Redaktører: Øivind Varkøy Eva Georgii-Hemming Alexis Kallio Frederik Pio

Nordisk musikkpedagogisk forskning Årbok 18

Nordic Research in Music Education Yearbook Vol. 18



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Introduction

Volume 18 of Nordic Research in Music Education Yearbook includes seventeen articles. The themes of the contributions represent a wide variety of interests within the Nordic music education community. The first two articles first were presented as keynotes at the 20th conference of the Nordic Network for Research in Music Education, March 8-10 2016, at Hedmark University College (now called Inland Norway University College of Applied Sciences). The theme for this conference was "Technology and creativity in music education".

In her article "Music, media and technological creativity in the digital age" Anne Danielsen discusses how the creative use of new digital technology has changed how music is produced, distributed, and consumed, as well as how music sounds. Further she examines some creative examples of music production in the digital age, discusses new patterns of use and personalized music "consumption", and addresses how production and consumption meet in so-called prosumption practices that have arisen in the digital era in the form of remix, sample and mashup music.

Göran Folkestad's article "Soundscaping the world with digital tools: The future in retrospect" first gives a brief history of music technology, followed by a section summarizing his own research on creative music making and digital tools in schools. From these starting points, he proposes a conceptual framework to aid the analysis and conceptualization of issues regarding composition and creative music making. He puts forward this framework through utilizing the concepts of intertextuality, the personal inner musical library and music discourse.

Technology also takes centre stage in Marja-Leena Juntunen's article "Using iPads to enhance participation and creative engagement in a 7th-grade music classroom". The study reported in this article examined a case in which a music teacher experimented with the possibilities of fostering student participation and creative engagement through the integrated use of iPads and body movement in the Finnish lower secondary school (grade 7, age 13) music lessons. By examining the pedagogical processes and reasoning behind the practice, the study contributes to the construction of the Technological pedagogical and content knowledge in music teaching and learning.

In her article "Kreativitet som glidande diskurs: Berättelser om Biophilia Educational Project", Cecilia Björck discusses a project linking science, music, and technology in a curriculum for 10-12-year-olds. The article examines how the aims and potential benefits of the Biophilia project are discursively constructed by different actors involved in the process.

In "Performing gender when music is, or is not, at stake – a meta-analysis on students' adaption to discourse" by Carina Borgström Källén & Monica Lindgren, a meta-analysis is conducted in order to reinterpret constructions of gender in conjunction with music education in three qualitative studies of their own. The result of the analysis indicates that the construction of gender is a matter of what is at stake in the music classroom – music or education.

In her article "Crossing affordances: Hybrid music as a tool in intercultural music practices", Camilla Kvaal discusses aspects of intercultural musicking and how to analyse hybrid music as a tool in such practices. The article suggests a way to analyse discourse in music as much as about music.

Cecilia Wallerstedt & Niklas Pramling's article, "I feel that too": Musical problem-solving and mediation through cultural tools in year-nine pop-ensemble practice" investigates the problems that learners and a teacher identify and grapple with in year-nine compulsory school band practice. A sociocultural perspective is used to conceptualize and theorize observations made by video recording band-practice lessons.

In the article "Barns musikaliska interaktion – syskon, smak och identitet, by Johan Söderman & Ylva Ågren, the reader's focus is directed towards the role of music in the social life of children. The aim of the article is to study what function music has in sibling interaction.

In their article "The Becomings of Satanist Musicianship. A study of how Black Metal musicians describe their learning processes", Ketil Thorgersen and Thomas von Wachenfeldt investigate the musical learning in a genre that is considered unacceptable and bad by most of society: Black Metal. Their research opens up for interesting paths in music education when working with musical Bildung and criticism of taken for granted truths.

In "'And the Melody still lingers on': Om danningspotensiale i ein discolåt", by Silje Valde Onsrud, a cover version of Dizzy Gillespie's "A Night in Tunisia" called "And

the Melody still lingers on", sung by the disco queen Chaka Khan, is analyzed as a compound art expression and as an adaptation from one musical genre to another. The purpose of the analysis is to investigate whether a song like this can be didactical on the premises of art itself, and hold potential for Bildung.

Peter Falthin's article "Form and order – dimensions in musical meaning making" concerns musical meaning making in relation to semiotic theory and other forms of meaning making. Falthin discusses what he considers to be oversimplified notions salient in many studies comparing aspects of music to language and their respective capacity to store and convey meaning, intentionally or otherwise.

Elizabeth Oltedal's article "Challenges of assessing music performance: teachers' perceptions" draws on Wenger's concept of communities of practice, in which he highlights "the inseparable duality of the social and the individual", to explore the perceptions of instrumental teachers concerning assessment of main instrument in Norwegian upper secondary schools.

Johannes Lunde Hatfield's article "Goal setting and self-determination in music making: Tenets of Becoming a Deliberate and Motivated Music Practitioner" presents and elaborates goal-setting and self-determination theories in relation to music practice and performance highlighting potential benefits and pitfalls in the context of higher music education.

Mariko Hara's article "Sustaining the assemblage: How migrant musicians cultivate and negotiate their musicianship" explores what types of actions that musicians with an immigrant background in Norway undertake in order to sustain a career in music.

The aim of Sven Bjerstedt's article "A new educational situation – perspectives on jazz musical learning in the Swedish jazz journal OrkesterJournalen 1980–2010" is to mirror a time of radical change in Swedish jazz education through perspectives formulated in the jazz journal *Orkesterjournalen*.

Johanna Österling-Brunström's article "The Body, to make and to be in music.

A phenomenological study" explores bodily anchored dimensions of meaning in relation to four different musical contexts, asking how the body takes hold of the music and how the music takes hold of the body.

Finally, in the article «Entreprenørskap i høyere norsk musikkutdanning», Åshild Watne & Kristian Nymoen presents a small, focused survey on entrepreneurship in higher music education in Norway.

Contact information for each of the volume contributors is available at the ends of each article.

The last section of the Yearbook provides information about Nordic doctoral dissertations in music education from 2016-17, the review panel, and the editorial group.

The editors would like to thank all authors and peer reviewers for their valuable contributions.

Nordic Research in Music Education Yearbook has been published since 1997 by the Norwegian Academy of Music. The editorial group would like to thank the member institutions of the Nordic Network for Research in Music Education for securing the financial basis for the Yearbook. Further information about the Nordic Network for Research in Music Education is available on www.nnmpf.org. The editorial group also wants to thank Anders Eggen and the Norwegian Academy of Music for generously offering assistance in editing and finalizing the layout.

Øivind Varkøy, Eva Georgii-Hemming, Alexis Kallio and Frederik Pio

Music, media and technological creativity in the digital age

Anne Danielsen

Keynote on the 20th conference of the Nordic Network for Research in Music Education: "Technology and creativity in music education" March 8–10, 2016, Hedmark University College, Hamar, Norway

The creative use of new digital technology has changed how music is produced, distributed, and consumed, as well as how music sounds. In this keynote, I will begin by examining some creative examples of music production in the digital age, focusing on two new sonic expressions within the field of popular music that have been produced through the unorthodox application of the digital audio workstation, or DAW, and more precisely through manipulations of rhythm and manipulations of the voice, respectively. Then I will discuss new patterns of use and personalized music "consumption," using playlist creation in streaming services as my point of departure. Lastly, I will address how the two spheres of production and consumption meet in the so-called prosumption practices that have arisen in the digital era in the form of remix, sample and mashup music.

Creating with technology

The topic of this conference is technology and creativity, which concerns machines and humans and their relationship. Within the field of music, this relationship is often framed as a tension between human performance (creativity) and automated procedures (technology). This is certainly so within the field of rhythm, which is my specialty. Throughout the 1970s and even up to the advent of digital recording in the late 1980s, the field of rhythm was characterized by a discursive and performative dichotomy of human versus machine. On the one hand, there were played styles, such as rock, country, funk, and jazz, that were characterized by "organic" rhythmic feels that derived from both deliberate and unintended variations that musicians add to their performances; on the other hand, there was the music of those artists who produced sequencer-based dance tracks with a futuristic machine aesthetic, typified by Kraftwerk's albums Man-Machine (1978) and Computer World (1981). These grooves, enabled by analogue sequencers, were often perceived to be non-human and "mechanistic," largely because of the absence of micro-level flexibility in the temporal placement of their rhythmic events, which were all forced into the grid supplied by the sequencer. This early dichotomy in rhythmic design within 1970s popular music likely informs any potential understanding of the reasons why rhythmic patterns consisting of grid-ordered events are experienced as lacking a human touch (even when they are produced by a human), and why that human touch automatically implies variation, intended or unintended. Rhythmic subdivisions that are too evenly played sound like a machine. Loose timing, on the other hand, is "organic" and evokes human performance, even when the telltale variations have been generated by a computer.

Prior to the advent of digital recording, then, there was a *de facto* difference between played and machine-generated rhythm that was associated with the constraints of the conditions of production within these two spheres. Machine rhythm lacked the intended (and unavoidable non-intended) temporal and sonic variations that were typical of human musicking. Likewise, humans were simply unable to produce the extreme evenness of the machine. Today, however, it is very difficult to distinguish between human and computer-generated performances. The traditional link between machine-based music and stiffness has been disrupted by new opportunities for creating microrhythmic designs in the DAW. In general, digital music technology has introduced unforeseen possibilities for manipulating sound, and, as a consequence, entirely new forms of musical expression have emerged. In what follows, I will focus on some of the trends that have emerged as a consequence of manual or automated techniques for cutting-up sound, warping samples, and manipulating samples using

DAWs. All of these techniques have made an unmistakable mark on popular music styles from the turn of the millennium onward, and they might even be said to represent a new phase in the interaction of human and machine in music history—one characterized by a decisive undermining of the traditional separation between the two in the production of music.

Three trends of production

The first trend comprises electronica-related styles whose rhythmic events align with a metrical grid. Common to the musicianship of the artists representing this trend is a preference for exaggerated tempi and an attraction to the completely straightened-out, "square" feel of quantization. Prominent pioneers of this rhythmic trend include Aphex Twin (the performing pseudonym of Richard D. James), Autechre's (Sean Booth and Rob Brown), and Squarepusher's (Tom Jenkinson), all of whom entered the electronica scene in the late 1990s and are associated with the label Warp. The fast speed and quantized evenness of many of the tracks on such albums anticipate the related process of musical granulation—that is, of crystallizing "sonic wholes" into grains, so that musical or nonmusical sounds are chopped up into small fragments and reordered to produce a stuttering rhythmic effect. This aesthetic also promotes a tendency to transform sounds with an otherwise clear semantic meaning or reference point—a different musical context, for example, or something else entirely—into "pure" sound (see, for example, Harkins, 2010). Such sounds or clips are also often combined in choppy ways that underline sonic cut-outs rather than disguising them, resulting in a form of "schizophonia"—the kind of euphoric, skittering collage referred to by Fredric Jameson (1984) as the "breakdown of the signifying chain."

The label *glitch music*—a substyle of electronic dance music associated with the artists mentioned above—hints at the ways in which we perceive these soundscapes, namely as a coherent sonic totality that has been "destroyed," meaning chopped up and reorganized anew. An important point here, which my colleague R. Brøvig-Hanssen discusses at length, is that this approach to sound relies on the listener being able to imagine a "music within the music"—that is, a fragmented sound presupposes an imagined and spatiotemporally coherent sound (Brøvig-Hanssen, 2013; Brøvig-Hanssen & Danielsen, 2016, chapter 5).

No microtiming is usually present in this practice, in the sense that all of the events (that is, the onsets of the physical signals) are on the grid. The second trend of technologically based creation in the field of rhythm that I will focus on today, on the other hand, pushes the perceptual boundaries of timing discrepancies and irregularities to the limit, and in some cases beyond. An early example was D'Angelo's legendary Voodoo album (1999), where several songs featured the displacement of tracks in a multi-track recording. In other words, the tracks were moved back and forth on the time axis in the post-production process, resulting in discrepancies between rhythmic layers of up to 100 milliseconds within a given song. This technique is, for example, audible in the songs "Left and Right" (see analysis in Danielsen, 2010) and "Untitled (How Does It Feel)" (see analysis in Bjerke, 2010). The experimental hip-hop and neosoul coming out of the Soulquarian collective to which D'Angelo belonged, together with artists and bands such as Common, the Roots, and Erykah Badu, could be considered a form of the avant-garde within African American-derived rhythmic genres. An example from more mainstream contemporary R&B using the same techniques is Brandy's song "What About Us" from her innovative album Full Moon (Atlantic, 2002, produced by Rodney Jerkins) (for analysis, see Carlsen and Witek, 2010).

Radical time-warping procedures produce much the same effect, as can be heard on several tracks of Snoop Dogg's innovative album R&G (Rhythm & Gangsta): The Masterpiece (Geffen, 2004). Here, several producers, among them J. R. Rotem and Josef Leimberg, contributed their take on grooves where the "feel" aspect is almost overdone as a consequence of the manipulation of rhythm in the DAW. The groove of "Can I Get A Flicc Witchu" (produced by Leimberg) consists of a programmed bass riff and a drum kit, along with vocals that are mainly rapped. The texture of the groove is simple and open, but the microrhythmic relationships within it are muddy and complex, thanks to two distinct forms of time warping, or bending the temporal aspects of the groove. First, the length of the beats is gradually shortened, so that beat 2 is shorter than beat 1, beat 3 is shorter than beat 2, and so on. This may be due to the use of tempo automation, a function that was available in the DAW at the time of production of *Rhythm & Gangsta*. This form of manipulation contributes to a general vagueness regarding the positioning of rhythmic events. Second, the bass pattern is a sample that follows its own peculiar schematic organization and is a main reason for the "seasick" rhythmic feel of the tune. This pattern neither relates to the 4/4 meter nor conforms to a regular periodicity of its own (for a detailed analysis, see Brøvig-Hanssen & Danielsen, 2016, chapter 6).

The third trend that I want to focus on is the creative use of AutoTune, or the so-called Cher effect, which recast autotuning as more than a means of "cheating" the listener. Auto-Tune is the digital age's answer to the analogue Vocoder, but whereas the vocoder is an analogue synthesis procedure that recreates a synthetic version of the analyzed input signal (for example, a voice), the Auto-Tune plug-in is based on digital signal processing of the numeric representation of the sound wave. Auto-Tune identifies the dominating periodic frequencies, or pitched notes, in the signal using autocorrelation techniques and adjusts them to the nearest periodicity corresponding to one of the notes in a pre-determined scale. That is, it changes the pitch of the signal while keeping its other features intact, which means that the sonic result of using Auto-Tune on a vocal is still a vocal sound, but one deprived of typical human characteristics, such as vibration or sliding transitions between different tones.

Its potential for new expressivity has been explored by several hip-hop artists, the first of which was T-Pain, who used pitch-correction software to process his lead vocal on several tracks on the album *Rappa Ternt Sanga* (Jive) in 2006. A similar use of Auto-Tune is found on Kanye West's album *808s and Heartbreak* (Roc-A-Fella Records, 2008) which, according to the *Washington Post*, captured "the isolation, paranoia and longing of 21st-century city life" (Richards, 2008). The discourse surrounding Kanye's release illustrates the win-win situation brought about by digital pitch-correction tools. Correcting and creating are intimately mingled: Auto-Tune assists Kanye in satisfying the responsibilities of a lead vocalist (with perfect intonation) on a professional recording, while at the same time enabling a particular sort of vocal expressiveness that is beyond the reach of transparently mediated human singing. The sad, mechanistic sound of his autotuned voice suited the overall theme of his album, which centers around emotional distance, loneliness, and heartbreak.

Auto-Tune's connotations of the robotic and non-human have also been used to disrupt stereotypical notions of race and/or gender, particularly around the reception of female artists within electro-pop and r&b. The sound is often coupled with imagery depicting exaggerated femininity and hyper-embodiment—that is, a body that comes forward as either perfect in and of itself or otherwise cultivated beyond the human. In her essay on robo-divas in contemporary R&B, Robin James (2008) argues that the robo-diva character subverts stereotypical notions of both femininity and ethnicity by coming across as overtly "constructed" by technology—it thus represents a type of antithesis to naturalized conceptions of gender and/or race.

A last example of the experimental use of Auto-Tune is found on Bon Iver's track titled "Woods," from the EP Blood Bank (2009), which is characterized by a peculiar lyrical atmosphere that is closely linked to the use of a clean, opaquely autotuned vocal that soon replicates itself into a digital choir. Measurements of the exact distances between the different phrases in each repetition of the melody indicate that the first repetition was looped and used as the point of departure for all successive rounds (five and a half), because the timing of each repetition is precisely the same. Each repetition, however, adds new voices performing harmonies. In addition, the last repetitions, which are in the higher register, are colored with melismas, which, given the heavy use of digital pitch correction, jump from note to note in a "square" fashion and thus come forward as rather strange (for detailed analysis, see Brøvig-Hanssen & Danielsen, 2016, chapter 7). The cleanliness of the digital choir evokes a feeling of distance and hyperreality, in that there is a total absence of the impure, chaotic, and disturbing aspects of real nature (in this case, the unmediated human voice). Thus, in this context, we might hear the autotuned voice as evoking a sense of nature as perfection—that is to say, we hear nature as culture, or nature as a means of getting in touch with one's authentic self.

The creative use of digital technology as demonstrated by the Auto-Tune and microrhythmic examples described above has brought about a new situation in which played and machine-generated music are deeply embedded in one another. Digital technology has contributed tremendously to this ongoing transformation of popular music from an "either/or" proposition to a "both/and" hybridization that makes it increasingly difficult for listeners to distinguish between human and machine-made musical utterances. Put differently, one might say that digital technology has helped to humanize the machine and encouraged humans to imitate (and merge with) the machine. As a consequence, the expressions of humans and machines are today, at least in some genres, so deeply mingled that it is impossible to say where one ends and the other begins, making it very difficult at times to distinguish between human and machine.

Distribution and new modes of personalized consumption

The examples above are all about using technology in new creative ways when producing music. However, consumption has also changed as a result of the shift to digital distribution technology. In the project *Clouds and Concerts: Mediation and Mobility in Contemporary Music Culture* (funded by the Research Council of Norway, grant 205265),

one of our aims was to study new modes of reception of music as consequences of the new modes of distribution made possible by digital technology. For the following discussion, I will in particular rely on the study of heavy users of streaming services conducted by Anja Nylund Hagen (2015b), which delves into some important aspects of the new lifeworld of music consumption that streaming brings about.

Hagen's work is a combined interview and diary study of twelve dedicated users (five men, seven women) of Spotify and WiMP Music, ranging from seventeen to sixty years old. They are high school students, higher education students and professionals in the workforce. Despite the relatively small number of informants, Hagen's material is vast, which testifies to the thoroughness and depth of her approach. Instead of monitoring many users, that is, she decided to follow a few very closely, which encompassed access to their Facebook and last.fm accounts. Taken together, her material provided a unique perspective on media usage (an overview of the data is given in Hagen, 2015b, 58).

What, then, characterizes streaming as an environment for music consumption? Hagen (2015b: 13–20) focuses on three core qualities of the streaming environment and discusses the ways in which they shape the user experience. These are:

- The **intangibility** of the medium in which the music is made available. The loss of music's materiality we already know from music flourishing as files online. But the intangibility of music-streaming services gives rise to an increased ephemerality and fluidity of user experience, even as it implies a new economy that make users into renters of access rather than owners of physical products. At the same time, the intangibility of the service offers the flexibility of use on various media devices. This implies user decisions regarding how to maintain music in the service, as music must be organized, stored, absorbed, and retained within the changing frame of an online interface.
- The **abundance** of the music in the services—over thirty million tracks raise issues related to how online information has been described as both a paradox and paradise of choice for users, in terms of, for example, exploration, navigation, memory, and choice. Given this abundance, which practices are triggered, for what purposes, with what features, and to what effect? Implications include service orientation and music navigation—that is, how users explore, manage, navigate, remember, and retrieve music in the service.

• The **social network capacity** generally integrated into the platform. Music-streaming services are Internet applications and embed social networks within themselves, enabling users to announce themselves via sharing their music and listening habits with others. They also enable users to follow each other and exchange information about what people are listening to. How users deal with the social features of streaming and negotiate music as personal *and* social are key aspects of the new distribution platforms—surprisingly, as well, most listeners prefer to keep their music, and their musical tastes, to themselves (Hagen & Lüders, 2016).

Hagen focuses in particular on how music listening happens *everywhere* and all the *time* in the dedicated streaming user's everyday life, thereby strengthening music's position there (Hagen, 2015a). Music defines or at least enhances everyday tasks and practices, routines, and responsibilities, and music streaming is part of the user's daily ups and downs. It spans relaxing and exercising, falling asleep and waking up, being alone and being together, as is evident in the many user-generated playlists that relate to everyday activities (see table 1).

Moreover, the given streaming service, via the smartphone, attaches itself to the listener, often literally, which makes the practice of using music as an accompaniment to daily life more flexible than ever.

moods (chilling, depressed, happy, stressed, etc.)

functionality (homework, exercise, falling asleep, background)

specific purposes (commuting, dinner date, party)

self and others (soundtrackofmylife, brother, me-time, be tough, girls' night, period in life)

daily life rhythms (wakeup, shower, after lunch, commuting, bedtime)

events and external contexts (weather, seasons, holidays, Bowie's death, festivals, TV shows)

listening modes: background/focused, shuffle/album, discovery

streaming specific contexts ("the water list")

traditional categories (artist, album, label etc.)

Table 1. Personal playlists: categories (based on Hagen, 2015a)

Prosumption

Hagen's study concludes that the creative use of new distribution platforms is a means of personalized consumption, and the distance from this alignment to so-called prosumption practices is short. One artist who has explored the contemporary blurring of production and consumption is Imogen Heap. In March 2011, Heap started work on a new record based on fan collaboration that would result in one song every three months that was based on her fans' various contributions. For the first song, titled "Lifeline," people sent her nearly nine hundred "sound seeds," such as recordings of a dishwasher door shutting, a bicycle spinning, or a match burning. Heap also sought words for a word cloud that could inspire the song's lyrics, as well as animation/film projects for its video. The song was released on March 25, 2011, and Heap gave credit to all of the fans whose sound snippets had been included on it. "Lifeline" and other songs ultimately formed the album titled *Sparks*, which was completed in August 2014.

An important aspect of *Sparks*, as well, was that it could be downloaded for free. Also her more recent song project "Tiny Human" is free. The download consists of a Dropbox folder containing an ordinary mix of the song, an instrumental version, selected tracks from the multi-track recording of the song, and related visual material, credits and a video (see figure 1). In an accompanying text on her website (Heap, 2015), Heap invited developers and services to upload the song to their platforms, provided that they created an Imogen Heap artist profile as part of this process. Instead of contributing directly to the project, fans could also donate to Heap's Mycelia charity foundation (see figure 2).

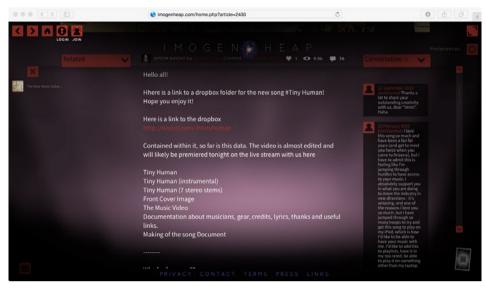


Figure 1. Screenshot with overview of Tiny Human dropbox folder. Retrieved from http://imogenheap.com/home.php?article=2430.

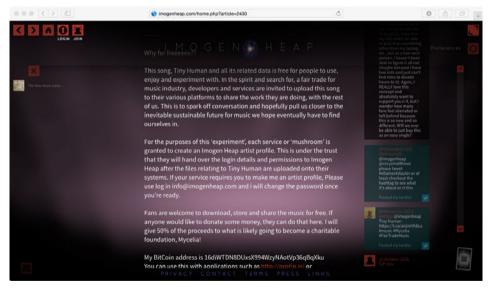


Figure 2. Screenshot with instructions for fans and industry. Retrieved from http://imogenheap.com/home.php?article=2430.

Imogen Heap's music-making activities are examples of a new mode of interaction between artist and fans in which the latter are no longer purely consumers of content, since they also contribute aesthetically to its production. An even more radical form of prosumption is to be heard in the creative use of digitally based production techniques used by fans and amateurs/semi-professionals when modifying existing recordings or material from the Internet. One example is the musical mash-up, which relies on the possibility of warping samples using the DAW. A mash-up consists of two recognizable recordings that have been synchronized (warped) without significant edits. A prominent example is the so-called *Grey Album*, where Danger Mouse mashed together songs from the White Album of the Beatles with Jay-Z's Black Album. In their analysis of this album, Brøvig-Hanssen & Harkins (2012) argue that mash-ups are characterized by two underlying principles, namely the contextual incongruity of the recognizable samples and the musical congruity of the mashed tracks. The contextual incongruity often creates a humorous effect, as well, and one example of this experiential doubling of the music as simultaneously congruent and incongruent is "Psychosocial Baby" (2011), in which Isosine blends Slipknot's "Psychosocial" with Justin Bieber's "Baby". The congruence resides in the way in which the track sounds like a virtual band performing together, whereas the incongruence resides in the track's parodic subversion of socially established conventions. As Brøvig-Hanssen points out, this produces richness in meaning as well as several paradoxical effects (Brøvig-Hanssen, 2016).

Other creative uses of new digital production tools are cut-and-paste and the aforementioned Auto-Tune. One prominent example of the former is a humorous edit of Barack Obama's State of the Union speech from 2010 that was uploaded to YouTube by the pseudonym Walrus in January 2011 (available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WVmq5A4m1fU). People also make music out of public events, debates and news programs using digital pitch-correction tools such as Auto-Tune or Melodyne, producing, among other things, a series called "songify the news." U.S. presidential candidate Donald Trump, perhaps unsurprisingly, has been subjected to songification several times (see, for example, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lCEQoA-0qOic&list=PL736C3116AD309B58. Accessed 12 January 2018). Such "songify the news" tracks are clearly satirical and represent iterations of what Henry Louis Gates Jr., in theorizing African American oral verbal traditions (1988), calls signifying. They bundle repetition and revision in the same maneuver, whereby the revision then subverts the meaning of the initial utterance.

Do these practices result in music? Perhaps we might stick with *musicking* (Small, 1998), thanks to the prominence of their process-oriented creative approach. In any case, we would do well to note the endless creativity that is made possible by digital technology and digital media, and the impact of these new opportunities upon the ongoing blurring of music production and music consumption, both culturally and economically.

Conclusion: An extension of the human?

As I have discussed here, various consequences of the perceived conflict between sounds generated by a musician and sounds generated by technology have underpinned the history of music in the twentieth century and beyond. At the same time, it remains a simple fact that playing and making music have always been embedded in technology. The opposition of human and machine in the area of music making thus comes forward as somewhat ideological: in practice, playing a traditional instrument also means being deeply involved in its technology (see, for example, Kvifte, 1989), or, in the words of Nick Prior: "It is not just that technology *impacts* upon music, *influences* music, *shapes* music, because this form of weak technological determinism still implies two separate domains. Music is always already suffused with technology, it is embedded within technological forms and forces; it is *in* and *of* technology" (Prior, 2009: 95).

Relating this point to a more general epistemological discourse, we could say that new technology creates new understanding, and that we have always learned to know the world through the tools and technologies that we use to interact with our surroundings. As Heidegger points out in his essay "The Question Concerning Technology" (1977), there is no alternative route to the knowledge we acquire through technology. Moreover, the insights that we derive from technology cannot be separated from the technology itself; through technology we achieve knowledge of the world in a way and to an extent that would be otherwise unavailable to us. In the words of Heidegger: "[Techne] reveals whatever does not bring itself forth and does not yet lie here before us, whatever can look and turn out now one way and now another" (Heidegger, 1977: 8). The idea that human and technology are two different things is thus, according to Heidegger, beside the point—instead, the machine should be seen as an extension of the human.

Digital technology has re-actualized this debate in music making. The creative use of new digital technology has clearly changed how music is produced, distributed, and consumed, but using technology in unforeseen ways is an old practice and should perhaps rather be understood as part of the continuous development of technology's ever-present role as an aid to and extension of human expression and behavior. In this sense, the expressions and practices presented in this talk are yet further examples of the ways in which technology has always produced new forms of knowledge, expression and behavior, thereby expanding the scope of the human imagination.

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Soundscaping the world with digital tools: The future in retrospect

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Prelude

Even as a child when I started playing the piano, I found it much more fun to try out melodies and small musical pieces of my own, than to play the sheet music of my piano homework.

Throughout, it has been the creation of music that has fascinated me most, experimenting in notes and sounds and forming a musical unity out of small embryos of musical ideas. As a 14-year old I got my first tape recorder. I used it to record one melody line and play or sing another line in harmony, and with the sound-on-sound technique the options were expanded to what I experienced as unlimited, recording the kick of a bass drum with a slipper, the snare drum with a box of matches, the hi-hat with two sheets of sandpaper, to give a few examples.

The starting point of my research was the meeting between my two musical practices: on the one hand (i) in school, as a music teacher in secondary school (senior high school) and a senior lecturer at the University School of Music and Music Education, and on the other hand (ii) outside school, as a musician, composer and recording artist.

After having worked full time as a music teacher for ten years (1974–1984), and playing in different rock, pop and jazz bands in the evenings and on weekends, I took a break as a teacher, and during the years 1984–1987 I worked full time as a composer and as a recording and performing artist. This coincided with an intensive period in the development of music technology and the implementation of this equipment in the music production of recording studios, and in the practice of composition. All

this I observed and experienced at close range. Almost every studio session involved the introduction of new kit or gear, and new ways of working: sequencers and drum machines steered by sync tracks; synthesizers connected via MIDI (Musical Instrument Digital Interface) to create full and rich sounds, and, eventually, computers with compositional software.

Returning to my music teacher practice in 1987, the question was obvious and clear: how could this equipment which had radically changed, not to say revolutionized, the music production in the studios and in the work of composers, be utilized to fulfill my teaching ambitions and the intentions of the Swedish National Curriculum to let the students create music of their own? Or phrased from the perspective of the "academic world", and as a starting point of my research: what are the effects of the new technology, and what are its options in various educational situations?

In this presentation I will start by giving a brief description of music technology in retrospect, followed by a section summarizing my own research on creative music making and digital tools in school. From that I suggest a conceptual framework, which should help in the analysis and understanding of issues regarding composition and creative music making, in the light of the concepts of *intertextuality*, *the personal inner musical library* and *discourse in music*. The presentation is concluded by a discussion of possible consequences for the view on copyright and publishing royalty as a result of sampling and digital techniques, and the formulation of some questions regarding today's and tomorrow's landscape of music education.

Music technology in retrospect

Through out time, humanity has tried to obtain new ways of expressing musical ideas, and accordingly the boundaries for the possibilities of expression in musical creation have constantly been stretched and expanded. The development of new instruments and other means of musical expression has taken place in a constant dialogue between instrument makers and musicians/composers, the latter continuously putting up new desires and demands of functions and sounds, and the former having made use of all new technical conquests in order to achieve this.

The desire of having access to a wider world of sounds when creating and performing music, than what is offered by a single instrument while playing it, is consequently

an ancient phenomenon. For example, the church organ was developed in order to make it possible for the composer and performer to get access to the sounds of the orchestra, and thus by various registrations create significant sounds for each composition (Davidson, 1991; Johansson, 2008). The development of the organ also made it possible to program various combinations of sounds in advance, in order to be able to change sounds and sound combinations during the performance. The competence of organ players was thus expanded to include mastering the sounding and technical possibilities of different organs, and out of these creating sound registration for the various pieces of music in the performance. In that sense, the function of the church organ could be seen as satisfying needs similar to those that are satisfied today by the synthesizers and the computer soft-wares.

In this way, the development of new instruments and means of musical expression has taken place in parallel with the technical conquests, materials, and ideals in society as a whole, all of which have continuously been tested and adapted to the musical field. In the 20th century, this approach led to the development of what today is called electro-acoustic music, originating from the French composer, author and engineer Pierre Schaeffers' creation of the first electronic music studio in Paris in 1948. This way of creating music, *Musique Concrète*, one of the basic ideas of which is that the technology and the techniques it affords "can be used to manipulate the recorded sounds in a way that mechanical instruments are not capable of" (Wiggen 1971: 80), spread widely in the 1950s, and gave raise to studios for electronic music all over the world. In Cologne, Germany, where the second studio was built at a radio station (WDR) in the early 1950s, a group of technicians and composers developed *Elektronische Musik*. Karlheinz Stockhausen and Michael Koenig are the most well-known composers in that context.

