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RESISTING NEOLIBERAL SUBJECTIVITIES: FRIENDSHIP GROUPS IN POPULAR MUSIC

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Abstract

The pedagogical strategy of students choosing their own friends with whom to work in classroom contexts (under the guise of democratic participation) because this is how popular musicians learn, has mostly gone uninterrogated in the literature. Approaching the question of how to create a common world through a critical examination of the unexamined assumptions that underpin emerging celebratory discourses on friendship, I consider the ways in which the words friends and friendship are indiscriminately used without acknowledging that the soundness of this pedagogical choice is based on data collected from people ('real life' popular musicians) who are in, more often than not, instrumental relations of utility. In doing so I call for a rereading of friendship groups in order to resist the neoliberal injunction of self-interest, a survival-of-the-fittest ethos, and unchecked individualism. To that end I question the ways in which friendship groups in popular music groupings have become sites for developing and perfecting the neoliberal self.

Keywords: friendship groups, popular music, neoliberalism, Little Kids Rock

The focus on "what works" makes it difficult if not impossible to ask the questions of what it should work for and who should have a say in determining the latter.\(^1\)

In the field of music education there seem to be few challenges left to the idea of bringing multiple ways of musicking into the curriculum. Popular music education, for instance, has been part of the Scandinavian and Finnish education system for several decades blurring long ago the lines there between formal and informal learning.² One also need only note the most recent iteration of the North American U.S. National Association for Music Education (NAfME) Music Standards and the changes that have been made toward including benchmarks connected to technology and ensembles of all kinds including guitar, mariachi, and ukulele.³ As of 2019, NAfME even established Modern Band as one of its All-National Honor Ensembles.⁴ One might conclude, then, that such openly embraced sanctioning of what counts as music ensembles and musicking in schools indicates that any argument, in many places throughout the world, about the worth and purpose of these ensembles (and the differing kinds of learning/ teaching that accompany these ways of musicking), is no longer up for debate.

And indeed, this is not the purpose of this article. My intention here is similar to that of Lauri Väkevä's: "to raise discussion rather than offer systematic critique." Like Väkevä, I too believe "that a further elaboration of [the] underpinnings [of Lucy Green's ideas] can encourage constructive discussion of the role of popular music-based learning practices in music education." Thus, I want to focus on what might seem like one very small aspect embedded in the themes that emerged from the data Green has collected in both her interview projects and the research she has collected in schools. And while this small aspect may seem insignificant, I argue that mindful pedagogy grounded in the work of philosophers both inside and outside education must continue to underscore, complement, and challenge the work that has been done and continues to be done in the field of sociology.

In the U.S., Little Kids Rock has programs in 43 states.⁸ This means at the time of this writing only seven states in the entire U.S do not have at least one school district with a Little Kids Rock program. The pervasiveness (and seductiveness) of these methods? approaches? processes? are such that there is a need to attend to a more careful reading of what Green was proposing. I again concur with Väkevä when he suggests that "popular music pedagogy could indicate new ways in which music educators may conceive their subject in a society that accepts democratic participation and creative agency as its guiding key values." However, beyond the problematics of "minimum adult guidance" which others have addressed, the pedagogical strategy of students choosing their own friends with whom to work—under the guise of democratic participation—because this is how "popular musicians" learn, has mostly gone uninterrogated.¹¹

Obviously, we all understand that in the classroom "friendship groups" is simply a suggestion made by Green. ¹² But is it? If this is how "real" musicians make music together shouldn't these same conditions be replicated in the classroom? Well, no. Not without first considering the ways in which the words friends and friendship are too often indiscriminately used and certainly not without acknowledging that the soundness of this decision is based on data collected from people (real life popular musicians) who are in, more often than not, instrumental relations of utility.

THE DISCOURSE OF FRIENDSHIP

The discourse of friendship pervades childhood. Beginning in nursery and daycare, "making friends" is the sacrosanct goal of socialization. This primacy of friendship is regulated through beloved children's stories and movies that (more often than not) include both the madcap/idiosyncratic sidekick friend and the message (mostly aimed at young girls) that choosing friendship over love is empowering. While these texts serve to frame and regulate this discourse, the most powerful source for the production of friendship, however, comes from caregivers/parents and teachers. These imageries of what friendship is, begun in the earliest texts of childhood, thus, continue into the formal process of schooling in ways that seldom if ever go challenged. We both come to judge others based on friendships and quickly come to know something is lacking in ourselves if we do not have friends.

