Collaboration and Community-Engaged Practice in Indigenous Tertiary Music Education: A Case Study and Model from South Australia

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This article provides a case study from the Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (CASM), a specialist education provider and unique Australian Indigenous cultural institution for applied research, working in support of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander musicians and music at the University of Adelaide. The case study describes the founding philosophy, theoretical underpinning, policy framework, guiding principles and practical methodology of the work of CASM, with insights into inherent challenges in maintaining an Indigenous "cultural space" within a mainstream institutional setting, and the central importance, in such a setting, of collaborative and community-engaged policies and practices in working effectively for and with Indigenous musicians and stakeholder communities.

Introduction

This article provides a case study from the Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (CASM), a specialist education provider and unique Australian Indigenous cultural institution for applied research, working in support of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander musicians at the University of Adelaide. Founded in the early 1970s, CASM has been a leading South Australian cultural institution at the centre of a thriving Indigenous music scene, driving outcomes across key cultural, educational and social justice domains through community-engaged music education, performance and production as well as event curation, advocacy and research, plus strategic partnerships, and professional and industry collaborations.[1]

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1   This form of engaged ethnomusicology critically reconfigures academic praxis orientation "from being *about* people, to happening *with* people and with the goal of higher education taking proactive roles in addressing what are commonly understood as issues and causes of social injustice" (Usner 2010, 77).

In this article, I give an overview of the historical and institutional contexts, founding philosophy, developmental history, theoretical underpinning, policy, guiding principles, and practical methodology of the work of CASM, and offer insights into some of the challenges and benefits in developing and maintaining an educationally and culturally differentiated space within a mainstream Australian institutional context. CASM's 40-year history of operating in the context of diverse educational, cultural and social realities, in overlapping cultural "worlds" and contexts within and between multiple interrelated and interacting domains, has highlighted the effectiveness of integrative intercultural-intracultural[2] responses and collaboratively based community-engaged processes in working effectively with and for Indigenous musicians and stakeholder communities in higher education contexts.

The insights and perspectives I bring to this discussion arise from a 30-year engagement with the CASM Program as a non-Indigenous musician and educator, including from 1996 as the Head of CASM Programs.

The work of CASM as a cultural institution may usefully be understood as a collaboratively based long-term intercultural-intracultural applied research project[3] developed and maintained through a participatory action research model.[4] The broad aims of CASM are to bring about positive social change, in particular for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people as a historically disenfranchised and disempowered group of the Australian population.[5]

Policies and methodologies adopted within CASM were developed through participatory dialogic and dialectic processes rather than the usual institutional "top-to-bottom neo-colonial systems of validation."[6] This approach employed consensual "horizontal participative strategies"[7] to devise "forms of community's self-empowerment and counter-hegemonic forms of organization"[8] in collaborative research conducted from within the institutional setting. Cooperative modes of discourse and decision-making in collaborative knowledge-building through the

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2   This collaborative engagement between non-Indigenous and multiple Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and communities encompasses a plurality of diverse intellectual and expressive traditions.

3   This is consistent with the definition of the Study Group on Applied Ethnomusicology (ICTM) (International Council for Traditional Music 2010–2016) and the definition of applied ethnomusicology as a "philosophical approach to the study of music in culture, with social responsibility and social justice as guiding principles" (Loughran 2008, 52).

4   Here, "the means is the end, and the conduct of research is embedded in the process of introducing or generating change" and is "intended to further local goals with local partners" (Trotter and Schensul 1998 quoted in Swijghuisen Reigersberg 2010, 60).

5   Ethnomusicologist Svanibor Pettan's suggested subcategories (1 & 4) of the applied domain are also relevant: "action ethnomusicology: any use of ethnomusicological knowledge for planned change by the members of a local cultural group, and advocate ethnomusicology: any use of ethnomusicological knowledge by the ethnomusicologist to increase the power of self-determination for a particular cultural group" (Pettan 2008, 90, adapted from Spradley and McCurdy 2000).

6   Araújo 2008, 14.

7   Ibid., 18.

8   Ibid., 14.

participation of staff, students and community members, together with innovative leadership models,[9] ensured that the work of CASM was developed with the mutual endorsement and support of key stakeholders.[10] CASM exemplifies the principles outlined by ethnomusicologist Katelyn Barney and sociologist Monique Proud that highlight the importance of not only ethically framed forms of mutuality and reciprocal processes of "give and take," but also of "solid and genuine social relationships between all stakeholders: participants, researchers, community and universities," which may be seen as being at the heart of the collaborative process.[11] Given inherent and overlapping power disparities and dynamics, long term effective engagements between institutions and Indigenous peoples therefore rely upon productive partnerships of mutual trust and commitment built up and (re) affirmed over time.