One of the guiding aesthetic principles in electro-acoustic music was the idea of non-pitch related music. This enabled the equipment to be directed by other means than the use of keyboards, on which the keys represent fixed pitches. However, the quickly growing use of music technology in the creation of popular music, from the beginning of the 1970s, placed the development "at a cross-roads. In simple terms, this can be described as a choice between keyboard and not keyboard" (Thorsén, 1991: 4).

The introduction of MIDI (Musical Instrument Digital Interface) in 1983 led to the start of a wide development of new ways of working with music, both in the tradition of electro-acoustic music, and in popular music, such as rock and pop. This system, first developed mainly to make it possible to communicate between synthesizers, soon

opened up various new possibilities for communication among all kinds of digital music equipment and computers, and definitely concluded the discussion in favor of using keyboards to direct the equipment. In the 1980s the equipment of the professionals became every man's property. "Computers, synthesizers, porta studios, etc. became so cheap and widely spread, that these became the natural point of reference in the creation of new music" (Thorsén, 1991: 4). Digital technology, including drum machines, synthesizers, sequencers and other computer based midi-equipment, revolutionized the work of music recording and composition. Work in recording studios and the possibilities for composition and development of arrangements was thereby totally changed, and new ways of working was developed.

This way of working with music, used by many professional composers (Dyndahl, 1995), was soon adopted by the younger generation. Soon there were pupils in every school class with access to music technology at home, using it together with their peers. "Studio recording was no longer confined to the studio, and the home recording studio became financially possible" (Jones 1992: 40).

Digital technology also accelerated the displacement of the competence in the creation of contemporary dance music, a change that started with disc jockeys being engaged by the record companies to produce special disco-mix versions of successful hits for the discotheque dancing floors. Previously, popular music had been created mainly by instrumentally and musically trained and competent musicians and composers, although the role of the recording engineer became increasingly important "in the realization of a composition by deciding what technology should be used and how to use it" (Jones, 1992: 9). Disc jockeys and others were so far consumers of ready-made music. However, the disco-mix versions made by the disc jockeys themselves were the beginning of a development that blossomed when digital music equipment made it possible for them, as well as every other interested creative listener, to fulfill musical ideas of their own. This started a new music culture based on an alternative musical competence, acquired through listening and dancing as social interaction, instead of through instrumental technical skills. As formal musical knowledge and instrumental training were no longer necessary to be able to create music, this new group of music producers could realize their ideas directly, without any middlemen's hands. Thus, an alternative musical competence, based on imagination, ideas, and the mastering of a musical language, sets new standards for the production of youth music.

This setting of new standards thus implied a change in perspective out of which the music is produced, a change from the perspective of musically professional "producers"

to the perspective of creative "receivers". This change might also imply the development of a new aesthetic standard, manifested in many of the tunes, which in traditional musical standards had simple chord sequences and harmonics, repeated melody riffs, quite often pentatonic, and with a heavily marked pulse in the rhythmics. Even the sounds used were a return to what was described by trained musicians as "cheap sounds", compared with the sound produced on the expensive and advanced synthesizers used by professional musicians. The sounds of a synthesizer was long a question of price; the low price synthesizers sounded a certain way, in contrast to which more expensive synthesizers were technically more advanced, with more lifelike and, from a musician's perspective, "better sounds". However, when the new generation of music making youngsters achieved commercial success, they held on to the sound qualities with which they were accustomed in expressing themselves. Thus, that particular sound ideal became a part of the style.

Gradually, the difference between the sounds of amateurs and professionals diminished, and from the 1990s and onwards, in studios producing teenage music, advanced and expensive samplers were sometimes used to sample the sounds of cheap home synthesizers for the production. These sounds can be described as recognizable and characteristic of synthesized sounds, that is, they do not attempt to imitate acoustical instruments, but rather sound electronic and synthetic. The purity of the digital samplers, regarded as a valuable improvement, was complemented, or in some cases replaced, by the rough sounds of the analogue synthesizers.

Another aspect of the changes that the technological development brought about, was the change in the view and function of the recording itself. Originally, the purpose of a recording was to document the music, exactly as it sounded in the recording situation, as "an unaltered acoustical event" (Bruce Swedien, personal communication, 2003). In fact, this idea of faithfulness to the original event is the essence of the concept of *High Fidelity* (Hi-Fi): the stereo equipment is to represent the music, exactly as it sounded at the recording session, with no additions, that is, to show high fidelity to the original. As a result of music technology, the recording more and more became a part in music creation, and today creating and recording are totally integrated. This change towards an almost inverted situation, as compared with the original recordings, was described by Lilliestam (1995) saying that "in live performances of the music, one tries to attain a re-creation of what once was done in the studio – not the reverse" (p. 181).

As seen above, for a long time, from Thomas Edison's phonograph (1877) and onwards with wax rolls, direct engraving, steel wire and by time with tape and vinyl records,

recording music was a means to document music events of all kinds, both classical and popular music, and thereby making it possible to separate the listening of the music in both time and place from the performance of it.

The development of recording and music production techniques might be summarized in terms of two paths, traditions, or discursive practices:

- (i) The "Electronic Artistic path" with its starting point in Musique Concrète and Elektronische Musik and in the post-World War II spirit to remove national characteristics from the music, and to create a new common, internationally united tonal language (Folkestad, 2002). In this project the possibilities of the electronic innovations became a means to accomplish this utopian idea of modernist composers after the war, a tradition that throughout the years has resulted in various kinds of Electro-Acoustic music (EA).
- (ii) The "Recording Production path", music production with its roots in the recording of popular music, from presenting "an unaltered musical event" to multi-track recording: sound-on-sound (1950); multi-track tape recording (1955); MIDI and synthesizers (1983); computers/sequenser programs (1989); hard disc recording (ProTools)/digital editing (1991); internet, iPads, smartphones, YouTube (2005); the studio as live instrument (2005).

Today, these paths exist in parallel, both as separated – not the least at Universities and Academies of Music where they quite often are to be found at different departments – but also as merging in artistic projects, film and computer music, etc.

In summary, creative music making using digital tools is today an everyday cultural phenomenon, which engages a considerable proportion of today's people, in all ages.

Creative music making and digital tools in school

As stated above, the introduction of MIDI in 1983 led to the start of a wide development of new ways of working with music. This development raised many questions for music teachers, still valid in today's music education discussions and practices, which might be summarized as follows:

- (a) How can these tools be used in music education to fulfill the ideas and aims under the heading *musical creation* in the curricula?
- (b) Which are the new demands put on music teachers and the music teacher education programs by the fact that almost every piece of music that children and adolescents listen to today, in one way or another is produced using this equipment? And what are the possibilities implied?
- (c) Is it the ways in which professional composers use the equipment that should be applied in an educational context, or should other methods be developed?

In the school context, music teachers as well as researchers started to experiment by using music technology in classroom teaching.

In order to get a general view of the state of the art in Sweden by the second half of the 1980s, I carried out a study investigating how digital music equipment was used in classroom teaching, and upon what ideas the teachers based their usage and testing (Folkestad, 1989). An illustration of the rapid development within this area is that when I planned the interviews for this study, I had problems in finding four people (!) in the whole of Sweden working with music technology in their teaching.

The result showed that the activities carried out with music technology by the end of the 1980s could be divided into two main categories:

- 1. Established activities: activities with a content that the teacher had carried out previously with other equipment, other instruments, or other methods, and in which music technology was now used as a tool to achieve those ends. Most teachers thought they had renewed their teaching in this way, making it more effective or more inviting and therefore easier to motivate to the pupils.
- 2. New activities: activities completely or partially new and unique, in which the music technology was intrinsic to achieving the goals and purpose formulated. In these activities the music teachers found it possible to illustrate, practise, create and accomplish musical aims which had hitherto been impossible in music teaching.

Further research focused on one of the activities in the second group: the possibility of letting pupils create and perform music of their own with the help of computers and music technology. In spite of the musical, motor and conceptual limitations of

their previous knowledge, pupils were now much more easily able to *create music of their own* and to instantly hear how it sounded.

Thus, music technology was found to be a valuable tool in realizing creative music making, prescribed in the Swedish National Curriculum, a demand the teachers up to that time had found hard to fulfill.

A theoretical basis for studies in the school context was presented in *The computer* and the new music technology in a didactic perspective (Folkestad, 1991a). The paper refers to the formulations in the Swedish National curriculum and the results of previous research, and points out the importance of focusing on creative activities in school music, and it describes how music technology could be used to promote that work. The result showed that the implementation of IT does not necessarily lead to progress. For example, a striking paradox was that a most modern medium with all its utilities, had been used in some cases to reintroduce one of the most theoretical and abstract activities in music teaching – notation. Hence, the conclusion was that the most important thing is not the implementation of computers as such, but what they are used for.

On the basis of previous research (Folkestad, 1989; Folkestad, 1991a), a study of computer based creative music making was carried out in a secondary school in which 12 year old pupils, within the framework of regular music classes, created music of their own, using synthesizers and sequencers (Folkestad, 1991b). The study, which also served as a pilot project for my PhD study, was carried out over two years, 1988–1990, with a total of 100 pupils (4 classes) working in groups of 3–5. The main focus of the research and evaluation was on the pedagogical and didactic aspects, that is, how the teaching was organized, what kind of previous knowledge the pupils needed, how the tasks and work could be individualized, and the teacher's role in that work.

The results showed that the implementation of music technology not only changed *what* was done, the content and the musical styles, but also *how* it was done, and two qualitatively different strategies, or ways of creating music were identified and described: (i) *supplementary use* in which the equipment was used as a tool for arranging the music, and (ii) *integral use* where the equipment was used from the very beginning as an integral part of the composition.

The stylistic features of the compositions showed a clear pattern. The boys produced what could be described as rap music, using the *integral use*-strategy, with a rhythm

track and rapped lyrics, that is, with ordinary singing replaced by rhythmic talk, as basic elements. The girls tended to use the *complementary use*-strategy to varying degrees, and produced songs based on melody, and harmony. However, it is difficult to decide whether this difference in ways of working is related to gender, or if it is an effect of musical training, as the subsequent interviews showed that most of the girls had formal musical training, while many of the boys had not.

There was an interesting parallel between these two musical styles and composition strategies, and hip-hop music, characterized by a male singer rapping the verses accompanied by rhythms, followed by melodic refrains sung by girls. There was also reason to believe that these different parts were created in different ways, as described. In other words, what the novice boys and girls actually did in their music making, was to predict a development in the professional artists' ways of creating music, and produce music with stylistic features similar to a style that was to capture Sweden five years later.

The pupils' holistic view of music was demonstrated in the performance of the compositions. All the groups complemented their songs spontaneously with clothing, dancing, acting and light, and thereby placed the musical and lyrical content of the songs within a unified context.

In my PhD study (Folkestad, 1996) I investigated the situated practice of young people creating music using computers and synthesisers. The aim was to describe the process of music making and how it was apprehended. In order to capture this, the following data were collected during a three-year empirical study: (i) computer MIDI-files from all compositions of the participants, developing the "save-as"-technique in order to cover the sequence of the creation processes step by step, (ii) interviews of the participants, and (iii) observations of the participants' work. In the analysis, six qualitatively different ways of creating music, divided in two main categories, *horizontal* and *vertical*, were found. In the horizontal categories composition and arranging are separate processes, whereas in the vertical categories composition and arranging are one integrated process.

The ecology of composition: A conceptual framework

To the best of my knowledge, my PhD thesis on computer-based creative music-making (Folkestad, 1996), is one of the first studies, internationally, within music and music education, to adopt a *sociocultural* theoretical framework (see Folkestad, 2012).

In understanding and explaining the situated cultural practice of creative music making – the ecology of composition – the concept of *context* refers not only to the people, features and characteristics present when it is conceived. It also involves a historical dimension – cultural and personal – which includes the experience of previous situations. The experience of a previous situation thus becomes an ingredient of the context in the new situation. This dynamic aspect of context might explain how it is possible to switch between currently non-present situations and practices in such a familiar way, as demonstrated by some of the participants in Folkestad's (1996) study. For example, when creating music in front of the computer, the experience of playing the saxophone in a brass band situates the creator. The context of the situation – creating music by digital tools – thus expands to include not only present entities, but also the experience of musical situations in the past and in the future. It follows that in this situation the participant is not primarily making computer music, but, for example, brass band music, using the computer as a tool in achieving this.

The concept of *affordances* – a core concept in our studies since the mid 1990s – has been found to be very useful in the analysis of musical creativity, not the least in understanding the different ways in which the digital tools are utilized by different individuals. "What are the affordances of the technology, and how are they perceived by the participants?" (Folkestad, 1996: 202). Moreover, there is, as I see it, a connection between Gibson's (1986) *affordances* and *mediation* as described by Vygotsky: that which is culturally and historically mediated by the tools in a situated activity also becomes the possible affordances offered to the creator (agent) as means of his/her agency (Folkestad, 2012).

This view on discerning – or imagining – the affordances of the situational context implies a definition of *creativity*, or rather of *creative action*, as the ability to perceive new affordances, or old affordances anew, and to elaborate these affordances in each situation. Thus, the meaning of *creativity* involves a relation to the surrounding context in which the human being continuously seeks new angles of approach, and practises the ability to perceive new affordances. "To expect, anticipate, plan, or imagine creatively is to be aware of surfaces that do not exist or events that do not occur but that

could arise or be fabricated within what we call the limits of possibility" (Gibson, 1986: 255). Hence, the unique contextual conditions for each situation, together with the ability to perceive and elaborate new affordances, form the process as well as the result of creativity within each situation. This implies that the noun *creativity* is replaced with the verb *to create*, and our studies have investigated how people *act creatively* in certain situations and contexts.

In Folkestad (2004) I summarized this relation between creative actions, such as music composition, and the concept of affordances as follows:

The creative music making takes place in a process of interaction between the participants' musical experience and competence, their cultural practice, the tools, the instruments, and the instructions – altogether forming the *affordances* in the creative situation. (pp. 87–88)

The aim of the following sections is to suggest a conceptual framework which should help in the analysis and understanding of issues regarding composition and creative music making, in general, and by the means of digital tools, specifically.

I start by presenting and discussing *intertextuality*, the process of which is a general prerequisite for the connection or link between something already known and something new, a fundamental process in all musical activities.

I continue by presenting the concept of the *personal inner musical library*, previously described in Folkestad (2012, 2013), which in short constitutes a person's individual archive and intrapersonal resources in the musical intertextual processes, and as such also constitutes the foundation of the personal musical identity.

Finally, I present and discuss *discourse in music*, a concept introduced by Folkestad (1996) and further developed in Folkestad (2012, 2013) in order to analyse and understand the interpersonal processes of interaction and negotiation in musical activities on collective levels, including the negotiation and formation of new musical identities.

Intertextuality

Issues regarding the relationships between previous knowledge and experiences and the formation of new knowledge are at the core of all educational sciences, and

music education is no exception. The same is true of all musical activities, including the creation of music, and in the formation of musical identities.

From this perspective, the theories of *intertextuality*, originating in writings on literature and linguistics, become particularly interesting in the analysis of the relationships between different texts – adopting a widened text concept, including all kinds of "texts" such as music, visual art, theatre, body movement, etc.

Dyndahl (2013) references Barthes (1977) and Kristeva (1980), who state that intertextuality is everywhere and that all texts are related to each other. This new approach to the analysis of "texts" is described by Dyndahl (2013) as follows:

Instead of analyzing the intrinsic meaning of a text, scholars would now examine its intertextual connections with other texts. In addition, texts would be considered as multiple plays of meaning, rather than as consistent messages. The individual text loses its individuality; texts are instead seen as manifestations of a text universe without clear boundaries between singular texts. (p. 2)

Barthes (1986) argues that a text is "a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash" (p. 146). He continues by suggesting that "the text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture" (p. 146). Moreover, Barthes (1986) states that traditionally the explanation of a piece of art has been sought in the person who did it, whereas from the perspective of intertextuality "it is language which speaks, not the author" (p. 143). He continues by arguing that writing is "to reach that point where only language acts, 'performs'" (p. 143), and not the author. In contrast to the traditional view, "the author is never more than the instance writing...[and]...the modern scriptor is born simultaneously with the text" (p. 145).

Fiske (1987) states that "the theory of intertextuality proposes that any one text is necessarily read in relationship to others and that a range of textual knowledges is brought to bear upon it" (p. 108). He continues by arguing that "these relationships do not take the form of specific allusions from one text to another and there is no need for readers to be familiar with specific or the same texts to read intertextually" (p. 108). On the basis of this he concludes that "intertextuality exists rather in the space *between* texts" (italics in original) (p. 108).

Middleton (2000) concludes that "the best umbrella term for the popular music practices…is probably intertextuality" (p. 61). He notes that "digital technology… offered a radically new compositional setting, one that seemed to signal that works were now always works-in-progress, and that music was just material for reuse" (pp. 61–62). Today, this development has reached a point where "from here [the 're-mix culture'], it is a short step using recordings as raw material; through sampling, scratching, talkover and live mixing techniques the record becomes an instrument of performance" (p. 78).

From the definitions proposed above we might reach a definition of intertextuality in musical contexts as all kinds of relationships, implicit and explicit, between different "texts", including music, visual art, theatre, body movement, etc. in the process of creating, interpreting, performing and listening to music.

The sampling culture (Dyndahl, 2005) enables today's young listeners of hip-hop get to meet older songs and artists. In this way, I would argue, the samplings of older songs by hip-hop artists, which then serve as elements in their contemporary compositions, have brought not only older genres and styles into their music: this process has also implicitly contributed to the informal music education of young people of today. Through the sampling culture of hip-hop music they have been introduced to earlier music styles and artists – often described in curricula of formal school music as an important objective for music teachers to achieve – and then with the help of their extensive knowledge of how to use computers, the Internet, web sites and products such as iTunes and Spotify, they have been able to trace back the origins of the intertextual elements, thus finding their ways ahead to new musical experiences.

In Folkestad (2008) I described this music teachers' task of bridging the already acquired knowledge of students with new musical experiences and knowledge as follows:

Using the original meaning and function of the word *pedagogue* as a metaphor (in ancient Greece the *paidagōgos* was the slave who met the student at the doorstep of his house and followed and guarded him on his way to school), what we should do as music educators is to meet the students where they stand, musically and elsewhere, but then not stop there, but take them by the hand and lead them on a journey of new musical endeavours and experiences. (p. 502)

As I see it, this task of music education is implicitly and unconsciously executed and performed by the sampling hip-hop artists in their creation of music in which intertextuality is at the core of both the processes of composition and listening. Their songs thus become intertextual resources for their "students" further musical learning.

In the following section, I will present and discuss a concept that has been developed in order to understand and discuss the *intrapersonal resources* of intertextuality in musical activities, and in the formation of musical identities: *the personal inner musical library*.

The personal inner musical library

As a tool for understanding and illustrating the relationship between previous musical experiences and musical activities, such as the compositional process or the formation of musical identities, Folkestad (2012, 2013) suggests the coining of a new concept: the personal inner musical library. In short, personal refers to Polanyi's (1958) thesis that all knowledge is personally acquired and unique. *Inner* indicates that the musical library is not an ordinary collection of recordings and musical scores - which by tradition is understood as a musical library - but comprises all the musical experiences of a person's mind and body. The word *library* points to how all musical experiences, just like all recordings, scores and books in an ordinary musical library, are present and accessible even when they are not explicitly in focus. They may be brought to the forefront and referred to on demand, when the need or wish arises. The personal inner musical library (PIML) thus illustrates that, while individual musical compositions and performances might draw on specific musical experiences, the full musical library still forms and functions as a backdrop of implicit references to the totality of musical experiences in the process of musical creation. This refers to all the musical creations and performances of that individual, as a tacit dimension (Polanyi, 1967) of the musical and compositional process.

The concept of PIML originates from observations in empirical studies on composition and creative music making from Folkestad (1996) onwards, in which informants described their musical resources in the creative process in terms of general statements such as "all I've ever heard before" and more specific ones like "the really catchy children's songs one's been brainwashed with since early childhood".

At first sight, the description above of the *personal inner musical library* (PIML) might appear to have similarities with descriptions made by other scholars, for example Ruud (1997) and DeNora (2000), of the relationship between musical experiences and identity. Ruud (1997) investigates the meaning and function of music in the formation of identity and DeNora (2000) investigates the role of music in people's everyday lives with a special focus on its uses and powers in social life. However, there is an important difference between these approaches and descriptions compared to that of the PIML: while Ruud and DeNora investigate and describe the relationships between music and the formation of identity and music and everyday life respectively, that is, *the relation between music and phenomena outside the music*, I investigate and describe by PIML *the relation between music and music itself*, that is, between previously heard and experienced music, and new music being created.

In the process of musical creativity, the composer establishes a constant intertextual dialogue with his/her *personal inner musical library*, that is, as described above, with all previous musical experiences of that individual, all the music ever heard, collected and stored in the mind and body of that person. Applying Barthes' (1986) ideas of intertextuality to composition, the only power of a composer is to mix elements from previous compositions knowing that "the inner 'thing' he thinks to 'translate' is itself a ready-formed dictionary, its words only explainable through other words, and so on indefinitely" (p. 146).

In that respect, in this interactive process of composition, the first receiver of the musical message, and the first to assess the composition, is the composer herself/himself. The composition process incorporates two basic phases: (i) the creative, subjective-intuitive phase, or state of flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990), in which new musical material is produced, and (ii) the evaluation of that material on the basis of knowledge and previous experiences, the context of the composition, with the parts always simultaneously related to the whole, and with the *personal inner musical library*, with its collective cultural and historical dimension, as the reference.

Similarly, in the process of musical creation and performance, *intertextuality* is manifested in two different ways: (i) on an intrapersonal level in the ongoing creation of a new piece of music, in which the creative ideas of the new piece are constantly interacting with the personal inner musical library of the creator(s), and (ii) when the piece of music is performed and is thus being re-created by the listener(s).

This also implies, in line with Vygotsky's (1930/2004) view that creativity increases with experience, that the more musical experiences – intertextual resources – that exist in the personal inner musical library, the more references and resources are available for creative musical actions:

The creative activity of the imagination depends directly on the richness and variety of a person's previous experience because this experience provides the material from which products of fantasy are constructed. The richer a person's experience, the richer is the material his imagination has access to (pp. 14–15)

In summary, the *personal inner musical library* is the intrapersonal intertextual resource in musical activities such as composition and music making, in the processes of which intertextuality appears between new ideas and existing pieces of music by other composers, as well as previous music of one's own. It is also the resource and backdrop against which new musical identities are reconfigured and negotiated.

When individuals are interacting in collective musical activities, the personal inner musical libraries of the participating individuals constitute the resources or archives of musical experience and knowledge that meet and interact on the *interpersonal* activity level of *discourse in music*. In the following section this concept will be presented and discussed.

Discourse in music

Folkestad (1996) introduced a new concept – *discourse in music*, which was further elaborated and presented in Folkestad (2012, 2013). Its essence is the assumption that music itself might be regarded as a discourse – musical actions and activities, including the formation of musical identities, are seen as discursive practices and discursive activities.

The point of departure is *discourse*, "language in use", implying that for a conversation between people, an agreed meaning of the words is required. Wittgenstein (1967/1978) states that no words have any meaning in themselves, but are defined by the context in which they are uttered. The same applies to music, which like language, is connected to practice: literal as well as musical expressions which are adequate

and which make sense in one practice might be incomprehensible in others, and discourse in music has developed differently within various musical practices. Thus, *discourse* marks a view of language and other forms of human utterances and ways of communicating as what is used during an ongoing process, rather than as a static code that can be analysed separately from its social practice.

Although *discourse* is mainly associated with talk, the concept of discourse also includes non-verbal forms of dialogue such as music, body movement, gestures etc. Thus, wider definitions of *discourse* emerge, which include all forms of human communication and negotiation in situations of practice.

The concept of *discourse in music* points to the fact that there is an intertextual level in music, in which people relate to and converse/interplay in dialogue with the personal inner musical library. Young people of today, by listening, and sometimes by playing, have built up knowledge and familiarity with different forms of musical expression, usually called styles or genres, and may thus be able to express themselves within these musical languages in various musical practices. One result of music being a historically and collectively defined object is that every composer, whether professional or novice, has a dialogue with his/her personal inner musical library in which the music also mediates the societal, traditional, national, cultural and historical features of the *discourse in music*, the musical language in use.

One of the challenges in defining discourse in music is to describe its similarities and differences as compared with genre. Fiske (1987) states that the "the most influential and widely discussed form of horizontal intertextuality is that of genre" (p. 109) and points out that "genre works to promote and organize intertextual relations" (p. 114). He defines genre as "a cultural practice that attempts to structure some order into the wide range of texts and meanings that circulate in our culture for the convenience of both producers and audiences" (p. 109). He continues by arguing that "conventions are the structural elements of genre...[and that]... conventions are social and ideological" (p. 110). This statement has much in common with the descriptions of discourse, as has Fiske's statement that "genres are popular when their conventions bear a close relationship to the dominant ideology of the time" (p. 112), where "the dominant ideology" is presumably equivalent to the dominant discourse.

In the context of television culture, including cop shows, sitcoms and soap operas, Fiske (1987) states that "a genre seen textually should be defined as a shifting provisional set of characteristics which is modified as each new example is produced" (p. 111). I

would argue that this definition has its origin in the Ancient Greek dramas, and has been transformed through history via *Commedia dell'arte*, Shakespeare plays, and operas, to give a few examples. In music, the historically grounded genres and musical practices might be described as different discourses in music.

Hall (1993) describes the "black" discourse in black popular culture as follows:

In its expressivity, its musicality, its orality, in its rich, deep, and varied attention to speech, in its inflections toward the vernacular and the local, in its rich production of counternarratives, and above all, in its metaphorical use of the musical vocabulary, black popular culture has enabled the surfacing, inside the mixed and contradictory modes even of some mainstream popular culture, of elements of a discourse that is different – other forms of life, other traditions of representation. (p. 109)

Hall (1993) describes the origin of this black discourse, in which black people "have found the deep form, the deep structure of their cultural life in music" (p. 109) as "selective appropriation, incorporation, and rearticulation of European ideologies, cultures, and institutions, alongside an African heritage" (p. 109), which led to "linguistic innovations in rhetorical stylization of the body, forms of occupying an alien social space, heightened expressions, hairstyles, ways of walking, standing, and talking, and a means of constituting and sustaining camaraderie and community" (p. 109). He concludes by stating that "it is this mark of difference *inside* forms of popular culture ... that is carried by the signifier 'black' in the term 'black popular culture'" (p. 110, italics in original).

Similarly, other cultural discourses, including specific discourses in music have emerged, and are constantly emerging when people encounter and interact with different cultural and musical traditions and expressions. However, the new music produced and performed must always be heard and understood "not simply as the recovery of a lost dialogue bearing clues for the production of new musics … but as what they are – adaptations, molded to the mixed, contradictory, hybrid spaces" (Hall, 1993: 110). In other words, the new music being produced is *based on* a discourse in music, at the same time as it is *developing* that particular discourse in music.

As seen above, as compared with genre, tradition and style, discourses create meaning and sense, are hierarchical, and have a normative and evaluative function. The discourse works on both macro and micro levels – simultaneously constituting and constituted

– and also operates on both an individual and collective level in all kinds of musical discursive practices including music education (Nerland, 2003; Lindgren, 2006).

As described above, Kristeva (1980) argues, in line with Barthes (1977), that everything reveals intertextuality in the sense that all texts are related to previous texts. This statement has, in its character, very much in common with the statement that "everything is discourse" (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 110). On an overarching and simplified level it might also be argued that discourse presupposes intertextuality, and vice versa. However, even though intertextuality and discourse analysis have much in common, I perceive some essential differences. Intertextuality focuses on how the texts, as such, are related to each other: instead of regarding the author as an independent freestanding individual or subject, and his/her text as a new original creative product (Barthes, 1986), intertextuality describes how no text is essentially new, but that all texts stand in a relation to earlier texts by being either a new combination of fragments and parts of previous texts and/or an answer and continuation of what has been presented and argued in previous texts (Bakhtin, 1981).

Accordingly, where intertextuality focuses on texts' relationship to each other, discourse focuses on the use of language in different situations, contexts and practices, which includes a focus on the relationship between different discourses. Thus, core aspects of discourse which I have not found in the descriptions of intertextuality, are power relations and the exertion of power functions.

The future: copy-write and write to copy

All the levels of interactive and intertextual processes described above presuppose a common agreement of discourse in music, the musical language in use in a certain musical discursive practice. Moreover, these interactions imply the meeting of the personal inner musical libraries of the people involved.

As seen from the presentation above, intertextuality might be regarded as a core element in all learning and creational processes. From this perspective, the idea in some national music curricula of a collective cultural heritage forming a common national identity might be interpreted as an ambition to establish a common foundation of intertextual resources for all children in schools, regardless of their national, ethnical and cultural background.

On an epistemological level, it might be argued that intertextuality is a prerequisite for all learning: if the construction of knowledge requires that the new is connected to something already learnt, acquired and assimilated, this connection rests on intertextuality. This implies that intertextuality might be a powerful pedagogical tool – the already known and the introduction of new intertextual references become the point of departure for knowledge formation on the "journey of new musical endeavours and experiences" (Folkestad, 2008: 502).

Today, the sampling culture has spread to, and has been adopted/adapted by almost every area of artistic and creative activity all over the world. This occurs increasingly without the original author, composer or artist being explicitly acknowledged or paid.

The theories of intertextuality and the "death of the author" (Barthes, 1986) imply that most traditional roles and identities of creative artists are under constant reconfiguration and negotiation. In the context of composition and music-making, this development has implications and consequences for the identities of being "a composer", "a producer", "a sound engineer", "a musician", etc. It has been argued, on the basis of the established values of authorship and distribution of royalties, that "copyright" does not mean the "right to copy". However, for the new generation of creators and receivers acting in a global intertextual musical arena, i.e. for the homo sampliens (Folkestad, 2013), for which "stealing" is regarded more as an acknowledgment of the original creator than as a theft, this distinction between "copyright" and "right to copy" might be decreasingly valid. From what we have seen so far, this change in attitude and approach might continue to the point where "copyright" is replaced by "right to copy", both in practice and by law. For that to happen would mean "the death of the composer": that the whole idea of copyright, royalty and authorship, which has been regarded as the historic foundation on which future developments rest, turns out to be a historic parenthesis which survived for 300 hundred years, starting at the beginning of the 18th century with the printing and selling of scores, and with its final death struggle in front of our eyes today. In other words, the dominant discourse of copyright and royalty might be replaced by a new discourse of open access. This development would also include the formation of new discourses in music.

In the case of music, this development implies that your *personal inner musical library* is now free to be used not only as a reference, but as an open-access archive from which any parts or elements might be retrieved and used as material in new original compositions. Whether this can be regarded as good news or bad news is beyond the scope of this presentation. However, I think we can all agree upon the fact that for all

these new means of creative musical activity – in which we *copy-write* and *write to copy – intertextuality* is not only a prerequisite, but a fundamental and indispensable quality for the process of creation.

Concluding remarks

Digital music technology with samplers, computers, iPads, smartphones, the internet and "social media" has implied a democratization of creative music making, in respect to, for example, social class, gender, generations, economic prerequisites, ethnicity and cultural backgrounds.

As a result, new paths of musical learning have emerged in which children and young people of today start by creating their own music, and then, later in life, continue by learning how to play an instrument. In contrast to the traditional path, where one starts by learning how to play an instrument and then, eventually, continues by composing music of ones own. What are the implications for music education from this "shift of paradigm"?

We also know that even very small children listen to symphonic music in movies and computer games, at the same time as pensioners are singing in rock and pop choirs.

On the basis of what has been presented above I conclude by formulating two "bring home"-questions: In which landscape of music education are we now? And what will the future landscapes of music education look like?

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Using socio-digital technology to enhance participation and creative engagement in a lower secondary music classroom

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ABSTRACT

This article examines a case study in which a music teacher experimented with the potential for fostering student participation and creative engagement through the use of tablets in a Finnish lower secondary school (grade 7, age 13). The project consisted of 15 weekly music lessons, and included music-and-movement (preparatory) exercises, improvisation and music composition, the recording of a video, and its subsequent editing to match the composed music. This paper examines the pedagogical principles and processes involved in this effort, as well as the teacher's pedagogical thinking. The data included class-room observations, field notes, and teacher and student interviews. The study focuses on the notion of teachers' pedagogical thinking, and on the paradigm of teaching as a reflective practice.