With the advent of social media, both friendship and bullying have become commodities traded indiscriminately in virtual reality. The ability to friend and unfriend with impunity can be publicly measured as one's worth is governed, inspected, and valued in a competitive climate of likes and followers. Surveillance makes clear that the production of friendship is a form of exploitation often serving the interest of a populist collective that provides only an illusionary sense of community. And because we can connect and disconnect instantly, duty, care, commitment—ethics can be dismissed with nothing more than a tap of a key. Our lived realities are thus framed by a disciplinary gaze both overt and internalized. What does friendship drive us to do? To be? Does the common good benefit from this conception of friendship? What then does it mean to resist friendship?

Rarely do we consider the ways in which the words friends and friendship groups conceal the discursive implications of ambiguity, fleeting commitments, self-absorption, and even worse, paralysis. At a time in which the conventional wisdom of neoliberal imperatives dictates hyper-individuality, consumerism, and survival of the fittest, in what ways do our actions, deeds, and words contribute to or resist a commoditization of friendship? In what ways does this uninterrogated

form of friendship aid in furthering a retreat from the common world, a world in which participatory democratic practices are based on embracing and creating the conditions for plurality? In what ways do friendship groups become "a site for developing and perfecting the neoliberal self?" ¹⁴

These questions are hardly farfetched if the research that is being done in the UK is any indication. Mary Healy points out that in the UK more attention is being paid to friendship but for reasons less than socially or morally determined. While government reports are suggesting that "social relationships [are] crucial to improving the social well-being of pupils," the focus on friendship, rather than anchored in the development of the well-being of both individual and the community, is being linked to efficiency and future productivity. Friendship, thus, as a "'skill' to be practiced and fine-tuned," may find its place alongside the morning anti-bullying pledge.

Thus, I respond not only to Joseph Abramo's call for a "reevaluation of how one asks students to 'do' the popular music process" but consider, as well, pedagogies connected to any process that reproduces both false and self-serving expectations in communal engagements. In doing so I call for a rereading of friendship groups to resist the neoliberal injunction of "self-interest, a survival-of-the-fittest ethos, and unchecked individualism." ¹⁸

The "heavy dark cloud"¹⁹ that subsumes so much of what we do and think is driven by neoliberal imperatives and populist movements that are defined by the absence of "the existence of a properly political realm, with its free discussion and deliberation, in which a plurality of opinions can be expressed before a public."²⁰ These dark times not only depend upon a construction of friends and friendships in which self-interest determines all, but normalize these constructions as well. Thus, while there is the need to consider our students there is also political relevance in thinking through an irresolute and haphazard use of the word friend and friendship groupings.

As an in-depth examination of the distinction of friendship throughout time is beyond the scope of this article, I focus here on the societally constructed idealization and reproduction of an unnamed and neoliberal driven conception of friendship. ²¹ I should be clear that I am not suggesting we enact "no best friends" policies in schools, nor am I undermining what friendship can be, nor the importance of friendship. What I am suggesting is that, as a binary, friend/not friend is troubling particularly as children often have an instrumental conception of what a friend is, that is, someone I can count on, someone who is there for me, someone who has my back. While granted there are multiple configurations of what being a friend is, and certainly not all based on utility, idealizing a friend can become a controlling relationship which, through an Arendtian lens, functions as a way to "deny the freedom and equality upon which the friendship is based."

Idealizing, thus, is essentially based on a false conception of what it means to be a (flawed, fluid, multitudinous) human that prevents the formation of community grounded in plurality. If, however, we consider friendship as something that happens between people, the connections we make in the moment–between—with the other, rather than something that resides within each individual²³ we might then be able to resist the "encroachments of consumerism, privatization, and a mass culture of immediate gratification"²⁴ that is wrought, as well, upon friendships.

"OH, YOU ARE STUPID, BUT YOU PLAY SO WELL!"

