The crucial need to support culturally diverse students in Australian music classrooms

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Abstract

Australia's cultural and ethnic diversity raises many opportunities, but also challenges, for school music education. There is widespread recognition that the educational needs of all students need to be considered in the educational environment, however there is a paucity of empirical studies that consider the experiences of culturally diverse students in Australian music classrooms. This paper draws attention to the need for a deeper understanding of ways to support culturally diverse students, in the hope of identifying ways forward for music education to become more inclusive. This includes looking at the impacts of the population mismatch between diverse students and an ethnically homogeneous teaching population, the need for a musically broad and inclusive pre-service music teacher education, and the importance of a culturally inclusive music classroom.

Key words: cultural and linguistically diverse (CALD), cultural inclusion, music education, music teacher education.

Introduction

Australia has a history as a culturally diverse society. In 2020, there were over 7.6 million migrants living in Australia and 654,284 International students engaging in Australian education (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2021a; Department of Education Skills and Employment, 2021). Culture includes the common features (religion, race, language and music) shared by a group of people, and it develops over time in relation to historical, social, and political contexts. Education in Australia has become more culturally diverse since World War Two due to increasing immigration, economic and educational cooperation and cultural exchange with different countries (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2021a; NSW Migration Heritage Centre, 2010). Different ethnic groups have contributed to the diverse cultures in Australia, and this cultural richness is often identified as a strength (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2014). However, culturally diverse groups have often been subjected to marginalisation, assimilation and racism within the society dominated by western cultures over decades (Manathunga, 2019). These factors shape experiences of culturally diverse students in schools.

The majority of teachers in Australian schools are from White-Anglo and middle-class backgrounds (Forrest, Lean, & Dunn, 2016). The diversity of the student population in Australian schools is far greater than the diversity of educators, and thus there are significant differences between the identities of students and teachers in Australian schools. There have been calls to diversify the teaching profession to match diverse student population (Australian Government, 2022; Cruickshank, 2022; Jacobs & Dwyer, 2022). Studies have suggested that culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) teachers can serve as role models for their students who share similar cultural backgrounds (Cherng & Halpin, 2016; Fitzpatrick, Henninger, & Taylor, 2014) and encourage minority ethnic students in navigating systems and obstacles in society (Griffin, 2018). Additionally, diversifying

the teacher workforce promotes the development of an inclusive school culture and culturally relevant pedagogy (Nevarez, Jouganatos, & Wood, 2019).

Music education in Australian schools reflects this larger trend of being oriented towards Western cultures and by White cultural knowledge (Forrest et al., 2016). The majority of music teachers are trained in Western music genres and report feeling poorly equipped to teach music from other cultures (Joseph, Nethsinghe, & Cabedo Mas, 2018). Although the Australian Curriculum (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority, 2022) and Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (APST) (Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership, 2011) both encourage teachers to engage with knowledge, understanding and skills concerning cultural diversity, there has been a lack of practical guidance for classroom music teachers (Harrison, 2012; Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority, 2022). More recent research in decolonising music education (Bradley, 2012; Hess, 2015), cultural appreciation (Howard, 2020) and diversifying the curriculum more broadly, has not always made its way into practice. There can be a significant divide between official curriculum policies and music teachers' practices.

The purpose of this research is to review the existing literature, providing a basis for understanding the needs of music education in Australia's increasingly diverse music classrooms. The paper begins with the experiences of cultural minority teachers in Australian schools with regards to the challenges that they face in their teaching professions, and the impact this has on learning, especially for culturally diverse students. It will then focus on the ways music teacher education educates pre-service teachers about cultural inclusivity, as well as the policies and the theories related to multicultural music education. It aims to establish an argument for the need for systematic and thorough research into how best to support culturally diverse students in Australian music classrooms.