The examined case offers one practical example of a teacher's effort to find new pedagogical solutions for applying technology in a music classroom. I have identified five pedagogical principles that guided the process: (1) Everyone is creative; (2) Gaining musical knowledge through embodied learning; (3) Enhancing social cohesion and inclusion through group music-and-movement activities; (4) Composing as a collaborative and self-regulated process; and (5) Empowering agency and ownership through making a (music video) product. The participating students enjoyed most a diverse range of (creative) activities and autonomous working in small groups. The study supports earlier findings that the use of technology in teaching motivates student participation (e.g., Salmela-Aro, 2015; Karsenti & Fievez, 2013; Ruippo & Salavuo, 2006), and that creative tasks can provide a clear focus for their use (Savage & Challis, 2002). Moreover, it argues that social aspects play an important role in learning, as positive learning experiences were strongly interconnected with social inclusion. By examining the pedagogical processes and reasoning behind the practice, the study contributes to the construction of the technological pedagogical and content knowledge (Bauer, 2014) in music teaching and learning.

Introduction

The use of technology has increased enormously in recent years, and has created a large variety of new possibilities for music teaching and learning. Himonides (2012: 430) even suggests that "technology should be viewed as an integral-unavoidable-part of musical engagement, development, and educational processes" and asserts that "our focus should be on critical assessment of the effectiveness of any technology and its role in effective teaching and learning". However, it is not straightforward to find effective and pedagogically meaningful ways to use technology in music teaching and learning. For example, Bauer (2014: 9) notes that when technology is used "it is frequently not integrated in a way that optimizes its potential to support learning, and perhaps to even transform the learning experiences of students through innovative pedagogical approaches". Similarly, Dillon points out that in teaching there is a tendency to focus on the benefits or limitations of the devices rather than the "process engaged in or the kinds of music created" and thus:

from a research perspective more work needs to be carried out on the kinds of musical interaction and processes, both individual and collaborative, that existing and new technologies can support. This in turn could lead to more informed decision-making and the use of technological tools for meaningful musical activities. (Dillon, 2010: 118)

Furthermore, earlier studies on teachers' use of technology describe a low level of usage and minimal pedagogical change: the use of technology is often restricted to teachers using technology to do what they have always done (Cuban, 2006; Cuban & Cuban, 2009; Somekh, 2008). Currently, music education practices are actively searching for new pedagogically meaningful ways to apply technology, especially mobile devices and new applications, and there seems to be attempts to re-think and transform music teaching by using music technology to evolve earlier practices. Yet, there is little evidence of entirely novel approaches (Hennesy, Ruthven & Brindley, 2005, see also Tobias, 2016).

This study examines a case in which a music teacher in a Finnish lower secondary-level school explored the possibilities of using tablets (in this case iPads) in a 7th-grade music classroom (compulsory general music course) to search for opportunities for

creative and integrated experimentation with music, movement, and technology. In this article, I will examine the pedagogical processes, describe the teacher's pedagogical thinking (reflections and justifications) related to those pedagogical decisions, and identify the main pedagogical principles informing the practical solutions.

The use of technology and creative production in music teaching

According to earlier studies, the use of music technology (that here refers to technological tools for composing, recording, editing, or notating music) is often integrated with composing, or other kinds of creative music production (Berkley, 2001, 2004; Crow, 2006; Pitts & Kwami, 2002; Savage, 2005; Savage & Challis, 2001). For example, Savage (2005) describes how students engage with and organize sounds in the process of composition. The use of technology is viewed as offering support for yet more creative activities (e.g., Savage & Challis, 2001: 147). Other areas of music teaching that are often connected with the use of technology include the development of musical skills (e.g., Chan et al., 2006) and the teaching of music literacy (e.g., Crow, 2006).

The global increase of Internet usage and various forms of digital culture have changed music composition, production, and distribution dramatically in recent years. It has become fairly easy to compose, edit, and share music using computers, mobile devices, and networks. The availability and low price of programs and applications have also increased the use of technology. Furthermore, technology enables one to compose music without mastering "traditional" musical skills or a theoretical and conceptual understanding of music (e.g., Bolton, 2008; Crow, 2006; Salavuo, 2005).

The use of technology in music teaching and learning is justified in various ways in music education research literature. For example, it is recognized to have the potential to provide democratized learning environments, forms of collaboration, and possibilities for creative activities (Burnard, 2006, 2007; Dillon, 2010). Technology is also recognized as facilitating multimodal learning by providing an increased and enhanced integration of visual and aural representations, as well as enabling young

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people to construct their emerging selves and develop critical consciousness and autonomy (Odena, 2012). The multimodal learning environment enabled by the use of tablets has been shown to effectively motivate pupils' learning in music, improve collaboration between pupils, and help teachers with classroom management (Zhou et al., 2011). According to Finnish researchers Ruippo & Salavuo (2006), the use of technology motivates students' participation and studies in music in general. In addition, within general education, the study of Karsenti & Fievez (2013) – which included 6000 pupils and 300 teachers in Quebec and examined the use of iPads in the teaching of all school subjects – shows that the use of tablets increases, above all, pupils' motivation for studying (see also Kinash, 2011). However, the use of technology does not seem to improve learning outcomes (Henderson & Yeow, 2012; Kinash, 2011); "rather, the opposite is true" (Siljander, 2017: 206).

Though the use of technology is often viewed as a useful part of music teaching and learning, the potential applications of technology are still relatively rarely applied to music teaching at schools. In Finland, both the use of technology and creative production (composing, improvisation, etc.) were included in the content areas of music teaching in the national music core curriculum for basic education of 2004, and were further focused on in the new curriculum of 2014 (effective in August 2016); they are thus expected to be incorporated in music teaching and learning at primary and lower-secondary levels (see FNCC 2004, 2014). However, the national assessment of learning outcome in music (Juntunen 2011, see also 2015b) shows that both areas have been neglected.² Instead, teaching has concentrated on playing, singing, listening, and reproducing the works of others. The results of Partti's (2016) more recent study in Finland are parallel to these findings. There are similar results in other countries as well. For example, a survey *Music Education at Schools*, conducted in Great Britain in 2001/2003, shows that the use of music technology remains weak at schools (also Dillon, 2010), although composition, on the other hand, is strongly emphasized (see also Webster, 2009). On a more international level, it is reported that music education practices are in general reproduction-centred in many countries, while music creation and composition are marginalized, or even neglected outright (e.g., Cheung, 2004; Clennon, 2009; Drummond, 2001; Jorgensen, 2008; Rozman, 2009).

 $^{2\,}$ According to the assessment, 42% of the teachers at the lower-secondary school level had never taught music technology, and half of them had *never* or *occasionally* taught the creative production of music. About 45% of the students reported that they had never participated in creative production, and over 50% of them had never used technology in the music classroom. Students did not consider either of these areas important in their music lessons.

Context and procedure

In Finland, music is taught as a compulsory subject in basic education (grades 1–9) from the first till the eighth grade. In primary school (grades 1-6), music is usually taught by a classroom teacher, and in lower secondary school (grades 7-9) by a subject teacher. The national core curriculum for basic education defines the general core content and objectives for teaching and learning, as well as the target areas and criteria for assessment. On the basis of these guidelines, the schools and teachers draw up their own curricula. Teachers are given a high degree of freedom to determine and choose the content, methods, materials, etc. for their teaching. The core music curriculum (FNCC 2004) effective at the time of this study suggests that one objective for music teaching and learning, among other things, is that students "will build their creative relationship with music and its expressive possibilities, by means of composing" (p. 231), and as core content "experimenting with one's own music ideas by improvising, composing, and arranging, using sound, song, instruments, movement, and musical technology, for example" (p. 232), (for more information about music education in Finland, see Westerlund & Juntunen, 2016). The new core curriculum (FNCC 2014) suggests that music teaching should guide students towards improvisation and composition, as well as creative expression, through the use of technology.

In choosing this case, I followed information-oriented sampling. In contrast to randomsampling, it is a method in which a specific case (for example, extreme or atypical) is deliberately selected based on predefined criteria, or because it is a rich source of data for the phenomenon. Information-oriented sampling is especially appropriate for exploratory studies and situations where depth of information is valued over breadth (see e.g., Yin, 2003; Flyvbjerg, 2006). My initial interest was to examine a lower-secondary music teaching practice that explored the use of tablets. The 7th grade was chosen since it is one of the two school grades when students have compulsory music education with a subject music teacher. When I found out that the teacher in question, experienced in applying body movement in music teaching, was going to explore the use of iPads with the 7th graders, my curiosity was aroused. Also, the idea of integrating the use of tablets with composition and body movement drew my attention and interest towards the case. Thus, this particular case can be considered a key case. The study was also motivated by the project *The mobile possibilities of music* education technology (2014-2016) at the Sibelius Academy, which aimed to study and develop tablet learning environments in music education at various educational levels.

The experimental project in question took place in the 7th grade of basic education (lower secondary school) in the metropolitan area of Finland. The project consisted of 15 weekly lessons (of 45 minutes) of general music education in the autumn semester (August–December) of 2014 and January 2015. During that period, the students (13 years old) had altogether 19 music lessons, out of which four were either given by a substitute teacher or the lesson time was used for some other school activities. Though the students came from different primary schools, they all had participated in one general music education lesson a week during their six–year primary education.

Methodological premises, procedure, and analysis

From a theoretical perspective, when examining the pedagogical solutions and their justifications this study draws on the notion of *teacher's pedagogical thinking*, which refers to the purposiveness and justification of the decisions made in teaching (Kansanen1993). The phenomenon of teacher's thinking has been widely discussed and researched by numerous scholars (e.g., Kansanen, Tirri, Meri, Krokfors, Husu & Jyrhämä, 2000; Jones, 2008). Pedagogical thinking differs from other thinking: it has an educational function and instead of being routine-like, it is reflective. Moreover, in order to be pedagogical, thinking must relate to aims and objectives of a curriculum (Kansanen et al., 2000). More specifically, pedagogical thinking is thinking concerning the teaching-studying-learning process as a whole, or at least some parts of it. The essential elements include constant decision making, becoming aware, object-orientation, choosing between different options, and justifying pedagogical solutions (Kansanen et al., 2000; Jyrhämä, 2002). Making pedagogical decisions draw, among other things, on personal beliefs, values, (often implicit) teaching theory/content, pedagogical and practical knowledge, colleagues, the socio-cultural environment, etc.

In addition, the study relies upon the paradigm of teaching as a reflective practice (see e.g., Westbury, Hopmann & Riquarts, 2000; Westerlund & Juntunen, 2013; York-Barr, Sommers, Ghere & Montie, 2001), where reflection is understood as an ability to think on the basis, premises, and consequences of action on a meta-level, so as to engage in a process of critical analysis. Reflection is also viewed as enabling emancipation from routine performance and progress towards active and responsible active agency and lifelong learning.

Methodologically, the study was conducted using a multifaceted qualitative approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), integrating techniques from hermeneutic phenomenology (van Manen, 1990) and case study (Stake, 2000). An interpretive paradigm, which in this case was carried out as a reflective analysis of the data, provided a means to interpret and analyse the teacher's articulations of her pedagogical thinking and the pedagogical processes. This general interpretative stance and the employed methodology belong to the interpretive hermeneutic-phenomenological tradition in which understanding and interpretation never merely grasp at a predetermined topic, but cover the co-existence in the world of subject and object through being-in-the-world (Gadamer, 1979: 98–103). Thus, reaching an understanding does not mean excluding one's own standpoint, prejudgements, or prejudices; rather, it requires an engagement with one's own biases and accepts the fact that we belong to some existing tradition which functions as a starting point, yet allows for new understandings. We can neither free nor distance ourselves from such a background, nor should we try (Bleicher, 1990; Gadamer, 1979; also Schwandt, 2000).

The ethical considerations were handled according to standard university research practice. The project started by asking research permission from the school principal. Then, participants and parents received an invitation and information and signed consent forms. The guarantee of anonymity, and promise that any participant could withdraw from the study at any time without consequence, were carefully explained. All students of the chosen class (N=18, 7 boys and 11 girls) agreed to participate. Three students had a non-Finnish ethnic background (one parent coming from another country), yet all of them spoke Finnish fluently. Most of the students had chosen this particular school because they live nearby. The socio-economic status of the people living in the neighbourhood in question can be considered, generally speaking, middle-class.

The data collection and analysis

The data for this article includes teaching observations, field notes, and teacher and student interviews. In my field notes, I included personal reflections, thoughts, and interpretations. My observations and field notes informed the interviews and have guided the description and analysis of the teaching and learning processes. The teacher interview was conducted at the end of the project in January 2016. In addition, after each lesson I had a short (about 5 minute) discussion with the teacher in which she reflected on her teaching and student participation. Student interviews were conducted in December (2014) and January (2015) in groups of 2–4 students,

after the group had finished their end product. Each session lasted 10–20 minutes. The interviews could be labelled as semi-structured interviews, since they started with general and open questions regarding, for example, the students' overall experiences, and moved towards more specific themes and questions. The structured questions concerned the students' perceptions of the various approaches of the project, and what had been interesting and meaningful for them. All interviews were recorded (mp3) and transcribed.

In the analysis of the interview data, I applied data-driven qualitative content analysis (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2012). The analysis started by reading through the transcriptions several times. After that I organised the data in categories according to the various stages of the teaching-learning process. In the data analysis, I was particularly interested in the teacher's and students' perceptions of the learning processes and their pedagogical meanings, as well as in the students' experiences of the process as a whole. For this article, I have only chosen some excerpts from the interview data, so as to bring forward the teacher's reflections on her pedagogical decisions and the students' experiences of the teaching-learning process. The quotes from the data have been translated from Finnish into English by the author. The teacher has read the research findings and approved them, which adds to the trustworthiness of the study.

Teaching stages and classroom activities

In what follows, I will describe the classroom activities (one teaching stage at a time) as observed and interpreted by me, accompanied by the teacher's reflections (uncovering the teacher's pedagogical thinking) on their goals and purposes. The *Teacher's* words are crafted from the teacher interview data and mostly includes direct quotes.

Aims of the project

The whole project was motivated by the teacher's interest in responding to the challenges of the new music curriculum (FNCC 2014), and in exploring the possibilities of using tablets in the music class-room and the ways in which their use can support student participation and creative engagement.

Teacher:

In the project, the iPads were used to facilitate creative activities and production that included music-and-movement improvisation and composition, combined with a video recording, and its subsequent editing to match the composed music. I thought that the use of technology would motivate especially boys' participation in music.

I did the project for the first time. It was motivated by the new (music) core curriculum of 2014, which puts emphasis on larger unities of studies, learning to learn skills, cultural participation, integration of subjects and issues, the use of technology, creative production, and music-and-movement. It was also inspired by my personal interest to explore the possibilities of iPads in the music classroom in ways that integrate body movement exercises and creative production (of music-and-movement) with the use of technology. I wanted to build the experiment on my earlier practice of starting music teaching and learning at the 7th grade by music-and-movement activities. There were no fixed lesson-specific plans with a timetable at the beginning. The project proceeded according to weekly achievements. Yet, I had the sequenced teaching "stages" in mind when starting the project.

The teaching stages are listed in Table 1. Since the students progressed at their own pace after the preparatory stage, some student groups finished their work one or two weeks earlier than the others.

Stages	Activities
Stage 1	Preparatory, music and movement activities: social interaction, sense of rhythm, quality of movement, space-time-energy, listening, concentration, etc.
Stage 2	Laban's five basic body actions -> a four-bar movement composition
Stage 3	Composing a piece of music with the LaunchPad application
Stage 4	Recording video material applying the Laban's basic body actions
Stage 5	Editing the video with the iMovie application
Stage 6	Teacher's assessment, and students' self-assessment
Stage 7	Watching a compilation of the videos together, and feedback

Table 1: Activities in each teaching stage

Preparatory exercises

The teaching process began with (preparatory) music-and-movement activities, influenced by the Dalcroze and Orff approaches. These activities, which started almost every music lesson of the project and dominated the first four, included games with names, rhythmic exercises, and dances, as well as movement and vocal improvisation. In each lesson, the students entered the classroom in silence, formed a circle, and started to imitate the teacher's rhythmic body movements, which became gradually more difficult. The exercises were mostly carried out through non-verbal communication, and formed a process. At the end of each lesson, the students sat down on the floor, had a chance to ask questions, and were asked to reflect on their experiences, on the pedagogical purposes of the exercises, and on their learning. During the first lesson, the teacher also introduced the main objectives and contents of music teaching and learning for the whole school-year (these included participation, the ability to work and play in a group, respect for others, knowing the basic musical elements, keeping the pulse, proper use of voice, music listening, composing, and the use of technology – through a variety of styles of music).

The learning objectives of *using body movement* were musical, bodily, social, and psychological: to learn the basics of music (theory), be able to move rhythmically, feel comfortable in a group, and have the courage to throw oneself into creative activities.

More specifically, through the body movement exercises the students were to explore, practice, and experience:

- · social interaction and knowing each other;
- rhythmic bodily skills;
- the body as a musical instrument;
- elements of music, such as pulse, meter, form, dynamics, and tempo;
- qualities of movement, such as sharp, long, relaxed, and steady;
- listening, watching, and attention skills;
- creativity through movement and vocal improvisation;
- time, space, and energy relationships in music-and-movement;
- concentration and being present; as well as
- presence of play and joy.

Teacher:

I always start my music teaching, as well as often each lesson, with body movement exercises. It a good way to activate students, make them feel comfortable in a group, and to get the music in the body. It is also for me a good way to see what they are able to do. I often integrate the use of voice and creative tasks with the movement activities. Movement helps to free the voice, and creative tasks through movement and voice help the students discover that they CAN create, they are creative. After the group activities I often make them reflect on teaching and learning as a way to make them understand why certain things are done.

Laban's five basic body actions

The second stage of the teaching process overlapped with the first one and included exploring Laban's five basic body actions: locomotion, turn, jump, gesture, and stillness. First, the students improvised and played around using these various body actions and then, each student constructed a four-bar phrase of movement (in 4/4 meter) that included all five body actions (moving through space). After making the "movement composition", the students were asked to find a partner and co-construct a movement composition collaboratively, by moving (showing, imitating, changing, creating) and talking.

Teacher:

By practising Laban's five basic body actions the students can explore a large variety of movement qualities, and thus expand their movement vocabulary. The body actions offer them good and quite manageable material for movement improvisation, and they are also fun. In addition, the movement sequence—as other movement exercises as well—is a good preparation for instrumental playing and performance.

Composing music with the LaunchPad application

In the third stage of the teaching process, the students started to work in small, self-selected groups and use the tablets (having one device for each group). All groups were formed along gender lines, and included 2–4 students with the exception of one boy working alone.

From this stage onward, the students worked autonomously according to assignments given by the teacher. However, the teacher was available whenever the students needed help. First, the teacher briefly introduced the LaunchPad application³. The students were expected to discover the variety of possibilities within the application by themselves. Then, she gave them instructions to compose a 30–60-second-long piece of music using the loops (pre-recorded extracts of music in different styles) and effects available in the application. The composition was presupposed to include three parts: a beginning, a middle section, and an ending. This stage required musical coconstruction. The composing included making choices from the numerous possible solutions, linking and processing loops, and adding effects; in sum, the students were experimenting with sounds and music, and piecing together a jigsaw in which the choices were made on impulse based on personal sensation, impression, and taste, as well as on skills of selecting appropriate sounds for the already composed movement.

Teacher:

Since most music teaching happens in a big group, working in small groups is refreshing and enables the teacher to "see" each student more personally; it makes each student's agency more visible. It is also important for the students to learn to work both in a big group and a small one, that enables better learning from each other.

When introducing the LaunchPad application, I did not explain so much the use of the application, I wanted to let the students experiment freely and find out by themselves.

³ The LaunchPad application for iPad or iPhone can be applied to compose music by making and remixing loops and sounds, beats, and electronic music from a variety of genres, and then to record and share the performances.

Recording the video material

In the fourth stage, the students' task was to record video material, incorporating both movement elements from the previously learned Laban's five body actions and movement phrases practised earlier. Although only a few of the original movement compositions were used as such in the videos, they formed a body of supporting material for the final movement compositions. The students were totally free in making decisions. As a consequence, the videos were recorded in a large variety of spaces in the school building, and in some cases also outside. Some videos ended up following a story line, while others were more abstract. In some cases the movements aimed to express the composed music, while in other cases the connection between the movement material and music was looser.

Teacher:

I wanted to give the students as much freedom as possible. And they were really creative!! I did not want to be too strict either regarding the use of movement composition as such or even the use of all the five body actions.

Editing the video

The fifth stage of the process included editing the video material and making it fit the composed music; this was accomplished by using the iMovie application, which the teacher briefly introduced. When the video was ready, the students showed it to the teacher, who chose not to criticize the students' work but only to give positive feedback, along with some suggestions regarding how to improve the video or reconsider certain choices. She also guided the students to reflect on their videos by articulating and making the students aware of some of the decisions they had made during the production process.

Teacher:

This was technically a challenging stage: how to transfer the sound and movie. It is a shame that many applications do not yet "communicate with each other". It is a challenge in this kind of project in which you have to use tools and applications that are easy to access in a school context.

Self- and teacher-assessment

The sixth stage included self- and teacher-assessment. After finishing the video, the students wrote self-assessments in which they described and reflected on the activities and choices they had made during the entire process; in addition, they assessed their participation, learning, and the whole teaching-learning process by answering a questionnaire. They also graded themselves (on a scale of 4-10) and were invited to offer ideas and suggestions for future lessons and projects. The teacher graded each student's performance by paying attention mainly to each student's active engagement and commitment to the project.

Teacher:

I think that it is very important that the students reflect on their experiences and learning, become aware of the things they learnt, found difficult, or would like to do differently, give themselves a grade, etc. This kind of self-assessment is becoming ever more important in basic education. It also helps me as a teacher to assess their participation.

Watching the videos together

In the final session (stage 7), the students watched a compilation of videos together with the teacher. In this session, the teacher gave positive feedback (on worthy issues) and guided student self-reflection by making the students aware of their choices, as well as their successes and possible shortcomings.

Teacher:

I wanted the students to be able to see all the videos. I think this was an empowering situation for them and strengthened their sense of ownership—they all seemed so proud of their products. It was also nice that everyone appreciated the other students' accomplishments. The video as an end-product, but also the process as a whole, made each student's musical and creative agency visible. As I was guiding students in small groups, I got to know them and their strengths much better than when working in a big group.

Pedagogical principles and student experience

Through reflective analysis of the data, I have identified the following five main pedagogical principles which guided the project and make explicit the teacher's pedagogical thinking: (1) Everyone is creative; (2) Gaining musical knowledge through embodied learning; (3) Enhancing social cohesion and inclusion through group music-and-movement activities; (4) Composing as a collaborative and self-regulated process; and (5) Empowering agency and ownership through making a (music video) product. In what follows, I will discuss each pedagogical principle followed by articulations of and quotes from the student interview data as expressions of student experience. The students' names are fictive.

I: Everyone is creative

The teacher's starting point for composing and other creative activities was that everyone is creative, supported by a socio-personal perspective (Burnard, 2012). As Odena (2012b: 440) points out, this belief in the potential of everyone to be creative and act creatively "provides a paradigm within which student agency can be promoted".

Because the students did not have previous experiences of composing, it was approached through improvisation and exploration. Students were not taught how to create or compose, but were allowed to create quite freely within a set of rules. Thus, the composition process could be called *guided exploration*, having "exploration and experimentation" as the guiding pedagogical principles (e.g. Davenport, 2006). The meaning of exploration and elaboration in composing, particularly in the initial compositional phase, has been highlighted by several researchers (e.g. Barrett, 2006).

The students enjoyed being allowed to create freely, to explore, invent, and make decisions according to their own choices. They were also proud of themselves for having been able to throw themselves into the creative activities. Both the observations and interviews show that the creative activities fostered a sense of creative agency amongst all the students.

II: Musical knowledge as gained through embodied learning

The teacher considered the understanding of basic musical knowledge (such as finding the pulse, feeling/knowing the meter 4/4, phrasing, form, rest, and dynamics) as important and useful for composing. This knowledge was approached though embodied

experiences, integrating body movement with listening, singing, and improvisation by applying Orff- and Dalcroze-inspired activities and ideas of learning, reflecting the principles of embodied learning.⁴ (These exercises were also designed to prepare the students for instrumental ensemble playing.) Since the students did not have earlier experiences of composing, movement and vocal group improvisation exercises were perceived as a meaningful introduction to it. The exercises were not connected to any particular styles of music, and did not directly link up with the music material used for composing.

In the interviews, the students expressed that the exercises integrating music and movement had helped them, for instance, feel the music in their body, become aware of the rhythms and structure of music, and understand some basic elements of music. These are examples of the students' comments:

Anthon: I hadn't done this kind of music-and-movement exercises before, so at first they seemed odd. But I think that the rhythmic exercises helped me to understand, for example, pulse, meter, and phrasing.

Lily: It was easier to remember the elements of music through active participation and movement than by only trying to understand them. When you repeat the rhythmic movement exercises, you gradually become aware of what is wrong in movement in relation to music. You repeat the same thing, but still it changes all the time.

Emilia: It was an eye-opening experience to realize that it was possible to make music with a moving body, without an instrument. The rhythmic movement exercises helped me find the rhythm of music and movement as well as to combine them. They also helped in counting in four and identifying the structure of music, the meter and the phrases.

Martin: I guess I could say that the movement exercises improved my sense and understanding of rhythm, which helped in inventing and creating both

⁴ Embodied learning takes place within the entire human being; it is learning from the experiences of interaction of self with the physical and social environment through the senses, perceptions, and mindbody action and reaction (Kerka 2002).

music and movement. The exercises also helped in keeping a steady pulse... After the exercises, I felt like I could compose without thinking,

III: Enhancing social cohesion and inclusion through group music-andmovement activities

Since the students came to the lower secondary school from different primary schools, making the students know each other and feeling good in the group were important goals throughout the project. Therefore, the preparatory movement exercises were designed to create a safe and encouraging environment for composing as well as to strengthen social cohesion. Most students expressed that the exercises had helped them know each other, "feel comfortable in the group", overcome self-consciousness, and be able to "throw oneself into creative expression". Based on the interviews, social integration and getting to know each other was especially important for the boys. For them, movement activities were also a new kind of way to build contact with the girls, which at the same time was a challenge for them. The following quotes express the general feeling among the students.

Pia: Bodily approaches helped me feel comfortable in the group, they helped me get to know the other students and their names, which eased the feeling of fear... They also helped to form the group and made it unified.

Alicia: We learned to laugh at ourselves when making mistakes. This in turn created a team spirit.

Anthon: We did not know each other before, so the music-and-movement exercises in particular helped (us) to get to know one another, also those students with whom you wouldn't otherwise have probably any contact with, like the girls.

Antti: At first, I did not want to participate since I did not know the others. It feels embarrassing to move and express things in front of the others when you do not know them. But now that I know everyone I participate fully, everyone does.

The more experience the students had with the movement exercises, the more they were able to enjoy the exercises and the more comfortable they felt in the group. However, not all students found these movement exercises comfortable or useful. There were two boys who did not feel comfortable in the group. One had moved recently, did not previously know any of his classmates, and was not able to make friends in the group. The other did not find a boy partner in movement activities since there was an off number of boys, and did not have anyone to work with in collaborative activities. The teacher was aware only of the second case, but thought it was okay for the student to work by himself. In both cases, social exclusion was interconnected with a negative experience of the project as a whole.

IV: Composing as a collaborative and self-regulated process

In the project, the teacher wanted to explore autonomous working in small groups. Composing and making the video were based on collaborative ways of working, reflecting the socio-cultural foundations of the project (see e.g., Burnard, 2012, 2006; Partti, 2014). In these collaborative processes, the students worked autonomously, monitoring, directing, regulating, and afterwards evaluating their actions as they progressed towards the set goals, which reflects the principles of self-regulated learning (e.g., Paris, Byrnes & Paris, 2001). The teacher offered a minimum amount of guidance, for example in using the applications, in order to promote "learning to learn skills". This was criticized by some students, who would have wanted more guidance. All of the students enjoyed and were motivated by having an opportunity to experiment and work autonomously in a small group, although finding a proper, peaceful space outside the music classroom was sometimes a challenge.

Lily: I liked working in small groups; it was a good solution. It was also good that we could choose our partners. As a consequence, everything worked easily in the group. We did not have any problems with suggesting new ideas, commenting on others' ideas, building our own ideas upon them or taking turns when using the iPad, etc.

Lea: I would rather work collaboratively in a small group than alone or in a large group. However, I would have liked to receive more instructions for using the application. Finding out by ourselves took too much time from the process, and thus in our group we were left behind the other

groups, especially since many other students knew better how to work with the applications.

When working in the small groups, the students seemed motivated, and the collaboration had a good flow. There were no issues with classroom management. The students did not have problems with suggesting new ideas, commenting on others' ideas, building their own ideas upon others' ideas, or taking turns using the tablet, etc. The small disagreements in one group were solved constructively:

Pia: In our group, we had small disagreements, which we however solved by including and combining all the suggested ideas instead of rejecting any of them. Thus, we also learnt a lot about interaction and collaboration as well.

V: Empowering agency and ownership through making a music video product

The end-goal of the project was to prepare a music video. The tablet served as a functional and easy tool for beginner-level composing and other creative production. Making the video enabled creative and multimodal expression, often absent in students' experiences in music lessons. As the teacher stated, the video as an end-product, but also working in small groups, made each student's musical and creative agency visible. The students enjoyed working on a creative project, which was considered an unusual but welcome practice in the music classroom. Some students even continued the project voluntarily after the school hours. It was interesting that the students appreciated the creative collaboration in itself, the corporal nature of the making, even more than the final product. The students stated:

Susan: It was fun to first record the video material and then to combine it with the music – to make your own composition and video! We never did anything like this in primary school, and I hope we will do more things like this in the future.

Tim: The project has not felt like school-going, since it was so nice to work autonomously. I hope we will have other kinds of projects later on.

Leo: Composing was fun! When we started to work with the iPad, it was especially inspiring to decide yourself what to do and where! I even continued the project in my free time after the school hours.

Max: Making the video for the music was particularly fun since you could decide yourself what to do.... And you did not have to stay in the classroom all the time.

When watching the video compilation together, it was observable and evident that the students were proud of their music videos – of being able to make one and show it to others. Thus, the project seemingly empowered their sense of agency (see also Juntunen, 2015a) and offered an experience of ownership of creative production.

Discussion

The main purpose of the project was to promote students' participation and creative engagement though the use of technology in a music classroom. Composing is a current and challenging issue in music teaching at school, especially in countries like Finland, that are trying to better incorporate composing in music classroom activities. Meanwhile, the pedagogically meaningful use of ever more complex and continuously developing technological tools and applications is a big challenge for teachers in numerous countries. In the project under consideration, the teacher broke the normative approaches to composing and the use of technology by integrating them with body movement and expression, which linked music composition to wider areas of multimodal and embodied learning and expression (see Juntunen forthcoming). The movement and vocal improvisation exercises also formed a bridge between more "traditional" music-making and the use of technology.

Making students compose by combining loops raises critical questions about the *aims* of teaching composition. In this case, however, teaching composition was not the teacher's primary concern. Rather, she wanted to offer the students approachable exercises, an inviting environment, and multiple ways for creative exploration. The main focus was not on the quality of the end-product, nor the skills learned, but on encouraging participation and positive student experiences of composition that were conceived of as enhancing and empowering the students' active and creative

musical agency. Whether this is a sufficient goal for composition education at school can be discussed further.

Style of music received little attention in the project. The LaunchPad application restricted the choice of musical material in music composition to using loops of what could be called commercial, electronic music. However, this choice was not a result of the teacher's genre-based values, but rather on what was easily available and usable in the application. Yet, the music was close to the real-world music of the students, linking to the aesthetic and cultural practices of their youth culture.

The teacher's initial goal was to experiment with the use of the tablet in a music classroom. The device appeared to be an easily manageable technological tool that enabled autonomous and collaborative creative production without, for example, requiring any extensive previous musical knowledge. Although for the students the use of the device itself was not of particular interest, almost all of the students stated that using tablets had motivated their participation, especially in the beginning. Thus, this study supports earlier findings that the use of technology in teaching motivates student participation (Salmela-Aro, 2015), and that creative tasks can give a clear focus for its use (Savage & Challis, 2002). There were hardly any differences in the ability or attitudes towards the use of technology between the boys and girls. As in the project of Savage & Challis (2002), the students valued the opportunity and challenge to express ideas in new ways and through new media.