I provide two experiences that serve to highlight this issue and while they are only two, they serve as powerful examples that will resonate. While reading an article written by Tuelikki Laes and Patrick Schmidt addressing a Finnish music school for students with special educational needs, Resonaari, I came across a passage in which the organization founder is discussing with the interviewer an issue a new teacher had brought to the founder about a student who had shared how he was being bullied in his school. The founder advised the teacher that yes, be empathetic, but then get back to the business of teaching music because "[as a music teacher] you can give this student the power that comes from the music, by teaching him as much as possible."

And this actually happened. . . . This student got to play the guitar better and better and there came a day when the same kids [who had been bullying him] came to him, saying, 'Oh, you are stupid, but you play so well! Come play in our band . . . you are the best guitarist in school!'²⁶

To those who might be familiar with this article I want to be very clear that I am not challenging the central points which are the supportive polices that make possible the welcoming of students of all abilities into music programs. Rather my reaction came from the seductive, celebratory power of this description of inclusion, forgetting, or not thinking through in the moment as I read the story, the lure of inclusion as a generous act. Now, however, with the gift of retrospect, I am called to attend to what Paulo Freire has called false generosity and recognize that how we conceptualize inclusion is broad and multiple and often in conflict. Inclusion, much like tolerance, appeals to our goodness; we include (as we often "tolerate") because to not do so would cast our engagements in a less than giving light."²⁷

Soon thereafter, however, I experienced a very similar reaction when I attended a local high school Battle of the Bands competition. A group came on

stage which included a young man playing bass who manifested autism spectrum behaviors and was a whiz on his instrument. With the bass player providing the nucleus for the repertoire the group clearly presented as one of the "best" bands in this particular battle. The decision to anchor the repertoire around the capabilities of the bass player was also made clear when the lead guitar player announced with much pride how they had chosen songs that would highlight "My Main Man, Michael!" The audience erupted in roaring applause, and in that moment, I wondered exactly what it was we were cheering. The band's sound, the bass playing, the fact that Michael plays well and that he should be an inspiration to us all? As the cheering continued around me, I was reminded of Stella Young and how she has referred to these voyeuristic moments as "inspirational porn;" moments where "non-disabled people can put their worries into perspective," as in, "Oh well, if that kid who doesn't have any legs can smile while he's having an awesome time, I should never, EVER feel bad about my life."28 And while I do not know if the teacher placed the students in groups or whether they chose each other, the fact that this final performance was indeed a judged "battle," where each group was ranked and there was a winner, underscores a broader (and more insidious) pedagogical point. Are these seemingly generous acts of inclusion and the self-congratulatory moral capital that came from this performative "battle" acts of friendship that move beyond the instrumental and the "advance[ment] of personal interest?"29

In these kinds of moments there is "always already a story" as Zadie Smith writes. In these meetings that are instrumental, self-congratulatory, the meeting "only really exists as narrative," 30 something we are already telling ourselves and each other even as the meeting takes place. Karin Murris refers to these kinds of engagements as colonizing, or as relationships that are "based on a non-relational ontology and competitive individualised subjectivity that regards people, land and knowledge as property."31 Neither the Resonaari guitar student nor My Main Man, Michael exists as a friend, whereas friendship is defined as the truthfulness made in common. In fact, one might posit that the only thing necessary about either of them are their playing chops; the humanness of both is "almost unnecessary."32 In these contexts, the grouping of students with differing abilities, allowing them, even encouraging them, to play together is more than likely intended as a way to target the unjust conditions that prevent all students from being and feeling welcomed. However, if we consider inclusion as Martin Buber does,³³ as the between, or those moments where we meet the other without the goal of instrumentality, a more critical read of this intent could be one of false generosity, an act that only addresses the symptoms of exclusion. Paulo Freire reminds us that

True generosity consists precisely in fighting to destroy the causes which nourish false charity. False charity constrains the fearful and subdued, the "rejects of life" to extend their trembling hands. True generosity lies in striving so that these hands—whether of individuals or entire peoples—need be extended less and less in supplication, so that more and more they become human hands which work and, working, transform the world.³⁴

True generosity, then, would necessitate rethinking the purpose and intent embedded within these groupings. Unfortunately, it is far easier to depend on the celebratory moments that arise out of these groupings than to interrogate actions that feel to be universally embraced.

