degree program, which he finds to be exclusionary (see also Buchborn, 2019), as well as the thematization of "other" music as a special case in music university curricula. While English-language discourse on cultural diversity has recognized the need to "multiculturalize" music teacher education, as it is often described, the German discourse hardly takes music teacher training into consideration. For this reason, Clausen demands a stronger inclusion of existing music didactic reflections with regard to the subject area of inter- and transculturality for music teacher training. In addition, international research results should be accumulated and brought together in a research and development project (see ibid., p. 49).

Agreeing with Clausen, Christopher Wallbaum (2010) observes a similar focus on Western art music in German music teacher training programs. He characterizes the typical music teacher in Germany as a "semiprofessional musician, classical" that "only plays notated music" but "is interested in all music" (ibid., p. 275; translated by the authors). His typology of music teachers in Europe reveals the Western art music focus of German music teachers especially clearly in comparison, for instance, to the typical music teacher from Norway, who is a "professional musician [in] jazz or rock and amateur classic", or from Sweden or the Netherlands, who are characterized as "professional school musician; amateur pop and folk; knowledge about classical music" (ibid.). Wallbaum concludes:

> It is not solely because of university curricula that in Sweden (Malmö), for example, class music-making with a focus on pop instruments and combined with school internships is a central element of studies and school teaching, while in Germany (Saxony, Leipzig), despite the possibility of studying a pop instrument or singing as an artistic major, artistic work on a classical repertoire is the main focus for a majority of students. The musical and social background of many Swedish school music students

is different from that of many German students. For instance, an applicant for music teacher training at a German university of music barely stands a chance of gaining entry if they have not taken classical private lessons for years. Their path to professional music leads via private lessons on the instrument based upon reading sheet music. (ibid., p. 272)

Wallbaum's findings are in line with both the observation of Michael Pabst-Krüger (2015), who observed that popular music is underrepresented in study programs, and findings on the study opportunities compared to those available for instruments considered "main instruments" by the curriculum (Buchborn, 2019). Analyzing the curricula and regulations for entrance exams of all universities and conservatories in Germany that offer music teacher training programs we could show that the main instrument functions as a gatekeeper to the music teacher profession. In comparison to instruments used in Western art music, such as classical violin or piano, the possibilities are limited for studying popular music instruments (e.g., electric guitar, saxophon) and very limited for instruments like oud, bağlama and tabla as well as digital musical instruments that are commonly used in recent pop music[1].

This short literature review shows that hegemonies are still present in different areas of music education in Germany. However, studies on selected school curricula show changes, especially with regard to pop music. In this context, insights into the implicit level of curricula might lead to a clearer picture and help to explain the contradiction between normative claims and hegemonic structures. At the very least, one can say that systematic research analyzing hegemonies in German curricula comparable to Wright & Davies' work is still missing and could provide an additional part in this puzzle. This can be assumed since school and university curricula have a key function between political framing and educational practice. Witlof Vollstädt (2003) therefore counts curricula among the "most important state-authorized framework specifications for school instruction" (ibid., p. 194; translated by the authors), differentiating them with regard to their legitimation and orientation function (ibid.). On the one hand, curricula present and justify educational policy goals to the public (legitimation function). On the other hand, they address teachers in an orienting function and provide them with the framework for the content to be covered (ibid., p. 196). Given the research methodological difficulties in investigating the actual impact of curricula (see ibid., p. 201), it is not surprising that there is hardly any empirical knowledge about whether and how curricula have an impact in everyday school life (see ibid., p. 197). This can be applied synonymously to the relationship between curricula and academic practice. With regard to the complex research methodological demands on curriculum research, we exclude the question of impact relationships in this paper and focus on the educational dimension of curricula. In our view, these are an expression of educational conceptions. The reading of curricula for music in schools and curricula for the education of music teachers allows us to examine them in terms of which (educationally relevant) ideas about music and musical practice, as well as its appropriation and mediation in schools and universities, are documented in them.

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[1] Rare exceptions are first indicators for a change: the University of Münster is offering "Producing & Digitale Musikpraxis" as a main instrument in MTT since autumn 2021; https://www.uni-muenster.de/Musikpaedagogik/Studienbewerber/pruefung.html [26.04.2021].

2.   Research Questions, Methods and Data/Text Corpus

Based on the literature review on hegemonic tendencies in music education, in this paper we contribute to the analysis of hegemonies in curricula for music in schools and in curricula for music teacher training at universities. To this end, we examine which concept of music implicitly or explicitly underlies the documents, guiding our analysis with following subquestions:

- How narrow or broad is the concept of music that underlies the curricula (e.g., analysis of the range of explicitly mentioned styles, instruments, composers)[2]?
- Do the curricula contain explicit demands for the development of a broad music-cultural educational profile and to what extent do these demands correspond to its content and structure?
- Can the required profiles of the entrance exams in universities (Buchborn, 2019) and the hegemonies connected to that be reconstructed in the curricula for music teacher training, as well?

Our analysis of the educational policy documents is guided by our specific focus on hegemonic tendencies. It is because structures of power can be conveyed through language that language is the main focus in our study. On the one hand, we are interested in explicit statements and content-related references in the documents with regard to our research questions. On the other hand, we reconstruct implicit hegemonic tendencies in the documents. We thus devote special attention to structural discourses and arguments that provide information about underlying ideas of music on an implicit level.

Because of the federal school system in Germany and its consequential abundance of curricula[3], the present analysis is based on a selection of curricula whose criteria we would like to make transparent. First of all, it was important to us to reflect the geographical diversity of the currently valid curricula as far as possible. Therefore, curricula from northern, southern, eastern, and western federal states of Germany are included in our analysis. In order to narrow down the sample, we continued to restrict ourselves to curricula of the lower secondary level *(Sekundarstufe I)*, because the guidelines set here aim at music lessons that in most cases address all pupils on a compulsory basis. In addition, we occasionally refer to curricula of the *gymnasiale Oberstufe* (*Sek II*)[4]. In order to

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[2] The question of the degree of stylistic openness of curricula is in turn itself an expression of normative order, in that the search for the new, for the transgression of boundaries, confirms a "domination of the dispositif of creativity and innovation" (Eusterbrock & Rolle, 2020, p. 83) similar to Reckwitz's (2012) observation on the invention of creativity.