With the official establishment of CASM in 1975 a new wave of Aboriginal music making in South Australia had begun, reflecting the changing political and social status of Aboriginal people, and an increasing popularity of new styles of imported music. Although contentious at the time, this saw the introduction of new styles and genres of music-making within the developing CASM Program,[12] including bands with electric guitar, bass and drum kit, and songwriting and performances of original material across a range of styles. These innovations were pivotal in the emergence of award-winning Australian Indigenous singer-songwriter musicians and seminal break-through bands from CASM, including No Fixed Address and Us Mob, the first contemporary Aboriginal rock bands to gain commercial radio airplay in Australia. These bands were developing a new and distinctive repertoire reflective of the contemporary Aboriginal experience and the political climate of the time, including now anthemic songs such as "We Have Survived" (No Fixed Address), "Black Boy" and "Dancin' in the Moonlight" (Coloured Stone) and "Genocide" (Us Mob). The success of these early bands and musicians helped to establish the national profile of CASM as an effective, culturally responsive, community-engaged institution providing strong proactive support for Indigenous musicians and music.

Through a sustained policy commitment to a community-engaged methodology for over 40 years, CASM has helped to develop a highly productive network of Indigenous musicians, and has worked together with Indigenous organizations, event organizers, curators and education and community service providers to open

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9   This provided both Indigenous and non-Indigenous leadership in the overlapping cultural domains of the work of CASM.

10 The importance of dialogic and dialectic approaches in the development of collaborative research partnerships with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is confirmed also in the work of other prominent Australian researchers. See Barney (ed.) 2014 and Barney 2014, 2–3.

11 Barney & Proud 2014, 94–95. Ethnomusicologist Aaron Corn and cross-cultural theorist Payi Linda Ford also posit that the coming together of "diverse intellectual traditions and expressive modalities" in research collaborations can provide a "generative, consensus-driven model…that is informed by classical ceremonial mechanisms for expressing Australian Indigenous polities" and through which "new knowledge and understandings" may be generated (Corn & Ford 2014, 115, 127). See also Treloyn & Charles 2014, 180.

12 See Lindemann 2009, 62–66.

up opportunities for Indigenous musicians through collaborative efforts, thereby supporting a thriving local Indigenous music scene. These have included event curation and the referral and coordination of musicians for festivals, community events and cross-over spaces in a wide variety of performance and production contexts,[13] in celebration and promotion of Indigenous living cultures and affirmation of discrete cultural identities resistant to cultural assimilation. This approach has produced both immediate and long term benefits for Indigenous musicians and the Indigenous community, demonstrating the efficacy of a "collective impact" methodology whereby organizations and programs from different sectors come together in a mutual commitment to solving complex systemic social problems, recognizing that "no single individual or organization can create large-scale, lasting social change in isolation."[14]

Founding Philosophy and Methodology

CASM had its beginnings in 1971 during a period of social activism and rapid and profound change in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander political affairs that ushered in a new wave of vigorous assertion by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people for recognition of social, cultural, legal and political rights; as well as self-determination, self-representation, political control over Indigenous affairs, sovereignty and land rights. In the early 1970s, University of Adelaide ethnomusicologist Catherine Ellis[15] and her musician husband Max Ellis came together with key members of the Council of Aboriginal Women of South Australia and other influential members of the Adelaide-based Aboriginal community, senior song owners and culture bearers living in the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Lands (APY Lands) in the remote north-west region of South Australia, and Sudanese refugee and musician Ben Yengi,[16] in order to create what was at that time a highly progressive Program of Training in Music for South Australian Aboriginal People, building on innovative social initiatives of the Port Adelaide Central Mission.[17]

Ellis' pioneering research into "traditional music" and in particular into Aboriginal music from the perspective of the performer, constituted her greatest contribution to an understanding of Aboriginal music traditions and to ethnomusicological theory, with significant long-lasting impacts on the educational philosophy, aims and teaching methodology of the CASM program.[18] Her understanding that there

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13 These included applied research projects, education and music workshops as well as sound recordings and film, radio and media productions.

14 *Social Justice and Native Title Report 2014*, 111.

15 Catherine J. Ellis (1935–1996) is widely recognized as one of the earliest, and most prolific and influential researchers to study Australian Aboriginal music (Barwick & Marett 1995, 1).

16 See Lindemann 2009.

17 See Dickey & Martin 1999.

18 Newsome & Turner 2006, 77–85. See also Ellis 1985.

was equal validity in the cultural experience of any person and inherent dangers in an ethnocentric belief led her to the understanding that, in multicultural education, success lay in "learning to see everything from a broader base of reference than that accepted within one's own culture."[19] She also saw that music offered a mode of expression that could correspond with the real, rather than the imagined experience of oppressed members of "cultures of silence,"[20] and that an emphasis not only on excellence in music itself but on "education through music"[21] had the potential to afford holistic benefits in the development of the whole person that went beyond the simple provision of a standard music education. In this, she drew also on Freirean emancipatory and critical pedagogy, recognizing that music and music education offered an ideal means for "conscientization" and development of "authenticity of expression," and for resolution of the dilemma of alienation not only from one's own culture, but also from one's own thinking about it.[22]

> The loss of this traditional education system, using music as its central form of communication, has been a severe blow to non-tribal Aboriginal people who now find themselves caught between two worlds, each of which claims a sophisticated system of learning and each of which, by means of many exclusions, denies them the right to be part of its system. It is toward this destructive educational problem that CASM has been directed.[23]

The early commitment to the integral involvement and formal appointment of Aboriginal and later on Torres Strait Islander lecturers[24] proved to be of central importance in the sustained success of CASM, through contribution of specialist expertise that was not only at the core of the intercultural-intracultural model, but also essential in maintaining productive collaborative relationships between CASM and Indigenous communities.