Cultural diversity in education in Australia

The country now known as Australia has always been a culturally diverse place. Prior to colonisation, the continent was inhabited by up to 500 distinct groups. Any conversation about cultural diversity in Australia must begin with respect for the sovereignty of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, and we acknowledge that music education has largely excluded Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander voices. Songs, along with land, children, lives, language and cultural practices, have been stolen. Outsiders have written about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander musics in classrooms, and while some of this work has been valuable and well intentioned, that is not our purpose in this paper. However, as Williams (2014) cautions:

> Through "multiculturalism" Australian Indigenous people are in danger of being grouped with migrants who came to Australia after British colonisation, whom they have little in common with other than in some cases their skin colour or minority status. In other words, there is a danger that the distinctiveness of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island cultures can be "diluted" or "lost" amongst the plethora of other cultures that exist currently within Australian schools. This could be an unintended consequence of multiculturalism on account of its "umbrella" or all-encompassing effect. Or alternatively it could be an intended consequence of multiculturalism, where dominant social groups deliberately use multiculturalism for the purpose of assimilation. (p. 311)

Today, there are more than 25 million people settled in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2021a) with 278 cultural and ethnic groups (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2019). According to data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, in 2021, 29.1% of Australian population was born overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2022). The students in Australian schools come from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds, with more than one-fifth (21.8%) of school children speaking a language other than English at home (Australian Government, 2022). More than a

million adolescents and children who came from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds migrated to Australia with their families. Apart from immigration, there are 545,541 international students in Australia, even though the number of international students dropped 17% in 2021 due to COVID-19 related travel restrictions (Department of Education Skills and Employment, 2021).

While the population of students is increasingly diverse, the composition of teachers remains hegemonic, made up of the ethnic "mainstream" (Basit & Santoro, 2011). Based upon the most recent Australian Teacher Workforce Data, the majority of teachers (83%) had been born in Australia, with only 17% of teachers had born overseas (16% primary, 19% secondary) (Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership, 2021). This number is similar to the previous report of the proportion of teachers born overseas (16.4% primary and 19.2% secondary in 2013) (McKenzie, Weldon, Rowley, Murphy, & McMillan, 2014). Comparatively, 29.8% of the total Australian population was born overseas, and 33.6% of them are at working ages in 2020 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2021b). These numbers show that the teaching workforce has a significantly lower proportion that were born overseas (Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership, 2021; Collins & Reid, 2012; Cruickshank, 2022; McKenzie et al., 2014). In this context, a large number of culturally diverse young people experience acculturative stress and disengagement in schools because of the need to adapt to a school culture that is very different from their culture of origin and family (Khawaja, Allan, & Schweitzer, 2018; Short, 2002).

Culturally diverse teachers in Australia

While it is the responsibility for White Australian educators to do more to provide a culturally inclusive education (discussed later in this paper), there is also a need to diversify the teaching workforce to improve the structure of education and cultural democracy (Andrews et al., 2019). Recent research indicated that the teachers from CALD background are able to develop positive relationships with culturally diverse students and empathise with their experiences based on certain cultural similarities (Griffin & Tackie, 2016). Based on their own experiences as a part of a minority in educational settings, CALD teachers can better understand students' cultural practices and beliefs and how they shape them as learners (Santoro, 2015). Minority teachers are well perceived by minority students because they may have experiences navigating cultural stereotypes and can support students to combat stereotypes (Cherng & Halpin, 2016). Educational institutions can better serve students academically and socially when the composition of the teaching workforce matches the student population (Grissom, Kern, & Rodriguez, 2015), and positive relationships between students and teachers can contribute to students' academic success.

Further, culturally diverse teachers can contribute diverse cultural perspectives on learning and teaching in schools (Santoro, 2015). They are assets to education because of their unique experiences and capacity to share a different worldview with students (Kohli, 2009), and prepare them to be responsible global citizens who understand the world beyond their local context (Santoro, 2015). CALD teachers can also be seen as cross-cultural experts to improve the socio-political consciousness of all students (Gist, 2018; Santoro, 2015). Minority teachers are often more multiculturally aware than their White counterparts, and the higher level of multicultural awareness can lead to a better classroom environment (Cherng & Davis, 2019). They are usually more liable to discuss the topics related to race relations and social justice (Cherng & Halpin, 2016). These constructive conversations can guide White students to understand how they can contribute to social justice positively and accurately (Nevarez et al., 2019).