[3] "Under the Basic Law (Art. 7 Paragraph 1) and the constitutions of the Länder (R13–28), the entire school system is under the supervision of the state. Supervision of the general and vocational school system is the responsibility of the Ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs in the Länder in their capacity as the highest educational authorities. The duties of the Ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs in the Länder and of the subordinate education authorities include the organization, planning, management and supervision of the entire school system. The Länder sphere of influence also includes the detailed regulation of the school's mission and its teaching and educational objectives (internal school matters) within the framework of the education acts (R85–102). The educational objectives presented in school legislation are given concrete shape in the curricula for which the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs of the respective Land is responsible. In order to implement the curricula for the various subjects in the different types of school, textbooks are used as learning material in the classroom. As a rule, these books must be approved by the Ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs; the titles of approved books are regularly published in a list." Quoted from "The Education System in the Federal Republic of Germany 2017/2018: A Description of the Responsibilities, Structures, and Developments in Education Policy for the Exchange of Information in Europe", p. 51, published by the Secretariat of the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany; available online at www.kmk.org › pdf › Eurydice › dossier_en_ebook [26.04.2021].

[4] By opting for a focus on gymnasium curricula, we reinforce a research orientation of German-language music education towards the gymnasium level and thus reify cultural and educational understandings of gymnasium as hegemony

establish a comparable framework under these premises, we focused primarily on gymnasium curricula, although in some federal states (see BB, SH, RLP) school type-specific differentiation is made within a common curriculum. The following table gives an overview of the school curricula considered in the analysis:

Table 1: School curricula considered in the analysis

Federal state	Shortcut	Type of school	Grade	Publication year
Baden-Württemberg	BW	Gymnasium	Sek I and Sek II	2016
Bavaria (Curriculum +)	BY I	Gymnasium	9–12	online
Bavaria	BY II	Realschule	Sek I	online
Berlin-Brandenburg	BB	Integrierte Sekundarschulen/ Gymnasium	Sek I	2017
Bremen	HB	Gymnasium	Sek I	2007
Hamburg	HH	Gymnasium	Sek I	2011
Mecklenburg-Western Pommerania	MV I	Regionale Schule Verbundene Haupt- und Realschule Hauptschule Realschule Gymnasium Integrierte Gesamtschule	Sek I	2002
Mecklenburg-Western Pommerania (Musikensemble)	MV II	Gymnasium	Sek II	2019
Lower Saxony	NDS	Gymnasium	Sek I	2017
North Rhine-Westphalia	NRW	Gymnasium	Sek I	2019
Rhineland-Palatinate	RLP	Gymnasium, Integrierte Gesamtschule, Realschule Plus	Sek I	2017
Saarland	SL	Gymnasium	Sek I	2020
Saxony	SA	Gymnasium	Sek I und Sek II	2004/2019
Schleswig-Holstein	SH	Hauptschule, Realschule, Gymnasium, Gesamtschule	Sek I	without indication

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in German music education discourse. Since the gymnasium curricula for music in schools are more extensive than the curricula of other types of schools, we accept in the context of the present research question that we are thus reifying a music pedagogical hegemony in terms of school type focus.

For our analysis of documents and curricula for music teacher training programs, we selected three institutes and conducted a document-based multicase study with this sample (Schmauder, 2020, unpublished). The cases were selected on the basis of our analysis of the profiles of entrance exams at German universities (Buchborn, 2019, pp. 12-13). The overview presented there reveals that the institutions differ vastly in which main instruments and styles are admitted, and whether or not an institution has exceptional offerings. We also considered whether styles or instruments were explicitly or implicitly included or excluded from the entrance exams. Out of all institutions that offer music teacher training in Germany, we selected three institutions to elaborate on, since they may each be seen as a representative and thus may serve as examples for a range of institutions with a similar profile.

The three cases on which we chose to perform an in-depth analysis are the Universität der Künste Berlin (UdK Berlin), the Universität Hildesheim and the Hochschule für Musik Karlsruhe (HfM Karlsruhe). According to the overview, the latter was depicted with a narrow range of main instrument and style opportunities which only allowed for common instruments from Western art music in a "classical" style. The UdK Berlin is a large institution that seems to offer a wide variety of instruments and styles, including a jazz and pop focus for many instruments. The Universität Hildesheim drew our attention because the wording used has no specific information on instruments and styles in the entrance exam. However, their offering of instrumental training hints at an exceptionally broad understanding of music.

For our analysis we considered the different study programs at the institutions and the respective public documents and online content provided. The following table gives an overview of the artefacts included in our analysis, arranged by institutions and the degree obtained in the respective study program. For the data used in our research, it is noteworthy that the statutory documents are available for a longer time, but descriptions of concrete courses offered are snapshots taken in the summer or winter term; they might perhaps be found in the archives of the respective platform or upon request to the institution being considered.

Table 2: Public documents and online content of the selected study programs

Study program	Degree	Documents
Universität der Künste Berlin (UdK Berlin)		
Music teaching at primary schools	Bachelor's	Study and examination regulations (+ corrections) List of main instruments Overview of common entrance exam repertoire
	Master's	Study and examination regulations List of main instrument profiles
	MÄERZ[5]	Study regulations Examination regulations

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[5] *Musisch-Ästhetische Erziehung* (MÄERZ, "music-aesthetic education") is a further training program offered at the UdK Berlin that does not actually aim to train students to work as a music teacher; since music teaching students can participate in MÄERZ courses, we included it anyway to get an extensive view.

