

Community Music- an alternative for decolonization

The role of the music school CECAM in the decolonization of the
Oaxacan Indigenous communities

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1. Introduction

a. Prologue

In the year 2008, when I finished my postgraduate studies in the subject guitar at the University Mozarteum Salzburg in Austria, I felt strongly attracted to the idea to pursue a PhD in order to establish a deeper relationship with the 'non-practical' aspect of the music. Firstly, I had to face the question 'should I pursue a PhD in performance, or in Musicology or in Music Education?' The first option has been dropped because I was not comfortable anymore by being supervised during my artistic activity; this was the begging of my current PhD project. I reflected about my personal experiences within my musical practices, including my musical education and I realized that I was not happy at all with the way, in which the music was taught to me. At this point I found two interesting things: firstly, the educational approach that rules most of the educational institutions did not make me feel comfortable, and secondly, I did not do anything to change that situation! I would like to stress that I appreciate many things during my time at the diverse music universities, which I attended; but even if I had reflected about the foundation and benefits of that approach agreeing with many aspects, at the end, it still far to make me feel fully comfortable with my relationship with the music. On the other hand, I asked myself: 'why did I do nothing at all to change the situation? What could I do to change it eventually'? Why did I not feel comfortable with the 'traditional' approach of the educational institutions? Are there other music education approaches?

In the next year many things occurred at the same time. My mother – who is from the Mixe Indigenous community in the Mexican's state of Oaxaca – told me about a 'special' music school in her community of origin: the CECAM in Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec. She was fascinated about the school; she told me, that the students live at the music school, that they play only traditional music, that the school pays the living costs of the students and that the students, after finishing their studies at the CECAM, could apply for entrance at the University to continue studying music on high education level. At that time I was reflecting a lot about the role of the music in the society and I was concerned about the

increasing social problems in my native country, Mexico. The last factor, which was important for me at that moment were the popular musicians: I felt fascinated about the approach to the music of many popular musicians that I knew and I was thinking: 'Why is my approach as classical musician so different to them?' A mere answer considering the whole explanation of the difference between music genres was not enough for me, I thought there are more differences, than only the organization of sounds and pauses, or the way to produce those 'organized sounds', or the instruments that are used by the classical musicians and the popular musicians.

Then I started to reflect about the context, in which I had carried out my musical activity; I realized the most part of my musical activity had been developed in the context of a music education institution. I asked myself: 'why did I decide to attend a school to learn music? Did I want to become a classical musician?' I really liked a lot classical music since I was a child, but actually I started to play guitar because I wanted to become a rock/jazz musician. With the time passing, I got to know more and more about other music genres and I liked all of them! Thus, it was clear for me that I want to become a professional musician, but the only option was to attend the university, where **only classical music** is taught; but why was it so important to study music at an institution? Well, if one wants to become a doctor one goes to the university because there is all the equipment that one needs to learn everything concerning medicine, you cannot take private lessons with a doctor. But there was some more reasons to attend to the university: I could just learn through friends, but it was not enough to become a good professional musician; another option could be: to take private lessons, but I could not afford a guitar teacher, a solfeggio teacher, music history teacher, harmony teacher, aesthetics teacher, etc.; one needs all that information to become a good musician, right? So the university offer me all of that, and even more: the question: 'what are you doing in your life? Do you study or do you work?' I could answer 'I am studying music at the university.' The university offered me the possibility to be legitimized for the society. But why did I need to be legitimized as musician? Are there other ways to legitimize my activity? Who establishes the rules of the 'legitimization game'? If there had been a rock university in Mexico, would have I attended to the rock university or

to the classical music university?

At that point, it was the time to take a decision about to pursue a PhD or not, but I was still more worried about all the above-mentioned questions. Then, I decided to make my worries and concerns the field of study of my PhD, but how could I do that? Then I remembered again the school, my Mom mentioned to me; I realized that the CECAM was strongly linked to many of my questions; on the other hand, I have never been in the home villages of my Mom. The first exposé about the project was called 'Function of the music schools in context of the social integration of Indigenous groups on Mexico and Brazil,' my intention was to explore how could some music schools contribute to improve the life of the Indigenous peoples, as well as to explore the differences between the music education formation, which I had in the context of classical music and music education in context of popular music, but providing through a Institution.

Why Mexico and Brazil? Why indigenous? Why to improve? At the moment of planning my project, I was very close to some Brazilians friends: we constantly exchanged our respective experiences in Mexico and Brazil. Thus, I realized that there was a similar school in northern Brazil, but at the time I realized, it was not possible to study both schools, therefore, I decided to concentrate only in the CECAM. On the other hand, I have had always the conviction –through my personal experiences and my understanding of the social and political context in Mexico – that the indigenous peoples in Mexico live in social disadvantage compared to the rest of the Mexican population. The original project underwent changes as consequence of recommendations of Professor Dr. Alexandra Kertz-Welzel and Professor Dr.med Dr.phil Lorenz Welker, as well as the lectures to which I assisted as part of the PhD program in Music Education and Musicology at the Ludwig Maximilians Universität München, resulting in the PhD research project: *Community MUSIC* - an alternative for decolonization. The role of the music school CECAM in the decolonization of the Oaxacan Indigenous communities.

b. Purpose of Study and outline of the chapters

Following both, personal and professional concerns, this study attempts to

demonstrate that the music school CECAM in the Mexico state of Oaxaca can be identified under the rubric of *Community* MUSIC and that its participation within the Oaxacan indigenous communities contributes to decolonize the Oaxacan Indigenous peoples. In order to achieve the aims implied in the thesis' purpose, the notion of *Community* MUSIC on basis of the Dr Lee Higgins thoughts, as well as the thoughts of the Modernity/Coloniality Group will be used as a framework to analyze and understand both, the activity of the CECAM and its context.

The disadvantage context, in which the Indigenous populations in Mexico are living, is a direct consequence of colonial practices – during the colonialism – and current coloniality practices: while colonialism relates to the political and economic relation between a metropolis – seen as power and control centre – and dominated and exploited people; coloniality relates to the power pattern, which emerges as the result of the modern colonialism and lasts even after subjection and oppression themselves. To understand the concept of coloniality practices, one shall refer to the epistemic and political project known as modernity/(de)coloniality initiated in South America, more specifically in the Andean region.

The notion of *Community* MUSIC finds its origins in the Community Arts movement in the UK. However, what is Community Music? Even if Community Music activities have been practised since the late 1950's, the question "What is Community Music?" is still open. The quest for a theoretical framework, which supports and articulates the Community Music practices, has been the central point of many researchers.

"What is Community Music? [...] There are many answers. At one end of the spectrum [...] CM is just another term for a wide range of 'music education' programs that take place 'outside' the boundaries and schedules of ordinary school music programs. At the other end of the spectrum, many scholars and practitioners offer rich definitions that differ widely. A variety of alternative conceptions occupy the middle of the continuum. Clearly, music has been part of human 'communitas' for centuries. However, positing Community Music as a field of research, an

identifiable professional practice, or a unifying ideal is still unfamiliar to many. In short, since concepts of CM vary widely from society to society, I believe it is critical to consider this phenomenon from a variety of perspectives.”¹

Nowadays Community Music activities are strongly present in many countries like Scandinavia, UK, New Zealand, Australia, USA and Canada, while in other places like Portugal, Japan and South America the presence of Community Music activities are new.² However, there is still a necessity of a theoretical framework, which is also reflected by the lack of appropriate terminology. In order to provide the theoretical framework for the practice and development of Community Music, Dr Lee David Higgins analysed and placed Community Music and its practice within the Derridean thought of Deconstruction. In this paper the proposed notion of *Community MUSIC* of Dr Lee David Higgins will be used to analyze the activity of the CECAM.

Under this perspective, the present paper aims to determine that the *Community MUSIC* activity of the music school CECAM is an efficient alternative to decolonize the Oaxacan Indigenous populations. Qualitative research methods were chosen as data collection methods to capture the necessary information about the activity of the CECAM, besides that, documentary evidence and auto-ethnographic memory were also used. The information has been gathered from video documentation, one-to-one unstructured interviews, participant observation and subsequent field notes. The qualitative research was carried out from 6th to 27th September 2010 in the CECAM installations with the approval of the then CECAM director Damian Martínez Gómez. The research was carried out with the support of the camera woman and director, Catalina Torres; therefore, I will use the first person plural in chapter 6. Catalina Torres recorded the interviews – which were conducted by me – and the participative observation under my guidance. Her collaboration was very important for the success of this research; it is worth noting that she

¹ K.K. Veblen, “The many ways of community music,” *International Journal of Community Music* Volume

² Ibid.

did not take part during the data analysis and conclusions.

In chapter 2 the notion of *Community MUSIC* according Dr Lee David Higgins will be exposed. The first and second sections of this chapter provide a historical perspective about Community Arts and Community Music, respectively. The third and fourth section of the chapter the Derridean notion such as subjectile, *iterability*, intertextuality, gift, supplement, hospitality undecidable, *l'avenir*, *différance*, *subjectile* are explained as a manner in which one can understand the phenomenon of *Community MUSIC*.

In chapter 3, the modernity/coloniality thought will be discussed. The first section would be an introduction about post-colonial theory, while the subsequent five sections of the chapter will resume the central thoughts of the modernity/coloniality group, which concentrates its discussion on the coloniality practices in the Americas. Three main categories will be discussed: coloniality of power, coloniality of knowledge and coloniality of being. The last part of chapter 2 determines the meaning of the concept 'indigenous music' in context of this paper; it will be showed that Mexican indigenous music arose as part of an aesthetic colonization, which was carried out through coloniality of power, coloniality of knowledge and coloniality of being practices.

In chapter 4 it will be stated that the current social, political, economical, and cultural situation of the state of Oaxaca in Mexico can be understood from the modernity/coloniality perspective. In the first three sections of the chapter the coloniality practices during from the Spanish conquest from 1492 to the present time will be discussed, while the fourth section will expose the cultural implications of those coloniality practices in Oaxaca.

Chapter 5 will explained the methodological foundations for the qualitative research about the activity of the CECAM, in the second part of the chapter, the musical education system in Mexico will be briefly described, while the third part provides a historical perspective about the CECAM from its origins to the present time. Both aspects are necessary to analyze the collected data, in these sections appear already indicative elements which suggest that the

activity of the CECAM can be considered as *Community* MUSIC, as well as decoloniality practice.

In chapter 6, the collected data will be discussed in depth in order to prove that the activity of the music school CECAM is *Community* MUSIC. The first section will analyse the curriculum of the CECAM for the school year 2010, in the next two sections the whole spectrum of activities that are carried out in the CECAM will be discussed; in this sections the features that are indicative of *Community* MUSIC practices and decoloniality practices will be stressed, while in the final section of this chapter the argumentation to determine that the CECAM is a *Community* MUSIC project will be presented.

Chapter 7 attempts to conclude that the *Community* MUSIC activity of the CECAM contributes to decolonize the Indigenous peoples of Oaxaca. This chapter is divided in three sections in order to demonstrate the role of activities of the CECAM – as *Community* MUSIC activities – in the decoloniality of knowledge, decoloniality of being and decoloniality of power. Chapter 8 is a brief resume and presentation of final thoughts about decolonization, *Community* MUSIC and this paper. The chapter 9 is dedicated to pictures while the last chapter is dedicated to bibliography.

2. *Community MUSIC*

a. *Community Arts*

Dr. David Lee Higgins, Associate Professor at the Boston University has been focusing intensively on answering the question ‘what is Community Music?’ After some conferences in Toronto and a period of workshops in other institutions, he realized that many persons outside UK were looking for a definition of Community Music. The answer to the question ‘What is Community Music?’ is necessary for those, who do not have a developed sense of what Community Music is.

“...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.”³

On his Ph.D. dissertation *Boundary-Walkers Contexts and Concepts of Community Music* Dr. Lee David Higgins develops a theoretical framework to understand and analyze Community Music in order to foment and consider its practice. From Higgins perspective Community Music has its origins in the Community Arts, which took place during the 1960s in the UK.⁴ Community Arts was a part of the counter-culture movements during the late 1960s and early 1970s, which had its values on an emphasis on personal development, anti-materialism and non-conformity.⁵

Between 1950 and 1960 the labour government established the conditions for a relatively affluent society. The aims of that society were the private and personal needs and interests, rather than the public and social ones. People put

³ Lee David Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” (PhD diss., University of Limerick, 2006), 2.

⁴ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 38.

⁵ David Chalmers, *And the Crooked Places Made Straight: The Struggle for Social Change in the 1960s* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 88-100.

more effort to cover their comfort expectations and to increase their private ownership, and they forgot about social activities. However, this welfare state was a social illusion.⁶ The government forgot the real needs of the society and the working class was not benefiting from the new welfare state. Resulting for this a social inconformity appeared.

The 'Old Left' could not face this problem and the 'New Left', influenced by the Marxist ideas, appears in order to challenge the monopolistic control and the imperial expansion. They put a special emphasis on the culture, agency, culture and class-consciousness. The 'New Left' also argued the 'Old Lefts' construction of history and consequently re-historicized its classifications and re-theorized its concepts of totality, determination and historical issues.⁷

One of the aims of community arts was to destroy categories of art and culture of the dominant class. Maybe one the most interesting attempt was the fight against the status of the individual artist. Community arts tried to dissolve the separation between performer and audience, they tried to change the role of the artist by undermining distinctions between high and low art and demystifying the artistic-doing.⁸

During the early 1970s community artists noticed that the work made by fringe groups like the working class, women, etc. had been oppressed by the dominant class. As a reaction of that fact, community artists began to act as conscious facilitators for those people, who had been oppressed, in order to help them to express themselves artistically.⁹ This attitude was an essential difference between the community artist and the 'elitist artist.' As result of this, community arts were linked with the fight of the working class and its values.¹⁰

⁶ Bart-Moore Gilbert and John Seed, *Cultural Revolution? The Challenge of the Arts in the 1960s* (London: Routledge, 1992).

⁷ John Storey, *An Introductory Guide to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1997), 289-290.

⁸ Higgins, "Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music," 42.

⁹ Ibid., 43.

¹⁰ Su Braden, *Artist and People* (London: Routledge, 1978).

In the early 1970s the Association for Community Artists (ACA) was initiated. According to Malcolm Dickson, the ACA was the single most important factor in forging the community arts movement.¹¹ The ACA was a result of a seminar initiated by the Arts Council of Great Britain and hosted by the Institute of Contemporary Arts.¹² The Art Council established a working party in order to determine, if the Artist Council should be funding Community Arts. On the report of the Community Arts Working Party, published in 1974, it was concluded that a Community Arts panel has to be founded and a dedicated officer should be assigned.

This event has brought some problems for growth of the Community Arts movement. According to Kelly, an almost total reliance on the revenue funding from limited sources appeared. "Reliance on grant aid that would inevitably carry strings or implications distorted the work and was contrary to the ideas of sustained independence."¹³ Dickson noted that development work is reliant on adequate time, and that it has always been in the funder's interest to organize revenue into short-term payouts. This is contrary to initial projections of community arts that insisted on the work following long-term commitment.¹⁴

The early concept of community arts as social activism led community artists to oppose to collaborate with formal education institutes during the 1970s. "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."¹⁵

The economic imperatives of community arts practitioners made them look for a way to shift from a position of opposing formal education in schools. In his book, *Musicians go to School*, Peggie tries to address formal educators aiming to find

¹¹ Malcolm Dickson, ed., *Art with People* (Sunderland: AN Publications, 1995), 17.

¹² Higgins, "Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music," 44.

¹³ Ibid., 45.

¹⁴ Malcolm Dickson, *Art with People*.

¹⁵ Higgins, "Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music," 46.

common base. This could be appreciated in the activities of the community musician who has interacted with schools overall since the 1980s.¹⁶

The number of projects, falling into the category of community arts rubric, began to increase, and project managers were soon confronted with the problem of finding appropriately skilled artists. As result, an important change occurred; the recognition that many community arts projects needed a professional artist or arts worker.¹⁷

In 1988 Rod Brook published *Wanted! Community Artists*, which is a summary of some principles and practice implemented within the apprenticeship scheme set up by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation during the late 1980s to train future community artists. Brook points out that the required skills of community artist were not only good art skills but also “the confidence and sensitivity to work in and with communities.”¹⁸

Braden marks that a combination of community development techniques and artistic skills began to take place in the late 1970s within the employment sector.¹⁹ The position called Arts Development Worker and Community Arts Development Worker were requested more and more frequently across the UK. Arts workers began to occupy diverse job position like animateur, institutional outreach worker, community arts officer, and freelance worker. The development of the arts centre – as a core for local activity – helped stimulate arts projects and community recognition valuing the activity of community arts.

In *Regular Marvels*, published in 1994, François Matarasso offers a widespread summary of the skills, subjects, and context which sustain community arts work in general. He also provides an analysis of the individual needs of specific art forms: dance, literature, mime and music.

¹⁶ Andrew Pegg, *Musicians go to School* (London: London Arts Board, 1997).

¹⁷ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 46.

¹⁸ Rod Brook, *Wanted! Community Artists* (London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1988), 3.

¹⁹ Braden, *Artist and People*, 108.

According to Higgins, the community arts practitioners were convinced about the empowerment through participation in the creative process, in order to achieve something in their communities. Some practitioners even believed that the community arts must be a medium for social and political changes.²⁰ Therefore it was widely considered that the establishment of cultural democracy was of the utmost importance to achieve any sense of political democracy and change.

“The Arts have the power to transform communities and to change the lives of people, (emphasizing that this is) the single most important feature about community arts activity.”²¹

The Arts Council did not get around the community arts' point of view. It was an effort to reach an amply audience through opening the doors of its concert halls, opera houses, galleries and theatres but active participation in arts was absent. The notion of cultural democracy for the Arts Council “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.”²²

At the beginning of the 1980s the government decided that the charitable status was mandatory for those organizations applying for money. This was an attempt of the government to deactivate the community arts initiative in terms of its community activism; Resultantly, the ACA became a charity itself. Through this shift, the ACA gained the Shelton Trust, which still is part of the national discussion after the ACA was dissolved in 1980.²³ The Shelton Trust intended to follow the precepts dew by the ACA in order to construct an “egalitarian and

²⁰ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 48.

²¹ Mark Webster, ed., *Finding Voices, Making Choices* (Nottingham: Educational Heretics Press, 1997), 69.

²² Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 49.

²³ Ibid., 49-50.

plural society, by the extension of democratic practice to all social relationships.”²⁴

We can also find an influence of the Marxism by The Shelton Trust’s political stance, since it believes in the radicalization of the Arts in order to face a dominant hierarchical culture, which produces and maintains oppression in society.²⁵ With the introduced term ‘cultural democracy,’ the manifesto notes that a genuine democracy does not have to have a pre-set culture for the people; instead it has to allow them to create their own culture. “Cultural democracy offers an analysis of the cultural, political and economic systems that dominate in Britain. More importantly, it offers a tool for action.”²⁶

Braden points out the importance of the context for the community artist in the 1980s; in order the artworks to have a bigger relevance, Braden advocates the necessity for the artist to generate suitable conditions for it. This could be reached through the abolition of the elitist ‘aura,’ which liberates the artwork and generates wide range of opportunities for a higher participation.²⁷

One of the most important concerns for the community arts was the relationship of the artist with his community and the impact upon it. Therefore, skills beyond the aesthetic were developed, which went beyond psychological, social and political boundaries. Brook points out that, “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.”²⁸

Even if The Shelton Trust did not create any official proclamation about the definition of Community Art, in its bimonthly magazine *Another Standard*, it can

²⁴ Shelton Trust, *The Manifesto: Another Standard, Culture and Democracy* (Comedia, 1986), 7.

²⁵ Ibid., 6.

²⁶ Ibid., 9.

²⁷ Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* (London: Fontana Press, 1992).

²⁸ Brook, *Wanted! Community Artists*.

a checklist concerns to the practice of community arts can be found.²⁹

- “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.”³⁰

Furthermore, during the late 1980s was possible to find a reference written by Greater London Arts Association, which was used by Kelly and Brook to outline a more precise definition of the term Community Arts.

“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.”³¹

The attempt to find a suitable definition of Community Arts involved some problems. In the report *Arts and Communities*, released by the Community Development Foundation, Community Arts is defined as movement that aimed primarily to “stimulate involvement in the Arts among people in disadvantaged conditions”³² and also that community arts “sought to empower individuals and communities to participate more effectively in running their own lives.”³³ At the

²⁹ Shelton Trust, *The Manifesto: Another Standard, Culture and Democracy*.

³⁰ Dickson, *Art with People*, 22.

³¹ Brook, *Wanted! Community Artist*, 7.

³² Community Development Foundation, *Arts and Communities* (London: Community Development Foundation, 1992), 85.

³³ Community Development Foundation, *Arts and Communities*, 85.

same time, it is advised in the report that a wide range of activities takes place under its sign, which could be better described as arts in the community, therefore it is implied that community arts activities would be included into the term arts in the community.³⁴ Accordingly to the report, arts in the community have five distinctive features: participation, consultation, social concern, partnership and the development of individual or group creativity.³⁵

The attempt to dissolve the term community arts from amateur arts was one of the debates surrounding the definition of it. Everitt pointed out that the difference between community arts and amateur arts is the additional social purpose of the first one. Some of the purposes are; 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.³⁶

Higgins points out that Webster uses three directions to distinguish community arts from amateur arts and commercial arts:

“...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).”³⁷

b. The Growth of Community Music

So far we have regarded Community Arts as a part of the counter-culture movement during the 1970s. The movement was an attempt to destroy the art

³⁴ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 57.

³⁵ Community Development Foundation, *Arts and Communities*, 87.

³⁶ Anthony Everitt, *Joining In; An Investigation into Participatory Music* (London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1997), 38.

³⁷ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 57.

categories and offer resistance to the perceived 'high' art domination of the ruling classes. At the same time Community Arts was a critique of Western capitalism, since it was strongly influenced by Marxist theory.

The groundwork laid by Community arts conduces independent development of specific arts practices. Projects and practice grew from the groundwork of community arts towards specialities such as Community Dance, Community Video, Community Drama, Community Theatre and Community Music.³⁸ It was during the 1980s that Community Music was organized and started to find its own personality.

“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.”³⁹

Higgins points out that there is not a substantial historical narrative pertaining to Community Music in the UK, although through the diverse publications of *Sounding Board since 1990 until the present*, it was possible for Higgins to learn to understand five key themes of Community Music practice: identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy.⁴⁰ In the following pages I will outline the central points of these five themes, which will offer the necessary references for the subsequent theory-building.

i. Context

Due to its politically striking based on the principles of socialism, Community Music was confronted with the perceived ‘misunderstandings’ of music’s nature and purpose and resisted formal music education. These misunderstandings find their origin in the concept of music in the late XVIII century.⁴¹ The ideas

³⁸ Ibid., 59.

³⁹ Ibid., 84.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 85.

⁴¹ Ibid., 47.

pertaining to high and low art were constructed in order to maintain social and cultural hegemonies.

“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.”⁴²

According to Higgins, the first significant change on the panorama of the music education could be dated in the mid -1960s with the appearance of the composer-educators such as John Paynter, Peter Aston, George Self and Murray Schafer. The composer-educators started to share musical ideas and techniques with their students, thus providing the students with the opportunity to actively take part in the education process. During the 1960s and the early 1970s it was a tendency in the music education to give more attention to non-classical music forms. This involved changes in the music teaching practices and also the increased influence of the ethnomusicology within the music education sector.

“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).”⁴³

Christopher Smalls published in 1977 *Music, Society, Education*. He remarks the importance of finding alternative directions in music education through Community Music i. Smalls discusses about the music practice in non-western cultures, underlines the social imperatives and concludes that music is not a thing by itself but an activity do it by the people emphasizing the priority of the

⁴² Ibid., 62.

⁴³ Ibid., 63.

art-process over the art-object.⁴⁴ Ethnomusicologists like Smalls and Blacking were strongly convinced about the relevance of the associations between people in transmission and meaning of music.⁴⁵

At the same time that ethnomusicologist studied in depth the cultural aspect of music, the music education began to give children an opportunity to involve directly with music as composers and performers, widening the creativity and self-expression.⁴⁶ As result of the teacher's role experiencing a change; instead of being a teacher with pre-determined knowledge, he became a facilitator of creativity and exploration.

In *Music Society Education* Small proposed a collective activity of 'musicking' bringing together a pluralist vision of music-making with a critique of formal music education. Small assumed that some musicians were attempting to 'restore lost communality' in Western music, prioritizing the creative process over the 'glossy finished product'.⁴⁷

The mentioned changes in music education led to the introduction of the musician and composer-in-residency programs within the primary and secondary level education in the UK.⁴⁸ An example of such programs was the collaboration between 1973 and 1975 in the Cleator Moor area of Cumbria of David Cain, a jazz and medieval music specialist with many years of experience

⁴⁴ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performance and Listening*, (London: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 2-4.

⁴⁵ John Blacking, *How Musical is Man?* (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), vi.

⁴⁶ John Paynter, *Music in the Secondary School Curriculum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

John Paynter, and Peter Aston, *Sound and Silence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

George Self, *New.sounds in Class: A Contemporary Approach to Music* (London: Universal Editions, 1976).

Murray R. Schafer, *The Rhinoceros in the Classroom* (Canada: Uiversal Edition Ltd, 1975).

Murray R. Schafer, *A Sound Education* (Ontario: Arcana Editions, 1992).

Keith Swanwick, *A Basis for Music Education* (London: Routledge, 1979).

⁴⁷ Christopher Small, *Music Society Education* (London: Wesleyan University Press, 1996), 152.

⁴⁸ Higgins, "Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music," 66.

in BBC Radiophonic Workshop.^{49 50} Braden's interviews with David Cain show a big confusion between musician, school and funding agencies and a deficient clarity in the construction and accomplishment of the project.

Higgins notes that the first partnerships did not pay attention to skills beyond a traditional training for musicians, musicianship being required to successfully bridge the gap between professional and amateur music-making. However, the music residency played a decisive role for the growth of Community Music, it was not the only one: According to Higgins, Bruce Cole remarks that pinpointing politics and welfare were also important factors for the development of Community Music.⁵¹

According to Everitt, there were considerable similarities between the origin of the community arts and the growth of rock and pop; the key initiators originate from the working class. Customary relationships between active performing and passive audiences were faced by the new forms of music-making, an ampler base by which an atmosphere of music participation was encouraged and inexpensive instruments like percussions and guitars were provided.⁵² Everitt's formulation reiterates a number of ideas already mentioned but it underlined the importance of the cultural factor of the popular music.

ii. Participation

The creation of the Music Education Working Party in 1984, which was managed by the Arts Council of Great Britain,⁵³ had a capital importance for the development of Community Music. The construction of a connection between the sectors of education, community development and music was the purpose of the Music Education Workers Party.

⁴⁹ Braden, *Artist and People*, 73-79.

⁵⁰ Tim Joss, "A Short History of Community Music," in *The First National Directory of Community Music*, ed. Tim Joss et al. (Bury St Edmunds: Sound Sense, 1993) 3-18.

⁵¹ Higgins, "Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music," 67.

⁵² Anthony Everitt, *Joining In; An Investigation into Participatory Music* (London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1997).

⁵³ Joss, "A Short History of Community Music", 4.

“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.”⁵⁴

One of the key actions of the Music Education Working Party was the creation of the music animateur posts, which had the objective to generate a decisive impact on the growth of Community Music.⁵⁵ During the 1980s a prominence in local communities was established by the music animateur, promoting musical practice in surroundings not yet explored. The animateur posts involved art centres, educational institutions, orchestras or opera companies.

One of the distinctive characteristics of the music animateur was his flexible approach to music-making. He had to combine musical, facilitatory, administrative and communication skills as resources to execute successfully its practice.⁵⁶ Musically, George McKay affirms that many community musicians implemented 'the temperament of improvisation,' this affirmation connects the development of Community Music with Free Jazz style, which was developed during the 1960s counter -culture movement.⁵⁷

As result of the animateur network throughout the 1980s, the participation in active music-making increased. Alongside of this process, many modifications took place from a generic music worker to a music community worker, whose participation in active music-making 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 certain skills, which reflected specific aspects of the communities in which they work.

⁵⁴ Higgins, "Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music," 71-72.

⁵⁵ Franyois Matarasso, *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation* (Stroud: Comedia, 1994), 15.

⁵⁶ Joss, "A Short History of Community Music," 6.

⁵⁷ Pete Moser and George McKay, *Community Music: A Handbook* (Lyme Regis: Russell House Publishing Ltd, 2005), 62.

iii. Community

One of the most remarkable events during the growth of Community Music was the formation of the national development agency Sound Sense; its inaugural meeting took place in 1989. Sound Sense was conceived during the first national focused Community Music meeting Making Connections during 15th and 16th April 1989 in Manchester, which was organized by the regional arts council, North West Arts.

Beside the conception of Sound Sense, Making Connections focused to discuss seven basic principles:

- “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.”⁵⁸

In the second national conference of Sound Sense in 1991 'Community Music - The Official Version?' subjects around definition; sense of belonging; and identity were still essential. In order to find distinction for the nature of Community Music practice, five criteria were synthesized during this second meeting.

- Community Music aims to provide access to music for people who

⁵⁸ John Drummond, *The Community Musician: Training a New Professional* (Oslo: The Norwegian Affiliation of International Society for Music Education, 1991).

are not usually able to participate in musical activity.

- Community Music aims to offer opportunities for active participation in making and creating music.
- Community Music is based on partnerships where any professional input is biased towards enabling rather than leading.
- Community musicians are concerned with additional social purposes rather than music for music's sake.
- Community Music projects offer physical resources to outside individuals or groups.⁵⁹

iv. Pedagogy

Issues about Community Music employment, which focused upon opportunities for work, were also discussed during the second meeting of Making Connections in 1989. The following four general areas surrounding work were examined:

- Outreach work by professional music ensembles; orchestras and opera companies.
- People working within a particular community; these musicians often being termed 'Community Music Worker' or 'Music Animateur.'
- Music cooperatives or collectives.
- Freelance workshop and project leaders.^{60 61}

Due the understanding an appreciation of their own work, community musicians started to identify specific competences as musician, workshop leader, project manager and promoter, and entrepreneur. This situation leads training providers to examine the employment landscape and began to move towards vocational training; the Music Performance and Communications Skills at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama and the courses for workshop leaders by Community Music Ltd in London, Cardiff and Norwich were the most coherent

⁵⁹ Joss, "A Short History of Community Music," 3.

⁶⁰ Tim Joss, "Some Glad Tidings," *Sounding Board*. Spring (1993): 16-17.

⁶¹ Tim Joss, "NAMS (Not Another Ministerial Shake-Up!)," *Sounding Board*. Spring (1992): 21.

examples.⁶²

In its origins, Community Music distinguished from the formal parameters of the music education: the term education was avoided and the term 'training' was introduced, this change underlined a divergence between vocational and academic education.⁶³ This move was a national trend towards closer partnerships between potential workers and those within the work sectors.

During the 1990s advertisement, letters and articles relating to the nature of Community Music and training show a changing face of Community Music. It starts to be seen not only as a reactionary political movement but also as 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...”⁶⁴

v. Identity (Definitions)

During the early 1990s a growing interest in issues of identity and purpose of Community Music emerged. Irene Macdonald points out the need to draw lessons, define matters and clarify practices out of the existing experiences of Community Music. She also underlines that Community Music has to become a “consciously exercised, defined, recognized and known activity.”⁶⁵

Irene Macdonald, the chair of Sound Sense, recognized the need to answer to the vexed question ‘what does/is Community Music?’ She mentioned a main reason for it: to determine an agreement of collective values so that the organization had a common basis on which to build and to reach a well-defined

⁶² Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 78.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 80.

⁶⁵ Irene Macdonald, “Comment,” *Sounding Board* Spring (1994): 24.

aim about what it was that Sound Sense was trying to promote.⁶⁶ Therefore in 1995 the following set of statements was made:

- 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.⁶⁷

In 1998 a promotional pamphlet – published by Sound Sense – faced the question, ‘What is Community Music?’ In five categories Community Music was organized as being about people, participation, places, equality of opportunity and diversity.⁶⁸ The same ideas were included both in the student pack *Making a Difference with Music* and in the Sound Sense's dictionary of training opportunities *Which Training?*⁶⁹

c. The Derridean thought and Community Music

So far, I have examined the growth and initial development of Community Music. Five central themes of the Community Music practice were recognized and explained: identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy. In the following, I will explain the working theory in which Higgins considers Community Music practice. In order to distinguish Community Music as subject itself rather than for its subjects of practice such as process/product, participation and context, Higgins articulates the condition of Community Music as *Community MUSIC* initiated from Derridean deconstructive thought, also taking into consideration Elliott's categories of music.

“*Community MUSIC* is the infrastructure of any music-making activity and

⁶⁶ Irene Macdonald, “The Leiston Statement,” *Sounding Board* Spring (1995): 29.

⁶⁷ Macdonald, “The Leiston Statement,” 29.

⁶⁸ *What is Community Music* (Promotional Leaflet. Sound Sense, 1998).

⁶⁹ Kathryn Deane, *Which Training?* (Bury St Edmunds: Sound Sense, 1998).

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. (...) (Identity) has aimed to point this out and thus encourage those involved in the shaping of our musical lives to readdress the inequalities.”⁷⁰

By linking three related senses of the word 'music,' David Elliot condenses his multidimensional concept about 'MUSIC'.

- 'MUSIC' is a varied human practice, which lies in many different musical practices, music-cultures and genres.
- 'MUSIC' designates diverse genres of musical practice: Rock, Jazz, Classical, etc. Every genre is engendered as a musical practice within an artistic social community.
- Every contextualized practice- specific action can be designated 'MUSIC' in the product sense of musical works that personify values, standards and traditions of any given practice of culture.^{71 72}

Deconstruction has mainly two facets: literary and philosophical. The philosophical facet concerns the main target of deconstruction: the metaphysics of presence. Derrida maintains that metaphysics produces dualistic oppositions installing a hierarchy, which privileges one term of each dichotomy.

“An opposition of metaphysical concepts (speech/writing, presence/absence, etc.) is never the face-to-face of two terms, but a hierarchy and an order of subordination. Deconstruction cannot limit itself or proceed immediately to neutralisation: it must, by means of a double gesture, a double science, a double writing, practise an overturning of the classical opposition, and a general displacement of the system. It is on

⁷⁰ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 150.

⁷¹ David J Elliott, *Music Matters: A New Philosophy of Music Education* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

⁷² Michael L. Mark, ed., *Music Education* (London: Routledge, 2002).

that condition alone that deconstruction will provide the means of intervening in the field of oppositions it criticises.”⁷³

By reversing dichotomies and trying to corrupt the dichotomies themselves, Deconstruction’s thought attempts to expose this dualistic ways of thinking. It also purposes to demonstrate that there are undecidables: something that cannot correspond to any side of a dichotomy or opposition. In this regard, Deconstruction does not attempt to provide a definition or a set of reducible statements that answers the question ‘What is the nature of...?’ Deconstruction is predicated on the intention to show us to that which is wholly *Other*⁷⁴ and to open us up to alternative possibilities, therefore Derrida remarks the paradox and the impossibility by attempting to confine deconstruction to one specific and overarching aim.⁷⁵

Higgins avoids giving a metaphysical definition about Community Music but a deconstructive approach. He uses notions of the Derridean thinking to provide a support and argument for the dislocation of MUSIC and its reintegration with Community Music.⁷⁶ These notions are: *l’avenir*, trace, undecidable and *différance*. In the next section I will examine, how Higgins connects these four Derridean notions with diverse aspects of Community Music practice.

i. Community Music and *l’avenir*

When Higgins confronts the question ‘What is Community Music?’ he does not attempt to provide a definition but to answer the question ‘what is?’ by considering which conditions allow the Being. The Derridean approach to the previous question stray from the Western tradition and is strongly influenced by Heidegger’s philosophy. Heidegger points out that Western philosophy has repeatedly favoured that which ‘is,’ or that which appears, and has set aside the

⁷³ Jacques Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alas Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 195.

⁷⁴ *Other* refers to the Derridean use of the word.

⁷⁵ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976) 19.

⁷⁶ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 90.

condition for that appearance; presence itself is privileged, rather than that which allows presence to be possible and also impossible.

“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?”⁷⁷

According to Higgins, “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.”⁷⁸

Derrida makes a distinction of two kinds of future. The future that will be, it belongs to the present; it is a thought of the future, but is not the future itself. Any kind of prediction or thought we have about the future presents itself now as an interpretation thereof. On the other hand, *l’avenir* is indeterminate, imminent and unpredictable. The ‘now’ makes possible *l’avenir* since all the modalities of time are experienced always as ‘now’, which in his form of present always contains a trace and *l’avenir* together. In that sense, we are not able to determinate the future but we are able to know what allows the real future.

“In general, I try and distinguish between what one calls the Future and *l’avenir* [the ‘to come’]. The future is that which – tomorrow, later, next century – will be. There is a future, which is predictable, programmed, scheduled, foreseeable. But there is a future; *l’avenir* (to come), which refers to someone who comes whose arrival, is totally unexpected. For me, that is the real future, that which is totally unpredictable. The [Other] who comes without my being able to anticipate their arrival. So if there is a real future, beyond the other known future, it is *l’avenir* in that it is the coming of the [Other] when I am completely unable to foresee their arrival.”⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Derrida, directed by Kirby Dick (2002; United States: Zeitgeist Films, 2002), DVD.

⁷⁸ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 92.

⁷⁹ Derrida.

Higgins considers that Community Music is a trace and 'to come,' which is always-already within the modality of MUSIC itself. The nature of Community Music as notion and as the nature of Community Music practice is reflected by the Derridean notion of *l'avenir*: affirmation of the present of the Community Music practice; exploration of the Community Music practice and the impossibility to determinate what is going to be Community Music in the future. The Derridean notion of *l'avenir* goes against the metaphysicians' tradition that looks for a unique and immovable nature of the Being, and within which not only the diverse modalities of the time do not exist simultaneously, but also do not the opposites.

"The enterprise of returning 'strategically', 'ideally', to an origin or to a priority thought to be simple, intact, normal, pure, standard, self-identical, in order then to think in terms of derivation, complication, deterioration, accident, etc. All metaphysicians, from Plato to Rousseau, Descartes to Husserl, have proceeded in this way, conceiving good to be before evil, the positive before the negative, the pure before the impure, the simple before the complex, the essential before the accidental, the imitated before the imitation, etc."⁸⁰

Therefore Higgins notes that Community Music will appear under the sign of what we do not know and are not familiar with. It will appear as rupture of the surface opening the way for new Community Music practices.

ii. Community Music and the trace

According to Derrida, any dualism is supported and preserved by categories, which are always already disrupted and displaced; the trace is the alterity of the past that never was and can never be lived in the ordinary or modified form of presence.⁸¹ In order to constantly disrupt the structure into which he has intervened, Derrida coins a new term or reworks and old one: e.g., Derrida discusses the term *pharmakon* (drug or tincture, salutary or maleficent). He

⁸⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Limited Inc*, ed. G. Graff, trans. S. Weber (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1998), 236.

⁸¹ Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, 70.

states that by examining a binary opposition, deconstruction reveals a trace, which is a break within metaphysics, a pattern of incongruities, in which the metaphysical clashes with the non-metaphysical.

Within the Western metaphysics the trace disappears immediately in the history of the Being; it escapes to any determination/disposition, to any term or name, with which any Being could be called. In this regard, the trace is concealed in those terms or names.⁸² In Derrida's opinion the trace can never appear as such.⁸³ As Heidegger points out about the *différance*, it is not possible to find a Being who correspond to it:

*"Lichtung des Unterschiedes kann deshalb auch nicht bedeuten, dass der Unterschied als der Unterschied erscheint."*⁸⁴

According to the previously discussed trace's notion, Higgins claims that Community Music comes to be the result of all possible relations, which inhabit and constitute MUSIC.

"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."⁸⁵

iii. Community Music and the undecidable

Derrida points out that metaphysics involves installing hierarchies and orders of subordination in the various found dualisms.⁸⁶ Essentially then, metaphysical thought always privileges one side of an opposition, and discounts or relegates

⁸² J. Derrida, "La Différance," *Bulletin de la société française de philosophie*. July-September (1968).

⁸³ Ibid., 65.

⁸⁴ Romolo Perrotta, *Heideggers Jeweiligkeit: Versuch einer Analyse der Seinsfrage anhand der veröffentlichten Texte* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1999), 233.

⁸⁵ Higgins, "Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music," 95.

⁸⁶ Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy*, 195.

the alternative term of that opposition. Higgins affirms that due the traditional perspective of music and music-making, Community Music has been positioned within this type of binary system.⁸⁷ Community Music experiences a polarization between the formal and informal education; popular music and classical music; institutionalized and non-institutionalized music-making; etc. This binary confrontation relegates Community Music to a second-order activity due the domination of institutionalized music-making or music theory.

The undecidable is one of Derrida's efforts to trouble dualism, to expose how they are always already troubled, to undermine hierarchical structured binary oppositions within the metaphysical thought. Undecidables cannot be included within metaphysical binary oppositions; they repel and disorder such oppositions without creating a third term and without allowing a solution in the form of speculative dialectics.⁸⁸ Some examples about that are: the supplement that means both replacement and addition; the *différance* that means both deferral and distinction; and the *pharmakon* that means both cure and poison. The undecidables have no proper or determinate character; rather, it is the possibility both; replacement and addition; difference and deferral; poison and remedy.

Community Music is a metaphoric *pharmakon*, which makes possible to undermine the hierarchical structured binary oppositions. Community Music therefore has not a static essence that can be assigned a fixed spot; on the contrary, the essence of Community Music is the mere possibility of play.⁸⁹ The undecidables are ambivalent because it constitutes the component in which opposites are disputed, the movement and play by which each meaning relays back to the *Other*. The undecidable is the condition of a possibility of doing and deciding; it is a determinate fluctuation between possibilities that are themselves highly determined in strictly defined situation, consequently the undecidable must not be seen as a mere indecision or indeterminacy. Hence is

⁸⁷ Higgins, "Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music," 96.

⁸⁸ Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, trans. Alan Bass (London: The Athlone Press, 1981), 43.

⁸⁹ Higgins, "Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music," 100.

deciding a possibility, which is underpinned by its impossibility.⁹⁰

Under the rubric of the undecidable “Community Music is the movement back and forth, into and out of musical discourse and practice; it is neither/either, nor/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...”⁹¹

iv. Community Music and *différance*

According to Higgins, the Derridean neologism *différance* together with *l'avenir*, the trace and the undecidable provide another resource to study in depth the Community Music's identity. The *différance* appears constantly in Derrida's deconstructive thought. Starting from the Saussure's consideration about the *différance*:

“In language there are only differences. Even more important: a difference generally implies positive terms between which the difference is set up; but in language there are only differences without positive terms. Whether we take the signified or the signifier, language has neither ideas nor sounds that existed before the linguistic system, but only conceptual and phonic differences that have issued from the system. The idea or phonic substance that a sign contains is of less importance than the other signs that surround it. [...] A linguistic system is a series of differences of sound combined with a series of differences of ideas; but the pairing of a certain number of acoustical signs with as many cuts made from the mass thought engenders a system of values.”⁹²

Saussure's term *différance* denotes the distinction between the diverse signs within a sign-system, which is responsible for signification. Derrida goes further

⁹⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Limited Inc* (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1988), 116,148.

⁹¹ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 98.

⁹² Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. Wade Baskin (New York: New York Philosophical Library, 1959), 121-122.

and affirms that the relationship, which binds a sign-system together, is not one mere distinction but, rather, *différance*. Derrida spells this word in this way to indicate that his own use of the term adds something additional, which is significantly different to Saussure's one. Since *différance* and *différance* are pronounced identically in French, they can only be distinguished by the spelling. In doing so, Derrida intends to show that the speech does not prevail over the writing, neither the sensible over the intelligible.

Besides the play between diverse signs within a certain sign-system, the *différance* simultaneously indicates the *displacement* and the *deferral*, which impedes clearness of signification. Since the sign is not self-contained in its own autonomous space, Derrida argues that the meaning of every sign is displaced. As already noted, in order to imply what it does, the sign is dependent upon the other signs from which it is supposed to be different in, or:

"*Différance* is the systematic play of differences, of the traces of differences, of the spacing by means of which elements are related to each other. This spacing is the simultaneously active and passive (the *a* of *différance* indicates this indecision as concerns activity and passivity, that which cannot be governed by or distributed between the terms of this opposition) production of the intervals without which the "full" terms would not signify, would not function."⁹³

Into the process of signification Derrida added also a time-based element, *deferral*, arguing that meaning has also always been delayed or deferred. The signification of a certain sign is interminably deferred along a sort of signifiers' chain without an end. Each sign is conceived, as taking its 'position' along a sequence in which it is related both to the sign which precedes it and the one it follows.

"...each so-called 'present' element each element appearing on the scene of presence, is related to something other than itself, thereby keeping within itself the mark of the past element, and already letting

⁹³ Jacques Derrida, "Interview with Julia Kristeva," in *Positions*, Jacques Derrida (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 21.

itself be vitiated by the mark of its relation to the future element, this trace being related no less to what is called the future than to what is called the past, and constituting what is called the present by means of this very relation to what it is not: what it absolutely is not, not even a past or a future as a modified present.”⁹⁴

Under the rubric of *différance* the sign Community Music takes its place in a chain of signifiers, allowing it to be linked with another signifiers and signified. Therefore Higgins affirms that under the rubric of *différance*, Community prioritises active music-making while at the same time inhabiting any cultural, anthropological and sociological events as a condition of their possibility.⁹⁵ Under the rubric of *différance* the sign Community Music is released to appear by itself only as specific signifier of a specific signified, but as a possibility and play within a signs-system.

Through the gesture of *différance* Community Music does not have to mirror a specific signified, therefore Community Music becomes immersed into MUSIC without the loss of its traits. Its qualities are an interruption and excess beyond identity, they are irreducible to form or content, signifier or signified.⁹⁶

v. Community Music as *l'avenir*, *trance*, *undecidable* and *différance*

As previously mentioned, Elliot explains that MUSIC is in essence a varied human practice, which lies in diverse musical practices. In this regard Elliott's term MUSIC becomes the pivot in which the combination of *l'avenir*, *trance*, *undecidable*, and *différance* will articulate the condition of Community Music, and thus provide the theoretical space in which to describe its condition.

“Community Music as *l'avenir*, *trance*, *différance* and the undecidable becomes the play, moving in and around distinctive musical practices. Its effect is beyond the presentness of MUSIC. Community Music as *l'avenir*,

⁹⁴ Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy*, 13.

⁹⁵ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 102.

⁹⁶ Jacques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod (London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 5.

trace, *différance* and the undecidable thus provides the infrastructure to MUSIC's ontology; it is the primordial, and therefore the future to come.”⁹⁷

Any musical practice became Community Music – or as Higgins says: *Community MUSIC* – under the deconstructive terms: *l'avenir*, trace, *différance* and the undecidable. In this regard, Community Music is the sign, which relates to a deconstructive musical practice. Thus, it must not be defined and limited within a certain music practice or genre. Due the trace, Community Music is able to move around the ampler human practice of MUSIC.

“Community Music as *l'avenir*, trace, *différance* and the undecidable is returned to the past. Its location is initially behind the immanent becoming of a deconstructive MUSIC. Community Music as *l'avenir*, trace, *différance* and the undecidable is placed behind MUSIC and can be illustrated by the sign; Community Music: MUSIC.”⁹⁸

Community Music has been seen as a danger or enemy, who through its amateuriness, its methodologies, its eclecticism, and its political voice faces the institutionalized music practice and education in turn. But under the Derridean thought, Community Music has not taken a stand against the traditional views of music-making and has not been placed outside the traditional views of music-making.

“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.”⁹⁹

Through the *l'avenir*, trace, *différance* and the undecidable, *Community MUSIC* ¹⁰⁰ has been always fluctuated between the outside and the interior. The

⁹⁷ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 104.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 104.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 106.

¹⁰⁰ From now on I will use the term *Community MUSIC* instead Community Music. Higgins keeps the term ‘Community’ as a derridean trace of the sign *Community MUSIC*, which refers to the origin of the Community Arts movement. But it does not refer exclusively to the conception of Community Music within the beginning of the Community Arts movement.

practice of *Community* MUSIC must be understood as an always-ready manifestation of any musical-doing, as Higgins points out.

d. The Traits of *Community* MUSIC's practice

Due to the current discussion of deconstructive theory, both, the condition of *Community* MUSIC, and its practice have resulted. Starting from the UK perspective, four traits have been located and discussed under the modes of deconstructive thinking; context, community, participation, and pedagogy. They have been articulated with the Elliott's notion of MUSIC in order to formulate the notion: *Community* MUSIC.

As Higgins remarks, the previously mentioned traits of *Community* MUSIC constitute the action of community musicking. In the next section it will be explored under the deconstructive perspective how the traits identity, context, community, participation and pedagogy allow the condition of *Community* MUSIC to be experienced.

i. Context, identity, *subjectile* and *iterability*

"We can call "context" the entire "real-history-of-the-world," if you like, in which this value of objectivity and, even more broadly, that of truth (etc.) have taken on meaning and imposed themselves. That does not in the slightest discredit them. In the name of what, of which other "truth," moreover, would it? One of the definitions of what is called 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. The phrase which for some has become a sort of slogan, in general so badly understood, of deconstruction ("there is nothing outside the text" [*il n'y a pas de hors-texte*]) means nothing else: there is nothing outside context."

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According to Derrida there is not a division between the context and the text.

¹⁰¹ Derrida, *Limited Inc*, 136-137.

On the contrary, he affirms that the context is an integral part of the text. What apparently is outside, penetrates and determines the inside.¹⁰² Through the notion of the *subjectile* and *iterability* the issue of context can be addressed to the text.

Derrida elucidates the *subjectile* in the following form:

“With the aid of a match, Artaud opens holes in the paper, and the traces of burning perforation are part of the work in which it is impossible to distinguish between the subject of the presentation and the support of his subject, in the *layers* of the material, between that which is above and that which is below, and thus between the subject and its outside, the representation and its other.”¹⁰³

Subjectile is the material that makes the image or the text possible, without the *subjectile* the existence of any text is not possible. But the *subjectile* must not be understood as mere material support, it becomes *subjectile* in the moment that it is integral part of a text or image. Therefore a paper or canvas itself is not a *subjectile* until it belongs to a painting or engraving. The *subjectile* is a substance and a subject; it is the painting and the canvas, the word and the paper. The term notes a kind of fluctuation between borders, instituting the very borders that it crosses, while having no consistency besides from that of the between.¹⁰⁴

As a *subjectile* the contextual support is an indispensable condition to any music-making representation. At the same time, “there is an equal need for the violence of the mark, penetrating and burning holes in the contextual material.”¹⁰⁵ Under the rubric of the *subjectile*, the motion of the music-making trajectory, assured by the resistance of the context, makes the appearance of the *Community MUSIC* possible.

¹⁰² Ibid., 152-153.

¹⁰³ Jacques Derrida and Paule Thevenin, *Antonin Artaud, Dessins et Portraits* (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), 70.

¹⁰⁴ Julian Wolfreys, “Art”, in *Understanding Derrida*, ed. Jack Reynolds et al. (New York: Continuum, 2004), 84.

¹⁰⁵ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 112.

“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.”¹⁰⁶

As a transformative event, beyond the pure sound elements, *Community MUSIC* aims to transcend its context in order to give it life as a *subjectile* organism, which at the same time provides *Community MUSIC* the material support to exist. As *subjectile*, the context in which any *Community MUSIC*'s practices take place, is an integral part of the *Community MUSIC* event.

Iterability is the faculty of texts or signs to be repeated in new situations and inserted onto new contexts. Derrida affirms that texts, words or signs are never at one with themselves, they carry their contexts with them. Therefore Derrida maintains that with the insertion of the text or sign, through repetition, into new contexts constantly generates new meanings in combination with the previously context. Derrida remarks that he does not refer to the polysemy of language.

“...a written sign carries with it a force that breaks with its context, that is, with the collectivity of presences organizing the moment of its inscription. This breaking force (force de rupture) is not an accidental predicate but the very structure of the written text...by virtue of its essential *iterability*, a written syntagma can always be detached from the chain in which it is inserted or given without causing it to lose all possibility of functioning, if not all possibility of “communicating” precisely. One can perhaps come to recognise other possibilities in it by grafting it onto other chains. No context can entirely enclose it. Nor any code, the code here being both the possibility and impossibility of writing, of its essential iterability (repetition/alterity).”¹⁰⁷

Iterability indicates repetition of representation, maintaining that the condition of

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Derrida, *Limited Inc*, 9.

the singular should always enclose traces of what has been before. A musical piece is a piece of music in itself, and at the same time it is another musical piece every time that it is played. Through every repetition a difference is produced, providing a certain singularity to every 'new' musical piece but all of them are still the same. Repetition gives the pieces the structure of the sameness,¹⁰⁸ allowing the pieces to be repeated again. *Iterability* guarantees that within the practice of *Community MUSIC*, the context does not work as unique origin, paralyzing the significance and making it immutable.

Iterability and the *subjectile* allow us to perceive the importance of context and meaning, as well as to recognize the context as integral part of the practice of *Community MUSIC* and as the material that allows its practice.

ii. Community and the aporia of hospitality

Derrida pays especially attention on the 'possible-impossible aporias;' the condition of their possibility is also, and at once, the condition of their impossibility. As a 'possible-impossible aporia,' genuine hospitality is not absolutely possible. The idea of unconditionally hospitality for Derrida involves the altruistic concept to give up everything that we seek to possess and call our own and the impossibility to make it real.¹⁰⁹

For Derrida any attempt to behave hospitably is associated with to elements, which could even – paradoxically – carry the exclusion of the guest-*Other*: the keeping of the guest-*Other* under certain control, on the one hand, and to the setting of boundaries, on the other hand.¹¹⁰ The power to host is an indispensable condition to be hospitable, therefore hospitality makes claim to property ownership and it also partakes in the desire to establish a form of self-identity. The host should have all the time control of the situation and also over the guest, since the host determinates when the guest-*Other* is allowed to come

¹⁰⁸ Higgins, "Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music," 115.

¹⁰⁹ Jacques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley et al (London: Routledge, 2001), 22.

¹¹⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality: Anne Dufourmantelle Invites Jacques Derrida To Respond*, trans. Rachel Bowlby (California: Stanford University Press, 2000), 151-155.

in. The guest-*Other* is able to ask for hospitality, but at least the final word belongs the host.

In the workable conception of hospitality Derrida points out that the guest-*Other*, is seen as stranger and refugee,^{111 112} considering that a practicable hospitality always sets up some kind of boundary upon where the *Other* can trespass.

Every *Community MUSIC* practice sets up the necessary boundaries in order to have a space to offer to the guest. Under the rubric of the *subjectile*, the participation of the new members modifies permanently the context and the boundaries of the community, providing the community with necessary conditions to host new members. The hosting of guest-*Other* in the community ratifies the condition of *l'avenir* in the *Community MUSIC*'s practice.

“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 *l'avenir*, a future that is both unexpected and unpredictable.”¹¹³

In practice, community is the preparation for the reception of the *Other*, which rallies in turn music educators, musicians and music policy makers to be opened beyond the boundaries of its community and to be opened for a permanently transformation of the community.

The Derridean term of hospitality and *l'avenir* liberates *Community MUSIC* practice to take place within a specific community with fixed and immutable characteristics. It also stimulates a democratic musical practice by allowing the guest-*Other* access into the community.