One could argue, and I suspect that this is what is being argued, that instrumental friendship leads toward what Neera Badhwar refers to as "end friendship,"35 where each is loved for their intrinsic qualities, not for instrumental value. But as Elizabeth Telfer notes, "shared activit[ies] . . . [are] not a sufficient condition for friendship" and these associations "[do] not amount to the inevitability of friendship itself."36 One might also point out that what Michael and others are experiencing in these friendship groups is a form of social friendship which can, as Brian Singer suggests, "[contribute] to a sense of personhood or, more precisely, to the personal pride nested within group identity."³⁷ And indeed, this may be the case. But, of course, I have no idea how Michael is treated in other contexts and perhaps his contributions to the band encourage others to see and engage with him differently. I do know, however, that the Resonaari student was called stupid to his face, but again, I have no sense of how either he now sees himself or how they construed their experiences. Both, however, presented themselves in a very particular context, one that culminated in a "battle." What concerns are raised, then, beyond students being called stupid, are those viewed through a neoliberal framing of whether both may have felt the need to manage themselves in order "to produce the right set of personal qualities to be [used] investing in fantasies of 'becoming someone' and perfectability."38 But maybe, as Gert Biesta writes in the opening quote, all of this works and feels good enough for Michael and the parents of the Resonaari student.

And there, of course, is one of the many contradictions that need to be addressed. In that same Laes and Schmidt article there are several examples of how the parents of the participants at Resonaari discover new ways of viewing their children. One teacher also expresses what they hope is happening for the student all because of their new musical understandings:

When they understand what is happening [musically], they may start thinking to themselves 'I can learn to play music . . . I am good because I can play. My father cannot play music, but I can . . .' and this is wonderful to

me, because they leave here and they go home, and usually they take a taxi because the metro is too complicated, but I'm sure that when they start to think 'I'm good and I'm learning to play more and more' it also makes them to think 'tomorrow I'll take the metro.' ³⁹

Beyond the vague construction of "good" in the above quote, consider this. If it *may* only happen and we *hope* that these ideas of "democratic participation and creative agency" move beyond our classroom and into the world, then hope is not enough. This is the hope of fatalism. And once we succumb to fatalism, as Paulo Freire writes, it "becomes impossible to muster the strength we absolutely need for a fierce struggle that will re-create the world." Panos Kanellopoulos tells us we need to actively fight against educational discourses that promote exploitative forms of participation: "Participation per se does not necessarily enable one to forge a sense of personal meaning making; nor does it induce forms of genuine and open exchange between teachers and students." Surely, we do not want to be "[paying] lip service to compassion, equality, and democracy while blatantly contravening any such commitments."

At what cost, then, this formation of musical identity that may serve to reproduce both false and self-serving expectations in communal engagements? Could it be that this policy of friendship groups sounds good but actually "tend(s) to ratify or at least not actively interrupt many of the inequalities that so deeply characterize the society?" ⁴⁴

Without a pedagogical commitment toward resisting friendship as "an arena for supporting each other to perfect the neoliberal self,"⁴⁵ what cost comes with the replication of popular tunes, as "ready-made, second hand materials, which engender "one-way speech" and "inert listening;"⁴⁶ a kind of "lifeless listening"⁴⁷ found, and indeed, crafted, in totalitarian societies? If we take to heart Randall Allsup's conviction that "the links between freedom, democracy, community, caring, and even friendship are strong ones—they disavow teaching methods that oppress rather than liberate, that separate more than join"⁴⁸ the de facto popular music standard of friendship groups is perhaps not, as Michael Apple points out, an "ethic we should be introducing as *the* model."⁴⁹