Music teaching at secondary schools	Bachelor's	Study regulations Examination regulations List of main instruments
	Master's	study and examination regulations
Common artefacts	Academic calendar (summer term 2020) from the musicology section 93 course descriptions from the HIS web interface (summer term 2020 + winter term 2021)	
Hochschule für Musik Karlsruhe (HfM Karlsruhe)		
Music teaching at secondary schools	Bachelor's	Study and examination regulations with appendices: 1. Study program plans 2. Module plans 3. Requirements in the intermediate examinations
	Master's	Study and examination regulations with appendices: 1. Study program plans 2. Module plans
Common artefacts	Academic calendar (summer term 2020) for all study programs Enrollment statutes for music teaching study programs Framework specification decree for teaching study programs in the federal state of Baden-Württemberg	
Universität Hildesheim		
Music teaching at primary and secondary schools	Bachelor's	Study and examination regulations Exam regulations for the main instrument/singing Exam regulations for piano as main instrument Exam regulations for piano as mandatory instrument Exam regulations for tertiary instrument guitar Academic calendar (summer term 2020) including 77 course descriptions from the HIS web interface
musik.welt	(further training)	Study regulations with appendix: module plans

We were interested in the number of occurrences of certain keywords in the considered documents. We used a software tool for word counting that overcomes document format-specific technical obstacles such as hyphenation or character replacements. The results of the automated evaluation helped to point at documents and passages within them that were likely to reveal what was considered worthy of being mentioned explicitly by the documents' authors; the assumption here was that the absence of explicit terms might provide insights into the naturalized cultural understanding of the institution. In this way, findings from the quantitative evaluation were able to yield entry points for a further qualitative in-depth analysis.

3.   Findings

3.1 Hegemony in Curricula for Music in Schools

In the following, we analyze school curricula for possible hegemonies. In a first step, we therefore reconstruct the concepts of music that underpin the analyzed curricula (3.1.1). As this reconstruction revealed an implicit prioritization of Western art music, we then take a closer look at chapters and excerpts that explicitly mention stylistic diversity in the sense of an intercultural orientation of school music education. As an exemplary case, we will show a discrepancy between the explicitly postulated and the implicitly articulated concept of music that we could reconstruct on different levels in the Baden-Württemberg curricula (3.1.2).

3.1.1 Implicit Prioritization of Western Art Music

The introductory texts to the curricula for music in school, which formulate both the objectives and the content of music lessons, give some first information about the concepts of music that underlie the documents. In many curricula, we found explicit claims to include different musical practices and styles equally in school music education. The Berlin curriculum, for instance, states that "European art music of different epochs up to the present, popular music of different genres and music of the world [should be] equally included in the lessons" (BB, p. 3)[6]. However, these claims for an inclusive and stylistic diverse approach in school music education is contrasted with an implicit imbalance with regard to the mentioned musical genres in the curricula. For instance, several introductory texts emphasize the role of extracurricular musical groups[7]. The Saarland curriculum, for example, mentions "choir, orchestra, big band, rock band, jazz combo, new music ensemble, musical theater, [and] dance" as examples of "as diverse as possible range of musical groups" at school (SL, p. 7). In this and other lists (see e.g., BW, p. 5; HB, p. 6) of examples for extracurricular musical groups, popular music ensembles are always mentioned after "classical" ensembles such as choir and orchestra. In some lists only choir and orchestra are named as examples and other music groups are not even explicitly mentioned: "In addition to music lessons, musical learning in choirs, orchestras and other practical work groups forms a pillar of school life" (HH, p. 5). This shows how music practices related to classical music are implicitly emphasized while others are marginalized.

Following these initial traces that we found in the introductory texts of the curricula, we will show underlying implicit logics in listings of central terms that reveal hegemonic structures parallel to our findings related to the listed extracurricular music groups.

Logics of Listings

In a thematic overview on "musical instruments" as a topic for grades 5 and 6 in the Rhineland-Palatinate curriculum, the following compulsory content is listed: "vibration-resonance, sound production (playing technique), instruments and their possibilities of arrangement, instruments of the symphony orchestra, instruments of rock and pop music, instruments of other cultures and past times, ensembles and their musical instruments" (RLP, p. 33). The order of the listed terms seems

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[6] This and following quotations from German documents were translated by the authors.
[7] *Arbeitsgemeinschaften*

to suggest a logic that starts from basic principles (such as vibration and resonance) and then differentiates them into specifics (ensembles and their musical instruments). Following this structure, the "instruments of the symphony orchestra" appear superior to the "instruments of rock and pop music" and these, in turn, to the "instruments of other cultures and past times" (ibid.).

In the Lower Saxony curriculum, a table is shown that addresses "sound as a tool for musical expression"[8]. In this table the keywords "symphony orchestra and choir" are also placed at first, followed by the "instruments of rock and pop music" (NDS, p. 17). In the Mecklenburg-Western Pommerania curricula, under the chapter "Possible Ensemble Forms", the "range of artistic practice in ensembles" is presented and ensembles that can be assigned to the popular music genre (jazz band, big band, rock and pop band, combo) are mentioned after symphony orchestra, chamber music, and world music ensemble (see MV II, p. 6)[9]. Here as well, the order of listing of music ensembles points to an implicit prioritization of Western classical music in the curriculum, especially since the order is not following an alphabetical logic. Only in rare cases could we find examples with a different logic. The Berlin curriculum, for example, lists "complex song forms" above "suite, variation cycle, invention and sonata principal form" as possible contents on the topic of "form types" (BB, p. 25). Despite these rare counterexamples, most listings show that Western art music is central in the concepts of music that underpin the analyzed curricula and point to hegemony in school music curricula.

Primacy of Notation-Bound Music

In addition to these implicit logics of listings, the following part shows our findings on the primacy of notation-bound music in curricula for school music education, referring to examples of three curricula.

The Bremen curriculum mentions several topics for each grade and specifies content related to them. The topic "basics of music theory" is assigned to all grades. In the general explanations of the topics, it is stated that "the basics of music theory are taught in connection with other topics and contents" (HB, p. 7). Music theory is thus an overarching topic that seems to have an inherent increase in complexity. It starts with "note and rest values" (grade 5), "triads and circle of fifths" (grade 8), and "cadences and modulations" (grade 9), aiming finally at "orchestral score reading" (grade 10). The operators in the competence descriptions, in which "read, notate" is named first followed by "implement vocally or instrumentally" (HB, pp. 9-10), indicate that the employment of the above-mentioned music-theoretical contents aims primarily to a notation-based understanding of music.