CALD teachers often have a personal understanding of race and racism that the majority teachers may not. As insiders to the experiences of racism, they are valuable in the fight for

educational/social justice (Kohli, 2009). They can be cross-cultural mentors for their 'mainstream' colleagues and students, and help to create a socially just and equitable society (Gist, 2018; Kohli, 2009; Santoro, 2015). Diversifying the teaching workforce may contribute to closing longstanding racial achievement gaps as students' perception of teachers are associated with motivation and achievement (Cherng & Davis, 2019). To ensure the quality and equality of education for all students, the representation and importance of teacher diversity in schools not be ignored (Gist, 2018).

Nevertheless, there are multiple challenges in recruiting and retaining culturally diverse teachers in Australian schools. For example, the Literacy and Numeracy Test for Initial Teacher Education (LANTITE) introduced by the Australian Government in 2016 has functioned as a checkpoint for keeping culturally diverse candidates out of the teaching force (Barnes & Cross, 2021). Studies suggested that standardised exams for teacher selection negatively impact on the diversity of teaching forces (Andrews et al., 2019). For example, culturally diverse candidates may possess the required numeracy skills at the required level, but they are unable to present that competence because of the linguistic complexity of exam questions (O'Keeffe, O'Halloran, Wignell, & Tan, 2017). Using LANTITE as an entry requirement has the potential to significantly disadvantage Initial Teacher Education (ITE) candidates from CALD backgrounds. There are a number of current and recent ITE students that have proposed to abolish LANTITE (Australian Government, 2022). Some stakeholders propose that the one-size-fits-all approach to attracting high-quality candidates is not effective, and targeted incentives are needed to attract candidates from diverse backgrounds.

Furthermore, the English language proficiency requirement for international teachers who want to start their teaching career in Australia is much higher than other international candidates in different industries. Jurisdiction-based teacher regulatory authorities require all applicants for teacher registration to meet English language proficiency requirements unless they have completed four years of full-time higher education study in the field of school education in English-speaking countries including Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States of America, Canada and Republic of Ireland (Australian institute for Teaching and School Leadership, 2017; Queensland College of Teacher, 2022). All applicants, except for those who have completed the qualifications on which they rely to gain teacher registration in English in an exempt country, are required to provide evidence of an International Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ISLPR) test report or an International English Language Testing Systems (IELTS) test report with a minimum average score of 7.5 across all four skill areas of Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing, and a minimum result of 7.0 in Reading and Writing and 8.0 in Listening and Speaking. In comparison, the IELTS requirement for doctors with overseas specialist qualifications is 7, with a minimum score of 7 in each of the four components (Medical Board of Australia, 2015), and for accountants, 6 with a minimum score of 6 in each section (Certified Practising Accountant, 2021). This may discourage culturally diverse students from considering teaching as a career, as the English language proficiency requirement for entering other study programs is lower than ITE programs (an overall result of 6 for undergraduate programs, and 6.5 for master and doctoral degrees).

Additionally, culturally diverse teachers may experience challenges in navigating a transcultural space of the educational setting (Soong et al., 2020). The lack of diversity in the current teaching workforce can suppress future diversity because the CALD teachers may not feel welcomed and valued in schools (Australian Government, 2022). Teachers from culturally diverse backgrounds have been found to experience a higher level of stress than the teachers from majority Anglo English background, due to cultural differences and communication problems (Soong et al.,

2020). Culturally diverse teachers who neither look nor sound like the majority of the native English speaking teachers experience a higher level of stress in the workplace than their counterparts (Soong et al., 2020). The complexities they confront, such as prejudicial attitudes, issues of language, cultural gaps, lack of familiarity with the host's workplace culture (Maddamsetti, Flennaugh, & Rosaen, 2018) and prevailing ideologies of Whiteness (Basit & Santoro, 2011) need to be recognised and addressed.

Research that considers the experiences of culturally diverse teachers in Australian schools is scarce. Basit and Santoro (2011) have found that some CALD teachers feel disappointment and anxiousness about their career and thus leave the profession. Basit and Santoro (2011) agree, suggesting that the challenges such as the increase of workload, lack of respect and professional autonomy may contribute to their premature resignation. Studies also reported that some teachers with minority ethnic background experience racism from students, parents and colleagues, and are marginalised within schools (McNamara & Basit, 2004; Peeler & Jane, 2005). The teachers from minority ethnic groups left teaching professions at the higher rate than majority ethnic teachers (Gist, 2018). Educational policy makers, researchers and teacher educators need to consider the challenges related to diversify the teaching workforce (Andrews et al., 2019). Understanding of transcultural identities of culturally diverse teachers and challenges that they face in developing their professions is crucial for finding ways forward in recruiting, training, supporting, and retaining diverse teachers.

