

Community music and collaborative learning: a case study of a Chilean batucada

Música comunitária e aprendizagem colaborativa:
um estudo de caso de uma batucada chilena

Pedro Iglesias¹  Cristina Pinilla²  Ángel Rivera²  Jaime Riveros² 
ipedro@uahurtado.cl

¹ Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Instituto de Música, Santiago, Chile

² Universidad Mayor, Escuela Educación, Santiago, Chile

SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE

Section Editor: Fernando Chaib

Layout Editor: Fernando Chaib

License: "CC by 4.0"

Submitted date: 29 aug 2025

Final approval date: 26 feb 2026

Publication date: 07 apr 2026

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.35699/2317-6377.2026.61274>

ABSTRACT: Using a case study research design framed within educational ethnography, this study examines the teaching practices of a batucada group operating independently in a vulnerable neighborhood of Santiago de Chile. Drawing on conceptual frameworks from Community Music and psychological and cognitive theories that support Collaborative Learning, it explores the tutors' motivations, instructional strategies, and the benefits perceived by participants. The findings suggest that the group functions autonomously and acts as a transformative agent within its community. Members report experiencing significant personal changes through their involvement, identifying the group as a key influence in shaping their identity and fostering recognition in their social environment. The study concludes with a reflection on the paradox of achieving meaningful learning in processes led by tutors who lack formal musical or pedagogical training.

KEYWORDS: Community music; Batucada; Social learning; Collaborative learning; Critical pedagogy.

RESUMO: Utilizando um desenho de pesquisa baseado em estudo de caso, enquadrado na etnografia educacional, este estudo examina as práticas de ensino de um grupo de batucada que atua de forma independente em um bairro vulnerável de Santiago do Chile. A partir de marcos conceituais da Música Comunitária e de teorias psicológicas e cognitivas que sustentam a Aprendizagem Colaborativa, explora-se as motivações dos tutores, as estratégias de instrução e os benefícios percebidos pelos participantes. Os resultados indicam que o grupo funciona de maneira autônoma e atua como agente transformador em sua comunidade. Os membros relatam mudanças pessoais significativas decorrentes de sua participação, identificando o grupo como um fator central na formação de sua identidade e no reconhecimento dentro do ambiente social. O estudo conclui com uma reflexão sobre o paradoxo da aprendizagem significativa em processos conduzidos por tutores sem formação musical ou pedagógica formal.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Música comunitária; Batucada; Aprendizagem social; Aprendizagem colaborativa; Pedagogia crítica.



1. Introduction

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in research on community music projects, which have shown benefits for participants from social, emotional, and psychological perspectives (Yi and Kim 2023). From this interest, the field of study known as Community Music (CM) has developed. This field of study, while seeking to embrace a broad and heterogeneous range of musical manifestations, has found elements that allow for the formulation of common principles (Bartleet and Higgins 2018).

Although there are various definitions of what is meant by CM—which are not necessarily convergent—, Veblen (2007) proposes focusing the study on the community and collaborative aspects of these manifestations, thus including formal and informal contexts of musical activity indistinctly.

A distinctive aspect of CM is the emphasis on the social and personal well-being of the participants, which in many cases may be more relevant than the artistic outcome (Veblen 2013). According to Higgins (2012), the focus of this field of study has mainly been directed towards manifestations outside the realm of formal education.

It has been argued that observing non-formal and informal contexts could be significant for critical reflection on formal music education (Verneert et al. 2024). The integration of methodologies that emerge in spaces outside the educational institution implies a dialogical and egalitarian stance, which can be linked to the principles of critical pedagogy (Freire 2018). This stance is considered necessary to transform the paradigms of music education, as it seeks to connect students' prior learning and cultural values with new learning through *Transformative Musical Participation* (O'Neill 2018).

In this regard, this article aims to study a type of community group that has become visible over the last 30 years in Chile: batucadas. As explained below, these groups originated in Brazil and are closely linked to African culture. Although there are several studies on batucadas in Brazil (e.g., Béhague 2001; Reijonen 2017; Santana 2019; Sodr e 1998), the perspective of these groups in Chile has not been explored in depth. This research offers a description of batucadas in Chile, situated within the theoretical perspective of CM, while also engaging with conceptual frameworks of Collaborative Learning drawn from cognitive psychology.

Although collaboration between participants in the various manifestations of CM is a fundamental aspect (Mantie 2023; Veblen 2007), no analysis of the phenomenon has yet been carried out from the perspective of cognitive psychology, a discipline that has explored deeply into the study of Collaborative Learning. This approach broadens the theoretical perspectives previously developed in the field of CM by presenting a specific case that integrates theory and practice through the observation of a community music group.

1.1. Batucadas in Chile

The batucada is an artistic-cultural manifestation that appeared in Brazil in the 1930s, associated with choreographic practices surrounding carnival and samba schools, which would have its origins in Africa (B ehague 2001). In a more technical sense, batucada refers to the rhythm performed by the group (Reijonen 2017). In other words, batucada would be one of the rhythmic variants of Brazilian samba.