The prominent positioning and multiple repetition of the term "notation" in the Lower Saxony curriculum in the field of study "parameters of musical expression",[10] shows an implicit orientation towards notation-based music practices—especially as an explicit approach to the abovementioned parameters such as rhythm, melody, harmony, dynamics, or articulation by listening is missing in the descriptions. Operators such as "recognize", "determine", "grasp" with regard to "melodies", "intervals", and "triads" would of course also allow auditory approaches. However, the formulated learning intention "reading of orchestral scores" as a "basis for formulating listening expectations"

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[8] *Musikalisches Gestaltungsmittel Klang*
[9] *Die Palette des künstlerisch-praktischen Agierens in Ensembles*
[10] *Arbeitsfeld Musikalische Gestaltungsmittel*

(NDS, p. 18) reveals a primarily notation-based approach to rhythm, melody, harmony, dynamics, and articulation in this context.

The Rhineland-Palatinate curriculum explicitly places a practical approach to music in the centre of music lessons (see RLP, p. 8). Thus, musical activity and music-related knowledge ought to be interconnected in the sense of a "reflective music practice" (ibid., p. 1). In the field of practice of "playing instruments", playing by notes is subordinated to playing by ear and by instruction (conducting) (see ibid., p. 17). In this respect, the curriculum could be seen as a counterexample for the reconstructed primacy of notation-based music.

However, this listing follows an ascending order, in which playing by notes describes the highest level to be achieved in the "development of competences by performing"[11]. The fact that the goal seems to be notation-based music-making becomes also clear in this description: "improvization, also free playing with open concepts and playing instructions, the path then leads increasingly to the definition and notation of one's own results (from verbal description to the use of conventional notation or a self-invented notation method)" (ibid., p. 19).

Overall, our findings point to a primacy of notation-based music learning and the tendency to prioritize Western art music on an implicit level. This contradicts the explicit demand for stylistic diversity that is formulated as a principle in most curricula (see e.g., HB, p. 6; BB, p. 3; RLP, p. 9).

3.1.2 Cultural Diversity in Curricula for Music in Schools: Exemplary Analysis of the Baden-Württemberg Curriculum

The previous remarks illustrate a focus on Western art music in the comparison of different curricula for music in schools. The following section will thus take a closer look at an area that explicitly focuses on the music of "other" cultures. Specifically, it examines the Baden-Württemberg curriculum to ask how the field of interculturality is addressed. This is complemented by a discussion of curricula from other federal states[12] in order to highlight aspects that we worked out in an exemplary manner.

Architecture of the Baden-Württemberg Curriculum

The Baden-Württemberg curriculum for music in schools begins by formulating the educational value and the contribution of the subject music to overarching educational goals. Those goals are described by (a total of six) guiding perspectives[13]. They are not assigned to individual subjects; rather, all subject-specific learning should contribute to them. In addition, the educational plan distinguishes between process-related and content-related competencies. While process-related competencies characterize "overarching, general competencies pertaining to the subject that are not tied to specific content and are developed in the educational process by the end of the educational course" (Pant, 2016, p. 10), the standards for content-related competencies specify "what students should be able to do and know by a certain point in time (e.g., end of grade 4, 6, 9, 10, or 12)" (ibid.).

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[11] *Kompetenzentwicklung durch Gestalten*
[12] *Bundesländer*
[13] *Leitperspektiven*

The architecture of the curriculum reflects an increasing differentiation of general educational goals in the direction of concrete subject-specific topics. This concentration on a canon of teaching content is illustrated in the following diagram by the inverted pyramid:
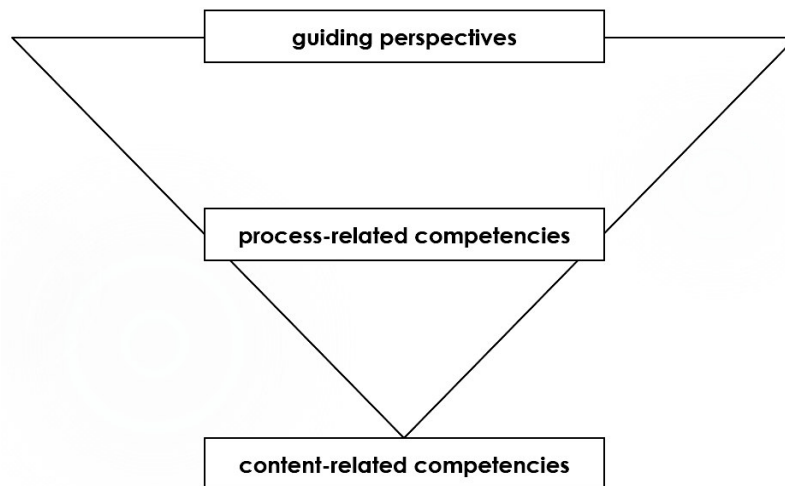

Figure 1: Architecture of the Baden-Württemberg Curriculum

The architecture and the interrelationship of these levels will be exemplified in the following using content that is assigned to the area of interculturality in the curriculum.

The Subject Area of Interculturality in the Baden-Württemberg Curriculum for Music in Schools

The keyword "intercultural" appears in the Baden-Württenberg curriculum for the first time in remarks on the "contribution of the subject music to the development of personality and to general education". There, one reads:

> In times of the unmanageable and omnipresent availability of music, music in school contributes to the generation of cultural identity. Including learners' sociocultural background offers individual and authentic approaches to learning. In this way, music can contribute substantially to the integration of the individual in our diverse society and to intercultural dialogue. (BW, p. 3)

Corresponding to this, the guiding perspective of education for tolerance and diversity (ETD) connects to central goals of the interculturality discourse[14], but without making the references explicit:

> The goal is to promote respect and appreciation for diversity, also so that students can articulate themselves freely and without fear of discrimination. Integrating the unexpected; tolerating different musical traditions, ways of thinking, and acting; and accepting different ways of living contribute to an openness to other people, to social and cultural issues, and to children and young people's sense of self and identity. (ibid., p. 4)

By contrast, the process-related competencies in the area of society and culture explicitly refer to the keyword "interculturality". This concept envisions students being able to "perceive qualities of the diversity of musical manifestations (familiar and foreign), reflect the complexity of their own

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[14] On the goals of (general) intercultural pedagogy, see Nieke, 2008, pp. 75-89; on the goals of an interculturally oriented music education, see among others Merkt, 1993, p. 4; Ullrich, 2002, p. 52; Schatt, 2004, p. 303.

cultural environment, and show acceptance and respect" (ibid., p. 13). The content-related competencies provide information on how this is to be realized in the classroom. They describe the content of school music education in the three areas of "creating and experiencing music", "understanding music", and "reflecting on music". When analyzing the content-related competencies with regard to the subject-specific implementation of the guiding perspective ETD, corresponding content in grades 5/6 and 7/8 can initially be found only in the area of "creating and experiencing music": international songs are to be explored primarily through singing (see ibid., p. 14) in order to foster an "intercultural and interreligious dialogue" (ibid.).