During the composition and editing processes, the students worked collaboratively in small groups formed within friends, which resulted in co-creation, a quality of teaching that is considered essential for empowering individual learning and creativity and contributing to productive learning experiences (Beetham & Sharpe, 2013). The study supports previous findings that the social factor of friendship or friendship groupings positively assists in the production of compositions (Burland & Davidson, 2001; McDonald & Miell, 2000, also Faulkner, 2001). In this study, positive experiences of creative production were strongly interconnected with social integration and inclusion, whereas negative experiences were interconnected with social exclusion. It is alarming that the teacher was not aware of the two students' negative experiences, which reminds us of how crucial it is to be concerned about the social relations and dynamics in the classroom, and to be interested in student experience, especially when creative tasks are in question.

As I noted earlier, the practice of having students compose in a music classroom faces challenges. In this project, the biggest challenges were related to use of time and space, technical issues, and pedagogical approaches. All participating students reported that insufficient time and the lack of any possibility to work for longer periods at a time (beyond the designated 45 minutes per week, or hour-per-week) had hindered their creative work. It was also difficult to find suitable spaces in the school building for working in small groups. The teacher was often frustrated during the project with problems of communication between the various applications. Also, she did not have any earlier experience or pedagogical models of classroom composing. Especially for that reason it is increasingly important that music educators critically but fearlessly explore and develop pedagogically meaningful ways to enable composing and apply (new) technology in music teaching and learning in order to motivate, inspire, and engage students in musical learning. After the project, the teacher offered her "model" for other music teachers to apply and further develop, which is a laudable and recommendable practice for in-service training.

Conclusion

A greater use of socio-digital technologies at school is suggested to promote student engagement at school (Salmela-Aro, 2015), since it is considered to motivate students to participate, to offer new kind of interaction, and to help students find school-going more meaningful. On the other hand, as stated earlier, in music education as in education in general we lack pedagogical approaches to use technology in a meaningful way. This article examines and brings forward one practical example of a teacher's effort to find new ways to apply technology in a music classroom and promote student engagement in creative music making. Thus, the study contributes to the construction of the "technological [as well as compositional] pedagogical and content knowledge for music teaching and learning" (Bauer, 2014: 12). As Himonides (2013) and Savage (2012) urge us, we as researchers in music education should continue to examine these kind of pedagogical endeavours, since through exploring meaningful and effective educational possibilities as well as the possible negative effects of the use of technology in music education, new pedagogical approaches may emerge. It is also important to continue the ongoing Nordic and international (critical) discussion among researchers about creative music education practices. These is turn will further aid in developing music teaching, teacher education, and curricula in these areas.

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Kreativitet som glidande diskurs: Berättelser om Biophilia Educational Project

Cecilia Björck

ABSTRACT

Creativity as a sliding discourse: Stories about the Biophilia Educational Project

In 2014, the three-year-long Biophilia Educational Project was initiated by the Icelandic artist Björk Guðmundsdóttir. The project links science, music and technology in a curriculum for 10-12-year-olds which has been implemented regionally in the Nordic countries as an alternative to conventional educational approaches. Adopting Michel Foucault's notion of discourses as tactical elements, this article examines how the aims and potential benefits of the Biophilia project are discursively constructed by different actors involved in the process. The analysis draws on material from the project's web site, from the funder's web site, and from the web site of one of the local municipalities where the project has been implemented. It also draws on policy documents and on published media interviews with Björk. Results, discussed in relation to neoliberal discourses in education, show how meanings, especially regarding the term creativity, shift when different actors describe the project's aims and objectives, and how contrasting subject positions are thereby produced. Key words: creativity discourse, music education, musical composition, neoliberal discourse, subject position

Inledning

Den isländska artisten och kompositören Björk Guðmundsdóttir är känd för att experimentera med olika ljud och musikgenrer och samarbeta tvärs över olika gränser, och hennes arbete anses av många som banbrytande. År 2011 släppte hon albumet *Biophilia*, kantat av pedagogiska intentioner. Genom låtarna på detta album utforskar Björk olika aspekter av musikens strukturer och kopplar dem till fenomen i naturen. Senare lanserades ett treårigt projekt, *Biophilia Educational Project*, med syfte att utarbeta ett koncept för skolundervisning och prova detta med mellanstadieelever på nordiska skolor.

Denna artikel undersöker hur mål och gagn med Biophilia Educational Project beskrivs av olika aktörer. Det material som analyseras är text från olika hemsidor¹: projektets, finansiärens, samt hemsidan för den kommun där projektet implementerats i Sverige. Även webbpublicerade intervjuer med Björk och olika policydokument är föremål för analys. Analysen visar att inramningen av projektet glider mellan olika övergripande motiv och varierande konnotationer av begreppet kreativitet. Detta diskuteras i artikeln i relation till neoliberala diskurser om konstarter och utbildning.

Dibben (2013) pekar på att olika utsagor om Biophilia som album – i intervjuer, pressreleaser och annan information – tillsammans kan ses skapa en berättelse, "a way of 'storying' Biophilia, in which the genesis of Biophilia is made and remade in the telling" (4). Föreliggande artikel kan på liknande sätt ses som en analys av den berättelse om Biophilia Educational Project som skapas genom olika texter. Samtidigt kan artikeln också i sig ses som ytterligare ett bidrag till denna berättelse.

Projektets bakgrund

Dibben (2013) sammanfattar projektet Biophilia som ett multimediaprojekt, skapat av Björk, bestående av ett låtalbum, en uppsättning appar för smartphone och surfplatta, liveföreställningar, "popup-musikskolor", och en rad andra aktiviteter och artefakter. I denna artikel fokuseras framför allt det utbildningsprojekt som lanserades efter

¹ I likhet med allt annat material på webben kan dessa hemsidor komma att redigeras eller tas bort, vilket när denna artikel trycks redan har skett med materialet på Sundsvalls kommuns hemsida.

att Dibben skrev ovanstående. Innan jag går in på att beskriva utbildningsprojektet kommer jag dock att kort beskriva Biophilia som koncept och app-album.

App-albumet Biophilia

Ordet biophilia kommer från gammalgrekiska och kan till engelska översättas som "a hypothetical human tendency to interact or be closely associated with other forms of life in nature" (http://www.merriam-webster.com). Albumet Biophilia kan ses som ett konceptalbum på temat förhållandet mellan natur, teknologi och musik. Albumet är ett resultat av samarbete mellan Björk och en rad andra samarbetspartners, och hon har beskrivits leda processen med en mycket stark övergripande konstnärlig vision (Dibben 2013). Björk har även i sina tidigare verk arbetat med temat natur och teknologi (Marsh & West, 2003, Dibben, 2009).

Albumet innehåller tio sånger som alla utforskar byggstenar och strukturer i såväl musiken som naturen. För varje sång finns en motvarande app för touchskärmsenheter (smartphone eller surfplatta). Apparna släpptes som en hel svit samtidigt som det fysiska/digitala albumet, och på engelska används i Biophilia-projektet termerna *app album* och *songapps* för att avspegla att både låtar och appar ska ses som vitala delar av verket – ett arrangemang som beskrivits som nytt, banbrytande, och "inherently science-fictional" (Omry, 2016:113). I linje med dessa termer används i denna artikel på svenska hädanefter begreppen appalbum och låtapp.

Dibben (2013) beskriver app-svitens struktur, där "moder-appen" *Cosmogony*, som också har en egen sång, fungerar som gränssnitt varifrån användarna kan nå övriga nio appar och motsvarande låtar. Moderappen öppnar sig som ett tredimensionellt stjärnfält som navigeras via touchskärmen, där övriga nio låtappar syns på olika platser i fältet i form av stjärnkonstellationer, var och en med egen färg och form. De totalt tio låtarna utgör basen för det fysiska albumet. Varje låtapp innehåller vidare en egen uppsättning av följande delar: *play* gör att låten presenteras som ett interaktivt, audiovisuellt och semipedagogiskt spel; *score* visar ett rullande partitur med MIDI-playback; *animation* tillhandahåller en rullande, alternativ grafisk notation; dessutom finns tillgång till låttexter, lista över medverkande, samt en musikvetenskaplig essä för varje låtapp (dessa essäer är för övrigt skrivna av just Dibben, på uppdrag av Björk).²

² Björks officiella YouTube-kanal tillhandahåller ett antal handledningsfilmer (*tutorials*) som visar och förklarar de olika låtapparna. För en kort introduktion, se *Full biophilia app suite*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dikvJM_zA4, eller följande filmklipp där programmeraren Scott Snibbe går igenom apparna: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n8c0x6dO2bg

Varje låtapp fokuserar en viss musikalisk aspekt, såsom melodi, skala, tempo och låtstruktur, genom vilken användaren kan utforska och komponera musik. Samtidigt fokuseras en naturvetenskaplig aspekt i analogi med den musikaliska. Exempelvis är temat för låtappen *Mutual core* hur ackord byggs upp av lager av toner, men också hur jordens kontinentalplattor är uppbyggda i lager, vilket också behandlas i låtens text. Ett annat exempel är låtappen *Moon*, vars tema är cykliska sekvenser i såväl musik som i naturen, vilket i låtappens essä beskrivs såhär: "The 'Moon' app connects musical structure, human biorhythms, and cycles of the moon and tides: a chain of musical pearls are played by water washing over them, pulled by the changing phases of the moon".

Relationerna mellan musikaliska och naturvetenskapliga aspekter varierar mellan att ibland vara mer tydligt vetenskapliga, ibland framstå som mer metaforiska. Dibben (2013) beskriver sambanden som "idiosynkratiska" och att de återspeglar hur Björk hör och uppfattar musik. Dibben tar låtappen *Chrystalline* som exempel, där Björk metaforiskt har liknat sitt sätt att höra vers och refräng i popmusik vid upplevelsen av att färdas genom en stad och dess olika vägkorsningar, och att kristallers strukturer kan ses i analogi till det.

Biophilia Educational Project

Biophilia har från början kantats av pedagogiska intentioner. Exempelvis är de animationer som ingår i respektive låtapp, skapade av "composer, inventor, and educator" Steven Malinowski (Dibben, 2013:11), avsedda att ha en pedagogisk funktion. Animationerna innehåller en alternativ grafisk notation i form av bubblor i olika färger som rullar förbi samtidigt som låten spelas upp.

Efter att albumet Biophilia släpptes 2011 genomfördes en rad workshops i musik och naturvetenskap med elever från utvalda skolor i städer längs med vägen på Björks turné, bland annat i Reykjavík, Los Angeles, New York, Buenos Aires, Oslo och Tokyo. Tillsammans med Reykjavíks stad och University of Iceland har Björk därefter utvecklat idéer om hur naturvetenskap, musik och teknologi kan länkas ihop på ett sätt som utmanar konventionella undervisningsmetoder. Ett slags verktygslåda för vetenskapliga och musikaliska experiment har satts samman och prövats i över sextio skolor i Reykjavík, enligt projektets hemsida. Verktygslådans innehåll innefattar bland annat iPads, dvd:er med intervjuer med forskare, mikroskop, och en Van Der Graaffgenerator för att producera statisk elektricitet (Östlund, 2014).

Under det att Island innehade ordförandeskapet för Nordiska Ministerrådet år 2014 lanserades sedan det treåriga projektet Biophilia Educational Project, finansierat av Ministerrådet. 2014 utgjorde planeringsfas när idéer och material förfinades för att bilda en undervisningsplan för musikklassrum med elever i åldrarna 10–12. En grupp experter från vetenskapliga, konstnärliga och pedagogiska kompetensområden arbetade tillsammans med Björk och gav återkoppling på undervisningsplanen. Min egen medverkan i denna grupp utgör del av den förförståelse jag har av projektet och väckte mitt intresse för att analysera hur olika aktörer talar om projektet.

Under 2015 implementerades projektet i utvalda regioner i Norden. Urvalsprocesserna för vilka regioner och skolor som skulle delta har sett olika ut i de olika länderna. Deltagande länder och regioner innefattar Grönland (Sisimiut), Island (Reykjavík), Färöarna (Torshavn), Norge (Stavanger, Strands kommun), Danmark (Ålborg), Sverige (Sundsvall), Åland (Mariehamn) och Finland (Grankulla/Kaunainen). Varje deltagande region har haft en styrgrupp som ansvarat för projektets implementering i och anpassning till den lokala kontexten, med medlemmar från lokal skolmyndighet, universitet/högskola eller *science centre*, samt en kulturinstitution. De olika lokala styrgrupperna har tillsammans bildat ett nätverk med syfte att kontinuerligt utveckla projektet genom en hög grad av interaktion. 2016, när denna artikel skrivs, utgör en utvärderingsfas för hela projektet.

En projekthemsida har utvecklats på de olika nordiska språken och på engelska, vilken bland annat tillhandahåller ett handledningshäfte i pdf-form för undervisning. Häftet har fått namnet *Learnteach* och innehåller "[p]roposals, speculations, ideas, links and connections to help bring Biophilia into a classroom or other learning contexts." (http://biophiliaeducational.org/). På hemsidan finns under rubriken "Table of elements" nedanstående förteckning i matrisform över alla låtappar och vilka musikaliska, naturvetenskapliga och sociala (på engelska *human*) fenomen och teman de behandlar. En liknande matris har i olika sammanhang presenterats redan i samband med att albumet Biophilia släpptes, men är på projekthemsidan reviderad och utökad.

SONGAPP	MUSIC	NATURE, KEYWORDS	RELEVANT SCIENCES	HUMAN
Hollow	Rhythm and speed	DNA, evolution	Biology	Ancestry, inheritance
Solstice	Baseline, counterpoint	Orbit of the Earth, tilt of the Earth	Astronomy	Lightbearers
Thunderbolt	Arpeggios	Lightning, fractals	Physics	Miracles
Mutual Core	Chords	Tectonic plates	Geology	Relationships, love
Moon	Sequencers	Lunar phases, tides, cycles in the body	Astronomy	Cyclical nature of life, failure and success
Crystalline	Crystalline	Formation of crystals	Chemistry, geology	
Cosmogony	Lyrics, equillibrium	Big bang	Cosmology	Creation myths
Dark matter	Scales	Dark matter	Physics, astrophysics	Western domination
Sacrifice	Notation	Evolution, role of sexes	Biology	Equality of the sexes
Virus	Generative music	Viruses, symbiotic relationships	Biology	Relationships, love

(från http://biophiliaeducational.org/)

Efter denna introduktion om Biophilia som appalbum och övergripande projekt samt mer riktat pedagogiskt projekt, kommer nu "storyn" om Biophilia Educational Project att analyseras och diskuteras, det vill säga hur projektets mål, möjligheter och potentiella förtjänster framställs av olika aktörer.

Teoretiska utgångspunkter

Diskurser, makt och strategier

För att granska berättelser om projektet använder jag mig av diskursbegreppet enligt Michel Foucaults tankelinjer. Foucault (1972) beskriver diskurser som sätt att tala om något, vilket skapar ett regelverk för vad som ses som meningsfullt och sant.

Eftersom diskurser enligt Foucault skapar, snarare än återspeglar, vad som ses som sann kunskap, är artikulationen av diskurser också tätt förbunden med utövande av makt – dels genom anspråken på att säga det som är rätt och sant, dels genom att diskurser kan materialiseras, med andra ord få saker och ting att hända på ett visst sätt.

Foucault (1970) skriver vidare om hur diskurser struktureras relationellt i *diskursiva formationer*, där ett antal konkurrerande diskurser verkar inom samma begreppsliga terräng. Dessa formationer skapas genom *diskursiva praktiker*, enligt Foucault kulturellt och historiskt specifika regelverk för hur kunskap organiseras och struktureras. Diskurser kan ses som "platser" där mening skapas, bibehålls och/eller omkullkastas. Diskurser står inte stilla utan är i ständig rörelse och förhandling. Meningar kan skifta mellan olika diskurser, men även inom en diskurs:

Discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations; there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy; they can, on the contrary, circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another, opposing strategy. (Foucault, 1978/1990: 101–102)

Vad Foucault säger här är alltså att en viss strategi eller rörelse kan rymma motstridiga diskurser. Strävan att uppvärdera konstarter och lärande utgör ett exempel på en sådan rörelse, relevant för denna artikel. Samtidigt kan en viss diskurs, exempelvis om kreativitet, cirkulera mellan vitt skilda sociala och politiska rörelser. Det kan ske genom en öppen kamp om vad begreppet kreativitet står för, men cirkulerandet kan också, som Foucault påpekar, ibland ske mer subtilt utan att diskursen ändrar form.

De platser som en viss diskurs utgör erbjuder också vissa *subjektspositioner*, platser utifrån vilket ett subjekt kan tala och agera (Foucault, 1982), med andra ord ett visst handlingsutrymme. Därigenom formas även de handlande subjekten av diskurser. Alla positioner (exempelvis expertpositioner) är inte tillgängliga för alla subjekt, och att inta eller positioneras till en viss position innebär både möjligheter och begränsningar.

Kreativitetsdiskurser

Kreativitet kan ses figurera som centralt begrepp i det samtida neoliberala samhället, laddat med positiva värden men samtidigt – i likhet med begrepp som kultur – tillräckligt tomt att fyllas med olika konnotationer. Kanellopoulos (2015) granskar hur idéer om musikalisk kreativitet som resurs för personlig tillfredsställelse, vilka tidigare

varit del av modernistiska utbildningsideal, nu reapproprierats i utbildningskontexter som istället drivs av neoliberala motiv. En "entreprenöriell vändning" har enligt Kanellopoulos inneburit nya relationer mellan kontrolleringspraktiker orienterade mot performativitet i bemärkelsen effektivitet, uppbyggnaden av entreprenöriella attityder och tankesätt, och idéer om kreativitet i termer av bruksvärde. I enlighet med sådana neoliberala motiv, menar Kanellopoulos, ställer kraftfulla policyaktörer inom utbildning krav på förmågor som behövs för att överleva i den nya kunskapsekonomin, såsom flexibilitet, originalitet och självständighet. Kreativitet ses av dessa aktörer som den nyckelprocess som ska garantera att sådana förmågor utvecklas.

Kreativitet är alltså som begrepp centralt både för tidigare etablerade modernistiska utbildningsideal och för neoliberalistiska, performativitetsinriktade tankelinjer. Kanellopoulos frågar sig:

How could it be that the egalitarian ideals that informed so many artistic and educational projects that forcefully fought elitist canonic impositions, and that marched in favor of the dictum that everyone is an artist and problematized hierarchies both in art and art education, could be so extensively co-opted by neoliberalism? How could informality, marginality, freedom, adventurousness, innovation, risk – concepts long associated with artistic practices – [become such a vital part of late capitalist discourse?] (2015: 322)

I den process där begreppet kreativitet och därtill associerade begrepp övertas av neoliberalistisk diskurs finner Kanellopoulos att

notions of agency, flexibility, originality, adaptability, responsiveness reflection of the possibilities at hand, collaboration, and self-evaluation are stripped of their emancipatory potential and are being linked to wider "features" of neoliberal subjectivities. As such, music creativity discourse has been forced to function as a part of a larger process of production of a new form of subjectivity, namely the creative and cultural entrepreneur. (2015: 326)

Sammanfattningsvis kan vi utifrån Kanellopolous resonemang, sett genom Foucaults glasögon, konstatera att kreativitet, flexibilitet, risk, originalitet med flera begrepp utgör en begreppslig terräng, i vilken begreppen cirkulerar mellan olika konkurrerande diskurser och strategier för vitt skilda ändamål: kreativitet som väg till frigörelse och jämlikhet, eller som verktyg för överlevnad i ett neoliberalt, marknadsanpassat samhälle.

Diskursiva konstruktioner av projektet

Genom att använda det teoretiska ramverk som tecknats ovan kommer jag nu att lyfta fram några olika berättelser om Biophilia Educational Project och undersöka vad det talas om, hur det talas om detta, och vilka subjektspositioner som därmed produceras.

Björks konstnärliga vision, produktion och rykte

Björk beskrivs ofta som en ikon vad gäller kreativitet och innovativt skapande, och kan sägas vara en artist som erövrat trovärdighet och ryktbarhet på såväl populärmusiksom konstmusikområdet. Hon har belönats med en rad olika priser och utmärkelser. Från svenskt håll fick hon exempelvis Polarpriset 2010 med följande motivering:

With her deeply personal music and lyrics, her precise arrangements and her unique voice, Björk has already made an indelible mark on pop music and modern culture at large, despite her relative youth. No other artist moves so freely between avant-garde and pop. With her albums and videos, Björk has taken avant-garde to the top of the charts. She has also always embraced technological advances, combining computers with ancient sounds. Björk has introduced an arctic temperament to popular music and shown how passionate and explosive it can be. Björk is an untameable force of nature, an artist who marches to nobody's tune but her own. (http://www.polarmusicprize.org/laureates/bjork/)

2012 valdes hon in som en utländsk ledamot av Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien för att hon, enligt motiveringen, "fängslat och trollbundit en allt bredare publik med sitt föränderligt innovativa konstnärskap och samt kreativa artisteri" (Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien 2012:67). I dessa prismotiveringar artikuleras en bild av Björks värde som förknippat med personlighet och unicitet, föränderlighet och överskridande, uppfinningsrikedom och kreativitet. Samma värden, speciellt i relation till Björks användning av ny teknologi, uppskattas även inom näringslivet där Björk ofta hyllas som förebild vad gäller kreativitet, risktagande och entreprenörsskap (se till exempel Bridges, 2015).

Biophilia har genererat stort intresse både som album och som pedagogiskt projekt, inte minst i media, och det finns hundratals intervjuer som handlar om projektet. I sådana intervjuer har Björk bland annat liknat drivkraften bakom albumet vid en "frusterad musiklärares", och förklarat att hon velat skapa en typ av kurs som hon själv skulle velat gå som grundskoleelev, men aldrig fick. Målet med projektet var därför enligt

Björk att utveckla och tillhandahålla verktyg, framför allt genom touchskärmsteknologi, som ger användare möjlighet att experimentera med komposition och hitta sin egen ton och stil, utan att för den skull behöva vara briljanta instrumentalister. I en intervju gjord i samband med att albumet släpptes (Magnússon, 2011) beskriver hon följande:

I always assumed I'd be a music teacher when I grew up. Then this whole pop music adventure happened and I've really liked that. But I still joke about it with my friends, (...) moving to a small island and teaching kids to play the recorder flute. (...) Learning music theory and music, I felt it was too academic. You didn't get to experiment and find your voice and your style. It wasn't about the individual so much as mass-training conveyor belts of kids into playing for the symphony orchestra. (...) I love watching classical performers and I admire them, but for kids who love music, there are a lot of other things that are important. Like composing music. (...) I was being selfish, really, making the sort of discipline or course I would have liked to study in grade school, the one I never got to attend. (...) I have written a lot of melodies while walking outside, thinking of rhythms. (...) It's an unusual approach to songwriting, voice and beats—usually songs start out with chord progressions—but I never related to that method. (...) I have never been able to write songs like a troubadour with a piano or a guitar (...). The idea was a little along the lines of: 'If I were making my version of an acoustic guitar to write music with like a folk singer, what would I put in that? What do I put on the touchscreen?' And I immediately thought of nature and its structures (...).

Intervjun, där Björk växlar mellan olika subjektspositioner – elev, lärare, kursdesigner och kompositör – förmedlar bilden av en pedagogisk längtan. Hon berättar hur hon upplevt en brist som resulterat i en känsla av att musikundervisning måste förändras, speciellt vad gäller barns möjligheter att skapa musik. Björk, som gick i musikskola under sin uppväxt på Island, beskriver att formell musikutbildning inte gav henne möjligheter att experimentera och finna mer personliga uttryck. I stället utgjorde musikskolan en massutbildning där barn på löpande band skulle drillas för att platsa i symfoniorkester – en metafor som kanhända någon läsare kan associera med Pink Floyds musikfilm The Wall och scenen till textraden *We don't need no education*. Men Björk beskriver också hur hon inte heller passat in i normer för lärande och skapande i mer informella, populärmusikaliska praktiker, där den dominerande bilden av att skriva musik associeras med trubaduren vid pianot eller vid gitarren. Mot bakgrund av detta artikuleras i intervjun att den huvudsakliga drivkraften för Biophilia som övergripande projekt är att erbjuda verktyg för att lära och komponera musik som

är tillgängliga, experimentella, individuella och varierade. Genom detta kan också målet sägas vara att erbjuda en annan typ av subjektsposition än vad som erbjöds när Björk gick i musikskola, med handlingsutrymme att i högre grad kunna styra det egna lärandet och utforska mer "egna" uttryck genom komponeringsmodeller som varken ryms inom konst- eller populärmusikens gängse normer. Om vi använder Foucaults terminologi ligger denna berättelse som taktiskt element i linje med den strategi som genom modernistiska, emancipatoriska utbildningsideal vill utmana hierarkier inom konstarter och lärande (Kanellopoulos, 2015).

Ett annat tema som artikuleras som del av Björks konstnärliga vision med projektet är kopplingen mellan musik och naturvetenskap. Ett moment där detta tema artikuleras utspelar sig när app-sviten öppnas. Då hälsas nämligen användaren välkommen genom vad som kan beskrivas som ett tal, deklamerat av Sir David Attenborough³:

Welcome to Biophilia: the love for Nature in all her manifestations, from the tiniest organism to the greatest red giant floating in the farthest realm of the Universe. With Biophilia comes a restless curiosity, an urge to investigate and discover the elusive places where we meet nature, where she plays on our senses with colors and forms, perfumes and smells. The taste and touch of salty wind on the tongue. But much of nature is hidden from us, that we can neither see nor touch, such as the one phenomena that can be said to move us more than any other in our daily lives--Sound. Sound harnessed by human beings delivered with generosity and emotion is what we call Music. And just as we use music to express parts of us that would otherwise be hidden, so too can we use technology to make visible much of nature's invisible world. In Biophilia, you will experience how the three come together: nature, music, technology. Listen, Learn, and Create. (...) We are on the brink of a revolution that will reunite humans with nature through new technological innovations. Until we get there... prepare, explore, Biophilia.

Om Björks röst i intervjun som citerades tidigare lägger stor vikt vid en önskan att skapa verktyg för *musikaliskt* lärande och komposition som bakgrund till projektet, så ger Attenboroughs röst legitimitet åt projektets koppling mellan musik och *naturvetenskap*. Deklarationen är poetisk och visionär, orden är stora: kärlek och revolution då ny teknologi kommer förena människa och natur. Lärande sätts i fokus genom att

³ Uppläsningen finns på YouTube tillsammans med filmklipp från låtappen: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o8AELvVUFLw

Biophilia sägs komma med en "rastlös nyfikenhet", en "längtan att undersöka och upptäcka" relationen mellan människa och natur genom ljud (sound) som fenomen. Även här produceras en handlingskraftig subjektposition, där publiken/deltagaren inte ska nöja sig med att luta sig tillbaka och konsumera musiken, utan uppmanas att "lyssna, lära, och skapa". Vidare kan introduktionstalet ses som en vision om enhet och förening, genom att sammanföra element som vanligtvis ses som åtskilda i västerländsk kultur: vetenskap och konst, människa och natur, känsla och kunskap (jämför Dibben, 2009).

Sammanfattningsvis kan vi se att Biophilia Educational Project, som del av artisten Björks konstnärliga vision och output, framstår som ett projekt sprunget ur ett upplevt behov av att hitta nya former för att lära och komponera musik, vilket kan göra det möjligt för fler att (likt Björk) hitta strategier och uttryck som inte nödvändigtvis följer normer inom varken konstmusik eller populärmusik. Detta görs i projektet genom att söka relationer mellan musik och naturvetenskap, grundat i storslagna idéer om möjligheter och förening. Visionen framstår som emancipatorisk i linje med modernistiska konst- och utbildningsideal. Samtidigt bär Björk som ikon och varumärke på konnotationer även till neoliberala kreativitetsideal, inte minst genom näringslivets hyllande av hennes flexibilitet och innovativa experimenterande med ny teknologi.

Projektets hemsida

Hur bidrar då den information som finns på projektets hemsida på webben till storyn om vad Biophilia Educational Project är och syftar till? På hemsidan (http://biophiliaeducational.org) skrivs i den svenska versionen att projektets förväntade resultat är följande:

- främja innovation i skolorna genom att utveckla undervisningsmetoder där man kombinerar naturvetenskap, kreativitet och teknik
- bryta upp traditionell undervisningspraxis med ett tvärvetenskapligt angreppssätt där man rör sig mellan olika åldersgrupper, ämnen och vetenskapsgrenar
- inrätta ett nätverk för samarbete mellan de nordiska länderna där man delar med sig av erfarenheter och idéer och vidareutvecklar projektet med utgångspunkt från gemensamma nordiska värderingar
- uppmuntra barns och ungdomars intresse för kreativitet, naturvetenskap och teknik för att därmed på sikt öka de nordiska ländernas konkurrenskraft

Överst bland förväntade resultat ligger alltså att "främja innovation i skolorna", vilket ska ske genom att "bryta upp traditionell undervisningspraxis", vilket implicerar att

något nytt och okänt ska komma till skott. Ytterligare värdeladdade ord i punkterna ovan är tvärvetenskapligt, dela och samarbete. Dessa begrepp, liksom även kreativitet och innovation, ligger för det första väl i linje med bilden av Björks arbetssätt som artist och kompositör. För det andra rimmar dessa begrepp också väl med ett sociokulturellt perspektiv på lärande (Kanellopoulous, 2015), ett synsätt som kan sägas dominera och genomsyra styrdokument för utbildning exempelvis i Sverige. Men utöver detta så är det för det tredje också begrepp som är centrala inom en neoliberal diskurs om lärande i kunskapsekonomin. De förväntade målen för Biophilia Educational Project framstår som starkt präglade av ekonomisk nytta, vilket ramas in genom att målen inleds av skrivningar om att främja innovation, och avslutas av slutsatsen att projektet ska leda till att öka de nordiska ländernas konkurrenskraft. För att använda Foucaults tankelinjer kan här begreppen kreativitet, innovation och samarbete ses som taktiska element vilka cirkulerar mellan olika strategier utan att ändra form. Värt att notera är också att musik inte alls nämns bland de förväntade resultaten, utan endast kan skymtas implicit som en aspekt av "kreativitet".

Vid en analys av övrigt innehåll på projektets hemsida, där musik skrivs fram som ett mer synligt begrepp, kan jag se tre centrala, visionära teman artikuleras. Dessa handlar om, för det första, gränsöverskridande samarbete; för det andra, kreativitet som verktyg för en utforskande undervisning; och för det tredje, sociala mål. Det första temat, gränsöverskridande samarbete, beskrivs ske mellan olika typer av kunskapsområden (musik, teknologi och naturvetenskap), praktikerfält (forskare, konstnärer, lärare och elever/studenter) och institutioner (utbildningssystem, kulturinstitutioner och institutioner för forskning och vetenskap). Det gränsöverskridande skrivs också fram som ett överbryggande mellan mänsklig utveckling och erfarenhet, i termer av personlig utveckling respektive social utveckling, och i termer av det multisensoriska då projektet vill förena syn och hörsel med skolans traditionella fokus på verbal förmåga. Ytterligare gränsöverskridande samarbete tänks också ske mellan musikaliska traditioner där genrer som modern västerländsk konstmusik ska inkluderas sida vid sida med olika musiktraditioner från hela världen, vilket ses som en demokratisk fråga.

Det andra temat handlar om kreativitet som verktyg för en utforskande undervisning. På den engelska versionen av hemsidan står det att projektet: "is based around creativity as a teaching and research tool, where music, technology and the natural sciences are linked together in an innovative way". I samma passage i den svenska versionen har *tool* översatts till "metod": "Grundtanken i projektet är kreativitet som en undervisnings- och forskningsmetod". Vidare står följande:

Eleverna lär sig genom att delta i praktiska övningar där de komponerar musik och samarbetar med varandra. Deltagarna får möjlighet att utveckla sin musikaliska fantasi, utvidga sina kreativa gränser och skapa musik på ett impulsivt och intuitivt sätt, med inspiration från strukturer och fenomen i naturen. (http://biophiliaeducational.org)

Liksom i Björks beskrivningar av projektets bakgrund framstår här musiken som överordnat mål, snarare än underordnat medel. Kreativa arbetsmetoder i skolan tänks här kunna skapa möjligheter till musikalisk utveckling och musikaliskt skapande.