CASM was officially established within the Faculty of Music[25] in 1975, envisaged as a program of "training in music for Aboriginal people,"[26] which through the establishment of a permanent home within the University would "bring prestige to the University in the eyes of both the Aboriginal people and those of European descent"[27] and provide an enclave within the University to reduce feelings of isolation

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19 Ellis 1985, 187.

20 Ibid., 151.

21 Ellis 1985, 162.

22 Ibid., 150, 187.

23 Ibid., 133.

24 CASM subsequently also oversaw the appointment of the first two tenured Indigenous academics at the University of Adelaide, believed to be the first two Indigenous musicians appointed to such positions within the Australian higher education system. See also Newsome 2008.

25 It was also known as the Elder Conservatorium of Music.

26 CASM was founded "as a teaching program rather than as a research project" (*Lumen* 1975, 3).

27 CASM 1984, 1.

and alienation.[28] This innovative program[29] also aimed to create an opportunity for university students to "experience first-hand the music of another culture",[30] bringing together "tribal aborigines, urban aborigines and Elder Conservatorium students engaged in the activities of musical study and preservation and transmission of tribal aboriginal musical traditions through tribal and western teaching techniques."[31]

The establishment of CASM represented an unprecedented landmark innovation in Australian higher education, [32] and was also acknowledged as "an important milestone in the progress of Aboriginal music in South Australia"[33] of far-reaching importance for Indigenous musicians and in Australian Indigenous music.[34] In applying her research knowledge and institutional power to bring the university together with the Aboriginal community in the creation of a cultural institution that was to prove of longstanding benefit for Aboriginal people, Ellis had effectively applied Daniel Sheehy's fourth strategy of applied research, "developing broad, structural solutions to broad problems."[35] It was recognized from the beginning however that this innovative model would be "seen and valued in different ways by the many different people involved with it," and that the maintenance of an equitable balance between the dual functions of CASM as a specialist music training program for Indigenous students and as an academic program for non-Indigenous ethnomusicology students enrolled in "mainstream" programs "was never going to be easy."[36]

Of particular importance in the developing methodology was a focus on public performance that aimed to "encourage and promote Aboriginal musicians as entertainers, especially within their own community, and to give special encouragement and support to original composition" whilst also providing a necessary stimulus to learning.[37] This integration of experiential learning through performance in Aboriginal community and broader public contexts went on to become central to the collaborative community-engaged methodology.

CASM was understood in the early days as a particular synthesis of academic and extra-university interests[38] that could successfully deal with the complex,

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28 Tunstill 1991, 3.

29 See also Amery 1991.

30 Lindemann 2009, 58.

31 CASM 1984, 1. This was reflected in the name of the CASM in-house journal *Tjungaringanyi* published from 1975–1992, from the Pitjantjatjara verb *tjunguringanyi* meaning "joining together" or "coming together as one." See also Ellis 1985, 167.

32 CASM was also the progenitor of Indigenous education at the University of Adelaide.

33 Lindemann 2009, 51. See also Newsome & Turner 2006.

34 Newsome 2008, 40–41.

35 Sheehy 1992, 330–331. See also Newsome 2008, 37, 40; and Newsome & Turner 2006, 80–85.

36 Lindemann 2009, 58.

37 CASM 1979, 2.

38 CASM 1979, 1.

cross-cultural and multicultural issues arising out of its work.[39] The educational program was seen as providing a dual model for both traditional and urban music, exemplifying "the phenomenon of a musical culture in transition," promoting "the musical and artistic expression of a contemporary urban Aboriginal consciousness"[40] and using music as "one of the pillars of cultural identity and as a means of bridging the gap between the black and white communities."[41] The overarching purpose was "to meet the need on the part of the urban Aboriginals for training in a particular field," and to help overcome, at least in part, some of the educational deficiencies that had been experienced by members of the urban Aboriginal community.[42] An outstanding aim of the Centre was to "assist urban Aboriginals in establishing firm physical and psychological contact with their traditional roots through music" as well as to increase their understanding and appreciation of European music and its instruments.[43] This approach it was thought would better enable "urban" Aboriginal people "to integrate that which is best from both cultures (white and black) in order to develop both as individuals and as participating members of the whole society."[44]

With the introduction of the officially accredited curriculum in 1989,[45] CASM became eligible for ongoing government education funding, alleviating some of the financial uncertainties that had plagued the Centre since the beginning. By this time, CASM was seen as a "meeting place for three cultures," traditional Aboriginal, urban Aboriginal and European Australian;[46] and described as a "music school and research centre for Aboriginal people based on Aboriginal music and Aboriginal-style music teaching,"[47] with the broad aim of promoting Aboriginal music "in all its varieties as a living tradition" and fostering "fruitful interaction between Aboriginal musicians and the representatives of other musical traditions in Australia."[48] Teaching of *inma*[49] by authorized senior *Anangu* song owners remained a core curriculum component and annual field trips were also introduced in which the whole CASM program relocated to the remote APY Lands for intensive experiential *in situ* learning of inma, and presentation of performances and youth workshops by CASM students and staff, in an innovative and creative exchange of music

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39 CASM 1984, 1.