Green has suggested that students reported that they were better able to "cooperate and communicate because they were allowed to work with friends." A lovely sentiment, and indeed Green views this pedagogical strategy as "crucial." But not so that we might "re-create the world," but rather so that students can "agree upon a choice of music in the first place." If we desire to resist neoliberal strategies in order to recreate the world, we need to explicitly share with students how and why this is a pedagogical and curricular goal rather than hoping that this eventually works itself out in friendship groups. We need to open up the

discussion with them by saying something like, "You know, I have been thinking about some research I read that concerns friends and friendship groups and I am wondering what you all think about some concerning issues." In fact, just the other day I lived such an exact moment. In a musicianship class I had asked students to report back to me conversations they had in their small groups and I found myself saying the following, "Thomas, tell me what you and your friend were talking about." And I froze, not believing I had just said those words. So, I explained to them why I no longer wanted to use the word "friends," to which Thomas replied (in a very Canadian fashion), "No worries," to which I replied, "No, yes, there are some worries here that absolutely need addressing." And in that moment, I was incredibly cognizant of the ways in which total attention was being paid by those students for whom friends and friendships do not come easily, or at all.⁵⁴

I have all kinds of skills, musical and social, and still I was often last to be picked or not picked at all for groups of all kinds. To paraphrase Elizabeth Ellsworth acting as if these friendship groups are a "safe space in which democratic dialogue [is] happening and possible [does] not make it so."55 The question, then, is can we, in these times, make a "commitment to the particular interests and welfare of another"56 without labeling these engagements as friendship?

I would argue that, indeed, if we desire to make a commitment to the welfare of the other then we must resist labeling these engagements as friendship. I do not want students befriending others "motivated by benevolence, pity or sense of duty," or placed in a position to do so. Nor do I believe that if we could just all be friends, if we just made music together, the world would be a better place. I do know we need to teach our students how to live with others; how to actually do it. It is misguided to think that by allowing our students to choose with whom they work without a resolute pedagogical purpose we are in some way alleviating some of the external control they experience in their lives. This is not the place to relinquish our authority. "The friendship between free and equal individuals is necessarily a relation between real-life and flawed companions." How we teach that counts.

NOTES

¹Gert Biesta, "Why 'What Works' Won't Work: Evidence-Based Practice and the Democratic Deficit in Educational Research," *Educational Theory* 57, no. 1 (February 2007): 5, http://search.proquest.com/docview/62042380/.

²Monica Lindgren and Claes Ericsson, "The Rock Band Context as Discursive Governance in Music Education in Swedish Schools," *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 9, no. 3 (2010): 35–54, http://search.proquest.com/docview/964186531/.

³National Association for Music Education. Music Standards. (2014), accessed March 15, 2021, https://nafme.org/my-classroom/standards/core-music-standards/

*https://nafme.org/programs/all-national-honor-ensembles/

⁵Lauri Väkevä, "The World Well Lost, Found: Reality and Authenticity in Green's 'New Classroom Pedagogy," *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 8, no. 2 (October 1, 2009): 8, http://search.proquest.com/docview/61825635/.

6Ibid., 9

⁷See any number of Green's works including Lucy Green, *How Popular Musicians Learn*: A Way Ahead for Music Education (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2002) and "The Music Curriculum as Lived Experience: Children's 'Natural' Music-Learning Processes," *Music Educators Journal* 91, no. 4 (March 2005): 27–32.

s"Little Kids Rock is a national nonprofit that transforms children's lives by restoring and revitalizing music education in public schools. Little Kids Rock inspires students in grades K-12 to express themselves through music, providing them with an outlet for their creativity" (Little Kids Rock n.d.a: n.pag.). It is also worth noting that Jesse Rathgerber and Cara Bernard recently published a "critical narrative" of the modern band movement (or Little Kids Rock) through the lens of neoliberalism and indoctrination. Rathgeber Jesse, and Bernard Cara Faith. 2021. "When I Say "modern", You Say "band": A Critical Narrative of Modern Band and Little Kids Rock as Music Education Curriculum." *Journal of Popular Music Education* 5 (3): 337–58.

⁹Ibid. See also, Lauri Väkevä and Heidi Westerlund, "The 'Method' of Democracy in Music Education," *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 6, no. 4 (December 1, 2007): 96–108. http://search.proquest.com/docview/61956119/ and Heidi Westerlund, "Garage Rock Bands: A Future Model for Developing Musical Expertise?" *International Journal of Music Education* 24, no. 2 (August 2006): 119–125.