“*Community MUSIC* practices become a form of hospitality, a democratic

¹¹¹ Ibid., 135.

¹¹² Jacques Derrida, *The Gift of Death*, trans. Davis Wills (London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 68.

¹¹³ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 121-122.

musical practice promoting equality and access beyond any preconceived limited horizons of significance.”¹¹⁴

iii. Participation and intertextuality

Participatory development approaches, which are flexible and incessantly evolving, achieve to handle problems of application and adaptation within specific contexts. Key terms like application, context, adaptation, flexible and evolving, are present within any *Community MUSIC* project evaluation and become important for community musicians. These terms are strongly emphasized within developmental arts projects operating within any notion of regeneration or social exclusion.¹¹⁵

According to Higgins, there are two main aspects to consider about any participation strategy. On the one hand, the decision-making process of the people, and, on the other hand, the fact that participation has a connotation involving a specific vision of society or community.¹¹⁶ Also it has to be remarked that every participation event implies – from a Derridean perspective – a non-participation, which is resulting of a tension of non-participation and participation are present.

Through deconstructive thinking, an intertextuality network offers *Community MUSIC*'s practice a space within which all the previously described elements can be incorporated and experimented. Polarities like active/passive; participation/consumption; amateur/professional; musicians/ non-musicians; individual/community; process/product; and formal music education/informal music education can be immersed into the ampler scope of intertextual signifying chains.

The term intertextuality, introduced by Julia Kristeva, is defined as “the transposition of one or more systems of sign into another, accompanied by a

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 123.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 129.

¹¹⁶ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 131.

new articulation of the enunciative and denotative position.”¹¹⁷ Basically, intertextuality instigates changes in the way in which sign and systems of signs are usually read. For Kristeva the ideas cannot be presented or experimented as completed consumable products, thus the text encourages readers themselves to take part in the production of significance. The idea of Intertextuality renders the textual meaning as a transitory reorganization of different elements, all with socially pre-existent meanings.

In the literature sphere, Roland Barthes remarks the reader's role in determining the significance of any given text, thus the reader is not oppressed by the author's signs but guided by them.¹¹⁸ In the music the composer or professional performer imposes limits on the musical text and music-making.¹¹⁹ These perceptions lead to the closure of new ways of interpretation and of active music-making.

Higgins suggests that under the conditions of intertextuality people are reagents of the text and not only passive vehicles in consumption. The way for participation is prepared by an intertextual space, providing a structure that resists oppression and encourages decision-making process.¹²⁰ Higgins notes that under the rubric of intertextuality *Community MUSIC* and its practice work as a haecceity within a rhizomatic structure.

“haecceity has neither beginning nor end, neither origin nor destination: it is rhizome.”¹²¹

The rhizome is an amorphous plant stem, which functions in a non-hierarchical mode, allowing conceptual “connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and

¹¹⁷ Derrida, “Interview with Julia Kristeva”, 15.

¹¹⁸ Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, ed. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 148.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 143.

¹²⁰ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 133.

¹²¹ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 263.

social struggles.”¹²² *Community MUSIC* 's manoeuvre within the rhizomatic structure of intertextual connections provides the place that makes possible to host the guest-*Other*. This aspect reinforces the condition of the *Community MUSIC* and its practice to promote 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.”¹²³

The traits *Community* and *Participation*, have announced the manifestations of equality of opportunity within its practice, supporting at the same time *Community MUSIC* 's position of *l'avenir*.

“...equality of opportunity as an idea within *Community MUSIC* houses the desire for access and participation, and is thus transmitted through its pedagogical approach.”¹²⁴

iv. Pedagogy, gift and the supplement

As Higgins notices, one of the primary modes of *Community MUSIC* 's practice in the UK was designated as ‘workshop,’ which involves experimentation, creativity and group work.¹²⁵ Within the workshops new classroom practices were introduced and developed, people like John Paynter, Peter Aston, George Self and Murray Schafer contributed to that,¹²⁶ thus they must be considered as influences on *Community MUSIC* pedagogy. In concordance with Small's proposal, that the creative activity has to be placed firmly at the centre of musical education,¹²⁷ these new classroom practices were characterized by efforts to develop spontaneity, expression, creativity and cooperation –

¹²² Ibid., 7.

¹²³ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 137.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 139.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 72.

¹²⁶ John Paynter, *Sound and Structure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

John Paynter, *Music in the Secondary School Curriculum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

John Paynter and Peter Aston, *Sound and Silence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

Self, *New sounds in Class: A Contemporary Approach to Music* (London: Universal Editions, 1976).

Schafer, *The Rhinoceros in the Classroom*. (Canada: Universal Edition Ltd, 1975).

Schafer, *Sound Education* (Ontario: Arcana Editions, 1992).

¹²⁷ Small, *Music Society Education*, 213.

attributes similar to pedagogical approach of *Community MUSIC*.

The notion of gift – as another of the Derridean aporias – encloses an inherent request, that the genuine gift has to reside outside of the oppositional requests of giving and taking. A genuine gift should be afar of simple self interests or calculative reasoning.¹²⁸ A gift – as the notion of hospitality – cannot appear in its completeness, since anything that implies debt, equivalence, recompense, or acknowledgement avoids a fullness manifestation of the gift.¹²⁹ The mere fact to thank entails the acknowledgement of the presence of a gift, as well as a form of equivalence with that gift.¹³⁰ By taking a gift, the receiver is urged to give, since the gift is accompanying with a command to reply. For its part, the giver has the opportunity to take and become a receiver. Both parts are drawn into a cycle of giving and taking.

As a gift, the condition of the *Community MUSIC* workshop lies in the circular dynamic of interchange. These aporetic dynamics, where the donor receives instead only to give and the done is in debt, remarks the bilateral character and the ever-changing nature of *Community MUSIC*'s practice. As practice, the circular dynamic of interchange reveals democracy and is by itself 'future-producing.'¹³¹

As Higgins points out, community musicians are often perceived as a supplement to the core business of their employers, who also see the *Community MUSIC* activity as additional, like an ornament, but in the end as dispensable. The Kantian aesthetics concept encloses and preserves an 'inside' and therefore creates also an 'outside.' For Kant the *parerga* is not integral part of the work, it is something, which is pasted to the limit of the work, but does not to cross the boarder. Thus it does not become an integral part of the work, neither it transforms the work nature.

¹²⁸ Jacques Derrida, *Given Time: i. Counterfeit Money*, trans. Kamuf (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 30.

¹²⁹ Derrida, *The Gift of Death*, 29.

¹³⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Memoires: for Paul de Man*, trans. Lindsay et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 149.

¹³¹ Jacques Derrida, *Politics of Friendship*, trans. George Collins (London: Versco, 1997), 31.

“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.”¹³²

Community MUSIC activities work as a *parerga*, when they have a supplementary part in music programs, a module and elective or option, or a programme within a logocentric managerial structure. Therefore Higgins considers that “Metaphorically, *Community MUSIC* education becomes mere finery, ornamentations like the drapery adorning the Kantian statue.”¹³³

On the other hand, for Derrida the use of the supplement implies a necessity of the supplement as an endless practice of substitution. Supplement is not an adding process but a completing process.

“ But the supplement supplements. It adds only to replace, It intervenes or insinuates *itself in-the-place-of* ; it fills, it is as if one fills a void. If it represents an makes an image, it is by the anterior default of a presence. Compensatory (*suppléant*) and vicarious, the supplement is an adjunct, a subaltern instance which *takes-(the)-place (tient-lieu)*. As substitute, it is not simply added to the positivity of a presence, it produces no relief, its place is assigned in the structure by the mark of an emptiness. Somewhere, something can be filled up of itself, can accomplish itself, only by allowing itself of the thing itself.”¹³⁴

The supplement is created as an image or representation of the presence to clarify an inevitable absence within the presence. Contrariwise, the presence is impregnated by an anterior lack of a full presence when the supplement is received to its enrichment. The conclusion that Derrida assumes is that that

¹³² Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Judgement*, trans. Werner S. Pluhar (Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company, 1987), 72.

¹³³ Higgins, “Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music,” 146.

¹³⁴ Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, 144-145.

presence cannot be complete if it needs the supplement; presence cannot have complete fullness and subsequently has to contain absence.

As a challenge to unconditional inside and outside, the Derridean supplement underpins the conviction that any music curriculum's identity depends on its lack of presence, on its absence, on its 'outside' in the form of *Community MUSIC* practice. As Derridean supplement, *Community MUSIC* came into a certain music curriculum to provide what it lacks. By completing and transforming the presence, into which is added, *Community MUSIC* ceases to be merely *parerga*. It became integral part of the presence.

"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."¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Higgins, "Boundary-Walkers, Contexts and Concepts of Community Music," 144.

3. Post-colonialism (Post-colonial Theory) in the Americas

a. Introduction

Based on the post-modern thought, the post-colonialism or post-colonial theory analysis describes and attempts to answer cultural inheritances of imperialism and colonialism, to the human effects of controlling a country and creating settlers for the economic exploitation of the native people and their land. Post-colonial theory explores the politics of knowledge such as creation, control, and distribution by analyzing the functional interactions of social and political power, which sustains colonialism and post-colonialism.

The first definition about the post-colonialism is dated back to the historical period of the end of the colonialism,¹³⁶ more precisely to the end of the European imperialism due to the independence of India in 1947. If one considers the colonial processes in Latin and North America, it is possible to understand Ahmad's point of view. He refers to colonialism as an trans-historical idea, due to its quality of being always present and at the same time being in a dissolution process in a certain place.¹³⁷

By the end of the Second World War a geopolitical reorganization took place, which has not changed essentially until our days. Therefore we can place the post-colonialism in our time. In *The Empire Writes Back*, Ashcroft notes:

"We use the term 'Post-Colonial', however, to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment to colonisation to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression."¹³⁸

¹³⁶ P. Childs and R. J. Patrick Williams, *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory* (London: Prentice Hall, 1997).

¹³⁷ A. Ahmad, "The Politics of Literary Post-Coloniality," *Race and Class* 36,3 (1995).

¹³⁸ B. Ashcroft, *The Empires Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, ed. G. Griffiths et al. (London: Routledge, 1989), 2.

Beyond that, the temporal impact affects the structure of knowledge and culture. In words of Childs:

“The dismantling of structures of colonial control, beginning in earnest in the late 1950s and reaching its high point in the 1960s, constituted a remarkable historical moment, as country after country gained independence of the colonizing powers.”¹³⁹

It is shown by the diverse cultural processes, which occurred within a defined space and time, that it is more complicated to define post-colonialism as mere temporary term.

Childs remarks the two possible meanings of the prefix ‘post’ within the term post-colonialism. Firstly, it means opposition to the colonialism itself – anticolonialism– and secondly, it means more than its chronological trait and it can be found after periods such as structuralism and modernism.¹⁴⁰

Another approach, maybe more clarifying, is provided by the critical literary practices of post-colonial theory. According to Stephen Slemon¹⁴¹ the confrontation between power patterns of the diverse cultural traditions arise when the colonial power embeds itself in another cultural notion, its practice and articulation. This incrustation works as resistance, which is constantly present, within the set of those cultural practices. Adam and Higgins in *The Empire Strikes Back* note that:

“The first archive here constructs is writing (more usually that architecture or painting)... from countries or regions which were formerly colonies of Europe. The second archive of Post-colonialism is intimately related to the first, thought not co-extensive with it. Here the post-colonial is conceived of a set of discursive practices, prominent among

¹³⁹ Childs and Williams, *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory*, 1.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ S. Slemon “Modernism Last Post”, In *Past the Last Post: Theorizing Post-Colonialism and Post-Modernism*, ed. I. Adam et al. (Helen Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991).

which is resistance to colonialism, colonialism ideologies, and their contemporary forms and subjectificatory legacies.”¹⁴²

Regarding to Childs, the answer to the question ‘when take place the post-colonialism?’ could be found in its own way, how post-colonialism has been theorized, conceptualized and described. In other words, the way in which the history has been written by the events that occurred and by critics, and the frontal opposition to these perspectives and its legitimization. Ahmad affirms that:

“It is worth remarking, though, that in periodising our history in the triadic terms of the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial, the conceptual apparatus of ‘post-colonial criticism’ privileges as primary the role of colonialism as the principle of structuration of that history, so that all that came before colonialism becomes its own prehistory and whatever comes after can only be lived as infinitive aftermath.”¹⁴³

One of the most interesting contributions to this conceptual perspective is that it refuses to articulate exclusively the history from the unique and homogenized European perspective – based on the development of the capitalist –, which does not lead to a critical history. Moreover, the history cannot purely document the process where the capitalism became dominant, as has always been attempted to remark.¹⁴⁴ This opens the way to ‘*otras*’¹⁴⁵ (other) histories,’ to ‘*otras* perspectives’ to ‘write’ the history, to the possibility of a post-colonial historical production and to an alternative periodization.

It is impossible to coin an unmovable and unique concept of post-colonialism due to the nature of the process. The colonization still remains as an active and changing process and has had a different development among the many places, where it has occurred, having diverse consequences and significances.

¹⁴² Ibid., xii.

¹⁴³ Ahmad, “The Politics of Literary Post-Coloniality,” 6-7.

¹⁴⁴ G. Pakrash, “Post-Colonial Criticism and Indian Historiography,” *Social Text* 31/32 (1992).

¹⁴⁵ I will use the Spanish words *otro*, *otra*, *otros* and *otras* to differentiate between the modernity/coloniality ‘other’ and the Derridean *Other*.

Nowadays, the problematic of the actual society included concerns such as the immigration of heterogenic groups from the European colonies, which previously had experienced the mentioned process of identity establishment. Those immigrants have primarily had a unique role in the modern society: 'main actor' of the labor, who does not contribute at all to the establishment of a genuine nation-state notions such as Identity, nationalism, etc.

The actual capitalism forces the establishment of a state without borders, where the *globalization* would become a universal state.

"We hear a good deal these days about of post national status of global capitalism and post coloniality. Such conclusions ignore the ferocious recording power of the concept/metaphor 'nation/state' and remain locked in the reversal of the capital logic and colonialism."¹⁴⁶

How do these inhabitants relate to their territories under the rubric of post-colonialism? They are framed within a political and cultural 'diaspora' between convergent periods. The idea of these post-colonial groups and their respective histories within heterogenic societies is integral and formative part of these societies, and shapes their identity.¹⁴⁷ Within the heterogenic societies, these post-colonial groups are not assumed as *otros* and neither as genuine production of those societies. It is worth noting that while the colonialism destroyed but cultures and identities, nowadays the post-colonial immigration phenomena reconfigure these societies with identities, which are constantly changing.

Childs' post-colonialism concept can be resumed as a historical period – understood and includes a phase of the imperialism –, which is part of the *globalization* of capitalism. This is the central idea of Childs on which the analysis of complexes post-colonial phenomena is articulated.

¹⁴⁶ G. Spivak, *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (London: Routledge, 1993), 81.

¹⁴⁷ Childs and Williams, *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory*.

It is not possible to establish a unique thought or homogeneous points of view about it. An unceasing critical analysis among the diverse post-colonialism positions is required and must be enriched by the inclusion of interdisciplinary perspectives and the consideration of cultural and racial aspects.

b. The Modernity/Coloniality Group in the Americas

Talking about colonialism nowadays includes many discussions. On the one hand there is a school of thought that questions to still label our time as post-colonialism, even the categorization of post-colonial has been strongly criticized. Within the diverse texts and authors, with which the critical analysis of the post-colonialism began, it is worth noting the text *Europe and its Others*¹⁴⁸ and authors like Arif Dirlik, Slavoj Zizek, Michael Hardta and Toni Negri.¹⁴⁹ This critical analysis focuses on the post-colonialism discussion as hybridizing, negotiation and resistance processes, which has been present by the colonization process since the origins of the modernity.

The development of the postmodernism thought increased the critique against the post-colonialism, thus originating the unavoidable and strong need to re-think the basic ideas of the anticolonial thought, which until then had been established by William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, Cyril Lionel Robert James, Walter E. Williams and Frantz Fanon.¹⁵⁰

Federico Rahola and Sandro Mezzadra maintain that the term post-colonial indicates at the same time continuities and discontinuities.¹⁵¹ Mezzadra places particular emphasis on the new modalities and forms of the old colonial practices and urges to not understand the post-colonialism as merely 'after the

¹⁴⁸ F. Barker, *Europe and its Others* (Colchester: University of Essex, 1985).

¹⁴⁹ In *Imperio* Michael Hardt and Toni Negri explain a thesis, which remarks that the capitalist *globalization* would come together with the obsolescence of the traditional imperialism.

¹⁵⁰ M. Mellino, *La critica postcoloniale. Decolonizzazione, capitalismo e cosmopolitismo nei postcolonial studies* (Roma: Meltemi, 2005).

¹⁵¹ E. Shohat, "Notas sobre lo postcolonial," in *Estudios poscoloniales. Ensayos fundamentales* (Madrid: Traficante de sueños, 2008).

colonial time.¹⁵² Starting on the idea from above, it is possible to make a critical description of its reappearance nowadays as fragments of the logic and mechanisms of exploitation and control, which characterized the western modern colonial project, while recognising that those mechanisms are included within new political constellation, which are profoundly unstable and in permanent evolution.¹⁵³

To put it the other way around, the term post-colonialism of our time means to point out the historical break caused throughout the 20th century by the anticolonial and anti-imperialist struggles. This historical break must be recognized as one of the fundamental elements of the genealogy of our times¹⁵⁴ in order to reach a critical perspective on the basis of which both the new traits of contemporary imperial policies and its contradictions may be understood.¹⁵⁵

Any effort to understand the central principles of post-colonialism have to consider global history of the modernity since its origins, which is traditionally related to the discovery of the New World and is seen from a subordination and antagonist perspective. Nevertheless, the global history of the modernity has been ultimately seen from a new perspective, which is giving rise to new plural and decentralized readings, those that refuse any Eurocentric underpinnings.

Furthermore, the re-interpretation of the *globalization* is of great importance for any attempt to discuss the post-colonialism, especially the post-colonialism in the Americas, from a critical perspective I may allow the production of diverse generative thoughts, which may in turn produce what can be called; the *paradigma otro* (other paradigm) and the *otro conocimiento* (other knowledge).¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² S. Mezzadra, *Estudios poscoloniales. Ensayos fundamentales* (Madrid: Traficante de sueños, 2008).

¹⁵³ Mezzadra, *Estudios poscoloniales. Ensayos fundamentales*.

¹⁵⁴ R. Young, *Postcolonialism. An Historical Introduction* (Londres: Blackwell, 2001).

¹⁵⁵ Mezzadra, *Estudios poscoloniales. Ensayos fundamentales*.

¹⁵⁶ A. Escobar, "Mundos y conocimientos de otro modo. El programa de investigación de modernidad/colonialidad latinoamericano," *Tabula Rasa* 1 (2003).

Starting from the idea that few hegemonic centres originated *globalization*, and the philosophical and sociological perspective that the *globalization* is a process that underlies the conception of modernity as an essentially European phenomenon,¹⁵⁷ the traits of *globalization* can be founded in different perspectives.

The historical origin of the modernity dates back to the 17th century and is located mainly in the north of Europe (especially in France, Germany and England). From the sociological point of view the nation-state as Institution is the main distinguishing feature of modernity. From a cultural perspective, modernity can be characterized by the increasing appropriation of the cultural competences that may be taken for granted until then by forms of expert knowledge related to the capital and to the institutions of the state.¹⁵⁸

From the philosophical point of view, modernity can be considered as the triumph of metaphysics – understanding metaphysics as a trend, which finds on the logical true the basis for a rational theory to understand the world as a whole of cognizable Beings and therefore controllable.¹⁵⁹ According to Vattimo, a philosophical basis for the modern world is only possible through what he calls ‘logic of the development,’ which is based on the idea of the permanent overcoming and improvement.¹⁶⁰

The thought of the Modernity/Coloniality Group is strongly influenced by the Eurocentric thought of Giddens, who considers the *globalization* the development of the modernization processes arise in Europe in the late 17th century and early 18th century. Thus the *globalization* implies the radicalization and universality.¹⁶¹ Under this perspective, the totality of the world cultures and societies are destined to be seen as a mere reflex of the European history and

¹⁵⁷ Escobar, “Mundos y conocimientos de otro modo. El programa de investigación de modernidad/colonialidad latinoamericano.”

¹⁵⁸ J. Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973).

¹⁵⁹ G. Vattimo, *The End of Modernity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

¹⁶⁰ Vattimo, *The End of Modernity*.

¹⁶¹ A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

culture.

The prevalence of the modernity – which lies in its expansion to the whole world – causes that its conceptualization became not a restricted ‘European matter.’ Appadurai affirms the need to consider the modernity as decentralized and ‘overflowed.’ The modernity must be seen as non-territorial, hybridized, confronted, unequal, heterogenic and even multiple.¹⁶² However, the diverse modernities still analyzed from a Eurocentric point of view.

Are there radical alternatives to the Eurocentric model? How can it be possible to re-think the modernity? In *Mundos y conocimientos de otro modo* Arturo Escobar exposes the diverse reasoning of the Modernity/Coloniality Group composed of diverse Latin American theorists.¹⁶³ By means of the conceptualization of the modernity through the lens of coloniality, the Latin American theorists question the temporal and spatial origins of the modernity, “unfreezing the radical potential for thinking from difference and towards the constitution of alternative local and regional worlds.”¹⁶⁴

The key criteria of the modernity/coloniality conceptualization, which differ from the ‘traditional’ modernity are: the track of the modernity origins in the conquest of the Americas and the control of the Atlantic ocean after 1492; the study of the colonialism and development of the world capital system as constituent elements of the modernity; the introduction of a global configuration by the conception of the modernity and as a exclusive phenomenon intra-European; the supremacy of others outside the European centre as a necessary characteristic of the modernity, and thus the culture subordination of those other

¹⁶² A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

¹⁶³ Enrique Dussel (Argentine-Mexico), Aníbal Quijano (Peru), Walter D Mignolo (Argentine-USA), Edgardo Lander (Venezuela), Santiago Castro-Gómez, Oscar Guardiola and Eduardo Restrepo (Colombia), Catherine Walsh (Ecuador) Zulma Palermo (Argentine), Jorge Sanjinés (Bolivia), Freya Schiwy, Fernando Coronil, Ramón Grosfogel, Jorge Saldivar, Ana Margarita Cervantes-Rodríguez, Agustín Lao Montes, Nelson Maldonado-Torres (USA) Marisa Belausteguigoitia (Mexico) and Cristina Rojas (Canada/Colombia).

¹⁶⁴ Escobar, “Mundos y conocimientos de otro modo. El programa de investigación de modernidad/colonialidad latinoamericano,” 59.

groups; and finally, the conception of the Eurocentrism as a recognition form of the modernity/coloniality.^{165 166}

The Latin American discussion points out “the peripheralization of all other world regions by this ‘modern Europe’, with Latin America as the initial ‘*otro* side’ of modernity (the dominated and concealed side); and a re-reading of the ‘myth of modernity’, not in terms of a questioning of the emancipatory potential of modern reason, but of modernity’s ‘underside’, namely, the imputation of the superiority of European civilization.”¹⁶⁷ The Latin American theorists challenge the supremacy of the European culture, arguing the European development has to be held back by other cultures, even by using power.^{168 169} An important historical perspective of the modernity/coloniality conceptualization is also present; it incites to consider both the *decolonization* experiences of the Tupac Amaru rebellion by the Haití revolution in 1804 and the anticolonial movements in 1960s.

According to Escobar, the main conclusions of the modernity/coloniality thought are the following:

“...first, that the proper analytical unit for the analysis of modernity is modernity/coloniality – in sum, there is no modernity without coloniality, with the latter being constitutive of the former (in Asia, Africa, Latin America/Caribbean). Second, the fact that ‘the colonial difference’ is a privileged epistemological and political space. The great majority of European theorists (particularly those ‘defenders of the European patent on modernity’, as Quijano mockingly calls them (2000, p. 543) have been blind to the colonial difference and the subalternization of knowledge and

¹⁶⁵ E. Dussel, “Europe, Modernity, and Eurocentrism,” *Nepantla. Views from South I/3* (2000): 471.

¹⁶⁶ A. Quijano, “Coloniality of Power, Ethnocentrism, and Latin America,” *Nepantla. Views from South I/3* (2000): 549.

¹⁶⁷ Escobar, “Mundos y conocimientos de otro modo. El programa de investigación de modernidad/colonialidad latinoamericano,” 61.

¹⁶⁸ E. Dussel, “Eurocentrism and Modernity,” in *The Postmodernism Debate in Latin America*, ed. J. Beverly et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).

¹⁶⁹ E. Dussel, “Europe, Modernity, and Eurocentrism.”

cultures it entailed. A focus on the modern/colonial world system also makes visible, besides the internal conflicts (conflicts within powers with the same world view), those that take place at the exterior borders of the modern/colonial system – i.e., the conflicts with other cultures and world views.”¹⁷⁰

The conceptual framework of the investigation program – mentioned by Escobar – is constituted by the following key notions:

“modern colonial world system the ensemble of processes and social formations that encompass modern colonialism and colonial modernities; although it is structurally heterogeneous, it articulates the main forms of power into a system.

- Coloniality of power (Quijano), a global hegemonic model of power in place since the Conquest that articulates race and labor, space and peoples, according to the needs of capital and to the benefit of white European peoples.
- Colonial difference and global coloniality (Mignolo) which refer to the knowledge and cultural dimensions of the subalternization processes effected by the coloniality of power; the colonial difference brings to the fore persistent cultural differences within global power structures.
- Coloniality of being (more recently suggested by Nelson Maldonado-Torres in group discussions) as the ontological dimension of coloniality, on both sides of the encounter; based on Lévinas, Dussel and Fanon, it points at the ‘ontological excess’ that occurs when particular beings impose on others and, beyond that, the potential or actual effectivity of the discourses with which the other responds to the suppression as a result of the encounter (Maldonado-Torres 2003).

¹⁷⁰ Escobar, “Mundos y conocimientos de otro modo. El programa de investigación de modernidad/colonialidad latinoamericano,” 61.

- Eurocentrism, as the knowledge model that represents the local European historical experience and which became globally hegemonic since the seventeenth century.”¹⁷¹

To resume, the investigation program of the Modernity/Coloniality Group provides an alternative framework for debates over modernity and *globalization*, which goes beyond a different description of the facts; it contributes –starting from the ‘Latin American periphery of the modernity/colonial world system’– to the epistemic transformation within the modernity perspective, since referring to the colonial difference shows the dimension of the domination. The resultant notions of debates over modernity and *globalization* under the rubric of modernity/coloniality provide a new perspective, in order to clarify both the Eurocentric dynamics by the production of the modernity and the attempts to go beyond the modernity condition.

c. Coloniality of Power

According to Quijano, the *globalization* is the last part of the process that began with the constitution of the Americas and with the establishment of the modern capitalism as model for the world government.¹⁷² This control model relies on a capital aspect: the social classification of the race: “a mental construction that expresses the basic experience of colonial domination and pervades the more important dimensions of global power, including its specific rationality: Eurocentrism.”¹⁷³

For the Americas the need of an identity of the modernity during its colonial period was a natural requirement, in order to codify the relationship between its inhabitants –conquers and conquered. The notion of ‘race’ justified both the bipolar relation superiority/inferiority and the economic dynamic – labor,

¹⁷¹ Escobar, “Mundos y conocimientos de otro modo. El programa de investigación de modernidad/colonialidad latinoamericano,” 62.

¹⁷² A. Quijano, “Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina,” in *La colonialidad del saber: eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales. Perspectivas latinoamericanas*. ed. E. Lander (Buenos Aires: Clacso, 2000).

¹⁷³ Quijano, “Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina,” 201.

resources and products distribution – carried out by the world market.¹⁷⁴

Since the beginning of the colonial period, the presumed phenotypic differences were a decisive element in the social and hierarchical relations. Thus racial identities were constituted: black people, indigenous people, mestizo people and European people. This division and categorization defined the social roles and the patterns of the colonial domination, which took place along the colonial period.¹⁷⁵ In other words, it was the way to legitimate the imposed relations of domination.

As consequence of that new way of social organization and hierarchical social domination, the capitalism arose as an economic structure to control the labor. From the point of view of labor, the processes of control and exploitation of work activity were articulated through the relationship between the capital-salary and the world market. The new social order carried out a new way of controlling the labor; within which the final purpose of the work was the production by and for the world market, which followed the trend of the hierarchical global market: the control and distribution of the products and natural and human resources.¹⁷⁶

As a consequence of the systematic racial labor division, a social structure was created to maintain those hierarchical labor relations.

“The new historical identities produced around the foundation of the idea of race in the new global structure of the control of labor were associated with social roles and geohistorical places. In this way, both race and the division of labor remained structurally linked and mutually reinforcing, in spite of the fact that neither of them were necessarily dependent on the other in order to exist or change.”¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Quijano, “Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina.”

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 204.

As result of the above, the modes to carry out and to sustain the labor activities during the colonial period were established: a racist labor distribution took place along the colonial period. The slavery, the servitude, the intermediation, the labor independence, the diverse bureaucratic, religious and military posts were established by that racial and social hierarchization.

Even if there is no validation for the exploitation within the capitalism, it appears as inherent element. From the beginning of the colonial period a non-paid work was linked to the dominated races, due to their inferior condition based on the race.¹⁷⁸ The precarious work conditions during the colonial period were one of the biggest causes for the massive deaths of the conquered. This situation was still present during the first independent century; the indigenous servitude still had terrible work condition and still exploited. During the colonial period the thought that a paid work was an exclusive privilege for the white people.

One of the most recognizable consequences of the labor control process is the geographical and social distribution of the global capitalism, within which the capital is articulated as any labor form, any source and any product. Here the notion 'centre-periphery' can be clearly exposed.¹⁷⁹ The geographical configuration of the capitalism after the Second World War places Europa as centre of the world capitalism, subordinating the other societies under their specific model of control.

As a result of it, the notion of 'historical reidentification,'¹⁸⁰ took place within the peripheral communities; cultural identities and social characteristics are attributed by European culture.

“...all of the experiences, histories, resources, and cultural products ended up in one global cultural order revolving around European or Western hegemony. Europe’s hegemony over the new model of global power

¹⁷⁸ Quijano, “Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina.”

¹⁷⁹ R. Pebrish, “Commercial policy in the underdeveloped countries,” *American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings*, vol XLIX (1959).

¹⁸⁰ Quijano, “Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina.”

concentrated all forms of the control of subjectivity, culture, and especially knowledge and the production of knowledge under its hegemony.”¹⁸¹

Some key issues during this process were, firstly, the expropriation of those cultural elements more important for the development of the capitalism and thus for European benefit. Secondly, the systematic repression of the knowledge production models, the perception production models and its symbol system, the expression models, etc. Lastly, the incorporation of the conquered into diverse cultural spheres of the European tradition: especially religion and Christianity. This led to a cultural, religious and economic dispossession, which is still present nowadays across many countries of the Americas.^{182 183}

For Europe, the racial classification of the world population after the discovery of the Americas, works as validation for the colonial processes.¹⁸⁴ Both, the colonial ethnocentrism and the universal racial classification contribute to the understanding of not only the superiority attitude of the European, but also the conviction that superiority was an inherent part of European people. As result of that, a capital thought for the whole world control model arose, especially for the inter-subjective relations. Through a new temporal perspective of the history – established by the European – the conquered population and its respective histories and cultures were re-placed in the past by a historic trajectory, whose culmination was Europe.^{185 186 187}

Under the rubric of modernity, the European considered himself both owner and

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 209.

¹⁸² G.W. Stocking Jr., *Race, Culture and Evolution. Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Nueva York: The Free Press, 1968).

¹⁸³ R. C. Young, *Colonial Desire. Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995).

¹⁸⁴ Quijano, “Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina,” 210.

¹⁸⁵ W. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance. Literacy, Territoriality and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1995).

¹⁸⁶ J. M. Blaut, *The Colonizers Model of the World. Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1993).

¹⁸⁷ E. Lander, “Colonialidad, modernidad, postmodernidad,” *Anuario Mariateguiano vol. IX, no. 9* (1997).

juror of the academic and intellectual field, and creator and 'superior main character' of the cultural life, providing the European control and power over the *otros*. The Latin America intellectual community in the middle 20th century challenges that totalitarian perspective and defines the modernity as a phenomenon of all cultures, not just of Europe or the West.¹⁸⁸

Therefore both, the Eurocentric needs to place the European as the exclusive producer and controller of the modernity and the conviction that any modernization coming from a non-European population is not a significant ethnocentric pretension. On the other hand, if it would be accepted that the discussion about modernity only refers to rationality, science, technology, etc., the debate would only consist in the dispute for the originality and exclusivity of the phenomena of modernity, resulting in the application of the same criteria and prejudices raised by the Eurocentric perspective.

Eurocentrism is the knowledge perspective, which as intellectual elaboration creates the whole modernity process and which shows the traits of the world power pattern: colonial/modern and capitalism/Eurocentric. According to Quijano two main traits can be observed resulting from the history of the colonial power.

"The first is obvious: peoples were dispossessed of their own and singular historical identities. The second is perhaps less obvious, but no less decisive: their new racial identity, colonial and negative, involved the plundering of their place in the history of the cultural production of humanity."¹⁸⁹

The coloniality of power becomes even clearer by thoughts and practices of the actual Latin America societies. The coloniality of power is based on the imposition of the race as domination instrument: this fact can be appreciated by the process of construction of the nation-state, which is founded on the egocentric model, such as North America and – more evident – in Latin

¹⁸⁸ Quijano, "Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina," 212.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 221.

America. Hence the colonality of power – founded on the idea of the race – must be considered as basic factor of the nation-state and national identity.¹⁹⁰

Quijano affirms that an alternative conception of modernity can be possible by attributing it characteristics of the actual world-system:

“...the current model of global power is the first effectively global one in world history in several specific senses. First, it is the first where in each sphere of social existence all historically known forms of control of respective social relations are articulated, configuring in each area only one structure with systematic relations between its components and, by the same means, its whole. Second, it is the first model where each structure of each sphere of social existence is under the hegemony of an institution produced within the process of formation and development of that same model of power. Thus, in the control of labor and its resources and products, it is the capitalist enterprise; in the control of sex and its resources and products, the bourgeois family; in the control of authority and its resources and products, the nation-state; in the control of intersubjectivity, Eurocentrism. Third, each one of those institutions exists in a relation of interdependence with each one of the others. Therefore, the model of power is configured as a system. Fourth, finally, this model of global power is the first that covers the entire planet’s population.”¹⁹¹

The term globality and modernity implies a basic structure of common social practices and an inter-subjective sphere, which works as a central sphere to direct and value all of those. Therefore, all the hegemonic institutions of each area of social existence are universal for all the populations of the world as inter-subjective models, so the diverse social structure such as the nation-state, the bourgeois family, the company, the Eurocentric rationality establish themselves as predominant forms in our time.

Consequently, modernity can be also seen as a manifestation of the articulation

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 238.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 214.

of many and varied rationalities. Thus, we can talk about a new and different history with specific experiences, whose analysis has not to be carried out with the unique Eurocentric concept of modernity. Having said that, it is impossible to admit the modernity must still be understood as a pure European phenomenon that occurs in all cultures. From that reality arose a need to rethink our reality in order to have a better understanding of the society, its dynamics and articulations.

In order to achieve those compromises related to a new self-identity Dussel suggests the category of *transmodernidad* (trans-modernity)¹⁹² as alternative to the Eurocentric pretension, that Europe is the origin and articulation centre of the reality of our time called modernity, which under the European perspective is represented by the power structure. Dussel proposes that the constitution of the differential individual Ego is the sign of the modernity not only in Europe but also in the whole world, and is configured from the Americas. That point of view would carry out immediate consequences for the world market and the establishment of a new world power pattern: it would constitute a 'historical change.' This is the main contribution of the new subjectivity: the perception of a historical change. From the Americas it is possible to found a new space-time concept, which re-determines the notion of modernity.

d. Coloniality of Knowledge

Despite the trend to believe that the neoliberalism thought seems to prevail over all knowledge areas, diverse theorist have opened the debate about themes such as the coloniality of knowledge and the impact on the Eurocentric thought on the social sciences in Latin America. The discussion, which suggests the decentralization of the post-modernity, offers the opportunity to reflect about the relation between those new theoretical perspectives and the emergence of the struggle from people historically excluded, such as the Latin America indigenous people.

¹⁹² E. Dussel, *The Invention of the Americas. Eclipse of the Other and the Myth of Modernity* (New York: Continuum, 1995).

Among these reflections stands out the critique of the Orientalism^{193 194} and of the 'traditional' colonial studies and thought.¹⁹⁵ Many questions arise as result of that reflection: questions about the identity and transculturation on basis of historical-cultural experiences of the Americas and the real possibilities of dialogue, which includes the dominated areas by the Eurocentric knowledge.

The exploration of new theoretical and political alternatives to the hegemonic thought of a civilization model – which is sustained on the neoliberalism – demands the deconstruction of the universal character, which establishes the capitalist-liberal society. It also establishes the understanding of forms of the 'values' of the modern society, which are associated with the progress, richness and the 'good life' that are guaranteed by those 'values.' Thus, an effective effort of deconstruction demands "the critic to the claims of objectivity and neutrality of the principal naturalization and legitimization instruments of this social order: the set of knowledge, which are world know as social sciences."¹⁹⁶

Many intellectuals such as Enrique Dussel,¹⁹⁷ Arturo Escobar,¹⁹⁸ Anibal Quijano,¹⁹⁹ Walter Mignolo²⁰⁰ and Carlos Lenkersdorf²⁰¹ have taken part in that

¹⁹³ E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

¹⁹⁴ E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).

¹⁹⁵ I. Wallerstein, *Abrir las ciencias sociales. Comisión Gulbenkian para la reestructuración de las ciencias sociales* (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1995).

¹⁹⁶ E. Lander, "Ciencias sociales: saberes coloniales y eurocéntricos," in *La colonialidad del saber: eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales. Perspectivas latinoamericanas* (Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2000), 12.

¹⁹⁷ K.O. et al., *Fundamentación de la ética y filosofía de la liberación* (México: Siglo XXI Editores y UAM Iztapalapa, 1992).

E. Dussel, *Debate en torno a la ética del discurso de Apel. Diálogo filosófico Norte-Sur desde América Latina* (México: Siglo XXI Editores y UAM Iztapalapa, 1994).

E. Dussel, *Ética de la Liberación en la Edad de la Globalización y la Exclusión* (México: Editorial Trotta-UAM.I-UNAM, 1998).

¹⁹⁸ A. Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

¹⁹⁹ A. Quijano, "La colonialidad del poder y la experiencia cultural latinoamericana," in *Pueblo, época y desarrollo: la sociología de América Latina*. ed. R. Briceño-León et al. (Caracas: CENDES, 1998).

²⁰⁰ Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance. Literacy, Territoriality and Colonization*.

deconstructive process. Their contributions are essentially based on a non-Eurocentric perspective about the post-colonial studies, facing at the same time the acceptance of the European history as model for the universal history.

The fundamental principle of the knowledge and technological practice of the Western society is focused on the separation. One of the origins of that thought can be found in the Judaeo-Christian religious tradition, which separates the Sacred, the Human and the Nature. According to Berting, God created the world, but God is not the world itself, hence it cannot be considered sacred.²⁰²

That idea had been associated with the thought that God created the Human Being in his image and likeness, providing the Human Being more power as other creatures to control and transform the nature according to the human will. As Max Weber points out, "Christianity inherited its hostility against magical thinking from Judaism. This opened the road to important economic achievements, for magical ideas place a heavy constraint on the rationalization of economic life."²⁰³

A systematization and multiplication of those kinds of separations started with the Enlightenment and with the subsequent development of the modern sciences, both of which were Occidental European occurrences.

"It is characterized by a form of rationality that disengages the mind from the body and from the world. Charles Taylor has identified the genesis of

W. Mignolo, "Posoccidentalismo: las epistemologías fronterizas y el dilema de los estudios (latinoamericanos) de área," *Revista Iberoamericana* LXII (1996).

²⁰¹ C. Lenkersdorf, *Los hombres verdaderos. Voces y testimonios tojolabales* (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1996).

²⁰² J. Berting, "Technological Impacts on Human Rights: Models of Development, Science and Technology and Human Rights," in *The Impact of Technology on Human Rights. Global Case Studies*, ed. C.G. Weeramantry (Tokyo, United Nations University Press, 1993).

²⁰³ Berting, "Technological Impacts on Human Rights: Models of Development, Science and Technology and Human Rights," 18.

this disengaged stance towards the body and the world in Descartes's work."²⁰⁴

The world understanding proposed by the ancient Greek philosophers –body and reason were in the same wavelength with the universe– was replaced by the ontological rupture. Thus, in the modern western society the world became a mechanism without 'spirit,' which is understood through concepts and representations, founded on the reason.

The separation between body and reason carried out the subjectivization of the reason, while the body was deprived of any meaning, "placing the human beings in an external position in relation to the body and the world and giving the human beings an instrumental role."²⁰⁵ That created an ontological fissure between the reason and the world. A fissure that is not present in other cultures.²⁰⁶ Due to those separations, it is possible to conceptualize a kind of universal knowledge, which is far from the individual. According to Habermas, Weber conceptualized those separations as formed elements of the cultural modernity. At the same time, he associated those separations with the increasing distance between the general population and the scientific world and intellectual world. Weber maintains that modernity is:

"...the separation of the substantive reason expressed in religion and metaphysics into three autonomous spheres. They are: science, morality and art. These came to be differentiated because the unified world conceptions of religion and metaphysics fell apart. [...] Scientific discourse, theories of morality, jurisprudence, the production and criticism of art, could in turn be institutionalized. Each domain of culture could be made to correspond to cultural professions, in which problems could be dealt with as the concern of special experts. [...] There appear the structures of cognitive-instrumental, moral-practical,

²⁰⁴ F. Apffel-Marglin, "Introduction: Rationality and the World," in *Decolonizing Knowledge. From Development to Dialogue*, ed. F. Apffel-Marglin et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 3.

²⁰⁵ Lander, E. "Ciencias sociales: saberes coloniales y eurocéntricos," 16.

²⁰⁶ Apffel-Marglin, "Introduction: Rationality and the World," 7.

and of aesthetic-expressive rationality, each of these under the control of specialists who seem more adept at being logical in these particular ways than other people are. As result, the distance has grown between the culture of the experts and that of the larger public.”²⁰⁷

These separations, which are fundamental for the conformation of the colonial world between the Western and the ‘rest of the world,’ are articulated within the European conception of the modernity. Thus, the Spanish conquests in America represent the beginning of two processes: the establishment of the modernity and the colonial organization of the world.²⁰⁸ By the beginning of colonialism in America, the colonial constitution process of the knowledge, language, the memory and the imaginary started at the same time.^{209 210}

Those processes conduced to strengthening of the capitalist production model and the modern life model, which were immediately adopted in the European colonies in America as a natural model of life. In the naturalization of that way of relating with the world and the knowledge was implied a colonial and imperial dimension: the subjection of the Americas by European countries, which established the supremacy of its economic project through occupation of lands, appropriation of natural resources and by changing the previous labor model.

“Besides the expulsion of peasants and serfs from the land and the creation of a proletarian class, the modern economy necessitated a profound restructuring of bodies, individuals, and social forms. This restructuring of the individual and society was achieved through manifold forms of discipline, on the one hand, and through the set of interventions that made up the domain of the social, to which I have alluded, on the other. The result of this process—*Homo oeconomicus*—was a normalized subject that produces under certain physical and cultural conditions.”²¹¹

²⁰⁷ J. Habermas, “Modernidad, un proyecto incompleto,” in *El debate modernidad posmodernidad*, ed. N. Casullo (Buenos Aires: Puntosur Editores, 1998), 137-138.

²⁰⁸ T. Todorov, *La conquista de América. El problema del otro* (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 2003).

²⁰⁹ Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance. Literacy, Territoriality and Colonization*.

²¹⁰ Quijano, “La colonialidad del poder y la experiencia cultural latinoamericana.”

²¹¹ Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, 60.

Europe, when it had become the centre of world capitalism, it took control over the world market and imposed its domain over the entire world population, which were incorporated into the world-system and into the European control pattern. Those incorporated regions began a re-identification process:

“Europa provided them new geo-cultural identities [...] The coloniality of the new power pattern was one of the most active determinations in the production of those new identities. The incorporation of diverse and heterogenic cultural histories into a unique world, which was dominated by Europa, signified – for that world – a cultural, intellectual and inter-subjective configuration equal to the articulation of all forms of labor control around the capital, in order to establish the world capitalism. All the experiences, histories, resources and products ends up being articulated on an unique global cultural order: the European or occidental hegemony.”

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As response to the critique about the economical perspective of the world-system, Wallerstein introduced the concept of ‘geoculture’ as,

“[...] an ideological (and hegemonic) model based and expanded on and by the dominant class, after the French Revolution. Thus, the hegemonic model is not equal to the social structure but to the way in which a group – who imposes the model – conceives the social structure. As ‘Imaginary of the modern/colonial world’ should be understood the contentious and diverse perspective: economic, political, social, religious, etc., in which the social structure is transformed and updated. [Wallerstein] includes that model as monotypic and hegemonic aspect, located in the second modernity with the ascension of France, England and Germany to leadership of the modern/colonial world.”²¹³

Wallerstein describes the geoculture of the world-system, as a hegemonic imaginary, which represents the second part of the modernity and which – in a

²¹² Quijano, “La colonialidad del poder y la experiencia cultural latinoamericana,” 210.

²¹³ Mignolo, “La colonialidad a lo largo y a lo ancho: el hemisferio occidental en el horizonte colonial de la modernidad,” in *La colonialidad del saber: eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales. Perspectivas latinoamericanas* (Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2000), 74.

limited sense – is also Eurocentric because is referred only to France, England and Germany.²¹⁴

The conceptualization of the modernity caused that the knowledge and its productions modes follow the traits of the world pattern, which were established by the capitalist power and the Eurocentrism.²¹⁵ The systematic elaboration of the Eurocentric knowledge perspective began on the mid 17th century in Western Europe.²¹⁶ Quijano notes that the Eurocentric knowledge perspective – applied to the Latin American historical experience- works as a mirror, distorting what it reflects.²¹⁷

According to the foregoing, the reflected image by the mirror is not completely unreal since the Latin American culture includes historical European traits, both in the material aspect and the subjective aspect. However, the differences between both ways – the European and the Latin American – of relating and perceiving the world vary extremely. The non-acceptance to those discrepancies causes that we continue being what we are not, and that we cannot recognize our real problems, and therefore we cannot resolve them completely.²¹⁸

The tendency to perceive a fragmentary reality is a consequence of the European separation knowledge perspective and its domination over the Latin American people, resulting both in the rejection the 'real' Latin American traits and the non-rejection the European traits, which are alien to Latin American people. The Eurocentric perception does not consider a dual view of the history and has as a fundamental principle of separation, avoiding any consideration about the wholeness.

²¹⁴ W. Mignolo, "La colonialidad a lo largo y a lo ancho: el hemisferio occidental en el horizonte colonial de la modernidad," 75.

²¹⁵ In *Eurocentrism*, Samir Amin proposes a eurocentrism conception, which is related in this paper.

²¹⁶ Quijano, A. "La colonialidad del poder y la experiencia cultural latinoamericana," 18.

²¹⁷ Quijano, A. "*Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina*," 225.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 225.

Quijano notes the urgent need to learn how to be liberated from the Eurocentric mirror, which always reflects a distorted image of the Latin American people. "It is time, finally, to cease being what we are not."²¹⁹

e. Coloniality of Being

The Modernity/Coloniality Group debates the concept of post-colonialism through the analysis of the post-modernity. The central ideas of that debate were published on the article *Mundos y Conocimientos de otro*.²²⁰ The influence of the theology liberation and philosophy liberation thoughts in the modernity/coloniality can be seen in the notion of coloniality of being, which is mentioned in *Mundos y Conocimientos de otro modo*.

The Latin American group discusses the matter about the cultural and political reality in Latin America, whose debate is focused on the 'subalternization knowledge' of exploited and oppressed groups.²²¹ According to Mignolo,²²² it does not need a new paradigm but a *paradigma otro*, which distinguishes the constitutive colonial difference within the Latin American peoples living in a subalternization mode since the America's discovery.

A deeper approach to the *paradigma otro* shows that it is impossible to analyze the modernity without considering the other part of the modernity: a mental scheme that justifies and legitimises the inequalities and which lasts well beyond colonialism period.²²³

One cannot ignore that *globalization* is the peak of a process, which began with the conquest of the Americas and the peak of the modern capitalism, at a time when it is aiming for a *decolonization* of the philosophy and social sciences. In fact, one of the bases of the established power pattern is the classification of

²¹⁹ Ibid., 242.

²²⁰ Escobar, "Mundos y conocimientos de otro modo. El programa de investigación de modernidad/colonialidad latinoamericano."

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² W. Mignolo, *Historias locales/diseños globales* (Madrid: Akal, 2003).

²²³ Quijano, "Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina."

the world population into races.

Therefore, Mignolo points out that it is of the utmost importance to consider the diversity of the local history of the peoples – a set of experiences that are buried under global structures imposed by the hegemonic centres of the cultural, political and economic power – in order to generate thoughts from ‘the epistemic colonial difference,’ which emerged since the beginning of the Conquer of the Americas.

It would allow to place out the knowledge from a Eurocentric perspective and to establish, what Mignolo calls *razones-otras* (other-reasons), which supports both the new categories and the new forms of power, providing ‘genuine voice’ to the peoples, who were dispossessed and disinherited by the modernity.

On the *El encubrimiento del Otro. Hacia el origen del Mito de la Modernidad*, Dussel notes that Hispanic-Lusitanian imposed their will upon the indigenous of the Americas,²²⁴ resulting in the imposition of the first modernity that arose when Europe, could control the *otro* – after the confrontation with it – defeat and break it Europe established itself as discoverer Ego, conqueror and colonizer of the constitutive otherness of the modernity. Although, the *otro* was not discovered, it was disguise, covered with the European Identity that has always existed.²²⁵ The establishment of Europe as knowledge centre allows the development of the Occidentalism, in which a superior Occident subordinates the *otro* through violence in order to bully and to frighten it.

On the one hand, coloniality of power allows to identify the classificatory mechanism of populations which have as purpose the domination and exploitation. On the other hand, the coloniality of knowledge relates to the exclusion of any knowledge form which does not follow the occidental thought. In the same vein, the coloniality of being refers to the experience of the

²²⁴ E. Dussel, “Europa, modernidad y eurocentrismo,” in *La colonialidad del saber: Eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales. Perspectivas latinoamericanas*, ed. E. Lander. (Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2000), 48.

²²⁵ E. Dussel, *1492: El encubrimiento del Otro. Hacia el origen del mito de la Modernidad* (Madrid: Nueva Utopía, 1992), 8.

oppressed subaltern²²⁶ individuals, to the histories of the condemned of the Earth.²²⁷

The ontological dimension in the encounter between European and Americans²²⁸ has been analyzed by Nelson Maldonado-Torres. He considers the projection of the philosophical knowledge in the construction of the subjectivity; the solidarity among the universalizing violence, the global patterns and their projection into the singularity of the diverse human cultures,²²⁹ considering the experience of the conquered peoples and, thus, remarking that the Conquest of the Americas remains a historic event full of philosophical implications.

Nelson Maldonado-Torres refers, in his discussion of the concept of coloniality of being, to the movement of intellectual *decolonization*, which was assumed by other Latin American intellectuals who established the guidelines for the Latin American liberation philosophy on the basis of the liberation theology. Maldonado-Torres emphasizes the work of Emmanuel Lévinas²³⁰ among those intellectuals. Lévinas points out the complicity between the ontology and the violence, which is the appropriation power, in which the categories and the occidental philosophical discourse and the constitutive indifference to the suffering and destruction of the *otro* are involved.

The philosophical perspective of Lévinas must be highlighted among the diverse sources about the concept of coloniality of being. He makes clear that

²²⁶ In the critical fields of post-colonialism, the term subaltern identifies and describes the man, the woman, and the social group who is socially, politically, and geographically outside of the hegemonic power structure of the colony. In post-colonial theory, the term Subaltern describes the lower classes and the social groups who are at the margins of a society — a subaltern is a person rendered without human agency, by his or her social status.

²²⁷ M. Quintana, "Colonialidad del ser, delimitaciones conceptuales." *CECIES*, 2013, <http://www.cecies.org/articulo.asp?id=226>.

²²⁸ Used as demonym for inhabitants of the Americas.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ E. Lévinas, *Totalidad e infinito. Ensayo sobre la Exterioridad*, trans. Miguel García-Baró (Salamanca: Sígueme, 2012).

ontology – from the point of view of the Heideggerian philosophy – is complicit with violence, thus ontology became philosophy of power. Lévinas puts the ethic prior to ontology and the responsibility prior to liberty.

“... a new starting point presented itself for him, one that would make by all means sure that philosophy would not lead, be complicit, or provoke blindness in respect to dehumanization and suffering.”²³¹

Dussel, in addition, established a relationship between the being and the history of the colonial enterprises, explaining that the point is to articulate a critical philosophical aspect of Being as Totality, which is not only considered the experience of anti-Semitism and the Jewish Holocaust, but also that of colonized peoples in other parts of the world, particularly in Latin America.²³² The implications of the colonality of power left profound marks in different areas of society: authority, sexuality, knowledge, the economy, and finally on the general understanding of being, too.

Maldonado-Torres points out that “while the colonality of power referred to the interrelation among modern forms of exploitation and domination (power), and the colonality of knowledge had to do with impact of colonization on the different areas of knowledge production, colonality of being would make primary reference to the lived experience of colonization and its impact on language.”²³³ Thus, the colonality of being has to take into account of the experience of the colonized subaltern.

At this point of the discussion is worth noting there is a significant difference between the term colonialism and colonality within the Latin American post-colonialism thought. Colonialism relates to the political and economic relation between a metropolis – seen as power and control center – and as dominated and exploited by people. At the same time, colonality relates to the power

²³¹ N. Maldonado-Torres, “Sobre la colonialidad del ser: contribuciones al desarrollo de un concepto,” in *El giro decolonial. Reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global*, ed. S. Castro-Gómez et al. (Bogotá: Iesco-Pensar-Siglo del Hombre Editores, 2007), 128.

²³² Ibid., 129.

²³³ Ibid., 130.

pattern, which emerges as a result of modern colonialism and lasts even after the subjection and oppression.²³⁴ Coloniality survives colonialism.

“Coloniality, instead, refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations.”²³⁵

It has to be mentioned again that coloniality of power – a configuring element of the modern identity – is consolidated through the creation of new identities – black, indigenous, mestizo, white, and mulatto – whose hierarchical organization came from the idea of the race; the ‘colonial difference’²³⁶ between the colonized and colonizers and the ‘imperial difference’ between the colonizers, European empires individuals and non-European individuals, and that what is defined as ‘colonial heterogeneity.’

From the idea above emerges a concept about the diverse forms of dehumanization based on the idea of race, which starts from a colonial racism/biologism that is subsequently consolidated in scientific racism in the 19th century. The dichotomy that arose between the ‘conqueror-ego’ and the ‘conquered-ego’ is formed by the central role of the scepticism within the modernity. According to Maldonado-Torres²³⁷ the colonizers do not realize or accept, that they are subjugating and submitting the colonized, and, thus, they do not assume the dehumanization of those colonized. Therefore, the humanity is questioned by the colonizers, generating a relation between ‘culture’ and ‘nature’ within a passive context, within which the domination and exploitation practices take place, reducing the colonies to a naturalist-savage-prehistoric concept – from a European perspective.