The commercialization of samba during the 20th century as a Brazilian cultural product has meant that batucadas have been linked to different sectors of the industry, such as tourism, carnival, and the music

industry (Sodré 1998). Its presence in Brazilian carnival festivities has meant that since its origins, batucada drummers have been involved in competitive instances that follow strict rules (Santana 2019). However, the social character of their practice is still evident, in which they are an important space for teaching and learning (Santana 2013). In this sense, despite the links with the carnival industry, it is possible to observe batucada groups in non-competitive street carnivals called *blocos*, as well as in political protests, and football matches (Santana 2019). Sodré (1998) associates the character of cultural resistance that can still be observed in these groups with their origins in African culture that arrived in Brazil under conditions of slavery.

The arrival of the batucada in Chile is much more recent and coincides with the period of the return to democracy in the 1990s. In those years, the *Concertación* governments designed a new plan for state intervention in art and culture, which included the creation of new cultural spaces (Antoine and Brablec 2011). One of these spaces —the *Centro Cultural Balmaceda 1215*— hosted the first batucada workshop in Chile in 1994. This workshop was attended by 10 participants and was given by the Chilean musician Joe Vasconcellos, who at that time was returning to the country after a long stay in Brazil (Rojas 2015).

It is important to emphasize that the cultural context of batucadas in Chile is substantially different from that of Brazil. As indicated above, it is a recent cultural phenomenon, less than 30 years old, in a country where links with African culture are not evident¹. Nor are there any links between batucadas and the music and tourism industry. However, the participation of Chilean batucadas in manifestations of cultural resistance has been documented. For instance, during the Chilean *Estallido Social* of October 2019, some studies reported their presence in protest contexts (Angelcos et al. 2020). In Chile, these groups appear to be dispersed across the national territory, connected to popular sectors and countercultural expressions, and are organized and managed autonomously.

Although the roots of the batucada are in Brazil, this study places it in the perspective of the Chilean reality, with a focus on the teaching-learning processes among the participants. In this context, the questions that will guide the research arise:

What are the participants' motivations for organizing and managing the batucada? What benefits do the members of the group perceive? How is the teaching-learning process organized in the group?

By answering these questions, a deeper understanding of the collaborative forms of pedagogy that emerge spontaneously outside formal educational institutions.

1.2. Collaboration as the ontogeny of learning

CM has been described as an act of welcome and hospitality to the community (Higgins 2007), structured around core values of concern and care for the other (Mantie 2023). In that sense, community is inherently

¹ Although this issue is currently the subject of debate, Chilean historiographical discourse has emphasized the idea that, during the colonial era, migration of African descent was limited. This perspective was consolidated by the work of historians who were fundamental to Chilean historiography, such as Barros Arana and Encina. According to their arguments, although the arrival of Afro-descendant populations in conditions of slavery has been documented, their presence would not have been significant in the formation of the Chilean race (sic), due to the high mortality rate caused by the cold and diseases such as tuberculosis and pneumonia during the crossing of the Andes (Cussen 2006).

linked to collaboration. Collaborative Learning has been defined as 'the instructional use of small groups so that students work together to maximize their own and each other's learning' (Johnson and Johnson 1999, 5). This mode of learning draws on various cognitive theories, which operates in a complementary way.

From the Cognitivist Theory, Vygotsky (1978) argues that knowledge is constructed collaboratively through interpersonal social constructions. The theory of Social Cognitivism posits that members of a community can join their efforts collaboratively to achieve results that they could not achieve individually (Bandura 1977; Lave and Wenger 1991). In this way, Lave and Wenger (1991) introduced the construct of *Situated Learning*. They describe different learning communities —such as midwives, tailors, butchers, and non-drinking alcoholics— in which modelled learning plays a fundamental role in the formative process. In these communities, learning is achieved through a process called *legitimate peripheral participation*, which enables newcomers to acquire skills by observing more experienced members. Through this process, new participants are fully integrated and acquire the right to participate in the community (Lave and Wenger 1991).

Social Interdependence Theory describes the dynamics of interdependence between individuals within a community (Johnson and Johnson 2015). Within this framework, it distinguishes *positive interdependence*, which arises when individuals perceive that they can achieve their goals only if the rest of the community also achieves them. In contrast, *negative interdependence* occurs when individuals perceive that they will achieve their individual goals at the expense of other's failure, generating competitive environments (Johnson and Johnson 2009).

Collaboration has been studied also from a cognitive psychology perspective by the Theory of Cultural Learning (Tomasello 2016). This theory proposes that Collaborative Learning among members of a species is not exclusive to humans. However, through processes such as *shared intentionality* —the ability to organize collaboratively around common goals— humans have developed biological, social, and cultural learning capacities that provide an evolutionary advantage over other species (O'Madagain and Tomasello 2022). Humans learn culturally through the other, sharing intentions and goals through empathic faculties (Tomasello 2016). The biological skills involved in organizing through collaboration could be considered the ontogeny of different forms of learning (O'Madagain and Tomasello 2022; Tomasello 2014).