¹⁰Lucy Green, "Popular Music Education in and for Itself, and for 'Other' Music: Current Research in the Classroom," *International Journal of Music Education* 24, no. 2 (August 2006): 107.

¹¹For a more in-depth examination of the pedagogical implications of "minimum adult guidance" see Randall Allsup and his focus on the role and need of the educator in these contexts. Randall Everett Allsup, "Mutual Learning and Democratic Action in Instrumental Music Education," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 51, no. 1 (April 2003): 24–37. One notable citation in terms of students choosing with whom to play, Jesse Rathgeber has argued, in the context of a music therapy rock band, that students often do not possess the social capital to join groups and as such teachers must reflect on how "we foster inclusion if [teachers] adopt practices of friendship groupings identified by Green." Jesse Rathgeber, "A Place in the Band: Negotiating Barriers to Inclusion in a Rock Band Setting," in *The Routledge Research Companion to Popular Music Education*, ed. Gareth Dylan Smith (New York: Routledge 2017), 376. Clearly, the operative and profoundly philosophical word in this citation of Rathgeber's is the word "if."

¹²Lucy Green, *Music, Informal Learning and The School: A New Classroom Pedagogy.* (Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008).

¹³Any number of Disney movies incorporate the trusted sidekick friend, not least among them *Frozen* with the character of Olaf.

¹⁴Maree Martinussen, Margaret Wetherell, and Virginia Braun, "Just Being and Being Bad: Female Friendship as a Refuge in Neoliberal Times," *Feminism and Psychology* 30, no. 1 (February 2020): 3

¹⁵Mary Healy, "After Friendship. (Report)," *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 51, no. 1 (February 1, 2017): 171.

16Ibid.

¹⁷Joseph Michael Abramo, "Gender Differences of Popular Music Production in Secondary Schools," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 59, no. 1 (2011): 37.

¹⁸Henry A. Giroux, "Neoliberal Fascism and the Echoes of History," *Truthdig Newsletter* (2018): para 3.

¹⁹Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of Indignation* (Abington, Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2004), 102.

²⁰Brian C. J. Singer, "Thinking Friendship With and Against Hannah Arendt," *Critical Horizons* 18, no. 2 (April 3, 2017): 4, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1440 9917.2017.1308113.

²¹The following working definition will be helpful in thinking through friendship tied to neoliberal theory: "Neoliberalism is a theory of political economic practices proposing that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets, and free trade" David Harvey, "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 610, no 1 (2007): 22. While David Harvey has probably not distilled his working theory down to the micro level of friendship groups, in this article I am arguing a clear throughline from the practices of "battle of the bands" and the use of others for entrepreneurial and individual gain, as examples of the cultivation and substantiation of neoliberalism in our music contexts.

²²Jon Nixon, *Hannah Arendt and the Politics of Friendship / Jon Nixon*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2015, 55.

23Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., xii-xiii.

²⁵Tuulikki Laes and Patrick Schmidt, "Activism Within Music Education: Working Towards Inclusion and Policy Change in the Finnish Music School Context," *British Journal of Music Education* 33, no. 1 (March 1, 2016): 16. http://search.proquest.com/docview/1826526176/.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970).

²⁸Stella Young. "We're Not Here for Your Inspiration," *Ramp Up: Disability. Discussion. Debate*, (July 2, 2012): para 10, accessed March 15, 2021, http://www.abc.net.au/rampup/articles/2012/07/02/3537035.htm. See also her Ted Talk: https://www.ted.com/talks/stella_young_i_m_not_your_inspiration_thank_you_very_much/transcript?language=en

²⁹Singer, "Thinking Friendship With and Against Hannah Arendt," 6.

³⁰Zadie Smith, Feel Free: Essays (London, UK: Hamish Hamilton, 2018), 386.

³¹Karin Murris, *The Posthuman Child: Educational Transformation through Philosophy with Picturebooks* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016). https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315718002.

³²Smith, Feel Free: Essays, 386.

³³Martin Buber and Walter Kaufmann, I And Thou / Martin Buber; A New Translation with a Prologue, "I and You" and Notes by Walter Kaufmann (1st Touchstone ed. New York: Touchstone, 1997).