Slutligen handlar det tredje visionära temat som artikuleras via projektets hemsida om sociala mål för hållbarhet, social rättvisa och demokrati. Detta formuleras exempelvis genom skrivningar om att projektet "bidrar till ett hållbart samhälle där man aktivt utforskar nya tankesätt", att det "har potential att erbjuda konstnärliga upplevelser till barn som annars kanske inte skulle ha den möjligheten", samt argumentet från undervisningsguiden Learnteach att "harpor, Hang-trummor och olika elektroniska apparater (...) inte för med sig samma underförstådda betydelse och makt som finns i flyglar, violiner och gitarrer" och att på "det sättet är den här musiken mer demokratisk än vad vi är vana vid" (2). Dessa skrivningar för knappast tanken till ekonomisk styrning utan snarare en etisk och reflexiv artistisk frihet. Samtidigt är det värt att återigen påminna sig om att det originella och överskridande konstnärskapet som här artikuleras, vilket även Björk som artist förknippas med, också kan associeras med det neoliberala, flexibla entreprenörskapet.

Efter denna analys av den berättelse som skrivs fram på projektets hemsida kommer jag nu att undersöka hur en annan aktör artikulerar projektet, nämligen dess finansiär.

Finansiärens hemsida

För Nordiska Ministerrådet, som finansierat det treåriga Biophilia Educational Project, var projektet ett flaggskepp under Islands ordförandeskap året 2014. Ministerrådet har också lyft fram projektet som en förebild i rapporter om exempelvis entreprenöriellt lärande (Norden, 2014), grön tillväxt (Norden, 2015) och hållbarhet (Hillgrén, Bröckl & Halonen, 2016).

På Nordiska Ministerrådets hemsida (http://www.norden.org) formuleras projektet på engelska på ett sätt vi visserligen kan känna igen från tidigare beskrivningar, men med en ändrad prioriteringsordning och betydelser som får viss glidning. Inledningen

på hemsidan nämner kort musik, men när själva projektet beskrivs är det på följande koncisa sätt: "The aim of the Biophilia project is to motivate entrepreneurs and encourage the interest of children and youth in science and innovation." Här har alltså den punkt som låg sist under projektmålen på projektets hemsida flyttat upp att bli det första – och det enda – målet. Presentationen fortsätter genom att lyfta fram det gränsöverskridande och innovativa, samt kreativitet som verktyg eller metod: "The main idea is to integrate education, culture and science and turn traditional teaching methods on their head. Participants are thus encouraged to engage their creativity as an educational and scientific tool, across all ages, subjects and specialisms."

Lite längre ner återfinns ett ord som inte förekommer på projektets hemsida vid den tidpunkt jag genomfört undersökningen, nämligen "fun": "hands-on experiences of the wonders of science and music with fun experiments". Ordet förekommer även lite längre ner på sidan, och att ha kul framställs här som ett sätt att väcka barns och ungas intresse för naturvetenskap, även med sikt på högre utbildning på universitet och högskola.

Om vi granskar hur projektet framställs av olika aktörer blir det intressant att jämföra två starkt kontrasterande formuleringar, där projektets hemsida å ena sidan hävdar att "[d]eltagarna får möjlighet att utveckla sin musikaliska fantasi, utvidga sina kreativa gränser och skapa musik på ett impulsivt och intuitivt sätt, med inspiration från strukturer och fenomen i naturen" medan finansiären å andra sidan lyfter fram att projektets mål är att "uppmuntra barns och ungdomars intresse för kreativitet, naturvetenskap och teknik för att därmed på sikt öka de nordiska ländernas konkurrenskraft". Om kreativitet ska ses som ett verktyg blir det här tydligt att det som i så fall ska byggas med ett sådant verktyg är vitt skilda saker. De skilda strategiska rörelser som därmed blir synliga skapar också olika subjektspositioner för elever. Medan det första citatet ovan pekar på ett elevsubjekt som har handlingsutrymme att utveckla konstnärliga förmågor för sin egen skull, skapar det andra citatet en flexibel medborgare som med sina kreativa förmågor bidrar till de nordiska ländernas fortlevnad i en global konkurrens, med andra ord, den nya subjektivitet som Kanellopolous (2015: 326) benämner "the creative and cultural entrepreneur".

En lokal utbildningskontext

Vad händer då med berättelsen om projektet när det ska implementeras i en lokal utbildningskontext i Sverige?

I Sverige, liksom i många andra länder, har kreativitet blivit ett centralt begrepp i såväl konstnärliga sammanhang som utbildningssammanhang. Detta kan till exempel ses i den inledande texten till de statliga kulturpolitiska mål som antogs 2009 och fastslår: "Kreativitet, mångfald och konstnärlig kvalitet ska prägla samhällets utveckling" (http://www.kulturradet.se/sv/Om-kulturradet/kulturpolitiska_mal/). De kulturpolitiska målen styr nationell och statlig kulturpolitik, men ska också inspirera och ge stöd åt lokala riktlinjer.

I den svenska nationella kursplanen för musik i grundskolan (Skolverket 2011) kan vi finna flera aspekter som kan sägas rimma väl med innehållet i Biophilia. Till exempel säger kursplanen att till det centrala innehållet i årskurs 4–6 hör: "Musikskapande med utgångspunkt i musikaliska mönster och former, till exempel ackordföljder och basgångar", samt "Rytm, klang och dynamik, tonhöjd, tempo, perioder, taktarter, vers och refräng som byggstenar för att komponera musik i olika genrer" (101). Årskurs 4–6 motsvarar just den åldersgrupp på 10–12-åringar som Biophilia Educational Project vänder sig primärt till.

Den bild av formell musikutbildning som Björk gett från sin egen uppväxt, som en massutbildning där barn på löpande band drillades för en framtid som symfoniorkestermusiker, skiljer sig från hur musikundervisning bedrivs i Sverige idag. Snarare än att byggas på konstmusikaliska ideal är dagens musikundervisning till stor del uppbyggd runt populärmusikaliska genrer och ensemblespel i smågrupper, visar olika forskningsstudier vilket bekräftas av den senaste nationella utvärderingen i musik (Skolverket, 2015).

När det gäller den samverkan över ämnesgränserna som lyfts fram i Biophilia-projektet, pekar den nationella utvärderingen på att sådan samverkan skrivits fram i tidigare läroplaner för den svenska grundskolan, men att det i senaste läroplanen från 2011 inte formuleras lika tydligt. Utvärderingen hänvisar till forskning som visar att de estetiska ämnena kan riskera att tappa sin identitet vid ämnessamverkan eftersom arbetet ofta utgår från de samverkande ämnenas kursplaner (Olsson, 2002, Lindgren, 2006). Samtidigt visar den nationella utvärderingen att ämnesövergripande arbete uppskattas av musiklärare som undervisar i årkurs 6 och 9, och att många skulle vilja arbeta mer med sådan inriktning.

Den svenska region som utsetts att arbeta med Biophilia är Sundsvall, en kommun i norra Sverige med cirka 100 000 invånare. Sundsvall valdes utifrån en gemensam ansökan från Sundsvalls kommunala kulturskola och kommunens Centrum för Kunskapsbildning. Om Sundsvall kan sägas att kommunen 2015 fick det nationella

priset Guldtrappan, "En utmärkelse för skolhuvudmän som ligger i framkant när det gäller digital skolutveckling" (http://www.diu.se/guldtrappan/). Detta kan ses som en kontrast till kommunens skolresultat, som är bland de sämsta i Sverige och har varit så sedan ett antal år, vilket lett till att kommunen antagit en ambition om att bli Sveriges bästa skola 2021, från förskola till gymnasium. Arbetet med att skapa Sveriges bästa skola formulerades tidigare på kommunens hemsida i form av sju mål:

- Mål 1 Elevernas resultat: Alla elever ska vara godkända och uppnå höga resultat.
- Mål 2 Elevernas syn på skola och undervisning: Barnen och eleverna ska ha en positiv inställning till förskola och skola.
- Mål 3 Föräldrarnas syn på skolan och undervisningen: Föräldrarna ska ha en positiv inställning till förskola och skola.
- Mål 4 Effektivt resursanvändande: Resurserna ska användas på ett effektivt och ändamålsenligt sätt.
- Mål 5 Organisation: Arbetet ska utgå från förvaltningens verksamhetsidé.
- Mål 6 Ledarskap: Ledarskapet ska utgå från vad som har betydelse för barns och elevers lärande.
- Mål 7 Värdegrund: Vi ska göra det goda livet möjligt, och alltid skapa bästa möjliga möte för lärande. (www.sundsvall.se, hämtad 1 maj 2015)

Enligt de lokala projektdirektiven för implementeringen av Biophilia i Sundsvall, är de så kallade effektmålen, det vill säga den nytta projektet förväntas ge för Sundsvalls skolutveckling (kursiv stil tillagd):

- Att i Sundsvalls skolor, hitta arbetssätt som underlättar samarbete mellan lärarkategorier.
- Att bryta upp traditionell undervisningspraxis med ett tvärvetenskapligt angreppssätt där man rör sig mellan olika åldersgrupper, ämnen och vetenskapsgrenar
- Att ge elever alternativa inlärningssätt genom samverkan mellan ett teoretiskt ämne och ett estetiskt ämne, för att öka måluppfyllelsen
- Att öka barns intresse för kreativitet, naturvetenskap och teknik

Hur ett projekt som detta landar i en lokal skolkontext bör ses i ljuset av att estetiska ämnen anses ha "stor betydelse för att utveckla och träna förmågor som kreativitet, analysförmåga, skapande, förmåga att förstå, tolka, uttrycka och kommunicera – förmågor som också framhålls som betydelsefulla framtidskompetenser" (Skolverket, 2015: 12). Biophilia kan därmed uppfattas som attraktivt för skolpolitiker och skolledning

som ett sätt att uppnå bättre måluppfyllelse, alltså högre skolresultat – men dessa resultat handlar inte främst om musikkunskaper eftersom kunskaper i ämnen som matematik och naturvetenskap generellt ses väga tyngre. Vi kan också konstatera att lärare i dagens skola inte saknar visioner att arbeta efter. I ljuset av exemplet Sundsvalls sju mål för att bli bästa skola kan lärarna snarare ses arbeta i en tillvaro där många olika mål och visioner ska uppfyllas, och där Biophilia riskerar att bli ytterligare sten på börda. De största utmaningarna med att implementera projektet i klassrummet framstår här vara frågor om meningsfullhet och förankring: hur det ska gå att få skolledare och lärare entusiastiska för projektets idéer och se hur dessa passar in i de övriga strategier de förväntas arbeta efter. Och även om stjärnglansen och det symboliska värdet av Björk som artistnamn är stort i såväl Musikaliska Akademien som på MTV, så är det inte nödvändigtvis lika stort bland lärare och elever i en kommunal mellanstadieskola.

Diskussion

Utifrån Foucaults tankelinje om att diskurser kan cirkulera mellan olika strategier, utan att synbart förändra form, har jag i denna artikel undersökt vad som händer med berättelsen av vad ett specifikt utbildningsprojekt går ut på och syftar till, när det färdas från den konstnärliga vision som beskrivits av en artist som initialt drivit projektet, genom den typ av filtrering som sker då en projektansökan författas och beviljas, till planerad implementering i en lokal utbildningskontext. Jämförelsen av texter visar skiftande bilder av projektets huvudsakliga motiv och mål, från Björks berättelse om behovet att tillhandahålla mer varierade verktyg för att experimentera med musikalisk komposition; via projekthemsidans skrivningar om gränsöverskridande samarbete, kreativitet som verktyg för utforskande undervisning, samt sociala mål; vidare till Nordiska Ministerrådets sammanfattning om att målet med projektet är att motivera entreprenörer och väcka intresse för naturvetenskap och innovation; och slutligen de svenska lokala projektmål som talar om att hitta arbetsmetoder och inlärningssätt som i slutänden ska leda till högre skolresultat i kommunen.

Mot bakgrund av Foucaults diskursbegrepp, Kanellopoulos (2015) analys av kreativitetsdiskurser inom musikutbildning, samt analysen av berättelser om Biophiliaprojektet, kan vi se att begrepp som kreativitet, innovation och samarbete flyter mellan olika strategier, där de innebörder som läggs i begreppen i förstone kan synas vara desamma, men som i ett neoliberalt, performativitetsfokuserat samhälle inte

nödvändigtvis är desamma som inom sociokulturella perspektiv på lärande, eller i Björks konstnärliga vision och arbetssätt.

Den balanserade utbildning som kreativitetsdiskurser förväntas leda till faller paradoxalt nog på skam, påpekar Kanellopoulos (2015), eftersom samtidens vurm för kreativitet, flexibilitet, självständighet och risktagande kombineras med ett konstant mätande (jämför Ball, 2003). I Biophilia Educational Project kan ett sådant mätande ses både på övergripande nivå, i relation till att projektet getts finansiering för att öka de nordiska ländernas konkurrenskraft genom entreprenöriellt lärande, samtidigt som det ska främja grön tillväxt och hållbarhet. Mätandet aktualiseras också på lokal nivå, där projektet förväntas leda till ökad måluppfyllelse för deltagande kommunala skolor.

Kanellopolous (2015) argumenterar för att vi behöver tänka, diskutera, reflektera över och problematisera vad kreativitet kan betyda, och att detta fordrar att vi skapar lokala praktiker som kritiskt kan betänka innebörden även i begrepp som inkludering, skillnad, auktoritet och ägandeskap (ownership). Jag menar att detta argument bör prägla musikpedagogiska praktiker både vad gäller ordinarie undervisning och riktade projekt, där policyskapare, forskare, skolledare, lärare och elever bör fråga sig: om kreativitet är ett verktyg, vad är det tänkt att vi ska bygga? Med andra ord: är det överordnade syftet att musikalisk kreativitet ytterst ska leda till ekonomisk konkurrenskraft, eller till människors möjlighet till handlingskraft och konstnärligt uttryck?

Avslutningsvis observerar jag att det finns en blinkning från projektets sida som pekar på en viss medvetenhet om den problematik som behandlats i denna artikel. På projektets hemsida finns nämligen följande poetiska reflektion:

Education, like art, music and love is a contested field. Opposed forces collide and infectious ideas invade the core of the operation, while a huge number of people seem to enter and leave without notice like the dark matter of the universe. Biophilia forms part of one such force; or possibly maybe more an infection; a seed that may be planted; find its kin and possibly spread out through large parts of the system; meeting resistance, adapting and maybe finally metamorphosing into something unrecognisable. We'll see.

Just det - vi får se.

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Performing gender when music is, or is not, at stake – a meta-analysis on students' adaption to discourse

Carina Borgström Källén & Monica Lindgren

ABSTRACT

In this article, a meta-analysis is conducted in order to explore how gender is constructed in relation to music classroom school discourses, in three qualitative studies. Conducting meta-analysis is a way of reflecting on data in new ways, and it is argued that it could be productive in creating new understandings of issues within the field of music education research. Theoretically, all three studies, as well as the reinterpretation, draw on social constructionism and the method is based on qualitative meta-analysis in the social sciences. The result of the analysis indicates that construction of gender is a matter of what is at stake in the music classroom – music or education.

Key words: music education, gender, meta-analysis, discourse

Introduction

This article aims at exploring gender in music education, using a qualitative metaanalysis for reinterpretation of three music classroom studies, conducted by us between 2009 and 2013. A second objective is to explore meta-analysis as a method for reflecting specifically on data within music education research. Using meta-analysis in order to synthesize qualitative findings might provide a broader perspective than the individual studies afforded, and can be conducive to further discussion on specific research issues. Within the Nordic music education research field, meta-analysis is insufficiently developed. Only a few meta-analyses have been conducted. One example is Olsson's (2008) discussion on theories used in doctoral studies between 1995 and 2005. Another is Folkestad's (2006) meta-analysis of studies dealing with the concepts of formal and informal learning. A survey conducted in Norway by Dyndahl, Karlsen, Graabræk Nielsen and Skårberg (2016) is a more recent example. By using the entire corpus of master's and doctoral theses, written within the field of music and produced 1912 to 2012 in Norway, the academisation of popular music in higher music education was explored. The studies mentioned above contributed to several important conclusions and further research issues. However, we see a potential in developing and discussing the method of meta-analysis more specifically.

Our research interest, in this meta-analysis of studies focusing on the music classroom, is students' adaption to discourse in relation to gender. Music education focusing the significance of school discourses in relation to gender is, as far as we have identified, not yet problematized. Though a large body of research is conducted focusing gender representation in the music classroom, such as gendered choices of instruments and musical activities (Abeles, 2009), research on gender in music education that deepens our understanding of gender norms in conjunction with the specific music classroom appears to be less explored (Green, 1997; Abramo, 2011; Armstrong, 2011; Wych, 2012; Onsrud, 2013). In a study set in an Anglo-Saxon secondary school context, Green (1997) shows that the music teachers' notions of gender governed their expectations of pupil performance, qualities, interests and goals, and that the students were restricted by gender norms when playing. Abramo (2011) finds that high school students used gendered rehearsal strategies when playing pop/rock ensemble. Armstrong (2011), whose informants were aged 15-18, focuses on music technology in the music classroom, and her result shows a subordination of the girls. In addition to the Anglo-Saxon research referred to, we have identified five studies, all conducted recently in Scandinavia, that deepen questions of gender norms in music education: Onsrud (2013) and Kuoppamäki (2015), conducted in Norway

and Finland respectively, and Björck (2011), Borgström Källén (2014) and Kvarnhall (2015), conducted in Sweden.

We stress that the lack of studies exploring the significance of *school discourses* in relation to gender in the music classroom is a shortcoming, as a greater understanding of the dynamic processes that govern students' construction of gender in the music classroom can challenge and rethink how issues of gender are understood in music education, and thereby counteract gender-marked restrictions when learning music. Based on three larger research projects, this paper aims at *exploring how gender is constructed in relation to music classroom school discourses by using a qualitative meta-analytic approach*. Our research questions are: How is gender performed in school music classrooms? How can meta-analysis be used in re-interpreting three completed research studies in music education?

Theoretical Framework

School music practices are here understood as *discursive practices*. As defined by Foucault, (1969/2002), this refers to a practice in which a particular pattern of action arises in accordance with the rules prescribed by the discourse. From a post-structuralist approach, discourse is understood as a social practice in which object and subject have historically been shaped and reshaped in interaction and action by means of specific power strategies. Educational, political and scientific discourses of music education and music teaching play central roles in shaping a discursive practice in the music classroom. Other aspects, such as social status, cultural background along with the sex and age of the teacher and the students involved are also examples of important discursive factors in the determination of who is given the mandate to claim place and create space within a specific school classroom. Moreover, the physical music classroom can be regarded as discursively constituted (Ericsson & Lindgren, 2011). A specific discursive practice, such as a music classroom, consists of and is shaped by a complex net of micro and macro discourses (Ericsson & Lindgren, 2011).

For analysing the discursive practice in the music classroom from a gender theoretical point of departure we will use Butler (1990/2006; 1993) and Connell (2000, 2005, 2009). According to them, gender is socially constructed, socially embodied and performative. The points of departure are therefore, firstly, that gender has a unique position among social constructions since it is addressed to our bodies and plays on

reproductive differences (Connell, 2000) and, secondly, that gender is understood as performative, i.e. as a "repeated stylization of the body" (Butler, 1990/2006: 45) that congeals over time and produces the appearance of a natural sort of being. A distinction between construction and performance is made throughout the text. Construction is used as an overall theoretical concept and performance is used when analysing how gender constructions are highlighted (Butler, 1990/2006, 1993), i.e. how gender is expressed or articulated in a specific musical situation. Performativity and performance are not to be read as synonyms. While performativity is used to make clear the ontological understanding of gender as fluid, as a repetition, a ritual and as non-binary, performance is deployed to describe how gender constructions are expressed or articulated in a particular situation.

In our analysis the concept *the heterosexual matrix* (Butler, 1990/2006) is applied to understand how gender is always related to a heteronormative framework, i.e. when heterosexuality is taken for granted as "the normal" whereas, for example, homosexuality is constructed as "the other". The matrix regulates which bodies, genders and desires that are assigned to be culturally intelligible and naturalized. According to Butler (ibid) the heterosexual matrix is compulsory; one is forced to adjust to heteronormative frames since not complying comes at a cost of not being intelligible and thereby risking exclusion among peers. As a consequence of this concept, *normative femininity* and *masculinity* respectively are utilized to discuss how the heterosexual norm, in the society in question, for "man/boy" and "woman/girl" is constructed in the music classroom. Here it is important to keep in mind that when a student, in the empirical data or in the result, is labelled boy/man or girl/woman it does not say that gender is regarded as binary, it only shows how the students labelled themselves and their peers as boys/men *or* girls/women.

Furthermore, three interlocking gender dimensions; *production relations, power relations* and *symbolic relations* (Connell, 2009: 76) are used to facilitate analysis and understanding of variations within and between local gender practices. Production relations are employed to interpret all musical tasks that bring about a need for a division of labour. Power relations are applied to analyse hierarchical patterns, and symbolic relations are brought in to problematize factors such as musical instruments, gestures and spoken and written language. Another concept is *social embodiment* (Connell, 2009: 66), essential for the understanding of how gender is bodily displayed in musical action.

Methodology and design

Meta-analysis

In order to obtain our objectives of the study, we applied a meta-analytic strategy inspired by McCormick, Rodney and Varcoe (2003) when approaching the empirical data underlying the analysis of the three studies. Their approach to meta-analysis is not directed at providing a more accurate or truthful account by virtue of having more data. Rather, the objective is to reflect on the data in new ways by another reading, demonstrating both convergences and differences across the studies. Meta-analysis of qualitative studies within educational research is still not as common as in other disciplines, e.g. qualitative health research. Inspired by research where meta-analysis is more developed, our aim was to use the broader scope offered by several studies, to re-examine critical aspects, common to all studies included, by another reading of data. This proved to be a way of finding new perspectives on the issue selected.

However, according to McCormick et al. (2003), some problematic aspects are posed by the meta-analysis of individual qualitative studies. Meta-analytical techniques are relatively new and poorly developed within the qualitative field and there are methodological questions raised, such as how to approach meta-synthesis of studies with different methodological backgrounds, as well as differences due to the theoretical framework. In our meta-analysis, however, the three qualitative studies used derive from the same methodological as well as ontological and epistemological tradition: social constructionism (Burr, 2003). This common point of departure, joining the three studies involved, does not mean that we aspire to provide greater "truth", rather, we make use of the opportunity to reflect on the data of three self-conducted studies in new ways and from a slightly new angle (ibid, p. 936).

The meta-analysis model used is developed by McCormick et al. (2003: 938–940) and includes several steps that we have followed to a great extent. (1) we decided on our question for the qualitative meta-analysis: How is gender constructed in school music classrooms?; (2) we identified relevant interpretations of our own work, compared them and discussed how the identified interpretations could be analysed in order to achieve a richer interpretation; (3) we raised a central question by returning to the original data to verify, contradict, extend or enrich interpretations: What is at stake when gender is constructed in the music classroom?; (4) we synthesized the translations, i.e. compared them with each other in order to determine if some metaphors/concepts were able to encompass those with other accounts; (5) we expressed our

synthesis in a model followed by text. In this final step, we created a new interpretation, which goes beyond the original interpretations in the three studies, and describes the cultural phenomena of gender in relation to the music classroom in a broader perspective.

The three qualitative studies

The three studies chosen for this article generated empirical data from music education within three Swedish school forms; the lower secondary, the upper secondary and the university.

Study 1

The Swedish National Agency for Education is responsible for reviewing the quality of education in Sweden. Evaluations are made on a regular basis as a part of the agency's quality mission. During the year 2013, music as a subject in the Swedish compulsory school (lower secondary) was evaluated. The report (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2015) consists of two parts, one quantitative and one qualitative, and the latter provided empirical data for this meta-analysis. The aim of the qualitative part of the evaluation was to deepen the results of the questionnaire sent out to the students. One of the central topics to be followed up was the gender issue, since the questionnaire showed that the students' final music grades co-varied with sex, in favour of the girls.

The empirical data of the qualitative study comprises a total of 30 video-recorded classroom observations, 10 audio-recorded interviews with teachers and 10 audio-recorded focus group interviews with students in grade 9, produced in the autumn of 2013. Ten classes at ten different schools were selected, based on a variety of parameters such as size of school, geographic location, the students' socio-economic and ethnic background as well as the profile and governing of the school. One of the classes specialised in music and offered extended music education.

The results show that in nine out of ten school classes involved in the study, no gender-marked performance specific for musical actions was found. Although gendered division of labour and power and symbolic relations (Connell, 2009) were constructed in these compulsory music education classes, gender was not performed *specifically* in relation to music. Despite the fact that the focus was on playing music within the pop and rock genres, i.e. genres that research has highlighted as emphasizing normative

masculinity (Whiteley, 1997; Leonard, 2007; Björck, 2011). The fact that no clear gender-coded positions were visible in the music classroom in nine of the schools, regardless of the focus on pop and rock music, seems to be related to the general low level of musicianship and knowledge in music in compulsory school. The students did not master the instruments, or showed disinterest, a fact that appeared to neutralize gendered division of labour, gender-marked power relations and gendered symbolic relations such as gender-coded instruments. In the tenth school, however, normative gender performance was constructed in relation to music. This school offered voluntary music education in musically profiled classes, i.e. additional music lessons on the everyday schedule that were open to students who passed the musical entrance tests. The musical focus for this specific school is choral singing. In the observed classroom, the focus was on singing to enrich knowledge in music, rather than on singing as being merely a school task. Most of the students also had music as a favourite pastime activity. The focus on vocal activities in relation to music was highlighted in the classroom design, since the only furnishing in the classroom consisted of chairs placed in a choir setting. Hence, the room lacked desks and musical instruments, except for one digital piano at the front. In this music classroom, construction of gender in relation to music was performed through the act of singing, and since almost 90 per cent of the students were girls, gender performance through singing was governed by how normative femininity is constructed in the girls' every-day life. The underrepresentation of boys could be regarded as an example of the well-known "missing males problem" (Freer, 2010) in choirs, i.e. boys avoid choirs since their peers construct singing in this context as a feminine activity. A condition that constructs girls' bodies, performed according to the heterosexual matrix in the students every-day life, as the norm for how to become a successful singer in a choir (Green, 1997).

Study 2

Adolescents in Sweden who have a special interest in music have the opportunity to choose what is known as Aesthetic programmes when applying to upper secondary schools. These students, who are obliged to pass entrance exams in music, thus make an active choice in favour of music as their major subject. Pre-conditions to keep in mind when focusing on this particular group of students, conditions that differ from music education in compulsory schools (study 1), are that the students in the Aesthetic programme choose to specialise in a specific instrument and that they practice this instrument in school for three years. This means that they are not only identified as music students by themselves and by teachers and peers, they are also identified with their choice of instrument, for example as guitarists, bass players or singers.

In analyzing the school context described above, data from Borgström Källén (2014) is used. The study investigates the interplay between gender and genre practice based on empirical findings in eight ensemble groups. The study adopted an ethnographic approach (Hammersley, 2006; Walford, 2009), and it produced data from 71 students, aged 16 to 19, during a period of one year. The groups selected represented two pop/rock ensembles, two composition groups, one jazz ensemble, one early music ensemble and two vocal ensembles singing in a variety of genres but in the western classical tradition. Classes, rehearsals, concerts and breaks were documented continuously through fieldnotes from participant observations, group interviews and written documents, such as course syllabi and music scores, that provided a background to the participants' context.

The study shows that construction of gender is highlighted in almost every situation where the students make music together. It points out that the opportunities the students are offered choosing instruments and repertoire contribute to a gendermarked restricted acting space, since their choices are gendered. For example: Almost all the girls were singers. None of the girls played the drums and no boy played the keyboard. In the vocal ensembles, in total 26 students, only two boys participated and in the pop/rock ensemble groups, none of the boys were singing. A majority of the bass players and guitarists were boys. Findings also show that gender is performed and emphasized in different ways depending on genre. In pop/rock, in the composing groups and in vocal ensemble groups, division of labour and power and symbolic relations are clearly gender-marked, while gendered performance is less articulated and expressed in the early music and in the jazz ensembles. Further, results suggest that the vocal and the popular genre discourses work as a binary opposition, as they maintain a heteronormative dichotomy (Butler, 1990/2006), and since a hierarchical relation is constructed subordinating the vocal discourse. This subordinated position is understood in relation to the large number of girls in the vocal groups, but also as a consequence of the exposure the popular genre discourse has in the everyday life of the students (Lindgren & Ericsson, 2010). Finally, the findings suggest that concerts tend to reinforce students' heteronormative gender constructions in musical action, since the division of labour and the power relations are governed by gender-marked professional musician discourses.

Study 3

The data in focus in study 3 (Borgström Källén, 2012) was produced 2010 to 2011 in the Bachelor programmes for World/Folk- and Improvisational music where, at the

time of the study, around 75 percent of the students were men (Olofsson, 2012). Due to demanding entrance exams and a limited number of positions (approximately 15 out of 300 applicants are accepted annually), almost all of the students who are finally accepted have studied music several years in preparatory settings.

The objective of this study was to problematize aspects of gender, such as heteronormative discourses and the underrepresentation of women, aiming to increase understanding of how norms of gender in interplay with musical action contribute and/or restrict scope of action for the students in the above-mentioned programmes.

Methodologically, the study was based on participants' observations (Hammersley, 2006), and some 40 students wrote fieldnotes anonymously after every ensemble lesson they attended during a period of 6 months. The students were asked, when observing their own ensemble, to focus on what happened in class and how they responded/reacted. They were not asked specifically to look for aspects they related to gender, although they were fully aware of the purpose of the study. After every five weeks, the fieldnotes were analyzed and thematized from a gender perspective (Butler, 1990; Connell, 2000), and followed up by discussions in focus groups.

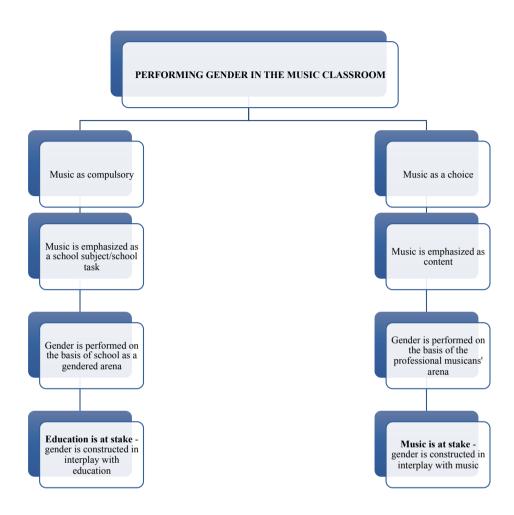
Not surprisingly, bearing previous research in mind (Annfelt, 2003; McKeage, 2004; Caudwell, 2010, Johansson, 2013), the result shows gendered representations of the instruments. That is, women are underrepresented in every instrument except the voice and the violin. The singers, all but one positioned as females, described a power relation between singers and instrumentalists, where the singers were positioned as subordinated. Gendered patterns were also shown when the students talked about gender in relation to their education. A majority of the female students expressed feelings of discomfort when raising gender-related issues, especially if it concerned equality in the ensemble room. They feared that the issue would mark them as difficult to cooperate with, and they were concerned it would be disadvantageous for a career as a musician. Male students asked for a less-restricted construction of male musician in the ensemble room, and they questioned what they described as a "blokes atmosphere", i.e. a men's club constructing a homosocial atmosphere that implicitly excludes everyone but heterosexual men (Bird, 1996; Connell, 2000). Furthermore, female students described division of labour as gendered during the ensemble lessons, while male students did not. The gendered divide was described as the male students being allowed to focus on playing and discussing matters directly connected to music, whereas female students, especially singers, were expected to assume responsibility for tasks such as taking notes for the next rehearsal and caring for social and

emotional relations in the group. Finally, the result shows that students expressed norms of quality by gendering concepts used in every day practice. For example; the concept *personal expression* was directly associated with the body if the student was a woman, but not if the student was a man. Female instrumentalists described that they felt expectations of performing a feminine expression and they feared being constructed as having a unique voice based on their supposed femininity.

Music or education at stake - two discursive practices

Our meta-analysis shows that construction of gender in music classrooms is a matter of *what is at stake* for the students – *music as a choice* or *music as compulsory education*. This is not to be understood as if the construction of gender either is present or absent in the music classroom, rather as if we assume that gender is always present but constructed from different points of departure depending on whether the musical learning is performed in a voluntary setting or in a compulsory. The empirical data shows that the discursive practices are shaped by ideas which are taken for granted in the two settings represented. Ideas with regard to music, musicians, school, learning and teaching music, classroom design and allocated time for music in the schools constitute the practice. If the discursive practice is constructed as music-centred, music is at stake for both teachers and students, and positioning oneself as a musician becomes natural. However, if the discursive practice is education-centred, education is at stake, and positioning oneself as a teacher or as a student is taken for granted.