From a perspective from the Global South, authors have put forward significant and distinctive pedagogical proposals that can be understood from the point of view of collaboration. Thus, Freire (2018) proposes *problem-posing education*, based on a dialogical relationship between teacher and student as the essence of education, understood as a vehicle for liberation from oppression. This dialogical relationship is collaborative and horizontal in nature, in contrast to *banking education*, which employs strategies of domination (Freire 2018).

Finally, current studies of Latin American music education from decolonial perspectives have proposed pedagogies based on *Buen Vivir*—a cosmology based on the native peoples of South America—which propose community, intercultural, and spiritual strategies based on a sociomusical approach (Angel-Alvarado 2021).

2. Methodological design

The study was based on the constructivist paradigm, seeking to understand a social reality from the perspective of the participants (Lincoln and Guba 2013). A Case Study research design was chosen, as it is a current phenomenon with a defined group occurring in a natural environment, where researchers did not exercise control over participants' behaviour (Yin 2018). An inductive, generative, and constructive approach was adopted (Goetz and Lecompte 2010). This approach entails the generation and construction of categories and emergent theoretical constructs that enable interpretation of the observed phenomenon based on the data obtained.

Theoretical sampling was used to select a setting that would maximize the possibility of obtaining meaningful results (Corbin and Strauss 2008). The selection criteria were: 1) that the batucada group operated in a highly vulnerable environment; and 2) convenience, as some members of the research team had prior connections with the group. This facilitated the research team's entry and acceptance to carry out the observation in the group without disrupting its usual functioning. It is important to note that although part of the research team had participated in batucadas for several years, they had never been involved in the observed group.

Since the research sought to describe teaching and learning processes situated in a socio-cultural context, educational ethnography techniques were used (Goetz and Lecompte 1988), understood as the attempt to analytically reconstruct the teaching and learning processes present in cultural groups without the intervention of the research team. Data collection included semi-structured interviews with two tutors from the group, who held a leadership role in the batucada. A focus group was also conducted with four participants from the group. Finally, non-participant observation was carried out, allowing the research team to observe the group's rehearsals for approximately one month and to take field notes. This made it possible to describe the field from different perspectives and to triangulate the data.

To facilitate comprehension, the textual quotations from interviews and focus groups presented in the results section were translated and simplified from their original versions, which contained fragmentations and hesitant utterances typical of spoken discourse, as well as a strong Chilean dialect.

Emergent categories of analysis were generated inductively using Thematic Analysis techniques (Braun and Clarke 2022). This iterative procedure enables the development of emerging concepts and abstract categories derived from the empirical data. This abstraction facilitated a new understanding of the phenomenon studied, establishing relationships with literature as the abstraction process progresses. Four themes emerged: 1) Motivations and purposes of the group; 2) Benefits perceived by participants; 3) Rhythmic notation; and 4) Teaching and learning strategies in the batucada.

Before entering the field, a conversation was held with the tutors and participants of the batucada to explain the scope of the research. The data presented were obtained from informants of legal age, who signed an informed consent form.

2.1. Context

The observed batucada group operates in the district of *San Ramón*, located in Santiago de Chile. This district has been identified as one of the most critical areas of the city, and among the most affected nationwide by

crimes related to drug trafficking (Fiscalía Nacional 2016). Its residents are constantly exposed to violence, shootings, and territorial control by drug cartels (Poduje 2017).

Within the district, the batucada operates in the area known as *Población la Bandera*, a locality that was founded in 1969 as a result of an illegal occupation. Since then, the population has been closely linked to social movements, revolutionaries, and popular militias that were violently repressed during the military regime. Today, some authors describe it as a community that has been stigmatized, often associated with contexts of marginality and criminality, a situation that has generated a ghettoization of the neighbourhood (Cofré 2021).

The batucada group was formed in 2014 by members who live in the neighbourhood. It is a self-managed organization with no institutional ties, operating in the community center building, where they share the space with other activities and workshops. Most of the rehearsals take place in a square in the area.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Motivations and purposes of the group

When exploring the motivations and purposes of the ensemble, social issues predominate over what might be considered strictly musical ones. Although the ensemble focuses on performing music, these issues do not occupy a central place in the participants' discourse:

Of course, of course, it's like one worry about playing and making it sound nice, but when you play, you still must worry about the other (Tutor 1 interview).

In the conversations, the principles of the batucada clearly emerge:

Of the people, by the people with the people and for the people (Tutor 2 interview).

This statement of principles resonates clearly with Röhrs' definition of social pedagogy: "education in the community, by the community and for the community" (1973, 363).

Generating a community space managed by the community itself and concern for the other participants in the batucada always seems to be a priority. This concern manifests itself in different ways. The aim of creating a drug- and alcohol-free space for development appears often:

For the children who come to the batucada workshops, we try to avoid bad habits. In our workshops we don't say bad words, we don't fight, we don't argue. [...] Never smoke in front of the children, never give them to consume [drugs or alcohol], never give them a bad example, from the beginning these are our principles (Tutor 2 interview).