40 CASM 1979, 1.

41 CASM 1981, 3.

42 CASM 1981, 2.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Associate Diploma in Aboriginal Studies in Music

46 CASM 1992.

47 Tunstill 1988, 1.

48 Ibid.

49 *Inma* is the Pitjantjatjara word for song or ceremony used by *Anangu* (people) living in the APY Lands.

and educational cultures that reinforced the reciprocal basis of the collaborative community – institution relationship.[50]

In 1991, CASM became a full department within the newly formed Faculty of Performing Arts, increasingly institutionally integrated and drawn into an emergent Indigenous access and equity policy framework, a situation that highlighted CASM's ambiguous positioning as simultaneously a product and vehicle of "the system," and as an agency for the expression of Indigenous cultural and educational rights. The main challenge for the curriculum was the need to balance Aboriginal demands for accredited music courses with the equally important demand for flexibility and cultural relevance.[51] Within this complex field of increasing "entanglement," the key objectives of the work of CASM were reformulated and articulated as promoting Aboriginal music as a "living and developing tradition in the spheres of education, performance and research, and to do so from the vantage point of higher education."[52]

Throughout this period, the work of cultural theorist Edward Said had been influential in the educational thinking within CASM, as was the work of researchers and educators Verna Kirkness and Ray Barnhardt who argued that "higher education [was] not a neutral enterprise,"[53] and that perhaps it was not Indigenous peoples who needed to adapt to the world of the academy, but rather, the other way around.[54] This held a special resonance for the work of CASM, affirming reciprocal and two-way learning approaches in the provision of accessible, empowering and culturally relevant music education for Indigenous students in institutional contexts.[55] It also upheld the view that Indigenous-centered education within institutions provided an effective structural means for Indigenous peoples to participate on an equitable basis within the broader institutional context by providing readily accessible culturally responsive curricula and an emancipatory pedagogy evolved through critical deconstruction and transformation of power relations.[56] The work of critical theorist Homi Bhabha also presented a useful theoretical frame in articulating the complex nature of the work of CASM, and in particular his concept of "the

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50 The roles of "performative intercultural dialogues" are also relevant in engaging with and responding to the epistemological bases of Indigenous community partners, and their values, needs and concerns (Corn & Ford 2014, 122); and ways in which "creative collaborations within any mode of expression borrow from the synchronicity of ceremony in which all forms of expression come together in a particular place and each element can evoke the whole" (Somerville 2014, 24).

51 Tunstill 1991, 2.

52 Tunstill 1993, 1–2: my emphasis.

53 1991, 7.

54 Ibid.

55 This incorporated an Indigenous-centered intercultural-intracultural curriculum encompassing Indigenous and Western values, world views, perspectives, cultural knowledges and practices; and the teaching of Indigenous knowledges by Indigenous lecturers and collaborative teaching between Indigenous and non-Indigenous lecturers.

56 Ibid., 6–8.

third space"[57] which resonated with the overlapping, ambiguous and marginalized positioning of CASM within the broader institution, and the unfolding intercultural dynamic, which could be understood as a process of "intervention" in the "third space" in which minority groups drew nearer to a so-called "canonical center."[58]

The increasingly embedded institutional context saw tensions emerging in CASM's relationship within the Faculty[59] based in a perceived lack of institutional support for the specialist work of CASM and the need for more mutually engaged consensual decision-making processes in the overlapping institutional space. In 1996, following a year of unrest,[60] CASM was structurally relocated to the Indigenous Support Unit of the University. Although this provided a more Indigenous-centric cultural, educational and support environment for students and staff, the episode had seen a serious breakdown in communication (and cooperation), disrupting the historic relationship between CASM and the Elder Conservatorium of Music and inhibiting future collaborative initiatives for a considerable period to come. Most significantly, it resulted in Conservatorium students no longer being able to undertake studies through CASM.[61]

Following this period, renewed efforts were made to (re)assert Indigenous student and community priorities through aims, goals and outcomes in teaching, learning and research.[62] This saw introduction of a revised curriculum that included innovative Community and Culture and Research Studies courses and an intensified focus on Indigenous music production as knowledge creation,[63] challenging a research paradigm in which Indigenous musicians and music were cast primarily as informants and research subjects and where benefits tended to flow disproportionately to researchers rather than to cultural creators and exponents.