²³⁴ Quintana, “Colonialidad del ser, delimitaciones conceptuales.”

²³⁵ Maldonado-Torres, “Sobre la colonialidad del ser: contribuciones al desarrollo de un concepto,” 131.

²³⁶ Mignolo, *Historias locales/diseños globales*.

²³⁷ Maldonado-Torres, “Sobre la colonialidad del ser: contribuciones al desarrollo de un concepto.”

Maldonado-Torres²³⁸ mentions, as one of his central arguments, ‘the existence of an ethic, which has an exceptional character,’ it is a ‘non-ethic of war,’ which is turned into the norm of the colonized space-time. Its central thought exposes that “coloniality [...] can be understood as a radicalization and naturalization of the non-ethics of war. This non-ethics included the practices of eliminating and slaving certain subjects – e.g., indigenous and black – as part of the enterprise of colonization.”²³⁹ The legitimization of all coloniality practices is directly correlated to the fact that the conquerors *inferiorize* and underrate the conquered culture and the conquered individuals. Once the conquest has been carried out, the conquered are enslaved and dominated in perpetuity: their labor is controlled while also they are exploited and sexually controlled.

“... in modernity is that such a view of the world and code of conduct is transformed – through the idea of race – and becomes naturalized. Thus, the treatment of vanquished peoples in conditions of war is perceived as legitimate long after war is over. Later on, it won’t be their aggression or opposition, but their ‘race’ which justifies continued serfdom, slavery, and rape.”²⁴⁰

Maldonado-Torres explains the ‘being’ from the Heideggerian perspective of the *dasein* (being-here). The *in-der-Welt-sein* (being-in-the-world) opens the possibility to explain the being and existence of the colonized individuals – categorized by race – for whom the death is not a singular individual feature, but a constitutive feature of their reality.

Heidegger’s first reflection about the *dasein* is that it *ek-sist*, which it means that it is projected on the future. The second reflection is that the *dasein ek-sist* in a context: ‘there’ or ‘here.’²⁴¹ That context has laws and conceptions about social interaction, subjectivity and so on, which are defined by a space-time factor. Heidegger shows that the subjectivity of the *dasein* takes the shape of a

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid., 138.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 139.

²⁴¹ Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie et al. (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1962), 32-35.

collective anonymous figure: the 'One' or the 'They'. Here Heidegger faces the question, how can *dasein* relate authentically to itself by projecting its own most possibilities? Resoluteness is the only way to achieve authenticity. Only in an encounter with the possibility, which is inescapably one's own, resoluteness can emerge; in death one is completely unique: no one can die for another. Due the anticipation of the death and the associated anxiety the subject can disengage itself from the 'They,' to determine its own most possibilities, and to categorically define itself as a projection of *ek-sistence*.²⁴²

In the colonized space-time the encounter with the death is a constitutive feature of the reality of colonized and racialized subjects.

"[...] while a vanquished people in war could achieve authenticity, for subjects who are not considered to be part of 'the people' the situation is different. For some subjects modernity changed the way of achieving authenticity: they already live with death and are not even 'people.' "²⁴³

According to Maldonado-Torres, the formulation of the *ego cogito* by Descartes – within a subjectivist framework – deduces the existence from the rationality, concluding that there are some human beings who 'think', and, thus they 'are.' This affirmation conveys the veiled idea that '*otros* do not think,' therefore 'they are not'. The acceptance of the *ego cogito* justifies the belief that there are some individuals, who are no 'proper' persons, who do not exist, who do not have the existence or being, therefore they are dispensable. Lastly, the Cartesian thought is based on the European conception of rationality: an individual who aspires to have existence, who aspires 'to be,' has not only to think but to think 'properly,' i.e., to think according the European rationality.

"The Cartesian formulation privileges epistemology, which simultaneously hides both what could be regarded as the coloniality of knowledge (others do not think) and the coloniality of Being (others are not). [...] Cartesian epistemology and Heideggerian ontology presuppose the coloniality of knowledge and the coloniality of Being. In what was unmentioned and

²⁴² Ibid., 279-304.

²⁴³ Maldonado-Torres, "Sobre la colonialidad del ser: contribuciones al desarrollo de un concepto," 143.

presupposed in Descartes's formulation we find thus the fundamental link between the 'colonialidad del saber' (coloniality of knowledge) and the 'colonialidad del ser' (coloniality of being). The absent of rationality is articulated in modernity with the idea of the absence of Being in others. Misanthropic skepticism and racism work together with ontological exclusion. It is in this way that we better understand Frantz Fanon's idea that in a colonial anti-black world the Black does not have ontological resistance or ontological weight in the eyes of the white. [...] The lack of ontological resistance is linked with the absence of rationality and vice versa."²⁴⁴

Within the coloniality of being, the individuals – who 'do not think' and 'are not' – still exist but not as Cartesian and Heideggerian Being: for Fanon²⁴⁵ they exist as *damné* or condemned of the earth.

"The *damné* is for the coloniality of Being what *Dasein* is for fundamental ontology, but, as it were, in reverse. The *Damné* is for European *Dasein* the being who is 'not there'." ²⁴⁶

Fanonian reflections articulate new categories for philosophical disquisition. Some elements stand parallel to Heidegger's efforts. The ontological difference is one of the basic distinctions elaborated by Heidegger: the difference between Being and beings. Clarification of the coloniality of Being involves reflection on this and other two categories of basic differences: the trans-ontological difference and the sub-ontological difference. Fanonian meditations are lead by the following:

- "Trans-ontological difference (difference between Being and what is beyond Being; or Being and exteriority).
- Ontological difference (difference between Being and beings).
- Sub-ontological or ontological colonial difference (difference between

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 145.

²⁴⁵ F. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (Londres: Pluto, 1986).

F. Fanon, *Los condenados de la tierra* (Buenos Aires: FCE, 2001).

²⁴⁶ Maldonado-Torres, "Sobre la colonialidad del ser: contribuciones al desarrollo de un concepto," 146.

Being and what lies below Being or that which is negatively marked as dispensable as well as a target of rape and murder).”²⁴⁷

The ontological difference results in a clear thought about the Being: it makes possible not to confuse it with God, entities or beings. Similarly the ontological colonial difference – sub-ontological difference – brings into view the reality, which is defined by a differentiation between selves and subjects without ontological resistance.

While the colonial difference according to Walter Mignolo is mainly epistemic, the sub-ontological difference refers mainly to being. The epistemic colonial difference allows one to recognize the outlines of the coloniality of knowledge. The ontological colonial difference exposes the presence of the coloniality of being. Both are related to power: exploitation, control and domination. While colonial difference in general is the first product of the coloniality of power, knowledge, and being; ontological colonial difference is the product of the coloniality of being.

As consequence of the ontological difference – derived from the coloniality of being – the nature and identity of the *damné* is determined by the colonizers in order to legitimize the violation of the meaning of human alterity to the point where the alter-ego becomes a sub-alter, as well as dehumanization and exploitations practices.

“Mythical depiction of the black man’s penis is a case in point. The Black man is depicted as an aggressive sexual beast who desires to rape women, particularly White. The Black woman, in turn, is seeing as always already sexually available to the raping gaze of the White and as fundamentally promiscuous. [...] in its most familiar and typical forms the Black man represents the act of rape – ‘raping’ – while the Black woman is seeing as the most legitimate victim of rape – ‘being raped’. Women deserve to be raped and to suffer the consequences – in terms of lack of protection from the legal system, further sexual abuse, and lack of

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 146.

financial assistance to sustain herself and her family – just as black man deserve to be penalized for raping, even without committing such an act. Both ‘raping’ and ‘being raped’ are attached to Blackness as if they were part of the essence of Black folk, which is seeing as a dispensable population.”²⁴⁸

In both, the analysis of Nelson Maldonado-Torres and the re-interpretation of Dussel about the thought of Lévinas, it is possible to see the importance of the trans-ontological dimension, which found the responsible subjectivity in the encounter with the *otro*. This perspective opposes the one that favours the *dasein* and the *ego cogito* as basis of the Being, the appearing, the *otro* and the reality.

The author affirms that the *damné* is a specific subject but also a transcendental concept that ends up becoming both: the *a priori* of the coloniality and the other pole of the *ego conquiro*. It is quite clear that the power of the ‘some’ projects onto the *otros*, producing the existential conditions of those *otros* and reaffirming itself relentlessly through a non-ethic of the war. Maldonado-Torres insists:

“That being has a colonial aspect means that in addition to posit itself as autonomous and be driven by preservation, it tries to obliterate the traces of the trans-ontological by actually giving birth to a world in which lordship and supremacy rather than generous interaction define social dynamics in society.”²⁴⁹

Maldonado-Torres underlines the need to *decolonize* the sciences, philosophy, and human practices. His work still exposes the projections of that knowledge within the construction of the subjectivity; that means, the complicity between the globalizing violence, and its projection onto the singularity of the diverse human cultures as control, domination, and destruction power against the subjectivities.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 148.

²⁴⁹ Maldonado-Torres, “Sobre la colonialidad del ser: contribuciones al desarrollo de un concepto,” 154.

Maldonado-Torres works disclose the relation between the occidental metaphysics and a precise historical project, which is linked to the over-humanization of someone and the sub-humanization of the *otros*- colonial modes of the subjectivity. *Decolonize* became not only an epistemic project, but also a political project that recognizes the *damné* as subjects, who are able to transform their own reality without the imposed 'formulas' by others. *Decolonize* implies the fact to restore the trans-ontological difference.²⁵⁰

f. Coloniality and Indigenous Music

i. Aesthetic colonization

The colonization process had also a decisive influence on artistic and creative spheres of the colonized peoples in Latin America, resulting in aesthetic colonialization. It is of prior importance to examine the basis and develop from that the aesthetic colonialization and its consequences for the cultural manifestations of the colonized populations, in particular for the music.

In the European tradition, the aesthetics is the knowledge area related to the arts. The word aesthesis stems from *aisthetikos* – meaning esthetic, sensitive and sentient – and it was appropriated by Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten to mean taste or sense of beauty on his book *Aesthetica* (1750). During that time also two important events occurred in Europe: in 1776 Adam Smith published *The Wealth of Nations*, gestating the language of politic economy, also in that time the acceptance of the existence of 'other religions' in the world, displacing the control of Christian theology over that domain through a secular study of the religions. The common factor in those spheres is the secularism as the new revolutionary project in Europe, all of which shaped the second imperial expansion led by France and England.²⁵¹

From then on, the more European thought goes to the south, arriving in Asia, Africa and the Americas, the less there seems to be the capacity – for this kind

²⁵⁰ Quintana, "Colonialidad del ser, delimitaciones conceptuales."

²⁵¹ Walter Mignolo, Preface to *Arte y estética en la encrucijada descolonial*, by Zulma Palermo (Ediciones del signo 2009 Argentina: Ediciones del signo, 2009), 7-15.

of thinking – of the non-European populations to perceive the beauty and the aesthetic of sublime. The aesthetic and the secular reason go hand in hand with, both, the establishment of a secular and bourgeois subjectivity in Europe, which separates from the sacred and theological subjectivity and the aesthetic outside Europe as new concept to (de)value and to hierarchize the sensorial creativity of other civilizations.²⁵² During the 18th century the art and the aesthetic establish a new complicity. Also in this period the ‘museum’ – house of muses – appeared in Europe, dividing its functions in two directions: the ‘museum’ that organizes the memory of the European art, and the ‘museum’ that collects and organizes the exotic objects from the European colonies.

In the historiographical baggage of the Latin American societies has been reflected the predominance of that idea of civilization and urbanization, which relate and incorporate the representations of aesthetics, which dictate the beauty notion, which is inherent in the progress and develops ideals of the white, catholic, heterosexual man, imposing aesthetic stereotypes that reflect moral behaviours as synonym of progress and culture.²⁵³ From this point of view, the culture has been a model that integrated the ideals of the refined, moral cultured, civilized, occidental men and its cultural practices and well defined; the tonal European music, literature, ballet, opera, painting and sculpture. The aesthetics and arts have an influence on gender, sexuality, and raciality by imposing an ideal beauty pattern, which goes from any art until Miss Universe and the mode industry. The aesthetic and art were and are institutional instruments of the coloniality.

Art can be validated only if it belongs to a recognized grammar and aesthetics, which have been determined by the occidental world.²⁵⁴ Using civilization, culturalization, progress and development as justification, the occidental culture hegemony has been imposed since 1492 among the ‘*otras* cultures.’ The

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ R. Lambuley, *Genios, Música y Músicas: Colonialidad de los sentidos o evangelización estética* (Colombia: Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, 2010).

²⁵⁴ P. Guerrero, *Usurpación simbólica, identidad y poder* (Quito: Abya.Yala, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar y Corporación Editorial Nacional, 2004).

genius – God created humans, genies and angels according to the Semitic mythology – is a kind of creation between the divine and the humane, who is gifted with special skills. Mozart, Shakespeare and da Vinci are geniuses who represent the need of the aesthetic validation: the model as guide and the form, technique and artistic perfection, removing anything that does not fit to the standard. Those techniques, forms, models and ideals shape and naturalize an aesthetic coloniality of the senses. The speech that depends on proper use of Spanish grammar is a 'cultured and civilized' expression form to the detriment of all those precarious, incorrect or minor expressions of the regional and local populations. This model generates structures such as: art (or classical) music / popular (or folklore) music, whereby the last one is considered without tradition and primitive due to its differences.

That aesthetic colonization of the sense established the foundation for the aesthetic and economic control of the art production, which is embodied in the standardization that dictates not only the construction of the artistic objects, but also the diverse market strategies, including distribution, marketing and organization – and in some cases appropriation – of festival of traditional music, also called 'World Music,' in order to add '*otra* music' to the global market. The dynamics of consumption and demand between consumers and producers have become more significant as the dynamics of dialogue between the participants.

The regional festivals, fairs and gatherings should be spaces for the encounter and revitalization of the local artistic practices, transforming constantly space and time; celebrating the remembrance of the collective, and re-signifying the existence, rather than spaces for the aesthetic standardization and the power flaunt.²⁵⁵ Therefore, one of the central issues within the decolonization of the aesthetics has to be the search for cultural policies, which offer the opportunity to strengthen and empower the local expression, avoiding its trivialisation.

In order to go into the music of the present indigenous peoples in depth, it is

²⁵⁵ Lambuley, *Genios, Música y Músicas: Colonialidad de los sentidos o evangelización estética*.

necessary to understand that is not only a matter of organization of sounds played with a certain type of instruments, but a result of that aesthetic colonization. Thus, the features of the current indigenous music cannot be found among the pre-columbian indigenous peoples, but among the colonized indigenous peoples.

ii. The invention of the indigenous music in Mexico

During the first decades of the 20th century, in the post-revolutionary Mexico, the government carried out a process of identity formation. New cultural policies were established in order to clarify and to determine a National Identity. In this process the governmental policies also determined the identity of each social actor, as well as their culture production.

Within this context, the music had a important role: the musical nationalist composers Carlos Chávez, Manuel M. Ponce, Silvestre Revueltas, and José Pablo Moncayo, took motives of the music of the indigenous people and urban popular music of that time to elaborate their compositions, participating in the construction of the image of that what was considered as Mexican. Also musicologists like Rubén M. Campos, Gabriel Saldívar, Vicente T. Mendoza, Pablo Castellanos, whose works based on that nationalism identity project, carried out researches about the indigenous music. The Invention of the indigenous music in Mexico was the result of this national project.²⁵⁶

According to Bolaños, several features of current traditional music of the indigenous peoples are result of the repertoire and musical instruments that were part of those post-revolutionary policies of the 1920s and 1930s, which were made, articulated, and coordinated by the national education system and investigation institutions. Bolaños suggests that the concept 'invented traditions' of Eric Hobsbawm can be applied in the case of the indigenous music in Mexico. Hobsbawm's concept relates to the traditions that have been invented, fabricated, and subsequently formally established in order to inculcate values

²⁵⁶ M. Bolaños, *La invención de la música indígena en México: antropología e historia de la políticas culturales del siglo XX* (Buenos Aires: Editorial SB, 2008).

and standards of behaviour, establishing the basis for the continuity of those invented traditions.²⁵⁷

It is important to remark that those post-revolutionary policies did not include the consideration of the populations, which, in fact, are the producers of the cultural activity. Following the perspective of the dominant class, the government decided what should be considered as Mexican music, avoiding any reflection and dialogue about its origins and its development with the traditional music producers. Post-revolutionary policies are included in the Eurocentric concept of art, and an effort that the Mexican musical activity follows that conception.

“What should be sung at the school?

Nothing more than songs and lyrics composed exclusively by true poets and true musicians; intelligent transcriptions of master works of composers admired worldwide, including some popular musical gestures of our provinces. The school repertoire has to reject systematically the productions without an artistic value, which only pervert the [musical] taste and the critical thinking of the children. By celebrating all the beauties, all the virtues and all the glories, the school songs can be related to diverse area of the general school education – history, moral, etc.”²⁵⁸

Besides those first efforts to define the concept of what is ‘Mexican,’ there were also cultural policies of continuity that have a deep impact on the present configuration of the musical cultures in Mexico, especially of the indigenous population. Those continuity guidelines can be seen in many rural cultures, which were adapted to a homogeneous identity in order to establish a national identity.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Rangers, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: University Press, 1996), 1-2.

²⁵⁸ Augusto Chapuis, “El arte musical en la escuela,” in *Revista El Maestro (1921-1923) Raíces y vuelos de la propuesta educativa vasconcelista* by Valentina Cantón Arjona et al. (Mexico: Cuadernos del IMCED, 1922), 339.

²⁵⁹ Bolaños, *La invención de la música indígena en México: antropología e historia de la políticas culturales del siglo XX*.

As part of those continuity policies, the *Secretaría de Educación Pública*, SEP (Department of Public Education) carried out the program *Misiones culturales* in 1932-1933. The program consisted in sending teachers to rural communities, in order to promote the traditional Mexican music. The missionary teachers had to teach theory and at least 10 traditional songs of the diverse regions of the country, which means that children from Oaxaca had to learn also traditional music from other states and vice versa. The songs had to be exclusively chosen among the selected material that the *Departamento de Bellas Artes* (Fine Arts Department) of the SEP had collected.²⁶⁰

It is important to acknowledge the features of practices of the modernity/coloniality: the concept of Missionary is a heritage of the colonial time, whereby the missionaries' culture is a must to the primitive indigenous inhabitants, imposing the Spanish hegemonic culture. The *Misiones culturales* had the aim to say the indigenous population, which music has to be part of their identity and which features the indigenous music had to have.

The archives of the Indigenous Affairs Department from 1938-1939,²⁶¹ pointed out that institutions of education provided specific instruments – wind and percussion – instruments to form local music bands of the indigenous communities. Those bands are still having the same line-up in the states of Oaxaca, Michoacán and Guerrero. Thus, it can be concluded that the cultural policies permeated a whole heterogeneous range of music educators and musicologists within indigenous music.

It was not possible to apply these policies with a uniform criteria, therefore, the interactions between agents of change and indoctrination and the local populations resulted in the invention of new traditions and reconfigurations to already existing traditions. After the State conceived the music education guidelines as tool for general education and the new values of integration, State Institutions, Festivals, Radio had the mission to promote and disseminate

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 42-48.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

indigenous music.²⁶²

Besides the influence of the government to define and promote a national identity and its cultural expressions, there were musicologists who attempted to find the difference between the popular music of the non-indigenous peoples – the population living in the cities and urbanized regions – and the truly indigenous music peoples – the population living in rural regions. They were interested to identify the traces and musical features of the traditional indigenous music, as well as, to understand the function of music within the context of diverse activities of the indigenous communities.

“The music seems to work to identify the cultural groups or sub-groups, it seems also to work as a unique universal method to communicate with the supernatural powers. I think that the investigator has details and describes the other functions that can be found in the diverse cultures, which are going to be explored.”²⁶³

The musicologists were interested to analyze the traditional music, searching for the traces of the Spanish influence and the pre-Columbian remains. The investigations of Stanford are very important, since they neither deny nor omit the Hispanic origins, and, at the same time, noting the importance of Mexican local cultures on the development of the traditional Mexican *Son*.

“ [the *Son*] come from Spanish models, in a very similar way to the Spanish *villancico*, in the sense that the until now collected versions of the *villancico* seems to come from the popular forms. One of the most noticeable features – the sesquialtera bar – seems to be a common feature with the Arabic music during the Arabic dominion of the Iberian Peninsula. The difference between the diverse types of *sones* seems to be the result of the feudal policy -an organization that those regions kept until the early years of this century.”²⁶⁴

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Thomas Stanford, *La música. El concepto de un etnomusicólogo* (México: Unpublished, 1988), 33.

²⁶⁴ Thomas Stanford, “La música popular de México,” in *La Música de México, I. Historia, 5. Período Contemporáneo (1958-1980)*, ed. Julio Estrada (México: UNAM, 1984), 65.

The work of the American musicologist, Henrietta Yurchenco, was also very important: she conducted some researches for the SEP, collecting and recording indigenous music. She remarks, that importance of the non pre-Columbian features of the music, as well as the music as part of social activities of the community.

“Among the Huicholes, Coras, Tarahumaras y Seris [...] pre-Columbian musical forms remain almost without variation during long periods of time, even among acculturated tribes, such as the Zapotecs in the Oaxaca isthmus, the repertoire and play technique were relatively stable [...] However, among the Tarascos, in the same way as in New York, Mexico City or London, the newer songs are those which everybody knows. The songs are sung until they are tired to hear the songs, then, they are replaced by new songs. Since most of the Tarasca songs are serenade, thus love songs; the singer-composer shows its masculinity through the music [...] the music was the language of the court.”²⁶⁵

“The tribal myths are performance by the Huichol shaman and the community through a free chant and specified vocabulary. Obviously it is not strictly a performance as such, but the restoration of a ritual.”²⁶⁶

In Yurchenco's reports, a Eurocentric perspective is noticeable; she divided the music in two categories: functional music and performance music. Yurchenco tried to analyze and describe the indigenous music from her own perspective, instead of trying to understand the perspective of the indigenous peoples about their own music. She assumed that any musical feature that cannot be categorized as European musical feature, is 'originally' pre-Columbian indigenous musical feature. This opinion was also shared for another musicologists like Vicente Mendoza.

“In the chants that remain until now, which can be heard in remote locations outside the capital, still present truly rhythmic splinters of the

²⁶⁵ Henrietta Yurchenco, *Fiesta of Songs from Latin America and Spain* (Nueva York: Putnam's Sons, 1966), 17.

²⁶⁶ Henrietta Yurchenco, “Investigacion folklórico-musical en Nayarit y Jalisco. Grupos indígenas coras y huicholes,” in *Música y danzas en el gran Nayar*, ed. Jesús Jáuregui (México: CEMCA, 1993), 155.

treasure that existed in the Moctezuma era.”²⁶⁷

But, how is it possible to know that those non-Spanish elements are the same as before the arrival of Spanish conquerors? The remained pre-Columbian instruments and Colonial codices provide no evidence about the melodic and rhythmic treatment of the pre-Columbian indigenous peoples; therefore, there are not enough elements to carry out a comparative study between the pre-Columbian indigenous music and the postcolonial indigenous music. On the other hand, due to the Independence War, Mexican Revolution and the post-revolutionary policies, the music of the colonized indigenous people had changed since the 15th century until then.

Most of the ‘typical’ musical instruments of the postcolonial indigenous population came from the European musical tradition. String and brass instruments are fundamental in the indigenous music: the typical instrumentation of the *Banda Sinaloense* or the *Banda Mixe* consists of a tuba, trombone, clarinet, trumpet, and a bass drum, while the instrumentation of the typical *Trio Huasteco* consists of *guitarra huapanguera*, *jarana huapanguera* and violin.²⁶⁸ However, there were not brass and string instruments during the pre-Columbian era in the Americas; they were introduced by the Spanish conquerors. Those instruments were integrated into the musical practice of the colonized indigenous population, and new instruments arose, like the *charango*.

²⁶⁹

“Two elements of different cultures converge in the *charango*: the tradition of the string instruments from the European Renaissance and the

²⁶⁷ Vicente Mendoza, *Panorama de la música tradicional de México* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1956), 21.

²⁶⁸ Juan Guillermo Contreras Arias, *Atlas Cultural de México. Música* (México: Grupo Editorial Planeta, 1988).

²⁶⁹ Julio Mendívil, “Transkulturalität revisited: Kritische Überlegungen zu einem neuen Begriff der Kulturforschung,” in *Transkulturalität und Musikvermittlung* 33 ed. Susanne Binas-Preisendörfer et al. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012).

pentatonic indigenous music from the Andes region.”²⁷⁰

But not only instruments were integrated into the indigenous culture, but also, together with the instruments and their technical-interpretative innovation, diverse European cultural elements were introduced, resulting in new instruments, as well as, new nascent music traditions. According to Thomas Turino, the *charango* is associated with the mythological figure of the siren.

“Particularly interesting is a rite that is commonly performed when a boy buys a new *charango*. His activity takes place at night, in company of his friends, takes his new acquisition to the place of the *sirena*. [...] The boys leave the *charango* and the gifts with the *sirena* overnight and then go away so that they will not come in contact with her. The most commonly cited results of this ritual are that: (1) the instrument will be perfectly tuned, (2) it will have a more beautiful voice, and (3) the instrument will have more power to conquer the *cholas*.”^{271 272}

Those non-Spanish musical features are the musical features of the music of the colonized indigenous people, which was born – as well as the colonized indigenous people – of the encounter between the non-colonized indigenous peoples music – instruments, scales, rhythms, musical knowledge, etc. – and the European music tradition, within the colonization process. Therefore, I do not agree with considering the music produced by the colonized indigenous peoples, from the Conquest of the Americas in 1520 to the end of colonial time in Mexico in 1820, as the music of the pre-Columbian indigenous peoples. On the other hand, if one refers to indigenous music as one that is free – as much as possible – of the musical influences of the modern age – since the beginning of the XIX century –, one would have to refer to the music produced by the colonized indigenous rather than to the music produced by the pre-Columbian

²⁷⁰ Mendívil, “Transkulturalität revisited: Kritische Überlegungen zu einem neuen Begriff der Kulturforschung,” 50.

²⁷¹ In Peru and Bolivia *cholo* is a widely used term, which generally refers to people with various amounts of Amerindian racial ancestry.

²⁷² Thomas Turino, “The Charango and the Sirena: Music, Magic and the Power of Love,” *Latin American Music Review* IV/1 (1983): 97.

indigenous peoples. Either way, I do not believe neither one nor the other are appropriate, because music cannot be considered as a static and unchangeable subject; the indigenous music has been changed since its origins: leaving, adding, keeping and transforming its musical features, as well as, its meaning and function: both in social and individual spheres. The music of the indigenous peoples of Mexico includes traces of music of the colonized indigenous people during the colonial time: during the time of Mexican independence, during the post-revolutionary time, and of the present era.

Coming back to the idea of the invention of the indigenous music, it is important to remark that due to the diversity and pluralism of the indigenous peoples music, the government decided to collect the most representative songs and dances – according to its criteria – and packed it into one rubric, in order to disseminate a common repertoire across the country, and to reach a homogeneous music education. This results in the re-contextualization of many musical forms: hence it is possible to find the *jarabe tapatio* – original from the State of Jalisco – in the repertoire of the indigenous Mixtec musicians in Oaxaca; the *son jarocho* – original from the State of Veracruz – in the repertoire of the indigenous musicians in the Tehuantepec Isthmus in Oaxaca.

As part of this homogenization process, during the decade of the 1980s, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, INAH (National Institute of Anthropology and History), made indigenous music records of diverse regions:²⁷³ the Mixe band from Totontepec and the band of Santa María de Tlayacapan, both from the Oaxaca State; the Zoques music from the Chimalapas, among others. The result of that homogenization, re-contextualization, and dissemination was the transformation of musical forms; its hybridizing and its re-signification, having an impact on the shaping of cultural identities. The *quebradita*, *la banda*, *las cumbias*, *la norteña* and *la onda grupera* trend in general, are examples of that: all those kind of musical genders and forms are part of the rural and urban areas. Therefore, it is not

273 Bolaños, *La invención de la música indígena en México: antropología e historia de la políticas culturales del siglo XX*, 125-132.

possible to talk about 'pure' indigenous music, with clearly and immutable features and boundaries; there is not a clear distinction between the Mexican popular music and the music of the Mexican indigenous peoples. The interaction between urban regions and rural regions – since the Mexican War of Independence – caused the development of diverse music styles, almost every rural music form had its urban equivalent.²⁷⁴

Besides the mentioned national policies of cultural homogenization, the new methods of communication, such as the increasing globalization, have contributed to those interactions between the urban and rural regions. The current mass media – internet, radio, television – and the massive commercialization have created the context, within which diverse actors of the musical production – musicians, consumers, the commercial industry, official institutions, etc., – interact,²⁷⁵ allowing the introduction of the urban music into the rural regions and vice versa. The inclusion of rural music into the market and production of the record companies, as well as, the inclusion into music festivals, is part of a discovery and adaptation process of that regional music, to make it more consumable. Along this process, the music is de-formulate from its original context, but at the same time, re-formulate into new contexts, resulting both: in the loss of meanings and the creation of new meanings.

The concept of the currently Mexican indigenous peoples music cannot find its traces in the pre-Columbian indigenous music, but since the emergence of the colonized indigenous music, which history begins in the 15th century. However, beyond of that, it has to include all musical practices of Mexican indigenous peoples of today: those that are part of rituals or traditional festivities, and those that are part of the daily socialization activities, including the 'hybrid' music forms, which are part of the urban region and the rural region. Thus, the Mexican indigenous peoples music cannot be reduced to specific music genres and their musical features, because both the music genres and the their

²⁷⁴ Gerard Béhague, "Latin America, §IV, I: Popular music, Mexico, Caribbean," in *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians. Band 10*, ed. Stanley Sadle (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited 1987), 529.

²⁷⁵ A. Ochoa, *Músicas locales en tiempos de Globalización* (Buenos Aires: Grupo Editorial Norma, 2003).

musical features are in constant transformation; even more important, the Mexican indigenous peoples music is what Mexican indigenous peoples themselves consider and feel as their own.

The features of Mexican indigenous music are: cultural diversity, intercultural reality, as well as, rhythmic, melodic, harmonic and instrumental features. Only by a global study, considering all the heterogeneous changing elements it is possible to extract information about social groups, which produce that music and information about those with whom they interact, but without attempting to find a static definition about Mexican indigenous music. Mexican indigenous music is part of a dynamic, creative and changing process, which results from the adaptation, persistence and innovation that constantly reconfigures its musical field that distinguishes it from other music and puts it closer to other music, crossing all spaces of the social life within its collective memory.

4. Application of the perspective of modernity/coloniality in the State of Oaxaca, México

Colonial practices – during the colonialism – and coloniality practices – at the present time – affected all the population strata during the whole history of Oaxaca State. It is worth remembering, colonialism relates to the political and economic relation between a metropolis – seen as power and control centre – and dominated and exploited people. Meanwhile, coloniality relates to the power pattern, which emerges as the result of the modern colonialism and lasts even after subjection and oppression themselves.

As result of practices of the coloniality of being, a racial division among the population was established, creating two entities in the imaginary of the population, whose confrontation installs hierarchical dichotomies such as: modern/primitive; civilized/uncivilized; development/stagnation; rich/poor; urban/rural; educated/ignorant; non-indigenous/indigenous.

The identities of those entities, the context within their relations take places, and those relations themselves have been established and articulated through practices of the coloniality of knowledge – thus, aesthetic colonialization – and coloniality of power. The following is a recapitulation of those practices and their consequences.

a. Oaxaca during the colonial era and the Mexican War of Independence: the emerging resistance

The region of Oaxaca – situated in the south region of Mexico, in the Tehuantepec isthmus – has been inhabited since eleven thousand years, according to the last archaeological finding in the region of Mitla, Yagul and the lagoon of Zope.

In the Central Valleys of Oaxaca, located within the Mesoamerican region, around 900 BC two great Civilizations flourished: the Zapotec and the Mixtec empires, which were of great relevance for the political, cultural and economic

development in the pre-Columbian classical period. Despite that even both cultures had the main role during the pre-Columbian time, a tremendous cultural plurality prevailed in the Oaxaca region before the Spanish conquest. Some other peoples in the area were: the Huaves, Zoques, Mixes bajos, Chochos, Ixcatecos, Triquis, Chatinos, Mixes, Chontales de los Altos, Chinatecos, Cuicatecos, Mixtecos and Mazatecos.

There is lack of reference material that provides a detailed explanation of the cultural indigenous dynamic in Oaxaca during the colonial period; although, the survival of many native reminiscences in the current traditions is the authoritative evidence of the influence of those cultures since 1521- the date on which the impact of the worship of European market began.²⁷⁶

Despite a lack of historical sources, many ethnohistorical essays and works have been published,²⁷⁷ that allow to infer that along three hundred years of colonial era, radical changes took place in the social, cultural and political structures of the native population, who formed the society of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. In the specific case of the indigenous peoples of Oaxaca, they did not react to the Spanish conquerors' arrival in the same way.

The Mixtecos and Zapotecas, which had a hierarchical social organization, accepted quickly the foreign presence after their leaders were controlled. The

²⁷⁶ M. Bartolomé, *La tierra plural Sistemas interculturales en Oaxaca* (México: CONACULTA-INAH, 2008), 56.

²⁷⁷ M. Carmagnani, *El regreso de los dioses, el proceso de reconstitución de la identidad étnica en Oaxaca, siglos XVII y XVIII* (México: FCE, 1988).

J. Chance, *Raza y clase en Oaxaca colonial* (México: INI, 1982).

R. Pastor, *Campesinos y reformas: sociedad y economía en la Mixteca 1750-1856* (México: Colmex, 1987).

Romero, M. *Economía y vida de los españoles en la Mixteca Alta: 1519:1720* (México: INAH, 1990).

C. Sánchez, "Patrimonialismo y poder político en Oaxaca 1786-1860," *Cuadernos del sur* año 3, núm. 10, 1995.

Spores, R. *The Mixtec Kings and their People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967).

W. Taylor, *Landlords and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca*, trans. IOC / CIESAS (Oaxaca: IOC / CIESAS, 1998).

K. Terranciano, "The Colonial Mixtec Community," *Hispanic America Historical Review* vol. 8, núm 1, 2001.

next indigenous peoples to be conquered were the Huaves, Zoques, Mixes bajos, Chochos, Ixcatecos, Triquils y Chatino, while the people of the mountain range – Mixes and the Chontales de los Altos – resisted over the years the political and cultural onslaught. Meanwhile, the Chinamecos, Cuicatecos and Mazatecos allied themselves with the Spaniards against the Aztec domain. Despite the difference between each ethnical group, the Conquerors considered all of them as 'Indian,' denying any particular identity of each different indigenous people. Those entire ethnical groups were obligated to pay tribute and were included into the oppressive colonial system, even the indigenous Allies.

The first local regencies were established around the 16th century, they were called *repúblicas de indios*:²⁷⁸ a government system that has been appropriated by the native communities. Despite the integration of the diverse indigenous domains with heterogeneous ethno-linguistic groups, new cultural ascriptions and community links were created, providing indigenous people of Oaxaca a certain autonomy level and helping them to keep some political posts. This situation remained until the end of the colonial regime.²⁷⁹

Many integration processes – based on religious symbolism and on the coexistence within the same territory – were carried out and still remain at present. Examples of these are, among others, the existence of common pilgrimage places of among diverse ethnicities and the coexistence of different peoples in the Mixtec *tianguis*.²⁸⁰

Due to lack of interest of the colonizers in development of the agriculture and livestock farming, the indigenous peoples of the Oaxaca region could keep the possession of the land and the control of the means of production. The Spanish conquerors were more interested to receive tribute taxes – in form of products,

²⁷⁸ Bartolomé, *La tierra plural Sistemas interculturales en Oaxaca*, 58.

²⁷⁹ W. Taylor, *Landlords and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca*, trans. IOC / CIESAS (Oaxaca: IOC / CIESAS, 1998).

²⁸⁰ A *tianguis* is an open-air market, its roots well into the pre-Hispanic period; it was the most important form of commerce in the pre-Hispanic era.

animals, persons, etc. – of the indigenous peoples, instead of producing their own products.

It is worth mentioning that during the colonial period – even though the new communicable diseases – the indigenous population covered almost entirely the region. W. Taylor²⁸¹ notes, that in 1520 more than 350 thousand indigenous inhabited the Central Valleys area, and in 1630 – after the effects of the biotic compulsion – the population was approximately 45 thousand, but only two thousand of them were Spaniards and Creoles. In other areas the Spanish presence was even more limited: during 1793, the Teutila mayor's office reported, that the inhabitants were 23 thousand and 903 hundred, of which only 25 persons were Spaniards. Based on the demographic domination and on its great adaptation ability, the original peoples developed quickly conditions to produce new products such as silk, wheat, true indigo, etc.; even the livestock, which was not commonly spread – became very important, the grain storage was replaced principally by the presence of poultry, pigs and goats.

The indigenous communities could partially keep features of their identity and some of their traditions, while at the same time they could redesign their economic system, adapting to the new mercantile production logic, adding symbolism related to their traditions such as the collection of poultry and grain for their traditional ceremonies.

During the whole 16th century, the indigenous aristocracy coexisted with the Spanish conquerors, but subordinated to them. The peasants had the 'right' to work on the land, but the owners of the land was the landowning indigenous aristocracy, who in turn paid tribute taxes to the conquerors. This dynamic prevailed until the end of the colonial period when the Catholic Church acquired many proprieties and lands, becoming the principal holder of immovable propriety in that jurisdiction.²⁸²

²⁸¹ Taylor, *Landlors and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca*, 30-31.

²⁸² B. Hamnet, "Oaxaca, las principales familias y el federalismo de 1823," in *Lecturas históricas del estado de Oaxaca Vol. III*, ed. A. Romero (México: INAH, 1990), 75.

Many of the nowadays cultures of the indigenous peoples of Oaxaca – which is not totally identical to the before and after the colonial period – are the result of the active behaviour, which were assumed by the oppressed indigenous communities, in order not lose entirely their identities. Therefore, the culture of the resistance must be understood as “the adaptation mechanisms [...] that aspire, both implicitly and explicitly, to the practice of a cultural heritage and to the maintaining tradition, which has been codified in the own terms of the subordinated cultures.”²⁸³ As result of that resistance, the reproduction of the *usos y costumbres* (habits and customs) of the subordinated cultures was possible.

The *usos y costumbres* are the own lifestyle of the indigenous peoples, whose practice results in the reproduction of the indigenous social, economical, social, cultural, and political organization. The resulting political, social, cultural and economical systems have been historically constituted by the indigenous population,²⁸⁴ rather than imposed by external interests. Those systems work on basis of the auto-managing and self-determination of the population, instead to be articulated, controlled and imposed by institutions. The *tequio*, the community assembly, and the system of positions are some of the communal traditions that are part of those systems. Within the *usos y costumbres* system there are not political parties and the posts are an obligation instead of a privilege: that person, who is elected for a post, works of the community and does not receive a salary. The candidates for a post do not apply by themselves; the whole election process is carried out by the community.

The texts composed in the Mixtec hieroglyphic and ideographic writing, as well as, in the Zapotec epigraphic writing, are an unquestionable evidence of the cultural resistance that prevailed in Oaxaca since the colonial period. Those texts are testimony of the continuity of cultural practices, emerging from the original peoples of the 16th century to the present time. In those documents the use of the Pre-Hispanic calendar, to lead the decisive moments of the

²⁸³ Bartolomé, *La tierra plural Sistemas interculturales en Oaxaca*, 63.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 180.

communal life - such as the appropriate time to make sacrifices or to start the sowing time - is showed. There are many manuscripts, which contained ceremonial songs related to the Zapotec deities, those manuscripts stem from the era around 200 hundred years after the Spanish Conquest.

Despite the fact that the rituals – related to the vital cycle and to the agricultural, fishing and livestock production – took place within the environment of the everyday life, the rituals soon had to be practiced in caves and remote sites in the hills due to the Christian repression over the indigenous inhabitants, who were afraid to be killed, beheaded or mutilated, as was the case of 15 ‘subversive Zapotec idolaters’ in San Francisco Cajones, who were impaled and exhibited as reprimand. Despite of the repression attitude of the Catholic Church, the indigenous inhabitants continued practising their deity’s rituals that are still present nowadays.

Just before the Mexican Independence, the Creole section of the Oaxaca society began to claim – as was the case of another places of the Viceroyalty of New Spain – the ‘right’ of the indigenous to be recognized as legitimate Spaniards in order to ‘abolish the slavery’ and to establish ‘more equitable social relations.’ Although, it is well known that the independence project did not represent the interest of the native ethnic groups, who were considered only as workforce for the elite of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Around 1810 the 82.2% of the population were indigenous, 6.3% were Spaniards and Creoles, and 5.2% were mestizos and mulattos. Despite the overwhelming indigenous majority, the 6% of Spaniards and Creoles could control the rest of the population through the establishment of electoral laws favouring the vote of ‘well-respected people’ – literate Creoles – excluding any indigenous person of the electoral activity.²⁸⁵

During the first years of the Mexican War of Independence, original ethnic groups were kept out of the transformation process of the governmental system, but around 1821 it was decided to municipalize the *repúblicas de indios*

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 61-62.

and the Spanish councils. This decision threatened the community autonomy because the municipal system demanded subordination to the emerging State. This is how the second conqueror of Oaxaca started: a process, whereby the new elite – consisting of creoles and mestizos – and the Church took hold of lands and means of production, which up until then had belonged to the indigenous peoples.

This brutal and fast appropriation did not only represent the confrontation of two legal entities, but also two different ways to conceive the world: one of them directed by the capitalist logic and its production model; and the indigenous perspective, focused on self-sufficiency and the disposal of surpluses on the market. Although the affected communities did not accept in a passive form that appropriation process, they tried to defend their territories, and thus this struggle of the inter-cohesion was fortified. The indigenous rebellions against the encroachment of the land and against a world understanding, which not corresponded to the idiosyncrasy of the indigenous population, increased noticeably during the whole the 19th century.

In *La Tierra Plural*, Bartolomé²⁸⁶ notes that the manifestations against the new legal order are doubly significant, since the political action based on the cultural code-sharing contributes to the definition of the social identities, and to the configuration of the indigenous groups as collective subjects. Therefore, the indigenous movements – then and now – are important references to the social ideology that those groups represent and they have to be understood, not only in the context of specific demands, but as the manifestation of political logics and cultural alternatives to the Mexican nation-state model, which still articulates colonization practices – in political, economic, social and cultural spheres – in order to preserve its hegemony, following the Eurocentric domination perspective.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

b. Oaxaca in the 20th century: The struggle for free self-determination of the indigenous peoples

The Mexican Revolution was a confusing process for the region of Oaxaca due to illiteracy and the linguistic differences. The meaning of the Mexican Revolution for the indigenous peoples of Oaxaca consisted of the mere compulsive participation in a war, the aims of which were not clear at all for them.

Despite the political and social disorder, and confusion, the Revolution brought political benefits to the original ethnic groups of the Oaxaca State: the Constitution of 1917 provided the municipalities more autonomy, liberating them of the state government control. In addition, some communal lands were returned. However, the land recovery was not enough for peasants to recover the economic self-sufficiency, because the *caciquismo* emerged: a form of social exploitation, a system of petty tyranny run by the local cacique, whereby the cacique controls the local production and has a certain political influence over the social life of the exploited.

Besides that, the politicians and thinkers of that time considered it as important to 'homogenize' the population, in order to build an equal citizenry. That 'nationalist homogenizing' ideology resulted in the cultural aggressive practice against the heterogenic ethnic groups since the 20th century. The Spanish language displaced the; the communal life and its traditions were labelled as backward; and the oral tradition became clandestine.

Nevertheless, there are contemporary ethnographic registers, which reveal that the culture of the resistance continued during the post-revolutionary period. The basis of the actual ethnic idiosyncrasy relies on those processes of cultural reproduction that the indigenous peoples of Oaxaca did not leave, even though the permanent onslaughts.

In recent times, the post-revolutionary tendencies that despise the native peoples' culture started slowly to revert. Many national and international

intellectuals noticed the importance of the ethnic feature, thus the comprehension about the relevance of the ethnic groups and their culture. As result of this, an indigenous movement in Oaxaca began during the late 1970s – during this period the supremacy of the party Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) was absolute – led by the communities of Ixtlán of the Sierra Juárez, in the north mountain range.

The Zapotec community of San Pablo Macuiltianguis decided to found its own sawmill attempting not to be dependent on the semi-official enterprise, which had the exploitation rights of the forest resources. Alongside this first effort – which was still not seeking for a free self-determination of the indigenous peoples – arose other movements characterized by other demands related to the indirect control of the natural resources: to the mais production and storage, to the solution of the agrarian conflict, and to the establishment of an education, based on the diverse indigenous culture of the region.²⁸⁷

During the early 1980s emerged organizations that proposed – for the first time – the communal autonomy related to the political, cultural and economic production spheres. In 1990 appeared the *Union de Organizaciones de la Sierra de Juárez* (UNOSJO), which provided the municipal authorities and the communal districts of Villa Alta e Ixtlán an independent space that allowed resolving peasants' problems outside of the control of the PRI party structures. Also during this period arose the *Asamblea de Autoridades Zapotecas y Chinotecas de la Sierra* (AZACHIS), whose demands focused on the control of the natural resources; the restitution of the agricultural lands; the acceptance and respect of the indigenous culture; the road constructions; the provision of public services; the liberation of the local political life; and the establishment of a minimum grade of communal autonomy.²⁸⁸

In the Tehuantepec isthmus, the organization COCEI faced the regimen of the

²⁸⁷ A. Anaya, *Autonomía indígena, gobernabilidad y legitimidad en México. La legalización de los usos y costumbres electorales en México* (México: Plaza y Valdés, 2006), 62.

²⁸⁸ Anaya, *Autonomía indígena, gobernabilidad y legitimidad en México. La legalización de los usos y costumbres electorales en México*.

PRI during the 1980s and the 1990s, demanding for the recognition of the communal lands and for employment benefits for the agricultural workers. The COCEI was one of the first organizations that expressed its sympathy for the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (The Zapatista Army of National Liberation), also called EZLN, which took up arms on 1 January 1994 to demand its autonomy.

In the south coast and the southern mountain range, the organization process for the free self-determinations emerged due to the need to control of forest resources of the production and placing on the market of coffee, and due to the interest in the advocacy of culture through the defence of the communal, collective and unpaid work traditional system, the *tequio*, which is an organized way of work that was developed to meet the collective needs: it can be carried out by donating materials or supplies, or providing labor force to accomplish a community project. The *tequio* not only implies the collective collaboration to make tangible works: such as maintaining schools, roads, desludging of rivers; it includes also traditions: such as the *convite* or the *mayordomias* in context of local festivities.

Also the work of the Mixess researchers and ethno-linguists had a relevant role. They contributed to the defence of the traditional culture and style of life thought, the promotion and dissemination of research about those topics. This manner to preserve the indigenous cultures soon spread to the Mazatec, Mixtec, Chinotec, Amuzgo, and to the isthmus region, where research centres and communal ethnic museums were founded, whose principal aim was to promote and protect local traditions, as well as, to recover their history and to claim their cultural heritage.

However, despite all examples of the first nascent struggles for the self-determination and autonomy, it was not until the end of the 1980s and begins of the 1990s – more precisely between 1989 and 1994 – when a defined indigenous movement has clearly and strongly manifested its presence, within the context of the 5th centenary of American Discovery; the adoption of the Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO); the reforms to the Mexican Constitution and the Oaxaca Constitution; and the EZLN uprising.

For the indigenous peoples the celebration of the 5th Centenary of American Discovery represented the celebration of 500 years of indigenous resistance: they organized forums for the open discussion and reflection.

There is not doubt that the nascent autonomy process in the Lacandon Jungle region – in the State of Chiapas, south Mexico – had a decisive influence on the struggle for the free self-determination of the indigenous peoples. The Zapatista rebellion motivated solidarity actions, not only in the state of Chiapas, but also across the country. The Oaxaca communities were the first ones to send provisions to the neighboring state of Chiapas; according to the researcher Carlos Beas, the uprising in Chiapas was like a lighting, which woke up the indigenous peoples. On April 1994 in Oaxaca City, the indigenous peoples from Oaxaca and Chiapas took to the streets in protest, a massive group of teachers also took part. After the manifestation they established a permanent camp in front of the Houses of Parliament, demanding the compliance of diverse agricultural reforms.²⁸⁹

As result of the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, the indigenous activism became acute in Oaxaca, promoting and demanding a collective rights agenda, confirming the recognition of the cultural diversity and the rights of the indigenous peoples. The rising interest and sympathy of diverse indigenous peoples for the Zapatista movement, particularly in Oaxaca, concerned the governor of the State of Oaxaca – Dióodoro Carrasco (1992-1998). Despite the efforts of the government, it was not possible to stop the determination of the Oaxaca peoples to create spaces for the collective discussion and the political actions. The indigenous peoples started to radicalize their political strategy, which up until then had remained within the civil limits of the political struggle; the governing elite saw this as a threat to the governance of the State.

One year after the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, an unprecedented event in Mexico took place: the article 25 of the Constitution of Oaxaca was reformed; the modification to the Magna Carta notes that the law shall protect the

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

traditions and democratic practices of the indigenous communities, which until then have been practiced in an 'illegal' manner. This reform and a new modification in 1997, allow to operate in a 'legal' manner the traditional electoral system known as *usos y costumbres* (habits and customs), hundreds of municipalities of Oaxaca have been governed in an 'illegal' manner.²⁹⁰

The decision, or need, of the government of Oaxaca to recognize – beyond a simple oral declaration – the rights of cultural diversity of the State have to be understood within a political context, where the PRI party suffered a lack of credibility and the governance was threatened by the increasing organization of the indigenous peoples demanding their autonomy.

From the second half of the 1980s, the credibility of the PRI party, which had kept the electoral hegemony since the 1930s, started to decline. This lack of credibility became acute in the 1990s with the radicalization of the indigenous protest, resulting in a reaction of the PRI government by legalizing the *usos y costumbres*, as part of a tactical answer against the increasing governance threats. Besides this legalization, another changes were authorized: provision of public goods for the social welfare, a 'fair' land distribution, and support for the agricultural production.

Nevertheless, the constitutional reforms did not eliminate at all the possibility of an insurrection in Oaxaca. In 1996, another armed group appeared, the *Ejército Popular Revolucionario* (Popular Revolutionary Army), also called EPR. In contrast to the EZL, the EPR did not build a significant link with ethnic population and its indigenous leaders.

During the first years of its government, the José Murat Administration – Oaxaca 1998-2004 – disdained to dialogue with diverse insurgents groups, avoiding any conciliatory political actions. But in 2001, the Murat Administration returned to the policy of conciliation and dialogue, as a result of the massive mobilization of the EZL, marching from Chiapas towards Mexico City – a

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

distance of approximately 850 kilometres – and holding in the Zócalo of Mexico City (Constitution City Square). The protest included hundred of thousands of indigenous peoples, confirming their support and adherence to the demands of the EZLN.

Despite of the effort of dialogue of the José Murat Administration, the Oaxaca government planed to continue with its repression policy. During 1999, the funds were recovered – the funds decreased during 1995, and fell to the minimum in 1998 – allowing to increase the police and military presence across the Oaxaca, in order to restore the legitimacy of the government and to preserve the hegemony of the PRI party in Oaxaca.²⁹¹

The legalization of the *usos y costumbres* is a historic milestone not only for the Oaxaca indigenous population, but also for the Mexican indigenous peoples. This long process reflects both the dominations policies of the Mexican government – in particular Oaxaca government – continuing with the modernity/coloniality practices and the ancestral resistance culture of the Oaxaca indigenous population to those domination practices.

Despite this big step towards recognition and respect of the free self-determination and sufficiency of the indigenous peoples, the indigenous population is still claiming themselves as cultures, integrated by capable men able to reconsider and face its existence according to the changing contexts of its collective life. They still face the current coloniality practices of the 21th century.

c. *Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca*: state repression and civil resistance

During the 2006, the teaching conflict in Oaxaca arose as one of the most importance events in Mexico. The civil organization ability – reflected in the foundation of the *Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca* (APPO) – and the brutal repression led by the then Governor of Oaxaca, Ulises Ruiz Ortiz,

²⁹¹ Ibid.

drew the attention not only of the media, but also the human rights institutions, that registered the abuses and irregularities occurring during more than six months such as: threats, whipping, torture, murder, rape and disappearances.²⁹²

1 May 2006 can be considered as the date on which the conflict began. On that day, due the atrocious working conditions and the low wages, the Oaxacan teachers of the *Sección 22 del Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación* – SNTE – gave a document with 17 demands to Ulises Ruiz government. The main petition was the pay re-adjustment, since Oaxaca and Chiapas are the poorest States in Mexico: half of the economic active population receives less as the official minimum wage or does not have income at all; the most of the municipalities are highly marginal zones.²⁹³

Another of the teachers' demands was the increase of grants for the children' teachers: the increase of packages of school supplies for elementary schools pupils; the implementation of a footwear program for pupils of the most marginal municipalities; medical and dental care for those pupils lacking medical insurance; and the clarification of the assassination of the indigenous activist de Serafín García Contreras, from the Huatulco municipality.

After 3 weeks none of their demands were answered, thus, on 22 May 2006 hundreds of teachers of the *Sección 22* established camps, occupying several side streets next to the centre square of Oaxaca City. Until that time, and during the next weeks, the Oaxaca government made no pronouncement; its position about the conflict was just transmitted through the media, which were used by the State, disparaging the peaceful protest and provoking confrontations, in order to weaken the teachers' movement.

²⁹² Octavio Vélez Ascencio, "Destituyen a funcionario acusado de asesinatos de activistas en Oaxaca," *La Jornada*, March 8, 2007, <http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2007/03/08/index.php?section=estados&article=033n1est>.

²⁹³ M.Fernández, *La actualidad del pensamiento de Ricardo Flores Magón: El conflicto de Oaxaca 2006* (Mendoza: Rebelión, 2006), 15.

“On 13th May, *Asociación Estatal de Padres de Familia* [Parents Association of Oaxaca State] began a campaign against the teachers’ demands through announcements on the radio and television of the official mass media [...], threatening the strikers, arguing that if the teachers do not return to work, the wages will be withheld and the teachers will be removed. [*Asociación Estatal de Padres de Familia*] described the teachers as robbers, lazybones, criminals and shop looters, the teachers were also accused of bearing high wages [...] the governor, Ulises Ruiz, declared to a TV news magazine that he had the advice of Pablo Salazar Mendiguchía, ex-governor of Chiapas [in the State of Chiapas arose the insurgent movement EZLN], in order to finish with combativeness of the Oaxaca democratic teachers; with its historic struggle; and with its labor and teacher achievements.”²⁹⁴

Meanwhile, indigenous, social, union organizations, as well as peasants and students groups joined the more than 70 thousands teachers’ camps, which in mid-May had taken circa 50 blocks around the centre square. At this point in time, the specific demands of those groups that had been joined the massive strike were also added to the original teachers’ written petitions.

The first strong attack against the teachers’ movement occurred in the early morning of June 14. That day, all the police brutality and force were used trying to clear the centre square.