It should not be forgotten that the group's environment is a highly vulnerable environment, which is currently affected by drug trafficking:

Of course, many children are here for the same reason, because their parents are drug users. The ideal is not to go to a place to see the same issues, but rather to be distracted and, above all, to share experiences with other young people (Tutor 1 interview).

The connection with the community of their local area also seems to be an important motivation.

Make your town beautiful, make a vegetable garden next to the children's house. So that they see that they can change their reality. [...] We are going to show our art to other towns because we have a beautiful town. That generates a sense of belonging. In fact, we rehearse in the town square (Tutor 1 interview).

From the perspective of the Theory of Social Interdependence (Johnson and Johnson 2009), a strong *positive interdependence* between the members of the batucada can be inferred, extending to the surrounding context. There is also evidence of community purposes that are above the musical ones, with concern and care for the other appearing in the foreground, similar to what has been described in other CM manifestations (Higgins 2007; Mantie 2023; Veblen 2013).

The batucada also shows the need to express their discontent through participation in different forms of protest. The tutors consider the batucada to be "political marching and agitation" (Tutor 1 interview). It was seen in the *Estallido Social* of 2019 (Angelcos et al. 2020), but also in previous events:

We used to do huge parades where we played with other batucadas. Always agitating things. At that time, we discovered that the mayor of San Ramón was related with narco-dealers². Then the kids fought with the guards of the municipality (Tutor 1 interview).

In what has been observed, there are similarities with the Brazilian batucada groups, which still retain their character of cultural resistance to what they consider hegemonic practices of the dominant class (Santana 2013; Sodré 1998).

3.2. Benefits perceived by participants

From the tutors' perspective, the responsibility of organising and leading the group is not seen as a burden, but rather as a joy, as they identify themselves as agents of social change in their community:

I feel joy, which still feels like a responsibility (Tutor 1 interview).

When tutors and participants are asked about what it means to participate in the group, the answers converge that it is a milestone that has brought about profound changes in their lives:

For me, it means a lot to join the batucada. I was looser. When I joined the group, they took me in, it became my second family (Tutor 2 interview).

Participation in the group goes far beyond being a recreational activity, identifying it as a crucial factor in shaping their identity:

Because if it hadn't been for the batucada, who knows where I would be (Participant 4 focus group).

² This refers to incidents in which the Chilean press investigated the San Ramón mayor's relations with drug traffickers. See www.ciperchile.cl/2017/11/04/la-historia-del-alcaldede-san-ramon-con-el-narco-que-hundio-su-carrera-politica/

From the point of view of the relationship with the community, belonging to the batucada is identified as a factor of respect:

I used to be bullied. Now that I am in the batucada they respect me. I go to some places, and they tell me: look, there's the guy who plays in the batucada (Participant 2 focus group).

Participation in the group has provided some members with work opportunities, which have allowed them to develop in other areas:

I work in construction. Now I am doing workshops *paid* by the municipality. We [refers to another participant] also *work* for the municipality. We have a different batucada. If I hadn't joined this batucada I wouldn't have been able to do these *paid* workshops, so they *pay me*. We have our own workshop. Because everyone can come in here, there is no charge, and it has helped me to expand my job opportunities (Participant 2 focus group).

The scope and impact of these workshops organized by the municipality have not been verified. As previously mentioned, constant tension persists between the group and the surrounding institutions, with the municipality occupying a prominent place in this dynamic. However, it is crucial to note that participants interpret payment for the workshops as recognition. The reiteration of this point in their discourse can be understood as an evident form of seeking social distinction from a cultural manifestation they consider their own. Although this article does not analyse the perspective of the municipality, it suggests an institutionalized attempt to disseminate this type of manifestation. It is also important to recall, as pointed out at the beginning of this paper, that the batucadas arrived in Chile as a result of government policies.

3.3. Rhythmic notation

Despite the predominantly percussive character of the batucada style, rhythmic notation in the traditional musical sense is not applied. Instead, phrases and phonemes are used, onomatopoeically representing the rhythms to be performed. This method of naming the different rhythms appears to possess a certain degree of universality, being understood across various batucada groups:

So, for example, one uses the rhythm pattern *pasa'pa'aca'*, which is an Afro samba pattern that everyone knows and is universal. Or *por el payaso*, which are universal rhythms. Instead of so many figures [referring to traditional notation], since there are many figures. I'm illiterate in writing [traditional rhythmic notation], I don't have the skills to do it (Tutor 1 interview).

In the observation of rehearsals, the research team noticed that, to remember some rhythms, the tutor consulted a notebook in which he had written them in a particular notation. Figure 1 shows a page from this notebook. This type of rhythmic notation can also be found in Brazilian batucada. Reijonen (2017) attempts to transcribe the notation system, associating certain syllables —bum, pan, ti, cum, bu— with specific sounds of batucada drumming. Santana (2015) also attempts a transcription in modern notation, noting that the usual practice is to communicate rhythms through onomatopoeias: tchiqui, tumtim, taticaracatá.