³⁴Freire, *Pedagogy Of the Oppressed*, 45.

³⁵Neera K. Badhwar, "Why It Is Wrong to Be Always Guided by the Best: Consequentialism and Friendship," *Ethics* 101, no. 3 (April 1, 1991): 483.

³⁶Elizabeth Telfer, "Friendship," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 71 (January 1, 1970): 237.

³⁷Singer, "Thinking Friendship With and Against Hannah Arendt." 8.

³⁸Martinussen, et al., "Just Being and Being Bad," 4.

³⁹Laes and Schmidt, "Activism Within Music Education," 18.

⁴⁰Väkevä, "The World Well Lost, Found," 9.

⁴¹Paulo Freire and Ana Maria Araújo Freire and Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of Hope:* Reliving Pedagogy of The Oppressed / Paulo Freire; with Notes by Ana Maria Araújo Freire; trans Robert R. Barr (New York: Continuum, 1994), 8.

⁴²Panagiotis Kanellopoulos, "Rethinking the Transgressive: A Call for 'Pessimistic Activism' in Music Education," in *The Road Goes Ever On: Estelle Jorgensen's Legacy In Music Education*, eds. Randall E. Allsup and Cathy Benedict (London, Ontario: Western University, 2009), 127. https://doi.org/10.5206/q1144262.jorgensen.2019.ch10

 43 Ian Mckay, "Challenging the Common Sense of Neoliberalism: Gramsci, MacPherson, and the Next Left," Socialist Register 54 (2018): 275.

⁴⁴Michael W. Apple, *Educating The "Right" Way: Markets, Standards*, God, And *Inequality*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 5.

⁴⁵Martinussen, et al., "Just Being and Being Bad," 4.

⁴⁶Leonard J. Waks, "John Dewey on Listening and Friendship in School and Society. (Report)." *Educational Theory* 61, no. 2 (April 2011): 202.

47Ibid., 194.

 $^{48}\mbox{Allsup},$ "Mutual Learning and Democratic Action in Instrumental Music Education," 35.

⁴⁹Apple, Educating The "Right" Way, 16.

⁵⁰Lucy Green, "Group Cooperation, Inclusion and Disaffected Pupils: Some Responses to Informal Learning in the Music Classroom paper presented at the RIME Conference 2007, Exeter, UK." *Music Education Research* 10, no. 2 (June 1, 2008): 183, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14613800802079049.

⁵¹Green, "The Music Curriculum as Lived Experience," 28.

⁵²Freire, Freire, and Freire, *Pedagogy of Hope*, 8.

⁵³Green, "Group Cooperation, Inclusion and Disaffected Pupils," 813.

⁵⁴As an aside, use of descriptors other than friend turn up in multiple languages outside of English. In Brazil, for instance, teachers, and even very young students, when speaking of being with the other, use the Portuguese word "colega" (colleague), rather than amigo. While this is most certainly a function of how the language developed, it is interesting to note what this linguistic change denotes. Nasim Niknafs in her 2020 article "Music Education as the Herald of a Cosmopolitan Collective Imperative: On Being Human." *International Journal of Music Education* 38 (1): 3–17, also helps the reader think through the difference in Persian: "doosti is a general kind of friendship where people are kind to one another and the other, *refâghat*, refers to a deeper and more intimate understanding of friendship" (12), https://doi.org/10.1177/0255761419859635, In North American educational contexts clearly it would be *doosti* toward which we would want to help our students strive.

⁵⁵Elizabeth Ellsworth, "Why Doesn't This Feel Empowering? Working through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy," *Harvard Educational Review* 59, no. 3 (August 1, 1989): 315. http://search.proquest.com/docview/63034778/.

⁵⁶Dean Cocking and Jeanette Kennett, "Friendship and Moral Danger," *Journal of Philosophy* 97, no. 5 (May 1, 2000): 281.

⁵⁷Elizabeth Telfer, "Friendship," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 71 (January 1, 1970): 224.

⁵⁸Nixon, Hannah Arendt and the Politics of Friendship, 55.