Cultural diversity in music teacher education

The Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (APST) (Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership, 2011) require that all teachers have an understanding of the teaching strategies that are responsive to the strengths and needs of diverse students. However, in some schools, implementation of such strategies can be challenging (Forrest, Lean, & Dunn, 2017). Research has found that music teachers in Australian schools have a strong preference for teaching western music, as the majority of them are trained in western music genres. Their formal and informal learning experiences are predominantly taught from a "West is best" perspective (Joseph & Southcott, 2010). Teachers' knowledge of teaching is often based on their own prior learning experience, so their lenses of learning and teaching are shaped by the education they receive over time (Henkin & Steinmetz, 2008). It makes sense that music teachers do not feel competent teaching unfamiliar music that may not have been part of their initial and continuous training (Joseph et al., 2018). Music teachers may lack the training to effectively incorporate the musical and cultural realities of immigrant students into the music classroom (Joseph et al., 2018)

Developing teachers' competence to teach different music to young people from diverse backgrounds is one of the challenges of creating "multicultural"[1] music education in schools (Campbell, 2002; Southcott & Joseph, 2007). The topic about how to prepare pre-service music teachers for contemporary music classrooms has been discussed over the last several years. There is a call for tertiary teacher education to include a wider range of musics as a significant component of quality teacher education (Gay & Howard, 2000; Joseph et al., 2018). The design of an Initial Teacher Education program is vitally important in producing future teachers who are able to deliver culturally diverse and inclusive school music education programs (Mushi, 2004; Southcott & Joseph, 2010). However, the current practices of culturally diverse music education are impeded by the long tradition of education in music based on primarily Western musics (Robinson, 2020; Schippers & Cain, 2010). Most schools and tertiary institutions

1 As discussed later in this article, the term 'multicultural' can be problematic.

provide music education only in Western classical or popular musics (rarely both), allowing for the study of "other" musics while privileging European cultures (Schippers & Cain, 2010). The musics and musical practices of culturally diverse communities are marginalised, because most music schools and music teacher education programs are not invested in ways of knowing non-Eurocentric beliefs and practices (Robinson, 2020)

A positive attitude towards culturally diverse musics plays a crucial role in implementing culturally inclusive music education (Chen-Hafteck, 2007). Teachers' music identities and attitudes influence the practice of school music education (Hargreaves & Marshall, 2003). Music educators have different responsibilities to musicians: their job is to demonstrate the utilisation and the power of music, and, when appropriate, prioritise educational outcomes over musical ones (Regelski, 2012). In Australia, teachers are required to "Demonstrate knowledge of teaching strategies that are responsive to the learning strengths and needs of students from diverse linguistic, cultural, religious and socioeconomic backgrounds" (Standard 1.3, Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership, 2011, p. 10). Achieving this objective requires a reimagining of music educators at both the school and tertiary level.

Cultural diversity in music education policy and practice

The need for music education curricula to include more than Western classical musics is not new. The "multicultural education" movement was an educational reform originating in the civil rights movements of the 1960s in the United States. Gibson (1976) stated that multicultural education can be applied to create a harmonic society where people respect and learn from each other. Similar shifts were seen in music education at around the same time. The 1967 Tanglewood Symposium in the United States responded to the calls from within broader educational literature for greater inclusivity and recognition of diversity. A move away from exclusive use of the Western canon was suggested as a way of making music education more inclusive. The Tanglewood declaration (1967) states: "Music of all periods, styles, forms, and cultures belong in the curriculum". The Tanglewood Declaration lays out an impossible task, as the comprehensive study of all musics in a meaningful way is clearly not possible.

When considering multiculturalism in education and music education, there is a problem with definitions (Miralis, 2006). Sleeter and Grant (1988) define multiculturalism as "education policies and practices that recognise, accept, and affirm human differences and similarities related to gender, race, handicap, and class" (p. 137). This understanding of multiculturalism has been widely adopted within the field of educational literature, particularly critical pedagogy, but as Koza (1996) identifies, is not widely agreed upon in music education. Multicultural music education most often refers to the teaching of "ethnic" or "world" musics, representing a focus on what is taught (and, in some cases, how it is taught) rather than who is involved in the teaching and learning (Koza, 1996, 2009).