What is relevant to the present study is to link this form of rhythmic notation to the Brazilian batucada. Although the origins of this system are not known, it could be linked to the Orff Schulwerk methodology.

This musical didactic approach was proposed at the beginning of the 20th century in Germany (Orff 1963); it belongs to the so-called active methods in music education, being widely spread worldwide and still in use today (Jorquera-Jaramillo 2004). It seeks the integral development of musicality in children, focusing on rhythmic activities. Although it has not been possible to establish concrete links between the batucada teaching methodology and the Orff Schulwerk method, there are several points of convergence; both focus on rhythmic aspects, the use of language patterns and phonemes to designate rhythms, and the use of a wide variety of percussion instruments (Jorquera-Jaramillo 2004; Shamrock 1997).

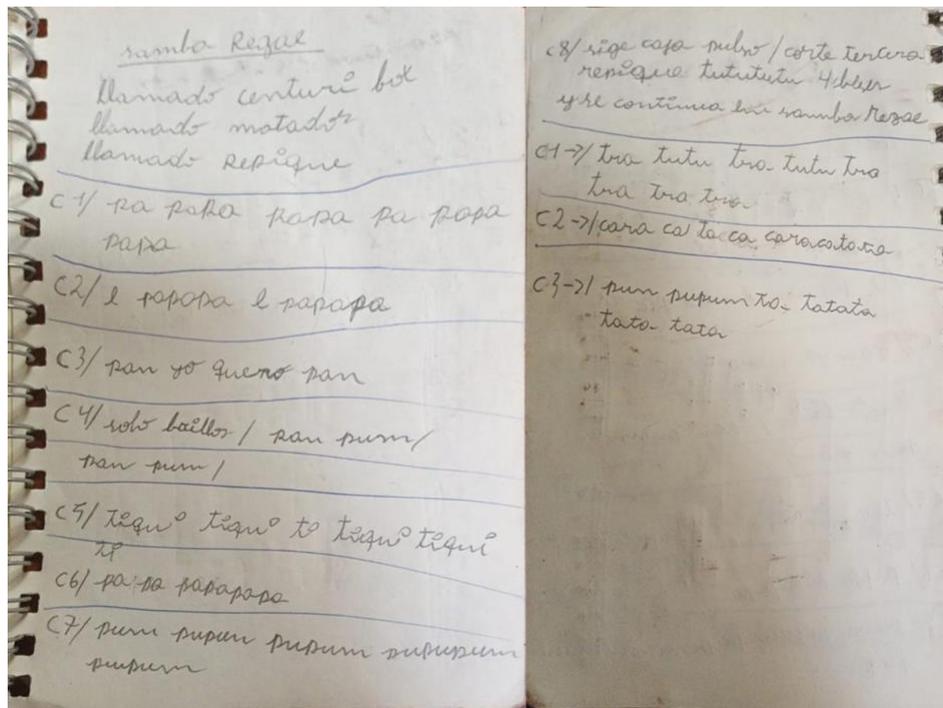


Figure 1 – Notebook of the batucada tutor, in which different rhythms are written in non-conventional notation.

3.3. Teaching and learning strategies in the batucada

Participants and tutors stated that they had no musical or pedagogical knowledge when they joined the ensemble. They have made some comments and judgments about what they call formal musical knowledge, which they relate to elements of musical literacy that they learned at school and quickly forgot. It is clear how little significance they attribute to this knowledge, which they do not consider useful in the context of the batucada:

[When I came to batucada] there was little that I really knew, at school, I worked on certain contents, some musical notes. For example, the treble clef and things like that, but then over time I forgot them (Participant 4, focus group).

Well, before I joined the group, I didn't have much to do with music (Tutor 2, interview).

We are self-taught, and we have no musical studies. But we like it, and it is rooted in our sense of life because you always go to play (Participant 1 focus group).

Contradictory perspectives emerge. Even though on several occasions the participants externalize the lack of significance of musical learning in school contexts, one tutor expresses his desire to study music pedagogy:

I want to study music pedagogy. I'm dreaming about it. I hope it can become a reality. But I still think that popular education has many tools or things that are not inferior to formal education (Tutor 1 interview).

This contradiction highlights what Freire (2018) calls *cultural invasion*, which he associates with *banking education*; the invaded begin to see their reality through the eyes of the invaders, which leads them to become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority. In the tutors' discourses, although they point out the importance of popular education, in a context in which they recognise that musical literacy and formal knowledge are of little relevance, the desire to study music pedagogy appears.

Tutors and participants learn by observing each other. Learning takes place through doing, without planning or didactic sequencing of content. One of the tutors remembers his experience when he joined the batucada:

They told me: here's a drum. You start playing today. You do this, this is the rhythm. Start beating along with the others, now, look, play this (Tutor 2 interview).

What Lave and Wenger (1991) call *legitimate peripheral participation* is evident here. Members acquire the skills necessary to participate in the batucada through observing more experienced peers, gradually becoming fully integrated into the socio-cultural practices of the community. As Santana (2013) observed in Brazilian batucada groups, there is no reflection on the methodological processes, nor any fragmentation or sequencing of teaching. The learning process depends on the ability to imitate and memorize what is heard (Santana 2013).