“When most of [the demonstrators] were sleeping under the canvas placed in the camp zone, police officers burst into the camps, firing tear gas grenades and beating them out of all proportion, and coughing them unprepared and off guard.”²⁹⁵

The teachers fell back on the schools to protect themselves, then, the police

²⁹⁴ J. Sotelo, *Oaxaca. Insurgencia civil y terrorismo de Estado* (México: Ediciones Era, 2008), 71.

²⁹⁵ “Observaciones. Libertad de expresión en la Recomendación 15/2007,” Comisión Nacional de Derechos Humanos, accessed June 13, 2013, <http://www.cndh.org.mx/>.

assumed the teachers were defeated, but *Radio Plantón* – the community radio that had been installed by the teachers – reported on the attack and called the citizens to defend the teachers. The Oaxaca populations answered: people got organized in order to face the repressive forces, besieging the police.

With the spontaneous support of the population, the teachers recovered the centre square before 9 a.m. of the same day. Despite the violent day, the governor, Ulises Ruiz, could not destroy the social protest. The protest camps remained installed, and the teachers' and indigenous peoples' movement became stronger with the support of the other social groups and civilian population.

The *Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca* (Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca), or simply the APPO, was officially formed on June 17 2006. 365 hundred social organizations, citizens and participants from around the Oaxaca State decided to go further with their demands: they called for Ulises Ruiz Ortiz governor's ouster.

Spokesmen of the APPO declared: they establish themselves as space for the exercising power, setting aside any difference; the origins of the nascent organization name, refers to the democratic traditions of the indigenous peoples, which make any decision in an assembly that involves all members of the Oaxaca people; they also mentioned that the name honoured the cultural richness of Oaxaca, since the 16 indigenous peoples – including their *usos y costumbres*, traditions and languages – are considered in the assembly.²⁹⁶

Ulises Ruiz reacted to the APPO establishment by appointing Heliodoro Díaz as Secretary General of the government of Oaxaca, delegating the articulation of the repression to him. Heliodoro Díaz organized a plan to reach the social repudiation of the APPO, justifying the intervention of the federal security forces, in order to deter the popular support.²⁹⁷ Despite of the repression, the

²⁹⁶ Sotelo, *Oaxaca. Insurgencia civil y terrorismo de Estado*.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 104.

APPO continued to demand the establishment of the population's government and the governor's ouster, arguing that its government was not recognized by the Oaxaca people.

At this point in time, Ulises Ruiz cancelled the *Guelaguetza* festivity, but the demonstrators organized successfully the *Guelaguetza Popular*; despite the intimidation of the government, more than 20 thousand people gathered for the *Guelaguetza Popular* celebration.²⁹⁸ On the other hand, the government continued with the bullying and provocation policy: vandals and plain clothes policemen were used by the state in criminal acts in order to charge the demonstrators with those crimes. During the last days of July, the government shot out the radio signal of *Radio Planton*, which until then had been strategic for the social movement; as response, on 28 July the seats of the three powers of the state were taken over by the demonstrators.

On 1 August around 2,000 women marched in *La Marcha de Las Cacerolas*, pounding on pans with kitchen utensils in a shrill demonstration against the Ulises Ruiz administration, demanding the end of the PRI control over the local and state governments, after that, dozens of women taken over the official Oaxaca state TV station and state FM and AM radio stations.²⁹⁹

"I am a woman born in Oaxaca of Zapotec and Mixtec blood. Our mission as women is to create, educate, communicate and participate. That is why we are here occupying the state radio and TV station. ... From the countryside to the city, we Oaxacan women are tired of bearing this burden. Only by the repression we are experiencing from the long line of people who have governed us and from our current governor, Ulises Ruiz [...] Although the people, who may read this, are far away. We are

²⁹⁸ "Maestros reúnen 20 mil asistentes en la *Guelaguetza alternativa*," Web Archive Org, accessed May 23, 2013,

<http://web.archive.org/web/20080713125418/http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2006/07/25/039n1soc.php>.

²⁹⁹ Octavio Vélez Ascencio, "Con una marcha, mujeres de la APPO avivan demandas de justicia para Oaxaca,"

La Jornada, August 2, 2008,

<http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2008/08/02/index.php?section=politica&article=016n1pol>.

living this crude reality of repressions and an impossible situation [...] We went out into the streets on the first of August to tell Ulises Ruiz that he had to leave Oaxaca. We are women who don't usually have a voice because we are brown, we are short, we are fat and they think that we don't represent the people, but we do. WE are the face of Oaxaca. [...] We are here because we want a free Mexico, a democratic Mexico and we have had enough."³⁰⁰

The active participation of the women in the movement continued throughout the following months: women from the *Coordinadora de Mujeres de Oaxaca* – COMO – and the APPO occupied state government buildings, radio stations; constructed hundreds of home-made barricades throughout the city to prevent paramilitary forces and undercover state police from entering neighbourhoods and terrorizing people; Mixtec and Triqui women of the Indigenous Front of Binational Organization organized branches of the APPO in other parts of the state of Oaxaca, like the regional branch of the APPO in Juxtlahuaca in October 2006.³⁰¹

On 21 August, one of the APPO camps was removed and the official Oaxaca state TV station, *Canal 9*, was dislodged. The governor, Ulises Ruiz, set an ultimatum: the teachers must return to their work or they will remove them. In spite of the threat, the main camps continued in the centre square and a march towards Mexico City started, while the armed attacks by the federal security forces continued and were increased: the use of aircraft forces and the military landings in Salina Cruz and Huatulco harbours were reported.

On October 9 and after 500 kilometres, the demonstrators arrived in Mexico City, establishing a camp in front of the Mexico Senate in order to demand a dialogue panel to discuss the solutions of the conflict. On October 16, the contingent began a hunger strike due to the non-response of the government.

³⁰⁰ "Women in the Oaxaca Social Rebellion," American Anthropological Association, accessed September 01, 2013, <http://www.aaanet.org/press/an/0307/stephen.html>.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

Finally, between 27 and 29 October the local police force, the federal security forces, and military vehicles dispersed and ejected the demonstrators and the APPO camps of the centre square. As a result of the brutal confrontation, many persons were imprisoned and tortured, kidnapped or disappeared, also the American journalist, William Bradley Roland, died.³⁰² In the following weeks the persecution of APPO members and supporters continued. On November 29, the last APPO barricades were removed, and on December 4, Flavio Sosa – one of the 264 members of the APPO council – was arrested.³⁰³

Once the situation was under the control of the government, Ulises Ruiz got back to the municipal palace. The chamber of Deputies and the Mexican Senate recommended him to resign as governor or to take a leave of absence from his position. Ulises Ruiz continued in his position and blamed the federal government of the Mexican president Vicente Fox, saying that he refused to deal with the problem, due to political reasons.³⁰⁴

d. Cultural implications

From now on, the influence of those coloniality practices on the cultural sphere of Oaxaca at the present will be explored. Any reflection and approach to the indigenous culture and artistic production in Oaxaca has to consider the diverse elements that are involved: not only the materials, techniques, objects, forms and styles is limited, but also the social context – understood as the Derridean *subjectile* – is part of those cultural and artistic productions. The internal environment within which the artistic and cultural phenomena and objects are produced, as well as, the external environment with which it is associated, result in constituent relations of a collective identity and identification.³⁰⁵

In the abundant diversity of artistic expressions of Oaxaca, the diverse and

³⁰² "NYC Indymedia volunteer Brad Will killed in attack by Paramilitaries in Oaxaca," Independent Media Centre, accessed July 12, 2013, <http://www.indymedia.org/en/2006/10/849305.shtml>.

³⁰³ Alfredo Mendez, "Detienen a Flavio Sosa antes de contactar al gobierno de Calderón," *La Jornada*, 5 December 2006, <http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2006/12/05/index.php?section=politica&article=003n1pol>.

³⁰⁴ Sotelo, *Oaxaca. Insurgencia civil y terrorismo de Estado*.

³⁰⁵ Bartolomé, *La tierra plural Sistemas interculturales en Oaxaca*.

complex, cultural symbolizations to which they refer, has to be considered. Such is the case with garments that contributed, since the Spanish colony, for the expression of the 'own world.' The function of the body, as sign language organism – that exhibited social situations such as: mourning, marriageable age, state of war and the priesthood – were restricted. As a result of that, the local traditions continued to express themselves through textile and garments.

The same applies to Dance: in the *Danza de la Conquista* the importance goes beyond the obvious meaning of the European invasion; it relates to the consecration that is expressed in the dancers' abstinence and in the compromise to dance it for consecutive days. Therefore, dance is not only a temporal artistic expression related to music, but an art that reflects social behaviours. It is a visual art, where the choreography and the perspective are constituted as regarding signs of symbolic systems; it is an art with which the producers of that art can identify themselves.³⁰⁶

i. The festivities in Oaxaca

As has been mentioned, Oaxaca is formed by a great diversity of indigenous peoples. In fact, it is the state with the highest diversity of ethnic languages in Mexico: Amuzgos, Cuicatecos, Huaves, Ixtecos, Mazatecos, Mixes, Mixtecos, Nahuas, Tacuates, Triquis, Zapotecos, and Zoques. Oaxaca has an indigenous population of more than one million distributed in two thousand and 563 hundred locations, resulting in immense cultural resources.

One of the most meaningful indigenous festivities is *la Guelaguetza*, also known as *Festividad de los Lunes de Cerro* (festivity of the Monday Hill), the Guelaguetza dates from the end of the 15th century and relates to the prayer and adoration of the Aztec maize goddess *Centeotl*. Another important celebrations are: *Semana Santa*, *la Bendición de los animales*, *las fiestas de San Francisco de Asís y la virgen de Juquila*, *la Noche de Rábanos*, and *el Día de Muertos*.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

Many festivities – as cult of Christian figures – were introduced into the Oaxacan festive calendar during colonial time. Depending on the religious order, a new cult was introduced: the Dominican friars introduced the cult of *Santo Domingo de Guzmán* and the *Virgen del Rosario*, among others; the Franciscans introduced the cult of *San Francisco de Asís* and *Santa Clara de Asís*; the Jesuits introduced the cult of *San Ignacio de Loyola*; the Fatebenefratelli introduced the cult of *San Juan de Dios*; and the Augustinians the cult of *San Agustín de Hipona*. For every Saint a church was constructed, so every village had its own Church and Saint. Along the time, the confraternities increased and the cult of Saints as well, shaping the festive calendar of the State.³⁰⁷

The celebration and organization of each cult corresponded to a certain population, depending on the economic and social position. The festivity to honour *Virgen del Carmen*, took place in the Church of Carmen de Abajo and Carmen Alto. The first one was assigned to indigenous and mestizo population, while the second one was reserved for creole and Spaniards. The celebrations were carried out simultaneously and the festivity of Carmen Alto which stands out for its splendour, denoting the hierarchy between the indigenous festivities and Spaniards' festivities.³⁰⁸

The celebrations have a decisive role in the Oaxacan population, since they resume not only all the cultural manifestations – dance, music, literature, food, cloths, religion, etc. – but also the social order of the community. The dominant stereotypes about the indigenous population are represented in the Oaxaca celebrations: the images created along the *devenir* (becoming), everything is showed in a festive way, an idealized behaviour is invoked, reinforcing the differences and tensions between the hierarchical dichotomies: urban/rural; mestizo/indigenous, dominant/subaltern. Every social actor has a specific role in the festivity, representing a social role specifically designed for him on the

³⁰⁷ Marcello Carmagnani, *El regreso de los dioses. El proceso de reconstrucción de la identidad étnica en Oaxaca. Siglos XVII y XVIII* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993), 132.

³⁰⁸ H. Ayuntamiento de Oaxaca de Juárez, *Calendario de Fiestas Tradicionales del Municipio de Oaxaca de Juárez* (Oaxaca: Dirección General de Turismo Municipal, 1998), 21.

stage. In the Oaxacan festivities, the current society is celebrated itself, therefore it refers to the social order; the supremacy of the urban centres over the rural regions and all what it implies. Thus, the celebration is a reflection of the urban structure, a ritualistic symbolization of the social reality and the dominant values.³⁰⁹

ii. *Homenaje Racial*

The commemoration of the 4th centenary of the City – on April 25 153, Oaxaca was declared as City by Carlos V ³¹⁰ – was one of those festivities that represented the social order and the stereotypes of the post-revolutionary time. For the commemoration, the government created an Organizational Committee, which only included representatives of the privileged class. The Committee organized the activities of the Commemoration, according to the national cultural policies of the 1930s: it is worth remembering that those policies were established by the Federal government, in order to clarify and to determine a national identity. In this process the Government policies determined the identity of each social actor, as well as their cultural production.

The conception about the indigenous peoples, in the post-revolutionary time, described them as backward and from a primitive era. Thus, the national policies tried to create a common race and a common identity, within which the indigenous peoples would be included. The Mexican philosopher, José Vasconcelos, conceived in 1925 the concept *raza cósmica* (cosmic race), which proposed the assimilation and the 'spanishing' of the indigenous individuals through the racial mix, in order to create a unique national identity: the mestizo. Under his conception, the primitive indigenous peoples have to be civilized in

³⁰⁹ Isidoro Moreno Navarro, "Cofradías andaluzas y fiestas: aspectos socioantropológicos," in *Tiempo de Fiesta. Ensayos antropológicos sobre la fiesta en España*, ed. H. Velasco (Madrid: Tres, Catorce, Diecisiete, 1982).

³¹⁰ Agustín Vega, *Oaxaca en el IV Centenario de su exaltación a la categoría de ciudad. Album conmemorativo* (México: Unknow, 1932).

order to be included in the modern and developed era; “we are the future, while they [the indigenous population] are the past.”³¹¹

As director of *Secretaría de Educación Pública*, Jose Vasconcelos established his ideas as national education guidelines, in order to ‘save’ the indigenous peoples from themselves: the indigenous population will not be historical subjects, while there miscegenation and the re-culturization is not realized. The post-revolution thoughts re-invented the indigenous peoples according to the conception of the dominant class.

As part of the commemoration of the 4th centenary, the Organizational Committee decided to stage a short drama, called: *Homenaje Racial* (Racial Homage). It was staging – made in three acts and written by Alberto Vargas – showing diverse indigenous groups from each population of the Oaxaca State arriving to Oaxaca City in order to give obeisance to Oaxaca City, which was represented by a young woman of the dominant class.³¹²

Margarita Santaella – member of an aristocratic family from Oaxaca – was selected to represent Oaxaca City. According to Vega, “the young woman, through its pale skin, slender body and attractive appearance reflected all the influence of a racial past and the incongruence of a cosmic present. She was the bridge to fraternize two epochs.”³¹³ The election of this young woman, remarked the fact that the indigenous individuals have to be replaced for the *raza cósmica*, on which the future of the nation has to be re-built. Some representatives of the others Oaxaca regions – *Las Siete Diosas de la Fraternidad* (the Seven Goddesses of the Fraternity) – were elected by the Organizational Committee, due its economical contribution to the festivity, instead of being elected by the population of the respective communities.³¹⁴

³¹¹ José Vasconcelos, *La raza cósmica. Misión de la raza iberoamericana* (México: Asociación Nacional de Libreros, 1983), 27.

³¹² Alberto Vargas, *Homenaje Racial. Argumento para la ceremonia al aire libre con que se celebrará el IV Centenario en que Oaxaca obtuvo la jerarquía de Ciudad* (Oaxaca: Unknown, 1932), 10.

³¹³ Vega, *Oaxaca en el IV Centenario de su exaltación a la categoría de ciudad. Album conmemorativo*.

³¹⁴ *Mercurio*. México, April 17, 1932.

The first act began with Overture, which was a medley of all the songs included in the whole staging; subsequently, Miss Oaxaca appeared carrying a sceptre and followed by *Siete Diosas de la Fraternidad*, who were accompanied by *Siete Espíritus del Bien* (Seven Spirits of Good), represented by seven pairs of children. All the clothes, as well as, the decoration were selected by the Organizational Committee, following their ideas about what is representative of the indigenous culture. The indigenous persons, who took part of the *Homenaje Racial* performance, were stripped of their original clothes that showed poverty and social backwardness. Specific songs were interpreted during the presentation of the delegations of each Oaxaca region, some of those songs were especially composed for the festivity, in order to show the distinctive indigenous musical features: *El Nito* the region of Oaxaca City; *La Tortolita Cantadora* for the region of the *Cañada*; *La Canción Mixteca* for the region of the *Mixteca*; *El Mosquito Serrano* for the region of the *Sierra*.³¹⁵

During the second act – which was filled with symbols – a delegation of every region of the Oaxaca State appeared, to give their respective tribute to Miss Oaxaca. The Mixe delegation appeared, carrying a poster with text regarding the meaning of its name: ‘Mixes, who have never been conquered.’ But, at the end of the presentation of the Mixe delegation, the elderly – representative of the authorities of the Mixe region – knelt in front of Miss Oaxaca, putting their heads down and giving her their leadership sceptre,³¹⁶ indicating that the Mixes surrendering to the City, to the modernity. The Mixe delegation was also composed by indigenous children who carried a syllabary emblem, asking for culture.³¹⁷

In the last act, Miss Oaxaca gave every Diosa de la Fraternidad and every Espiritu del Bien a colour lath. The Diosas and Espiritus placed those laths into the *teocalli* (note: It is a Mesoamerican pyramid surmounted by a temple.

³¹⁵ Rosendo Pérez García, *La Sierra Juárez Tomo I* (México: Instituto Oaxaqueño de las Culturas, 1998), 362.

³¹⁶ *Mercurio*. México, April 17, 1932.

³¹⁷ Vargas, *Homenaje Racial. Argumento para la ceremonia al aire libre con que se celebrará el IV Centenario en que Oaxaca obtuvo la jerarquía de Ciudad*, 11.

teocalli in Nahuatl means God-house) in heart shape – especially constructed for the festivity –, opening the doors of the pre-Columbian temple, letting white doves out. The *Homenaje Racial* ended with the Oaxaca Hymn, especially composed for this event.³¹⁸

iii. The appropriation of *La Guelaguetza*

Beyond the creation of festivities – based on coloniality thoughts –, the Mexican government – within the aesthetic colonization policy – had appropriated the most important Oaxacan festivity – *La Guelaguetza* –, in order to preserve not only a cultural, but also an absolute domination over the population by perpetuating the current social order. *La Guelaguetza* is the most important festivity among the Oaxacan communities; it is interpreted as 'reciprocal exchanges of gifts and services' by considering the importance for indigenous cultures of sharing, reciprocity, and extended community. Currently, the festivity also involves many other side events, including an epic theatrical performance: *La leyenda de la princesa Donaji*. The celebration centres on traditional dancing in costume in groups, often gender-separated groups, as is due to the tradition, and includes parades completed with indigenous walking bands, native food, and state wide artisanal crafts: such as pre-Columbian style textiles. Each *traje* (traditional cloth) and dance usually has a local indigenous historical and cultural meaning.

The origin of the festivity is located in the early 1930s, in that time it was not called *Guelaguetza*, but *Lunes de Cerro* (Monday in the Hill) after July 16; it consisted in a celebration in honour of *Xilomen*, *Centeotl* – maize goodness – and *Ehecatl* – wind god.³¹⁹ In spite of this, the *Lunes del Cerro* can hardly be considered as a pre-Columbian festivity, since there are no evidences about that, but a colonial festivity of the colonized indigenous peoples of Oaxaca. According to Cortés,³²⁰ the festivity was carried out after the celebrations of the

³¹⁸ *Mercurio*, México, April 27, 1932.

³¹⁹ Enrique Audiffred Bustamante, et al. "Guelaguetza, cultura, magia y color," *Periódico Noticias*, 17 July, 1995.

³²⁰ Luis Cortés Osorio, "Octava: Lunes del Cerro," *Periódico Noticias*, July 27, 1982.

Virgen del Carmen within the context of the Corpus Christi procession and *la Fiesta de los Senores*; it was a celebration where all the population took part, sharing the food and dancing, in order to comfort the poor.³²¹ The festivity lasted 7 days and took place in the *Cerro del Fortín* (Fort Hill); during the festivity, diverse indigenous peoples tribute to their first harvest. A virgin maiden, who represented the Centeotl goodness and who was sacrificed at the end of the festivity as tribute to the maize goodness, led the festivity.

During colonial time, the festivity had diverse changes, the most important was the incorporation of *Virgen del Carmen* as central character of the festivity, instead the pre-Columbian deities. The sacrifice was not anymore included, and over the ruins of *Centeotl's* temple the *Virgen del Carmen's* church was built. Those changes were rapidly accepted by the population, since there were so many similitudes: the date, the place, and a feminine deity.³²² In a clear colonization practice, those changes had the aim to use indigenous traditions to facilitate the establishment of the Spanish culture. Instead of accepting and respecting the indigenous traditions, the colonizers appropriated those traditions, providing a new meaning. Thus, the indigenous traditions had a value only if their meaning was decided or approved by the colonizers.

As a result of the government policy after the Mexican War of Independence in 1810, the religious festivities changed the performing procedures or were banned,³²³ but, in spite of this, the *Lunes del Cerro* festivity continued. According to Acevedo³²⁴ during the following decades, and until the end of the XIX Century, the *Lunes del Cerro* festivity continued, although the Reform Laws

³²¹ Javier Castro Mantecón, *Las Fiestas de los Lunes del Cerro en Oaxaca* (Oaxaca: Instituto de Protección a la Infancia del Estado de Oaxaca, 1971).

Alfredo Martínez Barroso, *Breve historia de la fiesta de El Lunes del Cerro en la ciudad de Oaxaca* (Oaxaca: Ediciones del autor, 1966).

Luis Velasco Arriaga, "La Gran Fiesta de los Señores," *Periódico El Imparcial*, July 24, 1962.

³²² María Luisa Acevedo Conde, "Historia de la Fiesta de los Lunes del Cerro," in *Historia del Arte en Oaxaca Tercer Tomo: Arte Contemporáneo*, ed. Margarita Dalton Palomo et al. (México: Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca, 1997), 374-375.

³²³ Castro Mantecón, *Las Fiestas de los Lunes del Cerro en Oaxaca*, 12.

³²⁴ Acevedo Conde, "Historia de la Fiesta de los Lunes del Cerro," 377.

in the 1850s restricted clerical privileges, especially the authority of Church courts, by subordinating their authority to civil law.

During the first decades of the 20th century, the links with other religious festivities decreased, resulting in a more secular reconfiguration of the *Lunes de Cerro*. It was also during this time when the festivity undergone its first change in the modern era: the *Lunes del Cerro* started to be called Fiesta de la Azucena in 1928, and the Oaxaca City council assumed the organization of the event.³²⁵ In the following decade the new organizers included other activities like horse racing, human pyramid, rhythmic gymnastics exercises, the Mariachi Jalatlaco, or dances from the region of Veracruz State. Any of those activities remained, since they did not refer to any Oaxaca indigenous features.

But it was until the 1950s, when *Lunes del Cerro* became in *La Guelaguetza*. On July 6, 1951, in the Oaxaca City Council the Committee of Traditional Festivities of Oaxaca, composed by the state and municipal government and diverse businessmen decided to embellish the *Lunes del Cerro* with a new style and organization,³²⁶ attempting to attract more tourists, which was one of the most important incoming resources in the State since the agricultural production was totally abandoned.

The Committee used, one more time, an identity element of the indigenous peoples of Oaxaca for the benefits of the dominant class. In order to make the *Lunes de Cerro* more attractive, the Committee of Traditional Festivities of Oaxaca made particular efforts to encourage the participation by all diverse indigenous peoples with their dances, traditional clothes and foods.³²⁷ The Committee decided also on the structure and development of the event, as well as the criteria to choose the most representative dances and songs; even some

³²⁵ Jesús José Lizama Quijano, "La Guelaguetza en Oaxaca: fiesta identidad y construcción simbólica en una ciudad mexicana" (PhD diss., Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2002), 221.

³²⁶ Lizama Quijano, "La Guelaguetza en Oaxaca: fiesta identidad y construcción simbólica en una ciudad Mexicana," 229.

³²⁷ Ibid., 231.

musical pieces were commissioned, such as the *Jarabe Mixteco* and *Flor de Piña de Tuxtepec*, which were labelled as traditional indigenous music.³²⁸

The new changes were not a result of a dialogue of both parts: it was an imposition of the commercial and governmental hegemony. The indigenous individuals were exposed as an exotic animal in order to satisfy the curiosity of the tourists; following coloniality practices, the dominant class – represented by the government and the businessmen – legitimized the value of the indigenous people by objectifying the individuals as a product, which can be used according to the needs of its owner. A hierarchical organization was, again, established: the participation of the indigenous people was limited to follow the instruction of the Organizers, who had been appropriated the *Lunes del Cerro* festivity. The participation of the indigenous peoples was encouraging, arguing the significance of the presence of foreigners, tourists.³²⁹ The importance of the indigenous culture could be legitimized by the recognition of the ‘civilized’ people.

Finally, in 1959 *Lunes del Cerro* began to be officially called *La Guelaguetza* and the new ‘authenticity’ was clearly stated, which was created on the basis of the exhibition of those traditions and habits that the imaginary of the dominant class as conceived as indigenous traditions and habits. From then on, the participants were exclusively selected by the state government as follows: the dances and indigenous peoples were chosen according the response of the public – foreigners tourists and personalities of the dominate class such as politicians and businessmen – of the previously edition.³³⁰

The tourism was decisive for the upcoming changes. In 1964, due the excessive number of visitants, free tickets were distributed to gain access to the festivity; the chairs were reserved for the tourists, while the Oaxacan peoples had to sit down on the rustical terraces, on the ground, or to stand. In the next

³²⁸ Ibid., 233.

³²⁹ Ibid., 238.

³³⁰ Ibid., 244-245.

year the access tickets for the chairs were no longer free, while the access to the rustically terraces was allowed in order not to lose the 'popular feeling' of the festivity.³³¹

In 1975, the new space for the festivity was inaugurated: the *Auditorio Guelaguetza* was constructed by the minister of the Secretariat of Public Education, who also was ex-governor of Oaxaca, Víctor Bravo Ahuja.³³² From then, and until 2006, the presence of the dominant elite increased: the Mexican presidents Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Ernesto Zedillo and Vicente Fox; the Kings of Spain; and the Nobel Peace Prize winner, Rigoberta Menchu.

La Guelaguetza and the *Historia Racial* summarize the aesthetic colonization of the cultural and artistic production of Oaxaca. The government and the dominant class considered the Guelaguetza as National Cultural Heritage after implanting values, symbols and meanings that relate to a National Identity, revealing in this processes a racial and hierarchical selection. In the *Homenaje Racial*, the hierarchical and racial perspective is clearly evident: the indigenous individuals can be included in the developed and modern Nation, due to the benevolence of the civilized, white and mestizo peoples, who are heading the project of national identity and unity. In this vein, the Oaxacan festivities relate to the current social order between the urban and rural regions, reinforcing the domination-subjection relation between mestizos/white and indigenous individuals.

The dominant class is able to see virtues in the indigenous peoples; however, the indigenous people are not developed and still have obsolete traditions. Those traditions have a value if they are offered as tribute to the modern class – like in the colonial time – within rituals such as the *Historia Racial* and *La Guelaguetza*. Those *otras* traditions are exotic objects, which are collected and exposed, following the Eurocentric notion of the 'museum.' The indigenous peoples and their traditions have a place in the modernity, but only if they are

³³¹ Ibid., 253.

³³² Ibid., 262.

subordinated to the dominant class, since that is the 'natural order.' Therefore, in the *Historia Racial*, the representative of each indigenous people has to give obeisance to the representative of Oaxaca City – represented by a woman of the dominant class –, who relates to the modernity and civilization.

The indigenous population is seen as a product that has to fit to the Eurocentric indigenous conception of the dominant class. The Indigenous population is related to the rural region, which is not part of the modernity, therefore, it is obsolete and uncivilized, while the dominant class is related to the urban regions, which is modern, civilized, non primitive, therefore good. The indigenous cultural practices acquire a certain value when they can be incorporated into the capitalist system; thus, the civilized and modern class decided the appropriate amendments to be made in those practices in order to fit into the capitalist system, but only as a product. As a clear practice of the coloniality of being, the dominant class has control over the identity of the *otros*, in order to preserve its hegemony.

The fact that the diverse indigenous races are seen as National Heritage – thus, they are owned by the non indigenous class – legitimizes any use of the indigenous populations and their culture: in this case, the imaginary tolerance to the indigenous primitive culture, reinforcing the discrimination of one group against other one.

The ideals of 'traditional', 'indigenous,' civilized, 'nation,' etc., were not the result of a collective consensus, but decided and imposed by dominant groups – government, businessmen, etc. At the present time, the Oaxacan population assumed those ideals as an objective reality, which is part of its society. Thus, those ideas are transmitted to the new generations, providing them a specific way to understand and perceive the context where they live.³³³

The Eurocentric idea of civilization and urbanization that is linked with the aesthetics representations that dictate the beauty – as well as with the aesthetic

³³³ Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *La construcción social de la realidad* (Buenos Aires: Amorrortu, 1998) 74-82.

stereotypes that reflect moral behaviours as synonym of progress and culture –, are included in the organization and procedure of the Oaxacan festivities. Examples of that are the selection of the dances, music, cloths of the indigenous peoples –that relate to the rural region and the development stagnation – by the organizers – that relate to the urban region, civilization and progress – in the Guelaguetza fest, and the casting process for the *Historia Racial* according to the notions of beauty and morally good.

iv. La Guelaguetza Magisterial Popular and the best trombonist of the world

As noted, the local governments and official institutions co-opted during decades the *Guelaguetza*, in order to have political and cultural control over the diverse heterogeneous forms of expression of the region. But in 2005-2006 the traditional, popular and festive character of the *Guelaguetza* was recovered by popular associations and the APPO.

Since 2005 the *Guelaguetza Magisterial Popular* is celebrated in parallel with the *Guelaguetza Oficial* – which stems from the interests of the dominant class with the objective of exploiting and dominating the cultural, economic and political spheres of the indigenous peoples of Oaxaca. The APPO and the trade union of the *Sección XXII del SNTE* integrated in the *Guelaguetza Magisterial Popular* all those communities that had been sidelined of the festivity due the collective participation: *Los Valles Centrales*, *La Sierra Juárez*, *La Cañada*, *Tuxtepec*, *La Mixteca*, *La Costa* and *Istmo de Tehuantepec*.

The response of the Oaxaca government to *La Guelaguetza Magisterial Popular* was violent and repressive. On the base of the coloniality of power that legitimized any violent action against the *otros*, on July 16, 2007 – first Monday of the *Lunes del Cerro* – a group of people went to the Cerro del Fortín with the intention of celebrating *La Guelaguetza Magisterial Popular*, but they were

dispersed by the police using tear gas, as result of the confrontation, 40 persons were injured.³³⁴

The re-appropriation of the festivity reveals those relations characterized by an egalitarian and interchanging participation, creating a collective identity and identification. The free access to *La Guelaguetza Magisterial Popular* emphasizes the difference between the oppressed Oaxacan peoples and the oppressors: for the indigenous peoples the festivity is not a commercial product, which has follow the rules of the market, but phenomenon of expression of its reality. Within the context of the festivity, the indigenous peoples express and share their distinctive features, as well as, their common aspects of their social context.

During the *La Guelaguetza Magisterial Popular*, the delegation of Miahuatlán sang the following verse:

“Lets make a revelry together, celebrating together that the PRI
[Institutional Revolutionary Party] is at its funeral.”³³⁵

Diverse newspaper articles report the characteristic of this re-appropriation process by indigenous peoples, genuine producers of the festivity. Marcela Salas notes that:

“[...] The Saturday and Sunday before the *Lunes del Cerro*, the APPO and the *Sección XXII del SNTE* offered the *convite* and *calenda*³³⁶ free of charge, during the popular festivities the participants went through

³³⁴ Octavio Vélez Ascencio, “Vuelve la Violencia a Oaxaca; se enfrentaron appistas y policías,” *La Jornada*, July 17, 2007,

<http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2007/07/17/index.php?section=politica&article=003n1pol>.

³³⁵ “La Guelaguetza: fiesta recuperada por el pueblo de Oaxaca,” Ewwaunel, accessed July 09, 2003., <http://ewwaunel.wordpress.com/2010/08/11/la-guelaguetza-fieta-recuperada-por-el-pueblo-de-oaxaca>.

³³⁶ The *convite* is a banquet offered to attendee, thanking them for attending to the celebration, while the *calenda* refers to the celebration of a certain fest, that is part the festive calendar of a certain region or village.

the diverse neighborhoods of the City, arriving at the central square, where the traditional *quema de toritos y castillos*³³⁷ took place.”³³⁸

In the *La Guelaguetza Magisterial Popular* both elements can be seen that constituted the tradition of the current indigenous peoples: those that come from the Spanish culture and those that come from the pre-Columbian heritage, without favouring one particular element over the other, thus, without installing an internal hierarchy.

This egalitarian collective feature of the festivity is remarked by the participants themselves:

“ ‘It is nonsense to roof the Auditorium Guelaguetza; the peoples go to the fest, because they like sunning; furthermore, the hats would not be longer sold,’ said Sixto, taxi driver of Oaxaca City, and adds that ‘(...) it is even a greater nonsense that it is intended to charge admissions fee, since the fest belongs traditionally to the people’.”³³⁹

The words of Sixto note, that the economic factor is considered in a different way by the participants: the economic benefit for all the participants is prioritized prior to the economic benefit for only one group or person. Thus, the admissions fee is nonsense, since it would benefit only one group to detriment the community. Finally, it is worth noting that the natural environment is part of the festivity.

The modernity/coloniality, in the Oaxaca State, affects both the collective life and the individual life of the population. In August 2013, Faustino Díaz – 31 years old, born in Valle the Etna, Oaxaca – won the Jeju International Brass Competition, in Jeju, South Korea. The completion is one of the most prestigious Brass Competitions in the world. Faustino is the first indigenous and Latin-American musician who won this competition.

³³⁷ Mexican handcrafted fireworks, whose production and use came to Mexico through European colonizers.

³³⁸ “La Guelaguetza: fiesta recuperada por el pueblo de Oaxaca.”

³³⁹ Ibid.

His success won the respect and recognition of the Mexican press and the Mexican artistic environment. The newspapers report of sharing the idea that “one of the best trombonist of the world is Mexican,”³⁴⁰ this can be affirmed since he won an international competition; it means that the international recognition legitimized his artistic level. It is worth noting that the national is emphasized over the regional. The labor of Faustino is seen as a product that complies with the standards of an established grammar and established aesthetics, which had been defined by the Occidental culture. Therefore, Faustino’s labor can be considered as part of the national culture, even if there was any national support during the professional career of Faustino Díaz.

“Fortunately, I am very proud about it: any institution can take part in this success. I did not study in Oaxaca; I went directly to the *Conservatorio* [National Conservatory of Music of Mexico, Mexico City], and then to Holland. Any official institution can boast of giving me economical support for my education. I would like to re-emphasize this, because the official institutions have to do their job, as they are paid to do, their function is not ‘to help us’, but to serve society. That is the big problem with the public officials, they think they ‘help us’, but no! It is their obligation, as they are paid for.”³⁴¹

The case of Faustino underlines the idea that a cultural validation must take place within the schemes, systems and values of the Eurocentric cultural tradition – as it has been seen in the coloniality of the knowledge and the aesthetic colonialization. In spite of the long musical career of Faustino in the traditional music – especially in Oaxaca, where the brass music plays a major role within the musical practices –, he has to be part of those institutionalized musical practices such as the Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and

³⁴⁰ “El mejor trombonista del mundo es mexicano,” *Cultura Colectiva*, accessed August 29, 2013, <http://culturacolectiva.com/el-mejor-trombonista-del-mundo-es-mexicano/>.

“Haz que suceda El mejor trombonista del mundo es mexicano,” *Publimetro*, accessed August 27 August, 2013, <http://www.publimetro.com.mx/noticias/el-mejor-trombonista-del-mundo-es-mexicano/mmic!47XEW7QoP6Io/>.

³⁴¹ Elisa Ruiz Hernández, “En México no hay una sola escuela de música calificada: Faustino Díaz,” *Oaxaca Quadritin*, August 22, 2013, <http://oaxaca.quadritin.com.mx/En-Mexico-no-hay-una-sola-escuela-de-musica-calificada-Faustino-Diaz/>.

Arts Hochschule Luzern, and to take part in musical competitions, to gain the recognition, in order to exercise his profession.

“The current results have been worth their effort that I began 15 years ago. Since I left my home and I started to sing in bands, mariachis, trios, in bars, and then playing in philharmonics, I promised myself to be a better musician, and now I have done it.”³⁴²

Resuming, during the history of the Oaxaca State – from the Colonial time to the present time – the practices of the modernity/coloniality have always been present, in order to control and exploit the indigenous culture, economy and politics according to the interest of the current dominant class, which follows the domination guidelines established by Eurocentric hegemony.

The understanding of the *otro*, under the modernity/coloniality perspective, describes the indigenous individual as an imbecile, who needs to be transformed by the humanism of the federal and state policies and to be integrated into a national model, according to the needs of the current globalization system: the indigenous languages are undervalued against the Spanish; the traditions and customs are considered as signs of backwardness, poverty and decadence; the traditions, handcrafts and archaeological sites have place in the present only as lifeless witnesses of ‘our’ ancestors.

Thus, it is possible to recognize the establishment of a hierarchy among the population on the basis of a racial division: this principle regulates most of the social relations, which take place in the urban centres. The function of the urban regions as politic, economic, and cultural centre legitimizes its supremacy, to detriment of the rural regions. The rural populations are conceived as doubly inferior: on the one hand, they do not belong to the urban world that is identified as the modern world and, on the other hand, they are inhabited by indigenous individuals. Therefore, in the Oaxaca society, indigenous is about being poor, ignorant, uncivilized and from a rural region, using this stigma to ensure

³⁴² Carlos Paul, “Un mexicano, primero en América que gana certamen de trombón,” *La Jornada*, August 22, 2013, <http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2013/08/22/cultura/a03n1cul>.

inequality.

Despite this, the resistance tradition of the Oaxacan indigenous peoples has been present since the colonial time, in order to recover its free self-determination and self-sufficiency, but without establishing any hierarchy among those elements that conform to its identity and cultural practices.

The indigenous peoples – not only as Being, but also their culture – are a result of the syncretism between the European world and the pre-Columbian world. Thus, the efforts of the indigenous peoples to reinforce their identity through the free practice of their culture and the articulation of their political, social and economic life – through the *usos y costumbres* system –, is not an aim to re-establish a pre-columbian identity and/or to eradicate the European traces; nor is an aim to prioritize the pre-Columbian traces over the European ones. Similar to Derridean thought, the indigenous perspective remarks paradoxes, and assumes the dichotomy; the opposites; and the *Other*, as constitutive elements of their identity. As the undecidable, the identity of the indigenous people corresponds to any side of the dichotomy.

5. A Case Study: *Centro de Capacitación Musical Mixe y desarrollo de la Cultura Mixe (CECAM)*

a. Methodology

The qualitative research was carried out from 6th to 27th September 2010 in the CECAM installations with the approval of the then CECAM director Damian Martínez Gómez. The research was carried out with the support of the camerawoman and director, Catalina Torres; therefore, I will use the first person plural in this chapter. Catalina Torres recorded the interviews – which were conducted by me – and the participative observation under my guidance. Her collaboration was very important for the success of this research; it is worth noting that she did not take part during the data analysis and conclusions.

Qualitative research methods were chosen as data collection methods to capture the necessary information about the activity of the CECAM, besides that, documentary evidence and auto-ethnographic memory were also used. The information has been gathered from video documentation, one-to-one unstructured interviews, participant observation and subsequent field notes. The principles of the Qualitative social research elaborated by Siegfried Lamnek³⁴³ were taken into account for the application of the one-to-one unstructured interviews.

A) Openness:

- Openness of the researcher towards people being researched, observed situations and research methods.

B) Research as communication:

- Communication and interaction between researcher and people being researched is a constituent part of the research process.

C) Process character of research and researched subject:

- Process of the research act and the researched subjects: the processes and events are changeable.
- Behaviours and statements of the researched subjects are considered

343 Siegfried Lamnek, *Qualitative Sozialforschung* (Weinheim und Basel: Beltz Verlag, 2005), 346-352.

as processional excerpts of the reproduction and construction of the social reality.

D) Reflexibility of the researched subject and analyse:

- Empirical research is reflexive.
- The meaning of behaviour products, linguistic products and non-verbal products implies reflexivity; meanings depend upon context, acts and speech can be understood by referring to a specific context.

E) Explication:

- Individual research steps shall be disclosed as far as possible in order to make the communicative comprehension possible.
- Explication is required to ensure the traceability and transparency.

F) Flexibility:

- Flexibility of the research with regard the situation and relation between researcher and researched subject as well as the adoption to changes concerning to conditions and constellations.

In the case of the qualitative Interviews, the following methodical and technical aspects were taken into account for the application of the interviews.³⁴⁴

- The interview shall take place in the everyday milieu of the interviewee
- The interview shall be carried out in a familiar and friendly atmosphere
- Since the qualitative interview is not structured, the questions are not previously formulated, thus, there is not a precise sequence of questions.
- One has to renounce the large numbers of cases.
- In order to be able to analyze systematically and completely the fullness of information, the use of recording equipment is indispensable.

According to Lamnek the preparation and carrying out of the interviews can be resumed in four steps.

1. Selection of the type of qualitative interview: One-to-one unstructured Interview was chosen since this kind of interview can provide greater

³⁴⁴ Lamnek, *Qualitative Sozialforschung*, 352-356.

deepness than do other types, given its qualitative nature.³⁴⁵

Unstructured Interviews help to understand the complex behaviour of members of a social group without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry. Structured interviews with a closed-ended question were avoided in order to do not make the interviewee subject to social desirability bias.³⁴⁶

2. Selection of the interviewees:³⁴⁷ Due to its parallels with a normal conversation, unstructured Interview demands a certain degree of trust between the interviewee and the interviewer for its success, therefore the main criteria to choose the interviewee was the grade of trust and closeness with some students of the CECAM. Before performing the Interviews, we spent two weeks living in the CECAM taking part passively in all the activities of the school; during that time we could identify some students who were more receptive to us. With some of them we have previously talked and had fun together, but not with the purpose to gain trust; it was a natural process of mutual sympathy. We were fortunate to have had a good connection to many students; this allowed choosing students of different age and gender. The following students and teachers were interviewed.

- Perla Jazmín Martínez Martínez, 15 years old, Zapotec IMUCE II
- Hedl Ulises Ramírez Ramos, 16 years old, Mixe BAMCE II
- Teobaldo Martínez Martínez, 18 years old, Mixe, IMUCE I A
- Donato Hernandez García, 24 years old, Zapotec IMUCE I A
- Ludovico Sanchez Santos, 17 years old, Zapotec IMUCE I A
- Hernán Gilberto Cruz López, 11 years old, Triqui, IMUCE I A
- Carlos Miguel García, 23 years old, Zapotec, BAMCE IV
- Edilberto Palacios Jimenez, 19 years old, Mixtec, IMUCE I

³⁴⁵ Andrea Fontana and Anastasia H. Prokos, *The interview. From formal to postmodern* (California: Left Coast Press, 2007), 39.

³⁴⁶ Fontana and H. Prokos, *The interview. From formal to postmodern*, 40.

³⁴⁷ Lamnek, *Qualitative Sozialforschung*, 384-386.

- Obdulio Chavez Moreno, 20 years old, Mixtec BAMCE I

3. Data collection:³⁴⁸ The interviews were video recorded and took place in the everyday milieu of the interviewees; in the CECAM open areas, in the CECAM classrooms and in the CECAM dining room. The school board of the CECAM approved the video recording of the under-aged interviewees, who are living in the school, since they are under the responsibility of the CECAM; whereas the interviewees, who are of legal age gave their written approval. The video recording of the interviews was preferred over the audio recording because it offers the possibility to consider not only the speech, but also the gestures and facial and body expressions.³⁴⁹ The interviews with Victor Sabino, Ulises Ramírez, Edilberto Palacios and Carlos Miguel were only audio recorded, since we had some problems with the video camera at that time.

4. Analysis of the collected data: Qualitative Interviews produce Texts, which can be basically analyzed in an interpretative and explicative ways:³⁵⁰ in this case within the context of the *Community* MUSIC and Modernity/Coloniality thoughts. According to Lamnek³⁵¹ the Analysis of the Interviews was carried out in four steps.

- Transcription
- Individual analysis
- General analysis
- Control phase

For the transcription and translation of the interviews, it has been attempted to keep the structure and grammar used by the interviewees; some paragraphs and phrases could seem wrong because many students have not a good command of Spanish. Since we cannot speak – unfortunately – any Indigenous language, the interviews were carried

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 388-393.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 353.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 513-546.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 402-404.

out in Spanish avoiding the participation of a third person as translator.

In case of the participative observation the first thing that we did was to decide which type of participant observation would be the most appropriate for the investigation. According to Spradley,³⁵² there are, basically, five types of participant observations: Non-participatory, Passive Participation, Moderate Participation, Active Participation and Complete Participation. We decided to carry out Moderate Participation, which allows us to switch between insider and outsider roles; this permits a good balance between involvement and necessary detachment to remain as objective as possible. During the lessons we had only a bystander role, whereas in the non-musical activities we took part as members of the CECAM; we participated in cleaning and maintenance activities, the refectory activities and sometimes in the recreational activities.

According to Lamnek, we prepared and conducted the participative observation in three steps.³⁵³

1. Access to fieldwork and behaviour in the fieldwork.

- Role of the observer: As Lamnek points out, the role of the observer shall be accepted without any problem by the members and it shall be clear for all members. In our case, our participant role as members of the CECAM during the non-musical activities was determined by the context itself: for example, living in the CECAM as the other students, allowed us to automatically take part in the kitchen activities, such as to make *tortillas* or to clean the kitchen. Therefore, our active role was accepted in a smooth way by the other members of the CECAM. On the other hand, we had already decided to have a passive role during the classes in order to influence the dynamics of the groups during the lessons as little as possible.
- About the Observation fields: before starting the observation, Lamnek suggests the acquisition of knowledge about the

³⁵² James P. Spradley, *Participant Observation* (Florida: Harcourt College Publishers, 1980), 58-62.

³⁵³ Lamnek, *Qualitative Sozialforschung*, 579-622.

observation fields through literature review, content analysis, expert survey, etc. I analyzed diverse literature about the CECAM as well as the full curriculum of the IMUCE and BAMCE levels, which I collected during the first contacts with the CEAM board before our stay in 2010. After the end of the first week of our stay in the CECAM, we interviewed the musical adviser Victor Sabino Martínez Rivera about the diverse subjects of the curriculum.

- Lamnek warns that the observer has to take care about the people being observed not to feel only as data providers, thus, the observant shall be available as interactive partner. We could do this thanks to our participant role during the non-musical activities, which allowed us to interact with the other members of the CECAM.
- As it was already mentioned, we decided to take a passive role during the observation of the lessons in order to disturb as little as possible the activities, but also to show respect towards the diverse roles of the class members and organization.

2. Data collection. Lamnek suggest to ideally use video and audio recording for the data collection, in our specific case, the video recording of the interviews was preferred over the audio recording because it offers the possibility to consider not only the speech but also the gestures and facial and body expressions.³⁵⁴

3. Analysis of the collected data: The guidelines of the information resulting from the participative observation are identical to the analysis of the collected data resulting from the interviews.

In the following section the analysis of the collected data are presented. Firstly, I briefly expose the music education system according to the SEP, in order to put in context the pedagogic work of the CECAM within the public music

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 388-393.

education system in Mexico. Then, I resume the history of the CECAM, stressing those elements that are related to *Community* MUSIC and modernity/coloniality thoughts. Subsequently, I analyze the current curriculum of the CECAM on basis of documentary evidence and participative observation, then, I analyze the non-curriculum activities and finally, I expose the analysis of the interviews.

b. Music education according to the SEP

The *Secretaría de Educación Pública*, SEP (Secretariat of Public Education) is a federal government authority with cabinet representation and responsibility for overseeing the development and implementation of national educational policy and school standards in Mexico.

The SEP was created in order to enforce the regulation of the Article 3 of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States – promoted by the Mexican president Venustiano Carranza 1917 –, which establishes the bases for a free, mandatory, and lay education. The education shall be designed to develop harmoniously all the faculties of the human being and shall at the same time foster in him the love for the country and a consciousness of international solidarity, it should be independent and referring to the justice education, and it should be free of bias. The Article 3 states:³⁵⁵

I. According to the religious liberties established under article 24, educational services shall be secular and, therefore, free of any religious orientation.

II. The educational services shall be based on scientific progress and shall fight against ignorance, ignorance's effects, servitudes, fanaticism and prejudice.

A) It shall be democratic, considering democracy not only as a legal structure and a political regimen, but also as a system of life based on a constant economic, social, and cultural improvement of the

³⁵⁵ “Constitución política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos,” Diputados, accessed September 27, 2013, <http://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/1.pdf>.

people;

B) It shall be national insofar as - without hostility or exclusiveness - it shall achieve the understanding of our problems, the utilization of our resources, the defence of our political independence, the assurance of our economic independence, and the continuity and growth of our culture;

C) It shall contribute to better human relationships, not only with the elements which it contributes toward strengthening, and at the same time inculcating; together with respect for the dignity of the person and the integrity of the family, the conviction of the general interest of society, but also by the care, which it devotes to the ideals of brotherhood and equality of rights of all men, avoiding privileges of race, creed, class, sex, or persons.

III. To fully enforce the provisions set down in paragraph II, subparagraph two of this article; the Executive Branch of Federal Government shall determine curricula and syllabuses for preschool, primary, secondary and normal education across the country. In doing so, the Executive Branch of Federal Government shall take into account the opinion of the state governments and of the Federal District's government alike. It shall also take into account, according to the law, the opinion of the different social educational sectors.

IV. All education given by the State shall be free.

V. The State shall promote and assist all sorts of educational models – including initial education and college education alike – which seem to be necessary to develop the nation. The state shall also support scientific and technological research and motivate the strengthening and promotion of our culture.

VI. Private schools shall be authorized to provide for all its types and modalities of educational services. According to the law, the State shall have powers to both issue and cancel the official certificates of studies

done at private schools. In dealing with preschool, primary, and secondary education as well with professional instruction for schoolteachers, private schools shall:

- A) Follow the educational criteria set down at paragraph II, subparagraph one of this article. They shall also follow the curricula and syllabuses which paragraph III refers to, and
- B) Obtain always and under the law an explicit authorization from the public authorities to run their business;

VII. Universities and all other higher education institutions which the law grants autonomy, shall have power to govern themselves they shall be accountable in executing such a power and shall achieve the goals of providing education and promoting research and cultural expression by protecting always the freedom of teaching and researching, as well as the free intercourse of ideas; they shall determine academic curricula and syllabuses by their own and shall establish conditions for the admission, permanence and promotion of their academic personnel; they shall be regulated under article 123, section A of this Constitution, according to federal labor law, such employee shall be considered as special workers. Such a special treatment shall neither interfere with institutional autonomy nor with freedom of teaching and researching. The goals set down for the higher education institutions in this paragraph, shall also be unaffected by recognizing any special labour regime;

VIII: The Congress of the Union, with a view to unifying and coordinating education throughout the Republic, shall issue the necessary laws for dividing the social function of education among the Federation, the States and the Municipalities, for fixing the appropriate financial allocations for this public service and for establishing the penalties applicable to officials who do not comply with or enforce the pertinent provisions, as well as the penalties applicable to all those who infringe such provisions.

The following articles were removed in the last reform.

(IV.) Religious corporations, ministers of religion, stock companies which exclusively or predominantly engage in educational activities, and associations or companies devoted to propagation of any religious creed shall not in any way participate in institutions giving elementary, secondary and normal education and education for laborers or field workers.

(VI.) Elementary education shall be compulsory.

The interior President of México from June 1 to December 1, 1920, Felipe Adolfo de la Huerta Marcor, started the changes to face the national educational problems; in Mexico City there were 148 schools from a total of 344 schools. The first Huerta's action was the appointment of José Vasconcelos – the creator of the *raza cósmica* concept – as director of the University Department as well as rector of the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*, UNAM (National Autonomous University of Mexico). On his inaugural speech, Vasconcelos pointed out:

“[...] With education, I refer to direct teaching by those who know something, in behalf of those who know nothing; I refer to an education that will increase the productive capacity of each hand that works, of each brain that thinks [...] Useful work, productive work, noble action and high-level-thinking, that is our purpose [...] We will protect the peasant and we will teach him to increase a hundred times his production through the use of better tools and methods. That is more important than the verbal conjugation, since the culture is the natural outcome of the economic development [...]”³⁵⁶

It is worth noting that the whole Mexican Constitution – thus, the article 3 of the Mexican constitution, too – was created on basis of the post-revolutionary nationalism thought; in order to be considered as Mexican citizen, the heterogenic population shall adopt the identity, which was designed by the

³⁵⁶ Alvaro Matute, et al., *Jose Vasconcelos y la Universidad*, (México: UNAM, Coordinación de Difusión Cultural, 1987), 57-63.

government, only, thus, it will be possible to enjoy the benefits of the statements of the Mexican Constitution. Therefore, those paragraphs that ensure: equality; freedom of thought; education free of fanaticism and prejudice; and the acceptance of the Mexican diversity, are directed at the population that adapts to the imposed ideology of the dominant class.

The University Department took over the educational function until the SEP was established. Vasconcelos determined that the SEP should be divided in three departments:

1. Academic Department: incorporates all types and modalities of educational services.
2. Library Department: organizes and provides the materials for all types and modalities of educational services.
3. Fine Arts Department: coordinates all artistic activity that is complementary to education.³⁵⁷

Later, diverse Departments or sub-Departments were created to attend specific problematic, such as the indigenous education or literacy campaigns. Finally the SEP was founded on October 3, 1921.³⁵⁸ The SEP has as main purpose to create the necessary conditions to allow the entire Mexican population to access quality education in all modalities and in the whole country.³⁵⁹ According to the SEP, Mexico has an ampler, articulated and varied educative system, in order to offer a education that contributes to an integral human development of the population. The education system is the basic axis for the cultural, scientific, technological, economic and social development of the nation. Responsibility, honesty, respect, compromise, integrity, leadership, discipline and equality are the main values of the System education.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁷ "Historia de la SEP," SEP, accessed on September 04, 2013, http://www.sep.gob.mx/es/sep1/sep1_Historia_de_la_SEP.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ "Visión y Misión," SEP, accessed September 4, 2013, http://www.sep.gob.mx/es/sep1/sep1_Historia_de_la_SEP.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

As director *Secretaría de Educación Pública*, Jose Vasconcelos established their ideas as national education guidelines, in order to 'save' the indigenous peoples from themselves; the indigenous population will not be a historical subject, while there miscegenation and the re-culturalization are not realized. The SEP's mission was – and still is – to create a homogeneous population according the conception of the dominant class, setting aside everything that does not suit the interest of the Mexican ruling class.

Therefore, in order to enjoy the benefits of the education system established by the SEP – which are directed to the nation –, it is first necessary to be accepted as part of the nation. It is worth remembering that the indigenous population is – and still is – considered as backward and from a primitive era, thus the primitive indigenous peoples must be civilized in order to be integrated into the nation: they must cease being what they are, to start being what they are not, in order to enjoy the benefits of the Mexican Constitution as well as the national education system. Finally, it is important to remark, that the SEP does not consider the arts as intrinsic constituent of the education, but as an extrinsic addition – as the Kantian *parerga* –, thus, it is dispensable.