Through the 1980s and 90s, "multicultural music education" texts were published, intended to make world musics more approachable for teachers, providing repertoire and lesson plans for implementation in the classroom (Anderson & Campbell, 1996; Campbell, 2004; Wade, 2004). Such texts typically provide a large number of musical examples, usually not more than one or two from each culture and focus on aural analysis through a common elements framework. Reflecting on the ideas inherent in this approach, Vaugeois (2007) writes:

> The discourse of multiculturalism claims inclusivity without acknowledging that there is an implicit frame of reference which is largely Anglo-European. This frame of reference hinges on the notion that we are inviting people to "our" house. The house is occasionally made bigger to accommodate new needs but the idea that the house is "ours" remains steadfast and virtually unquestionable. (p. 12)

In the early 20th century, a number of ethnocentrism scholars assumed that the elements of pitch, harmony, scale, tonality and key in European Western music were "universal"; learning European Western music provided an understanding of music from all other cultures (Kang, 2016). Elliot (1989) argued that music is not a universal language because people do not naturally understand, appreciate or enjoy the music from other cultures. The view that Western music is universal and all other non-Western music should contain the characteristics of Western music created the standards to judge other music (Kang, 2016).

From the second half of the 20th century, some academic scholars who previously investigated the universalism in music recognised the rich differences existing in music from diverse cultures (Kang, 2016). The Sachs–Hornbostel system of musical instrument classification developed by ethnomusicologists Hornbostel and Sachs was considered the first milestone in understanding the relationship between music and culture (Sloboda, 1985). Hornbostel explored musics of different origins with geographic classification of Asia, Rome Greece, Islam and Europe, and realised the diversity of world music cultures in terms of music structures, instruments, and songs (Sachs, 2008). Based on this theory, music has been seen as a means of "distinguishing, identifying, and expressing differences across cultures" (Elliott, 1989, p. 12).

Others have taken up these ideas, considering how music educators might design experiences that facilitate the development of intercultural competencies as well as musical knowledge and skills (Chandransu, 2019; Dunbar-Hall & Adnyana, 2004; de Villiers, 2021; Mellizo, 2020). By teaching students that there are differences between cultures, education is able to reduce prejudices, assumptions, and improve intercultural communication (Ozturgut, 2011). Providing students with experiences of learning music from diverse cultures can help them to understand, appreciate and accept the differences in cultures (Howard, 2018). Music education can be used to promote young people's global competence with the awareness of cultural diversity, social responsibility, social cohesion and intercultural communication (UNESCO, 2014).

Dunbar-Hall and Adnyana (2004) describe approaches that immerse students within a music's culture, either as cross-cultural (facilitated by a teacher who is not of the culture being studied) or inter-cultural (facilitated by a "culture-bearer") (p. 146). Both of these approaches have the potential to emphasise the social, ethical, pedagogical and musical aspects of the tradition, in line with the level of knowledge and skill possessed by the teacher. It is apparent that these models provide potential for the students to develop deep cultural and musical understandings about the musical practices in which they are engaged.

However, within the context of a mainstream school, practical and logistical problems may arise. Firstly, the notion of cultural ownership can be an issue in teaching musics from diverse cultures that are different from teachers' cultural backgrounds (Southcott & Joseph, 2007). Most teachers are cautious to teach the music of others in the classroom if it is not a music in which teachers have some extent of ownership or knowledge. Secondly, teachers who have limited education outside of Western music often choose to teach non-Western musics using Western notation and pedadgogies (Hess, 2021; Schippers & Cain, 2010). Using Western universalist teaching methods to teach all musics contravenes the initiation of musical plurality (Dunbar-Hall, 2000). It may simplify the complex rhythms that other music traditions valued and lead to educator and students' misunderstanding that the musics have simple forms and are easy to master (Hess, 2021). This teaching often completely decontextualises the music and ignores the deeper cultural significance in the lives of its peoples.