With the empirical data as a point of departure we stress that music has to be at stake for the students if gender is going to be performed explicitly *in* music. In order to highlight and deepen our findings from the meta-analysis we will use the figure below.



Starting out with the right column in the figure, where music is at stake when performing gender, the discursive practice is related to musical learning as an active *choice* and as *emphasizing a specific content* with *the professional arena* as a role model. The two exemplified excerpts below, a music profile classroom in secondary school where 90 percent of the students are girls (study 1) and a music profile classroom in upper secondary school where two students talk about gender restrictions when singing (study 2), illustrates how gender is performed in musical learning in settings where students have made an active choice in favour of a specific content. A content that is essential for the students.

One of the schools is offering voluntary music classes, possible to participate in after being approved in the musical entrance tests. The focus is on choral singing and the musical level is rather high since only the already musically skilled students pass the tests. The classroom of the music classes does not have any instruments at all, except one digital piano in the front. No desks, only chairs, placed in choir setting. Almost 90 percent of the students in these classes are girls. (Ericsson & Lindgren, 2015)

Erik: "Apparently a girl is supposed to sing in a special manner. A boy is allowed to scream and shout as much as he likes, but a girl is supposed to sing nice and ornamenting. It is rare that you can hear a girl who sings rough. That's too bad. It's also rare to hear boys use a lot of ornamentation. Then you can get the picture that he likes other boys. That makes you afraid of trying."

Hanna: "But girls are not, or at any rate it seems to me, that boys are judged more just as Erik said. If the boys do a lot of ornamentation or sing too sweetly, and if they sing in a cute (nice) manner, then they will be regarded as homosexuals. Girls who play the drums or the guitar are not judged in the same way." (Borgström Källén, 2014)

The excerpts show how a specific musical content, vocal training in a choir or singing in a rock group, is gendering the classroom in musical action through representation, division of labour and power relations (Connell, 2000). In the first excerpt, where choral singing is in focus, the classroom is designed for group singing and all of the students like to sing. Boys as a group are under-represented (10 percent), a gender pattern that is well known in music education, since research shows that it is rare that boys choose a musical content focusing on choir (Freer, 2010; Borgström Källén, 2014). The latter excerpt shows how singing in a rock group is connected to both divisions of labour and to power relations regulated by the heterosexual matrix (Butler, 1990/2006; Connell, 2000). Here, students describe gendered restrictions with regard to how voices are allowed to sound if students want to adopt to discourse and if they want to be intelligible within a heteronormative framework as either boy or girl and as either hetero- or homosexual (Butler, 1990/1999/2006). Since the discursive practice in these two settings are emphasizing the content choir and the content singing pop and rock, activities that research have shown to be gender marked (Green, 1997, Björck, 2011; Borgström Källén, 2014), the student's choices of musical actions become gendered. Being a boy who sings in a choir or is interpreting a pop-song in a "cute" or "ornamented" manner, or being a girl who is claiming space as a singer who sings in a rough manner, comes with a risk of not being intelligible

among peers, since these behaviours is jeopardizing normative gender performance according to the discursive practice.

When music is a choice of the students, music education is connected to an explicit interest in learning how to play and perform a specific content; an interest combined with practicing a particular instrument and a specific genre and with the development of musical skills. In these practices, where students are specializing their skills in music through focusing specific contents (visible in all three studies), they are performing gender during class mainly with the *professional musicians' arena* as a point of departure. The next excerpt, produced in study 3, shows how students in the Bachelor programme of World/Folk and Improvisation music adapt to genre norms from the professional arena which at the same time relates them to construction of gender according to the heterosexual matrix (Butler, 1990/2006).

Female students also describe how they inadvertently embraced a strategy based on adapting to what they perceive to be taken-for-granted genre norms. A strategy described as necessary since it made it possible for them to successfully pass the entrance exams and since it also helped them to adopt the genre norms at the school. When I ask them to describe these genre norms, they all talk of an unspoken, genre-coded community between male teachers and male students. A woman expresses it like: "Maybe it's a bloke's atmosphere that restricts women, making them avoid certain things" Another female student writes: "Sometimes I try to imagine what it would be like if women were in the majority." They also express a sense of being regarded as exclusive alibis, representatives for gender equality.

To a greater extent than male students, women show anxiety when playing their instrument in front of peers and teachers. They argue that the reason for this concern is the position as an under-represented group. In this position, they say, you cannot afford to make mistakes when playing. A female student writes: "Women feel more pressure to do well. To say that you do not want to play the solo is a defence mechanism, a coping strategy." A male student writes: "As a guy, you just play, no matter how it is received". Another male student puts it like this: "Typically, there is only one woman in the group, and she is so afraid of making mistakes. That never happens to me. I feel safe in the group even if I miss half of the notes when playing. I do not need to prove myself skilled. Strange, because I do not feel that it differs in skills between us"

Here, the music classroom is mainly constructed as an arena for performing musicianship, preparing students for a life as a professional musician. Students' ambition to fulfil a school task just to get a good grade is not a priority. Instead, all that matters to the students is that their musical skills and their artistry adopt to the genre norms and to "real musicianship", no matter what the curriculum says. Adapting to genre norms for performing a professional musician therefore becomes crucial, and it is a dilemma for the students when the genre norm contradicts socially embodied constructions of gender.

The three excerpts above, exemplifying the right column, leads us to the conclusion that when *music* is at stake for the students, gender is constructed for the most part in interplay with music. That is, if musical content in itself is essential for the students and if joining the professional musicians' arena is the goal for their studies, then gender is performed mainly in interplay with music and to a less extent in relation to education in schools in general (Connell, 2000; Skelton, Francis & Smulyan, 2006).

On the other hand, as in the left column in the figure, if the discursive practice is related to music as *compulsory*, *music as a school task* is central in the discursive practice. When music is a subject in the compulsory education, only a few students have a special interest in music and only a few of them are skilled in music. We stress that gender in these kind of settings, more often than not, is constructed from a non-musical point of departure, such as how gender is constructed in school as a gendered arena in general (Skelton, Francis & Smulyan, 2006) and as how it is performed in different sport settings (Connell, 2000) or in other non-music pastime activities. In the left column (nine classrooms from study 1) it is not possible to observe gender performance related to musical ability, in spite of the rock musical framing. However, the activities in the classroom invite other types of gender constructions, related to the school task. It is mainly the boys who take leadership in group projects by assuming the power over what is allowed to take place in the room. In various ways, they prevent attempts to create music, for example by showing a lack of interest. The majority of the girls adopt a more distanced wait-and-see attitude or make more or less unsuccessful attempts to take on the responsibility for the group task.

Below, we will exemplify our findings from the left column with three excerpts from study 1 (Ericsson & Lindgren, 2015). The excerpts illustrate how students deal with a musical task initiated by the teacher when music as content is not at stake. In the first excerpt, four girls are meant to improve their skills on the guitar. Their intention

is to do the task as told, though not explicitly for the musical content, their goal is to achieve the top grade, an A:

Four girls are placed in a room with two electric guitars, one electric bass and two acoustic guitars. They are practicing for the lesson next week, when they are going to sing and accompany one song of their own choice in front of the teacher. "Could you please help us," one of the girls asks me. "We don't know how to sing this chorus? And we don't know the chords in the verse." "I really want to have an A," says another. "Yes, so do I," says the third.

In the next excerpt, masculinity is constructed in relation to the school task as well, though by neglecting it. Music is not at stake at all; instead the computer game becomes a way of performing gender (Armstrong, 2011). The fact that not all of the boys got the chance to grab a guitar or a music room for practicing does not seem to bother them at all:

One group in this class consist of five boys. They are told by the teacher to practice harmonies on acoustic guitar and that they have to find some room to practice somewhere else in the school since all the rooms are occupied. Two of the boys end up in the stairwell, one with a computer on his lap and the other with a guitar on his lap, focusing on a game on the computer. I ask them why not both of them had a guitar? "There weren't any guitars left for me," one of them said with a laugh, without taking his eyes off the computer. "Stop, don't shoot," said the other one with a big laugh.

Finally, the last excerpt, by which we exemplify the left column, where gender is constructed in relation to the school task rather than to music, illustrates how the girls distance themselves from how the boys are performing the school task. The fact that all the girls choose keyboard instead of electric guitar or drums, might at first sight be interpreted as girls choosing a feminine-coded music instrument. However, which becomes clear in one of the girls' statements at the end of the excerpt, the choice had nothing to do with music. Rather, by distancing themselves from the noisy behaviour of the boys, the girls constructed themselves as in need of silence and calm; or in other words as in need of a room of their own (Björck, 2011).

As usual, the students are encouraged to choose instruments to play. In this class, very few of the students played any musical instrument in their spare time and no one seemed to have any instrumental preferences. The boys are

laughing and screaming: They scuffle with each other and stroll around in the classroom. They pick up one instrument, leave it and pick up another one. All the girls, however, immediately leave the room to play keyboard in the room next door. During the interview, I asked them why they all liked playing the keyboard: "No, it's not that we're so into playing keyboard, but since the keyboards are located in a separate room, we can escape the noise of the boys and practice in peace and quiet with headphones."

The three excerpts above illustrate how *education* rather than *music is at stake* and therefore in interplay with gender construction (Skelton, Francis & Smulyan, 2006).

In all three studies, gender construction is governed, in one way or another, by the heterosexual matrix, i.e. the matrix works as a gatekeeper for a heteronormative way of living in the classrooms observed, since the students are always interacting with the surrounding society (Butler, 1990/2006). But *how* it works differs in the classrooms depending on the discursive practice. On one hand, in groups where music is at stake, that is to say where music is crucial for the students' identity, the music classroom becomes an arena for gendered power relations and division of labour, and gendered constrictions are performed when students play together. On the other hand, in groups where music is regarded as just another school subject, gender performance is not directly connected to music.

In other words, normative masculinity and femininity according to the heterosexual matrix are constructed in every-day life regardless of context, since the regulation of gender is socially embodied and always present, but gendered performances differ due to context and they are in a constant flux. The matrix illustrates how gender is constructed in the form of tension between bodies, keeping binary oppositions such as she *or* he and hetero- *or* homosexual at a distance from each other. Though construction of gender differs according to time and place, Butler stresses that the binary understanding of gender seems to be stable and firm regardless of context. Adapting to gendered discourses in schools cannot therefore be understood as a free choice (Connell, 2000). Adoption is rather a matter of being intelligible and thereby included in the peer group and it is a coping strategy to avoid becoming a student who blurs the binary categories of she *or* he and hetero- *or* homosexual (Butler, 1990/2006).

Conclusion

Given the twofold aim of this article, our results should be seen as a contribution both to a larger discussion about the benefit of meta-analyses within the field of music education research, and to the specific research area of gender and music education. Regarding the former, we argue that the use of meta-analysis has provided a broader perspective than the three original studies separately. The method has enabled us to achieve a higher degree of abstraction, which in turn provided a deeper understanding of the question of gender in Swedish music classrooms. Our access to the raw data from the primary research made it possible to illustrate our interpretations. This data would not have been available had we not been the original researchers. However, we do not claim to be presenting the definitive way of conducting meta-analysis in music education research. The method has to be developed and its advantages and limitations require further discussion. Regarding the latter aim, an important conclusion of this meta-analysis is that construction of gender always takes place in a music classroom as part of a social process. Guiding *how* gender is constructed in the music classroom, however, is the students' adaption to discourse.

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Crossing affordances: Hybrid music as a tool in intercultural music practices

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ABSTRACT

Crossing affordances: Hybrid music as a tool in intercultural music practices

The article discusses aspects of intercultural musicking and how to analyse hybrid music as a tool in such practices. It investigates joint musicking as a field of negotiation, the result being more and less beneficial to the participants. The article thus suggests a way to analyse discourse in music as much as about music. Musical engagements are addressed in terms of affordance. By applying Simondon's concept of the technical object, musical affordance is explored as played and made according to certain functions or playing rules, struggling to achieve a certain technicity, or way of functioning. The music realised may block or maintain various affordance logics. This perspective makes hybrid music a matter of point of view, as a relation of relations, implying different affordances at stake for different people. According to Simondon, a technical object is at the same time an aesthetical object, leaving it open to the discovery of new functions and playing rules not intended in the making. This suggests two different dimensions to music as a tool in intercultural practices: the fact that practices are maintained or interrupted and the fact that something new may happen. The article is based on an on-going research project and contains data material from an ethnographic fieldwork carried out within the group Fargespill (Kaleidoscope). Further results will be published in a forthcoming dissertation.

Keywords: intercultural musicking, hybrid music, affordance, technicity, Fargespill

When I first heard the combination of [name of song] and that one.. (sings), I felt the combination was a bit um.. ... But then it turned out to be cool with the dance of [other actor] and ... when we saw it in total, and then just «oh, but this is in fact quite cool», and you hear feedback from people, «oh, [actor], you know what, this was totally s-,» then I think it wasn't that bad after all, it was only me being in that little square box of mine.

(Interview with Fargespill actor 03.02.15)

Introduction

To research an intercultural music practice involves considering a meeting of diverse music, people, practices and identities. Burnard et al. (2016: 1-2) states that though there is no established agreement on how the concept 'intercultural art' should be defined or enacted.

[t]he term 'intercultural' acknowledges the complexity of locations, identities and modes of expression in a global world, and the desire to raise awareness, foster intercultural dialogue and facilitate understanding across and between cultures.

In such practices, music material is exchanged between participants and often strategically combined into hybrid forms, investing in it a belief that the music affords communication and sharing. This is a fundamental idea within the collaborative performance group Fargespill (Kaleidoscope):

[The] shows consist of songs and dances that participants have brought with them from their various countries of origin. These cultural treasures are combined with elements of our own Norwegian folk heritage. The result is a meeting between different historical and cultural threads that merge in an expression of our common future (Hamre, 2012: 12).

If music, and preferably hybrid music, is regarded as the key to success in this respect, it is of particular interest to put it under scrutiny to see how it works. The present discussion takes as its point of departure an on-going ethnographic project in which

I explore how participants in Fargespill engage with music in various ways and how these engagements may cross and work upon each other, for instance amplify or block each other. In this article I will arrive at a notion of hybridity in which it is not sufficient to speak about pieces of music as merged material in and for itself; it is also necessary to consider how the music works, not in general, but for the different people involved. As I will show, this implies exploring the *logics* according to which the participants engage with the music, and according to which the music is combined. Such a notion of the hybrid allows multifaceted exploration of musical affordances considering simultaneous and different layers of exclusion and inclusion and possibilities for experiencing music in old and new ways. This way hybridity entails both critical and aesthetic perspectives.

My theoretical and analytical framework is inspired by Tia DeNora's (2000, 2003, 2013) ethnographic work including her notions of *affordance* and *musical event*. By engaging a kind of discourse analysis allowed by some of Gilbert Simondon's (1958/1980, 1958/1992, 1958/2011) perspectives, I pick up her call to situate the musical experiences in question properly and to rethink the dichotomy of music on the one hand and the subject or society on the other. Simondon's perspectives afford an understanding that music and the people engaging with it are simultaneously constituted according to what I prefer to call logics¹, or one could say playing rules. By considering music as a *technical object* created to fulfil certain functions, or in other words reach a certain *technicity*, I attempt to research music *as* discourse as well as *in* discourse. The hybrid music may thus serve as a kind of emerging knot suitable for the analysis of music, subjects and society connected. The way Simondon (1958/1980: 1) sees it, «culture must come to terms with technical entities as part of its body of knowledge and values». The hybrid music becomes a pivot in a microsociological discourse analysis.

Starting with a brief introduction to Fargespill as my field of research and presenting some recently published work by other scholars, I continue to discuss affordance in light of technicity and how this may suggest a specific take on hybridity. I arrive at some aspects considering the faith in music as a tool² for intercultural equity practices.

¹ By using the term logics I intend to keep open a notion of musical sense that is not exclusively associated with musical meaning in the way for instance logics of signification, interpretation or representation are. Logics may indicate any function or use, as I will show referring to Simondon, or affordance, as I will show referring to DeNora. The term also hints at Bourdieu's (1980/1990) perspectives on habitual logics of practice.

² For the purpose of this article I mainly use the word «tool» in a vernacular way to indicate that music is seen as a remedy or device intended to accomplish something, though Simondon frequently uses tool as

Through and through I will attempt to answer the following question: *How may a notion* of the hybrid read with the philosophy of Simondon allow for multifaceted readings of affordances and power structures in intercultural music events?

Fargespill – an intercultural³ collaborative music practice

Fargespill (Kaleidoscope) is an ensemble of young people from all over the world now living in Norway.⁴ Some of them are newly arrived refugees, others are Norwegian born with Norwegian born parents or parents born outside Norway. The group aims to make spectacular performances presenting music and dance brought to the group by the participants. The adventure started in Bergen in 2004 and has turned into an enterprise with several local departments in Norway and some in Sweden. They are about to reach a sort of «best practice» status within Norwegian inclusion and equity policy and they are bestowed with prizes. Western Norway University of Applied Sciences and Fargespill has developed a teacher educational course based on what they call the Fargespill method (Western Norway University of Applied Sciences, n.d.). When Fargespill was part of the official program for the 200th anniversary of the Norwegian Constitution, the show was described as «a great polyphonic mantra of togetherness» (The Norwegian National Opera & Ballet, 2014). Over and over again they move their audience, myself included, to tears.

The performances are facilitated by a group of leaders and administrators running and promoting the foundation. The leaders encourage the participants to bring their own music and dance material, often referred to as «the treasure hunt». They are also in charge of the rehearsals, often in co-operation with the actor who knows or «owns» the song. The music and dance is arranged and choreographed, mostly

a term. For instance, he sees the artisan as a tool-bearer (Simondon 1958/1980). Read (2016: 104) writes that «[t]he tool is recognised as subordinate to the individual». A machine, on the other hand, «is a part of a technological system, a system that displaces the mastery of the individual, incorporating individuals and their tools as part of its general functioning». A Simondonian perspective of music as a tool may thus add the dimension that music, and the individuals engaging with it, may enter a constellation with a machine, which alienates the individual from the overview of the connection between the immediate task and the totality, thus «seeing the part without grasping the whole, or understanding the totality without grasping the parts» (Read, 2016: 105). To become aware of the technicity of the machine, to become aware of the implicit logics or playing rules governing it, is the way to overcome this alienation.

³ Fargespill does not frequently talk about the ensemble as 'intercultural', but the study that is based on their methods is labeled 'intercultural pedagogy' (Western Norway University of Applied Sciences, n.d.).

⁴ Fargespill literally means «play of colours». Kaleidoscope is their English branding name. Visit www. fargespill.no to se how they present themselves and their project.

combined into hybrid expressions. The material is preferably associated with ethnic and traditional music cultures, but the arrangements also feature jazz and popular music forms like hip-hop. The founders of Fargespill stress that what they do is an art project, not a social project, as they have discovered that «toning down the social motives has positive social consequences» (Hamre, 2012: 12). The insistence on the artistic aspect also aims at rejecting simplifying and «almost racist» (quote from interview with leader 03.02.15) tendencies to assume that all projects involving a culturally diverse group are social projects by definition. Nevertheless, the leaders do not underplay the social and empowering implications of the project, in which music and dance play a major part: «Kaleidoscope is about giving each other the best our cultures have to offer in the form of song and dance» (Hamre, 2012: 12). When the kids bring «musical gifts», there is potential for a successful meeting. Learning and singing the kids' songs «open some doors», «reaching out to them, meeting them halfway» (Bræin, 2012: 35). The powers assigned to music by the Fargespill staff are not limited to the value of music as a gift:

[Folk music] is the defining element. It's not possible to use Disney or Shakira. The material we use speaks to everyone because it has universal qualities. The kids immediately love each [others'] songs, no matter where in the world they come from (Bræin, 2012: 35).

Our experience is that *Kaleidoscope* represents an effective method of integration and that music, dance and song are the best arenas for an equal, constructive meeting between people of different backgrounds, experiences and cultures. We must facilitate these sorts of meetings if we are to reap the rewards that a diverse society has to offer (Hamre, 2012: 13).

These quotes may serve as examples of two common perceptions regarding music as a tool in intercultural music practices. The first is that music is some kind of universal language available to all people across cultures. The other, maybe leaning on the first, is that meeting through music, and maybe particularly hybrid music, brings people closer to each other. White (2012) has similarly pointed out these two conceptions as discursive patterns in the rhetorics of 'world music'. He states:

For fans of world music, cultural hybridity is valued not only because it combines desirable aspects of several identities (thus representing the possibility of having the "best of all worlds") but also because it is the protagonist of

an epic myth of the future: a world without racism, without hate, and with a multitude of colors living together in harmony and style (White, 2012: 195).

There seems to be is a good force in music; it seems like a bridge over troubled water. An important concern in my work is *how, if at all, do such powers work?*

Until recently, there has been little, if any, criticism of Fargespill. In a textual reading of Fargespill's performances, Solomon (2016: 188) draws attention to how the «Fargespill formula» becomes a staging of «a reassuring story white Norwegians tell themselves about multicultural Norway». As a general example of this formula of combining foreign and Norwegian elements, Solomon refers to a recording of a performance published on YouTube in 2009. He sketches the musical form and overall texture by listing the national origins of the music featured in the medley, the themes of the lyrics, the duration of the different parts, and a short characteristics of musical features such as «highly rhythmic arrangement» and «free-floating layer». He concludes that what appears to be, or is said to be, a musical dialogue, is in fact a monologue, because all difference is related to the Norwegian as the normal standard. In response to this, Kvifte (2016, my translation) writes that

integration is not about performances; it is about possibilities for practical, collaborative action. Thus, Fargespill is a success no matter how the performances appear – the success is implied in the collaboration between the participants during the process.

I would claim that both Solomon and Kvifte may be right. Their analyses coincide with some of my findings too. However, I also suspect that they may be occasionally wrong, as they both draw general assumptions. Solomon reads a general structure into a piece of music. His experience is no guaranty that this is how Fargespill participants, or the audience for that matter, experience the event, though he might belong to communities sharing similar experiences. On the other hand, that they are preoccupied with the process rather than the performance, as Kvifte states, is no guaranty that the structures do not work the way Solomon suggests. According to my findings, the audience's experiences and what happens on stage are very present in the musical negotiations. I will not accuse Kvifte of ignoring in general how music is shaped by people's conceptions, but in this case, the argument seems to be that power is just a matter of interpretation, and that a piece of music is a piece of music, regardless of different views. Both the critical perspectives of Solomon and Kviftes more open ended, processual approach may be fruitful, yet none of them will suffice. This is, the way I

see it, a question of assembling a method and a theoretical framework appropriate for a kind of microsociological analysis which I will now turn to.

Method

DeNora uses affordance as a pivot to conduct ethnographic studies that are careful not to generalise from a particular, maybe private semiotic analysis, to assure «a 'right' level of generality» (DeNora, 2003: 58). She therefore calls for case studies that are designed to

consider both questions [how society shapes music and how musical discourse shapes society] at once, melding them together as a theory of musical affordance and a practice of ethnographic investigation, historically informed, devoted to the study of how music's affordances are accessed and deployed (DeNora, 2003: 58).

As I read her, DeNora thus makes a crucial point: the mutual shaping of society and music is also a matter of possibilities through music. The question of what music makes possible is connected to what makes music possible. In my project I try to investigate how this two-way flow of possibilities works for the people involved. Through interviews and observations I explore different participants' relations to and comprehensions of what might be taken to be the same event, for instance engaging with a song, a dance, a musical detail or the Fargespill ensemble in general. My fieldwork in Fargespill was carried out over a period of seven months. I conducted 19 semi-structured interviews with a total of 17 participants, four of them leaders of the project and the others young dancers and musicians participating in the ensemble. For a total of around 60 hours I observed the participants on stage during concerts and off-stage and backstage during rehearsals and concerts. During the interviews I initiated conversations around their experiences of musical events, asking for instance what they appreciated or what they found difficult. Some times they showed me by singing or dancing and taught me how to do it, and I would follow them. This way I was able to generate different affordance logics which I thought might be at stake.

Affordance

The aforementioned descriptions by the Fargespill staff of what music may be good for can be articulated by the notion of affordance, describing a mutual relation between a living being and its environment. Gibson, from a point of view of perception psychology, states that «[t]he affordances of the environment are what it offers the animal, what it provides or furnishes, either for good or ill» (Gibson, 1979/2015: 119). DeNora (2000, 2003), introducing the concept to music-sociological studies, states that «to speak of 'what music makes possible' is to speak of what music 'affords'» (DeNora, 2003: 46). Here we can imagine examples like marching, remembering a friend, putting a baby to sleep or understanding each other across cultures. It is worth remarking that music can be bad for something as well, depending on values or actions in question. A crucial idea of affordances according to both Gibson and DeNora is that what the environment affords is equally dependent on the living beings who percept it, that is how their preconceptions and interests contribute to how it is perceived. This mutual formation demands a rethinking of the subject-object dichotomy. I suggest it is relevant to speak not just of what music affords but also simultaneously what affords music. As Chemero (2012: 18) states, we can tell something about observer and environment, but nothing about observer or environment separately. Music is marked by the persons who engage with it, and the personal engagements are marked by the music.

Taking a closer look at the musical experiences in Fargespill, they are not just a straightforward outcome, and they are certainly not straightforwardly universal. Two actors may relate to the same song quite differently. One actor describes one of the songs as a «touching and sad song»:

And when we sort of stand together and ... are giving our best and just sing it out ... I feel that, like ... (draws breath) ... that we are all in it together, in a way, in the pain, sort of. (Interview with actor, 03.02.15)

If I try to put this in terms of affordance, it might be something like *the music affords* a *feeling of companionship and compassion*. Another actor describes the same song as a «really atmospheric song»:

So you, you like totally forget that you are standing there ... singing with a bunch of people ... in Fargespill. You are sort of inside the song. (Interview with actor, 15.10.14)

In terms of affordance, it might be something like *the music affords to forget the others* and be one with the song. One might think they were conflicting experiences, yet clearly they are not in this example. One actor's 'giving it all together' might as well amplify another actor's 'being one with the song' and vice versa. It would not be correct to state that they have the same experience, though according to some logic it could be compatible, but they might very well have the experience that they experience the same.

DeNora (2003: 49) puts up a scheme for analysing what she calls a *Musical Event*, «a specific act of engagement with the music». The scheme features the importance of considering actor(s), music, and further conditions and environment, both material and discursive. I read the scheme as a kind of reminder of «how we might begin to situate music as it is mobilised in action and as it is associated with effects» (DeNora, 2003: 49.), in other words: affordances. So far, DeNora's take on affordances in a musical event works quite well for my purpose. It underscores how music affords something to the listeners according to how they experience it. However, I find it necessary to expand DeNora's model to account for different analyses connected to different subjects, as it is clear that these analyses do not coincide. Though these experiences exist side by side, maybe without anyone even noticing that that they differ, there are musical situations where the participants' conditions of experiences do not co-exist that peacefully. Rather than amplify each other, they block each other. This is an observation note from a dance rehearsal, where [Actor 1] is teaching the group a particular dance:

The dancers are practising to a recorded drum track. [Actor 1] plays the basic beat, a 3+3+2 clave, on a djembe, as the beat is not audible in the recording. [Actor 1] leaves the drum to rehearse with the others, but soon returns to it, counting *«one-*two-three, *one-*two-three, *one-*two» to direct the other dancers. [Actor 2] approaches [Actor 1] and offers to do the drumming. [Actor 2] starts off steadily with the basic pattern and after a while puts in a rhythmic fill. [Leader] turns towards [Actor 2] with a smile doing flamenco like moves. Soon [Actor 2] breaks into energetic elaborative fills, and the dancers lose it, stop and laugh. [Actor 1] approaches [Actor 1], smiles and says: *«*You can drum. It's OK. I'll drum with you.» [Actor 1] insists on the basic pattern and [Actor 2] is soon following. However, it doesn't take long before [Actor 2] breaks out of the pattern (Based on field note, 06.10.14).

The way I read it, the drummers play according to quite different logics. To [Actor 1], the basic pattern is *a steady compass for dancing*. To [Actor 2] it seems that it is *a*

point of departure for playful improvisations. The two ways of engaging with it, or the two affordances, seem incompatible in this event. Either it is impossible to dance or it is boring to play.

Technicity

Music as played, made and conceived of according to the logics of what it affords, is very similar to how Simondon (1958/1980) describes a technical object. Artefacts are made according to ways of functioning, and every refining or repairing of a technical object is performed in line with this. The musical material as a part of the environment is conditioning what is possible and may thus be conceived of as troublesome, counteracting the functioning of the object, or the object's technicity. By pointing to how objects occur in this way, Simondon re-establishes the link between an object and the environment in relation to which it is shaped.

[I]n trying to understand technicity it is not enough to start with constituted technical objects; objects emerge at a certain moment, but technicity precedes and surpasses them; technical objects result from an objectification of technicity; they are produced by it, yet technicity is not exhausted in these objects and is not entirely contained in them. (Simondon, 1958/2011: 410)

I find it rewarding to read such principles of function analogous to affordance. The logics to which people engage with music may be connected to a wider «outcome» like doing your homework, being famous, expressing yourself or mending society, but also to structural engagements with musical sounds and gestures. The actual act of drumming according to this or that logic may in turn have implications for who gets to play for an audience or who will have success, because the audience has certain affordance preferences or expects a certain technicity. Making music together may thus be understood as Foucault's notion of power caught in the very act, as «an action upon an action» (Foucault, 1982/2001: 340). DeNora (2000: 124) states that «aligned with and entrained by the physical patterns music profiles, bodies not only *feel* empowered, they may be empowered in the sense of gaining a capacity». Negotiations about how music should sound and be played, and further what is musical quality, happen according to some logics. How music sounds and how music is experienced are closely tied together. What we further make of it, whether the logics are assigned

to a cultural habitus, institutional framing, personal inclinations or other situational circumstances, should for the moment be unclear. Maybe it matters, maybe it doesn't. Thus, there is no structural hierarchy outside or overarching the microstructural crossroads. The structures are crystallised *in* them, abling and disabling according to affordance logics.

Hybridity according to affordance and technicity

Thus, when Fargespill is described as «a meeting between different historical and cultural threads that merge in an expression of our common future» (Hamre, 2012: 12), there is reason to consider the potential problematic in this, which engages a notion of the hybrid. What do such merging threads imply, and what do they look like «in real time»? If music is played and appropriated according to logics, it is not sufficient to have a typological take on the hybrid (see e.g. VanValkenburg, 2013), merely considering two pieces of music or musical genres in terms of the music «itself», combined into a new one. Nor is it sufficient to read the hybrid as an ambiguity of meaning and use of an object, due to different cultural takes on it (e.g. Bhabha, 1994/2004: 55), though this is certainly an important point. The technicity of an object also shapes what it affords. Hence, a musical hybrid may look different according to different affordance logics. One Fargespill actor says that «the atmosphere» of a certain song is «killed» when it is combined with a new beat, because the initial rhythm disappears: «It's like the spinal cord of the song, that rhythm» (Interview with actor, 03.02.15). Regardless of whether this is happening because the drummer is unaware of the spinal cord affordance, prefers other affordances or suspects that the audience would be ignorant of that affordance, the combination does not look like a hybrid to the actor because the music does not really afford the crucial affordance. However, that does not mean that any combination is fatal or that a combination is fatal in any way. The actor also explains how someone playing chords to the traditionally chordless music «creates a lovely atmosphere» (Interview with actor, 03.02.15). A musical hybrid in this sense may look a lot like a technical object the way Simondon describes it:

The technical object stands at the point where two environments come together, and it ought to be integrated into both these environments at the same time. Still, these two environments are two worlds that do not belong to the same system and are not necessarily completely compatible with each other. Hence, the technical object is delimited to a certain extent by human

choice which tries to establish the best compromise possible between these two worlds (Simondon, 1958/1980: 54).

Furthermore, this is also similar, as I read it, to an *event* according to Deleuze. An event in Deleuze's perspective (and he draws heavily on Simondon) is a *disjunctive synthesis* (Deleuze, 1969/1990: 174). It is a combination, an allowance, an affirmation, of two different singular events, or for that matter of two different affordance logics.

Such disjunction does not deny or exclude, it is strongly affirmative (it is prepared to conjoin incompatible predicates): it affirms difference, makes distance a positive characteristics, thus allowing the conjoining of the two series that remain apart by the circulating event. The disjunctive synthesis is the logical operation that is needed by a philosophy of absolute or 'asymmetrical' difference, not the traditional philosophy of identity and representation (Lecercle, 2010: 19).