The teaching-learning process takes place in a collaborative environment, which could be interpreted as a situation of authentic dialogue. According to Freire (2018), Dialogic is the fundamental element of *problem-posing education*. Banking education understands knowledge as a gift from the teacher to the learner (Silverman 2022); by contrast, in *problem-posing education* knowledge is constructed through dialogue between teacher and student (Iglesias 2024).

Interpreting from the point of view of cognitive psychology, it reveals a *shared intentionality* that motivates peer learning: one learns from the peer next to them, who explains and models what to do through *legitimate peripheral participation* (O'Madagain and Tomasello 2022; Lave and Wenger 1991). This happens in a horizontal, non-hierarchical way. The leader is considered as part of the group, and the term *director* is not used. In this respect, the person who could be considered the leader of the batucada states:

There is no different treatment, everyone is treated the same. I am not the director of the group. [...] I can't get all the applause (Tutor 2 interview).

Although they do not use the name of director —they call themselves tutors— there are participants who exercise clear leadership. They assume different responsibilities, such as promoting the batucada, organizing rehearsals, and choosing the repertoire to perform. The batucada tutors thus fulfil the role of learning facilitators, again showing similarities to the manifestations of CM described in other contexts: leadership when exercised horizontally allows for the redistribution of control without relinquishing responsibility (Higgins 2012). According to Higgins (2012), this stance enables creative energy to flow within the group.

Somehow, it seems that in the batucada, in an intuitive and non-bureaucratized way, it has been possible to overcome the teacher-student contradiction, which Freire proposes as one of the fundamental aspects of *problem-posing education*:

The teacher is no longer merely the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach. They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow. In this process, arguments based on 'authority' are no longer valid. [...] Here, no one teaches another, nor is anyone self-taught. People teach each other, mediated by the world (Freire 2018, 80)

It is important to consider that Freire's *problem-posing education* has been criticized by some authors as utopian (Silverman 2022). On the other hand, educational institutions currently consider teaching a highly complex task that involves the development of professional skills supported by a series of professional resources (CPEIP 2022). Considering that the group was formed by participants who declared that they had no musical or pedagogical training, two questions arise: Have the principles of *problem-posing education* been assumed intuitively? How is it possible for a group of people with no musical or pedagogical knowledge to achieve meaningful learning?

The paradox of the Ignorant Schoolmaster emerges here: a teacher manages to successfully teach students content that he himself does not know (Rancière 1991). According to Rancière (1991), this is possible by abandoning the explicative model of teaching. The abandonment of this traditional model of the teacher could be related to the role of the learning facilitator proposed by constructivist pedagogical approaches and by CM (Gautam and Agarwal 2023; Higgins 2012). Although the link is not explicit, this phenomenon can also be understood from a decolonial perspective and related to pedagogies of Buen Vivir, where sociomusical relationships function as nutrients for personal and collective identity, thereby enhancing learning processes (Angel-Alvarado 2021).

As we have pointed out, from the cognitive dimension this could be understood as a form of learning through the other, a capacity that Tomasello (2014) identifies as a human biological ability that enables cultural learning. From another perspective, positive interdependencies between individuals in the community are necessary to enhance this learning (Johnson and Johnson 2009). In this sense, a horizontal teaching model led by a learning facilitator could foster learning by strengthening empathic capacities through collaboration.

4. Conclusion

The present study has succeeded in establishing convergences between the theoretical framework of CM, theoretical constructs from cognitive psychology, and critical pedagogy, an articulation that, to the best of our knowledge, has not been systematically developed in the existing literature. This contributes to broadening the geographical and epistemic scope of CM by examining a Chilean case in a context of high social vulnerability, in contrast with the prevailing focus on English-speaking countries. Beyond the CM framework itself, the analysis shows that Latin American traditions such as Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy offer robust conceptual tools to interpret community-based musical practices such as batucadas, particularly when collaboration is understood as the foundation of teaching-learning processes.

The batucada case discussed in this article is of particular interest, as it emerges spontaneously in a highly vulnerable context. None of the participants claim to have any musical or pedagogical training, nor are they familiar with theoretical frameworks or CM research. Nevertheless, meaningful learning processes, the joint construction of cultural identity, and the adoption of teaching models related to constructivism and critical pedagogy were observed. The findings suggest that collaborative, empathetic and horizontal pedagogical relationships—where tutors are conceived as facilitators of learning—can emerge intuitively in community settings, even in the absence of formal training and without explicit knowledge of CM or critical pedagogy.