Additionally, although inviting a culture-bearer to teach the musics from their original cultures provides authentic multicultural music

opportunities for both students and music teachers (Joseph & Akombo, 2022; Joseph & Southcott, 2013), some potential complexities and assumptions can be seen in practice. First, the provision of such programs relies on school priorities and the availability of financial resources in different schools. Such opportunities occur too infrequently in primary and secondary education (Joseph & Southcott, 2013; Stein & Work, 2004). Secondly, there is no national institution in Australia to quality assure and provide long-term employment opportunities for the musicians from non-Western music backgrounds (Norman, 2013). While non-profit organisations such as Musica Viva perform some of these functions, use of a culture-bearer approach can require extensive facilitation and relationship-building from teachers to enact quality learning experiences. Thirdly, 'authenticity' can be a double-edged sword in teaching culturally diverse musics in a multicultural music classroom. Gaztambide-Fernandez and Stewart Rose (2015) claimed that notions of authenticity are often based on stereotypes and essentialised views of non-dominant musical practices. It may limit the freedom of culturally diverse students by ignoring the fact that other aspects of their identity are also important beyond their ethnic and cultural heritage (Cain, 2015; Mitchell, 2016), and thus segregate and undermine the rights of individuals (Mitchell, 2016; Price, 2020).

Reimagining music education: Towards a culturally inclusive system

The discussion of music education makes clear that simply adding musical examples from a range of cultures, while not inherently poor practice, will not automatically create a music classroom environment that is inclusive of culturally diverse students. Nor is there a simple and straightforward way to increase diversity in the music teaching population. However, there is a growing body of work emerging in music education that considers the ways in which West-centric musics, methodologies and knowledge systems could be displaced in music classrooms. "Decolonisation" is often used as a synonym for diverse, inclusive social justice-oriented and/or multicultural approaches, which fails to recognise the real and specific conditions of colonisation, particularly in settler-colonial societies (Tuck & Yang, 2012). The focus of this paper has not been explicit about the role of First Nations knowledges, perspectives or musics in the classroom, nor specifically focused on the needs of First Nations students and the value of more First Nations teachers. A detailed discussion of all of these aspects is warranted, and necessary for any real discussion of decolonisation of music education in Australia.

That said, the term decolonisation is used in the music education literature in various ways, to discuss the de-centring of the values that underpin Western music making. Hess (2020) and Stanton (2018) both draw on the work of Christopher Small (1998), repositioning music as "not a thing at all but an activity, something people do" (p. 2). When we conceptualise music as an activity, as a form of cultural production, we open new possibilities for moving in between cultural boundaries (Hess, 2020; Gaztambide-Fernández, 2007), leading to new practices where young people in music classrooms can be positioned as active social agents in their musicking (Hess, 2020). When considered in this way, music education that supports students as musicking-as-cultural production provides opportunities for self-affirmation (Hess, 2020), and potential for entry into decolonisation (Stanton, 2018).

While a full discussion of decolonising work in music education is beyond the scope of this paper, it provides important context for considering how the learning needs of culturally diverse students might be supported. The importance of going beyond including musics from students' cultural backgrounds in the curriculum is critical, as this is unlikely to lead to a sense of cultural inclusion and value, reinforcing the Western norm and everything else as other.

Conclusions

This paper has reviewed a range of literature that relates to key considerations for providing a supportive learning environment for culturally diverse students. First, existing research, while limited, identifies that a more diverse teaching workforce would benefit all students, and especially those from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. This is a large-scale change that will require policy change, support for teachers in schools, and may be slow to progress. The experiences of culturally diverse teachers are not well documented in the research literature, and this is an area that warrants further investigation. Second, although the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers specifically refers to the need for teachers to consider the learning needs of culturally and linguistically diverse students, school and tertiary music curricula, as well as music teacher education programs, remain dominated by Western musics and knowledge systems. While there are potential problems with superficial inclusion of non-Western musics in the classroom, this work is far more likely to be done tokenistically if the music teacher is only familiar with Western musics. Third, while including musics from a range of cultures may provide learning opportunities for students, this is not a panacea for supporting the learning needs of culturally diverse students. The underlying values of the music making, student agency and critical engagement with the purposes of music in peoples' lives (including their own) provides opportunities for the classroom to be renegotiated in ways that offer meaningful and inclusive learning for culturally diverse students.

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