Thus, a musical event is the ontologically prior unit, not musical substances. A «proper hybrid» in the sense that it works for the people involved, should aim to allow a synergy between the preferred affordances, so that they do not block or overrule each other. A song is not just a song, but a song experienced in a certain way by a certain individual. One actor puts it this way, answering what is a successful Fargespill performance:

In my view it is when you manage to mix two songs, that's like typical for Fargespill when you manage to.. (draws breath) em... like, find common features in two different kinds of song. ... And uh, maybe not mm, change the songs totally, keep the most important components of the music, ... the rhythm, maybe.. (draws breath) and uh, that the melody is kept. (Interview with actor, 03.02.15)

Creating music to bring forth a diverse history and a common future is thus no easy task, especially not when an important expectation is that music affords to represent people and cultures. That brings me to another fruitful aspect of Simondon's philosopy: his concern with the problem of *ontogenesis*, with how things become what they are.

According to Simondon (1958/1992), everything is always more or other than what is *individuated*, than what has momentarily come to be decided as an individual. Individuation is the emerging of an individual, either in terms of a subject or an object. The boundaries and meanings of individuals are perpetually challenged and

revised, because there is a *pre-individual* dimension to everything individuated, which is putting current individuations under pressure, leading to an endless row of individuations. For Simondon, individuals are created through individuation, not the other way around. In fact, no individual exists as essence prior to the individuation of it. Thus, when considering music, people and culture in Fargespill, and of course even Fargespill as an individuation, there is always potentially more or other to it. The technical object, or the hybrid music, is thus

not merely a thing designed by its maker to perform a determined function; rather, it is part of a system in which a multitude of forces are exercised and in which effects are produced that are independent of the design plan» (Simondon, 1958/1980: 31).

This infidelity is what makes the technical object also an aesthetical object, according to Simondon. The pre-individual dimension is an opening to different experiences. Thus, a technical object is not purely technical. An artefact made with the prospect of being an aesthetical object, like a piece of art, is not purely aesthetic either; it is at the same time a technical object, because it cannot be grasped except through a logic. «[I]t is the technicity of the artwork that prevents aesthetic reality from being confused with the function of universal reality» (Simondon in Barthélémy, 2013: 207). As I understand it, music may thus be universal only in the sense that there is a pre-individual dimension carrying an unlimited potential, which is not to be confused with a notion that everybody experiences the same as music, as humans. Ironically, the universal is what nobody has grasped. Music as grasped ceases to be universal. This adds an interesting reading to what Costall and Richards (2013) call canonical affordances. Canonical affordances are normative, encultured, habitual practices. However, «any object with a canonical affordance still also affords, in principle, limitless other uses and meanings» (Costall & Richards, 2013: 88). This way, musical experience and affordances are due to individual and social functions, and at the same time there is a chance, perhaps however small, for a crack in the crust of discourse by which to «escape» old structural habits and make new ones.

Revisiting the quote introducing this discussion, then, it might be read both as an interruption of affordances at stake and as a discovery of new ones: «it wasn't that bad after all, it was only me being in that little square box of mine». However, there is probably no obvious answer to whether the total result of this is inclusion or exclusion for the person in question. It might very well be both at the same time.

Conclusion

To conclude, I suggest that hybrid music may be seen as a knot of individuation, an event, in which it is possible to read how music, people, practices and identities are simultaneously moulded according to affordances, which in the perspectives of Simondon will be playing rules connected to a certain technicity, certain modes of functioning. Following this, musical equity practices such as Fargespill or other intercultural projects, should balance between strategies of practice maintenance and the fact that something new could happen. It is important to consider engagement with musical hybrids in terms of being both technical objects and aesthetical objects in order to address dimensions of power and what potentially escapes them. Musical practices may block or amplify each other and that hegemonic practices tend to overrule possibilities for minor music experiences. At the same time there is a responsibility to think musics, individuals, practices and cultures as potentially other than what is individuated at the moment. Several kinds of cross-fertilisations or synergies may occur at strange places and new modes may be discovered or invented.

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"I feel that too": Musical problem-solving and mediation through cultural tools in year-nine pop-ensemble practice

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the problems that learners and a teacher identify and grapple with in year-nine compulsory school band practice. Learning to play a song together potentially raises many problems. However, what these problems are and whether all participants, pupils and teacher, consider the same issue to be the problem to be solved are important to clarify in order to gain an understanding of the processes of teaching and learning in such practices. A sociocultural perspective is used to conceptualize and theorize observations made by video recording band-practice lessons. More specifically, the concepts of cultural tools, appropriation and semiotic mediation are employed in the analysis. The results show how the learners and the teacher mediate the activity differently, even somewhat paradoxically when using the same terms, and that they to large extent are uncoordinated, that is, they identify and grapple with different problems. Educational implications are discussed.

Key words: classroom, ensemble playing, semiotic mediation, sociocultural perspective, school, band rehearsal, problem solving

Introduction

Contemporary music education in Swedish secondary school is dominated by pop ensemble practice (Skolverket, 2015), or in Backman Bister's (2014) terminology "rehearsal-room practice". This informal model for organizing music education has been prevalent in Sweden since the 1970s (Folkestad, 2006; Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010) but has for some time been criticized. Ericsson, Lindgren and Nilsson (2010: 108) argue that:

The informal learning within the practice of garage rock bands, as the harmonious music collective, can be seen as a part of this music education ideology. In contrast to previous discourses the teacher is no longer a part of this collective. Instead the students are directed to manage the tasks by themselves. Ideas of earlier music education discourses about music creation through experiment, inspiration and intuition have been put together with today's somewhat contradictory discourses around self reflection, control and rules.

In this article, we will contribute to the understanding of what this kind of teaching practice (or non-teaching practice) means, emphasizing the perspective of the learner. Recent research conducted in a secondary school, found that most of the problems the students faced in their rehearsing processes concerned basic musical issues such as how to play with timing and how to play the chords (Wallerstedt & Pramling, 2016). It was also found that the students preferred asking the teacher for help to using IT resources available in the classroom (Wallerstedt & Hillman, 2015). The ideal in pop ensemble practices in schools has become that the teacher should stay out of the students' processes (Green, 2011). Zandén discusses this in terms of the 'de-didacticalised' [Swedish: "avdidaktiserad"] role of the teacher. However, it has also been shown that the teacher could play a pivotal role in the students' learning, also within this and similar genres and activities (see Mars, 2015, for an example of collaborative music composing in secondary school). It is pressing to generate knowledge about how teachers can contribute to students' learning in order to create equal possibilities for all. A crucial factor for how this contribution will succeed is if the participants in these processes mange to establish intersubjectivity (Rommetveit, 1974, 1992), that is, share perspective on what is going on, or, phrased in other terms, become engaged in the same problem.

In this study, we will conceptualize empirical observations of ensemble rehearsals in secondary school in terms of participants' identification and solving of problems (cf. Wallerstedt & Pramling, 2016) with the purpose to further understand how teaching in group-based ensemble education plays out and can be developed. We will base our discussion on one empirical case analyzed from a sociocultural perspective. We pose two theoretically informed research questions: (i) What is the nature of the musical problems the participants engaged in and (ii) how are the pupils' problem finding and problem solving mediated by the cultural tools they have appropriated, or are in the midst of appropriating, the teacher's participation and the institutional setting?

Firstly, we will briefly present examples on how the concept of problem solving has previously been used in music education research and how problems can be differentiated in many dimensions. Secondly, we explain the framework for understanding learning that we apply in the study, including the concepts of cultural tools, mediation and intersubjectivity, central to our research problem. Thirdly, we introduce the empirical case and explain the method of Interaction Analysis of video observations. Fourthly, the results are presented and implications for practice are discussed.

To understand musical activities as problem solving

Problem solving is a term employed in music-education research on composition (see e.g. Berkley, 2004; Burnard & Younker, 2004; DeLorenzo, 1989; Wiggins, 1994), instrumental music practice (e.g., Chaffin, Imreh, Lemieux & Chen, 2003; Nielsen, 2001) and chamber ensemble rehearsals (Slette, 2014). For example, DeLorenzo (1989: 197) studied sixth-grade students' problem solving in music by following composition activities in four schools. She reports that "Problem structures varied from ill-defined creating tasks with few guiding criteria ('Come up with approximately 60 seconds of sound') to very specifically defined creating tasks"; the latter exemplified by students being given a specific musical material to use in constructing a melody. Composition tasks can be formed in a way that may be compared to putting blocks together into a structure. There is a varied degree of freedom, but the goal is relatively clear. Berkley (2004: 258) suggests that to conceptualize composing as problem solving is helpful in order to develop teachers' practice: "to understand composing as problem solving will provide a basis for all music educators to feel more confident in devising and teaching composing curricula".

Chaffin et al. (2003) scrutinize a professional pianist's process of learning a new piece of music. They frame it as a complex problem-solving task that typically starts with the experienced piano player immediately grasping an 'artistic image' of the piece. This stands in contrast, they claim, to the novice "plunging into details without developing a clear idea of the big picture" (p. 467). Nielsen (2001) finds that skilled organ students also define problems when rehearsing. They switch between technical problems and problems related to "expressive qualities" (p. 159). A difference between Nielsen's study and the present one is that she uses a method that includes verbal reports of what she calls problem-solving activities during the students' practice sessions and also "retrospective debriefing reports" (p. 157). In our study, the analysis is based on video observations of ensemble rehearsals and what occurs in the interaction between the pupils and the teacher. This is similar to Slette's (2014) study, but the genre and the participants' musical experiences differ. Slette examines undergraduate music students' chamber music rehearsals while we study less experienced pupils in secondary school playing pop music. Slette's analysis shows students well capable of defining precise musical problems such as "[w]e are not in tune in the first note" (p. 114) or "[w]e're never quite together there" (p. 119). Slette conceptualizes the students' process in terms of negotiating a "Joint Problem Space" (cf. Roschelle & Teasly, 1995); "a shared knowledge structure that supports problem-solving activity" (Slette, 2014: 13). Grounded in her empirical work, she further suggests the concept Aural Awareness Space. This puts listening at the heart of ensemble rehearsing and the process of problem-solving. The ensemble members are seen to be attentive to the sound of their own music, they take it as basis for negotiation of how to solve problems they find, and they also keep an awareness of the ensemble's musical whole in mind when they practice alone in between the ensemble's collective rehearsals.

Problems in several dimensions

Studies where musical activities are conceptualized in terms of problem solving indicate that problems appear on different levels. For example, Wiggins (1994) studied children composing in school and found that they moved between parts and whole, or what she refers to as "a larger plan", "the larger problem" or "the assignment as a whole". The children's composing, analyzed by Wiggins in terms of problem solving, is summarized in terms of the children "seemed to follow a pattern in their strategies that moved from whole to part and back to whole" (p. 250) (cf. Folkestad, 1996, on vertical and horizontal strategies). If the larger problem is to create a piece in ABAform, a partial problem may be how to make B into a contrast to A (Wallerstedt, 2014). In their study of an adult student learning to compose with his teacher, Barrett and

Gromko (2007) found a similar movement from parts to whole. The student and the teacher started in questions about technique, the score and other problems and then moved on to conceptual problems such as the musical intentions of the student and his musical thinking, that is, more overarching issues on composition. The distinction and relation between part and whole as aspects of problem solving should be applicable also to the practices of playing in a pop ensemble. An overarching problem for such an ensemble is to play the song. However, this formulation does not clarify what it entails more concretely, and partial problems may be what instruments should be heard on the intro to the song and what rhythm the guitarist should play during the chorus.

In music sociology and musicology, there is a recurring discussion on how to conceptualize musical meaning. Green (1988, 2010) has contributed to this discussion by introducing a distinction useful in speaking about the relation between individual and social aspects of music. She writes about inherent and delineated meaning. Inherent music does not "reside" in music as such, but is constituted in the relation between a listener and a musical piece. Delineated meaning refers to the context (including, e.g., the clothes of performers and their movements) of the music. According to this reasoning, the latter features should not be considered other than music. Rather, they are considered to be an extension of it. As pointed out by Garnett (1998), "much of what Green refers to as 'inherent' meaning is itself a product of culture, and therefore, in her terms, 'delineated'", but this does not render the distinction useless. In these terms, when we create relations to music, there are two aspects to connect to, those that sound and those that surround (physical and social space). For example, a sound is made by both the vibrating string and the room in which it is located, or hard rock music is constituted both by a distorted guitar and attributes such as typical haircuts and clothes. Music, and musical problem solving, may be understood in this way. Theoretically, musical problems may be inherent, delineated, particular and/or global. What problems participants find and solve are empirical questions that we are interested in studying and will discuss in relation to the empirical case.

A theoretical perspective on mediated action

In a sociocultural perspective on learning (Vygotsky, 1997, 1998), participating in communication in cultural practices is seen as the mechanism of learning. Through communication with others, the individual gradually comes to take over, that is, appropriate (Wertsch, 1998), cultural tools and practices. Tools encountered in interaction

with others subsequently become also the tools for communicating with oneself, that is, thinking, solving problems, remembering and carrying out other intellectual functions (Vygotsky, 1997). What is referred to as cultural tools include all human invention that transforms nature; it includes physical tools (often referred to as artefacts) as well as discursive (or psychological) tools. In the context of music, artefacts may be musical instruments, score sheets, and digital technologies, while discursive tools may be concepts and distinctions such as meter, tempo, or 4/4 versus 3/4-time. Discursive tools potentially fill many important functions in learning and knowing; they shape our perception and thinking, they make possible the imagination and planning of what is, for example, coming later in a piece of music. In theoretical terms, cultural tools semiotically mediate (Wertsch, 2007) human actions. That participants use the same discursive tools in the sense that they use the same terms does not necessarily mean that they are coordinated in perspective. An important analytical distinction in this regard is between words as terms and concepts. Even if participants in a practice use the same words, for example, deictic words such as 'there' and 'that', or pointing (Davidson, 2005), they may conceptualize these terms and social actions differently. That participants do take terms differently is often apparent when analyzing evolving stretches of interactional data. This reasoning implies the importance of participants communicating to establish temporarily sufficient intersubjectivity (Rommetveit, 1974, 1992), that is, come to share perspective on what is attended to. Without such interactional work, participants - for example, teacher and children - will not engage in a mutual project but, in effect, engage in distinct ones and talk past one another.

Cultural tools are products of socio-historical development and they carry with them intellectual resources, or rather, they can be conceived as reified human insights and knowledge. Different practices have a different set of tools, and an important cultural institution such as school in addition to tools for knowing such as the concepts of chemistry, mathematics, English, music and other subject matters, also has concepts such as grades, pupil and teacher that do interactional work in regulating the activities in this setting. In accordance with the notion that individuals first encounter cultural tools in communication with others and later actively appropriate these, learners also go from other-regulation to self-regulation of activity. That is, learners come to take over and orient to the tools and practices they are introduced to. While the cultural tools the individual has been introduced to shape and in a sense guide his or her activity, tools are never taken over in a straightforward manner, or once and for all; there is always an inherent tension between individual sense making and collective knowing as inscribed in the tools and artefacts employed (Wertsch, 1998). This theoretical perspective puts communication and interaction at the center of attention,

that is, what cultural tools participants actualize and how these are negotiated and perhaps appropriated, as evident in their use in further action.

Methodology

In the present study, the unit of analysis is tool-mediated activities (Säljö, 2009), that is, how participants in a practice with the cultural tools they have or make available and use carry out mutual activities. Therefore, it is of core importance to be able to analyze people's interaction, not only mediated by verbal utterances but also by gestures, such as pointing at objects, and by the use of artifacts. The need for such analysis motivates the use of video observations during ethnographic presence in a practice as research method, since it enables analysis of actions situated in ecologies (Heath & Hindmarsch, 2002). The analysis is approached in an abductive manner, which means that theory and data are "intimately intertwined" so that "data and theoretical ideas are played off against one another in a developmental and creative process" (Blaikie, 2009: 156). We analyze in detail how participant in a responsive, sequential (Wells, 1999) fashion go on with an activity. A minimum of three consecutive turns - verbal utterances and/or other actions such as playing on an instrument or nodding - are analyzed: an initiating action, a response, and a follow up (going on or clarifying what was meant). In this way, how participants' orient towards each other's actions and whether this establishes a mutual activity or disjoint ones are clarified. Studying in detail how activities evolve requires close analysis of interactional data. Informed by sociocultural theory, detailed analysis of such data is conceptually generalized. The analytically identified themes are also mirrored in the larger data set (cf. Derry et al., 2010).

Participants and procedure

The activity that we have followed is a band project in two classes in year nine school in Sweden, lasting eight weeks. This project is part of mandatory music class and it is in line with the Swedish curriculum. The pupils in the participating classes attend ninth grade, and few of them play instruments outside school. Most of the students are ethnical Swedes and they come from middle class families. An aim of the band project, explicitly stated in a written instruction from the teacher to the pupils, is that they are going to get "the possibility to participate in a concert to get a chance to see what it means to do music 'for real'". To get a higher grade they, among other things,

need to show "a personal expression" and "take responsibility and have a common outfit in the band". All the pupils are 16 years old. The students themselves form bands; four bands in each class. They are free to choose any pop song they like to learn. They practice the same song for eight weeks and have one room each for rehearsals. Available instruments are drum set, acoustic and electric guitars, electric bass, piano and keyboards. The teacher rotates among the rooms and acts as a supervisor too all ensembles. At the end of the project they will perform their songs in a school concert arranged at another school.

The video observations are conducted by one of the researchers, using two cameras. One camera was placed on a tripod in one of the four rehearsal rooms and one was hand held by the researcher. During the eight weeks, the cameras have rotated between the different rooms where different bands rehearse. This means that each particular band has been recorded during approximately half the number of lessons (each lesson lasting just under one hour). The total amount of video data is 12 hours. The transcriptions are made verbatim in full, when possible. It is often very noisy in the rehearsal rooms (cf. Green, 2011), and therefore some parts have been transcribed as narratives. The transcriptions not only include what is said but also, importantly, deictic references such as pointing, and the use of different artifacts (e.g., the score sheet) (cf. Mercer & Littleton, 2013). The music played is also transformed into verbal descriptions and, of analytical necessity, into traditional music notation (see Figure 2). The entire data set is monitored and reported in two other studies (Wallerstedt & Hillman, 2015; Wallerstedt & Pramling, 2016). In this study, one representative case has been chosen for detailed analysis, following a process lasting for two subsequent lessons with one of the bands. One reason for focusing on this group was that it grappled with many themes related to the issues of problem finding and problem solving. Another reason for choosing this case is that a great deal of the dialogue has been possible to transcribe with acceptable accuracy in order to conduct an Interaction Analysis (IA; Derry et al., 2010). To transcribe data in this detailed turn-by-turn manner is decisive for being able to conduct the kind of analysis we intend to carry out, that is, Interaction Analysis. Analyzing data in terms of IA means to analyze sequentially unfolding actions in a responsive manner, that is, every utterance and other action (e.g., playing on an instrument or pointing at something) is analyzed as responding to the previous one(s), and to some extent anticipating coming ones. Detailed clarification of how actors respond to each other's utterances and other actions makes clear the participant's perspective. The unit of analysis encompasses actors and cultural tools within an unfolding (series of) actions. This particular recording has been made from a stationary camera placed on a tripod, with the researcher not being present in

the room. The study follows the ethical guidelines of the Swedish Research Council, which means, among other things, that participation is voluntary, all participants are given pseudonyms, and that the participants are informed about the purpose of study.

Findings

The band consists of three boys, playing the drums, bass, and guitar, respectively, and three girls, one playing the keyboard and two singers. They have chosen a Swedish pop song called "En midsommarnattsdröm" [A Midsummer Night's Dream] (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gAzvRfaTt9o) by the singer Håkan Hellström who belongs to the genre pop. During the lessons, the pupils listen to the song on Spotify, using a smartphone. They have printed a sheet with the lyrics and the chords from the Internet.

```
Intro: C

C

Johnny var Evas hjärta låga

han var solen när det dagas

Dm F

Han var parken när det våras

C

och vi satt på gräset
```

Figure 1: The first part of the song as it is written on the sheet printed from the Internet and used by the pupils in the lessons.

The chords are placed above the lyrics, but the metric structure is confusing (cf. Figure 2). Therefore, a great challenge for this group is to discern where the chord changes come. They notate on the sheet numbers along the chords to indicate for how long every chord lasts, for example four or eight beats. In the fourth lesson, which will be analyzed here, they realize that they have not yet solved this problem.

The first lesson

Over the following three excerpts, we will show how the followed group identify and try to solve the problem of finding out where to change from the first to the second chord (see Figure 1, at the end of line 3 and Figure 2, bar 9).

Excerpt 1: Encountering a problem: The feeling that something is wrong

34 Singer 1: Okay, I think you're changing too soon. It sounds good now, I think. But I feel that you're changing too early.

35 Singer 2: I don't know, 'cause it was like that when the teacher did too.

36 Singer 1: Yes, but, eh...

37 Guitarist: I think we should just go for it and not, like, think too much. 'Cause last time we didn't do so much, so if we just do it this time I think it will sound much

better. If everyone just nails it more and so.

38 Singer 1: But, ah, the thing is, it's difficult for us. Or like this, 'cause then we have to have

the melody in the head.

39 Guitarist: But if the easiest way to get all instruments to change right, it's if you sing

louder. Do you have microphones? Or are they on?

Having stopped playing the song, Singer 1 makes the first utterance about a problem of their playing (turn 34). This problem is mediated in terms of "I feel" there is something with the changing of the chords (turns 34, cf. below, turn 54, and the teacher in turn 53). A reference is made to a previous event (turn 35) when the teacher showed them how to play the song, but even the teacher is unsure about when the change in chord comes (see below), so she may have played it incorrectly. The problem encountered by the group, and which they begin to talk about in this manner, is thus when to change from the first to the second chord of the song (see Figure 2, bar 9). From an analytical point of view, this problem is intelligible; the song starts with an upbeat lasting almost one bar (see Figure 2, marked out as bar 4), wherefore it is easy to experience the period starting one bar before it does. But, in fact, the first chord change does come after the expected four bars (on the word "våras" [spring] in bar 9, see Figure 2), as is common in pop songs. However, this is not so obvious due to a somewhat unclear meter (of the lyrics vis-à-vis the rest of the music). In this manner, the problem is initially formulated in terms of how it feels when they play this first part of the song.

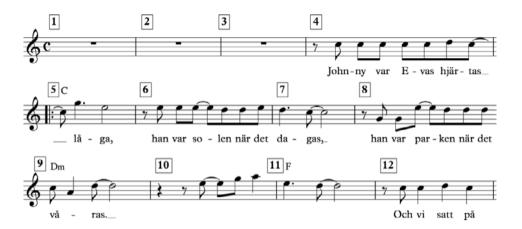


Figure 2: The first part of the song transcribed as traditional notation with bars marked with numbers.

This problem is articulated from the singer's perspective in terms of whether the backing is not provided or sounding right, then the singers must imagine it "in the head" (turn 38) in order to sing the melody right (cf. musical imagination, see Lehmann, Sloboda & Woody, 2007). The guitarist suggests the strategy that they will use: to not try to make the chord changes according to the meter but rather adjusted to a particular word of the lyrics. Therefore, it is of prime importance that they hear what the singers sing (turn 39).

The drummer also uses the singer's terms about how it "feels" when they are playing, in an attempt to clarify what they need to solve:

Excerpt 2: Clarifying what is wrong

53 Drummer: But it feels like there should be a change, I don't know when?

54 Singer 1: No, yes, precisely, I feel that too when I sing.

55 Drummer: 'Cause it goes down, and we continue, I think it's somewhere we're change

wrong with the chords.

56 Singer 1: But that's the thing.

At this point, what the problem is is shared among the participants. They discern, or in their terms, "feel" that there is something that diverts; "Cause it goes down, and we continue, I think it's somewhere we're change wrong with the chords" (turn 55). This way of stating the problem constitutes a more differentiated way of understanding it, since they point out a discrepancy between the melody line and the backing.

They start trying to solve the problem by playing two instruments at a time. In this way they reduce the problem in order to gain an understanding of how it should sound. First they try the drums along with the melody (hence none of the instruments playing the chords). They then proceed to try how the guitar and piano sound when played together:

Excerpt 3: Starting to coordinate the melody and the chords

63 Drummer: Try just playing just guitar and piano with...

[---]

67 Drummer: There you should change! (shouting this out in synchrony with the lyrics, solen

när det dagas, is being sung; see Figure 2, bar 7)

68 Guitarist: No, 'cause, wait (makes a gesture to make them stop singing), last time, you

just, he changed too early, so, no (shakes a finger)

69 Singer 2: On third it's *han* [him].

70 Guitarist: Mm.

71 Singer 2: Since it's a C on *Johnny*.

(They play again and G does not change chord on han (see Figure 2, bar 6), they stop playing)

72 Guitarist: Now, wait a little, is it just C, C C C C (reads from the paper) and then, okay.

(Starts playing, the singers join, he changes chord on han, line two (see Figure

2, bar 6), the singers stop singing.)

73 Singer 2: There you're changing too early.

74 Guitarist: Listen to the song, 'cause now I was like var [was] (see Figure 2, first half of

bar 6) (plays and sings for himself).

75 Singer 2: But it's on the third line that you should change (points at the notes on his

paper, see Figure 1).

76 Guitarist: Yeah, right, 'cause there are two han, that's what's so tricky. Yeah, right! I hate

that it's like han, han (see Figure 2, lines 2 and 3).

77 Singer 1: But can't we make some kind of sign there or something?

78 Guitarist: Ah yeah, but now I know it. 'Cause that's why I thought it was too early last

time.

79 Bassist: We're gonna do D, D, D..., and then on han, han var parken, or what does it say,

han var parken, there we're gonna change? To E, minor, or?

80 Singer 1: Should we all play now?

81 Guitarist: Yes, but [name of the drummer] has to start the song.

In this attempt to solve the problem they have encountered, the pupils use a number of different cultural tools that mediate the activity. They point out the temporal aspect of the chord change through referring to the "line" (turns 69 and 75), that refers to the lyrics as it is now structured on the paper; but through this also periods in the music. They also shout out "there" (turn 67) and suggest that they "make a sign" (turn 77) when the change comes. Mediating the problem in these ways, that is, through deictic referencing, does not make it possible for them to anticipate the chord change before it comes; the sign coincides with the change and can therefore not organize the planning of making the change. However, the suggestion that they coordinate the chord change with the "he" in the lyrics makes it possible to anticipate when the change comes, since the lyrics are available on the paper beforehand. A problem with this solution, as they themselves identify, is that since the singing is so soft it is hard for them to hear when they should change chord.

After mutual effort, they are able to find a solution based on the lyrics. Singer 2 states that the change will come when singing "när det våras" (see Figure 2, bar 9). The group now continues with the problem of arranging how to play the song in terms of the

instrumentation. Even if they intellectually know where to change the chord, it still now and then sounds unsynchronized when listening to the whole group playing this change.

At this point in the lesson, the teacher enters the room. During the lesson, the teacher visits the group first after approximately 20 minutes of the lesson and a second time at the end of it. In total, she is present and interacts with the group for five minutes; the rest of the time she interacts with and moves between the other three bands, who also try to learn to play a song together. The first time she visits this group, they play her the song they have been practicing. They are able to play through almost the entire song without getting lost, which is noteworthy considering the troubles they so far have had getting it right. (Looking at the data from the other groups, this group at this point succeeds in their playing together in a way that the others do not.)

The next three excerpts will show how the teacher contributes to the group by giving feedback and suggesting how they may develop their performance further.

Excerpt 4: The pupils hint that there is a problem

96 Teacher: This starts to look like something, huh?

97 Singer 2: We've got it together a bit now. We're trying to figure out the changes.

98 Guitarist: But the start with the guitar like...? (directed to the teacher)

99 Teacher: I think it's nice!

The teacher starts by giving some encouraging words to the group for their achievement (turn 96). Singer 2 communicates the problem they have been struggling with up to this point: "We're trying to figure out the changes" (turn 97). This information is not commented upon or followed up by the teacher. The guitarist asks specifically about the teacher's opinion about his playing (in the intro of the song), which she positively responds to (turns 98–99). The guitarist plays a backing consisting of quavers, which is quite rare among the students' playing in the class, where generally everyone plays only crotchets. This backing gives the song an intense character and is in line with the original recording.

The teacher's contribution to the group's practicing suggests two lines of development:

Excerpt 5: To feel the music and to develop the bass playing

100 Teacher: Aren't you gonna stand up with some kind of, the guitar, and like this swing a

bit... (the others laugh), so that you get to feel the music a bit too! 'Cause that's when it's starting to get fun. I see on some of you at least. That you're like "ah",

it's starting to become a song.

101 Bassist: Well.... (laughs)

102 Teacher: Precisely, so in here it's really nice. And the bass, can't you play twice as fast

with the right hand? Latch onto the guitar, so to speak.

103 Bassist: Should I play twice as fast?

104 Teacher: Yes, with your right hand. Not the left hand.

105 Bassist: Yes. So I play eight when it should be four?

106 Teacher: Precisely. This is gonna be great. Have you thought, have you begun thinking

anything about clothes, should you think about that maybe? 'Cause soon...

107 Singer 1: We're gonna have something on.

108 Teacher: Yes, and some presentation. Like, and maybe some dancing... It should be nice

and professional. (The teacher says that she is going to help someone else and

leaves, saying that she will be back).

The teacher's first utterance addresses the children's appearance, that is, that they should stand up and "like this sway a little... [the pupils laugh], so that you get to feel the music a little also! Because it's now that it starts to get fun", since "it's becoming a song" (turn 100). Only the bassist answers, with a hesitant, "well..." (turn 101), followed by the teacher's affirming "precisely" (turn 102). The teacher's suggestion (in turn 100) that they should feel the music also, implies that in her view they do not yet do so (cf. above, Excerpts 1 and 2, on feeling when the new chord comes, as part of the children's problem finding). The teacher also addresses the bass playing more specifically, suggesting that the bassist play "twice as fast with your right hand" (turn 102), to which he asks, "should I play twice as fast?" (turn 103) and after the teacher's confirmation, adds, "so I play eight when it's supposed to be four" (turn 105). The

bassist thus mediates the referred feature of their playing in more musically correct terms than the teacher; that is, the tempo (fast, see turn 102) is never meant to be changed, it is the rhythm that is supposed to be revised. The bassist gives word to this, referring to ¼ and 1/8 notes. Finally, before she moves on, the teacher asks the group, "have you thought, have you begun to think anything about clothes?" (turn 106), to which one of the singers respond, "we're gonna have something on" (turn 107). Hence, the teacher's mediation focus on the rhythm of the bass, but mainly on the appearance – or visual performance – of the coming event (the school concert), rather than on the problem that the children themselves have been grappling with and clarified to the teacher. The problem that the children communicate to the teacher that they have is not connected to in her contributions.

As soon as the teacher has moved on to another group, they evaluate how they played when performing for the teacher and discuss that they did not have perfect timing at a certain passage. They try from this part again. At the end of the lesson, the teacher returns to the group, listens to them playing the song through, and gives some suggestions for development:

Excerpt 6: The teacher gives feedback

206 Teacher: Was that the whole song?

207 Singer 1: Yes.

208 Teacher: God, this is really nice. One really gets happy. You're gonna take more space

now (points at the singers, who smile). By heart. Look up. Dare watching me. Dare (makes some gesture not visible on the screen), leave this. 'Cause that's when it becomes music. And D here (the drummer), there is one like this every

now and then (hits a cymbal)

209 Drummer: Mm.

210 Teacher: Can you do a bit more than that?

211 Drummer: Sure.

212 Teacher: I'm thinking that sometimes you may make a, with the timpani like. That it

varies a bit.

(The group members nod in silence)

213 Teacher: This is gonna be great. Now you'll have to go.

The teacher's comments in this sequence are in line with the ones she gave at her previous visit. She comments on the scenic performance in a way that constitutes a dualism between, on the one hand, "no feeling" or even "no music" (cf. above, Excerpt 7, turn 100) and "that's when it becomes music", on the other, if they "dare", "know by heart", "look up" and "take place" (turn 208). In similarity to her previous feedback to the bassist, here the teacher comments on the drummer's contribution. This feedback is in rather vague terms, "do some more of that" (turn 210) and "lay a" (turn 212), which appear to refer to different kinds of fills; but the teacher never makes explicit or shows what she means. Still, the drummer seems to accept the instruction (turn 211). The group members give brief affirming responses to the teacher's suggestions, "yes", "mm" and "okay". The comments given to the singers will prove important in the next lesson.