At this point, the terms internationality and interculturality are equated. This approach of interculturality, however, is contrary to the concept formulated in the guiding perspectives, which emphasizes the cultural diversity in "our" society. Furthermore, the question is how a dialogue can be conducted through singing if reflection on the students' backgrounds is not intended. Only in grade 9/10 do the content descriptions start aiming at the comparison between music from different cultures. While students deal, in the area of "reflecting on music", "with music from different cultures and discuss phenomena of musical globalization" in addition to "reflecting on the significance of music for our culture, for individual people and for their own lives" (ibid., p. 31), in the area of "understanding music" the music of different cultures is to be described and compared in terms of sound, rhythm, melody and harmony (see ibid., p. 26). In addition, the curriculum formulates instructions for the implementation of the thematic focus on "interculturality". There, the content-related explanations from the area "understanding music" are supplemented by the following note: "In terms of musical practice, African, Oriental, or South American music, for example, are suitable" (ibid.). The question is why "African, Oriental or South American music" should be particularly suitable for music practice and why exactly these cultures of origin should be given priority in comparison to other musics of the world. The excerpt shows both a certain canonization in the selection of teaching content and an underlying ethnic-holistic concept of culture. For instance, although the Baden-Württemberg educational plan requires the discussion of "music of different cultures" (BW, p. 26), it is based exclusively and naturally on an understanding of culture as (geographical) origin. The "inclusion of the sociocultural background of the students" (ibid., p. 3) postulated in the guiding perspectives is not taken into account in the question of concrete teaching content. Instead, there is a generalization of music, which is holistically marked as music cultures of entire continents. Implicitly, this is accompanied by a leveling of stylistic differences.

In addition, the Baden-Württemberg curriculum shows a tendency towards dichotomous classifications along cultural characteristics of origin. The document (re)presents a uniform and normative image of what it takes to be its own culture by asking students to reflect on "the significance of music for *our* culture" (ibid., p. 31, highlighted by the authors). By invoking a cultural identity as its own, as well as by distinguishing this identity from foreign cultural manifestations, the curriculum contributes to the construction or establishment of differences in culture of origin.

Comparing the different levels of the Baden-Württemberg curriculum, a discrepancy between the educational policy demands and the content-related implementation clearly emerges. It can be stated that the guiding principles and perspectives formulated with regard to (cultural) diversity are not reflected to the same extent in the process-related and especially the content-related competencies. While the guiding perspectives emphasize the hybridity of cultural influences and the diversity of (individual) identity formation, process- and content-related competencies repeatedly refer to the distinction between the familiar and the foreign. Accordingly, cultural identity formation

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takes place along the parameters of own vs. foreign. Thus, the content-related competencies emphasize the differences between musical cultures instead of drawing to the hybrid constitution of musical cultural influences in modern (immigration) societies. Further, the curriculum shows a largely ethnic-holistic understanding of non-European music cultures, which manifests itself in a dichotomous confrontation between one's own culture and foreign cultures, as well as a comparatively undifferentiated examination of what is foreign.

Addressing "Music(s) of the World" in the Curricula of other Federal States

The elaborated construction of differences along an "us vs. them" dichotomy is evident in further curricula. For example, the Schleswig-Holstein curriculum explicitly addresses the contrast between what is one's own and what is foreign. As a "concept of basic education", the curriculum is intended to help all students "appreciate what is their own [and] recognize what is foreign" (SH, p. 4). On the content level, the curriculum suggests the thematization of "everyday life, religion, and music in foreign cultures" as well as the "exploration of the foreign in music" on the basis of musical parameters such as intervals, scales, rhythms, and timbres (see ibid., p. 40). In this regard, the curriculum gives the following indications:

> On the one hand, what is foreign can be threatening; on the other hand, it can enrich the everyday world in a lasting way. ... Those who identify with what is their own do not need to exclude or reject what is different. (ibid.)

The curriculum of Mecklenburg-Western Pommerania, by constrast, emphasizes the importance of music as cultural heritage:

> Music is a part of *our* history. It bears witness to *our* origins, to *our* becoming, to *our* ideals and defeats, to progress and setbacks, to the way we deal with ourselves and with art. This requires an examination of music of the past and present and of the most important cultural areas. (MV II, p. 17; highlighted by the authors)

The canonization of musical cultures of origin also shows up homologously in the review of further curricula. For example, according to the Schleswig-Holstein curriculum, music lessons are to be "conceived and carried out in a theme-oriented manner" (SH, p. 27). In order to reflect the "multicultural diversity of our present" in music lessons and to make it possible to experience this diversity, the curriculum suggests the thematization of "Black African music". The authors derive the (exclusive) choice of the musical subject from the presence of African forms of music in the local musical landscape:

> Increasingly, [Black African music] is attracting public attention in this country, whether in drumming workshops or in concerts by African folk or pop groups. (ibid., p. 42)

The music curriculum of the state of Rhineland-Palatinate also formulates content for specific grade levels, including the topic "Traditional Music of the World" (RLP, p. 46). Examples that are listed include "African music, Arabic music, Asian music (raga, gamelan), Latin American music (samba batucada), [and] Turkish music" (ibid., p. 47). Obviously, Thomas Ott's diagnosis is correct

that the music educational transculturalism is selective, in the sense that didactic publications on the topic are oriented towards a certain music-practical repertoire (see Ott, 2012, p. 116).