At CASM, where Indigenous students comprise the entire undergraduate music cohort,[64] there are unique opportunities for the implementation of empowering Indigenous-centered educational strategies that place highest priority on the learning requirements and aspirations of Indigenous students specifically. Within

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57 See Bhabha 1990.

58 Bhabha 1994, xi. See Newsome1998; and also the potential of the third space for "inclusion of a plurality of approaches and voices in research," as an arena of "multiple possible belongings" and for "sparking musical creativity" (Ryan & Patten 2014, 113, 99).

59 Other Australian researchers also refer to inherent tensions in the "contact zone." See Barney 2014, 4–5; Barney & Proud 2014, 94, 96; Treloyn & Charles 2014, 85–86; and Somerville 2014, 16–17.

60 This saw rejection of an institutional intervention that had disrupted the consensual decision making process, and effective educational and working methodologies.

61 The Indigenous Support Unit offered programs only for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students.

62 See Ellis 1981; Newsome 2008, 42–47; and Turner 1999, 143–146.

63 This included songwriting, composition/arranging, recording, performing, cultural production and event curation.

64 This constitutes a unique situation in Australian university based music education.

the new Community and Culture and Research Studies courses,[65] a more explicit critical pedagogy was introduced. This incorporated enquiry-based learning; critical, reflective and reflexive thinking; dialogic interrogation; and discourse deconstruction and analysis based in the "logical and ethical position that Indigenous priorities and perspectives should provide *the* primary context and starting point for all discussion and discourse, course topics, and selection and use of study materials."[66] This approach recognized the transformative power of an explicitly deconstructive pedagogy in supporting Indigenous students as a peer group to explore, locate, affirm, reconstruct and build on individual and collective experiences and knowledges as strengths in the learning context of a "shared diverse embodied experience of colonization" and as a potent means for the emergence and elucidation of Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies arising through Indigenous lived experiences.[67] This framework established a learning environment in which open free-flowing discourse was possible, which often expanded into everyday life; where it was safe to engage with multiple dissonant voices, including "colonizer culture" voices, paradigms and perspectives encountered in text, film and in everyday life interactions; and which many students had previously experienced as "dominating, impenetrable, hostile and disempowering."[68]

Over time, an Indigenous research paradigm emerged in CASM through the agency of students, staff and collaborating Indigenous communities—one that affirmed cultural processes, practices, expressions, products and identity work as key ways of "contributing to cultural maintenance efforts (include building Indigenous community strength and resilience), and to forms of cultural production that "feed back" and respond to the immediate priorities and needs of a marginalized part of Australian society, to be heard, existentially affirmed, firstly among themselves, and in and from their own terms, spaces and places of strength."[69]

Methodological Principles

The CASM Program developed through a commitment to core principles evolved through and grounded in a long-term collaborative participatory action research methodology aimed at bringing about effective responses to identified priorities and needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander musicians and communities within a complex and changing intercultural-intracultural context. These principles recognize:

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65 These were developed by CASM lecturer, researcher and musician Ashley Turner, and grew out of an ethnomusicological frame.

66 Turner, A., pers. comm., 2015.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid. See also Mackinlay & Barney 2012, 1.

- the potential of music and music making in overcoming educational exclusion and in bridging cultural differences;
- the productive potential of institutional support for Indigenous music and music making through education in service to the Indigenous community;
- the central importance of Indigenous participation and Indigenous community collaboration in music education for Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander peoples;
- the importance of ethical partnerships and negotiated dialogic processes in the development of shared policy and practice frameworks between institutions and Indigenous stakeholders in music education;
- the important role of collaborative participatory action research methodologies in the development of institutionally based Indigenous music education;
- the importance of engaged negotiation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, cultures and knowledges in the development of institutionally based Indigenous music education;
- the central role of Indigenous histories, knowledges, philosophies, perspectives, ways of knowing, and expressive cultures in Indigenous music education;
- the empowering role of emancipatory and critical pedagogy in Indigenous music education;
- the need for integrative rather than assimilative educational processes in institutionally based Indigenous music education;
- the role of Indigenous-centered music education in supporting Indigenous cultural identity, cultural strength and community well-being;
- the importance of performance and the perspective of the performer in Indigenous music education;
- recognition of the diverse "lived experiences" of Indigenous peoples in Indigenous music education;
- the potential of "education through music" in the meaningful education of the whole person;
- the importance of holistic approaches to the empowerment, health and well-being of Indigenous students;
- Indigenous expressive cultures as Indigenous knowledges and the creation and production of Indigenous music as research; and
- the importance of Indigenous collaborative community-engaged applied research in supporting Indigenous musicians, music and music making.