In 2011 the SEP established a new curriculum for the elementary education: preschool-primary-secondary education, as result of the *Reforma Integral de la Educación Básica-RIEB* (Integral reform of the Basic Education),³⁶¹ the RIEB considered the elementary education the basis to construct the kind of nation, to which the Mexican population aspires. Therefore, the educative system shall enforce specific competences in order to solve problems: to take decisions and to find alternatives, to develop the creativity, to relate to people and to society in a proactive manner, to identify challenges and opportunities in highly competitive environments, to recognize the traditions and values in order to successfully confront the present day and future challenges, to assume the values of democracy as the essential basis for a secular State and for the civic coexistence that recognize all human beings as equal by respecting the Law, by

³⁶¹ López Orendain, Ernesto and Gisela I. Galicia, *Plan de Estudios 2011. Educación Básica* (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 2001).

appreciating the participation, dialogue, agreements, and the critical and positive thinking.³⁶²

According to the SEP, the educative system shall ensure that each student acquires the competences necessary to behave himself both within an economy that considers knowledge as essential source of value creation, and within a society that demands new ways to relate socially in the context of democracy and plurality as part of an interdependent globalized world. Thus, the school education shall stimulate – through the curriculum 2011 for the elementary education – an awareness of living in an unavoidable international environment, as well as the love for the Nation.

The pedagogical principles,³⁶³ which lie behind the curriculum 2011 for the elementary education, are:

1. - To focus the attention on the students and their learning process
2. - To plan in order to enhance learning
3. - To generate learning environments
4. - To work in partnership to develop learning
5. - To emphasize the development of the competences, the achievement of the curriculum standards, and the expected learning
6. - To use education materials to benefit learning
7. - To value in order to learn
8. - To foster the inclusion to respond to diversity
9. - To include relevant social matters
10. - To renew the pact between students, teachers and parents
11. - To redirect academic leadership, mentoring and advising in the school

The curriculum of the elementary education is divided in three levels: preschool education: 3 years; primary school: 6 years; and secondary school: 3 years.

The curriculum of the elementary education is developed on basis of four major

³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ Ibid., 26-37.

training areas (*Campos de formación para la educación básica*): Language and communication (*Lenaguaje y comunicación*); Mathematical thinking (*Pensamiento matemático*); Exploration and understanding of natural and social environment (*Exploración y comprensión del mundo natural y social*); and Personal Development for the coexistence (*Desarrollo personal y para la convivencia*). As part of the “Personal Development for the coexistence” training area, the artistic education is included in all levels of the elementary education. The complete curriculum is divided, as follows:

MAPA CURRICULAR DE LA EDUCACIÓN BÁSICA 2011

ESTÁNDARES CURRICULARES ¹	1 ^{er} PERIODO ESCOLAR			2 ^o PERIODO ESCOLAR			3 ^{er} PERIODO ESCOLAR			4 ^o PERIODO ESCOLAR		
	Preescolar			Primaria			Secundaria			Tercera		
CAMPOS DE FORMACIÓN PARA LA EDUCACIÓN BÁSICA	1 ^o	2 ^o	3 ^o	1 ^o	2 ^o	3 ^o	4 ^o	5 ^o	6 ^o	1 ^o	2 ^o	3 ^o
	Lenguaje y comunicación			Español			Español I, II y III			Segunda Lengua: Inglés I, II y III ²		
LENGUAJE Y COMUNICACIÓN	Segunda Lengua: Inglés ²			Segunda Lengua: Inglés ²			Segunda Lengua: Inglés ²			Segunda Lengua: Inglés I, II y III ²		
	Pensamiento matemático			Matemáticas			Matemáticas I, II y III			Matemáticas I, II y III		
PENSAMIENTO MATEMÁTICO	Exploración y conocimiento del mundo			Ciencias Naturales ³			Ciencias I (énfasis en Biología)			Ciencias II (énfasis en Física)		
	Exploración de la Naturaleza y la Sociedad			Exploración de la Naturaleza y la Sociedad			Exploración de la Naturaleza y la Sociedad			Tecnología I, II y III		
EXPLORACIÓN Y COMPRENSIÓN DEL MUNDO NATURAL Y SOCIAL	Desarrollo físico y salud			Historia ⁴			Geografía ³			Geografía de México y del Mundo		
	Desarrollo personal y social			Formación Cívica y Ética ⁴			Formación Cívica y Ética ⁴			Asignatura Estatal		
DESARROLLO PERSONAL Y PARA LA CONVIVENCIA	Expresión y apreciación artísticas			Educación Física ⁴			Educación Física I, II y III			Formación Cívica y Ética I y II		
	Expresión y apreciación artísticas			Educación Artística ⁴			Artes I, II y III (Música, Danza, Teatro o Artes Visuales)			Tutoría		

¹ Estándares Curriculares de: Español, Matemáticas, Ciencias, Segunda Lengua: Inglés, y Habilidades Digitales.

² Para los alumnos hablantes de Lengua Indígena, el Español y el Inglés son consideradas como segundas lenguas a la materna. Inglés está en proceso de gestión.

³ Favorecen aprendizajes de Tecnología.

⁴ Establecen vínculos formativos con Ciencias Naturales, Geografía e Historia.

Curriculum 2010 according to the SEP.³⁶⁴

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 41.

During the whole elementary education, music is not a specific subject but is included into another subjects that includes also visual arts, theatre and dance education. In the preschool period, the educator decides the hour-working-week of the subject Artistic Appreciation and Expression; in the primary school the subject Artistic Education is taught for two hours; in the secondary school, the subject Arts I, II and III is taught for three hours a week. Through this curriculum, the SEP foresees that the students “acquire the knowledge and skills of each artistic discipline by appropriating the languages, processes and resources of the arts through the work of teaching, which was designed to strengthen their capacities, to attend their interests and to satisfy their socio-cultural needs.”³⁶⁵ Those knowledge and skills enable the students to develop their artistic thought, as well as to value the importance of the diversity and richness of the artistic and cultural heritage.

Concerning the music education-the musical activities during the pre-school, primary and secondary level- consists basically on singing and learning basic information about music theory.³⁶⁶ During the pre-school level is expected that the students would be able to follow diverse rhythms with the hands or feet; to recognize the principle characteristics of easy melodies – intensity, length, pitch –; to sing well-know songs, to express themselves emotionally; to hear and sing songs and participate in musical games; to listen musical works from diverse epochs and regions and to comment which pieces do they like and why; to listen to melodies of diverse musical genres and to sing them or dance along.³⁶⁷

During the primary school and secondary level, the songs still have a central

³⁶⁵ Jessica Baños Poo et al., *Programas de estudio 2011. Guía para el Maestro. Educación Básica. Secundaria. Artes* (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 2011), 13.

³⁶⁶ For further details about the respective curriculum see: *Programas de estudio 2011. Guía para el Maestro. Educación Básica. Primaria. Primer grado – Sexto Grado; Programa de estudio 2011. Guía para la Educadora. Educación Básica. Secundaria. Artes.* and *Programa de estudio 2011. Guía para la Educadora. Educación Básica. Preescolar.*

³⁶⁷ Jessica Baños Poo and Norma Castillo Guzmán ed., *Programa de estudio 2011. Guía para la Educadora. Educación Básica. Preescolar*, (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 2011), 83-89.

role and some music theory information is introduced.³⁶⁸ The songs are usually selected by the teacher; they are part of the ‘traditional music’ repertoire that arose during the post-revolutionary era and its cultural policies. The students learn to play an instrument – self-made idiophones and membranophones – in the first year of the secondary school; just in the third year they learn to operate with a recorder and it is expected that they can play a more complicated repertoire, including traditional Mexican music and classical music.

It should be stressed that the vision of the cultural practices of the indigenous peoples has not changed from post-revolutionary times onwards. The indigenous cultural expressions still have no place in the present; they have a value only as a vestige of the past, but they are not part of the changing and living present, as well as the indigenous population to which it relates.

“The dances of the native peoples can be ritualistic or religious, they can relate to a deity or lead to have good harvests and health, but they always represent the beliefs and ways of life from our ancestors.”³⁶⁹

The current education policies are not result of the dialogue between diverse members of the society; on the contrary, they are imposed policies by the SEP – disguised as a democratic and inclusive – that the others actors of the society have to accept passively.

“The SEP appreciates the participation of the teachers, parents and the whole society in the development of the educative process; thus, the SEP call them to ponder and to support the RIEB and the new curriculum for the elementary education.”³⁷⁰

Until now, the music education as part of the elementary education was described, but the SEP also coordinates specific music education – always on the basis of the previously mentioned statements of the SEP – through the

³⁶⁸ Jessica Baños, *Programas de estudio 2011. Guía para el Maestro. Educación Básica. Secundaria. Artes.*

³⁶⁹ Oswaldo Martín del Campo Núñez et al., *Educación Artística. Sexto grado (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 2011)*, 52.

³⁷⁰ López Orendain et al, *Plan de Estudios 2011. Educación Básica*, 10.

Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, INBA (National Institute of Fine Arts): four *Escuelas de Iniciación Artística*, initiation artistic education; three art secondary schools, called CEDART; twelve Art and Humanities high schools, called CEDARTS; *Escuela Superior de Música* and *Conservatorio Nacional de Música*, musical college education. All these schools provide classical music education through a standard curriculum that includes: harmony, counterpoint, chamber music, choir, solfeggio, history of music, etc. The *Escuela Superior de Música* offers also a jazz music program and musical initiation courses for classical music for children, as well as the *Conservatorio Nacional de Música*.

Parallel to those institutions, there are diverse Universities in the country, which also offer initiation courses and classical music college education through a standard curriculum; those curriculums have to be approved by the SEP. Some of the best known music education institutions are: *Escuela Nacional de Música* of the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* (National Autonomous University of Mexico), in Mexico City; *Conservatorio de las Rosas*, in Michoacan State; and the *Facultad de Música de la Universidad Veracruzana*, in Veracruz State.

c. The CECAM in Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec

Since the Mexican education system –and thus the music education – is highly centralized, there is lack of education in the inland region of the country. In spite of the high musical activity in the Oaxaca State, only the CEDART Miguel Cabrera offers a high school education in arts, in which is only possible to have instruction in classical music but not traditional music. To the present day, there is no possibility of having higher education in music, although, there is a project to create the first *Escuela Superior de Música* as part of the agreement *Programa Sectorial de Cultura 2011-2016*, between the Oaxaca government and the CONACULTA (National Council for Culture and Arts).³⁷¹

To some extent, this lack of attention of the federal Government has facilitated

³⁷¹ Raciél Martínez, "Por fin tendrá Oaxaca una Escuela Superior de Música," *Noticiasnet*, 10, 2012. <http://www.noticiasnet.mx/portal/principal/83315-fin-tendra-oaxaca-una-escuela-superior-musica>.

the preservation and practice of the indigenous musical activities without the harmful intervention of the Mexican official government; this is the case of the music school CECAM in the municipality of Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec in the State of Oaxaca, which – in tradition of the self-managed and self-determined organization as part of the *usos y costumbres* system – has contributed to preserve and promote the musical tradition of the Mixe indigenous people.

i. The Mixe people

The Mixes – or *Ayuujk* in Mixe language – live in the *Sierra Mixe* region, which is located north east of the city of Oaxaca, bordering the Valley of Oaxaca to the southwest, the lowlands of Tehuantepec to the east, and the highlands of Choapam and the state of Veracruz to the north. The rugged and remote area is part the Sierra Madre Occidental. The western Mixe live in a mountainous temperate highland zone with the largest Mixe centres in San Pedro and Pablo Ayutla, Tlahuitoltepec and Totontepec. The midland Mixe is centred on Zacatepec and Juquila, while the eastern Mixe live near to the city Matías Romero in the tropical lowlands of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The Mixe region is watered by three large rivers: the *Papaloapan*; the *Coatzacoalcas* and the Tehuantepec. Three peaks in the Sierra Mixe reach heights above 3300 meters: at Cempoaltepetl (the Mountain of twenty heads), Cerro Blanco and Cerro Malinche; many festivities and rituals take place at those mountains.³⁷² The Mixe are an agriculture population that produce principally maize, beans, potatoes, squash, coffee, chilli peppers, bananas, plantains and sugar cane.

Mixe religion is largely a syncretic blend of Catholicism together with traditions informed by their indigenous Mesoamericans. For most Mixe there is no contradiction between the tenets of Catholicism and their adherence to native belief systems and ritual practices. In addition to and in modification of the Catholic system, the Mixe maintain a pantheon of gods representing certain aspects. These include:

Poj 'Enee (thunder wind): god of fertility and rain, who is also the protector of Mixe towns.

³⁷² Münch, Guido: *Historia y Cultura de los Mixes* (México: UNAM 2003).

Naaxwiiñ (earth Surface): goddess of earth and fertility

Yuuk (owner of the animals): deity of wild animals and the hunting

Higiñ: goddess of rivers and springs, venerated by fishermen

Mijku: god of wealth, luck, hurricanes, death and the underworld, who is often equated with the Catholic devil.³⁷³

The Mixe are among the few contemporary indigenous communities of Mesoamerica to still use the 260-day ritual calendar, which was in use throughout Mesoamerica in pre-Columbian times. The Mixe use the ritual calendar for divination, planning of rituals, and in order to determine the names given to children. Mixes have two names: a calendar name in the Mixe language given at birth and a Spanish-Catholic name given at baptism. Nagualism also forms a part of Mixe religious beliefs: the Mixe believe that every person is born simultaneously with an animal which becomes their *Tso'ok* (Nahual, animal counterpart) – the animal carries part of the human's soul and the two beings will share a common destiny.

Little is known about the history of the Mixes during the pre-columbine era. It is known that both: the Zapotecas in the 14th century and the Aztecas in the 16th century - before the Spanish conquest – tried unsuccessfully to conquer the Mixes. From 1520 until 1580, the Mixes struggled against the Spanish conquerors; after the Spanish conquest of central Mexico and the valley of Oaxaca, a Spanish force was sent north to the Sierra Mixe to subdue the *Mixes* and *Chinatecas* of that region. The expedition failed and the *Mixes* remained unconquered. Cortés even mentions in his letters to the King of Spain that the provinces of the Mixes and the Zapotecas were the only ones to remain unconquered.

"In the whole territory, from one sea to the other, the natives serve without complaint, save for two provinces which lie between those of Teguntepeque, Chinata, Guaxaca and Guazacualco, in the middle of all four; the people of these two provinces are called Zapotecas and Mixes.

³⁷³ Frank J. Lipp, Frank, *The Mixe of Oaxaca: Religion, ritual and healing* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1991).

Their land is so rocky that it cannot be crossed even on foot, for I have twice sent people to conquer them, who were unable to do so because of the roughness of the terrain, and because the warriors are very fierce and well armed."³⁷⁴

Finally, in 1555 the Dominica order initiated the spiritual conquest of the *Mixes*; mission churches and were built in villages like *Juquila*, *Totontepec* and *Quetzaltepec*, among others, resulting in the process of syncretism between the European conquerors and the pre-Columbian indigenous population.³⁷⁵ In spite of the religious conquest, the Mixe people call themselves '*los nunca vencidos*' (the never vanquished). The Mixe name themselves *ayuujkjä'äy*, meaning 'people who speak the mountain language.'³⁷⁶

As mentioned in chapter 4, all the spheres of the Mixe population – as part of Oaxaca state – have been affected by colonial practices – during the colonialism – and coloniality practices – at the present time. Nowadays the Mixe population composes of 129,818 persons; 105, 443 of them speak the Mixe language. According to Yanga Villagómez,³⁷⁷ the Mixes live in extreme poverty and social exclusion: 38% of the population is illiterate; 62% did not complete the basic education; 22% do not have sanitary facilities; 28% have no running water; 70 out of 100 persons live in houses with dirty floor; 91% of the population earn less than two minimum wages per family – the official minimum wage in Oaxaca is 61,38 Mexican pesos per day,³⁷⁸ while the price of 1 kilogram of beans is 22,10 Mexican pesos; the price of 1 kilogram of *tortilla* is 9,79 Mexican pesos and the price of 1 litre milk is 13,88 Mexican pesos.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁴ Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, trans. Anthony Pagden (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 318.

³⁷⁵ Münch, *Historia y Cultura de los Mixes*, 19-73.

³⁷⁶ Gustavo Torres Cisneros, *Mixes* (México: Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas, 2004).

³⁷⁷ Yanga Villagómez, *Diagnostico y opciones de desarrollo en la región Mixe* (México: CDI 2006), 15-42.

³⁷⁸ Salario mínimo," Elinpc, accessed September 10, 2013, <http://elinpc.com.mx/salario-minimo-2013/>.

³⁷⁹ "Canasta básica Mexicana," Elinpc, accessed September 10, 2013, <http://elinpc.com.mx/canasta-basica-mexicana/>.

During many centuries the agrarian production was the main source of income for the Mixe community, but due to the current centralized economic system, which devalue the price of the products because of the huge number of intermediaries between the producer and the consumer, the Mixe peasants lost the interest to produce in large quantities in order to sell their production; they only sow for their own consumption and for rituals of the community.³⁸⁰ This situation promotes the traditional exchange practices that take place in the street markets; the population exchanges grains, animals, vegetables, etc. Parallel to that practice, some families receive an extra income by producing and selling handcrafts, which are mainly produced by women.

It is interesting to observe that despite the difficult life situation of the Mixe population, some benefits for the community still exist. From 1990 to 2000, population speaking the Mixe language increased by 19%.³⁸¹ smaller communities are mostly bilingual, because of the extreme poverty; their inhabitants must trade with other communities or with the cities, therefore they develop both languages, the Mixe and the Spanish. On the other hand, the role of children in family economy is very important: both girls and boys assist the parents with the handcrafted work or with the farmer work. This situation is very delicate: while it is true that due this situation the children learn diverse traditions of their indigenous culture – traditional handcraft production, traditional activities, etc. –, that situation has a significant influence on another sphere of the children's life – education, health, socialization.

In the way to face the difficult context in which the Mixe community lives, some of their organization systems can be recognized – as part of the *usos y costumbres* – within which self-managing, self-determination and the communal character play a relevant role. Besides the trade and exchange of products, the Mixe community is continuously trying to resolve their common problems in a collective manner.

³⁸⁰ Villagómez, *Diagnóstico y opciones de desarrollo en la región Mixe*.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

The coffee producers work as an enterprise, but regulated by the *usos y costumbres* tradition instead of the capitalism policies: the growing coffee, its production and its commercialization is carried out jointly, and corresponding to the needs of the whole community. This is in contrast to the agriculture programs implemented by the official government.

“At the present, there is a greenhouse project but it continues being a business approach rather than a subsistence approach, because the production is for sale, but in the meantime how can the peasant earn money to buy food? The logic of that project comes from outside [that ‘logic’ does not correspond the traditions of the community]; it is not yet known how to make that project more effective for the subsistence and other needs. At the present there is no organization for the subsistence.”³⁸²

Through the *usos y costumbres* regime, the Mixe population can find solutions for their problems: in the *Asamblea Comunal* – which is a meeting of all the inhabitants of the municipality – the most important decisions concerning political, social, economic and cultural life of the municipality. In the *Asamblea Comunal* women and men have the right to participate and to give an opinion, to propose, to decide and to vote: municipal, agrarian, educative, religious, musical and common goods authorities are elected. In the *Asamblea Comunal* major issues are discussed which the current authorities are not allowed to resolve by themselves: establishment, modification or dissolution of institutions, projects, schools, festivities, regulations, use of any kind of resources, etc.

The Mixes are constantly looking for integral solutions for the needs of community, but always following their idiosyncrasy. They have developed the *Plan Comunal de Desarrollo Sustentable* (sustainable development communal plan), due to failure of conventions and development plans of the official government, many of whom have never been carried out.³⁸³

³⁸² Ibid., 49.

³⁸³ Ibid.

“That plan considered the production on the first place, and then other categories like health, food, education, culture, justice, economy, politics and communication [...] With the *Plan [Comunal de Desarrollo Sustentable]*, we tried to involve all instances, local institutions, so that the problems can be located on each level, and the institutions know what they have to do exactly. For example, how the schools have to intervene in productive terms, and how the culture intervenes within the same production. Usually, when projects are created, the culture, community politics, and the economic aspect are forgotten [...] Here in the municipality [Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec], the attention is focused on educational proposals, but it seems that I did not work as expected. The BICAP was a communal proposal, but now it turns back to the official model, and it does not correspond to the dynamic of the community, it adapted to the institutional normality, and then it got screwed up.”³⁸⁴

The importance of the communal feature of the *usos y costumbres* system can be also seen in the relationship with the natural environment, which is a major part of the Mixes’ life. The Mixe population developed a reforestation plan for the Zempoaltepetl hill, where many activities of the Mixe community take place: rituals, festivities, growing, etc. The reforestation plan takes into consideration the diverse festivities, to not obstruct them, and also includes the organization of the woodcutting process in order to prevent the predation of the source.³⁸⁵

The music schools – organized by the Mixe community and not by the state or federal government – resume and contribute to preserve relevant forms of the *usos y costumbres* tradition, such as the *tequio*, festivities and offerings that take place in communal spaces, where the music is a substantive and essential element.

“The music is present when a new human being is born, when there is a family, group or communal fest, when it is about achievements and failures, finally, when we have talked and conversed on this ground, then

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 54.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

we return ineluctably to the same ground, and through music we transit towards the eternal happiness [Interview with Mauro Delgado, director of the CECAM between 1983 and 1993].”³⁸⁶

In resume, the worldview of the Mixe population is reflected in all mentioned projects in Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec, which came from the Mixe communities themselves and are directed by them. The Mixe worldview had a radical conception of what government means and the role of the community by developing the Mixe indigenous peoples life: notions like wholeness, participation, community, dialogue and equality play an important role. On the other hand, in the Mixe communities the continued presence of coloniality practices by the federal and state government can be recognized.

ii. The CECAM: Historical perspective

The Mexican anthropologist, Salomón Nahmad Sittón, carried out an investigation about the Mixe culture in the 1960s;³⁸⁷ he was impressed by the Mixe cultural tradition, particularly by *escoletas* system. The *escoletas* are communal sacred places that were constructed in diverse Oaxacan indigenous communities and were introduced by the first missionaries. Through the *escoletas*, the Dominican missionaries indoctrinated the Mixe people by singing religious songs, resulting in the introduction of the European musical tradition into the Oaxacan population. The *escoletas* are visited by people of all ages; this interaction between younger and older musicians allows the preservation not only of the musical tradition in particular, but also the social and cultural tradition. Nowadays they are still a meeting, rehearsal and education place for Oaxacan musicians.

Inspired of the relevance and tradition of the *escoletas*, Nahmad Sittón – as deputy director general of the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* and as part of the national plan for depressed zones and marginal groups, called COPLAMAR –

³⁸⁶ Mauro Delgado Jiménez et al., *La música. Expresión de las veinte divinidades* (Oaxaca: Centro de Capacitación Musical y Desarrollo de la Cultura Mixe, 2007), 15.

³⁸⁷ Salomón Nahmad Sittón, *Los Mixes*. México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1965.

proposed to Federal government and to *Consejo Supremo Mixe* the establishment of music conservatory in the Mixe region. On 17 August 1977, the COPLAMAR and the FONAPAS - *Fondo Nacional para Actividades Sociales* – a cooperation agreement was signed to built a music school but not a music conservatory.³⁸⁸ On 16 November 1977, in San Pedro and San Pablo Ayutla Mixe, a communal meeting was convened to decide the location for the new music school; the municipality of Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec resulting elected and the music school was called *Escuela de Música Mixe*. The building was constructed from 1979 to 1981; the current installations consist of classrooms, secretariat, toilets, repair station for music instruments, computer centre, musical instruments warehouse, music library, basketball court, tools storage, auditorium, refectory and dormitories.

Parallel to the construction of the building, the lessons started in alternative facilities until the first part. Between November 1979 and December 1982 seven intensive courses of musical capacity took place;³⁸⁹ every course was carried out twice a year and lasted one month each time. The courses were directed to musicians and conductors, members of Mixe musical bands.

According to CECAM, in the first, second and third courses, all teachers came from Mexico City and were part of the SEP and members of the philharmonic orchestra of the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*; the first course was visited by 42 Mixe musicians, while the second and third course were visited by 77 Mixe musicians from 11 diverse Mixe communities. The forth course included 8 teachers from Mexico City and 2 Mixe teachers: Abel Vásquez Jiménez and Isaías Vargas Jiménez; the number of students increased up to 85 musicians from 8 diverse Mixe communities. In the fifth course, for the first time, women assisted; 14 women from *Santa María Talhuitoltepec* and 69 men from 11 Mixe communities visited the course, 9 teachers conducted the course, among them, 5 Mixe teachers: Abel Vásquez Jiménez, Isaías Vargas Jiménez, Silvano Pérez Florián, Antonio Romero Jacob

³⁸⁸ Delgado Jiménez, *La música. Expresión de las veinte divinidades*, 30.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

and Filemón Díaz Ortíz. The Oaxacan pianist and teacher Julio Antonio Coss coordinated all these courses.

The last two courses were coordinated by Francisco Hernández García, who was the first flute of the symphonic orchestra of the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*. The courses took place for the first time in the own facilities of the *Escuela de Música Mixe*. In these courses 9 indigenous teachers participated, 1 teacher from Mexico City and 106 students from 11 communities; according to the CECAM, this was the first time when children visited the courses, also the number of women increased, and for the first time another indigenous peoples participated, the Chinatecos.³⁹⁰

During those 7 courses, the main purpose of the courses was to systematize the music education according to the needs of the community; the teachers from Mexico City were more focused on instrumental technique, while the regional teachers were focused on deciding which kind of repertory should be taught and what was the most effective way to do it. The activities of those years were a search of identity for the indigenous music education, which was characterized by the dialogue, equality and participation not only by all teachers and students of the *Escuela de Música Mixe*, but by the whole Mixe region.

Despite the good results of those 7 courses, as well as the implication and motivation of the Mixe region, in 1982, as result of the federal government change due the presidential elections, the project was left by the federal authorities. At that point, the *Escuela de Música Mixe* received a letter by the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista*, asking for the receipt of 500 thousands Mexican pesos; the municipal authorities and the teacher Mauro Delgado Jiménez went to Mexico City to clarify the situation because the music school never received the 500 thousands Mexican pesos. It was discovered that the money was never sent, at the same time, the municipal authorities and Mauro Delgado expressed their interest in continuing with the project. As result of that meeting, the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* agreed to give 'again' those 500 thousands

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

Mexican pesos for the continuity of the *Escuela de Música Mixe*, but they had to conceive a new project *and* to undertake the whole responsibility on the project.³⁹¹

This was a very important moment in history of the CECAM, because they could have control over all the areas of the music school; they could decide on the pedagogical strategy, activities of the music school, teachers, organization, etc. But at the same time the government had no obligation in the future to give any support to CECAM, but from that point on, the CECAM would have to fill the requirements of the government, in order to continue operating. In other words, the federal government was free from any obligation to CECAM, but still had some power over the CECAM.

The new project was conceived by the municipal authorities – which are elected through *the usos y costumbres* system –, a group of elementary school teachers (*nota maestros*) and Mixe teachers/musicians – coordinated by the Mixe teacher/musician Mauro Delgado –, 4 female cooks³⁹² and 50 students of the previous seven courses, under the following idea:

“The music school could decide on its own music education design, articulate the self-sufficiency through productive programs and to leave always the control to the communities themselves, so they can design and construct whatever they consider more necessary for their development.”³⁹³

The project included the elaboration of a curriculum for one school and a specific intonation method – as the CECAM called it. The commission of the project looked forward to putting students from the very beginning in contact with the Mixe music.

“To do this, the teachers wrote *Tu’ uk ja nēky xuxk ejxpajit*, a intonation

³⁹¹ Ibid., 54.

³⁹² Teachers: Donato Vargas Pacheco, Mayolo Gallardo Jiménez, Abel Vásquez Jiménez, Pedro mariano Flores, Alfredo Reyes Juárez, Cipriano Pablo Virgen, Franco Luna Ortega.
Female cooks: Nazaria Díaz Gómez, Refugio Vargas, Chabelita Díaz Vásquez, bertha Gutiérrez Díaz and Tania Alvarado.

³⁹³ Delgado Jiménez, *La música. Expresión de las veinte divinidades*, 55.

method to start to intone; solfeggio with 160 lectures that include the basic musical signs and values, and combination of the musical figures. From the very first time that the student starts singing the first notes on the pentagram, he begins to become familiar with *sones*, *jarabes*, and another traditional melodies created and produced by their great composers [...] When a boy or a girl identify these musical creations, then he or she is able to recognize also the differences with another type of music styles.”³⁹⁴

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 56.

METODO DE SOLFEO - CECAM

Lección 91

Lección 92

Lección 93

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Lesson 91-93 Excerpt from a Mixe march.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁵ Victor Sabino Martínez Rivera, ed, *Metodo de Solfeo – CECAM*, (Oaxaca: CECAM, 2010), 25.

METODO DE SOLFEO - CECAM

Lección 114



Lección 115



Lección 116



Lesson 114-116 Excerpts from Tlahuitoltepecana.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 32.

The transition between the original project *Escuela de Música Mixe* and the nascent *Centro de Capacitación Musical Mixe*, CECAM (Mixe musical training center) and its further development was made possible largely as a result of personal interest of Miguel Limón Rojas, who was director of the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* during the Mexican presidential period 1982-1988 and director of the SEP in the Mexican presidential period 1994-2000. Though the CECAM is not recognized as an official school by the SEP, and therefore the SEP has no competition to provide any support, but the CECAM could access funds only as result of intervention of Miguel Limón. He organized a musical tour for the major Band of the CECAM in The United States of America and Mexico; he conceded scholarships for some CECAM students – who later returned to teach at the CECAM – to make a music undergraduate degree in Mexico City; he conceded food scholarships; he conceded for CECAM funds for the payment of salaries, purchase of musical instruments and expansion of facilities.³⁹⁷

Since 1983 the occasional musical courses were replaced by school's yearly musical courses, since 1986 the CECAM receives students that also visited primary and secondary schools in the Mixe region, while the years before the children and youth, who assisted to CECAM did not visit or had not completed the basic education. In 1996 the CECAM started offering the possibility to complete primary and secondary education as result of a joint project with the SEP and the INEA (National Institute for Adult Education).³⁹⁸ The basic education be taught through the open and distance education system, which allows the CECAM students to start, finish or complete the basic education but still focus on the musical education. According to CECAM, this benefits not only the CECAM students and Mixe region, but also the communities from diverse indigenous regions, since the CECAM is open to attend students from any Mexican indigenous population.

In 1993, the CECAM established the IMUCE: *Iniciación Musical del CECAM*

³⁹⁷ Delgado Jiménez, *La música. Expresión de las veinte divinidades*, 58.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 82.

(musical Initiation courses of the CECAM). It was originally planned to be completed in 1 or 2 years, depending on the music level of each student;³⁹⁹ the IMUCE was conceived with the intent to prepare the students to qualify for entrance into musical high school institutions anywhere in the country. Currently the IMUCE curriculum consists of 3 years. Between 1998 and 2001 the CECAM elaborated a 3 years curriculum for a musical high school – BAMCE, *Bachillerato Musical del Cecam* – in order to qualify the students for entrance into musical undergraduate degree. During that period, the CECAM renewed the IMUCE curriculum as well; in the elaboration of both curriculums participated teachers of the CECAM and external collaborators invited by the CECAM. Both curriculums were designed to cover the SEP requirements for elementary education and high school. However, third parties issue the official certificates for the basic education and high school, since the CECAM is not allowed to issue any certificate recognized by the SEP. This and the current curriculums are discussed further at a later point.

The CECAM has three philharmonic bands as central part of its musical activity: *Banda Principiante* (basic level), *Banda Intermedia* (middle level) and *Banda Oficial* (major band);⁴⁰⁰ each band has around 40 and 50 members. The *Banda Principiante* is formed after six months of each school year; at this point, every student can choose his first band instrument, if the student has no preference, then, the instrument would be assigned according to the needs of the current band by the teacher. At the end of the school year the *Banda Principiante* is able to perform between 3 and 5 pieces during the closing ceremony.

In the second year, the most advanced students of the *Banda Principiante* can be incorporated in *Banda Intermedia*, while the rest remains in the *Banda Principiante* and new students from the first school year are incorporated. The *Banda Intermedia* is not so big as the *Banda Principiante* or the *Banda Oficial*; one reason for this is the drop-out; in other cases some students want to change instruments, in this circumstance they remain in the *Banda Principiante*;

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 79-80.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 82-88.

finally the most advanced students want to participate in the *Banda Oficial*. The *Banda Intermedia* begins its inside and outside musical services from the second semester of every school year. The repertoire is not so ample; the band can play between 1 and 1 ½ hour within a festivity that lasts between one to three days. The musical services are considered part of the academic program: during this activities the student can evaluate himself, can overcome the stage fright, but above all, the student can experience the social function of the music and its importance for the community, reaffirming his identity and self-esteem.⁴⁰¹ The *Banda Oficial* is composed by the most advanced students, these are generally students of the BAMCE level; usually the *Banda Oficial* takes part in the important events such as national and international tours, recording productions and the main celebrations of the community.

With the purpose to build a symphonic orchestra,⁴⁰² in 1999 the practice of string instruments and keyboard were introduced; although the project was not included as a part of the current curricula due to tow major concerns. The CECAM managed to collect enough instruments to carry out the project, but they realized some extra difficulties. Due to the geographical environment, the instruments needed an extra care than brass instruments; many rehearsals, individual practices and other musical activities, take place outdoors, this fact makes complicated to protect the instruments from the rain, wind, sand and sun. But the major concern was the fact that there was not enough Mixe teachers for string instruments; some teachers from other states have taught over short periods of time, making it impossible to develop a long project.

It was planed to capacitate CECAM instructors to teach string instruments, as well as to collect enough funds to afford the care costs of the instruments. Also, it was planned to develop a strategy to incorporate the symphonic orchestra to the Mixe musical traditions; it means not only to adapt the symphonic orchestra to the Mixe repertoire, but also to incorporate it into the diverse musical activities of the Mixe community- this last issue is discussed in detail later.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 87.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

Originally, the string instruments instruction should have started in the school year 2007, but the begin of the symphonic orchestra project is until now unknown.

As result of a meeting on 14 April 1993, the CECAM became a non-profit association subsidiary from the non-profit association *Servicios del Pueblo Mixe Ser, A.C.* in order to confront economic problems arising from the exclusion of the official educational system and to increase the possibility to elaborate projects beside musical activities.⁴⁰³ Although the assembly concluded that the backbone of the CECAM is the music education, they considered the inclusion of other activities to accomplish an integral education as necessary. Issues regarding dance, literature, theatre performance, Mixe language were discussed and considered; as well as kitchen, agriculture and livestock farming activities.

This kind of interest corresponds to the indigenous world view⁴⁰⁴ on the basis of holistic and harmonic relations between all parts of the reality – including the natural and social environment; those relations are articulated through dialogue, egalitarian participation, avoiding that any part dominates the other ones. In the indigenous world view there is not a hierarchical organization on basis of power: every part of the world is necessary, nothing is dispensable, any part is more valuable as the other ones, the differences between the diverse elements of the world consist in their role and function.

On 8 May 2003, CECAM became a non-profit association itself, in this year CECAM did not receive any economic support from the government;⁴⁰⁵ in order to receive any economic support from the government, the CECAM had to present a specific project – purchasing of instruments, food, furniture, scores, travel expenses for presentations of the major band, etc. – which could be approved or not. However the regular annual expenses – wage bills for

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 120.

⁴⁰⁴ Paul Westheim, *Ideas Fundamentales del arte prehispánico en México* (Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1991).

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 123.

teachers and administration staff; maintenance expenses and costs resulting from the free full board accommodation for students in extreme poverty – are not paid from SEP funds, but with the contributions that CECAM receives in its capacity as non-profit association and with resources – in cash or in kind – resulting from musical activities.

“The CECAM almost closed in the school year 2003-2004. It did not happen, because then the board of directors administrate very well the resources and they could use the savings, this and the earned money through the musical services that the CECAM’s major Band did, made possible to continue operating.”⁴⁰⁶

In 2002 diverse representatives from the Mixe community proposed to the SEP and the state government the creation of a decentralized public agency: *Colegio Superior para la Education Integral Indígena de Oaxaca*, CSEIO.⁴⁰⁷ The central aim was that any Mixe project has not to be financially dependent on the SEP, but on the CSEIO. Due to their specifics characteristics, the Mixe projects cannot be accepted into the structure of the SEP; the Mixe projects do not follow the curriculum standards, educational policy and organization chart of the SEP. The relation between the CSEIO and the CECAM should work as follows:

- The state government assumed the Mixe projects as their own through the *Colegio Superior para la Education Integral Indígena de Oaxaca*, CSEIO.
- The state government presents an operational budget – which considers the activities of the CSEIO – to the federal government.
- The federal government provides funds to the state government through the SEP.
- The Mixe projects access to the operational budget as part of the CSEIO.
- The Mixe projects should not be adapted to the federal educational policy of the SEP, but to follow the educational policies of the CSEIO, which was supposed to be chaired by

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 123.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 124-136.

members of the indigenous communities. Therefore, it should be no conflict between the CSEIO educational policies and the diverse Mixe projects.

On 1st February 2003, the *Colegio Superior para la Education Integral Indígena de Oaxaca*, CSEIO, was created by state decree on basis of the participation of the inhabitants of the indigenous communities; they shall purpose the alternatives and strategies for the integral development of the community. In this decree, there is a clause stating that all educational, productive and artistic projects that do not suit the official programs, guidelines and structures, shall be assumed and supported by the CSEIO.⁴⁰⁸ As result of the creation of the CSEIO, ten high schools were created; they were called *Bachilleratos Interculturales Comunitarios*, BIC, which follow the educational model of the *Bachilleratos Interculturales Comunitarios Ayuuk polivalente*, BICAP, in Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec. In the BICAP should have been included the CECAM, in this way the CECAM met its aim, to accomplish an integral education that responds to the needs and characteristics of the community.

Unfortunately, it did not work the way it was planned. The board of directors – who were imposed by the state government – CSEIO asked the CECAM to adapt its curriculum, structure and educational policies to the official guidelines in order to being fully financed, despite of the clause stating that all alternative projects of the indigenous communities shall be assumed and supported by the CSEIO.

“Since we managed to get the approval of the project [the CSEIO], we thought it would be flexible for our goals; but it was not in that way. On the contrary, we did not directly receive a favourable response, perhaps because they consider us as naive or incapable of administrating this project [...] the organism was, and continue, chaired by persons outside the indigenous community, who do not know the needs and compromises with the communities and who also ignore the way to

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., 135.

achieve the proposed goals.”⁴⁰⁹

The CECAM was very enthusiastic and confident of the CSEIO, thus the CECAM focused completely on this project and could not efficiently look for funding support for the school year 2003-2004.⁴¹⁰ As we already said, the CECAM could still operate by using the savings and the earned money through the musical services, but they still needed to find a way to being financed. From the 2004 up to now, the CECAM receives partially funds from the CSEIO; but actually, these funds are officially for the BICAP, which in turn, gives the CECAM only a part of that funds.

The BICAP – as part of the mentioned *Plan Comunal de Desarrollo Sustentable* – was initially conceived on basis of the educational and organization ideas of the CECAM, but in order to be eligible for being fully financed by the CSEIO, the BICAP adapted its curriculum and operating system to official guidelines and structures.

“[...] Here in the municipality [Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec] the attention is focused on educational proposals, but it seems that I did not work as expected. The BICAP was a communal proposal, but now it turns back to the official model, and it does not correspond to the dynamic of the community, it adapted to the institutional normative, and then it got screwed up.”⁴¹¹

The BICAP offers its students the possibility to go to a musical high school; it means that they visit the regular subjects – mathematics, sciences, literature, etc. – in the BICAP, while the music lesson take place in the CECAM. As a result, the students registered in the BICAP can have an indigenous music education according to the indigenous tradition and simultaneously get an official certificate recognized by the SEP, allowing them to enter a higher

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 124.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 134.

⁴¹¹ Villagómez, *Diagnostico y opciones de desarrollo en la región Mixe*, 54.

education.⁴¹² On the contrary, the students who are only registered in the CECAM do not receive any certificate recognized by the SEP, but 'at least' the CECAM can receive some funds, which unfortunately are not enough to cover all expenses of the whole school.

According to CECAM, 3,699 students – 437 women and 3,262 men – from nine different indigenous populations – Amuzgos, Chinatecos, Chontales, Mazatecos, Mixes (*Ayuujk*), Mixtecos, Nahuas, Zapotecos and Triquis – have attended the CECAM courses from 1979 to 2007.⁴¹³ Circa 1,400 students completed successfully the IMUC and the BAMCE levels, while the rest have abandoned the CECAM due diverse reasons: some of them get back to their communities because of family or economical problems, other students realized that they have no vocation to become a full time musician, others continued their education in another institution.

There are many achievements made by the CECAM since it was founded: it was the first indigenous music school to accept women; they managed to help their students to complete basic education and to get a high school official certificate recognized by the SEP, but providing an education according to indigenous needs and traditions; they have contributed to maintaining and developing Mixe indigenous culture traditions in its community and in other communities through the *Misiones Musicales* (musical missions).

While is true that the CECAM continuously interacts with the community by taking part in the festivities of this community, by constructing its goals, activities, curricula, administrative and operational system according the traditions of the Mixe community, the *Misiones Musicales* is an intensive way to put in contact the CECAM with its community and another communities.⁴¹⁴ According to the CECAM, the *Misiones Musicales* began as petitions of neighboring communities, which asked the CECAM for support for the musical

⁴¹² Delgado Jiménez, *La música. Expresión de las veinte divinidades*, 136.

⁴¹³ Ibid., 178.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 99.

activities. The CECAM responded by sending a group of one teacher and two advanced students to carry out the following activities in the communities: to train the local teachers and students in the respective *escoletas*; to repair instruments; to compile and organize the music collection of the *escoletas*; to assist in the creation or capacity building of philharmonic bands.

As part of the *Misiones Musicales* the major band or the middle level band of the CECAM took part of the musical activities in context of the festive calendar of other communities, this is of extreme importance, since the festivities resume not only all cultural manifestations – dance, music, literature, food, clothes, religion, etc. – but also the social order of the community. Therefore, through the *Misiones Musicales*, the CECAM takes part in cultural and social exchange with other communities, enabling the CECAM members to know better, to reinforce, to develop and to transform its culture and society.

Finally, it is worth noting the recordings that the *Banda filarmónica del CECAM* – which is basically the *Banda Oficial* – has until now produced.

- Banda Filarmónica del CECAM. *Tlahuitoltepec, Mixe. Oaxaca*. CECAM, 1999, compact disc. It includes Mixe music: Cancion Mixteca, Como tú quieras, Bajo el cielo Mixe, Sones y jarabes Mixes and Nereida. Mexican popular music: Joyitas Mexicanas and Lindas mexicanas. Classical music: Pequeña Serenata, W.A. Mozart. Pop music: Yesterday.
- Banda Filarmónica del Centro de Capacitación Musical y Desarrollo de la Cultura Mixe. *Sones de Tierra y Nube*. Xquenda, 2005, compact disc. It includes only Oaxacan traditional music: Fandango Tehuano, Sones y Jarabes Mices, Sones Mazatecos, Canción Mixteca, Jarabe Mixteco, Naela, La Sandunga, Fanango Mixe, La llorona, Como de treinta, Dios nunca muere and Pinotepa. It includes the participation of diverse well know Mexican musicians: Tania Libertad - popular Singer, Horacio Franco – classical recorder, Hector Infanzon – jazz pianist and Susana Harp – popular singer.
- Banda Filarmónica del Centro de Capacitación Musical y Desarrollo de la

Cultura Mixe. *Sones de Tierra y Nube. Vol. II*. Xquenda, 2009, compact disc. It contains traditional Mexican music, including Mixe music: Thahuitotepecana, Nereidas, El pianito, Huapango, Sabor a mi, Alma Fandanguera, Ciruclando Señor, Auga es Via, Mambo 8, Mi Com-paz, La maritniana and Fandango. It includes the participation of diverse well know Mexican musicians: Horacio Franco – classical recorder, Hector Infanzon – jazz pianist, Susana Harp – popular singer, children-youth choir of the *Escuela Nacional de Música*, Fernando de la Mora – classical signer, Manuel Ángel Samperio – jazz saxophonist, Andres Alfonso Vergara (jarana, harp and voice) and Ramiro Alfonso Aldama (harp) – traditional musicians from Veracruz State.

- XĖĖW – FIESTA (2013) Lila Downs, Adrián Terrazas-González, Natalia Lafourcade, Susana Harp, Troker, Colectivo Aho, Sonex, Marya Reyna, Belafonte Sensacional, Ana Díaz, Ely Guerra, Hello Seahorse.
- Ensamble de Metales y Percusiones del CECAM. *ENSAMBLE*. CECAM, (without Date), compact disc. According the CECAM, this demo CD recreates and innovates the traditional music of the Mixe region as a musical exercise in context of the composition subject in the CECAM. In this Demo CD is reflected the knowledge of the BAMCE students; the works recorded in this CD were especially composed for a brass instrument ensemble, which offers an alternative for the new understanding of the Mixe music and for the disclosure of the musical tradition of the Oaxacan peoples.

The recordings of the CECAM include classical music, indigenous Mixe music – not only well-know pieces but also own compositions –, Pop/Rock music, jazz music, traditional Mexican music and crossovers between those music styles. The CECAM and the diverse guest musicians jointly made the arrangements and the production of the recording.

During its history, the CECAM is confronted with the fact, that its existence is not legitimized by the federal and state government, because the constituent

features of CECAM stem from indigenous communities instead from official government ideology. This refers us back to the concept of coloniality of being, where the CECAM is the *otro* and the dominant class – represented in this case by the SEP and the respective Oaxaca state government and presidential government – considers the indigenous otherness as inferior, primitive and incapable of taking the control of its own knowledge production.

The official government had carried out coloniality of knowledge and coloniality of power practices against the CECAM during its whole history by imposing the committee chair of the CSEIIO, by blackmailing CECAM by asking it to adapt to the curriculum and organizational forms stipulated by the SEP in order to give CECAM economic support and official recognition, in spite the clause stating that all alternative projects of the indigenous communities shall be assumed and supported by the CSEIIO. This situation is similar to Community Arts at the beginning of the 1980s when the UK government made the charitable status compulsory for those organizations that applied for money, in order to deactivate the community arts initiative in terms of its community activism.

The requirements imposed by the federal and state government were adopted by the BICAP, losing their original aims and function and resulting useless for the original aims of the community but not for the aims of the government. Since the BICAP follows the educational guidelines of the SEP, the government can control the knowledge production of the Mixe community according to its own interests, and setting aside the needs of the community.

In context of coloniality of power practices, the Government continuously attempts to control the cultural sources of the Mixe community for their own benefit. The CECAM is regularly 'invited' to play in main official events like the Mexican Independence Day celebration on 15th September; national meeting of indigenous music schools organized by the *Comision Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indigenas*, created by the Federal Public Administration; anniversary of the SEP; events in context of diplomatic visits.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 179-186.

In all these events the work and triumphs of CECAM are showed and considered as belonging to the federal achievements; the CECAM is exposed as exotic property of the Nation. The government legitimizes the value of the CECAM by objectifying it as a product that can be used according to the needs of its owner.

The activity of the CECAM, from its beginnings in November 1970 until the present, reveals that the relationship with its community is a constitutive feature of CECAM. Similar to Community Arts, the CECAM knows that the educational and operation guidelines of the school cannot be replanted from another context, but extracted from its own locality. As result of this kind of thinking, the educational an operation guidelines of the CECAM are based on the *usos y costumbres*, hence the impact of the CECAM upon its community goes beyond the mere music area by expressing and reinterpreting cultural, religious or ethnic affiliations; articulating feelings about social matters or local problems; and stimulating or contributing to local action, egalitarian participation and transformation.

The CECAM activity can be considered as *Community MUSIC* since it embraces and respects a diverse world of musical styles and contexts. The CECAM recordings show the interest of the CECAM to preserve and disclose the Mixe music, but at the same time, it shows an interest to interact with other kind of music styles and culture. The CECAM hand an open attitude towards other musical cultures, being open for a constantly transformation by allowing the incorporation of new elements to its indigenous culture. This incorporation of new elements is the result of a meeting between the CECAM and the other participants; that meeting is articulated by egalitarian participation, creativity and without impositions.

The *Misiones Musicales*, the inclusion of women, as well as the offered free full board accommodation for students in extreme poverty can be understood as *Community MUSIC* activities, since they offer physical resources to outside individuals or groups and provide access to music for people who are not usually able to participate in musical activity. The participation of the CECAM in

the festive calendar of the Mixe community; the activities carried out under the *Misiones Musicales* and the farming activities realized by the students show that all CECAM members – as community musicians – are concerned with additional social purposes rather than music for music's sake. All these activities create opportunities for skill exchange and as a consequence values group activities; at the same time, it demonstrates that music is an integral part of social life instead an unconnected enclosed world.

iii. Organizational structure of the CECAM in 2010

Before the results of the analysis of the curriculum will be presented, the organizational structure of the school and its operation will be discussed. The administration section is composed by the following members: Damián Martínez Gómez, director; Inocencio Pérez Jiménez, sub director; María Luisa Pérez Díaz, administrator; Claudio Vásquez, administrative assistant Gallardo; Florina Vásquez Núñez, secretary; Carolina Vásquez Cardoso, person in charge of the *departamento de control escolar* (admissions); Elena Martínez Gallardo, person in charge for the dormitories and refectory; Inés Vásquez Gómez and Celerina Vásquez Pacheco, cooks; Marcos Pacheco Hernández and Abel Martínez Martínez, night watchmen; Gervasio Jiménez Orozco, chauffeur; Epifania Jiménez Torres, person in charge of the school store; Estebán Delgado Jiménez, musical instruments warehouse keeper; Carlos Díaz Vasquez, person in charge of the music archive; Hipólito Torres Vásquez, person in charge of the music instruments repair station; Elsa Pérez Díaz, person in charge of the audio library and the library.

The educational staff is composed by the following members: musical assessors Victor Sabino Martínez Rivera, Silvestre Vásquez Cardozo, Bonifacio Gutiérrez Vásquez, Omar Gallardo Torres, Francisco Jiménez Vásquez, Rosalía Martínez González; secondary and high school assessors Hugo Guzmán Antonio, María del Rocío López Pérez, Eva Epifania Vargas Jiménez, Benito Martínez Díaz. In some cases the director or the sub director are as well musical assessors; in this case the sub director Inocencio Pérez Jiménez had also taught some subjects.

At first sight, there is nothing unusual in the organizational structure; the peculiarity lies in the way that it works. The director, sub director and the diverse subjects teachers are assigned to diverse persons every two years, while the other posts remain without changes; the person in charge of the non-educational post is temporarily or totally replaced in case of illness, resignation from the post, or when the person in charge has a *mayordomía* or *tequio* in the community that impede to do his work at the CECAM. The whole staff of the CECAM takes part in the election of the new director, sub director and responsible of each subject during the next two years. Firstly, all members suggest some candidates for each post; the chosen persons have freedom to decide if they want to be candidate or not, and they give an explication about the reasons to accept or decline the candidature. It is important to remark that during all phases of the election there is always an open discussion and exchange of opinions. After that an open vote take place to choose the person in charge for every post. The CECAM has as main rule that every musical assessor shall be director or sub director at least one time; the administrative staff is not obliged to do it, but they can be chosen. According to sub director Inocencio Pérez, in practice only the administrator, administrative assistant and the person in charge of the *departamento de control escolar* (admissions) have been nominated for the director and sub director posts.

After the election process all members discusses together the current situation, needs, goals, changes, etc., of the school and the way in which they are going to face that issues. Other particularity to be stressed is the salary: during our conversation with the musical assessors Silvestre Vásquez Cardozo, Victor Sabino Martínez Rivera and sub director Inocencio Pérez we learned that there is no salary difference between the full time educational posts and the director and sub director posts; we were told that this decision was taken because the direction and sub direction post are not more special that the other ones, but just different. Each educational post has diverse responsibilities and missions but any of them is special or better than the other one.

Some part of the tasks of each post are fixed while other ones change depending on the circumstances, but in general we can say that the function of

the director and sub director consists in being the contact with the 'exterior:' they are responsible to be in touch with the diverse organizations – both governmental and non-governmental – with which the CECAM has relations in order to promote the musical activity of the CECAM, to look for musical contacts that enrich the musical activity of the CECAM and promote the Mixe music, to obtain the necessary budget to finance the school and to solve the current problems of the Institution. Here is important to emphasize, that the school board works as a 'maker' that shall implement the goals, modifications, needs, etc., which have been purposed and agreed by the whole members of the CECAM. For its part, the assessors of the CECAM are focused on providing musical advice as well as secondary and high school education to the CECAM students; it is not unusual that the school board assumes the tasks of the musical assessors and vice versa. The rest of the administrative staff, are involved in a specific task of their respective posts, but also take part – as well as the educational staff – in other tasks such as cleaning, maintenance and organizational activities.

It is worth noting the importance of the work which the cooks do, the person in charge of the music instruments repair station and the person in charge of the music archive. The cooks, Inés Vásquez Gómez and Celerina Vásquez Pacheco, have a very important role in the daily life of the CECAM students, because the cooks teach the students the way in which many traditional dishes are made, including *tortillas*, *atole*, bean dishes, maize dishes, etc. In case of the music instruments repair station and the musical archive, the students work together with the person in charge to organize and take care of the musical archive and to repair the instruments, this fact is very important in order to develop a stronger relationship with the instrument and the music, this kind of relationship exist in all musicians' life – in varying manners – but in the case of the CECAM, the peculiar about it is that the school has a decisive role for the development of those relationships.

It is important to remark the role of the person in charge of the refectory and dormitories, Elena Martínez Gallardo; she is responsible to check that the students arrive at the least time limit at night – 10.00 p.m. –, to check that the

student starts on time the daily mornings activities, and to supervise if there are necessary supplies for the dormitories and refectory. She is also the first contact person when the students apply for a leave of absence, or when they have health problems, coexistence problems with other students, personal problems or problems of adaptation to the life in CECAM. However, the students have the freedom to turn to any member of the educational and administrative staff whom they trust.