The example of equating samba with Latin American music in the Rhineland-Palatinate curriculum also clearly shows the levelling of musical style differences when considering world music: from a music ethnological perspective, samba batucada as a specific musical expression of carnival in Rio de Janeiro is hardly comparable with, for example, calypso and soca styles from the Caribbean or the son popular in Cuba. By contrast, classical art music is considered in a more differentiated way in music lessons. This becomes particularly clear in the direct comparison of the topics "music of the world" and "classical art music" or "sonata/symphony and concerto", again using an example of the Rhineland-Palatinate curriculum:

Table 3: „Music of the world" and „classical art music" in the Rhineland-Palatinate Curriculum

Traditional music of the world (p. 47)	Sonata/symphony and concerto (p. 39)
Examples: • African music • Arabic music • Asian music (raga, gamelan) • Latin American music (samba batucada)	Examples: Sonatas • Muzio Clementi: Sonatina Op. 36, No. 3 • Joseph Haydn: Sonata No. 50 • Wolfgang A. Mozart: Sonata KV 545 Symphonies • Joseph Haydn: Symphony No. 94 • Wolfgang A. Mozart: Symphony No. 40, KV 550 • Ludwig van Beethoven: Symphony No. 5, op. 67 • Antonín Dvořák: Symphony No. 9, From the New World

This undifferentiated address of music considered "foreign" contrasts with a differentiated approach to various musical expressions of Western art music. In combination with the elaborated "logics of listing" and the "primacy of notation-bound music", the implicit prioritization of Western art music can be stated for a variety of the considered curricula. Yet this does not allow any conclusions to be drawn about actual music teaching in schools (see Vollstädt, 2003). In their legitimizing function, curricula only allow insight into educational policy intentions. Curricula do have an orienting function, as they address teachers and provide them a framework for the content to be taught (ibid., p. 194). To widen the perspective on educational practice, we will thus take a look at another type of framing document for music education. In university studies, teachers are trained to act in the classroom. Therefore, in the following we turn our attention to music teacher training programs at universities and the educational policy documents that frame those programs. In combination with our findings in regard to school curricula, this could open up new insights into how music educational practice is framed and deepen our knowledge on hegemony in music education.

3.2 Analysis and Comparison of Selected Music University Curricula

Music universities can provide structures and formal processes that rather prevent or promote hegemonic actions. This is particularly relevant for public institutions, since they are the instances

that concretize a state's notion of cultural diversity and integration for all members of a society, thus opting for or out of cultural hegemony. Structures of power can be conveyed through language, which is consequently the main focus in this part of our study.

3.2.1 Berlin Universität der Künste (UdK Berlin)

A list of main instruments is provided in these documents that differentiates between the two styles of ""classical"" (quotes in the original) and "jazz/popular music". The UdK stands out from most of the other music universities by listing bağlama and oud (the latter only for secondary schools) as main instruments; however, no permanent teachers are listed on the website [October 2020]. Both instruments are subsumed along with any other instrument under the module "main instrument (classical)". The examination regulations for this module generally demands students to engage in "stylistically diverse" repertoire and explicitly invites them to take into consideration compositions from the twentieth and twenty-first century. The main instrument curriculum thus mainly amplifies engagement with genres of Western art music.

This impression is consolidated by the role of the piano in the study regulations. It is mentioned numerous times. The piano is obligatory as a secondary instrument and is taught to students for three years, two of which necessarily focus on classical piano playing. For the last year, students can choose between classical and jazz/pop styles.

However, in modules where the students can choose their courses, the UdK encourages them to engage in a wide range of stylistic and interdisciplinary fields. This impression is backed up by several keywords we counted in the study regulations for secondary schools:

Table 4: Keywords in the study regulations for secondary schools at the UdK Berlin

Term	No. of occurrences
experimental music	9 times
band/ensemble playing	9 times
jazz	31 times
pop	33 times
classical	24 times

The interdisciplinary curriculum offered at the UdK may also contribute to broadening students' cultural horizon: in addition to music, the UdK has departments for visual arts, performing arts, and dance, and a prominent connection of disciplines is the field of "rhythmics/music and movement". For example, the course "Nyela Africa" unifies music, dance, and language as seen in the dances of West African cultures. Interestingly, the course description was one of the very few occasions in which the term "Musiken" ("musics") could be found: "The main fields of work will be ethnically inspired dance forms to musics from West Africa". The course "Cross-Over Ensemble" invites students with "classical instruments" to play "jazz, pop, and border area repertoire" in an ensemble. Yet another course—according to its description—invites students to come to an

outside perspective on their individual perceptions of cultural preferences: "How can we deal in a professional way with the fact that people love some musics and hate [other musics]?"

However, given the obligatory dominance of contents clearly focusing on Western art music, these courses appear severally and are the exception rather than the rule.

3.2.2 Hochschule für Musik Karlsruhe (HfM Karlsruhe)

In addition to the table presented by Buchborn (Buchborn, 2019), the course offering has meanwhile been extended to also include music theory and choir and orchestra conducting as "main instruments". However, it has not changed that students cannot choose jazz/rock/pop main instruments.

The entrance exam regulations for music teaching, except for several instruments, are the same as for the instrumental study programs. For example, a violinist will have to prepare "one work at the level of difficulty of a Bach solo sonata or partita, one work at the level of difficulty of a Mozart concerto, one romantic work, one modern work, [and] one etude or caprice". For piano, the eras are singled out in the description text: "works from four different eras (baroque, classical, romantic/impressionism, modernism [e.g., Hindemith, Bartók, Prokovfiev, Shostakovich, Kurtág])" (KA BA Imma, p. 1). Similar wordings can be found for any other instrument. One exception is the saxophone, for which aspirants need to perform three pieces and must choose a distribution of 2 + 1 or 1 + 2 (classical + jazz) pieces.

There are some compulsory jazz/pop courses: students have to participate in "popular music" (one year) and in "jazz harmonics" (one-half year). They can additionally choose to receive lessons in jazz piano. Among the teachers at the HfM Karlsruhe, there are two persons responsible for jazz, one of whom is the jazz piano teacher; the other is the only saxophone teacher and responsible for the jazz courses and the bigband.