For Australian universities, the national 2008 *Bradley Review of Higher Education* and in particular the 2012 *Behrendt Review of Higher Education Access and Outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People* proved to be "game changers" in Indigenous tertiary education, recommending the need for proactive, collaborative and "whole of institution" approaches to enhancing outcomes in Indigenous education. The period following the Behrendt Review saw debate and a polarizing of views in Australian tertiary education with respect to the

roles of Indigenous units and enclaves. One view held that these were essential to improving outcomes, arguing that they performed a special role in providing environments of "cultural safety" for Indigenous students,[70] where the privileging of Indigenous knowledges and perspectives could provide support for Indigenous cultural maintenance and identity, and assist students in engaging with dominant discourse without being dominated by it.[71] The other represented Indigenous specific enclaves as "segregationist" and as potentially isolating and inhibiting of the broader take-up of institutional responsibility. For CASM, these debates were seen in a context where Indigenous music, musicians and music cultures, apart from as a focus for traditional ethnomusicological research and study, had been historically underrepresented within the core business of Australian tertiary music education, highlighting the ongoing need for targeted institutional support for Indigenous-centered music education in addressing issues of cultural exclusion and social justice.

In 2010, CASM was relocated back to the *Elder Conservatorium of Music* where today it remains the only Indigenous music organization operating from within any Australian university. Although co-location and proximity may create fertile ground for the sharing of cultural knowledges and practices and for creative innovation and transformative reconstruction within overlapping fields of interrelationship, they can also highlight differences in core values and priorities, as reflected in policy and practice, including those arising from an entrenched mono-cultural standpoint in conflict with Indigenous cultural priorities and goals.

Four decades of participatory action research at CASM point to the importance of culturally responsive, community-engaged methodologies in meeting the diverse learning needs and aspirations of Indigenous music students.[72] The intercultural-intracultural methodology, informed through ongoing participatory action research processes of curriculum development and renewal, is necessarily inclusive of a wide range of music style-and genre-preferences, positioned centrally within an integrated curriculum of cultural, theoretical, historical, research, industry, technical and practical music studies. Effective innovations tested through the work of CASM include: enhanced access to tertiary education through recognition of prior and informal learning and stylistic diversity; integrated foundation and bridging programs; a nested suite of programs with multiple entry and exit points; culturally inclusive curriculum and pedagogy;[73] flexible teaching methodologies based in intensive individual and small group work; enquiry-based learning and critical pedagogy; side-by-side professional mentoring with a focus on creative outcomes; and experiential learning in community-engaged performance and production contexts.

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70 This included need for "cultural support—a space on campus that felt "safe" and where students could create a peer environment" (Behrendt 2015).

71 Oldfield 2012, 2.

72 See also Newsome 1998, 1999, and 2008.

73 The University of Adelaide 2016.

Multiple entry and exit points and support for whole-of-program completions also constitute important equity provisions consistent with a student-centered focus that ensures that "partial success does not equate to failure" with accompanying negative connotations for both students and programs around institutional norms related to retention and completion.[74]

Australian universities apply quantitatively based criteria in assessing student outcomes of academic programs: enrolment numbers, retention rates, success rates and completion rates.[75] The University of Adelaide also measures Indigenous outcomes against preset numeric targets through the university's Tarrkarri Tirrka Indigenous education strategy.[76] However, these criteria do not capture the full range and extent of successes and outcomes, including those identified as important by Indigenous students and the Indigenous community that may be rated more highly than simply "receiving a piece of paper."[77] These include the many public and media successes of CASM students and alumni (as musicians/ dancers, playwrights/actors, composers/arrangers, recording artists and directors/ producers); employment and professional achievements in a range of fields;[78] and other harder-to-measure,[79] but nonetheless significant outcomes.[80] One student recently posted on Facebook, "[Y]ou revived my sense of purpose, ability and self worth…my potential, thank you for letting me be me. Another wrote, "[T]his institution and music have saved mine and many others' lives."

Collaborative and Community-Engaged Practice in Indigenous Music Education

CASM operates within a multi-layered, multi-dimensional space across overlapping, fluid, cultural, educational and social fields encompassing the University as the host institution, CASM as an Indigenous cultural organization, Indigenous and non-Indigenous students and staff within the institution, and the broader Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities outside the University. Operating with, within and for these multiple and diverse communities has brought these worlds together in a mutually beneficial and productive way, and brought CASM and the host institution

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74 See Harvey 2013.

75 CASM achieves outcomes at least on par with or above National Performance Indicators for Indigenous Higher Education.

76 The University of Adelaide 2013.

77 This expression refers to official graduation from the university.

78 This includes for CASM students, social/youth/community work, teaching/education, psychology, event curation/management, sound engineering/production and media/broadcasting.

79 In 2011, I and colleague Ashley Turner developed a "Student Cohort Performance Tracking and Analysis" tool capable of capturing a broader set of outcomes.