The entrance examination requirements, admissions requirements, and the requirements for those who are applying for a full-board accommodation for the school year 2010 were as follows:

Entrance examination

1. Two pictures.
2. One copy of the birth certificate.
3. Pencil and eraser.
5. Fee of fifty Mexican pesos. (Around 2,75 euros)

Admissions requirements

1. Six Pictures
2. Birth certificate, original and copies
3. CURP (Unique Population Registry Code), original and three copies
4. Last school certificate, original and three copies
5. Certificate that proves that the student originates from an indigenous community.
6. Original letter of recommendation of the municipal authority.
7. Acceptance letter of the CECAM
8. Medical certificate of good health.
9. Certificate of no criminal records, (only for those who are of legal age)
10. Voting card, one copy (only for those who are of legal age).
11. One-time enrolment fee, 500 Mexican pesos (around 27 euros)

Full board accommodation

1. Monthly fee, 295 Mexican Pesos

2. Minimum average academic level 8.0⁴¹⁶

In the school year 2010 one hundred and sixty four students attended the CECAM, seventy-five boys and five girls of them were living in the CECAM. Some of them have a free full accommodation scholarship; the number of scholarship per year varies according to the budget of the CECAM, the criteria used to give the scholarships depend of the poverty grade of the student, this is determined by the income of the applicant's family, how many members the family has, and a personal interview with the applicant. The courses and their respective students were divided as follows:

- Child Intonation for beginners: 14 boys and 4 girls. Musical assessor: Rosalia.
- Child Intonation for advanced: 8 boys and 7 girls. Musical assessor: Omar.
- IMUCE I-A: 30 boys and 1 girl. Diverse musical assessors.
- IMUCE I-B: 27 boys and 3 girls. Diverse musical assessors.
- IMUCE II: 19 boys and 3 girls. Diverse musical assessors.
- IMUCE III: 8 boys and 1 girl. Diverse musical assessors.
- BAMCE I: 15 boys and 4 girls. Diverse musical assessors.
- BAMCE II: 4 boys and 6 girls. Diverse musical assessors.
- BAMCE III: 3 boys and 1 girl. Diverse musical assessors.
- BAMCE IV: 6 boys. Diverse musical assessors.
- *Banda Intermedia*: 26 boys and 6 girls
- *Banda Oficial*: 34 boys and 9 girls.

The child intonation courses for beginners and advanced have no specific curricula; they take place on weekdays in the afternoon and last 2 hours per session. These courses have the function to introduce the children into musical practice, according to musical assessors Rosalía and Omar the theory is not the central point of the lessons, but the intonation. A part of the lessons are directed to explain basic theoretical music elements like notation and rhythmic, but the

⁴¹⁶ Academic grading in Mexico employs a decimal system, from 0 to 10, to measure the students' scores. The grades are: 10, Excellent; 9, Very Good; 8, Good; 7, Average; 6, Sufficient; 0–5.9, Insufficient/Failed.

most important is the intonation of diverse Mexican, Mixe and Regional music; the term 'Regional music' is used by the CECAM members to refer only to the rural music forms of other indigenous peoples and not to their urban equivalent. Those musical forms that have achieved a high penetration rate in whole Mexico, are considered as Mexican music by the CECAM; that is, the urban equivalent forms of the regional music; the hybrid music forms arose from the interaction between the rural and urban music, as well as from the governmental cultural policies.

The musical activity in context of child intonation courses will not be discussed in this paper, however it is important to stress that the CECAM does not see it as an 'add on' or 'extra' alongside the main musical activity of the CECAM. When we asked Victor Sabino Martínez Rivera, if the child intonation courses were an extra activity of the CECAM, he answered as follows:

"Well, they are actually part of the activity of the CECAM, we do not consider them as an extra section because our pedagogical vision is the same as for the IMUCE and BAMCE levels. The difference is that those courses are not so intensive, because almost all students that visit the courses are little children who are living here [in Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec], thus they do not need to live in the installations of the CECAM, and also they are attending the primary school or secondary school of the village, so they are not able to spend too much time with the music."

6. Analysis of the Curriculum for the school year 2010

a. Foundations of the curriculum

The curricula used for the school year 2010 for the IMUCE and BAMCE level are a variation of the curricula created on July 2003,⁴¹⁷ which were submitted to the SEP as part of the recognition process of the musical studies of the CECAM. These curricula attempted to mix the structure of the traditional music curriculum with the educational perspective of the CECAM in order to satisfy the requirements of the SEP to get the recognition of the SEP and consequently to being fully financed by the federal and state government; unfortunately the musical activity of the CECAM is still officially not recognized by the SEP. The curricula of 2003 are structured as follows:

- Presentation
- Introduction
- Justification
- Legal foundation
- Background
- Profile of the applicant
- Profile of the graduate
- General objective of the Curriculum
- Admissions requirements
- Graduation requirements
- Curriculum (areas to be taught)
- Methodology
- Bibliography
- Human resources and infrastructure
- Evaluation
- Conclusion
- Curriculum IMUCE and BAMCE (organization and contents)

In the 'Presentation' section, the CECAM explains the motivation to elaborate

⁴¹⁷ Cesar Delgado Jimenez et al., *Plan y Programa de Estudio Musical – CECAM. Iniciacion Musical del CECAM, IMUCE. Bachillerato Musical del CECAM, BAMCE* (Oaxaca, Tlahuitoltepec: CECAM, 2003).

the document. The speech of Xóchitl Galvez Ruíz and Natalio Hernández Hernández –member of the council *Asuntos Indígenas de la Presidencia de la República* and member of the *Coordinación general de Educación Intercultural*, respectively – in context of the change of government are quoted as follows:

“[Speech of Xóchitl Galvez Ruíz and Natalio Hernández Hernández]

This intercultural bilingual education shall be more than a mere label in the curricula. A label that conceals old practices and educational contents that are technically limited, historically obsolete and socially unfair. For these reasons, as agreement of the Mexican President, the *Coordinación General de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* is created in order to involve all educational levels in the approach of the intercultural bilingual education, and to recognize and to value the linguistic diversity of the country.

Some of the more important objectives of this education are: to achieve that all Mexican children and youth receive an intercultural education, so they can respect value and dignify the richness of ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity of our country. In particular, it is proposed that the indigenous children acquire basic skills equivalent to the quality level of the rest of the national population by diversified bilingual models.

[Words of the CECAM] These new horizons that open new forms of relation, are the motivation to negotiate and to apply to the competent authorities for the legal and official recognition for the CECAM as Musical Indigenous Institution, so that the IMUCE and BAMCE are officially valid. For the above mentioned reasons, we submitted the present document to *Dirección General de Asuntos Académicos* of the INBA [National Institute of Fine Arts].”⁴¹⁸

In the ‘Justification’ and ‘Legal Foundation’ sections, the importance of the CECAM curricula and its activity is mentioned, as well as the context at that time and thoughts not only about music matters, but also about Mixe history

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

and culture.

Justification:

- “It responds to our culture and needs as Indigenous Peoples of Oaxaca.
- It is an alternative education for our human, cultural and productive development in context of the National Project.
- It comes from our educative proposals and experiences since 1979 until now.
- It encourages the relevance and equity of the Intercultural Indigenous Education.
- It encourages the participation of our communities in the construction, operation and evaluation of our own communal models.
- It combines the richness and opportunity afforded by our fifteen cultures and Indigenous Peoples of Oaxaca [it refers to the number of indigenous peoples in Oaxaca].
- It integrates different types, modalities and methods of education.
- It strengthens our integration as Nation in respect of the following items: Culture, Language, *Usos y Costumbres*, Communal Participation, decisions about ecological-environmental balance.
- The CECAM offers free full board accommodation for students in extreme poverty.

Current problems:

- In our Oaxacan peoples, there is a high demand for musical instructors and teachers.
- Many Philharmonic Bands of the communities have disappeared, and there is the risk that Philharmonic Bands continue to disappear, in fact, many Philharmonic Bands of the communities have disappeared because of the urban migration.
- There is a lack of attention to cultural value of the Indigenous Peoples in context of the National Education.

- It is very expensive for the communities to fully finance a philharmonic Band.

Philosophical Foundations:

- The musical education is based on the Indigenous way of life.
- We, the Mixes, are human beings, we are a People, we have history.
- Our world view has its base in the relation with the ground, the plants and the animals, and with our fellow human beings.
- The ground is sacred for us, because it generates diverse modes of living together and it generates community; it makes us people, it constructs cultures, and part of those cultures is precisely the musical and artistic expression of all Indigenous Peoples.
- Our spirituality is not metaphysic, but concrete; we experience our spirituality individually and collectively.

Social Foundations.

- Since the conquest [of the Americas], marginalization was established, subordination and exploitation of the Indigenous Peoples of Mexico.
- The resistance will continue until the autonomy and self-determination be granted to the Indigenous Peoples of Mexico.
- The autonomy is, from our perception and conceptualization: the equality, the equity and the respect to the indigenous rights in its real context as well as in the national context, thereby creating the diversity of cultures and therefore the so-called 'interculturality,' resulting in a strengthening and development of those cultures.
- The musical expression of the Indigenous peoples is part of their lives; it is essential part of the political, religious and communitarian organization of the Indigenous Peoples, which has their own community and history and which are an undeniable part of the development of the country.
- The music of the Philharmonic Band is the soul of people,

because it expresses a melodic, sublime and contagious feeling; but most importantly, because it creates harmony, wisdom and tranquility for the musicians and the listeners.

Pedagogical Foundations.

- Our Education means:
- To recognize the cultural and linguistic plurality and diversity.
- To conceptualize ways of life: economic organizational, geographic location and our governmental structure, which is based on community, equity and honorary posts, which are given according to the deeds of the person.
- To take part in family activities.
- To interrelate with children and adults.
- To acquire the cultural values through socialization processes over the life of the individuals.
- In the family, we integrate ourselves into a production unit.
- The children learning is essentially as a social process, fostering their physical, emotional and communicative skills.
- When the children enter school, they have a variety of experiences, which shall be the starting point for the construction of knowledge and for reciprocal learning.
- Our education considers the knowledge as endless and in constant transformation.

The 'Introduction' and 'Background' parts refer to issues that have been already discussed in this paper in the section 'iii. History of the CECAM.' The 'Profile of the applicant,' 'Profile of the graduate,' the 'General objective of the Curriculum' and the 'Graduation requirements' sections stress the importance that the CECAM gives to the community: equalitarian participation, nature environment and Mixe traditions.

Applicants profile

- To be conscious that he belongs to a community and Indigenous people with a specific history and cultural richness.

- To be physically capable of performing agricultural and communal work: *tequio*.
- To have learning and musical aptitudes.
- To have intonation skills, or the capacity to learn to intone.
- To have the ability to produce and to reproduce rhythmic models.
- To have disposition and a favorable attitude to perform and to create music.

Graduates profile

- Identify and perform with a creative and dynamic attitude diverse musical genres.
- To play his instrument in a very acceptable way.
- To revalue and to foster the development of the organization forms and systems of the Indigenous peoples.
- To foster and strengthen the cooperation, coexistence, coeducation and critical reflection of its culture and the Indigenous rights.
- One who can use the basic elements of the research methodology and participatory action.
- Be able to rescue and organize the musical archives of the *escoletas*.

Overall objective of the curricula

- To create an alternative for an Indigenous Musical Education within the National Education System.
- To provide students basic knowledge of music and basic scientific knowledge which allow the students to access to General upper-secondary or High school Education, and allow the students to perform successfully an instrument in a Philharmonic Band, or to work successfully as an instructor or a promoter.
- To foster musical talents and musical tradition of the State of Oaxaca.

Graduation requirements

- To complete all courses of the IMUCE.
- To complete all musical services of the CECAM.
- To make the social service in the *escoletas comunitarias*.
- To pass the final concert-examination, in the presence of members of the INBA.
- To play two concerts with the Philharmonic Band or with Orchestra.

The 'Human resources and Infrastructures' section describes the installations of the school mention about the origin of the people who work at CECAM. Both educational staff and administrative staff are from the Mixe community: all teachers have being instructed by the CECAM, after that they fulfilled higher musical education in other Mexican Institutions. This situation has not changed until the moment of our investigation in 2010; the only exception was Daniel, the assessor of the subject 'Corporal Expression' who is native from Oaxaca City and studied Theatre at the University UNAM. In the section 'Methodological Criteria' the form in which the courses are divided is broadly described: that is in the IMUCE – *Iniciación Musical del CECAM* (musical Initiation courses of the CECAM) and BAMCE levels – musical high school –*Bachillerato Musical del CECAM* (musical high school of the CECAM) –, as well as individual instrument lessons and group instrument lessons. It is also mentioned the use of the Intonation method practiced at the CECAM – it will be discussed later – and the teaching of guitar and piano as basis for the understanding of the theoretical subjects. Here is also stated what is expected from the assessors:

“The plural application of diverse teaching techniques and evaluation by the teacher, in his role as facilitator and close musical friend.”⁴¹⁹

It is interesting to see the use of the word 'Facilitator,' which has been often used in context of *Community MUSIC* and community art, because according to the interviewed musical assessors they have not heard before about the

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

concept of community arts and *Community MUSIC*. The fact that is desired that the teacher has a role as ‘close musical friend’ reveals the importance of the personal involvement of the teachers with the students in the musical activity of the CECAM.

In the ‘Evaluation’ section, the CECAM made clear that there is no specific procedure evaluation. Since the CECAM has as a goal the contribution to the development of the musical life and culture of the Indigenous peoples of Oaxaca –in the recent time also of other Mexican States – the evaluation is the way in which the students get involved into the daily life of the indigenous peoples, contributing to keeping alive their indigenous traditions and, at the same time, contributing to their transformation. As ‘Conclusion’ the CECAM appeals the INBA the following:

Request to the INBA-Mexico.

- To approve the operation of the CECAM as well as the curriculums of the IMUCE and BAMCE.
- To authorize the CECAM to issue certificates with official recognition.

Finally, before the curriculum will be analyzed, the difference between the structures of the first curricula and the curricula of 2010 will be briefly commented. The current curriculum for the IMUCE and BAMCE levels were developed on basis of the first curricula made in 2003, the main novelty is the inclusion of subjects that are part of the general high school education; the differences between both curricula and the complete curricula of the 2010 are presented below:

IMUCE I: Musical theory was removed in the current curriculum. The subject Corporal Expression; Language and Communication; Band/Intonation and Instrument were added to this level.

IMUCE II: History of the Western Music was removed from this level. Musical Appreciation, Computer, Band, *Musica Grupal* (small ensembles) and Corporal Expression were added to this level.

IMUCE III: Piano, Band, *Musica Grupal* and History of the Western Music were added in this level. History of the Mexican Music was removed from this level.

BAMCE I: Algebra, TIC, Chemistry, English, History of the Mexican Music, *Musica Grupal* and Counterpoint are added to this Level. History of the Western Art is removed at all, while Harmony is removed from this level.

BAMCE II: Analytic Geometry, Biology, CTVS, English, History of the Regional Music, Harmony and Musical Pedagogy are added to this level. Computer is removed from this level on.

BAMCE III: Analytic Geometry, Biology, CTVS, English are also added to this level, as well one year more of History of the Regional Music. Piano, Counterpoint and Musical Analysis are removed from this level on. History of the World Music is removed at all.

BAMCE IV: This level did not exist in the curriculum of 2003.

Curriculums: IMUCE and BAMCE levels ⁴²⁰**IMUCE I B**

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
09.00		Solfeggio -Omar-	Language & Communication -Eva-	Solfeggio -Omar-		
10.00	Solfeggio -Omar-	Choir -Rosalia-	Solfeggio -Omar-	Choir -Rosalia-	Solfeggio -Omar-	Corporal Expression - Daniel -
11.00	Language & Communication -Eva-	Choir -Rosalia-		Choir -Rosalia-		Corporal Expression - Daniel -
12.00	Guitar -Omar-	Musical Appreciation -Francisco-		Guitar -Omar-	Musical Appreciation -Francisco-	Corporal Expression - Daniel -
13.00	Guitar -Omar-	Musical Appreciation -Francisco-		Guitar -Omar-	Musical Appreciation -Francisco-	Corporal Expression - Daniel -
14.00	Break					
16.00	Intonation /Band Rosalia – Francisco – Omar / Silvestre					

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

IMUCE I A

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
09.00	Solfeggio -Omar-	Language & Communication -Eva-	Solfeggio -Omar-	- Language & Communication -Eva-	Solfeggio -Omar-	
10.00	Choir -Rosalia-	- Solfeggio -Omar-	Choir -Rosalia-	Solfeggio -Omar-	-	Corporal Expression -Daniel-
11.00	Choir - Rosalia -		Choir -Rosalia-			Corporal Expression -Daniel-
12.00	Musical Appreciation -Francisco-		Guitar -Omar-	Musical Appreciation - Francisco-	Guitar -Omar-	Corporal Expression -Daniel-
13.00	Musical Appreciation -Francisco-		Guitar -Omar-	Musical Appreciation - Francisco-	Guitar -Omar-	Corporal Expression -Daniel-
14.00	Break					
16.00. To 18.00	Intonation /Band Rosalia – Francisco – Omar / Silvestre					

IMUCE II

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
09.00	Solfeggio -Rosalia-	Solfeggio -Rosalia-	Solfeggio -Rosalia-	Solfeggio -Rosalia-	Solfeggio -Rosalia-	
10.00	Instrument		Musical Appreciation -Francisco-		Musical Appreciation -Francisco-	<i>Musica Grupal</i> -Inocencio- -Victor- -Bonifacio-
11.00	Guitar -Omar-	Computer -Rocio-	Musical Appreciation -Francisco-	Guitar -Omar-	Musical Appreciation -Francisco-	Ibid.
12.00	Choir -Rosalia-	Guitar - Omar -	Computer -Rocio-	Choir -Rosalia-	Corporal Expression -Daniel-	Ibid.
13.00	Choir -Rosalia-	Guitar - Omar -	Instrument	Choir -Rosalia-	Corporal Expression -Daniel-	
14.00	Break					
16.00 To 19.00	Band -Victor-					
19.00 to 20.00				<i>Musica Grupal</i> -Silvestre-	Corporal Expression -Daniel-	

IMUCE III

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
09.00	Solfeggio -Silvestre-	Solfeggio -Silvestre-	History of the Western Music -Victor-	Solfeggio -Silvestre-	History of the Western Music -Victor-	
10.00	Piano -Francisco-	Piano - Francisco-	Instrument	Piano - Francisco-	Instrument	<i>Musica Grupal</i> -Inocencio- -Victor- -Bonifacio-
11.00	Piano -Francisco-	Instrument	Instrument	History of the Western Music -Victor-	Solfeggio -Silvestre-	Ibid.
12.00	Instrument	Choir -Rosalia-	Choir -Rosalia-	Instrument	Solfeggio -Silvestre-	Ibid.
13.00	Instrument	Choir -Rosalia-	Choir -Rosalia-	Instrument	Instrument	
14.00	Break					
16.00 To 19.00	Band Victor					
19.00 to 20.00				<i>Musica Grupal</i> - Silvestre -		

BAMCE I

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
09.00	Solfeggio -Bonifacio-	Solfeggio -Bonifacio-	Solfeggio -Bonifacio-	Solfeggio -Bonifacio-	Algebra -Hugo-	
10.00	Counterpoint -Victor-	Counterpoint -Victor-	Algebra -Hugo-	Counterpoint -Victor-	Counterpoint -Victor-	<i>Musica Grupal</i>) -Inocencio- -Victor- -Bonifacio-
11.00	TIC'S -Hugo-	Algebra -Hugo-	CTSV I -Eva-	Chemistry -Rocio-	Chemistry -Rocio-	Ibid.
12.00	CTSV I -Eva-	TIC'S -Hugo-	History of the Mexican Music -Victor-	LEOE -Eva-	English -Hugo-	Ibid.
13.00	History of the Mexican Music -Victor-	Chemistry -Rocio-	English -Hugo-	English -Hugo-	LEOE -Eva-	
14.00	Break					
16.00 To 19.00	Band -Bonifacio-					
19.00 To 20.00	Piano -Francisco-					

BAMCE II

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
09.00	Analytic Geometry -Hugo-	Biology -Rocio-	Analytic Geometry -Hugo-	Biology -Rocio-	CTSV II -Eva-	
10.00	Analytic Geometry -Hugo-	Solfeggio -Bonifacio-	Musical Analysis -Victor-	Biology -Rocio-	CTSV II -Eva-	<i>Musica Grupal</i> -Inocencio- -Victor- -Bonifacio-
11.00	Harmony -Victor-	Solfeggio -Bonifacio-	Musical Analysis -Victor-	Solfeggio -Bonifacio-	Harmony -Victor-	Ibid.
12.00	Harmony -Victor-	Music Pedagogy -Silvestre-	Music Pedagogy -Silvestre-	Solfeggio -Bonifacio-	Harmony -Victor-	Ibid.
13.00	History of the Regional Music - Bonifacio-	English -Eva-	Instrument	English -Eva-	History of the Regional Music - Bonifacio-	
14.00	Break					
16.00 To 19.00	Band -Bonifacio-					
19.00 To 20.00	Piano -Francisco-					

BAMCE III

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
09.00	Analytic Geometry -Hugo-	Biology -Rocio-	Analytic Geometry -Hugo-	Biology -Rocio-	CTSV II -Eva-	
10.00	Analytic Geometry -Hugo-	Instrument	History of the Regional Music -Bonifacio-	Biology -Rocio-	CTSV II -Eva-	<i>Musica Grupal</i> -Inocencio- -Victor- -Bonifacio-
11.00	Composition -Silvestre-	Music Pedagogy -Silvestre-	History of the Regional Music - Bonifacio-	Composition -Silvestre-	Band Conducting -Bonifacio-	Ibid.
12.00	Composition -Silvestre-	Instrument	Instrument	Composition -Silvestre-	Band Conducting -Bonifacio-	Ibid.
13.00	Instrument	English -Eva-	Music Pedagogy -Silvestre-	English -Eva-	Instrument	
14.00	Break					
16.00 To 19.00	Band -Bonifacio-					
19.00 To 20.00		<i>Musica Grupal</i> -Silvestre-				

BAMCE IV

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
09.00	CTSV -Eva-	Probability and Statistics -Hugo-	Composition -Silvestre-	Probability and Statistics -Hugo-	Composition -Silvestre-	
10.00	Physic -Rocio-	Physic -Rocio-	History of the Regional Music -Bonifacio-		Composition -Silvestre-	<i>Musica Grupal</i> -Inocencio- -Victor- -Bonifacio-
11.00		Band Conducting -Victor	Probability and Statistics -Hugo-		Probability and Statistics -Hugo-	Ibid.
12.00	English -Rocio-	Instrument	CTSV -Eva-	English -Rocio-	English -Rocio-	Ibid.
13.00		Instrument	English -Rocio-	Physic -Rocio-		
14.00	Break					
16.00 To 19.00	Band Conducting -Victor-					
19.00 To 20.00		<i>Musica Grupal</i> -Silvestre-				

b. The Subjects**i. Solfeggio and Choir**

The first subject to analyze is Solfeggio, which is present during the whole IMUCE level, the BAMCE I level and the BAMCE II level. The most important feature of the solfeggio lessons is the use of the Intonation method made by the CECAM in 1983 by Pedro Mariano Flores, Alfredo Reyes, Abel Vásquez Jiménez, Cipriano Pablo Virgen and Franco Luna Ortega; the current Intonation method results from the original document in 1983 and its first revision in 1995. It was already said, that the first version of the Intonation method has the main goal to put students from the very beginning in contact with the Mixe music.

“To do this, the teachers wrote *Tu’ uk ja něky xuxk ejxpajit*, a intonation method to start to intone; solfeggio with 160 lectures that include the basic musical signs and the value and combination of the musical

figures. From the very first time that the student starts singing the first notes on the pentagram, he starts to become familiar with *sones*, *jarabes*, and another traditional melodies created and produced by their great composers [...] When a boy or a girl identifies these musical creations, then he or she is able to recognize also the differences with another types of music.”⁴²¹

According to musical assessor Victor Sabino, the Intonation method still being used because of the need to have an own method that contains the features of the Mixe music, in order that the student would still be familiar with the Mixe music, but also to facilitate the learning of the instrument, because when other methods are used, they do not work so well because they are not part of the Mixe culture. Victor Sabino added:

“ We have had difficulties to reproduce other methods of knowing of other cultures in our region, not only related to the music; to try this or that method of knowing or technical element in our region is not always ideal.”

The first third of the method consists – as the majority of the solfeggio methods – in introducing the rhythmic values and the notes in the G-clef from C⁴ to F⁵ as well as the intonation method of the CECAM; the first introduced rhythmic figure is the whole note, followed progressively by the half note, quarter note, the eighth note and their respective rest figures, while the tones are firstly presented in scale form and then seconds thirds, fourths, fifths and sixths intervals. From the second third of the method on, small fragments of Mixe music pieces are used as part of an exercise or as a complete exercise, in other cases the exercises were composed using melodic and rhythmic motives of the Mixe music.

“The lessons, which are in the method, are own compositions of the teachers who participated in the elaboration of the method, all of them composed a considerable quantity of music and some part of that music was used as exercise; they organized progressively some fragments of their own music. Some lessons are part of songs that are heard here in

⁴²¹ Ibid., 56.

the Mixe region, because it was desired that the student gets more familiar with the genres, with the *sones*, with the *chilenas*, with the time signatures, with certain types of melodic turns that are used in the music of the region [...] The method was designed to be studied during one year, but there are some students who complete it in one semester and other students need more time.”

According to Victor Sabino, it is easier for the students to learn the rhythmic figures and notation through the intonation method, he considers that the fact that many students have already a musical experience before they start to study at the CECAM, has an influence in the learning notation. The students who are able to play an instrument, but are not able to read notation, find it very hard to learn musical notation.

“ I think it is hard to begin to learn the notes when you can play a little bit an instrument. We have the experience that the students get bored when we use diverse solfeggio methods that are in the market, like Dandelot or Pozzoli. I mean, the fact of learning notation is somehow boring anyway [laughter] but it is necessary, so when we use the intonation method of the CECAM it is more interesting for the guys.”

Since one of the main reasons why the students chose the CECAM to study music, is the fact that they want to play Mixe music – this will be showed in the analysis of the interviews with the students – it is not hard to believe that the use of melodies of the Mixe music repertoire makes the learning of the musical notation more attractive for the student, so they do not get bored to easily. On the other hand, as Victor Sabino said, many of well-known Mixe melodies are used in the method, therefore many students already know that sounds, some of them can even play some of those melodies, so they just learn how the ‘musical information’ that they already have is written. This is very similar to the learning process of the popular musicians; first they learn how to play/sing

something then they possibly learn a way to write the information that they have just learned.⁴²²

The last third revision of the Intonation method of the CECAM was edited in 2003 and was made by Victor Sabino; the main changes consisted of rhythmic and notes' correction in some bars. New material, which was collected by musical assessors between 1995 until the third edition in 2003 was also added, but the main reason of the new edition was not this but to recover the readability of the method and the corrections of some mistakes. However, the CECAM is working on a new Intonation and rhythmic method, that follows the same principle of the first Intonation method.

“ At the moment there is the intention to coordinate all the material that the musical assessors have made in the last years to make a sort of complete method, not only intonation but also rhythmic method. We are discussing the guidelines for the project but it will take some time because we do not have all necessary resources [...] The assessors are constantly creating their own exercises; they still use fragments of pieces of the Mixe repertoire or from his own compositions, in other cases they make specific exercises [...] The main problem is the time and the resources, because we do not have enough personal to accomplish all what is needed, the CECAM cannot afford to hire more personal.”

According to Victor Sabino, there is no intention to only use the methods of the CECAM during the solfeggio classes, because the musical assessors do not only use new exercises made by themselves or the Intonation method, they also use solfeggio methods like Solfege by George Dandelot, Solfeggi Parlati e Cantati by Pozzoli, Curso Completo de Solfeo by Geronimo Baqueiro, Le solfège Contemporain by Albert Beaucamp and Maat en ritme by F. van der Horst.

“I used for example Baqueiro and Van der Horst but I combined them with other methods also. I use the material but trying to apply the way in

⁴²² Lucy Green, *How Popular Musicians Learn: a way ahead for music education* (England: Ashgate, 2001).

which is learned here, I also include my own exercises, or one takes some material of the pieces that are played later with the *banda* to use it as exercises.”

Concerning the dynamic of the lessons we could appreciate a continuous self-regulation of the class by the students. For example, during the solfeggio lessons with musical assessor Omar every student executed individually an exercise under the supervision of Omar; the students decided the order of participation to execute the lesson for Omar. While this happens, some students are sitting or standing practising the exercises, while others are talking or joking but when it is getting too noisy, the students themselves ask the other ones not to be too loud; in this kind of situations Omar did not intervene at all. Omar asks the students in turn to execute the exercise, when he finishes, he gives some advices and the students tries again; it is usual that Omar asks the students: ‘What happened here? Why did he not work this part?’, the student sometimes answers, but most of the time he just thinks, then Omar ask him to do it again. After the repetition is finished, he gives him some advice how the problem could be resolved. Frequently, Omar told firstly the students what was good and just after that he tells the problems that he found and some recommendations to resolve them.

The solfeggio lessons with musical assessor Silvestre are contrasting the lesson of Omar; Silvestre prefers to work almost all the time with the whole group simultaneously, this could be due to the fact, that the groups that Silvestre advices are smaller than Omar’s courses. In the lessons with Silvestre, the whole group executes an exercises, then when the most of group have a problem in a certain place, the group stops to do the exercise, but Silvestre does not stop them, he waits until the students stop by themselves, then he asks –like Omar – what happened, why do they stop, some students answer saying the reason or saying that they do not know, then Silvestre asks to repeat the exercises and after that he gives the advice how the section can be done in a better way. Occasionally, Silvestre works individually with a student.

“Silvestre: Can you do the exercise from bar number ‘x’?

Student: I cannot do it.

Silvestre: why not?

Student: I don't know, it is difficult.

Silvestre: Just try to play the exercise until the end, try to play the whole exercise until the end, it does not matter if you have some mistakes, but you have to try."

When the student is finished, even if he had mistakes, Silvestre just asks the whole group to do the exercise together again. We asked Silvestre, why did he say to the student that it does not matter if he makes some mistakes:

"Well, of course they have to play correct and without mistakes, but they must try first! If they do not try, then they will never get better."

This is very interesting because Silvestre stresses the fact of trying to solve a problem more than the problem itself. Silvestre, as well as, the other musical assessors ask frequently why something did not work, expecting that the students think about it. The musical assessors give advice how to solve the problem, but they stress the fact that students shall think why something does not work and the fact that they shall try to solve a problem: the reflection about a problem, the initiative and the intention to face a problem are stressed all the time, the importance does not lie in the problem, but in the attitude of student towards the problem.

The choir lessons are conducted in the similar way to the solfeggio lessons; the sessions during the week are divided in group lessons and a sort of individual lessons, and the dynamic is very similar to the solfeggio lessons. The repertoire is divided in three sections civil, religious and social repertoire; some pieces are fixed, like the flag song, Mexican anthem, or the Mixe songs, Zandunga and La Llorona; while other pieces are chosen by the students and the musical assessor, in this case Rosalia. The three sections of the repertoire consist of Mixe music and Mexican regional music; however, classical music is also included, according to Rosalia: approximately 30 % of the whole repertoire consists of classical Western and classical Mexican music. In the choir lessons the students sing in diverse groupings: duets, trios – both of them are typical groupings using in the interpretation of *boleros*, *rancheras*, *corridos* and *trio*

huasteco – female choir, male choir and mixed choir – using the most common type consisting of SATB voices. It is important to stress the fact that some Mixe or Mexican regional songs are adapted for mixed choir; that was the case of *Cielito lindo* and *Cancion Mixteca*.

Almost all the repertoire is applied to other musical activities: both as part of the musical activity of the CECAM, and as part of the musical activity of the village. The pieces that are sung, are also often played by the *Banda Intermedia* or the *Banda Oficial*, or are listened by the students outside the lessons, or played in the local radio of the villages. The religious and civic repertoire is part of the religious and civic festivities of the region: that means the same repertoire is involved in diverse musical contexts.

At the beginning and at the end of the choir and solfeggio lessons, the students together with the teachers prepare the classroom for the lesson; they order the chairs, move the piano, organize and distribute the scores, clean the classroom. That means that the whole group, including the teacher, is responsible all needed elements for the lesson to be prepared, this is contrasting the way in which the lessons in many places are conducted. During my experience as teacher in Mexico and in Germany, I have seen that the teacher is responsible to organize everything for the class, in other cases, the teacher expects the students to prepare everything for the class. Finally, it is important remark the fact that the theoretical explanations are not very frequent: the process consists basically of hearing and repeating. Omar comments:

“They already know what is a whole note, an eight note or $\frac{3}{4}$ time signature, but many times they still cannot do something even if they know how it works, so the only way is to try to do it again and again [...] I say them why it does not work, or what they can do to make it work, but it is the same here: if they do not try, they will never be able to do it.”

ii. Harmony, Counterpoint and Composition

According to Victor Sabino, those subjects have two goals: to prepare the students for their musical activity in context of the Indigenous music and prepare them for an eventual education a university level.

“Those subjects try to cover their functions, because after the students finish their education here, they will form *bandas*, or they will be part of them, so it is important to give them all the musical information about harmony, counterpoint or composition in order them to apply it in those activities. But we also know that many of them [the CECAM students] want to continue study music but at the university level, so we want to prepare them also for that kind of education which is a little bit different to what we are doing in the CECAM.”

In addition to the studying the rules and application of the harmony and counterpoint in context of the classical Western music, the students learn melody and harmony of the Oaxaca Indigenous music, in specific of the Mixe music.

“We try that the students apply the harmony in the Regional music. In addition to harmonize a cantus or to learn cadences and to learn voice leading, we ask the students to compare it with the use of the harmony in the traditional music; we analyzed together which chords, which are used more frequently and how they are used, then the students take a melody or compose a melody and they try to harmonize it following the patters that we found.”

In the harmony, counterpoint and composition lessons the communal feature is also strongly present because the lack of personal but also because the own tradition which stresses the group participation.

“They composed a work, sometimes we give them [the students] a theme to develop or a structure, sometimes it is free, they decided which kind of song are they are going to compose, a son or a march [...] They are used to working together, sometimes they only compare their composition or sometimes they compose a piece together, in this regard it is up to them to choose if they work alone or together [...] we check and hear the compositions during the class together, the procedure varies a lot here, because some times some students are ready with a composition but others are just in the middle of the composition, so we heard the works that are completed and we talked about them or we tried

different solutions when a student is stuck in a passage [of its composition] [...] It depends on how big the group is, if there are a lot of students then it is hard to review in depth of every work.”

In case of the Counterpoint lessons, the lessons are focussed to develop the hearing capabilities instead of studying the use of counterpoint in the musical forms of the renaissance and baroque epochs.

“More than learning all rules and types of counterpoints and its strict application, we focus on the exploration of the creativity of the students and on the development of the ability to hear what they see written on the score without the need of playing it with an instrument [...] They receive a cantus firmus, normally I give them cantus firmus, but I use to give them also other kinds of melodies, then we made during the classes a counterpoint over the cantus firmus and we sing it together or we played it on the piano, then we try to see if it sounds as it was thought. They themselves realize when something sounds good or when it sounds strange.”

The exercises are not evaluated as correct or incorrect; an exercise can sound ‘good’ or can sound ‘strange’, but not bad or incorrect. According to Victor Sabino, this kind of view is also present in the harmony and composition lessons.

“ We explain the ‘rules’ but we also make the clarification that those rules are not applied to all music genres. We emphasize more the fact that they have to be able to hear if something works or not for the music they are doing. If they apply some kind of cadences in a *son* or in a *corrido* maybe it would follow the rules but would sound somehow strange [laughter], at least to me.”

The literature that is used for those classes is varied, Victor Sabino mentioned authors like Rimsky-Korsakov, Diether de Lamotte and Walter Piston as the most used, but he also remarks the fact that every musical assessors use diverse methods at the same time, including his own material and materials extracted of the music that are played with the *Banda Intermedia* or with the

Banda Oficial.

iii. History of the Mexican Music, History of the Regional Music, History of the Western Music and Musical Appreciation.

History of the Western Music and Musical Appreciation have the function to introduce the students into the Western Classical Music practice; these subjects do not present a substantial difference with the same subjects taught officially in conservatories and music universities. For its part, History of the Mexican Music and History of the Regional Music have a diverse approach: the way in which the History of Mexican Music is taught and the appearance of the History Regional Music as subject.

“There is a lot of history scattered throughout the region, but we do not really know how it goes. The purpose of the History of Regional Music is to give the students the base on which they can investigate what has happened with the music of their communities in their region or in other region of Oaxaca, because we have realized that what is taught the subjects ‘history of music’ something has happened in other places of the world but not what one lived and experienced in his village, in his community, in his region.”

History of Regional Music works as a research workshop where the musical assessor advises the student how to carry out an investigation about a certain aspect the history of the music of the Oaxaca region. In the workshop the necessary research techniques are provided; other investigations are also analyzed in order to discuss how that tools can be applied in their own researches. At the present the subject last three semesters, the first one is the most theoretical one, while in second and third semesters the students start to carry out their investigation projects and the progress is discussed in the class.

“The lessons work as workshop because of the lack of bibliography about the Regional Music, so the texts about it shall be produced, the history is there, but we have to write it. On the other hand, the CECAM cannot carry out the investigations itself, because of the lack of economical resources and personnel. Therefore, the subject has functioned as workshops where the youngsters are encouraged to

investigate by themselves [...] In addition, to discuss research methods, we also discuss the few documents about Regional Music, those have been made from the nationalism point of view, that is our starting point, then we compare those documents with the history which students have experienced in their communities.”

The subject History of the Mexican Music is part of the curriculum of the official Conservatories and Universities in Mexico, but the approach between them and the CECAM approach is quite different.

“What has been taught as Mexican Music in the country, had the focus on Classical Music, however, there are many elements of music that are not considered in Mexican Classical Music, elements that are part of the Mexican music but cannot be found in Classical Music; we want to consider those other elements as well [...] Well, we respect all kind of music genres, but is not our intention to teach the history of the pop or rock music in Mexico, we are thinking more about the music which is part of a own musical culture, like the *jarabe tapatio* in Guadalajara or the *norteñas* in Tijuana, there are even now many mixtures like *norteña banda*, or like the *rancheras* and *boleros* that actually can not be considered as part of a specific region anymore because you hear them throughout Mexico.”

The changes on the subjects of history show that the CECAM does not see the education as something static, on the contrary, the curriculum for the IMUCE and BAMCE course are constantly in transformation and open to other music cultures; those changes come from all members of the CECAM and respond to the needs of the Mixe community but also to the needs of the students and teachers.

“Since the CECAM was created, the goal has been to reinforce and to develop the cultural identity of the Mixe people, but over the time we have opened up to other regions. Over the time we have seen that the students are curios to know not only about the Mixe music but also about other regions, they continually ask about it; also the CECAM became more known and young people from other regions started to come here

to study. We realized that we needed to develop subjects that could cover the needs of the students, thus that subject of History of the Mexican Music and of the Regional Music were created, because the need of the students to know about the music that they are playing, and which has been played by their grandparents. If one looks for that information, it does not exist! But not because it really does not exist, but because it has not been compiled and documented; the history is there, the children and youth are living it in their villages and here.”

iv. Instrumental subjects

The teaching of guitar and piano as base for the understanding of the theoretical subjects, but there is an other aspect which is very important in those lessons, the use of the guitar and piano to compose songs and explore diverse music genres. Beyond technical demands of each instrument, we consider that there are no substantial differences between the approach in the guitar lessons and piano lessons; maybe the significant differences can be: the use of the piano is a little bit more oriented to reinforce and teach some aspects of the harmony lessons: cadences and voice leading in context of the Western Classical Music and the execution of some counterpoints exercises. This is one of the reasons why we decided to concentrate on the activities in the context of guitar lessons; on the other hand, piano lessons took place at the same time as the rehearsals of the *Banda intermedia* and *Banda Oficial*, so we preferred the observation of the rehearsals.

The guitar lessons are divided in two sections: one is dedicated to review individually every student's activity, and the other one is dedicated to all the students. When the students work individually with the musical assessor Omar, they sing a song that can be composed by the student itself or a well-know song; this depends of the purpose of the lesson. Omar commented:

“One tries that the students learn diverse music genres on the guitar, but they also have to learn how to use the guitar when they want to make a composition [...] I correct some technical problems but it does not make any sense that they are able to play a chord very well or and arpeggio if they cannot play and sing a song at the same time, or if they are not in

tune or if they do not know how is the *bolero* or the *corrido* rhythm.”

During our stay in the CECAM we could appreciate both approaches. When the teacher gave the students to learn some well-known songs, the students had to choose a song and practice it in order to play it in the class; in the class the students tell Omar which music genre it is, which chords do they need, in which key the song is and the main topic of the lyrics. Usually, the student plays the song when he is ready. Then Omar gives some advices, and asks some questions that can be divided in two categories: about the musical problems by playing the song and the reasons to choose the song. After that, Omar asks the student to play the song again and asks him to try to resolve the problems if it is possible – to sing in tune, to keep the tempo, to play clearly the chords, etc. –, depending on the situation Omar can play also along with the student, in order to make it easier for the student.

The reactions of the students were varied; some of them were very confident or have already had experience with the guitar – most of them –, some of them also can sing any play at the same time, while others do not have experience at all with the guitar. When Omar asks about the reason why something did not work at the first try to sing the song, the students do not answer or when they answer they are usually mentioning a technical problem, but the most interesting point in this issues that all of them give an answer beyond technical reasons: the most frequent answers were related to performance anxiety, fear of being criticized, fear of playing wrong, or nervousness. Of course, performance anxiety and performance fear are nothing new, but what was interesting is the fact that Omar tried to understand that point and actually he focussed more on that kind of problems.

For example, when Moises Elizeo sung a song, he sung quietly in the places where he was out of tune, then Omar asked him why he did so, the student answered: “I feel insecure [silence], I can not sing in tune,” then Omar told him: “Don’t worry, I play with you, just try to sing as well as you can, I will sing too.” Both of them sang the song, but Omar sang louder in the parts where Elizeo had problems and in the other sections Omar sang quietly. The result was very

interesting because Elizeo looks more comfortable and secure, even the places where he still sang out of tune, he sang louder. We asked Omar which is the criterion to evaluate the students, he commented:

“They have to do all the homework and the attendance is compulsory, also. [...] If they practice they become better, so they will solve the problems that they had at the beginning, thus I evaluate the effort more than the results, if they try, they perform better, but, of course, every student is different; some improve faster as others, that’s why is important to evaluate according to the effort.”

Since the class was too big, Omar needed more than one session to review every student individually, therefore every homework is checked in two or three sessions, but every session ended always with the whole class singing a well-known song. Omar asked the class, which song do they want to sing and play this time, when the class chose one song, Omar explained which chords they needed, the rhythm pattern and which music genre it is. On that occasion the class chose *Esclavo y Amo* composed by José Vaca Flores and which was made famous by the Mexican singer Javier Solis, Omar explains that the song is originally a *bolero-ranchero* but it is possible to play the song in *huapango* rhythm. Omar shows how to play the chords and play the rhythm, then the students start to imitate; some of them are able to play the whole song with the right strum pattern and all chords, others just strum one time the strings every time the chord changes, others played both strum patterns and chords in the sections they could.

In the following session the dynamics of the class were similar to what has been already described, with the difference that the students had to play individually an own composition. Omar asks them to compose a song in the music genre they wanted, suggesting that the lyrics should talk about other topics as the usual ones. The following are examples of those compositions.

Elizeo's song:

It is only some weeks
 since he studies at the CECAM
 And he missed already his village
 And he wants to get back

What is going on my friend?
 Why do you want to leave?
 Why do you not like the school?
 If here you will become an expert

Lets go better for a drink of *pulque*
 so you can let go off the stream
 and when you get drunk
 you want stay at the school

With this verse I say farewell
 And you will now cry
 Better you go tell him
 That he must not leave.

Donato's song:

'Canto a mi Pueblo'

This is my song
 that tells my story,
 the most sad of my life and
 of my whole childhood

Who would not like to not suffer
 the things that happen in life?
 And I say it singing,
 I have cried because of my sadness.

I am from the *Mixteca alta*,

Where there are true loves.
Ah! the women from the Mixteca,
I am really good to flirt.

My villages is Atatlauca,
and I composed for you this song.
Now that I am with the Mixes,
I remember you more.

Today I would like
to salute your beauty,
your immense
greatness

Because you are everything to me,
and you know it.
You are my
eternal life.

I also want to thank you
for the sky,
for the wind
that you offer me.

I thank you, nature,
for everything
that you have
offered me.

Thank you
for the sky,
for that river
and that mountain.

Thank you
for that ground/soil
and that water
that bathes me.

Thank you, nature,
Nature
Thank you.

Hector Gabriel's song:

This is the story of an innocent child,
Who was abused by his father,
He said to him: 'Dad do not hit me
because it hurts, because it hurts.'

He lost his mother because of the beating of his father
At nights he looked at the sky, saying:
Mother I am on my way to you, my father announces it with
his beating, and the truth is that it hurts a lot mom, mom.

Mom, I miss you so much, so much
Mom, I miss your kisses, your caresses and hugs,
You are the best thing that has ever happened to me,
mom, mom.

Right at that moment his father arrived from the bar,
and when he saw his son praying, he started to beat him, to
beat him.

When he finished to beat him, he realized that he did not
breathe, he let him lie on the floor and he went to drink more,
to drink, to drink.

When the child opened his eyes, he saw the face of his
mother and started crying.

His mother took him in his arms saying: do not cry; do not suffer anymore my son.

Mom, I missed you so much, and I want to tell you something that I wanted to say, that I wanted to say long time ago, this is, this is: I love you mom.

The individual teaching of instruments has not the same presence as in other official music institutions. This can be explained due to economical reasons, as well as cultural reasons. Firstly, the CECAM does not have enough economic resources to recruit more musical assessors, therefore individual teaching of all instruments occurs between 2 or 3 times a month. There are lessons for guitar and piano. There is a moment when the musical assessor attends every student individually and there is a time where he works with all the students, also on other subjects. The technical aspect is not the centre of the lessons, but it is taken into account as an integral part of 'making music' phenomena: the aspects that were constantly taken into account can be divided in the following 8 categories: these elements were equally considered during the lessons, but putting a stress on the 'Listening.'

- Notes (anything dealing with pitches: scales, chords, key signature, tuning, etc.)
- Articulation
- Technique
- Feeling/groove
- Listening
- Dynamics
- Rhythm/Tempo & Pauses/Space
- Phrasing

The other modalities for instrumental lessons in the CECAM are intensive workshops or 'master classes;' for this occasion a musician outside the CECAM come to the school to work for a short time with the students and musical assessors, those musicians are teachers at other institutions, but also musicians who are focused in performing and do not teach at any institution.

The music genres, on which the invited musicians are focused, do not play a decisive role for the cooperation with the CECAM. Sub-director Inocencio Pérez commented.

“ We are always open to collaborate with other musicians and institutions [...] sometimes teachers from other institutions offer themselves to conduct a workshop in the CECAM, sometimes the CECAM asks directly some musicians if they want to collaborate with the CECAM, it can be by recording a CD or by conducting a masterclass ... [...] Real de catorce [Mexican rock-blues band], Natalia Lafourcade [pop singer], Horacio Franco [classical flautist] or Alondra de la Parra [orchestra conductor] have worked together with the CECAM.”

Much of the instrumental activity of the CECAM is concentrated in the activities of the *Banda Intermedia* and *Banda Oficial*. The *Banda Intermedia* is mainly composed of students of the IMUCE II and III levels, while the *Banda Oficial* is mainly composed of all BAMCE levels; however, this is not a strict rule, according to the musical assessor Silvestre, it happens frequently that if a student of the IMUCE wants to participate in the *Banda Oficial*, he can try during a short period, and if everything it works fine, he would remain in the band. It also occurs frequently, that students of each band switch between both bands depending on the needs of the moment. For example, the students who attend conducting lessons work frequently with the *Banda Intermedia* and with small ensembles that are formed for the *Música Grupal* subject. One of the most important functions of both bands is the participation in activities of the Mixe community or in other states of Mexico. In words of Victor Sabino:

“The *Banda Intermedia* and the *Banda Oficial* have as function to participate in the events of the community [Tlahuitoltepec] and the region; we are talking about events such as: saint festivities, funeral ceremonies, civic events and official festivities like 15th September [Mexican Independence Day] in the next days [...] Often the students alternate their participation from one band to the other one because of many reasons; some times we need to have a bigger band for some events, or the more advanced students switch to the *Banda Intermedia* to teach the students of the *Banda Intermedia*, also the advanced students

participate in the conducting of *Banda Intermedia* very often, and sometimes in the conducting of the *Banda Oficial*.”

Therefore, the activities in the context of both bands are very important for the CECAM; not only for the present time but also for the future:

“[...] This make the students acquire the basic and necessary skills to form and conduct a band, but also to teach, because many of the CECAM students get back to their communities to form new bands or to teach at the local *escoletas*; on the other hand, with the participation of the students in the teaching and conducting activities we can partially resolve the problem of lack of personnel and resources. In this way we help each other and it also enriches all of us.”

c. The Mexican Independence Day celebration

In context of the activities of both bands, we had the opportunity to observe the rehearsals of the *Banda Oficial* for its participation in the activities commemorating the bicentennial of Mexico's Independence on 15th September 2010 in Mexico City and the rehearsals of the *Banda Intermedia* for its participation in the same celebration, but in Tlahuitoltepec. The rehearsals were conducted sometimes by Sub-Director Inocencio Pérez, musical assessor Silvestre, musical assessor Victor and musical assessor Bonifacio. The rehearsal took place in the basketball court and in the open areas between the classrooms and the dormitories.

The first thing, that caught our attention, was the interaction of the members of the *Banda Intermedia* and *Banda Oficial* with other members of the CECAM; even if the rehearsals are considered part of the subject Banda I-VI, we could appreciate being in a continuous interaction between both bands and other members who were present when the rehearsals took place. During the breaks, members of the *Banda Intermedia* or the *Banda Oficial* talked or joked with other students or musical assessors of the CECAM, who were playing basketball, practising an instrument or watching the rehearsals. Also, members of the *Banda Oficial* or *Intermedia* used the breaks to practice a certain part of the musical piece; frequently the students exchanged advice, in order to resolve

a technical or musical problem, sometimes they learned from each other a fragment of another musical piece. This kind of interaction did not seem to disturb the musical assessors who conducted the rehearsals, on the contrary, they took part sometimes in those dynamics and they seemed to be used to that situations.

The rehearsals stress the importance of community for the musical practice of the CECAM, because all members have a certain degree of participation; the ways, in which the rehearsals were carried out, allowed the participation of all members. We can also see that the musical assessor works as a facilitator, more than a traditional band conductor or teacher; the musical assessor does not unilaterally determine the dynamic of the rehearsals, he is not the central figure while the students have only a passive and receptive role. Both, the members of the *Banda* and the musical assessor, resolve the musical problems during the rehearsal: frequently the musical assessor pointed out a musical problem and asked: "What can we do?", in this cases, sometimes the assessor proposed a way to resolve the problem, but in other occasions he waited for an answer and in this moment a 'natural' break arose. Some students used this break to solve the problem by themselves, while other members of the band interacted with other students like it was already mentioned.

But the dynamic of the rehearsals was not the only thing that the students and musical assessors determined together; musical assessor Silvestre told us that some parts of the repertoire that they practiced for the festivity of the bicentennial of Mexico's Independence were chosen by the students and the musical assessors. The rest of the repertoire consisted of standards pieces for civic programs such as the national anthem and *toque de bandera* (the flag song) and typical Mixe songs such as *dios nunca muere* and *jarabes y sones mixes*.

The installations of the CECAM have a crucial role for the dynamics of the rehearsals, because it contributes and allows the participation, not only for all members of the CECAM, but also of members of Tlahuitoltepec. Since there is not a clear separation between the installations of the CECAM and the

mountain, where the school is located, many children of the village go to the CECAM to play in the basketball court or in the green areas. Those children sometimes interacted with the students of the CECAM during the breaks, listen to the rehearsal of the band or listen to other students who are practising an instrument in the open areas. The fact, that the school and the mountain are melt without clear physical boarders, is a reflection of the *usos y costumbres* revealing the importance of the natural environment.

In the final rehearsal, the sub-director Inocencio gave both bands general indications about the festivity; he told the students where they can pick up the traditional clothes, that they will wear for the festivity, the time meeting point for those, who travel to Mexico City and for those who will stay in Tlahuitoltepec. Here are the remarkable aspects; firstly, the clothes were on loan from a traditional clothes' producer from Tlahuitoltepec; secondly, the Mixes have a different time as the official time zone because the Mixes do not follow the daylight saving time. These two aspects are relevant because they are part of the cultural identity of the Mixe people and it also shows the high degree of involvement of the whole Mixe community.

During this civil ceremony a very important section is dedicated to honour and salute the Mexican flag; during this section a military escort of six members marched with the flag; after that, the flag was flown by the escort and the flag song was sung by everyone present, who also had to present a salute. For this section, the CECAM selected a group of six students from the IMUCE and BAMCE levels to form the flag escort; they practised the protocol several times and were trained by a military physical education teacher. The flag escort practices worked in a similar way to the rehearsals, they took place on the basketball court and during the practices other members of the CECAM, as well as, children of Tlahuitoltepec were present and talked and joked with some members of the flag escort during the breaks.

On 15th September 2010, the Mexican Independence Day celebration began at 7:00 a.m. in Tlahuitoltepec with the flag ceremony on the town square; the flag escort of the CECAM marched while the *Banda Intermedia* played the flag song

that was sung by everyone, after that the Mexican National Anthem was sung. During the ceremony many persons of the Tlahuitoltepec village are present, including students of the primary and secondary schools of Tlahuitoltepec, adults and members of the local government. The members of the CECAM and many adults wore their traditional clothes, while the children who attended official school wore a white uniform which is designed by the SEP. In this point we can see a coloniality of knowledge practice by the SEP, determining an important cultural element, which – in this case – corresponds to the occidental tradition; the use of the white color as symbol of purity came from the occidental tradition and it is strongly linked to the catholic tradition.⁴²³

During the flag ceremony many symbols were present; the flag ceremony took place at the town square, which is surrounded by the Town Hall Building, the village church, an open area and a closed area where the *tianguis* (A *tianguis* is an open-air market, its roots well into the pre-Hispanic period; it was the most important form of commerce in the pre-Hispanic era) is located. The first one is a representative element of the Mexican government, the second one – a representative element of the catholic religion, and the last one – a representative element of the indigenous peoples.

The Flag Song was composed by Xóchitl Angélica Palomino y Contreras, born on January 3, 1932 in Mexico City; she was daughter of the official infantry and head of translators of the Presidential Military Staff Mariano Palomino Villaseñor. On November 12, 1853 the President Antonio López Santa Ana announced a competition to compose the Mexican National Anthem. The competition offered a prize for the best poetic composition. As a result of this, Francisco González Bocanegra and Jaime Nunó Roca composed the National Anthem between 1853 and 1854; the first one was born on January 8, 1824 in San Luis Potosí, Mexico and was son of the Spanish soldier José María González Yáñez and Francisca Bocanegra y Villalpando, while Jaime Nunó Roca was a Catalan composer, born on September 8, 1824 in Sant Joan de les Abadesses, in Catalonia, Spain. Both, the Flag Song and Mexican Nation

⁴²³ Eva Heller, *Psychologie de la couleur- effets et symboliques* (Paris: Pyramid, 2009).

Anthem, represent the patriotic ideals according to the post-revolutionary cultural policies; the translation of the Flag Song and Mexican Nation Anthem is presented below:

Toque de Bandera (Flag Song)

My flag rises in the mast like a sun between winds and warbles very inside in the temple of my veneration, I hear and feel happily my heart beating It's my flag, the national standard, These notes are its martial canticle.

From childhood we'll know how to venerate it and also for its love, to live! Venerable and sacred banner of our yearning like a ray of light rises to the sky flooding through its three-colored canvas our immortal being of fervour and homeland ardour.

It's my flag, the national standard; these notes are its martial canticle. Since children we'll know how to venerate it and also for its love, to die!