From a broader perspective, the results further indicate that the implementation of collaborative teaching strategies—such as the notion of the teacher as facilitator or the dialogicity proposed by Freire—can significantly enhance pedagogical processes. In short, it is hypothesized that, on the basis of this horizontal pedagogical model, it would be possible to develop biologically grounded collaborative skills that facilitate learning. In this regard, an aspect that has received little attention in educational research is that Collaborative Learning, according to current cognitive theories, could be considered a biological ability³. Understanding this form of learning as a biological instinct may help to explain more accurately the paradox of the Ignorant Schoolmaster developed in the article, as well as the emergence of common patterns in different descriptions of CM manifestations that are unrelated to each other and that, in many cases, are organized spontaneously and intuitively.

5. Data Availability Statement

The entire dataset generated or analyzed during this study is included in the published article.

6. References

- Angel-Alvarado, R. 2021. "Buen Vivir y colonialismo: Hacia pedagogías decoloniales en América del Sur." *Revista Electrónica de LEEME*, 48: 94–114. doi:10.7203/LEEME.48.21662
- Angelcos, Nicolás, Andrea Roca, and Emilia Cuadros. 2020. "Juventudes Populares: Decencia, Contracultura y Militancia En El Estallido Social de Octubre." *Ultima Década* 28 (54): 41–68. doi:10.4067/S0718-22362020000200041.
- Antoine, Cristian, and Dana Brablec. 2011. *Políticas Culturales: La Acción Del Estado y La Sociedad de Oportunidades*. Santiago de Chile: Libertad y desarrollo.
- Bandura, Albert. 1977. *Social Learning Theory*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Bartleet, Brydie-Leigh, and Lee Higgins. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Community Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190219505.001.0001.
- Béhague, Gerard. 2001. "Samba." In *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press.

³ This perspective has been widely developed in other cognitive areas, such as linguistics. From the consideration that language is a biological ability (Lenneberg and Chomsky 1967), important fields of study emerged during the second half of the 20th century, such as Universal Grammar and Bilingualism (Berwick and Chomsky 2017). The idea that language emerges from a biological instinct helped to demystify the idea that children learn to speak only through teaching or by imitating their parents, as this ability corresponds to a genetically embedded evolutionary adaptation (Pinker 1995).

doi:10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24449.

- Berwick, Robert C., and Noam Chomsky. 2017. *Why Only Us: Language and Evolution*. Boston: The MIT Press.
- Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. 2022. *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Centro de Perfeccionamiento, Experimentación e Investigaciones Pedagógicas (CPEIP). 2022. *Estándares Pedagógicos y Disciplinarios para Carreras de Pedagogía en Música*. Santiago: Ministerio de Educación Gobierno de Chile. <https://estandaresdocentes.mineduc.cl/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/musica.pdf>.
- Cofré, Fernando. 2021. *Nos volvemos a llamar pueblo. Reflexiones en torno a los significados de lo político y lo popular en la experiencia territorial de la Población La Bandera*. Santiago, Chile: Universidad de Chile - Facultad de Comunicación e Imagen. <https://repositorio.uchile.cl/handle/2250/184131>
- Corbin, Juliet, and Anselm Strauss. 2008. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Cussen, Celia L. 2017. "El Paso de Los Negros Por La Historia de Chile." *Cuadernos de Historia* 25: 45-58. <https://cuadernosdehistoria.uchile.cl/index.php/CDH/article/view/47229>
- Fiscalía Nacional. 2016. *Observatorio Del Narcotráfico En Chile*. Santiago: Gobierno de Chile.
- Freire, Paulo. 2018. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Gautam, Krishna Kumar, and Reena Agarwal. 2023. "The New Generation Teacher: Teacher as a Facilitator." *International Journal of Creative Research Thoughts* 11: 866–871. doi:10.1729/Journal.35553.
- Goetz, J. P., and M. D. Le Compte. 2010. *Etnografía y diseño cualitativo en investigación educativa*. Madrid: Morata.
- Higgins, Lee. 2007. "Acts of Hospitality: The Community in Community Music." *Music Education Research* 9 (2): 281–292. doi:10.1080/14613800701384441.
- Higgins, Lee. 2012. *Community Music: In Theory and In Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199777839.001.0001.
- Iglesias, Pedro. 2024. "Modelos pedagógicos en clases magistrales en contextos de formación musical profesional." In *Activismo, música y educación: miradas desde la realidad chilena*, edited by Rolando Angel-Alvarado, 103–118. Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado.
- Johnson, David W., and Roger T. Johnson. 1999. *Learning Together and Alone: Cooperative, Competitive, and Individualistic*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Johnson, David W., and Roger T. Johnson. 2009. "An Educational Psychology Success Story: Social Interdependence Theory and Cooperative Learning." *Educational Researcher* 38 (5): 365–379. doi:10.3102/0013189X09339057.
- Johnson, David W. and Johnson, Roger T. 2015. "Theoretical Approaches to Cooperative Learning." In *Collaborative Learning: Developments in Research and Practice*, edited by Robyn M. Gillies, 17–46. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- Jorquera-Jaramillo, María-Cecilia. 2004. "Métodos Históricos o Activos En Educación Musical." *Revista Electrónica de LEEME* 14: 1–55. <https://ojs.uv.es/index.php/LEEME/article/view/9751>