80 Outcomes of particular significance for CASM students include personal efficacy, individual and group empowerment, cultural identity and strength, community development, broader community cultural awareness, and important personal, social and individual well-being factors.

more closely together with the Indigenous community, and within a responsive, reciprocal, collaboratively based dynamic. This has meant recognizing community participants and practitioners as inherent within a mutually engaged "epistemic community,"[81] as integral to the success of the project, and as able to proactively collaborate in creative interventions and responses to those issues and elements of culture that are important to communities, addressing these with the understanding that combined collective effort can produce more substantial impacts.[82]

CASM may be usefully conceptualized as a "creative learning community" operating within the context of this larger "epistemic community" at the operational Indigenous interface between the academy and the broader community. Proactive support for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander music and musicians through composition, performance and production as applied research has proven to be an effective model in addressing issues of cultural, educational and social diversity within the curriculum.[83] Students are presented with multiple and varied opportunities for creative engagement, drawing on prior knowledges and individual and group interests and strengths, in the production of new knowledge through composition/songwriting, cultural projects, recording and public performance in a wide range of Indigenous and broader community contexts. These modes of engagement provide students with "real world" opportunities for the rapid uptake of professional knowledge and competencies, development and expression of artistic identity and autonomy, and establishment of artist profiles and industry connections as an integral part of their studies. These integrated approaches to educational, cultural and professional engagement bring the academy and the Indigenous and wider communities together within a reciprocal dynamic that meets identified Indigenous student learning needs whilst, at the same time, providing long-term cultural, educational and social justice outcomes of benefit to the Indigenous and broader communities. The long-term success and survival of CASM within the institutional context has been sustained through this commitment to supporting Indigenous musicians and music utilizing curriculum-integrated Indigenous and broader community collaboration and engagement strategies. The linking of an Indigenous-centered educational methodology with identified Indigenous priorities as research, translatable into outcomes acceptable within the institutional framework,[84] may be regarded as the most significant application of ethnomusicological principles in the work of CASM.

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81 Harrison 2012, 521–522, after Haas 1992.

82 Loughran 2008, 62–63. This approach is concerned with "shifting the emphasis away from an interface between separately conceived domains towards relational social forms that occupy a single socio-cultural field" (in Ryan & Patten 2014, 105–106 after Hinkson and Smith 2005).

83 See Newsome 1998 and 2000.

84 These are reportable to the Australian Research Council.

Discussion

CASM has facilitated the coming-together of Indigenous music students from around Australia, creating over time a virtual powerhouse and intergenerational "seeding ground" in Indigenous music within and associated with the University that has made a significant contribution to Australian Indigenous music. It has also created, within the academy, a site of Indigenous cultural strength, affirmation and identity resistant to cultural assimilation, raising thorny questions in the university about who should be adapting to whom, on whose terms, and for what purposes? This dynamic presents an ideological challenge to an existing cultural status quo, pointing to blind spots and gaps between rhetoric and reality in institutional claims around equity, inclusivity and reconciliation, and highlighting issues arising from underrepresentation and competing values and priorities.

For over 40 years, CASM has been a prompter and promoter of change, and a protagonist in an ongoing dialectic concerned with purposes and outcomes in Indigenous education. This has seen polarized views about the role and aims of CASM including a questioning of Indigenous-centered music education for Indigenous students as a legitimate goal,[85] and resistance to accommodation of Indigenous agendas and inhibition of developmental strategy,[86] contrary to the inclusive intent of institutional missions and goals. There have also been debates around the validity of the Indigenous preferred research focus, the cultural focus of curricula and pedagogy, structural positioning within the institution, competing constructions of "success" and "excellence,"[87] and resourcing relative to perceived need.

These debates have arisen in the context of institutional policies that purport to support cultural inclusivity, on the one hand, but fail to recognize the reality of competing priorities and a "dynamic mismatch" of values and forms of practice, on the other.[88] Here, Indigenous priorities may be subsumed within the broader institutional imperative[89] premised on a normative one-size-fits-all standardizing and homogenizing paradigm that tends to marginalize the cultural and educational rights of Indigenous students whilst at the same time instrumentalizing Indigenous cultures and knowledges in service to the broader "mainstream" agenda.[90] These paradigms rest in dichotomous constructs that would rather problematize "difference"

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85 This logic saw CASM as little more than a bridging program to the "real thing" (mainstream), contrasted with an alternative view that saw CASM as the "real thing" (Indigenous mainstream), and the Other as a coercive and assimilative hegemonic force reflective of a neocolonial power overtly rejecting Indigenous priorities and needs.

86 This included demands for an Indigenous-centered music degree by Indigenous students.

87 These are reflective of and express cultural norms and values.

88 Hinkson & Smith 2005, 157.

89 See also Corn & Patrick 2014, 167–168; and Mackinlay & Barney 2014, 59, 67–68.

90 This includes Indigenous Studies courses designed for "mainstream" delivery at the expense of Indigenous-centered programs that give priority to Indigenous student and community interests.

than interrogate cultural assumptions underpinning assimilationist drivers within the "mainstreaming" ideology, and dismiss dissenting "voices" that do not accord.[91] Institutions can alleviate such tensions through increased Indigenous participation in transparent consensual decision-making processes and implementation of a "distributive leadership" model,[92] providing the means for increasing the overall cultural competency of the institution and enhanced "cultural safety" for Indigenous peoples within universities, and the application of "real world" understandings and Indigenous priorities within the institutional setting.