Mexican National Anthem

Mexicans, at the shout of war, make ready the steel and the bridle, and may the Earth tremble at its centres at the resounding roar of the cannon. and may the Earth tremble at its centres at the resounding roar of the cannon

Let gird, oh Fatherland!, your brow with olive by the divine archangel of peace, for in heaven your eternal destiny was written by the finger of God. But if some enemy outlander should dare to profane your ground with his sole, think, oh beloved Fatherland!, that heaven has given you a soldier in every son.

War, war without quarter to any who dare to tarnish the coats of arms of the country! War, war! Let the national banners be soaked in waves of blood. War, war! In the mountain, in the valley, let the cannons thunder in horrid unison and may the sonorous echoes resound with cries of Union! Liberty

Fatherland! Fatherland! Your children swear to you to breathe their last for your sake, if the bugle with its bellicose accent calls them together to battle with courage. For you, olive wreathes! A memory for them of glory! For you, a laurel of victory! A tomb for them of honour!

When the flag ceremony ended, some children, teachers and adults of both sexes cleaned the basketball court and the town square, preparing the stage for the evening events; at the same time, the *Banda Intermedia* played Mixe music while other CECAM students and teachers cleaned or packed some instruments and music stands. Here we can observe an egalitarian participation, which is typical for the Mixe *usos y costumbres*; this kind of dynamics are in contrast to those that are part of the official schools or with those that take place in a big city. In those cases, the teachers order the students what they have to do, but the teachers do not take part in the cleaning or setting the stage. There is a hierarchy based on gender and power roles, which have nothing to do with the skills of the members of the group; both teachers and student, are able to clean and to set the stage.

After the flag ceremony, the *Banda Intermedia* march towards the house of the *Señorita America* (Miss Americas) to take part in the *convite* that is organized by the family of the *Señorita America*. The *Señorita America* was chosen to lead the flag escort at night when the celebration ends; the escort consisted in the *Señorita America* and two teenage girls, all of them dressed in a long white ball gown and cape, while the *Señorita America* had also a crown and a sceptre. It is worth remembering that the *convite* is an indigenous tradition; a banquet offered to the attendees, thanking them for attending to the celebration. The *convite* is part of the *usos y costumbres*, where the whole community participates in the event, contributing in kind, money or labour; In this case the family of the *Señorita America*, family of the teenage girls escorts, friends and people from the village. During the *convite*: traditional Mixe food – maize food, frijol, *pulque*, atole, Mixe bread – was offered as breakfast and it was served in typical Mixe earthen glasses and plates.

The *Banda Intermedia* played diverse traditional Mixe songs until they arrived at

the *Señorita America* house, there the parents, family members and some neighborhoods received the *Banda Intermedia* and set the table for the breakfast, while the *Banda Intermedia* played *Las Mañanitas*: a traditional song sung in Mexico at birthday parties, usually before eating cake and especially as part of the custom of serenading women; the song was composed on basis of main theme of the *Rapsodia Mexicana número 2* by Manuel M. Ponce, Mexican composer and representative of the Musical Nationalism. It should be remembered that the Musical Nationalism in Mexico was part of the cultural policies of the Government in the post-revolutionary Mexico in the in order to clarify and to determine a National Identity.

When the *convite* ended, the *Banda Intermedia* returned to the installations of the CECAM to take a rest, because at night they played again. This particular situation is normally not part of the Independence Day celebration; it is the way in which the Mixe population of Tlahuitoltepec resume their traditions within a current national celebration, including the indigenous pre-Columbian, European and national Mexican elements, that is, the *convite*, the role of *Señorita America* and their escorts. The idea of *Señorita America* and her teenage girls escorts, reveals traces of the European and pre-Columbian culture; the term *Señorita* means not only youth, but also virginity: those elements have been very important in the pre-Columbian ceremonies, as well as in the catholic tradition, on the other hand, the type of her dress is similar to European princess or queen.

In the early evening, the *Banda Intermedia* played Mixe songs and marched towards the *Señorita America* house again, one more time Mixe food and drinks were offered, but this time more persons were present: friends of the family; the Banda of Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec; musical assessors, students and the *Banda Intermedia* of the CECAM; the whole family of the *Señorita America*, including aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents, etc. The *Banda Intermedia* and the *Banda Oficial de Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec* played during the dinner, alternating their participation. A central part of the dinner is the speech of the father of the *Señorita America*; his speech – in Mixe – is about the pride of the family to be part of the Independence Day celebration, he expressed his thanks

to all people who participate in the event and stressed the importance to maintain the Mixe traditions. At the end of the dinner the *Banda Intermedia* played Mixe songs accompanying Senorita America in her route to the town square, where everything is ready for the final event of the Independence Day festivity.

Here we could appreciate again Pre-Columbian, Mexican and Mixe culture elements that form the Mixe identity; the house was decorated with many national symbols; the most of the present men, all women, all children, and all members of CECAM dressed in Mixe clothes; Mixe and Spanish were spoken during the dinner; the participation of children, women and men in cooking, serving food, organizing; Mixe and Mexican music were played by both Bands; and, obviously, the figure of the Senorita America itself. The Derridean notions can also be seen during this musical activity; on the one hand, the breakfast and dinner offered to the *Banda Intermedia* was a gift to thank them for accompanying the *Señorita America*, while the songs played by the *Banda Intermedia* during the breakfast and dinner were a way of saying thanks for the breakfast and dinner. On the other hand, elements like the Mixe language and Mixe clothes related to the idea of *iterability* since both of them gained a different meaning depending on the situation in which they are reproduced; in many cases, Indigenous language and traditional clothes represent cultural lag, something to be ashamed of, while in the context of the Mexican Independence Day celebration in Tlahuitoltepec, both elements represent an important part of the culture of the Mixe people, therefore, they are sources of pride.

Despite of the importance of the *pulque* and *tepache* in the Indigenous festivities – *tepache* is derived from the Nahuatl word *tepiatl*, it was used by the Mayas as sacred beverage; on the other hand the *pulque* was a ritual drink, consumed during certain festivals, such as that of the Goddess *Mayahuel*, and the God *Mixcoatl* –, the CECAM students were not allowed to drink them, because they are alcoholic beverages.

During the dinner an anonymous woman asked a child why he answered all the time in Spanish the people with whom he spoke, even if they talked in Mixe. He mentioned that his parents talked to him in Mixe when he was very child, but he

spoke Spanish all the time in the school, because nobody spoke Mixe, so he felt more comfortable talking in Spanish because he was ashamed of speaking Mixe even with those school mates who could speak Mixe. We asked him if that situation happens often:

“Long time ago people did not want to talk in Mixe, because they were discriminated, if you talked Mixe, then some told you that you are an *indio*, and that was very bad, therefore many people tried to talk only Spanish, even the parents avoided to talk in Mixe with their children. But now it is different: people are happy to talk Mixe, then you feel proud about it, you can dress also your [Mixe] clothes [...] Many people say ‘I am Mixe’, but then you ask them to talk in Mixe but they cannot, so how can they say that they are Mixes.”

After the dinner, the *Banda Intermedia* and the *Senorita America* and its two girls escorts marched towards the village square, many persons followed the Banda and the *Senorita America*, while other people were waiting for them in the streets. The village square was decorated with figures of *papel picado* (perforated paper, a decorative craft, made of paper and cut into elaborate designs) and lights using the colors of the Mexican flag, small Mexican flags and some pictures of the Independence Mexican War, in this case the picture of Doña Josefa Ortiz and the Catholic priest Miguel Hidalgo.

Once *Senorita America* arrived to the village square, the final events started. The activities began with the presentation of dances and songs from diverse regions of Mexico, it is interesting to observe that any ‘professional’ performer took part in those events; all the songs and dances were performed by children and youth who attended the local primary and secondary school, while the only present adults were the music teacher of the primary school of Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec – who conducted the primary school Choir – and the musical assessor Victor Sabino, who performed as musician and conductor of the *Banda Intermedia*. The performed dances and songs from Oaxaca were: *Sones y jarabes Mixes*, *Bajo el cielo Mixe*, *Nereidas*, *Cancion Mixteca*, *Zandunga*, *Llorona*.

Besides of that, *sones jarocho*s, which are typical for Veracruz State, and

jarabes tapatios, which are typical from Guadalajara' state were performed. The program included the song *Cancion del Mariachi*, it was originally performed by the Spanish actor Antonio Banderas; this song was the main track from the American movie 'Desperado', a film about a Mariachi who wants to kill a drug dealer. The song resume many stereotypes of the Mexican people. Another song that is worth to noting is: *Mexico Lindo y Querido*: it was composed by Chucho Monge in 1921. The song is strongly influenced by the Government's cultural policies looking for a National Identity.

My beautiful and beloved Mexico should I die far from you let them say
I'm asleep and bring me back to you
Let them say I'm asleep and bring me back to you my beautiful and
beloved Mexico should I die far from you
Let them bury me in the mountains at the foot of the *magueyales* and let
this soil cover me, this soil which is a cradle for upright men

As it can be seen, the festivity includes diverse music genres that are part of the musical activity of the Mixe population, promoting the contact with other music types of those music genres and allowing the transformation of the musical culture of the Mixe people. Besides of that, the presence of diverse musical genres is indicative of tolerance, participation and openness by the Mixe people. This also relates to the Derridean notion of trace and *l'avenir*: the inclusion of the diverse music expressions that have been part of the past and present of the Mixe people, allowing the 'to come' of the Mixe music in the real future.

During its musical participation, the *Banda Intermedia* played the *Toque de Bandera*, the Mexican National Anthem, the *Sones y Jarabes Mixes* and an arrangement of Carlos Santana rock version of *Oye como va* – originally composed by Tito Puente – that included the use of drum set and a choreography. The inclusion of *Oye como va* relates to the Idea of Hospitality because the *Banda Intermedia* receive a guest into its musical practice – other musical genre – and thus, transforming both of them; a rock music work and the choreography are elements that normally are not a part of the Mixe bands, on the other hand, the rock song *Oye como va* underwent a transformation as

consequence of the Mixe understanding of music.

The final part of the celebration consisted in the coronation of the *Senorita America*, who was accompanied by her escorts. After the coronation, the *Senorita America* and her escorts went to pick up the flag while the *Banda Intermedia* played the *Toque de Bandera* which was sung by everyone. After that, the municipal president repeated a shout of patriotism based on the *Grito de Dolores*, with the names of the important heroes of the Mexican War of Independence who were included on that very historical moment, and ending with the threefold shout of *¡Viva México!*

Mexicans!

Long live the heroes that gave us the Fatherland (and liberty)!

Long live Hidalgo!

Long live Morelos!

Long live Josefa Ortiz de Dominguez!

Long live Allende!

Long live Galena and the Bravos!

Long live Aldama and Matamoros!

Long live National Independence!

Long live Mexico! Long live Mexico! Long live Mexico

After that, everyone sung the National Anthem led by the *Senorita America* and her escorts and accompanied by the *Banda Intermedia*, the festivity ended when the Anthem ended.

d. The Daily Life in the CECAM

Outside the classroom we observed Donato and Hector Gabriel waiting for the beginning of the solfeggio class; after chatting a little bit, Donato took his guitar and sang *Canción Mixteca*; an Oaxacan song composed by José López Alavez between 1912 and 1915. The song is about feelings of homesickness for his home region of Oaxaca after moving to Mexico City. Donato sang this song very often during the time that we were in the CECAM and during the interview with him; he told us that he missed his village a lot. This will be discussed further in the Interviews' section.

Canción Mixteca:

How far I am from the land where I was born! Immense nostalgia invades my thoughts; And seeing myself so lonely and sad like a leaf in the wind, I want to cry, I want to die from this feeling. Oh Land of the Sun! I yearn to see you! Now that I'm so far from you, I live without light and love; And seeing myself so lonely and sad like a leaf in the wind, I want to cry, I want to die from this feeling

When Donato finished the song, Hector Gabriel started singing the song *Corazon de Roca* – composed by Gabriel Luna de la Fuente, Mexico 1942 – but out of tune, then Donato started playing and singing at the same time, in this moment Hector Gabriel also watched how Donato changed the chords, tried to follow the rhythmic pattern and achieved to sing more accurately the tones. When they finished singing, they laughed, took their bags and instruments and enter to the classroom for the solfeggio lesson. In other similar situation, Teobaldo, Ludovico and Maria were in a meadow, sitting on the ground and also singing *Corazon de Roca*; they had only two guitars, so they alternated playing the instruments. One more time the three students learned from each other, through observation and repetition; everyone gave specific indications to others. In certain moments they asked directly how to play a section, how is the rhythm, the chords or the lyrics, in this case, one of them played the referred section, but did not give any specific explication or indication, the same process was repeated with the Mexican rock song *La celula que explota* by Caifanes, 1990. During the entire activity they laughed or commented something about another topic; the whole episode occurred in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere and with the Mixe mountains landscape and sounds of the farm animals in the background.

The dormitory is another important place for the activities of the children and youth of the CECAM. The dormitories are 3 big rooms with several bunk beds and with shared bathrooms; one of those rooms is smaller and is assigned to girls and to younger children. In the dormitories we could find students who were taking a break alone in their beds, making their homework, organizing their personal belongings or making music together or in-group. As example of

the musical activity in the dormitories, we can mention the situation in which Donato played together with two other students, while three more students were listening. The first song they played was an original composition from the student Edilberto; he composed the song as homework for the guitar lesson, Edilberto played the song and sang while Donato and the other student played the chords. After playing the song, they laughed – we don't know if they laugh because they were nervous or only happy –, then they decided what song they play: Donato proposed to play a song of his region, a *Chilena*, but it seems that the other two students did not know the song, so Donato told the chords and played the rhythm, while the others tried to follow him, after a while they seemed to be ready and they started the song, all three played the guitar but only Donato sang.

These kind of situations were often repeated by practically all students of the CECAM; we could appreciate how the advanced students play together trumpet, trombone or saxophone, they practised songs which were part of some homework or sometimes songs that they just like, in these cases the fact that they learned from each other was also part of the dynamic. It is interesting to see that it was not usual the even the advanced students gave a precise indication when they were 'teaching' a song to another students or helping with technical problem; they still repeated the same process of observation, listening and imitation. Besides the fact that the students learn from each other and the way in which they do it, it is also important to remark that through these ways of practices, the students could get to know the music from other indigenous regions; they could also get to know some part of the culture of those regions, since the songs very often mention some cultural distinctive features of the daily life and how the people perceive their own environments.

The video recording of the non-curricular musical activities, as well as, the curricular ones were not a problem for the CECAM student; actually they were more shy and nervous during other activities, as was the case with the interviews, the video recording, or like the cooking activities, cleaning activities, and farm activities. Obviously, there are many factors that influence this, but the fact that CECAM students were more relaxed and seemed to be more confident

in the musical activities is indicative that those activities are not of an exceptional character.

Besides of the musical activities, the CECAM members carry out cleaning, keeping up, cooking and farm tasks. In case of the students, those activities are scheduled; every day between five and six o'clock in the morning the students carry out specific cooking, farm and cleaning tasks, while on Saturday and Sunday mornings the tasks are different. The way, in which all that assignments are organized, corresponds to the *Mixe usos y costumbres*: all tasks have a value for the whole school, the organization is undertaken by the whole music school, every task is assigned every time to different persons, the activities have a holistic character since they are linked to each other, the natural environment is taken into consideration, the activities are not a mere obligation but a need, that is, the task has not to be done because it is imposed; they shall be done because the community is completely convinced of their necessity.

Around 4 a.m. the action in the CECAM begins: many students wake up to practice a little bit their instrument before they begin with their chores. The weekdays activities are cooking, cleaning and to feed the farm animals; every week a different group of students is chosen to undertake each task in collaboration with the assessors, at the beginning of every school year it is the director or sub-director, the assessors of the dormitories and the students determine the way in which the distribution of the work will be done. The students that shall take part in the cooking task, which begins by preparing the maize *tortillas*, the preparation of the *tortillas* takes place in a special place outside the dinner room and the kitchen: the night before the maize kernels are boiled in a solution of lime and water to remove their skin is boiled, the next morning two students grind the boiled maize in a mil, while another group of students knit the maize dough, another group of students makes golf ball-sized piece of dough, which are patted down by hand into a thin pancake shape by other students, then, other students place the *tortillas* on a *comal* (a hot griddle) and cook them on both sides, one kitchen adviser is always present and helps in the diverse phases of the production, but especially in the last one. When the *tortillas* are ready, they are wrapped in embroidered napkins, put into

baskets and taken to the kitchen inside the dinner room, there are other students to help preparing the breakfast, they prepared the ingredients to be used by the selected dish of the day and which is cooked by another kitchen assessor; they cut or wash vegetables, make *salsas* (spicy sauces) and also set the table.

When everything is ready another group of students serves the food and beverages – *Champurrado* (cacao, almonds, sugar, water and maize), *Chocolate de Leche* (cacao, almonds sugar and milk), *Chocolate de Agua* (cacao, almonds sugar and water) or *Café de olla* (coffee, *piloncillo* - it is made from pure, unrefined sugar that is pressed into a cone shape – and cinnamon) and all together eat breakfast. During breakfast students listen to music with their mobile phones or with a Radio-CD-player that is part of the dinner room, at the end of the breakfast every student has to clean his dishes, while those of the clean commission have to clean the whole kitchen and dinner room; parallel to this, another commission feeds the hens, wild turkeys, goats, dogs and the cat. Every student has to finish his commission until 8 a.m., when the lessons begin.

Besides of that the food scraps are used to feed the animals, the CECAM tries to maximize the use of all natural resources; the rain water is collected and used in the cleaning activities. It is also worth noting that the hygiene and health is very important, therefore the water used to wash the dishes, to cook and to feed the animals is drinking water, besides that, every student of the CECAM has assigned an individual cup and cutlery. The *tortillas*, vegetables, sauces and frijoles that are left, are used to make other dishes for the next day; for example, the *tortillas* are dried and then fried, then, the remaining *salsa* is used to make a kind of green spicy cream that is needed for *chilaquiles*, the animals are fed using the food scraps. In the CECAM *tortillas*, chillies, and beans are eaten every day; those foods have been the alimentary base of the Indigenous peoples since the Pre-Columbian era, this is very important, because it allows the daily preparation of traditional dishes.

On weekends the tasks are variable depending on the needs of the CECAM;

mowing the lawn, cleaning the dormitories, cleaning the classrooms, maintenance of instruments, maintenance of the furniture of the school, organisation of the music archive, fetching water in case of water scarcity. During the first week of our stay in the CECAM the whole municipality of Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec faced a major problem of water scarcity; two students told us, that it is usual to have that kind of problems in the village as well as black-outs, in this cases they shall carry water like the rest of the people of the village, until the problem is resolved by the people themselves. If the problem is too complicated, the community has to find a temporary solution until the government resolves the entire problem, this takes normally a lot of time. The tasks on weekends last generally the entire morning, when they are done the students use the rest of the day to wash their clothes, to go to the town center to call their family or just for a walk; the meeting point is the open air basketball court just between the *tianguis*, the church and the town hall, there people of the whole municipality meet for a walk, to attend the mass, to buy food, DVDs, CDs – most of them illegal copies, since they are cheaper as the original ones – , traditional food, traditional handicraft and clothes. Some students have even a weekend job helping the local farmers; other students remain in the CECAM watching movies in the dinner room, playing basketball, playing an instrument talking to each other or listening to music.

e. The CECAM as *Community* MUSIC practice

In the curriculum of the CECAM it is possible to find many features that have been part of the Community Arts and *Community* MUSIC. The activity of the CECAM arose due to the wish to cover the needs of the Mixe community, which have been ignored or despised by the official government. The Curriculum makes a reflection about the problems of the community and their context, it does not only consider musical issues but the whole culture of Oaxaca State. The CECAM is conscious about the lack of musical instructors and teachers and the consequences for the community.

‘Justification’ and ‘Current problematic’ section:

- Many Philharmonic Bands of the communities have disappeared, and there is the risk that Philharmonic Bands continue disappearing, in

fact, many Philharmonic Bands of the communities have disappeared because of the urban migration.

- It is very expensive for the communities to fully finance a Philharmonic Band.
- There is a lack of attention to cultural values of the Indigenous Peoples in context of the National Education.

As a *Community* MUSIC activity, the CECAM is aware of the power of the art to transform the Mixe communities and to change the lives of the Indigenous peoples; this fact is one characteristic feature of community arts activity. In the *Community* MUSIC practice of the CECAM, all the members of the school and the community work are in creative partnership, in order to articulate, engage and address the needs, experience and aspirations of the Mixe, and recently, of the Oaxacan indigenous communities, and which has one of the aim: to ensure the existence and develop of their culture of equality.

‘Justification’ and ‘Pedagogical Foundations’ sections:

- It responds to our culture and needs as Indigenous Peoples of Oaxaca.
- It encourages the participation of our communities in the construction, operation and evaluation of our own communal models.
- It combines the richness and opportunity afforded by our fifteen cultures and Indigenous Peoples of Oaxaca.
- To conceptualize ways of life: economic organization, geographic location and our governmental structure, which is based on community, equity and honorary posts, which are given according to the acts of the persons.

As we already said, Community Arts encourage active participation by ordinary people rejecting the trend towards passive consumption in all the other areas. The CECAM aims to being closer to the Indigenous communities, where the school is located and from the communities where their students originate, enabling Indigenous people to express their feelings, experiences and aspirations. It is also very important to remark that the curriculum of the CECAM

stresses the importance of using the local way to understand the music education, but is also open for new approaches, as the community artists understood. The CECAM is aware that aspects of their work cannot be replaced from one context to another; the meaning of the work is situated within the locality.

Justification' and 'Pedagogical foundations' sections:

- It encourages the participation of our communities in the construction, operation, and evaluation of our own communal models.
- It comes from our educative proposals and experiences since 1979 up to now.
- It integrates different types, modalities and methods of education.
- The children's learning is essentially as a social process, fostering their physical, emotional, and communicative skills.

As a *Community* MUSIC, the CECAM values everyone's participation and considers Music as an integral part of social life and goes against the Eurocentric perspective, which separates the diverse spheres of the social life in separate worlds. As *Community* MUSIC, the CECAM emphasizes participation, planning, organizing, composing, as well as singing and playing, it also creates occasions for skill exchange, and, as a consequence, values group activities. In context of *Community* MUSIC, the musical assessors of the CECAM are a resource offering skills, ideas and support. As Community musicians, all the members of the CECAM are concerned with additional social purposes rather than music for music's sake and attempt to instil among the CECAM students the same idea. As a *Community* MUSIC project the CECAM offer physical resources to outside individuals or groups who cannot afford the costs of education.

'Pedagogical Foundations' and 'Graduates profile' sections:

- The CECAM offers free full board accommodation for students in extreme poverty.
- The plural application of diverse teaching technique and evaluation technique by teachers, in their role as facilitators and close musical friends.

- To conceptualize ways of life: economic organization, geographic location and our governmental structure, which is based on community, equity and honorary posts, which are given according to the actions of the persons.
- To take part in familiar activities.
- To interrelate with children and adults.
- To acquire cultural values through socialization processes over the life of the individuals.
- To play his instrument in a very acceptable way
- To play two concerts with the Philharmonic Band or with the Orchestra

As *Community MUSIC*, the CECAM activity reflects the context in which it takes place, it also embraces and respects the diverse world of musical styles and contexts and offers opportunities for an active participation in making and creating music. The CECAM has an aim to educate students whose profile is sharing many aspects of community musicians who liked to be interested in social purposes rather than music for the music's sake. The CECAM aspires to educate students whose musical practices lie in partnerships where any professional input is biased towards enabling, rather than leading; as it is also the case of *Community MUSIC* activities:

‘Applicants’ profile’ and ‘Graduates’ profile’ sections:

- To be conscious that he belongs to a community and Indigenous people with a specific history and cultural richness.
- To revalue and to foster the development of the organization forms and systems of the Indigenous peoples.
- To foster and strengthen the cooperation, coexistence, coeducation and critical reflection of his culture and the Indigenous rights.
- Identify and perform with a creative and dynamic attitude diverse musical genres.

The Solfeggio and Choir lessons reveal features of *Community MUSIC*: The teachers do not have role of omnipotent teachers, but a facilitator role, where

the musical assessors shall be as 'musical close friends,' stressing the personal relationship between the musical assessors and the students, this relationship goes beyond the power relation between teacher and student in context of the colonality of knowledge perspective. The use of traditional music for the creation of the Intonation method corresponds to the *Community MUSIC* idea that does not make division between the academic education and the popular music; on the other hand, the inclusion of other methods which are usually used in the conservative music education is an act of openness and inclusion, which is also a characteristic of the *Community MUSIC* practices.

The way in which the lessons are carried on, not only in the Solfeggio and Choir lesson but also in all other subjects, is shared by the *Community MUSIC* practices: the role of the teacher as facilitator instead of a unique omnipotent leader; dialogue; egalitarian participation and reflection are the base for the conduction of the class. Those lessons dynamics respond to the context of the Mixe culture and tradition instead of reproducing the educational practices of other contexts without any kind of reflection; this is clearly evident in the fact that at the beginning and at the end of the choir and solfeggio lessons, the students and the musical assessors together prepare the classroom for the lesson; they order the chairs, move the piano, organize and distribute the notes, clean the classroom, etc.

It is also evident in the repertoire and musical exercises which are used in all the subjects; the whole musical material is strongly connected with the diverse activities of the Mixe community, as it was showed, almost all the repertoire is applied to other musical activities, both, as part of the musical activity of the CECAM, and as part of the musical activity of the village. The pieces that are sung are also often played by the *Banda Intermedia* or the *Banda Oficial*, or are listened by the students outside the lessons, or played in the local radio of the villages, the religious and civic repertoire is part of the religious and civic festivities of the region. All these features of the lessons are related to the world vision and *usos y costumbres* of the Mixe people; the re-contextualization and repetition of the repertoire and its traces, signs and meanings are related to the Derridean notion of *iterability* and *intertextuality*.

Instead of prioritizing a foreign way to learn music, the CECAM emphasizes those processes that are common to the musical activity of the students in their communities: this is, the way in which they learn and self--manage the learning process, this types of dynamics are present in the way in which popular musicians learn. For example, during the choir and solfeggio lessons the students decided the order of participation to execute a lessons, while other students were sitting or standing, practising, talking or joking, but at some point, when it was getting too noisy the students themselves asked the other ones to be quiet.

The fact, that the technical and theoretical features are not the base of the musical education, relates to the way in which the Indigenous Music has been taught until now – one has to remember the role of the family, friends and *escoletas* in the Indigenous Music of Oaxaca – learning through listening, watching and coping/playing. Besides these elements the learning dynamics demand a continuous dialogue, participation, initiative and reflection on the part of the students and musical assessors, this is clear when Omar, for example, asked the student ‘what happened here? Why it did not work this part?’ But the musical assessors do not only question the students; they also encourage them to participate without the feeling of being judged; the mistake is not the most important thing.

“Silvestre: Can you do the exercise from bar number ‘x’?”

Student: I cannot do it.

Silvestre: Why not?

Student: I don’t know, it is difficult.

Silvestre: Just try to play the exercise until the end, try to play the whole exercise until the end, it does not matter if you have some mistakes, but you have to try.”

Omar comments:

“They already know what is a whole note, an eight note or $\frac{3}{4}$ time signature, but many times the still cannot do something, even if they know how it works, so the only way is to try to do it again and again [...] I tell them why it does not work, or what they can do to make it work, but It

is the same here; if they do not try, they will never be able to do it.”

In the harmony, counterpoint and composition lessons the importance of the group participation can be seen; in the theoretical subjects the group participation does not only depend on the lack of human and economical resources; it is strongly linked to Indigenous culture. The students work together in a composition as well as they sing together a song in the dormitories, as well as they learn a song in the open areas of the music school, and as well as they play together in the musical services of the CECAM in the Indigenous communities.

In the theoretical classes are present the diverse traces that compose the musical activity of the Indigenous peoples of Mexico, as well as the openness for the ‘to come.’ In those lessons the dualism of Indigenous Music tradition/non-Indigenous Music tradition (which can be reduced to European Music) is present, which is supported and preserved by categories, which are disrupted and displaced; this is, the traces of each part of the duality. The presence of those traces allows the ‘to come’ of the Indigenous Music, which it is impossible to determine in the present; those traces in combination with the *différance* and the indecisive provide the necessary conditions for the Indigenous Music as the *l’avenir*. The lack of intention of the CECAM to define clear boundaries between the musical genres, which are related to the Indigenous music tradition, and the theoretical information, which are related to the European music tradition, within the musical practices of the composition, harmony and counterpoint lessons are in concordance with the Derridean notion of the undecidable and *différance*. Also characteristics of *Community MUSIC* practices are present in these theoretical subjects: there is communal participation by composing songs, counterpoint and harmony exercises, or by reviewing them in the class; this group participation requires an egalitarian participation and constant dialogue between the whole class, including the musical assessor. The fact that the students have freedom to choose what kind of musical genres do they want to compose, which kind of musical features they want to include and how to use the theoretical information for its compositions and exercises reveal a high degree of initiative, creativity and openness

towards *other* musical material and towards *other* ways to carry out the theoretical subjects.

It has been indicated that some features of the *Community* MUSIC are egalitarian participation, reflection, initiative, as well as the Derridean notion of trace, iterability, intertextuality and *différance*; all those features are part of the whole activity of the CECAM, some of them have been already discussed in the context of solfeggio, choir, composition, counterpoint and harmony subjects, but those *Community* MUSIC features are present also in historic subjects. Firstly, the way, in which the lessons are carried on – as research workshop – required constant initiative, participation and reflection from the students. Secondly, as Victor Sabino stated, until now the subject history of the Mexican Music in the country has focused on the classical music ignoring *other* musical practices, those *other* musical practices are an integral part of the Mexican identity and are incorporated into the subject of History of the Mexican Music. As it have been stated, in the Mexican music and Indigenous Music many signs have been repeated and re-contextualized – not only musical – that came from diverse cultural traditions, generating new meanings, musical genres and relations between the involved actors; the rise of those meanings, musical genres, new articulations and new relations forms can be explained through the Derridean notion of trace, iterability, intertextuality and *différance*, and at the same time. Therefore, the *Otros/Others* that have been ignored by official curricula are present as Derridean indecisive in the subjects of history of de Mexican Music and History of the Regional Music.

The historical subjects in the CECAM include the music that has been taught in the official schools and the music that has been ignored, this shows that the character of plurality and tolerance, but also shows that the CECAM is conscious that all that music is related – to varying degree – to the Oaxacan indigenous music. The fact that the History of the Regional Music has been added as response to the curiosity of the students shows, again, that the education in the CECAM is constantly in transformation and that it attempts to cover the needs of the whole members of the CECAM affecting also the communities of the students.

Now the analysis will focus on the elements of *Community* MUSIC, which are present in the instrumental lessons. In the guitar and piano lessons, the role of the musical assessor as Facilitator should be stressed, who encourages the initiative, participation and reflection of the students and also helps them to resolve the students problems is a sign of *Community* MUSIC, as well as the fact that the students select the songs that will be sung in group; by establishing collectively the songs that are sung, as well as by practising in group, the students of the guitar lessons reveal features of *Community* MUSIC. The music-making is also prioritized over technical and theoretical aspects; the technical and theoretical are considered within the music-making, but never alone and separate of the music-making. In this regard, the music-teaching, music-learning, music-watching, music-listening, music-copying, music-performing, music-composing exists simultaneously within the music-making. This approach is strongly linked to the world view of the Indigenous who have a holistic approach about the reality.

Issues related to the social and individual contexts are present in the guitar and piano lessons; those issues are expressed through a reflection and creativity process in the compositions of the students. By expressing and reflecting about personal experiences, feelings, social and natural environment, the students and their composition in the guitar lessons reveal that the music experience consists not only in mere acoustic phenomena, but is inherent to the diverse human activity spheres; therefore the personal, social, nature context is a condition of the composed songs. Even if these contexts are not directly subject of the song lyrics; these contexts provide the condition for the composition of the songs: in this regard the context, in its capacity as Derridean *subjectile*, belongs to the song either as condition for the composition process or as them for the song lyrics.

In the curriculum of the CECAM the guitar had the same function as the piano in the music Universities and Conservatories that follow a Classical curriculum: to help the students to understand and explore in a practical way issues concerning the counterpoint, harmony and composition. The fact that the CECAM chose the guitar for this purpose reveals the importance of the needs

and traditions of the community for the CECAM activity.

“The guitar is a very popular instrument in the Mixe communities; in the Regional music the guitar is used very often, that’s why we decided to include the guitar subject in the Curriculum, it is a very important subject for the development of the students because the guitar is very close to the music that we made here and also because the guitar is a relatively cheap instrument compared to the piano.”

In the activities related to the *Banda Intermedia* and *Banda Oficial* a high degree of participation of the dynamics of the classes can also be seen; the self-regulation of the diverse moments of which the following lessons consist: practising, talking, joking, listening. The rehearsals of both bands works as the manoeuvre of *Community MUSIC* within the rhizomatic structure of intertextual connections that provides the place that makes possible dynamics that can be understood from the Derridean notions of the guest-*Other* and the gift. When a student, who normally is part of the *Banda Oficial*, changes his role to become a teacher or a conductor of the *Banda Intermedia*, or when he plays the same instrument or another instrument in the *Banda Intermedia* a new chain of signs start, affecting both groups, the original group of the students as well as the recipient group; those cases are coinciding with the deconstruction notion of hospitality and rhizome. Besides of this, the circular dynamic of interchange that take place in *Community MUSIC* teaching practices occur in the CECAM through those role interchanges where the student gives instead of only receiving; the student can only give because he received and vice versa, this dynamic occurs also with dualism student/musical assessor, because – as the musical assessors stated – the musical assessors receive a feedback from the students. Therefore, the musical practices within the context of both bands remark the bilateral character and the ever-changing nature of *Community MUSIC*’s practice.

The Derridean thoughts of guest-*Other* and the *subjectile* is present not only in the activities that involved the *Banda Intermedia* and *Banda Oficial*, but also in the collaboration of foreign musicians with the CECAM. The way in which the musical activity of the CECAM is carried out creates the necessary place/space

in which the guest-*Other* musicians are hosted through workshops and master classes; the CD productions are also an example of this, where diverse music genres and their features, traces, signs and meanings are included. The hosting of guest-*Other* in the CECAM ratifies the condition of *l'avenir* in the *Community MUSIC* practice of the CECAM; the hosting of musical guests allow the 'to come' of new CD productions, of changes in the curriculum, of new modes and manners to experience the musical activity that goes beyond simply playing an instrument. Under the rubric of the *subjectile*, the participation of guest-*Other* musicians changes constantly the context and boundaries of the CECAM, providing it the necessary condition to receive new guests-*Others*.

In the activity of the *Banda Intermedia* and *Banda Oficial* the community aspect is very important: not only because the participation of students, musical assessors and guest musicians, but also because the participation of the CECAM in the activities of the region such as the commemoration of the bicentenary of the Mexican Independence Day. The presence and interaction of children and adults of Tlahuitoltepec during the rehearsals of the *Banda intermedia* and *Banda Oficial* are an indicator of that communal character of the Mixe population that does not establish fixed boundaries and limits, the participation of the context – people and environment – is inherent part of the Mixe culture. The context also allows the CECAM students to have close contact with many elements that build their cultural identity; the repertoire that is played during the CECAM participation in the festivity of the Mexican Independence Day included Mixe music, music related to civic festivities, Mexican music that was created according the post-revolutionary thoughts and own arrangements of Rock music.

On the other hand, the inclusion of other music genres is linked to the notion of *intertextuality* and *iterability* because the repetition of the repertoire in diverse contexts, through this repetition and re-contextualization, the diverse meanings of the musical practice were reinforced, transformed or newly generated. The Derridean *intertextuality* and *iterability* do not only influence the CECAM but the whole community; for example, it is not the same for the listeners to hear the flag song or the national anthem played by a military band, as to hear them

being played by the bands of the CECAM, because there are so many elements involved which have diverse meanings like the clothes, the instruments, the role of the performers in the community, etc.

Through this kind of experiences, the students of the CECAM have the opportunity to be in contact with other features beyond the music, but always linked to the music; the students of the CECAM are concerned with other social purposes rather than just music: they have the chance to experience from the first hand diverse traces, chain signs, meanings and relations that compose the Indigenous identity and are present in the social context of the Mixe. The students of the CECAM also experience the result of the encounter of those cultural and social elements; in fact, they are part of those elements and, at the same time, generators of cultural and social changes, by transforming their context, the CECAM transforms also itself. Community, transformation, participation, matters beyond the mere acoustic phenomena and openness towards changes are features of the *Community MUSIC*; all those features are present in the participation of the CECAM in the activities of diverse Oaxacan communities.

The instrumental activity, which occurs outside the context of the lessons, are evident *Community MUSIC* practices: the way in which the students play and learn songs from each in the dormitories, in the open areas of the school or in the classroom have all features of *Community MUSIC*: participation and community features are clearly present when the students play a song together or learn a song from each other, but also when they play or practice and individual exercise or song, because this happens in areas where other students are practising as well. The Derridean gift is also present when the student receive advices from other students about how to play a passage in a song or exercise or when they learn from other students new songs: it has to be stressed that in the moment when a student learns/plays a new song which can be from other Indigenous people, he is in contact with the patterns that are in the musical piece. Equalitarian participation is also present when the students take turns to choose the next song to play, when they take turns to use the piano, the guitar, or any other instrument when there are not enough

instruments for all participants. Iterability and Intertextuality are also present through the repetition of the songs sung by the students in diverse contexts. For their part, the students are subjectile, because they create the context where they interact and at the same time are subject of those interactions that are articulated through an equalitarian participation.

The individual experiences of the CECAM students also confirm musical activity of the CECAM as *Community MUSIC*. Features like community, openness, change, and Derridean guest and *iterability* are present in the words of Teobaldo. The influence of Teobaldo's interest in other kind of music genres can be understood from the Derridean notion of guest, iterability and *l'avenir*; Teobaldo receives – as guest – in his musical life other music genres, which transform his musical life but also transform the context, in which his musical life takes place, generating – *l'avenir* – new meanings, new chains of meaning, relations, etc. The repetition of the metal music, for instances, in other contexts such as Teobaldo's village, Teobaldo's circle friends, Teobaldo's family and the CECAM under the notion of the guest, iterability and intertextuality allows those transformations. In Teobaldo's words also can be seen an open and respectful attitude towards other music styles.

“At the beginning I knew countrymen that studied here, they liked the music also and they did encourage me: he told me that here one can learn very well the Mixe music but also other things, because when the *Banda Oficial* plays in different *servicios* [the tasks that are made in context of the *tequio* are very often called *servicios*] they play also music from other regions or sometimes they also play with other musicians like rock bands, and because my dream is to master the percussions and to know other music styles I decided to come here...”

“When I listen to music, my favorite style is metal music; all the varieties of metal music [...] Until now I was unable to play metal music, it is very hard and I have not had the opportunity until now, I need to practice more [...] I encountered metal music through my nephew, he showed me that music. I felt attracted by the sound of the guitar, the drum, the bass guitar, everything; I yearned to play that music one day, then I will play

the drums [...] Nobody criticizes me because of the music that I listen to. My family tells me that if my dream is to play one day that music, then I must go on, they will support me; my friends also do not make fun of me.”

“There is only one music style that I do not like at all: reggaeton. [We asked directly what is his opinion about that music style] Well, I have no opinion, I do not know what to say; I have no opinion about that music, I just do not like it. But if somebody criticizes the music I listen or tells me that I shall not listen to my music, then I could say him the same, but if he respects the music I like, then I have no reason to say him something about his music. Everyone has his own preferences, everyone has his own way of being.”

The reflection about the context, the problems and needs of a community as mechanism to find solutions is a feature of the *Community MUSIC*. The CECAM, as context, offers Teobaldo the possibility for the reflection about the situation of his community: himself and his family.

“To leave my family was very hard. I am not with them and therefore sometimes I feel sad and alone here, I have nobody to talk when I am sad; here you have good times, but also bad times... To remember my parents makes me sad, because I can not help them, also to think about my health problem makes me sad; now that I have the opportunity to study in the CECAM appears that problem, that makes me sad [...] I have a health problem, it calls chronic esophagitis [...] Now I regret doing the things I did, when I drank alcohol; it was wrong and now I am paying the price, it is something that hurts me now. It was wrong because of the psychological and physical damage and now I’m seeing it. My parents are worried about that, they scolded me because I did not hear them, when they told me that it was wrong that I drink [alcohol], but they support me now to overcome this problem.”

“My problems with the alcohol began when I was 10 years old, I stopped drinking when I was 12 years old, but I started again when I was 14 years

old, and when I was 16 years old I drank almost everyday. At that time I played almost every day, then I played from party to party, and I was not living with my parents because we played in other villages, so there was nobody who told me ‘this is wrong.’”

But the CECAM is context but also became – as subjectile – part of the solution by helping Teobaldo to deal with his health problem and by prohibiting the ingest of alcohol in the CECAM installations as well as in the activities outside the school in which the CECAM takes part, even if those alcoholic beverages are part of the Indigenous traditions of the *convites y calendas*; the alcohol is a Derridean undecidable because, depending of the situation to which it is related, the context instigates changes in the meaning and the way, in which those alcoholic beverages – as signs – are usually read.

This also shows, that although it is true that the CECAM attempts to maintain the Indigenous Mixe traditions, the CECAM considers the tradition as living and changing, which is built and transformed by the community; for the Indigenous world of view, the community shall not adapt itself to a static tradition, therefore the CECAM – as *Community MUSIC* – attempts to transform itself and its community.

“When I knew about my health problem, I thought ‘I am going to be ok,’ so I decided to concentrate only on the CECAM, now I am taking the medication to get better, last Friday I was at the Hospital in Tamazulapan, an assessor of the CECAM accompanied me. [In the hospital] they checked me and gave me a new appointment for September 25; they will control if the pain is not too intense and if the wound is getting better. They told me that if it is not getting better then they have to intubate me to see how bad the wound is and to change the treatment, so the wound can heal.”

“My classmates do not know that I am sick, but they notice that I am taking medication, but they do not know exactly what I have. The physic education teacher knows it; I had to tell him because I got tired very fast during the class and he asked me why. At the beginning I did not know

which problem exactly I have; I thought it was asthma, but after the check with the doctor I knew it was esophagitis, so the teacher knew also, then he asked me if I would like to be the commander in the flag escort instead to make other sport exercises [...] I get along very well with him, we just started with our friendship, and we are only beginning to know each other.”

The reflection about the context and its problems can be seen also in the personal experiences of Ludovico, who also has to deal with a health problem with the CECAM help.

“I had a problem with my kidneys, one of them do not work properly, and then it was very hard for me to work. At the beginning I thought it was normal that I get too tired, but later on it got worse; one day I started to have a nervous breakdown and two times I even fainted, then I went to the hospital, they made some analysis and gave me a treatment and now I am better, I have it under control [we asked him ‘does the CECAM know about your problem?’] The sports teacher knows, also the director, other two musical assessors and some classmates, so I have enough nurses here [laugh].”

Both Teobaldo and Ludovico reflect about their goals for the future, both of them have something in common: they are convinced they cannot know how it is going to be the future. According to the Derridean *l’avenir*, Teobaldo and Ludovico do not know how their musical activity is going to be in the future, but they know that things change all the time. On the other hand, they consider that the listener – the Derridean *Other* – is very important for their musical activity, this is in contrast to the Eurocentric conception of the ‘high art’ where the artist focuses his activity on himself and in the technical perfection of the work and sees the audience as a passive recipient.

Ludovico:

“Well, I think it is not really possible that I know how I am going to be in the future; I would not have even imagined that I wanted to be a musician and now I am here [laugh] I think I would like to be a good musician; for me to be a good musicians does not mean to play good your instrument,

but to feel the music; it is not enough to read and play the notes; one has to express the music with the whole body. There are persons that play good, but they do not touch you; you are not attracted to the sounds that those musician produce. There are persons who even if they do not play excellently, you are attracted to their music, they evoke a lot of feelings and, for me, a good musician is like that.”

Teobaldo:

“I do not know how I am going to be in the future because my goals could change; one time you can think something but the next year the things are going to be better, then I will change my mind and I will wish other things and other goals. So, the years are going to go by and then I will achieve goals that I had not thought before. I can say that in the future I will be more capable of music, but now I cannot imagine what exactly I am going to do. My current goal is to play in a Band, to know all the diverse percussion instruments, this is my motivation right now.”

The words of Ludovico and Donato stress the importance of the relation Community-Music; Ludovico’s words confirm the previous description about the music life in the CECAM, while Donato words are related to the role of community – in this case his family – in learning to play an instrument and the role of the music in his family life; the music and the traditional crafts are distinguishing marks of his family.

Donato:

“We are 5 brothers and 4 sisters: Lucas, Pedro, Aquilino, me, Ignacio, Aliceta and Reyna, [the names of the other two sisters are inaudible]. My parents work as farmers; I used to work also in the *milpa* [*Milpa* is a crop-growing system used throughout Mesoamerica. It has been most extensively described in the Yucatán peninsula area of Mexico. The word *milpa* is derived from the Nahuatl word phrase *mil-pa* ‘to the field.’ Though different interpretations are given to it, it usually refers to a field. Based on the ancient agricultural methods of Maya peoples and other Mesoamerican people, *milpa* agriculture produces maize, beans and

squash].⁴²⁴ My parents work as farmers; I used to work also in the *milpa*. My brothers are musicians but they did not go to a music school, I taught them *rancheras*, *norteñas*, *corridos*, *chilenas*. My dad did not play any instrument, but my uncle played the guitar, my mom also does not play any instrument, but she sings. So the whole family works as farmers and the whole family makes music, but my dad [laugh].”

Ludovico:

“ I can not do anything without music. Before I take a shower, for example, I need to hear music, when I work, I need music also, or when I was in the school in my village, I was listening to music with the cellular phone of a classmate. Here [in the CECAM] one listens to music all the time; there has not been a time when I have not heard music, because everybody had all the time an instrument, a guitar, a trombone, a trumpet. Here, there are sounds all the time; even the trees like to make sounds. In the dormitories all people are listening to music with the cellular phones and if your mobile battery runs out then you can listen music using somebody else’s cellular phone. Also in the mornings, when we wake up, everybody sets up the alarm of the cellular phone and uses a song as alarm tone, so you wake up at 4 a.m. with a lot of songs [laughter]. So one finds music all the time; I really like that.”

Hernan – the youngest interviewed student – and Ludovico show also a high degree of reflection concerning community and music activity; he is conscious about the difference of living in the CECAM and living at home, he is also conscious about the economic problems of his family and has a high degree of commitment. For his part, Ludovico comments on the importance of the reflection in learning music; he is convinced that the CECAM encourage the reflection. He also comments some of his thoughts about communication.

Hernan:

“The hardest thing in the CECAM is to wake up early, because at my

⁴²⁴ Charles Mann, *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 197–198

home I wake up at 7 a.m.; and to wash my clothes is also hard, because in my village my mom washes clothes. The solfeggio lesson is difficult, because you get out of tone, then you lose the right pitch and the teacher tells you that you have to do it better. I also don't like musical appreciation. [Why?] I do not know; I just do not like it."

"I have to resist if I want to learn. If I get back to my village, it is not good, because my mom already gave me money to pay here, if I get back to my village I will not finish here, and that is not ok, I have to finish."

Ludovico:

"I want to know the process to make something, for example, if you want a *tortilla* maybe one can give you a *tortilla*, but in my case, I want to know how it all started; to plant the corn, to harvest the maize, and so on until the end, until you have the *tortilla* in your hands. I would like to learn the music in that way: from the very beginning until the end of the process and I think in the CECAM I can learn so, at least that is the impression that I have until now."

"It is complicated to communicate with the classmates, I think some words have another meaning for them; so you can say some word and maybe for you that word has a good meaning, but for the others it means something bad. When you can communicate your ideas then you feel good, but if not, then you feel uncomfortable; you maybe think 'he does not understand me, how can I say it better, so that he can understand.'

In the music activity of the CECAM – as *Community* MUSIC – the context, the community and the participation make the transformation of the students possible and the exchange with other music cultures, which in turn can contribute in the transformation of the participants, therefore, in the transformation of the context as well. The way, in which the CECAM operates, provides diverse contexts, in which persons with diverse musical taste and musical training can interact, allowing the transformation of all participants, therefore, creating new contexts; this creates a circular dynamic under the

Derridean notion of guest. Through the CECAM, Perla got in touch with other students that had other musical taste, while Carlos Miguel had the opportunity to get in touch with a classical orchestra, musical bands from other Mexican regions and international diplomatic staff.

Perla:

“I only play clarinet, well at the beginning here at the CECAM I started with the guitar because it is a compulsory subject, but I did not like it at all [laughter]. After I started to understand it then I liked it more; I also saw other classmates having fun playing the guitar and singing, then I found it more interesting and I started to enjoy the guitar lessons. Now I like to play the guitar and to sing.”

Carlos Miguel:

“We were with the president, we went to Mexico City to play for the president and other presidents from other countries, I think they liked it because they reacted very well when we finished to play. We played in Chapultepec Castle, because the Mexican president organized a gala dinner for the presidents of other countries and as part of the dinner we played there. After that we played again at the Independence Day parade in the afternoon of 15th September, it was really beautiful; we took a lot of pictures in the Castle and during the parade with other bands that came from other states, we joked with them, took pictures and we could play together as well.”

“Everything was really beautiful, but the best thing was the time that we spent when Alondra de la Parra and her orchestra; Orchestra of the Americas, we played with them and had also a course [...] in Oaxaca when we went on the way back to Tlahui, we met her; we were divided in groups and we worked with some teachers of the orchestra of the Americas, then we had some rehearsals with the orchestra and we played some of our songs and some classical music, too, in the evening in the Theatre.”

In the CECAM, any activity is a *parerga*, the ‘non-musical activities and the

'extra' -curricular activities are Derridean supplements – the daily tasks in the morning, the participation in events of the Mixe community, as well as in other regions, teaching of English, Computer, Chemistry, etc. –. At this point it could be questioned, why many of those Activities are not part of the curriculum? One has to remember that the curriculum was created due the necessity of the CECAM to be legitimized by the official government, therefore the CECAM tried to elaborate a curriculum as close as possible to the SEP guidelines.

The members of the CECAM are no musicians in specific moments; they do not adopt the Musician's role in some moments, to be musician is not a role that is adopted in certain time, but a constitutive part of the each member of the CECAM, since there are no restricted hours for the musical activity. The music is not an ornament, but is as a Derridean supplement or a *subjectile* context when the members of the CECAM are not 'active Musicians.' For the CECAM members the music is the context that they need to exist, and became subject when the members of the CECAM are active Musicians.

Obdulio:

"Here [in the CECAM] one listens music all the time; it has not been a time that I have not heard music, because everybody had all the time an instrument, a guitar, a trombone, a trumpet. Here, there are sounds all the time; even the trees like to make sounds."

7. *Community* MUSIC: an alternative for the decolonization

Community MUSIC allows to place out the knowledge from a Eurocentric perspective and to establish what Mignolo called *razones-otras* (other-reasons), which support both the new categories and the new forms of power, providing 'genuine voice' to Indigenous peoples of Oaxaca, who were dispossessed and disinherited by the modernity. The activity of the CECAM as *Community* MUSIC is a space for encounter and revitalization of the local artistic, cultural and social practices, transforming constantly space and time; celebrating the remembrance of the collective, and re-signifying the existence. *Community* MUSIC – in form of the CECAM – contributes to achieve one of the central issues within the decolonization of the aesthetics and knowledge, which is to offer the opportunity to strengthen and empower the local expression, avoiding its trivialisation. Therefore, the CECAM, as *Community* MUSIC, considers the diversity of local history of the Mexican Indigenous peoples – a set of experiences that have been buried under global structures imposed by the hegemonic centres of the cultural, political and economic power –, contributing to the decolonization of the knowledge, the power and the being.

The following pages will show how the musical practices of the CECAM contribute especially to the decolonization of the Indigenous population. The following part is divided in three sections: decoloniality of knowledge, decoloniality of power and decoloniality of being; however, it is not possible to make a clear division because in many cases the same practice is not only related to one category.

a. *Community* MUSIC and (De)Coloniality of Knowledge

The first relevant aspect of the decoloniality practices of the CECAM is the fact that use of a student uniform is not compulsory as is the case in all elementary education schools, which are authorized by the SEP. Every student of the CECAM is free to choose his clothes and just at some special events they decided which kind of clothes all of them are going to wear; CECAM does not force the students to wear a uniform. This is relevant because the diverse

meanings of the clothes; in the urban regions, the people who are dressed in regional or rural clothes, such as the *manta* cloths – manta is a kind of raw cotton textile used in the warm areas of Latin America –, *huaraches*, *sarapes*, etc., are looked down upon, since those clothes are related to poverty and cultural under-development. However, in the context of the CECAM activities, the clothes became a significant identity one can be proud of.

As an example of this, there are activities in context of the commemoration of the Mexican Independence Day, where the members of the CECAM and many adults wore their traditional clothes, while the children who attend official school wore a white uniform, which is designed by the SEP and which corresponds to the occidental tradition, using the white color as a symbol of purity linked to the catholic tradition. One could ask if the participation of the CECAM in the Mexican Independence Day celebration is equal to the participation of Indigenous peoples in the *Homenaje Racial*; since the CECAM members decided jointly and free of any imposition by third parties, which kind of clothes they wear; there is no colonization practice. The selected clothes by the CECAM members are considered by themselves as an important part of their cultural tradition; in the context of the CECAM activities, the traditional clothes became an identity sign one can be proud of.

The performance of *Oye como va*, *Toque de Bandera* and the Mexican National Anthem correspond to the Derridean notion of hospitality because the CECAM receives within its musical practice a guest – other musical genres – with all its traces and signs and thus, transforming both of them; for example, a rock music piece and the choreography are elements, which are usually not a part of the Mixe bands, on the other hand, the rock song *Oye como va* suffer a transformation as consequence of the Mixe understanding of music, the same applies for the *Toque de Bandera* and the Mexican National Anthem.

In this kind of practice, there is no cultural imposition and there is also no control of the cultural process of the Mixe community by third parties, since the CECAM and Mixe community of Tlahuitoltepec decided to receive those *otras* music genres; this shows a tolerance and openness to the change. In spite of

the discourse of reaffirmation of the Indigenous identity, the preservation, disclosure and development of the Indigenous peoples, the Mixe community are not in search for the immutable; on the contrary, the *otro* and the *Other* are active parts of the Indigenous reality due to their world view, the Mixe culture considers that all the things in the world are linked and in constantly change. This approach makes possible that the Mixe people are open to change in the cultural, economical and social production; that is, the decolonization of knowledge, power and being.

The fact that the school and the mountain are molten without clear physical borders, is a reflection of the *usos y costumbres*, revealing the importance of the natural environment; it creates diverse dynamics during the learning/teaching activities in which children and adults of Tlahuitoltepec take also part, making them subjects of the context of the musical activity of the CECAM. Here is a decolonization of knowledge and being; on the one hand, the teaching dynamics are chosen and generated by the CECAM according to the Mixe concept about education; on the other hand, this kind of teaching dynamics allows the participation – on varying degrees – of the whole community, reinforcing the importance of the community and environment within the Indigenous world view, which is a constitutive part of the identity of the Indigenous peoples.

One talks about decolonization of the knowledge when the local needs and traditions are the base for the cultural and knowledge production of those communities. The children and youth who attend the CECAM to study, are strongly identified with the Mixe culture, this deep link is a consequence of the way in which the music activity is carried out in Indigenous communities. In this regard, one can affirm that the musical culture of the students can still be developed in the CECAM; the way the music is taught in the communities of the students and in the CECAM have the same base and similar features such as community, egalitarian participation and the prioritization of music making within diverse contexts.