Interestingly, in the beginning of the preliminaries to the module plan, the important role of intercultural competencies is stated as the second sentence: "The students have a developed musical-aesthetic ability to experience, express, and communicate within the framework of the diversity of musical cultures" (KA BA SPO A2, p. 1). The plan further notes that the students will "gain experience with the diversity of musical cultures, including music in a youth cultural context" (ibid.) and that they will "learn [...] methods and techniques of school ensemble conducting in stylistic and music-cultural diversity" (ibid.). However, regarding the goals mentioned for the modules, this explicit, and rather "political", claim seems not to be reflected. For the main instrument examination, works from four different eras are to be performed; one must be from the twentieth or twenty-first century, but interculturality is not a criterion. For the practical piano playing exam, students have thirty minutes to prepare one piece they selected from the genres "folk song, international folklore, gospel, pop music and jazz" (ibid., p. 5). The written exam in jazz harmonics demands an analysis of a jazz standard (ibid., p. 9) and the focus in the musicology module is named as "basic knowledge of selected eras of European and North American music history" (ibid., p. 11).

Given the discrepancy between the explicit formulations and claims and their nonconcretization in the module plan, it is noteworthy that the texts are to be read in the context of Baden-Württemberg's *Rahmenvorgabenverordnung* (the framework specification decree) for music teaching study programs. It represents the statutory provisions for such study programs and denotes political goals on the level of contents specific for music and musicology, such as "music ethnology" or

"digital media, current musical styles, interculturality, and globalization" (RVV BW, 2015). The guidelines specified in this document are met quite well by the HfM's module plan in a way that it conveys the formal semblance of awareness of challenges in cultural diversity, which is however not implemented in the contents of the study program. Similar to the school curricula, we can see a contradiction between the explicit, quite political wording and the implicit focus on a limited excerpt of music cultures represented in the detailed content descriptions.

3.2.3 Universität Hildesheim

The curricula music teacher training at the Universität Hildesheim stands out with a wide variety of main instruments, exceeding the typical offering of Western art music instruments. The website names permanent teachers notably also for bağlama, conga, ghazal singing, sitar, and tabla. As for the other universities, there is a two-part entrance exam with a written test on "aesthetic perception" (aural exercises) and a section called "artistic production", which can be performed quite freely: "The candidate must perform two works from different eras/styles on at least one instrument or vocally. One of the works may be composed or improvised by the candidate" (UHI BA EE). Throughout the entrance exam regulations, a few "classical" composers are named, whereas composers from the twentieth and twenty-first century are explicitly mentioned more frequently, thus conveying a portion of the institution's perception of "music": "classical music" is often naturalized and therefore a precondition to get engaged with the institution.

The Universität Hildesheim maintains a "Center for World Music" that depicts itself as an "ethnomusicological research center with an international orientation, regional commitment, and local placement". It offers a proper study program called "musik.welt"[15], i.e., "music.world—cultural diversity in music education", which provides optional courses that can also be taken by music teaching students.

The Universität Hildesheim offers their major programs with a choice of concentrations comprising a variant called "intercultural music education". In this specialization, the emphases are redistributed towards an outside view on Western music traditions. The obligatory courses on music theory and music history still mainly depict European music traditions, but the proportions differ and accommodate engagement with any kind of music culture. The module descriptions contain, e.g., "teaching musical works from extra-European cultures" (UHI BA SPO, pp. 133-139).

This investigation of the curriculum revealed several courses that appear to comply with Blanchard's concern of the "alienation of one's own culture" (Blanchard, 2019) in order to get to a more unbiased view on music cultures. Some courses discuss hegemonic structures directly, e.g., the course "How Does Europe Sound? Musicological, Social, and Cultural Studies Perspectives— A Reading Course" is described as follows:

> How do structurally anchored constructions, representative ideals, or normative ideas of Europe and European identity contribute to the composition, transmission, production, establishment, and performance of music and dance? How are Europe, European identity, and European nation-states constructed through musical and dance action, through scientific, representative, or everyday discourses, and in the context of

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[15] See https://www.uni-hildesheim.de/center-for-world-music/studium-und-lehre/musikwelt-kulturelle-diversitaet-in-der-musikalischen-bildung/. [30.10.2021]

cultural institutions? How can music preserve or transcend ethnic, national, and continental borders? How does musicology participate in the construction and imagination of Europe? What does the decentering and decolonization of Europe mean in the twenty-first century and what responsibility do musicologists, cultural scientists, and social scientists bear?

A quantitative analysis of the course descriptions reveals a broad understanding of the term "music". Various styles are mentioned ranging from baroque to experimental music and including pop, jazz, and a variety of particular ethnic music styles. The curriculum moreover offers several courses that go beyond a focused view on music by extending the musical experience through combination with practices of culture-related cooking or by introducing interdisciplinary aspects. Some of these originate from contemporary developments in the music industry (e.g., music production courses) while others combine music with dance or literature. Given the study opportunities in the program "musik.welt" and its curricular connection to music teacher training, the Universität Hildesheim has somewhat institutionalized the debate towards hegemonic tendencies.

3.2.4 Comparison of Findings

All institutions examined here share an obligatory curricular focus on Western art music in music teacher training programs. This includes courses on music theory and musicology as well as practical subjects such as main and secondary instruments. In all cases, "classical" aspects were linguistically naturalized, whereas "other" styles (including contemporary "classical" music) required explicit naming and were thus implicitly excluded from the institutional understanding of "music".

This observation is confirmed in the disparity in value between mandatory and elective courses. All institutions demand training in "classical piano" and "classical singing" in addition to one's main instrument, and at many institutions only a "classical" orientation is offered for these two. The focus on the piano may be a pragmatic reaction to pianos being available in almost all schools, which makes pianos a tempting starting point music-making in class; however, given its tuning system and the usual ways in which it is used, the piano implicitly introduces a strong emphasis on Western art and folk music as well as on derived styles like traditional jazz. Both "classical piano" and "practical piano" training have their share of responsibility for this approach to incorporating the piano in school lessons.