Although the university gains in many tangible and intangible ways from the presence of a unique Indigenous cultural program in its midst, in a dynamic reflective of a neo-colonial normative impulse that regards difference as anomalous,[93] there has been more "give" on the part of CASM than on the part of the institution in ensuring the survival and success of CASM. The onus has been on CASM to "find a way" to adapt, in accommodation of a rigid and unyielding "mainstream" that at times has also been ambivalent in its support. Much additional staff effort has been directed therefore as a matter of internal policy towards responding proactively and effectively to Indigenous student and community priorities and needs.

Strategic solutions offered by CASM included: enhanced tertiary education access measures; an intercultural curriculum that enabled Indigenous students to go on to further training and study after CASM, and encouragement and support for students to do so;[94] preparation of and support for students to create and take up employment opportunities; advocating for students and arguing for greater cultural inclusivity within existing Australian "mainstream" music programs;[95] development of an innovative Indigenous-centered music degree;[96] and enrichment options within "mainstream" music programs at the University of Adelaide. These efforts aimed to go beyond the standard deficit-based Eurocentric model in meeting identified Indigenous student learning needs, recognizing that Indigenous student preferences and priorities may also include study options embedded, located and situated within Indigenous knowledges and social and cultural contexts.

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91 This can be a particular problem in the neo-liberal, corporate market-driven university environment.

92 This has been identified as a preferred approach (Miller 2011).

93 See also Mackinlay & Barney 2014.

94 A substantial number do go on to further study, but not necessarily straightaway or at the University of Adelaide.

95 Students often saw "mainstream" programs as uninteresting and irrelevant, and unaccommodating of Indigenous cultural interests and learning priorities. See also Newsome 1999.

96 The framework for the degree included components that could also be taken by non-Indigenous students, however, this program has not been implemented by the university.

Concluding Comments

CASM, together with other peak South-Australian educational, cultural, community, industry and government institutions, has played a pivotal role in achieving sustained support for Indigenous music in South Australia with far-reaching impacts in Australian music. This case study highlights the important educational, curatorial, logistical and advocacy roles that public institutions can play, and the central importance of collaboratively based, community-engaged policy and practice in the development of successful long-term models of social inclusion and cultural empowerment for Indigenous musicians and stakeholder communities. Building on a long-standing commitment to community-engaged practice, CASM has acted as an Indigenous resource across multiple sectors and spaces, providing educational and cultural services within and for the institution and broader communities. In doing so, CASM has provided the institution with a successful working model of respectful, responsive and responsible community engagement and collaboration in education and research, and a practical example of how to work ethically and effectively with, within and for an Indigenous stakeholder community through a proactive service orientation. CASM has also made an important contribution to overall institutional culture, to the public profile of the University of Adelaide, and to stakeholder interest and confidence, especially within the Indigenous stakeholder community.

The Indigenous cultural organization located within the broader institution is uniquely positioned to shine a bright light on historically excluded Indigenous music traditions, and new and emerging forms of Indigenous expressive cultures, bringing these deep inside the institution and proactively promoting their significance and value in performance, teaching and research. Here the specialist cultural organization within can actively promote innovation in teaching and research, and advocate for institutions to cede ground and transform mainstream practice through the repositioning of Indigenous-centered music curricula and research as integral within multiple overlapping shared learning contexts.[97] However, these potentials can only be realized where there is reciprocal engagement, sustained investment, and an ongoing commitment by the host institution. This points to the need for a more sophisticated paradigm of tertiary education than often exists, and that in part has been illustrated by the methodology described in this article. Such a methodology properly recognizes inclusive representation, dialogic decision-making processes, and true partnerships in the development of shared policy and practice frameworks between institutions and Indigenous stakeholders, with the broader aim of negotiating mutually beneficial, sustainable, long-term outcomes that are inclusive of Indigenous interests and priorities.

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97 This would see a mutual field of engagement within the Indigenous-centered music "space" for all music students.

Representation of both internal and external Indigenous stakeholders in priority setting and decision-making has a key role to play in holding institutions to their stated commitments and obligations. This may mean speaking up, resisting and even "rattling the cage" in advocating for and maintaining pressure around the need for ongoing systemic change within institutions. This is especially so where broader assimilative and economic forces threaten to overwhelm Indigenous interests and programs within institutions.[98] For a small but effective Indigenous cultural organization such as CASM, the combined strength of multiple internal and external Indigenous-stakeholder voices, built through a longstanding commitment to an Indigenous-centric educational methodology based in community-engaged collaborative practice, will prove essential in ensuring that the current focus of the organization continues to survive and thrive. The quality of the host institution's relationship with the Indigenous cultural organization within, and the extent to which Indigenous stakeholder interests continue to be served through it, offer a true "litmus test" of the ongoing commitment of the institution to identified Indigenous priorities and needs.

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98 This is the subject of a forthcoming paper.

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