Teobaldo:

“I played Mixe *música de banda* not only because of the music, but also because of the culture. There is not enough knowledge about the Mixe music, that’s why we must study it. On the other hand, one does not play music just like that, one shall study it; you can play the music, which is broadcasted on the radio, but if you do not feel it, there is no point to play it.”

“When we started they gave me the clarinet, then I played clarinet for almost three years, then a guy who played the bass drum left the band I started to play bass drum, but also because I always wanted to play percussions. After that, a niece [we suppose a niece of Teobaldo’s parents] that played timbales, then I started to play tarolas, at that time I also practised more time and became more motivated, that’s why I came here; to learn better the percussions and to practice more.”

The needs of the students are also connected to their community; covering those needs, the students reinforce and transform the cultural production of their communities because they are still keeping alive the importance of the communal aspect, the music traditions which include: music instruments, repertoire, clothes, etc., but also the articulation modes of the musical activity. On the other hand, the students who get back to their communities are not the same as before, because they have undergone a transformation due their stay in the CECAM; the contact between of those ‘new’ students and their community will transform both of them. Therefore, there is a decolonization of knowledge, but also decolonization of power, since the return of those students to their communities, they provide other Indigenous people with the opportunity, if they so decided, to still making music according their tradition and needs; this is, the lost of control by the official government over the musical production of those indigenous communities.

Teobaldo.

“My dream is to learn how to play the whole family of percussion instruments and I would like to play in a Banda, I like a lot the *musica de banda*. When I finish to study at the CECAM, I would like to find a job, when I finish here, then I can try to play in bigger Bands. Maybe I could

also find a job as a music teacher and form a Band”

One example of the control over the musical production of the Indigenous peoples, and its consequences, is reflected in the case of Perla:

“I am afraid to disappoint my parents, I am afraid to do not finish the studies here [in the CECAM] because I do not have a scholarship. My parents tell me that I shall give my best because they are making efforts to send me money. They can support me because my sister has the scholarship of *Oportunidades* [the Secretary of Social Development in Mexico, SEDESOL] I cannot have a scholarship because I am not studying in High School. [We asked why her sister who attends the secondary school has a scholarship] Well if you are in the CECAM you cannot apply for scholarship, because there is a problem with the authorities; they say that they will solve the problem soon. But I will make the entrance examination for the musical high school; if I pass the exam then I can have the scholarship. [We asked where the exam is] I think the exam is in the BICAP.”

By not considering an education way that covers the expectations of the Indigenous peoples, the Federal Government fosters many children, like Perla, to leave their communities, this fact affects the whole family not in the economical aspect, but in all spheres of family life. Colonization of Power and Colonization of Knowledge practices can be recognized also in the fact, that the students of the CECAM do not have rights and benefits, which the students of the official schools have. As a result of this, many students have not only a lack of support by the government; they even have to face the governmental obstacles that impede that an Indigenous people can be legitimized. Perla believes the CECAM can help her to become a good musician; the way in which Perla experiences the music is very similar to musical life in the CECAM, because in both cases, the community and the wholeness have a decisive role.

“I would like to be a good musician, that’s why I’m here in the CECAM, I think, if you like something, one shall dedicate himself completely to that, I give myself to the music because I want to become something in life.”

“When I play music I really feel it, so the people that are listening do not get bored; because if you are playing totally stiff, then the people get bored [...] Sometimes I am sad and I am thinking of my sisters, then I like to take my instrument to play something, then I forget the things, that make me sad [...] I used to play together with my sisters. Now when I am at home, I practice some scales or exercises, or sometimes I play a song, or I play together with my sister for my parents; sometimes we play on their birthday party or at a normal party, but sometimes we just only play for them.”

For Perla, the music is a factor, which constantly refers to her family; for her the audience – the Derridean *Other* – is a very important part in the music activity, this is in contrast to the education provided in the official institutions that follow the preserved structures that have generated by the imposition of the occidental culture hegemony among the *otras* cultures by using civilization, culturization, progress and development as justification. Those structures and models are: art for art's sake, this is, music for music's sake; the artist as model to be followed, but who shall be validated by the hegemonic structures, ignoring the Derridean *others* and *Otros*; art (or classical) music / popular (or folklore) music, whereby the last one is considered without tradition and primitive due to its differences.

However, for Perla the Music is related to other spheres, like the family, the audience, her mood, feelings and thoughts, this corresponds to the perspective of the Indigenous *usos y costumbres*, which every activity cannot ignore all elements that are involved and the interrelations between those elements; the strengthening of this aspect through the musical activity of the CECAM can be seen as decoloniality of being practice, since it contributes to the Indigenous way of life, which is relevant for the Indigenous identity and the way in which the Indigenous society is articulated.

In the case of Hernan, the CECAM gives him the opportunity to experience the musical practice in the way that is close to his musical concept and interest. By choosing the CECAM, Hernan is able to be involved in a musical context which corresponds to his expectations and gets in contact with other cultures, but

without impositions; interacting with his classmates that are from other Indigenous communities, Hernan has the opportunity to learn other languages and aspects of those *Otras* cultures, those interactions are articulated through participation, respect and openness to the *Otros*, generating the necessary conditions for a possible transformation of Hernan and the *Otros*.

“I like the music and I like the countryside, but I don’t like the weather because it is very cold. I like because the classmates teach me Mixe, I can say ‘how do you say?’ in Mixe [...]” “I want to be a good teacher when I grow up and I want to play in other countries, in other places, for example, in the places you came from and in Colombia, France and USA. I want to play *sinaloenses* (Fußnote), classical music, [we asked “for example?”] like *Bajo el cielo Mixe* or *Zandunga*. I want to play also *música de banda* and I would like to form my own *sinaloense* band; in my village the people listen a lot to those songs and I like them, too.”

The CECAM stops with the Colonization of Knowledge practices because it gives the students the opportunity to be involved with the music that they want/need; those ‘*Otra*’ music, which have been ignored and underestimated in favour of the Eurocentric notion classical music by the SEP. The CECAM accepted also the own understanding of the students about the music; the CECAM does not try to change the opinion of many students, like Hernan, about what shall be defined as ‘classical music,’ but it also does not ignore what is usually understood under the label of ‘classical music;’ the inclusion of History of the Western Music and common classical repertoire in the Music activity of the CECAM is proof of that.

In the case of Hernan, it can also be observed a correspondence between the way, in which Hernan has experienced the music activity and the way in which it is experienced in the CECAM. The context is integral part of the music learning, which is carried out through watching, listening and copying and repetition.

“In my village I played with the band, I played classical songs, but also from other villages. I listened other music from other villages through friends or in the festivities, then I listen how the music goes; *rancheras*, *corridos* or *chilenas*, then I tried to play it. I played when I had the

instrument. [We ask if he did not have the instrument the whole time] The instrument was owned by the municipal government. I played with the band of my village, I started five years ago, I think, I played music since I was in second grade in the primary school, I do not remember exactly.”

In the words of Donato, one can also identify a correspondence between the way, in which he and the CECAM teaches music. A large part of the musical activity occurs in a community and within a context that is articulated by other issues besides of the music. Donato, Lucas, Pedro, Aquilino, Ignacio, etc., are not only familiar or not only teacher and student; the relation between Donato and his uncle is not only based on a family bond, it is also a student-teacher relationship and work fellows relationship.

“We are 5 brothers and 4 sisters: Lucas, Pedro, Aquilino, me, Ignacio, Aliceta y Reina, [the name of the other two sister is inaudible] My brothers are musicians, but they did not learn in the music school, I taught them *rancheras*, *norteñas*, *corridos*, *chilenas*, we used to sing together at home just for fun, or in the parties. My parents do not play any instrument, but my uncle plays the guitar, he also taught me some songs and sometimes he takes me to play with him in the parties.”

Through the CECAM, Donato also is in contact with other Indigenous cultures and experimented a transformation; at the same time that he learned other Indigenous languages, he has to look for alternatives to express himself because it is not possible for him to use his first language as main way of communication. In this way, students like Donato explore the diverse meanings of diverse communication signs, which are related to the personal history and context of every student; this exploration generates new meaning chains, which affect and transform all participants:

“Here I talk in Mixtec with some classmates; but almost all classmates are Mixes, that’s why I do not speak too much Mixtec; I am learning some things in Mixe, the classmate taught me, but I do not remember everything [laughter] [how do you communicate with the other classmates?] With the rest in Spanish, but there are also classmates who do not speak so well Spanish, actually me neither [laughter], but one

struggles to make himself understood.”

Ludovico points out his interest to deal in a creative way with the music in addition to only play an instrument; he is convinced that the CECAM can help him to accomplish his purposes. He also shows an opened and respectful attitude for other music genres. It is also interesting to note that Ludovico shares the same vision as other classmates about the label ‘classical music.’

“I have always loved the music, not only to listen to it, but also to play it, even if I cannot play really well, not yet [laughter], therefore I am here. I do not want only to listen to music from other composers; I want that people listen my music. I love the music, every genre, I do not discriminate any kind of genre; I listen, *musica de banda*, which is the most listened here in Tlahui; I listen reggaeton; rap; pop; classical music, but not so much because it is difficult to find that music, with the exception of the classical music that is played in the Guelaguetza, that music you can find it everywhere [laughter].”

The songs that the students composed for the guitar lesson are another indicative of the decolonization of knowledge that takes place in the CECAM through *Community MUSIC* activities; the creativity, participation and reflection of the students about their context and community are *Community MUSIC* features, through this activity the decolonization of knowledge is encouraged, not only because the guitar lesson breaks with the hegemonic teaching model, but also because it strengthens the local and personal understanding of diverse issues, such as the natural environment. One shall remember that the Indigenous concept of nature environment differs significantly from the Western concept.

Despite the fact that this is the first year in the CECAM for Ludovico – at the moment of the interview he had only 2 months in the CECAM –, he had to compose already some songs for the guitar lessons; this fact is very important because, one more time, the tremendous difference between the hegemonic teaching models can be seen, for which the creativity process does not belong to the beginning of music learning. On the contrary, transformation, creativity

and participation are distinctive characteristics of the Indigenous world view and the Indigenous *usos y costumbres*, and are present in all activities from the very beginning. Ludovico comments about his composition:

“I was thanking the nature for all the things that we owe the nature. Without nature we would have nothing, it is hard to live without the nature. It is like a mother but for all people; we do not call it mother, but it is practically as a mother because it support you, it gives you everything you need and it never abandons you.”

“I miss my village because of the weather; it is hotter and the sun shines more than here, I also miss the stars; some times when I was at home I went to the rooftop at night to gaze at the stars, I was there for 2 or 3 hours.”

“I do not like geography lessons because it is difficult to learn all the places, the names and those things. It is easier for me to sing about the nature because that is next to me, which I can feel and see. That is better than being looking for names and places that you do not know.”

In the CECAM, Edilberto experiences the decolonization of knowledge and a decolonization of being by re-signifying and learning the Mixtec language. From the Eurocentric colonial perspective, the Indigenous peoples are undeveloped in every sense; biologic, social, economic, cultural and moral, therefore every feature that is related to the Indigenous peoples has a negative meaning. It is worth remembering the comments of a Mixe woman during the dinner at *Señorita America*'s home:

“Many years ago people did not want to talk in Mixe, because they were discriminated, if you talked Mixe, then some told you that you are an *indio*, and that was very bad, therefore many people tried to talk only Spanish, even the parents avoided to talk in Mixe with their children. But now it is different, the people are happy to talk in Mixe, then you feel proud about it, you can dress also in your [Mixe] clothes [...] Many people say ‘I am Mixe’ but then you ask them to talk in Mixe but they cannot, so how can they say that they are Mixes.”

Due to the CECAM, Edilberto learns the Mixtec language and reflects the meaning of the language in his life.

“I do not have a good command of the Mixtec language and that is bad; it is bad because I did not learn well when I was child and it is bad because it is the language of my village, therefore it is bad, because I am from there and I cannot speak it... I can understand when somebody talks but I cannot speak it well. I think it is because in the school all children spoke Spanish and nobody speaks Mixtec, not even the teachers. Here there is a classmate who is also from the same region and he is teaching me, but sometimes I forget what he taught us [laughter], I think I need a little bit more time to learn it better.”

The way, in which Ulises has experienced the music life, corresponds also to the Indigenous tradition that attributes particular importance to the community, context, openness and exchange; in the CECAM, Ulises is able to continue to experience the musical practice from that approach. According to the words of Ulises, the community aspect is very relevant in his relationship to the musical practice; his family and community have a decisive role for his initiation in the music and most probably until the end of his stay in the CECAM.

“Almost all my family members are musicians: my Dad plays the clarinet, my brother plays the trumpet, my cousin plays the tuba, my other two little cousins play the trumpet and the clarinet, my other cousin plays clarinet, my uncle plays percussions. My cousins are learning to play, they just begun. I think I am the one who has more experience; I play saxophone for the last 4 years, I began when I was 12 years old. I have been in the CECAM for the last two years but I only know the basic things.

About the telephone call between Ulises and his family:

“They told me that they are having a lot of rehearsals with the band of my village because they are going to have a presentation in Huatulco [an Oaxacan Beach]); it is a meeting of bands and we are going to take part. They told me about the dates of the meeting because I shall ask permission here in the CECAM to leave the school for those days [is it

easy or hard to obtain a leave of absent in the CECAM] No, there is no problem from the part of the CECAM, they actually encourage us and support us for this kind of activities; here in the CECAM we use to attend many festivals in other regions, so there is no problem in that respect [...] we were also talking about the possibility that I leave the CECAM. I want to get back to my village to help my Mom because she is alone; my Dad just left the house some months ago and my sister is studying medicine at the University in Oaxaca [Oaxaca City]...”

As it can be observed, for Ulises and his family, the personal life of each member affects dramatically the life of all members of the community, this coincides with the Indigenous world of view that does not put aside the community needs and interests; the individual comfort and goals do not prevail over those of the community. The Oaxacan indigenous peoples take decisions concerning communal and individual needs and interests through dialogue.

b. Community MUSIC and (De)Coloniality of Being

Decolonization of Being means accepting the existence of the Derridean *Other* and the colonality/modernity *Otros*, without being subordinated to a hegemonic Being. Those Derridean *Others* are an integral part of any subject – whether a person, an artistic object, a cultural or social phenomena, etc. – while the nature of the *Otros* as well as their legitimization and valuing shall be determined by the context, local history of those *Otros* themselves. This shall be the starting point to articulate the links and understanding among diverse subjects, whether individuals, societies, cultures, nations, etc. By articulating and understanding those relations through the Derridean notions of *l'avenir*, trace, *différance* and the undecidable, colonality of being practices over the *Otros* can be avoided.

Teobaldo is 18 years old and born in Santa Maria Alotepec Oaxaca. Despite of his interest to attend to the CECAM in previous years, this is the first year of Teobaldo at the CECAM; he heard about the CECAM through a countryman, who already studied at the CECAM, they did encourage Teobaldo to attend to the CECAM. The comments of Teobaldo stress the role of the CECAM to

achieve his goals; on the one hand, Teobaldo wants to know other kinds of musical practices, that reveal an interest for the other musical practices and their contexts; on the other hand, Teobaldo stresses the importance of the Mixe Identity for him. The inclusion of other musical practices – that include not only the music phenomena but also signs, traces and traits from the contexts, to which those musical practice are related – in combination with the Mixe culture allow Teobaldo to shape his Identity and to transform him according to his interests and needs.

“At the beginning I knew a countryman who studied here, they like the music also and they did encourage me: He told me that here one can learn very well the Mixe music but also other things, because when the *Banda Oficial* plays in different *servicios* [the tasks that are made in context of the *tequio* are called *servicios* very often] they play also music from other regions or sometimes they play with other musicians also like rock bands, and because my dream is to master the percussions and to know other music styles, I decided to come here. [Why did you not choose another school? Why the CECAM?] I chose the CECAM since it is representative, because it is 100% Mixe, it represents the Mixe culture, the Mixe means all the Mixe region and not only Tlahui [Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec], [The CECAM] is a very beautiful school, it is well organized, everything is great.”

For Teobaldo the music is related to other issues than just the aesthetic pleasure and interest; he associates music with life, he considers music as integral part of himself.

“I study music because I felt the call of music from inside of me; it motivates me to continue, to have goals that not everyone can find, it is like my second life or my air, it gives me the life, it courses through my veins, it inspires me, it makes me forget good and bad things, it makes me concentrate on what I am doing at this moment [...] Health problems, family problems, problems that one has or one can find; everybody has problems, the misfortune is always around and one can not foresee the problems, but the music makes me put them aside.”

The family of Teobaldo consists of his mother, father, two brothers and one sister older than him. Through his family, Teobaldo has been always close to the Mixe culture, since all of them do traditional crafts, in this vein, Teobaldo can still live those traditions in the CECAM.

“My mom is a housewife and my father is a farmer. One of my brothers lives in Oaxaca City, my other brother lives in San Miguel and my sister in San Isidro. My brother, who lives in Oaxaca City makes *Alebrijes* [*Alebrijes* are imaginary creatures that have elements from different animals such as dragon, bat wings, wolf teeth and dog eyes. Colorfully painted, they were originally made with *papier-mâché*, but nowadays they are also wood craved] and has his own stand in the *mercado* [traditional public market], my brother, who lives in the same village as my mother is a farmer, my sister is married and is a housewife.”

Besides the occupation that Teobaldo's family does traditional crafts, they live according to the traditions of the Mixe culture. Teobaldo has already taken part in *tequio* activities, like the *mayordomía* that their parents had in 2010. The *mayordomía* organization is a collection of secular and spiritual positions held by men or households of Indigenous peoples throughout Central and Southern Mexico. These *mayordomías* become the unpaid responsibility of men who are active in civic life. They habitually hold a given post for a period of one year, and alternate between civic and religious obligations from year to year.

“This year, 2010, my parents have a post in a *mayordomía*; they shall tidy up the church, open and close the church, they shall take care of the church, they shall pay attention to whatever is required there. They do not receive any payment; it is like a service to the community, we could call it a *tequio*, and after this service [mayordomía], they have not to do any other service... The people of the community elected them for this post, and when they are elected, then they dedicate themselves to make the service and to have a good time... Is now nine months since they began in January; they are happy and satisfied there in the town.”

In the case of Teobaldo, the *tequio* that he accomplishes consist of playing in the diverse events of his village, but also in other villages; through the *tequio*

Teobaldo gets in touch with other communities and their traditions, experiencing a cultural exchange. In this regard, the tequio is part of Teobaldo Identity and at the same time contributes still to building and transforming his Identity.

“I helped my father with the farm work, not too much time because since January until May we were a little bit busy with the band, so I did not spend too much time at home because we were playing in other places [...] We play a lot with the band of my village, because it is as such tequio; we will play 24 years, after that we will not play anymore in the musical services of the village. Now we will just play around 20 years more [laughter]”

The Mixe language, the Spanish language and the *musica de banda* are part of the cultural identity of Teobaldo; the CECAM provides the context in which he can continue to develop those traits, but also thanks to the CECAM he can learn other cultural traits from other Indigenous communities.

“I like it a lot, firstly because it represents my culture, it is something that I have inside me as the Mixe blood and because I like how it sounds. I like the *musica de banda* from the beginning when I started to play music [...] I talk in Mixe language with my parents, but here I talk in Mixe only with those that also can speak it, with the others I speak Spanish, but now I learning some Zapotec words [laughter].”

According to Teobaldo, the music is not only a way to express himself but also a way to relate with other persons and a way to show Teobaldo's understanding about those other persons. The music is a mechanism to incorporate the Derridean *Other* and the coloniality *Otro* into the musical practice of Teobaldo.

“With the music I would like to express my feelings: happiness, sadness, loneliness. All the things that comes from within, I would like to express with the music, but also the feelings of other persons; I want to try to express it with notes and musical pieces.”

In the CECAM Hernan can be in contact with other Indigenous peoples, this encounter with other cultures makes Hernan reflect about his life in the CECAM and about the differences between the Triqui people and the Mixe people. In

the words of Hernan, respect for other cultures and the desire to become, what he considers a 'good musician,' can be appreciated; the musical assessors of the CECAM correspond to Hernan's conception about what is a musician.

"I like the life here, I like how the music sounds, how the classmates have fun. Here one can know other villages and other persons, I like everything here [...] The people in my village are like me; they wear other clothes as here, they wear other kind of *huaraches*. They wear other dresses like the *huipil* but in red color. My village is different, but here it is also ok, I like here."

"A musician shall practice, he shall learn, he shall play without mistakes, a good musician shall be like the musicians here [at the CECAM] that teaches the others who cannot play so good. One shall learn and become as good as the teachers and to form an own band as the teachers, one shall be like the teachers."

Huaraches are a sort of pre-columbian sandals; the name *Huarache* is derived from the *purepecha* language term *kwarachi*, and directly translates into English as sandal. Traditional huarache designs vary greatly, but are always very simple. Originally made of all-leather, later early designs included woven string soles and occasionally thin wooden soles. The *huipil* has been worn by indigenous women of the Mesoamerican region – Central Mexico up to Central America –, it is a loose-fitting tunic, generally made from two or three rectangular pieces of fabric which are then joined together by stitching, ribbons or fabric strips, with an opening for the head and after the sides are sewn, an opening for the arms.

Although Hernan is the youngest student of the CECAM, he does not have any problems with the life in the CECAM and the daily tasks, on the contrary; Hernan has the opportunity to continue living his cultural traditions in the CECAM, for example, by cooking the traditional *tortillas* or keeping a close contact with the nature environment.

"The life in Tlahui is like in my village; there I was at the school at 9 a.m. and at 11.30 a.m. I had break, then at 12 again classes, then at 2.00 p.m

the school finished, then I went directly to the dormitories, there I was also living in the school like here. Then I ate something then I went to work, then I studied a little bit [we asked what kind of job did he have] I worked cooking *tortillas*, washing the dormitories, feeding the pigs and taking care of the animals.”

The same situation occurs with Donato; according to Donato’s words, the way in which he used to live in his villages is similar to the dynamics in the CECAM. Donato and his family worked as farmers seeding and harvesting traditional food that have a very important role in the Indigenous traditions. At the same time a new attitude towards marriage can be observed; in the past, it was very important for the Indigenous people to get married, the parents decided frequently about the partners of their children, but presently the thoughts about the relation between women and men have been transformed. The CECAM has taken part in those changes by including and promoting the participation of women in the musical activity of the Indigenous peoples, a fact that was not possible in the past.

“When I was in my village I worked the whole day in the *milpa*; we sowed beans and maize. When I came home, then I played guitar. I think that’s why is not hard for me to work here; in my village I woke up at 7 a.m. or sometimes at 5 a.m. it depended what we had to do. My parents and I worked everyday in the *milpa*. I was alone with my parents because my brothers were living together with their women; I mean they are living as a couple but without being married [what do your parents and you think about that?] At the beginning my parents were not really happy that they don’t get married, but now they are happy about them. For me it was not a problem, if they are happy like that, for me it is okay [...] Now my mother is alone, because my Dad died some years ago, my Mom is living only with my little sister.”

In the musical practice of Donato, the *Otro* has an important role for him; the music is a way to express his feelings, experiences and thoughts, but also to express the feelings of the *Otros*. Through his own music, Donato does not only express himself but also articulate his relation with the *Otros*, while through the

music of *Otros* Donato can express himself and also articulate a relation with the *Otros*. For Donato, the music will help to 'become somebody;' the musical practice, under the notion of *Community* MUSIC, would help him to legitimize his Being in the context in which he existed, but without needing to adapt himself to the hegemonic Western paradigm of Being. Finally, Donato's words show the importance of the some issues that shape his identity: such as language, food, music and natural environment; as it has been depicted throughout this paper, all those elements are constitutive elements of the Indigenous identity.

"I had an idea about my life; sometimes the life is sad when one does not have the necessary means to face the education problems. It is hard and difficult when one is not supported by anyone and when we are far away"

"I miss my dialect because here I cannot speak all the time my dialect. I also miss the food, the music, although it is similar, here one listens more *danzones* and *música de banda*; in my village we play more *chilenas*, *corridos*, *norteñas* [...] My village is called San Esteban Atlatlauca; Atlatlauca means 'town between two rivers,' while San Esteban is the name of the patron saint of the village. Here, in Tlahui, the landscape is very different; the mountains are different because in my village there are more flat areas and little streams but there are also big crags [...] I left my village to move forward, to be somebody; sometimes I am sad, but then I can express it with the music, then I feel better. I am very grateful that I can study here, for me it is big dream to be here; from now on I want to compose more music, so I will have ready a lot of music when I start with my own [music] group."

"I think one shall make music to express his feelings or the feelings of others, to talk about his life; one shall express the good and bad moments to the public. Usually I compose *ranchera* music and I talk about the things in my life, about the places that I visit, sometimes I also sing other songs that are not mine, like the *canción mixteca*."

By using the *ranchera* music form, which is not a traditional Mixe music form,

Donato reveals his need for the Derridean *Other* and the *Otro*; the *ranchera* music form, as Derridean supplement, is part of the musical activity of Donato because it gives him what he does not have but which is necessary to complete his musical practice. By receiving the *ranchera* music in his musical practices, Donato receives also all traces of *ranchera* music, which in turn are related to diverse contexts and contain several signs and meanings; for its part, Donato affects in the same way the *ranchera* music. This phenomenon results in the transformation of Donato and the supplement and their respective contexts.

Carlos studied 5 years at the CECAM, firstly he started with the clarinet and then he changed to flute, he is 23 years old and is from the Zapotec community of San Andres Solaga, Carlos was in his last year at the CECAM at the moment of our research. As the other students of the CECAM, Carlos Miguel continues living in the CECAM according to his Indigenous traditions; in his villages he learned to play an instrument in *escoleta* of his village, he also was involved in traditional Indigenous tasks.

“In my family only my brother and I play an instrument. I began in the *escoleta* of my village in 2003, after a while in the *escoleta* I decided to come to the CECAM. My parents work in the *milpa*, they sow chilli and also sell coffee, my brother and I worked also in the *milpa* because the whole family lives from that.”

Carlos commentaries reveal the consequences of colonality of being and Coloniality Knowledge practices among the Indigenous Zapotec community.

“I speak [Zapotec] with some classmates, because there are other ones that also are Zapotecs but they cannot speak well. In my village almost all people can speak and write Zapotec, but the Zapotecs from the region of *Valles Centrales* can not speak well, some of them even do not understand it.”

The region of Valles is the most urbanized region of Oaxaca, the influence of the colonality thoughts and practices are even more present in the urbanized areas as in the rural. In the urbanized areas are the official structures that control the nation; in the urbanized areas live the individuals who belong to

dominant class and which still carry on coloniality practices. This explains the fact that the Indigenous peoples of the region of *Valles* and urbanized areas do not speak their respective Indigenous language. It has to be stressed again, that under the coloniality perspective, any distinguished mark that relates to Indigenous culture is dismissed and underestimated; to speak an Indigenous language is synonym for a cultural lag.

“I speak [Zapotec] with some classmates, because there are other ones, who are also Zapotecs, but they cannot speak well. In my village almost all people can speak and write Zapotec, but the Zapotecs from the region of *Valles Centrales* can not speak well, some of them even do not understand it.”

Since the CECAM contributes to create a context, in which the meaning of language – which is part of the Identity – can be re-signified and incorporated in new chains of meaning, the activity of the CECAM contributes to the decolonization of being.

It has been showed that coloniality of being practices classified the *Otros* according to the Eurocentric concept of Being; through a racial classification the nature of the individuals are determined as well as their role in the Eurocentric world, therefore not belonging to the hegemonic category means being uncivilized, unproductive, undeveloped – in all respects. Under this perspective, the meaning – or meanings – of any constitutive feature of the Indigenous identity is assigned on the bases of this coloniality thought. In context of the activity of the CECAM and the Mixe culture, the meanings of those constitutive features of the Indigenous identity acquire other signifying; the nature of the Indigenous peoples and their role within the context of those Indigenous peoples are not determined anymore by the Eurocentric hegemonic thought. Carlos Miguel comments about his participation on the commemoration of the bicentenary of the Mexican Independence.

“I am proud to represent Oaxaca but even more, to represent the CECAM; I was really happy to represent something that is very important because we are doing a very good job in the CECAM. We are doing nothing wrong; the people here are doing something very positive,

instead of doing something bad, we are not doing anything bad, at all [...] When I am in my village some people tell me 'we saw you on the television,' or they tell me 'congratulations,' that makes me very happy and gives more energy to participate more, to work harder."

The case of Edilberto is another example of the above mentioned; he comments about the support of his family, for which the Indigenous music does not have a negative connotation.

"My name is Edilberto Palacio Jimenez, I am Mixtec, I am 20 years old, I am from Santiago Amotepec, in the *Sola de Vega* district in the Sierra Sur of Oaxaca [...] We are eleven brothers in my family: five brothers and six sisters. My mom is a housewife and my father is a farmer [...] only my brother plays an instrument, he studied here in the CECAM and now he teaches music in the kinder garden in my village. Two years ago I began to play trombone and then my brother told me to come here to study music [...] My parents do not have a problem that I left the village to come here to study music; they support me, they talked to me and told me that there was no problem if I really wanted to come here to study music."

Edilberto has also intensely experienced activities that are part of the Indigenous world view, and as the other students he continues experiencing it in the CECAM. The music and the contact with the natural environment have been present in the daily life of Edilberto both in his villages and in the CECAM.

"When I was in my village, I was studying in the high school, I woke up at 6 a.m., I took a shower and at 7 a.m., I was on my way to the school. The lessons started at 8 a.m., then we had a small break at 10 a.m., then at 10.30 a.m. we had lessons again until 2.30 p.m., then I had one hour and a half to do homework or everything else because we had rehearsal from 4.p.m to 6 p.m. Every day was like that with the exception of Saturdays; we had rehearsals from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. When I had free, then we went together with my Dad to the *milpa*; we sowed beans or we cleaned the *milpa*."

The holistic character of the CECAM – which is based on the Indigenous world view and *usos y costumbres* – reinforces the Decolonization of Knowledge and the Decolonization of Being; on the base of this holistic character, the CECAM includes in its activity not only musical issues, but also activities that are part of the Indigenous traditions and culture, giving the CECAM students the opportunity to be still in touch with features that are part of their Indigenous identity. Under this perspective, the CECAM students do not have to choose between studying music or still living according to their Indigenous traditions.

“Everything is fine, I like everything in the CECAM. Until now I do not find any task complicated or hard. Until now I have not had to cook *tortillas*, but I suppose it would be not hard at all; when I was in my village, I cooked *tortillas* with my Mom and I like it, but I could not cook the big *tortillas*, that was very difficult [laughter].”

The same applies for Ludovico.

“I am Ludovico Sanchez Santos. I am from the village Santa Cruz Mixtepec Zimantlá district, in the area of Valles Centrales, I am 17 years old and Zapotec. We are 7 brothers and sisters: Angel, Hector, Marisela, Rocio, Vanesa, Adriana and my nephew, the son of Angel; he is like my little brother. My parents; Angel; my nephew; my mother and I are living together in the house.

“They [Ludovicos family] make bread; it is a family business, we all live from the bread sales. I also worked with them; I worked Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday afternoon. On Sundays, when I was free, I went with my Dad to collect alfalfa, *zacate* and herbs to feed the animals.”

Through the CECAM activity, the students can experience the diverse elements that shape the identity of the Mixe population; the Mexican Independence Day is an example of this. During the flag ceremony, for example, representative elements of the Mexican Government, of the European tradition, more precisely, of the catholic religion of the indigenous peoples are present: the Mexican flag itself; the Town Hall Building that represent the official

Government and the municipal authorities; the village church and the church father; and the *tianguis* area and indigenous peasants.

During the *convite* in house of the *Señorita America* it is also possible to appreciate constitutive elements of the Mixe Identity that are related to the Pre-Columbian, Mexican and Mixe culture: the using of national symbols as decoration; the Mixe clothes worn by the most of the present men, all women, all children and all members of the CECAM; the Mixe and Spanish language, especially the speech of *Señorita America*'s father in Mixe language, that stressed the pride in taking part of the Mexican Independence Day celebration and the importance to maintain the Mixe traditions; the participation of children, women and men in cooking, serving food, organizing; Mixe and Mexican music; traditional dishes and traditional cooking utensils; and the figure of the *Señorita America* itself. It is very important to remark the fact that the Mixe music, Mixe Language, Mixe clothes and Mixe crafts have a different meaning; all those Mixe elements, which under the coloniality perspective represent cultural lag and something to be ashamed of, are source of pride since they are reproduced and experienced in other context that is free of coloniality of being practices.

Besides that, the context – which is formed by the natural environment as well as the present people – reinforces the importance of the natural environment in the Mixe culture, since many of the activities take part in the open areas of the villages, which actually are the mountain itself: in the particular case of the *convite*, the fact that there is no division between the backyard of the *Señorita America* house and the mountain meadows, the sounds produced by the birds and the animals around are mixed with the sounds of the party during the whole event: Mixe music, Spanish language, Mixe language, laughter, during the whole event. Finally, it is worth noting the role of children, women and men in context of the Indigenous activities; on the one hand, all people regardless of age participate in the diverse activities; on the other hand, the fact that young and adult men participate also in the kitchen activities, this is a sign of transformation because other kitchen activities were assigned exclusively to women.

The change about of the role of the woman in the Indigenous community can also be appreciated in the pictures, which used to decorate the village square; the figure of Miguel Hidalgo is very often chosen since he commanded the rebellion on the first day of the Mexican Independence War, but the selection of Josefa Ortiz is not very often; this – and the election of the girls escorts – has an important significance, since in the macho culture the women were put aside from political and cultural, this kind of vision formed part of the Mixe culture years ago, but it has changed in the last time. In this regard, the CECAM contributes to reinforce and maintain many features of the Indigenous culture and tradition, but, on the other hand, it takes part in that transforming process and fosters the necessary changes in order to satisfy the needs of the Mixe community, generating new traits of the Indigenous Identity that is constantly renewed. Therefore one can speak about Decolonization of Being because the own Mixe community build its culture, tradition and identity on basis of its local history and current context.

c. Community MUSIC and (De)Coloniality of Power

During his stay in the CECAM, Donato has to confront and reflect about the life conditions of his community and family, at the same time he reflects about his current situation in Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec, about his identity as Zapotec and the differences with the Mixe people – It has to be remembered his song for the guitar lesson.

“When I came here my mama and my little sister were surprised because I was working there and I decided to leave everything. Now I am a little bit worried because I do not know how the things are going with my family [...] Most of my brothers are living in Mexico City, that’s why it is not easy for me to know how is everything at home with my Mom and my little sister, because nobody can tell me how is everything going. I am going to visit her during the *día de muertos*, I cannot call her because we do not have telephone because there is no electricity in the village, we have water [water supplies] but there is not warm water [laughter] [we asked if it is a problem for him to take a shower with cold water] One gets used to that, but sometimes it is hard, but there is not other choice [laughter] [...] Until now I did not talk with my mother; she knows I am ok

because one of my brothers accompanied me to come here, he lives in the villages and works with my Mom in the *milpa* [...] The travel was too long, like 10 hours by bus; we must change in Atlaxiaco and in Oaxaca City, the travel was also very expensive, like 200 pesos [circa 11 euros].”

Despite the importance of their communities of origin of the CECAM students, they have to leave their families and communities because of the educational reality created by the Mexican Government; a reality that does not contribute to satisfy the needs of the Indigenous peoples. Due to the government control over the cultural, economical and social production of the Indigenous peoples, they have to leave their community and family in order to satisfy their needs, this fact affects not only the persons who leave but the whole family and community. In this context, the CECAM is part of a decolonization of the power because it encourages and foments – through *Community* MUSIC practices – the cultural and economical production according to the traditions, needs and context of the Indigenous communities.

“I did not want to stay [in his village] and work in the *milpa* because it was too hard; I like the *milpas* and the countryside, but I am not really convinced to work there because sometimes one can not see the results, one do not earn enough money for such hard work [...] My uncle had the gift of playing the violin, one time he saw me playing in a festivity and since then we started to play together with other teachers; we formed a trio and we played in the parties, private parties or parties of the diverse villages. In November and December there are a lot of parties; we received around 300 pesos per party [circa 16,50 euros], we played until the people wanted, until they got tired [laughter] [We asked, 300 pesos for each musician?]. No way! [laughter] 300 pesos for all three [...] I picture myself in a big stage with my group; I would like to get back to my village and to form my own group and we will play *norteñas*, *duranguenses*, *chilenas* and so on [...] ”

In the words of Teobaldo, one can observe that within Teobaldo's family – who lives according the Mixe traditions – egalitarian participation and dialogue are an important part to articulate the family's relations. Besides that, it can be also

noted that Teobaldo also experiences the consequences of the coloniality of power as Donato:

“We are a very close family, and the truth is that someone is more or less than the others; for all parents all children are the same... At the beginning they did not want me to come [to CECAM] because of the money, they also did not want me to come, because I am the only one who was living with them; we were used to be together, but when someone wants something, one shall try to convince them, so at the end they understood my wish and they supported me.”

The comments of Hernan show some of the consequences of the coloniality of power that affect not only him directly but his whole family. It can be also noted that for Hernan the family consisted in more than his parents and sisters; in the Indigenous world of view, the elderly are strongly linked to their families, this fact is very important for the continuity of the Indigenous traditions. The precarious economic situation emphasizes this aspect among the Oaxacan Indigenous communities, but at the same, due to the lack of economical resources, many families disintegrate; the father or the children emigrate to urbanized areas looking for opportunities, which they do not have in their communities. In the case of Hernan, his father emigrated to USA while he went to Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec, because he is convinced that the CECAM will contribute to reach his aims.

“I like the music since I was a young child, that’s why I came to the CECAM. I will learn clarinet here because I have cousins that are studying here and they told me that here you can study good music, that’s why when I finished the primary school I came here.”

“My dad is not here, he is in the USA and my mother lives in my home [Hernan means in the village he came from]. My Dad send me money to pay the school in the CECAM; It has now been three years that I do not see my Dad, we do not know when I will see him [...] I miss my whole family a lot: my mother, her name is Lidia Pilar; my sister, her name is Lidia and she is five years old; my little sister, her name is Janet and she is three years old; my Grandpa, his name is Margarito, I do not know how

old he is; my Grandma, her name is Margarita and my cousins, I do not know how old are they. My Mom and my Grandma are housewives and my Grandpa harvests the *milpa*.”

Despite Ulises's scholarship, he has decided to leave the CECAM in order to work and help his mother with the expenses of the family. He experiences the consequences of the colonality of power in two forms: on the one hand, all individuals and families that live according to *Otras* traditions and to *Otra* world view cannot cover their expenses produced by basic issues such as: alimentation, education, health and housing. On the other hand, the Institution that gives Ulises the scholarship operates according the educational policies of the SEP, those policies are created ignoring the context of the indigenous community, a clear example of this is the fact that the SEP does not consider neither the economical situation of the Indigenous communities, nor the individual context of the scholarship applicants, it also does not take into account the school calendar of the CECAM.

“I could help my mother playing with the bands; when I am there I play with the band of the village Concepcion just one hour by car from my village, there is also another band from the village *Rincón Alegre*, I also play sometimes with the municipal band *La Alborada Costeña*, or with some fellow countrymen, who are also studying here [...] I have a scholarship of the CDI but it only pays the school days according the official calendar, therefore, sometimes I receive less money because here in the CECAM we have another school calendar and also another time zone. When the scholarship is not enough, my Mom sends me money... The scholarship is between 150 and 500 pesos a month [between 9 and 27 euros per month] [do you know if other students receive more money as part of this scholarship?] There are some classmates who are from other villages and they have the same scholarship, and to my knowledge, we receive the same amount, or maybe they receive more but they do not tell me so that I cannot borrow money from them [laughter].”

The CECAM contributes to break the dynamics resulting from the colonality of

power by giving free full accommodation to those students that are in the most precarious situation, it also takes the control of his way of operation that includes the use of other time zone and school calendar; for the Mixe people, the time is very important because it regulates many of their activities that are strongly linked to the natural environment.

For his part Ulises also contributes to break those dynamics resulting from the colonality of power by resolving his problems using his musical tradition. He is also aware that there are more learning ways besides the school, this is in contrast to the Western tradition, which underestimates the learning activities outside an Institution. He is confident that in the context of Indigenous musical activity he will continue his musical learning process. Ulises also knows that, in order to 'to become somebody in the life,' his sister shall be legitimized by the dominant society, she can reach this by studying at the University, an Institution that was created according to the Western tradition, which in turn aims to impose its educational, economical, cultural and social models among the *Otras* cultures.

"My Mom does not want that I leave the CECAM, but I see that she cannot afford all the costs of the house and my sister; she must pay the rent of my sister, the university fees and books and also give money because the scholarship is not enough. We are three children whom she has to support: my sister, my little brother and me... My Mom says to me that they [the mother and the sister] are thinking about my idea but I already decided to stop here, so I can help her... I talk with my sister also about that and she does not want that I leave the CECAM, but it is not what she wants [laughter] I want to do it because I want that she succeeds in life, that is what is more important to me, that she becomes somebody in life."

"When my sister finishes her studies then I could continue with the music but I think it would not happen because my sisters needs 7 years to finish the university, at that time it is going to be too late for me to study music. I think I will just continue playing with the bands, but in that way one can also learn; one does not learn everything, but one can learn something

[...] I wanted to study in the CECAM because I wanted to know other things. I just knew the music that is listened and played in my village: *sinaloenses*. Here in the CECAM I am playing other kinds of music and I am learning also music theory.”

Ulises words reveal the importance of the community for the personal life of the Indigenous individual. In Ulises case the music becomes a Derridean undecidable; the music activity of Ulises is a problem because it affects in a negative way the economical sphere of his family, but the music is also a solution for that problem because through his work as a musician he can economically support his family.

The family of Carlos Miguel, and thus he also, suffers the consequences of coloniality of power executed by the Mexican Government. Since the Indigenous production and working modes are not accepted by the government, the Indigenous peoples do not have medical insurance and pension benefits.

“I am worried about my parents because I am their only child; they feel sad because I am not there with them, but I feel the same, I am very sad when I think I can loose them. My Mom is 60 years old and my dad is around 62 years old [another classmate says ‘they are going to retire soon’, both laugh] I do not think so; they work in the *milpa*, therefore they shall work until they can [laughter].”

The contribution of the CECAM for decolonization of power can be also seen in the festivity of the Mexican Independence Day. By itself, the fact that the CECAM decided itself to participate in this festivity, as well as the way in which the CECAM participated, is a decoloniality of power practice; neither the CECAM participation, nor the way of its participation were imposed by third parties, this is, the CECAM had control over its participation in the festivity all the time.

The fact that the clothes, worn by the CECAM members during the festivity, were on loan from a traditional clothes producer from Tlahuitoltepec, and the use of the Mixe time zone for the organization of the festivity reinforced the local

way of textile production and the control over the organization of the activities of the Mixe community. The election of the repertoire that the *Banda intermedia* and the *Banda Oficial* played is also another example of Decolonization of Power, because third parties did not have control over the election of musical pieces or over the worn clothes.

The way, in which the rehearsals were carried out, shows that the CECAM determined by itself the importance, the role and the meaning of each element and dynamic, instead of being imposed by the SEP. The honour and salute to the Mexican flag is an essential part in the every day activities of every elementary education school, while the music has a supplementary role, it is perceived as dispensable, as an ornament, therefore it is not considered as an essential part of the curriculum. But in this case, the roles have been changed according to the Mixe interests and traditions; the music has an essential role in the Mixe culture, while the Mexican national symbols are a part of their culture but do not have a central role. It is also remarkable that the laughter, jokes and breaks have a different meaning; during the flag ceremony in the official elementary education schools they show a total lack of respect, while in the CECAM it does not represent a significant problem as long the objective of the activity is achieved.

The dynamics between the students that occur outside the context of the lessons are also Decolonization of Power practices, because the students can determine their own dynamics without any imposition of the musical assessors, even within the dynamics themselves there are no impositions, since the students exchange continuously the roles; for example, when Teobaldo, Ludovico and Maria practiced together some songs, the 'teacher's role' was alternated among the three students. But the lessons are also carried out avoiding control practices, since the musical assessor do not have a relation of power over the students; this is, there does not exist a hierarchical organization where the students are subordinated to the musical assessor. Equalitarian participation, creativity and dialogue help to avoid any coloniality of power, coloniality of being and coloniality of knowledge practice; the students are not mere recipients to be filled with the information that provides the teacher, on the

other hand the students take part in the development of the classes, avoiding to leave the control of the teaching process to the musical assessor; the dialogue articulated the relationship between all members of the class.

The daily tasks in the CECAM are also Decoloniality practices because they are not organized in a hierarchical way; all members, including teachers, take part in all activities, at the same time any task has a special priority over the other ones. The daily tasks also reveal a high degree of respect towards the natural environment; the CECAM tries to maximize the use of all natural sources: the food scraps are used to feed the animals; the rain water is collected and used in the cleaning activities; the *tortillas*, vegetable, sauces and frijoles that still left are used to make another dishes for the next day; for example, the *tortillas* are dried and then fried, then, the remaining *salsa* is used to make a kind of green spicy cream that is needed for *chilaquiles*, etc. The agriculture, kitchen, maintenance and cleaning activities are decoloniality of power activities, because they promote and reinforce the production models of the Mixe people.

8. Final Considerations

This research project has attempted to prove that the *Centro de Capacitación Musical Mixe y desarrollo de la Cultura Mixe* (CECAM) in the Mexico's state of Oaxaca – that is recognized in the section about *Community MUSIC* – contributes in decolonization of the communities of the Oaxacan Indigenous peoples.

On the basis of the ideas of Dr. Lee Higgins, the condition of *Community MUSIC* has been articulated – through Elliott's categories of 'music' and Derrida deconstruction – as *Community MUSIC*, concluding that *Community MUSIC* is the groundwork of any musical activity, including the music-making, and as such is its fundamental *Other*. Through a historical view four traits of *Community MUSIC* were stated: context, community, participation and pedagogy. These traits allow *Community MUSIC* to be experienced; each trait has been portrayed and sustained using diverse Derridean notions, at the same time, it has been stressed the practical application of each trait. Under the deconstructive terms *subjectile*, *l'avenir*, *trace*, *différance*, *intertextuality*, *hospitality* and the *undecidable*, *Community MUSIC* is the sign that relates to any musical practice.

According to Walter Dignolo, the epistemic and political project known as modernity/(de)coloniality initiated in South America, more precisely in the Andean region. To say “Modernity and Decoloniality” is to name in a colonial way the project that is being decolonized. Modernity/(De)Coloniality are complex, heterogeneous, and historically structural concepts; the crucial concept, however, is coloniality. The key concept of coloniality questions the notion that knowledge is disembodied and independent of any specific geo-historical locations. The participants involved in the project maintain that such belief has been produced and implanted by dominant principles of knowledge that originated in Europe since the Renaissance. In order to build a universal concept of knowledge, Western epistemology (from Christian theology to secular philosophy and science) has pretended that knowledge is independent

of the geo-historical (Christian Europe) and biographical conditions (Christian white men living in Christian Europe), in which it is produced. As a result, Europe became the locus of epistemic enunciation, and the rest of the world became the object to be described and studied from the European (and, later on, the United States), perspective.

The thoughts of the modernity/coloniality group in South Americas have been discussed and applied to understand history and current life of the Oaxacan population, and thus, of the Mixe community, including all members of the CECAM. The key criteria of the modernity/coloniality concept, which differ from the 'traditional' modernity are: the track of the modernity origins in the conquest of the Americas and the control of the Atlantic ocean after 1492; the study of the colonialism and development of the world capital system as constituent elements of the modernity; the introduction of a global configuration by the conception of the modernity and as an exclusive phenomenon intra-European; the supremacy of others outside the European centre as a necessary characteristic of the modernity, and thus the culture subordination of those other groups; and finally, the concept of the Eurocentrism as a recognition form of the modernity/coloniality.

It is proved that during the history of the Oaxaca State – from the Colonial time to the present time –the modernity/coloniality practices have always been present, in order to control and exploit the indigenous culture, economy and politics according to the interest of the current dominant class, which follows the domination guidelines established by Eurocentric hegemony. As result of practices of the coloniality of being, a racial division among the population was established, creating two entities in the imaginary of the population, whose confrontation installs hierarchical dichotomies such as: modern/primitive; civilized/uncivilized; development/stagnation; rich/poor; urban/rural; educated/ignorant; non-indigenous/indigenous.

The understanding of the *otro*, under the modernity/coloniality perspective, describes the indigenous individual as an imbecile, who needs to be transformed by the humanism of the federal and state policies and to be

integrated into a national model, according to the needs of the current globalization system. Thus, it is possible to recognize the establishment of a hierarchy among the population on the basis of a racial division: this principle regulates most of the social relations, which take place in the urban centres. The function of the urban regions as political, economic, and cultural centres legitimizes its supremacy, to detriment of the rural regions. The rural populations are conceived as double inferior: on the one hand, they do not belong to the urban world that is identified as the modern world and, on the other hand, they are inhabited by indigenous individuals. Therefore, in the Oaxaca society, indigenous is about being poor, ignorant, uncivilized and from a rural region, using this stigma to ensure inequality.

The investigation program of the Modernity/Coloniality Group provides an alternative framework for debates over modernity and *globalization*, which goes beyond a different description of the facts; it contributes –starting from the ‘Latin American periphery of the modernity/colonial world system’– to the epistemic transformation within the modernity perspective, since referring to the colonial difference shows the dimension of the domination. The resultant notions of debates over modernity and *globalization* under the rubric of modernity/coloniality provide a new perspective, in order to clarify both, the Eurocentric dynamics by the production of the modernity and the attempts to go beyond the modernity condition: an attempt to decolonizing America. Decolonial thinking is the recognition and implementation of *razones otras*, a means of eliminating the provincial tendency to pretend that Western European modes of thinking are in fact universal ones.⁴²⁵ In its practical applications Decoloniality is called a ‘programmatic’ of de-linking from contemporary legacies of coloniality, a response to needs unmet by the modern official governments; it is a search for “social liberation from all power organized as inequality, discrimination, exploitation, and domination.”⁴²⁶

Under this perspective it was demonstrated that the activity of the CECAM,

⁴²⁵ Quijano, “Coloniality of Power, Ethnocentrism, and Latin America,” 544.

⁴²⁶ Aníbal Quijano, “Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality,” *Cultural Studies* 21 (2007): 178.

under the rubric of *Community* MUSIC, is part of the resistance tradition of the Oaxacan Indigenous peoples, who attempt to recover their free self-determination and self-sufficiency, but without establishing any hierarchy among those elements that conform their identity and cultural practices. The indigenous peoples – not only as Being, but also their culture – are a result of the syncretism between the European world and the pre-columbian world. Thus, the efforts of the indigenous peoples to reinforce their identity through the free practice of their culture and the articulation of their political, social and economic life – through the *usos y costumbres* system –, is not an aim to re-establish a pre-columbian identity and/or to eradicate the European traces; nor is an aim to prioritize the pre-columbian traces over the European ones. Similar to Derridean thought, the indigenous perspective remarks paradoxes, and assumes the dichotomy; the opposites; and the Derridean *Other*, as constitutive elements of their identity.

On basis of the above, it has been showed the activity of the CECAM as *Community* MUSIC; even if the members of the CECAM are not familiar with the notion of *Community* MUSIC, all described traits and features of *Community* MUSIC are contained in the musical practices of the CECAM. The musical practice of the CECAM is not based and articulated primarily through mere musical pedagogical concepts, but through the *usos y costumbres* and world view of the Oaxacan Indigenous, which are the basis and articulation modes of all spheres of the Indigenous peoples; from this perspective, the musical activity shared the same origin as all activities, products and structures of the Indigenous population, therefore the music activity cannot appear alone and disassociated from other spheres and activities. This, reinforces the idea of Dr Higgins suggesting that what is called community music is in fact all kind of music activity, therefore the word 'community' is written in italics. In this vein, any musical activity that arose from and is articulated through decoloniality perspective is (*Community*) MUSIC.

The present study should not be misinterpreted as a way of imposing the world view and the *usos y costumbres* of the Oaxacan indigenous peoples over other world concepts and traditions, but as an alternative for any community -

regardless if it is a school, a civil community, or a nation – to conduce any kind of activity free from impositions. In context of a community free from coloniality practices, the individual interests, needs and expectations have always a place; decoloniality practices provide the opportunity to cover – or at least to try – the heterogeneous needs and expectations of all members of a community, but at the same time contribute to avoid that a minority imposes its interests over the whole community. This study proves that within a musical activity generated, understood and articulated under the Derridean and decoloniality perspective there is place for all constitutive elements of each actor, each product and each relation, including its history, present and unpredictable future – *l'avenir* – as well as its paradoxes and polarities.

Throughout this paper, it has been demonstrated that the CECAM does not ignore and hinder the development and practice of *Otras/Other* musical traditions; this is the main reason to affirm that the CECAM does not carry out any kind of colonization practices against other cultures. As it has been stated, the CECAM does not believe that the Indigenous concept about the musical practice shall be imposed on other communities and individuals. It is also possible to affirm that there is no kind of colonization practices within the CECAM activity, since *Otras/Other* musical traditions are included in the musical practice of the CECAM but not as *parerga* or as 'exotic' – as is the case with official schools that follow the guidelines imposed by the Eurocentric hegemony of knowledge. The *Otras/Other* musical traditions as well as social, cultural and political phenomena are present in the CECAM as constitutive *Otros/Other* of the Oaxacan Indigenous peoples. The activity of the CECAM does not pretend to give a universal and objective judgement value to *Otras/Other* musical practices; it does not aim to create a hierarchical relation, where the *Otras/Other* musical practices are subordinated and legitimized by the Indigenous music tradition.

According to the European coloniality perspective, the nature of the human being shall be racially categorized, resulting in the classification of its social, political, cultural and economic production, as well as in the determination of the role of each human being in the world. The coloniality perspective attempts to perpetuate its way of viewing the world through Coloniality of Power, Coloniality

of Knowledge and Coloniality of Being practices. On the contrary to this, *Community-Decoloniality* practices establish the necessary conditions for an egalitarian participation of the diverse heterogeneous actors of a community, allowing, in this way, a constant transformation that makes it possible in the real future both of the community and of each community member; that future, which is genuine, uncontrollable and unpredictable: *l'avenir*.

9. Pictures



CECAM in Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec, Oaxaca, Mexico.



Student practicing.



Students playing guitar in the dormitories.



Students playing guitar in the dormitories.



Student Practicing.



Students playing in front of a classroom.



From left to right: Teobaldo, Maria and Ludovico playing guitar.



Guitar class.



Student practicing at night.



Teacher and students playing basketball during the rehearsal of the *Banda Oficial*.



People from Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec watching the rehearsals.



The *Banda Oficial* practicing.



Banda Intermedia in the centre of Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec



Banda Intermedia arriving in the house of *Señorita America*.



Banda Intermedia arriving in the house of Señorita America.



Banda Intermedia playing in the convite.



Banda Intermedia playing in the Independence Day celebration.



Dance performance in the Independence Day celebration.



Banda Intermedia playing and dancing in the Independence Day celebration.



Girls of the CECAM planting.



Students of the CECAM cooking *tortillas*.



Students of the CECAM cooking *tortillas*.



Students of the CECAM cooking *tortillas*.



Students having lunch.

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