- Lave, Jean, and Etienne Wenger. 1991. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lenneberg, Eric H., and Noam Chomsky. 1967. *Biological Foundations of Language*. New York: Wiley.
- Lincoln, Yvonna S., and Egon G. Guba. 2013. *The Constructivist Credo*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Mantie, Roger. 2023. "The Ethics of Care in Community Music." *International Journal of Community Music* 16 (3): 233–236. doi:10.1386/ijcm_00085_2.
- O'Madagain, Cathal, and Michael Tomasello. 2022. "Shared Intentionality, Reason-Giving and the Evolution of Human Culture." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 377 (1843). doi:10.1098/rstb.2020.0320.
- O'Neill, Susan A. 2018. "Becoming a Music Learner: Toward a Theory of Transformative Music Engagement." In *The Oxford Handbook of Music Education, Volume 1*, edited by Gary E. McPherson and Graham F. Welch, 162–186. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199730810.013.0010_update_001.
- Orff, Carl. 1963. "The Schulwerk: Its Origin and Aims." *Music Educators Journal* 49 (5): 69–74. doi:10.2307/3389951.
- Poduje, Iván. 2017. *Barrios Críticos por Narcotráfico: Segregación y Violencia Urbana – Regiones*. Santiago de Chile: Atisba Estudios. <https://atisba.cl/monitor/barrios-criticos-por-narcotrafico/>.
- Pinker, Steven. 1994. *The Language Instinct*. New York: W. Morrow and Co.
- Rancière, Jacques. 1991. *The Ignorant Schoolmaster: Five Lessons in Intellectual Emancipation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Reijonen, Olli. 2017. *Lost Batucada : The Art of Deixa Falar, Portela and Mestre Oscar Bigode*. University of Helsinki, Department of Philosophy, History, Culture and Art Studies. Helsinki, Finland. <http://hdl.handle.net/10138/174614>.
- Rojas, José. 2015. *Batuque chilensis*. Kuriche. <http://www.kuriche.cl/2015/01/19/batuque-chilensis/>.
- Röhrs, Hermann. 1973. *Allgemeine Erziehungswissenschaft*. Weinheim: Beltz.
- Santana, Francisco. 2013. "O Fazer Musical Por Meio Da Prática Coletiva: Processos de Ensino e Aprendizagem Musical No Projeto Guri e Na Bateria Da Escola de Samba Nenê de Vila Matilde." In *De Experiências e Aprendizagens: Educação Não Formal*, edited by Eduardo Souza, 69–84. São Carlos: EdUFSCar.
- Santana, Francisco. 2015. "A Batucada Como Experiência Significativa: A Bateria Alcalina." *Paper presented at XXII Congresso Nacional da ABEM*. http://abemeducacaomusical.com.br/anais_congresso/v1/papers/1169/public/1169-4451-1-PB.pdf.
- Santana, Francisco. 2019. "Samba Batucada: Flexibility and Integration." In *Contemporary Popular Music Studies: Proceedings of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music 2017*, edited by Marija Dumnić Vilotijević and Ivana Medić. Wiesbaden: Springer. doi:10.1007/978-3-658-25253-3.
- Shamrock, Mary. 1997. "Orff-Schulwerk: An Integrated Foundation" *Music Educators Journal* 83 (6): 41–44. doi:10.2307/3399024.
- Silverman, Marissa. 2022. "Critical Pedagogy as a Pedagogy of 'Love.'" *Visions of Research in Music*

Education 40 (1). <https://digitalcommons.lib.uconn.edu/vrme/vol40/iss1/8>.

Sodré, Muniz. 1998. *Samba: o dono do corpo: ensaios*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Codecri.

Tomasello, Michael. 2014. "The Ultra-social Animal." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 44 (3): 187–194. doi:10.1002/ejsp.2015.

Tomasello, Michael. 2016. "Cultural Learning Redux." *Child Development* 87 (3): 643–653. doi:10.1111/cdev.12499.

Veblen, Kari K. 2013. "The Tapestry: Introducing Community Music." In *Community Music Today*, edited by Veblen, Kari K, David J. Elliott, and Marissa Silverman, 1–9. United Kingdom: Rowman & Littlefield Education.

Veblen, K.K. 2007. "The Many Ways of Community Music." *International Journal of Community Music* 1 (1): 5–21. doi:10.1386/ijcm.1.1.5_1.

Verneert, Filip, An De Bisschop, Luc Nijs, and Thomas De Baets. 2024. "The Pedagogical–Artistic Strategies of Community Music Facilitators as an Inspiration for Formal Music Education: A Single Case Study." *International Journal of Community Music* 17 (2): 161–180. doi:10.1386/ijcm_00102_1.

Vygotsky, Lev Semenovič. 1978. *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Yi, Soo Yon, and Aimee Jeehae Kim. 2023. "Implementation and Strategies of Community Music Activities for Well-Being: A Scoping Review of the Literature." *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 20 (3): 2606. doi:10.3390/ijerph20032606.

Yin, Robert K. 2018. *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods*. Los Angeles: SAGE.