In case of the UdK Berlin and the HfM Karlsruhe, on paper, the study and examination regulations suggest similar goals, which can be summarized as stylistic diversity, interpretational adequacy, technical versatility, qualifications in the scholarly study of music, and knowledge in the area of jazz/pop; this represents the formal frame within which one must interpret the curricular offers. Courses that go beyond Western art music and derived styles are the exception at the HfM Karlsruhe. The UdK Berlin has interdisciplinary courses in line with to the broad horizon of disciplines offered there. The corresponding regulatory documents at the Universität Hildesheim, however, suggest that their take on diversity and their engagement with hegemonic processes is more structurally anchored and continuous.

4.   Conclusion, Discussion, and Perspectives

As our analyses of curricula have shown, hegemony exists at several levels of music teaching and music teacher training. In particular, the predominance of Western art music identified by Wright & Davies (2010), Buchborn (2019, 2020), Wallbaum (2010), and Clausen (2018, 2020) could also be reconstructed in the curricula examined both on an implicit and explicit level.

Further, we can note an underrepresentation of jazz and popular music in comparison to curriculum content focusing on Western art music and its history. The different levels of value attributed to the styles is reflected in the fact that jazz, pop, and especially additional ethnic styles are named explicitly and separately, whereas "classical" styles are naturalized. In the curricula for music in schools, popular music styles are also subordinate, as we were able to show with our reconstructed logic of the listings. Acknowledging the observation of an increasing consideration of these styles in the teacher training programs (see the quantitative evaluation of their curricula and regulations, section 3.2), these opportunities were still located behind the "gatekeeper" wall (Buchborn, 2019). The findings of Pabst-Krüger (2015) that "popular music is underrepresented in the study programs" thus still apply and can also be transferred to school music education.

When it comes to the thematization of music from other parts of the world, the curricula do not distinguish between classical and popular music. However, a uniform style of music for entire countries or even continents is assumed. The demand for a culturally sensitive approach to diverse musical styles is therefore relevant in youth cultural contexts as well as in cultural contexts of origin.

Blanchard's criticism that the German-speaking discourse on dealing with cultural diversity suffers from a Eurocentric perspective (Blanchard, 2019) has already been applied to music teacher education by Clausen (2020). Although our analysis of selected curricula for music teacher training in universities shows clear location-specific differences, it underpins the abovementioned predominance of Western art music. The naturalization of related terminology is common to all teacher training institutions we considered. Courses that excel at breaking open hegemonic structures are scattered throughout the curricula of the relevant study programs but are not supported institutionally. Courses about Western musicology, classical music theory, or practical lessons are structurally well-embedded in the study programs and tend to serve hegemonic interests, whereas by contrast the critical discourse on what is perceived as one's "own" and on "naturalized contents", as elucidated by Blanchard (2019), are rather isolated phenomena. On paper, all institutions proclaim at some point a broad understanding of music and acknowledge its importance for cultural identity. Yet the value they attribute to diversity is not reflected in the design of their study programs.

The discrepancy between the demands of educational policy and the implementation of content can also be noted with regard to the curricula for music in schools (see section 3.1.2). Parallel to the study programs, the school curricula bear traces of the Eurocentrism diagnosed here, both in the implicit prioritization of Western art music (see section 3.1.1) and in the dichotomous comparison of what is considered to be their own with music that is considered, in an undifferentiated way, to be "foreign" (see section 3.1.2). Our findings of a primacy of notation-based music in the curricula for music in schools reinforces the image of widespread music teaching in German schools that "seeks to achieve an understanding of musical works of occidental art music through the lens of music theory and by means of formal analysis" (Barth & Bubinger, 2020, p. 31; translated by the authors).

However, it has to be stated, that we evaluated the institutions' approaches towards dealing with hegemonic structures from an outside perspective and only in relation to the publicly available

documents and descriptions of study programs and curricula. We therefore considered the institutions to be "black boxes" accessible via this information. Some of the curricula descriptions theoretically allow for an implementation that might overcome hegemonic tendencies, but the curriculum analysis does not provide insights into everyday practices in schools and universities. Without drawing conclusions about the effectiveness of curricula, we understand our findings as a complementary perspective on contemporary (German) music education in schools and its complex intertwinement with its music teacher training. Nevertheless, our results from the analysis of educational curriculum documents are in line with pupils' (Heß, 2011) and teachers' (Buchborn, 2020; Buchborn & Bons, 2021) perceptions of music lessons, according to which Western art music and theory form the core of music lessons in Germany (see Heß, 2011, p. 2).

As a result, students perceive music lessons as a separate sphere from their own music reception and accordingly do not transfer it to their own lives. If music teacher training were to aim to reflect the diversity of musical styles, this would have a direct impact on the perception of the subject. Musical contents that have not been part of the repertoire of studies so far, such as producing/dealing with DAWs or arabesque music (see Honnens, 2017), could build a bridge to the students' music reception and thus satisfy the widespread demand for widespread needs that students have to be able to relate individual meaning to the music they are learning. At the same time, the accompanying detachment from a single dominant musical stylistic orientation would lead to musicians from different fields being allowed to study.

The dominance of "classical" art music in German curricula, which is in most cases unquestioned and unreflected, limits access to music education in school and at the university. Teacher training programs, for example, are only open to a certain group of musicians and the study programs seem to reinforce a limited hegemonic concept of music. We assume that future music teachers will reproduce this predominant canonic concept of music in their teaching practice in school.

However, some institutions try to break this reproductive circle of hegemony. In the documents we analyzed we found efforts to open music teacher training programs for musicians from fields of music that were unconsidered in the past. However, our own experience at the Hochschule für Musik Freiburg shows that the establishment of new main instruments for the music teacher training program does not lead to an increased number of students in this field. This shows that the paths leading to the music teaching profession are far more complex. (Musical) socialization in music schools and school music education, for example, seems to play an important role. And hegemony in all these fields redounds to classical musicians' advantage. It is a task for the future to productively question the social conditions that constitute and reproduce barriers to change and wider access to more instruments and musical styles. Furthermore, in addition to opening up the entrance exams to include other genres, it is necessary to break new ground in the orientation of the curricula as a whole. Instead of specializing in certain subareas, music teacher training programs should meet the diversity of music practices of our times. It is thus important that training also reaches people who have not yet gained access to the music teacher profession. This requires a joint effort of the different institutes.

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