The second lesson

In the following four excerpts it will be shown how the next lesson turned out. The band's process goes in a quite different direction to the previous lesson. In this lesson (the fifth lesson in the band project), the group has been given one of the largest rooms for practicing, a room commonly used for whole-class activities. Because of the noisy environment, some parts are her transcribed as narratives.

Excerpt 7: Entering the new rehearsal room

There is some disturbance, people move about the room. This is the room where everyone comes to get electrical cords, sheets etc. The keyboardist waves to Singer 2 to ask something. Everyone seems to practice their instrument individually. The drums sound loudly. Singer 1 and Singer 2 stand by their microphones at the front of the stage, looking outwards.

3 Guitarist: Okay, are you gonna turn around?

4 Singer 1: We can stand like this then (turn to face the group) and then we can turn

around sometimes when we (showing).

5 Guitarist: But do you know the lyrics?

6 Singer 1: Yes! We know the text, right?

7 Singer 2: (Holds the paper with the lyrics in the air towards G.)

8 Singer 1: We know the text, but we have it just in case.

In the small room where they were during the previous lesson, everyone more or less sat facing each other in a ring. This new room has an elevated scene where the instruments are placed and there is a space in front, with a number of chairs facing the stage. The outline of the room contributes to giving the impression that 'this is for real' and in anticipation of the coming event when they are to perform their song in front of an audience at a local school. This impression is further accentuated through "the audience", i.e. some classmates skipping class (i.e., that they should be in their respective groups practicing their song), instead sitting watching this group practicing.

The physical orientation of the singers now come to illustrate the dualism introduced by the teacher in her previous feedback, but now in the opposite direction, metaphorically speaking. Turning outwards from the group, facing the audience, now comes to take on the meaning that what they do is *not* music. They become uncoordinated and are not able to organize their common efforts to play the song through (see Excerpt 8 below). The guitarist wants the singers to turn back towards the group (turn 3), so that they can continue to practice the song together. They now return to the issue introduced by the teacher in the previous lesson, the importance of learning the song by heart. The teacher's distinctions are appropriated and come to mediate the group's activity.

Excerpt 8: Diverging orientations

10 minutes into the lesson. The group tries to play the song through one time, but get lost. The drummer says that it's shaky. The guitarist says that no matter how the singers sing, they could sing a bit louder. There is a member from another group in the audience and it appears that the singers "put on a show" for him. Now and then someone shouts, "are we ever gonna play". The atmosphere is different from last time; the members do not work together.

The drummer and the guitarist are still focused on the song, while the singers more direct their attention outwards (to the 'audience').

Excerpt 9: Social conditions

Singer 2 whispers to Singer 1, Singer 1 says to someone in the audience, with an ironic tone, "you're so fucking handsome it's embarrassing to sing to you". Singer 1 suggests that they are going to talk some about clothes before they end, that is, what they are to wear during the performance. The guitarist continues talking about how to play the song, "that's not how I interpret the ending", plays and shows the drummer. The keyboardist sits at the keyboard with a solemn face and looks at the score without playing. The bassist sits back down, and practices playing with the guitarist. The boy in the audience shouts to the teacher, asking whether he will be noted as absent for sitting there. She says yes. He replies in a provocative manner, "but I'm in the classroom".

The other classmate, who sits in front of the stage watching, appears to be stressing both the teacher and the group practicing. In contrast to the previous lesson, this activity does not become neither a focused practicing nor a concert performance, but something in between.

Excerpt 10: Institutional conditions

The teacher shouts in an irritated voice, "what are you doing in this group?". "Nothing", someone replies. "And you want grades!!", the teacher responds. The teacher shouts out a count-in, "one, two, three, four". Several members of the group are not with their instruments so they cannot start playing. The teacher says that the other people present in the room need to leave. She seems to notice something and leaves.

Grades, as a form of cultural tool central to the institutional practice of school is here used in making a form of threatening work in the interaction, when the group has troubles practicing their song. During the previous lesson, the issue of grades was not commented on; rather what the group did was mediated in terms of "really nice" and "now it's becoming music" (see Excerpt 8, turn 208). The talk about grades is not related to any musical qualities, but to cease "doing nothing". It is the same kind of conflict that the teacher has with the pupil who sits in front of the stage looking, rather than being with his own group practicing (Excerpt 9). In a rather provocative manner, the pupil challenges the teacher to whether he will be noted as absent, which the teacher confirms, since he is doing 'nothing'. The formal context in which this 'informal' band project takes place clearly mediates the activity for the pupils. It is not only a question for the pupils to cover the song and learn to play it, it is also

about fulfilling the school task, which is formulated so that performance including what to wear on stage is important and a ground for grading.

Discussion and conclusions: Problems on different levels and of different kinds

In this study we have scrutinized a particular case, representative for Swedish music education, in order to provide an empirically grounded educational discussion of how music education is organized. We have analyzed (i) What musical problems the participants are engaged in and (ii) how the students' problem finding and problem solving are mediated by the cultural tools they have appropriated, or are in the midst of appropriating, the teacher's participation and the institutional setting. In order to understand the different kinds of problems the students face we make use of Green's (1988, 2010) concept of inherent and delineated aspect of music. Inherent music does not "reside" in music as such, but is constituted in the relation between a listener and a musical piece. Delineated meaning refers to the context (including, e.g., the clothes worn by performers and their movements) of the music. According to this reasoning, the latter features should not be considered other than music. Rather, they are considered to be an extension of it. This may be compared with the categories used by Nielsen (2001): technical and expressive problems. However, problems concerning expressive issues, in our view, could comprise both inherent and delineated aspects of music.

The predefined task that sets the frame here is to choose a pop song and learn how to play it together in a band with peers. The song is going to be performed at a concert where the band members are supposed to dress in a 'suitable way' and also find a band name, all with the purpose of having an authentic experience of playing popular music. This overarching task, or problem, can be differentiated into many parts. The pupils start in an inherent (cf. Green, 1988, 2010), particulate problem concerning when to change from the first to the second chord (C to Dm after four bars) (see Excerpts 1–3). Further on in the lesson they also start discussing which instruments that are going to play in different parts, that is, the arrangement of the songs in terms of instrumentation, which can be seen as an inherent problem concerning the global structure of the song. The teacher also points at some inherent problems: how the drummer can develop his playing; by playing more fill-ins and how the bassist can play in another rhythm (see Excerpts 7–8). Furthermore, the teacher suggests possible

ways of developing the performance by talking about how they stand and what they are going to wear (see Excerpts 5–6). We can consider these latter 'solutions' to be answers to problems that are of a delineated (cf. Green 1988, 2010) character. Note that the teacher is here the one introducing the delineated aspects. What they will wear is a kind of global problem, while the suggestion that the singers should sing by heart is of a particular kind. These aspects are taken on by the pupils in the latter lesson when they talk about the singers singing by heart and how they will physically position themselves, a particular and a global delineated problem, respectively (see Excerpt 7).

There is no hierarchy in terms of different problems, as we see it. Discussing the problems in terms of inherent and delineated problems on a particular or global level is a way to analytically understand the potential problem of establishing temporarily sufficient intersubjectivity (Rommetveit, 1974, 1992) among the band and the teacher. Sometimes the band is engaged in one kind of problem and the teacher gives feedback concerning another kind (this was particularly visible in Excerpt 5). Nielsen (2001: 166) suggests in the conclusion of her study that students could be thought to "ask and answer questions such as: 'What is my problem?', 'How can I solve it?', 'How am I doing?' during practice". This, she argues, can be a way of promoting self-regulatory learning, but we want to add that these ways of asking may also be a way of helping teachers and pupils establishing intersubjectivity in the activity; the necessity of which this empirical case has illustrated.

The delineated 'side' of the problem to play a pop song may be the one that is most connected to identity formation and the chance for teenagers to make use of their out-of-school experiences of popular culture. But somewhat contradictory, this aspect of the problem is driven by the teacher, the one who may be expected to represent the more 'formal' and inherent side of musical problems. This finding highlights the importance of the overarching frame of a 'pop-song problem', that from the pupils' perspectives foremost represent a school task, rather than an example of popular culture.

Different tools mediate problems differently

Our second question was to investigate how the pupils' problem finding and problem solving are mediated by the cultural tools they have appropriated, or are in the midst of appropriating, the teacher's participation and the institutional setting. The most striking example of the complexity of this issue is the divergent use of the term 'feel'. In the process the pupils engage in, the term is used in their first attempt to identify

a problem in their playing, concerning a chord change. They say that they feel that something is wrong, i.e. sounds wrong (see Excerpts 1 and 2) (cf. Slette, 2014). However, the teacher uses the same term in order to direct the pupils' attention to an aspect of their playing they themselves have not highlighted, that is, to 'play with feeling' (see Excerpt 5). To 'feel the music' as it is used by the teacher has connotations to playing by heart, standing up and swaying etc., that is, what may be referred to as delineated aspects, in contrast to the pupils' way of using the term in grappling with an inherent musical problem. The teacher's use of the term is indicative of the (Swedish) institutional setting where this activity is carried out. The teacher is well-educated and is thoroughly engaged in her work. There is no reason to expect that she is not able to notice the pupils struggling with timing, but in her feedback she does not pick up or respond to this. The teacher is a carrier of a certain set of cultural tools – a discourse well-established in Swedish music education – mediating her activities, including how she gives instructions and responds to the pupils' playing and suggestions. This discourse, mediating teacher engagement, is evident also in the larger data set, from which we here have analyzed two lessons, as well as what has been found in other studies on music education in contemporary Swedish school settings (see e.g., Ericsson, Lindgren & Nilsson, 2010; Zandén, 2010). The ideal of teaching music in an informal way also come to the fore in Excerpts 5 and 6 when the teacher comments on the bassist's and the drummer's playing. In both cases, she avoids using standard musical terminology. The bass player, in trying to clarify the teacher's explanation, speaks in a more formal way than the teacher herself (see Excerpt 5). Mars (2016) reports an opposite finding in her study of music teaching in Swedish secondary school, but reasons in a similar way. In her study, the teacher does use musical terminology, and in this way he "contributes to furthering the group's guitar backing and arrangement of the musical piece" (our translation, p. 65).

Besides the different use of cultural tools in terms of language, a physical tool in form of the sheet also plays a crucial role here, in mediating the problem. Popular music is traditionally music that is not notated, even if there is a rich span of more or less conventional ways of notating it (e.g. chords and tablature). Many of the forms of notation that exist and are used among the pupils in this study do not include a representation of musical meter. Bars are not marked out, only the lyrics and the name of the chords. For how long each chord will last is not represented. Instead, the meter of the *lyrics* is represented through line breaking (see, for example, in Figure 1). Analytically, this can be a reason for the great challenge faced by the pupils in finding out where the first chord change will come (see Excerpts 1–3). In traditional notation, the periods in the music are often marked out by a thick bar line or a new row. In the 'informal

notation' that they use in the present case, the chord changes appear as follows, in a somewhat unexpected way:

Johnny var Evas hjärtas låga

Han var solen när det dagas

Han var parken när det våras

This is to be compared to the traditional notation as seen in Figure 2.

Implications for practice

Our reasoning about problems of different levels and kinds provides us with a tool for conceptualizing the setting and solving of musical problems in a way that illustrates the participating pupils and teacher not being coordinated in perspectives (cf. Rommetveit, 1974) in order to go on with a joint activity. Rather, the pupils and teacher are to large extent engaged in different kinds of problems. This makes it difficult for the teacher to support the students' musical learning – their problem solving. Lantz-Andersson, Linderoth and Säljö (2009: 326) argue that "What we know, and what kinds of problems we can solve, is, to a large extent, determined by the cultural tools we have at our disposal in a particular practice". Therefore, there is a need for a consideration of what kinds of problems formal music education aims at highlighting; the inherent and/or the delineated. In parallel to teaching composition, as discussed by Berkley (2004), also playing in pop ensembles, interpreting or reproducing existing music, could gain from teachers analyzing their work in terms of problem solving. It is of great importance to understand this process from the learners' perspectives – clarifying what "that" means, if referring to the title of this article. The subsequent issue is to identify what tools the teacher needs to provide in their teaching, in order to make the pupils engage in the intended activity. Hence, our study suggests a contrast to the ideal of the 'de-didacticalized' teacher (cf. Zandén, 2010). Whether intending to illuminate and take on inherent or delineated problems, of global or particular kind, it appears that problem solving will be supported by being informed – mediated – by domain-specific tools. For example, if the participants had had access to domain-specific tools, their reasoning (as seen in Excerpt 3) could have been in the form of "I'm going to change after four bars" - a simple way of providing more powerful ways of solving the encountered problem.

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Barns musikaliska interaktion – syskon, smak och identitet

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ABSTRACT

In this article, focus is directed towards the role of music in the social life of children. It explores how siblings, aged 5 to 9 years, use music as a means to developing a sense of belonging and expressing their identities. The aim of the article is to study what function music has in sibling interaction. The theoretical framework is based on the cultural sociological assumption that music is social. Empirical data was collected in an ethnographic study of sibling interaction and children's everyday media practices in their home settings. It includes participant observations with video camera, as well as interviews with children and their parents. This article shows how music is part of siblings' everyday life and how music can be understood as a way for children of presenting oneself. Older siblings tend to become guides or role models through mediating local taste hierarchies, norms and values. Results also show that play contributes to contextualizing music for the younger children in relation to their older siblings. Music and taste can be seen to function as ways to establish a sense of belonging and distinctions, for example between older and younger brothers/sisters.

Keywords: siblings, interaction, identity, music, distinctions, taste

Inledning

Relationen till musik hos syskon i barndomen utgör ett relevant område för musikpedagogisk forskning, och kan ses som ett led i att utveckla förståelse kring musikalisk socialisation och informella lärprocesser. I en västerländsk kontext har forskning kring barns syskonsamspel framförallt studerats ur utvecklingspsykologiska perspektiv, där fokus riktats mot aspekter som barns placering i syskonskaran, ålder, arv och miljö (se t.ex. Dunn, 1984, 2002). Forskning kring syskons samspel i vardagligt familjeliv kopplat till medieaktiviteter är däremot tämligen begränsad. Nilsson (2012) skriver att yngre barn i vår tid kommit att utveckla allt större autonomi när det gäller digitala medier (såsom dvd, dator, internet etc.), och att barn inte ens i sina tidiga möten med förskolan kan ses som några musikaliska nybörjare (se Sundin, 1995; Folkestad, 2007). Det musiklandskap som barn idag möter ser också väsentligt annorlunda ut jämfört med för tidigare generationer, bland annat på grund av den digitalisering som pågått under de senaste decennierna (se Young, 2009). Sundin (1995) slår fast att senare decenniers barn förmodligen hört mer musik än vad deras farfarsfar gjorde under en livstid. Begreppet musik kan dock sägas vara vuxenkulturellt orienterat, och det finns starka och dominerande föreställningar som definierar hur vi uppfattar musik (Bjørkvold, 2009). Musik blir därmed ett medel för att markera och uttrycka smaktillhörighet och för att skapa samhörighet med andra. Beroende på vem vi samspelar med, och i vilken kontext, kan en låt tolkas och uppfattas på olika sätt (se Willett, 2011). På så vis spelar musiken stor roll för formandet av en identitet och social självdefiniering. Trondman (1999) skriver att "visa mig din skivsamling så ska jag säga dig vem du är". På senare år har det kanske handlat mer om att "visa mig din spellista på Spotify så ska jag säga dig vem du är", hellre än fysiska skivor. Den digitala och strömmade musiken har blivit ett vanligt inslag i barns hemmiljöer, och skulle kunna tänkas bidra till större musikaliska valmöjligheter och variationer när det gäller den musik som barn möter i sina hem.

I följande artikel studeras musikens funktion i samspelet mellan syskon. Studien är inspirerad av en kultursociologisk ansats där musik förstås som socialt betingat. Utgångspunkten är att musik i den sociala interaktionen mellan människor används för att markera tillhörighet och identitet. De empiriska exempel som presenteras i artikeln är hämtade från Ylva Ågrens (2015) doktorsavhandling *Barns medierade värld. Syskonsamspel, lek och konsumtion.* Dessa studeras dock utifrån en annan ansats, inbegripet nytt syfte och tidigare forskning, vilket medför att artikeln är fristående från avhandlingen samt bidrar med annan kunskap om barns musikaliska interaktion.

Syftet med artikeln är således att studera musikens funktion i interaktion mellan syskon i åldrarna fem till nio år.

Bakgrund

Musik är identitetsskapande och det är möjligt att tala om musikaliska identiteter (Macdonald & Hargreaves & Miell, 2002). I enlighet med Bourdieu (1984/1991) går det att hävda att vi nästan "klär oss" med hjälp av kultur och musik, och att vi genom musiken uttrycker vem vi vill vara och hur vi blir betraktade (se Söderman, 2012; Burnard et al., 2015). Den musik vi väljer kan även relateras till den sociala grupp vi vill representera (Bourdieu, 1984/1991). Precis som kläderna vi bär, signalerar också musiken vi lyssnar på vem vi vill vara. Enligt Bourdieu (1984/1991) är musik den konstform som tydligast uttrycker människors distinktioner till varandra, vilket kan förstås som musikens sociala funktion. Att "tala musik" beskrivs som ett av de främsta sätten att framhäva sig i social samvaro med andra (Burnard et al., 2015). Vi kan också spegla oss i musiken, identifiera oss med den och låta den bli ett medel för att uttrycka våra känslor och sinnesstämningar (Jederlund, 2011; MacDonald & Hargreaves & Miell, 2002).

Utifrån Bourdieus begreppsapparat har Rimmer (2010, 2012) utvecklat begreppet musikaliskt habitus. Habitus kan beskrivas som ett slags förkroppsligat kulturellt kapital hos aktören, och kan definieras som en människas kulturella personlighet formad av sådant som uppväxt, social klass, kön och etnicitet (Bourdieu, 2000; Nerland, 2004). En persons habitus kan sägas påverka både yrkesval och studieval. Rimmer (2010, 2012) visar hur engelska ungdomar uppvisar väldigt olika förhållningssätt till musik beroende på vilken social bakgrund de har. Det spelar exempelvis roll för individers musikaliska habitus om deras mor är pianolärare, om föräldrar lyssnar på dansbandsmusik eller föredrar klassisk musik. På liknande sätt driver Hallam (2001) tesen att föräldrar spelar en avgörande roll för musikalisk socialisering. Forskning visar även att syskon redan mycket tidigt blir viktiga för hur barn utvecklar förståelse för samhället, formande av familjehierarkier och kulturförmedling (Dunn, 2002; Sanders, 2004; Werner, 2009). Även Johansen (2008) lyfter fram syskons roll som förebilder och indirekta normsättare i barns mediebruk. Särskilt äldre syskon påverkar och inspirerar musiksmak och musiklyssnande (Bergman, 2009; Werner, 2009). Söderman (2012) lyfter fram tre dominerande domäner för musikalisk socialisering där föräldrar/syskon/släkt utgör en domän, förskola (och eventuellt annat engagemang i civilsamhälleliga institutioner såsom kyrka och föreningsliv) en annan, samt medie- och populärkultur som ytterligare en domän. Westvall (2007) beskriver hur våra uppfattningar om musikaliskt lärande och musikaliskt deltagande är starkt kopplade till sociala dimensioner och sammanhang.

Ruud (1997) framhåller att musiken har en central roll när det kommer till social självdefiniering. Att i ungdomsåren starkt identifiera sig med vissa artister eller band, kan skapa en känsla av autenticitet i sättet att vara, och ge upplevelsen av att höra hemma i ett större sammanhang, ett socialt kulturellt landskap. Hargreaves och North (1999) talar om musiken som en badge, ett slags märke, för att visa vem man är, sina värderingar och attityd. Men att välja musik kan också handla om att visa vem man inte är och vilken musik man inte identifierar sig med (Gosling & Rentfrow, 2003). Frith (1998) hävdar att när man talar om musik i sociala sammanhang så antingen "flörtar" eller "fajtas" man. Man vill genom sina musikaliska preferenser skapa känsla av samhörighet eller markera sin avsmak. Lilliestam (2006) skriver att anledningen till att man genom livet fortsätter att lyssna på en viss musikgenre eller artist/musikgrupp är att lyssnandet startade under en tid i livet som skapat starka minnen. Det kan vara musik till exempel från sitt bröllop, när man började skolan, fick sitt första arbete, blev förälskad osv. Sammantaget kan detta ses som exempel på vad Stålhammar (1995) benämner som musikens emotionella erfarenhetsdepå. Han redogör för hur musikerfarenheter också samlas i en sociokulturell erfarenhetsdepå och hur dessa erfarenheter kan samverka. Dessa erfarenheter är präglade av normer och värderingar som är rådande i de specifika kontexter i vilka de förekommer, såsom hemmet, skolan, media och musicerande tillsammans med vänner. Den emotionella erfarenhetsdepån består av subjektiva, känslomässiga erfarenheter och upplevelser som står i relation till ett sociokulturellt sammanhang.

Musikens betydelse som smak- och stilmarkör för ungdomars identitetsskapande, ofta kopplad till sociala bakgrundsfaktorer som klass, kön, etnicitet, utbildning och bostadsort, har varit fokus för flera svenska studier under 1980- och 90-talen (Bjurström, 1997; Fornäs, Lindberg & Sernhede, 1988; Trondman, 1989). Kritik har riktats mot den typen av undersökningar, bland annat för att det är forskaren, istället för ungdomarna själva, som gör genrebenämningar och för att frågorna om musiksmak och preferenser ställs vid ett enda tillfälle, vilket kan leda till att smak uppfattas som något konstant och oföränderligt (Bergman, 2009). Bergman (2009) använder begreppet smakportfölj för att diskutera hur unga utvecklar sin musiksmak. Hon menar att längst ner i portföljen ligger musik som de har lång relation till och som betyder mycket för dem, medan övre lager i väskan packas om med jämna mellanrum då ungdomarna

tröttnat på musiken eller inte vill förknippas med den. Bergman betonar att portföljen ser olika ut för olika individer, att en del ofta packar om sin smakportfölj, medan den för andra förblir mer intakt. Begreppet smakportfölj visar på elasticiteten och det föränderliga i barns och ungdomars smakpreferenser.

Änggårds (2005) arbete kring barns bildskapande i förskolan visar att barn visar samhörighet genom att dela smakpreferenser, men att samhörigheten bara gäller jämnåriga barn eller de som är äldre. Gränsen mot yngre barn och det som kan uppfattas som barnsliga bilder är viktig. Willett (2011) har studerat hur flickor i åldrarna fem till sju år, på skolgården leker med, approprierar och använder sig av populärkulturella sånger för att skapa gemensamma lekkulturer och vänskapsallianser. Willett pekar också på hur flickorna konsumerar musik i en rad olika sammanhang, och menar att den sociala kontexten kan medföra att samma låt tolkas på olika vis för ett och samma barn. I relation till ett retsamt storasyskon kan en låt bli något pinsamt eller barnsligt, i kamratgruppen kan den verka förenande och i privata fantasier kan samma låt handla om vuxenhet eller sexualitet. Werner (2009) beskriver smak som en praktik som sker och uttrycks i förhållande till sociala relationer. Hennes studie om tonårstjejers musiksmak visar hur det inom olika grupper finns tydliga mönster för vad man skulle lyssna på. Svensk musik (så som låtar från Melodifestivalen) ansågs töntig, "ocool" eller barnslig, vilket medförde att kunskaper om svensk musik inte fungerade som kulturellt kapital. Att lyssna på eller tycka om artister och låtar som hörde den tidiga barndomen till innebar ett också avvikande från normen som kunde leda till exkludering (Werner, 2009). Bickford (2012) visar att barn och vad som ibland kallas för tweens har blivit en allt viktigare målgrupp för musikindustrin. Barnen väljer själva i allt högre grad själva vilken typ av populärmusik som ska bli kategoriserad som barnmusik och låter sig inte bli serverade musik av vuxna och musikindustrin. Detta kan relateras till de sätt som smak används för att skapa skillnad eller markera distinktion (Bourdieu, 1984/1991).

Metod, genomförande och analys

Artikeln är inspirerad av en medieetnografisk ansats som innebär att etnografiska metoder använts för att studera mediers betydelse för människors vardagsliv (Drotner, 1996, 2008; Gemzöe, 2004). Centralt för medieetnografin är ett fokus på människor och deras användning av medier snarare än på mediet i sig (Couldry, 2012; Schrøder, Drotner, Kline & Murray, 2003).

Kontakt och tillträde till familjerna skedde genom så kallat snöbollurval (Becker, 1963; Bernard, 2006), där kontakt togs med bekanta som kände flera andra barnfamiljer med syskon i rätt ålder. Två familjer tackade på det viset ja till att medverka i studien, och kunde i sin tur lotsa vidare till andra familjer. Materialet samlades in mellan december 2010 till december 2011 och består till största del av deltagande observationer med videokamera men också fältanteckningar, rundturer och intervjuer med barn och föräldrar (se Ågren, 2015).

Samtliga namn i texten är fingerade och barnen har själva fått bestämma sina kodnamn. Transkriptionerna av videomaterialet är inspirerade av samtalsanalys som härrör från det som brukar betecknas socialkonstruktionism (Burr, 2003). Samtalsanalys innebär en metod där språket och samtalet förstås som sociala och meningsfulla handlingar (Edwards, 1997; Potter, 1996). Syftet är att synliggöra hur blickar, gester, skratt och kroppsriktning tillämpas som resurser av syskonen. Såväl språk som kroppsspråk studeras för att analysera hur samspel och mening skapas i relation till musiken (se figur nedan modifierad från Bucholtz, 2000).

Transkriptionsnyckel

Markör (och eventuellt exempel)	Markerar		
Understrykning	tal med stark betoning		
X	icke hörbart ord		
Xxx	icke hörbar mening		
(.)	Mikropaus		
()	längre paus		
kursiv text inom parentes; (pekar)	Förtydliganden om deltagarnas kroppsspråk eller fysiska handlande		
JJ	Markerar sång, sjungande sång t.ex. ♪ I will be popular ♪		

Forskningsetiska överväganden är av central betydelse inom humanvetenskap. Då barn inte har samma kunskaper och erfarenheter som vuxna blir dessa överväganden av särskild vikt (Johansson & Johansson, 2003). Inom pågående barndomsforskning fokuseras allt mer på forskningsetiska frågor (se t ex Alderson, 2005; Farrell, 2005; Morrows & Richard, 1996). Vetenskapsrådets rekommendationer för god forskningssed har varit vägledande i den empiriska datainsamling som ligger till grund för denna artikel. Inspiration har hämtats från de centrala aspekter av forskning med barn

som utarbetats av Aldersen och Morrows (2004). Dessa aspekter innefattar sådant som urvalskriterier, konfidentialitet, information och samtycke, men inbegriper även avvägningar gällande eventuella risker och resultat av forskningen, samt konsekvenser för forskningens genomslag för deltagande barn.

Resultat

Nedan presenteras två av de familjer som deltog i studien, med två syskonpar; bröder och systrar. I exemplet med bröderna deltar Todd (5 år) och Tobias (9 år). I exemplet med systrarna deltar Maria (5 år) och Matilda (9år).

Bröderna

I nedanstående exempel sitter Tobias och Todd med datorn i vardagsrummet. Pappa Lasse och mamma Moa rör sig in i och ut ur rummet. Det är det första besöket hos familjen och killarna har just visat Beyblade-låtar på YouTube när vi börjar prata om musik. Tobias öppnar snabbt Spotify-programmet på datorn och visar sin och Todds gemensamma lista med låtar de tycker om.

Deltagare: Todd 5 år, Tobias 9 år, mamma Moa, pappa Lasse

Plats: Vardagsrummet. Datorn står på soffans ena armstöd.

(2010-11-04, film 2, 05.08-09.30)

1 Tobias Det här är en av mina favvolåtar (trycker på play och låten

startar)

Ylva: Vad är det för låt?

Tobias This is me tror jag (.)

Todd: This is me, ja (sitter i soffan och leker med en kudde som han

gång på gång puttar mot Tobias).

5 Ylva Med vilken grupp?

Tobias med Jonas Brothers (.) Fast det är en annan som har skrivit

den här (.) eh. Och hon är den där tjejen som jag pratade

om, som är med i Jonas Brothers i slutet av X

Ylva: Mm. Vad är det som du tycker är bra med låten?

10 Tobias: *(ställer sig upp framför soffan)* Jag vet inte riktigt, jag bara gillade den lugna låten när jag hörde den första gången

gillade den lugna låten när jag hörde den första gången (.) och efter den andra refrängen, då, då kommer en pojke in, han heter Joe och sjunger i Jonas Brothers och då, då kommer mitt favoritavsnitt av sången, efter andra refrängen. Då kommer först lite sång och sen, sen kommer det. Men då kommer jag att sjunga med! (tar kudden som Todd puttat mot honom och trycker den mot Todd och de skrattar

båda två)

Pappa L: Akta datorn så att den inte ramlar ner!

Tobias: (pojkarna fortsätter att skojbråkas och Todd jagar Tobias

upp ur soffan och boxas i luften efter honom. De springer runt i vardagsrummet men när den andra refrängen startar, stannar Tobias upp och sjunger med). Nou're the voice I hear inside my head, the reason that I'm singing, I need to find you, I gotta find you. You're the missing piece, I need the song inside of me. I need to find you, I gotta find youuu. Alltså, jag kan härma några röster. Det är Marios röst och det är Joes, han som sjunger här. Han sjunger till

exempel i den här. (går fram mot datorn för att byta låt)

Mamma M: Men du, nu kan Todd få höra sin låt också sen!

Tobias: (byter låt på Spotify) han sjunger till exempel i den här

(leker med beybladesnurrorna som ligger på bordet framför soffan). Tobias, du förlora! Tyväärr! Tobias! Tyvärr! Du förlora! (går fram med snurrorna till Tobias som börjat spela

luftgitarr till låten) Tobias! Jag hade den där, och du hade

den.

Tobias: (vänder sig kort mot Todd och säger något ohörbart, fortsät-

ter sen att spela lite luftgitarr och går tillbaka till datorn)
Men den som jag älskar mest (.) det är den här. (sätter på en
ny låt och ställer sig på golvet igen och börjar spela luftgitarr, lyfter armen och ropar) hey, hey, hey! N was sittin' at
home watching TV all alone. (nynnar vidare och sjunger de

ord han kan)

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Todd:

40 Todd:

(när Tobias sätter på den nya låten hoppar Todd också upp från soffan där han satt sig och rusar fram mot Tobias. Han klänger i benen på Tobias men då han inte får någon respons börjar han istället att spela luftgitarr bredvid sin bror som nu sjunger).

Tobias och Todd

(Tobias sjunger fragmentariskt med i versen på låten, medan Todd står bredvid honom och spelar luftgitarr. När refrängen kommer ökar intensiteten, Todd spelar snabbt på sin gitarr och "headbangar", och nynnar med samtidigt som Tobias *sjunger ut och för armen upp över huvudet*) (Se bild 5). We're gonna live to party, gotta bust your move, Everyone's in the groove, Tell the DJ to play my song, Are you ready to rock 'n roll? \((Låten går över i ett gitarrsolo) och båda pojkarna spelar luftgitarr och gör "scenrörelser"; gungar med kroppen, snurrar runt, slänger med huvudet, kastar upp armen. Tobias vankar fram och tillbaka över golvet och Todd springer med sin luftgitarr fram till fåtöljen och ställer sig i den, vänd mot kameran. Efter en kort stund hoppar han ner och fortsätter spela på gitarren. Samtidigt går Tobias över golvet och nynnar med i versen, han gungar på kroppen och huvudet headbangar. En stund står bröderna bredvid varandra, men under andra versen sätter sig Tobias en kort stund i soffan och Todd följer efter. Men så kommer refrängen igen och pojkarna studsar upp. Denna gång ställer sig Todd framför Tobias, och lutar sig långt bakåt med gitarren, sedan går han ett varv runt soffbordet medan Tobias sjunger. Todd sluter upp vid sidan av sin bror och tillsammans står de framför kameran och spelar luftgitarr.) (Se bild 6).

Exemplet synliggör hur Tobias pratar om sin smak, sina preferenser och sin kunskap om bandet *Jonas Brothers.* Han kan texterna till flera olika låtar och vet vilka delar han tycker bäst om. Han vet vad sångaren i bandet heter och att kvinnan som sjunger i en av låtarna bara är med ibland (rad 8, 13, 14). Vidare sjunger han med till sångaren i bandet, och kommenterar själv att han kan "härma några röster" (rad 25). I slutet av exemplet iscensätter de tillsammans låten "Live To Party" och härmar då bandets rörelsekoreografi och uttryck.

Todd visar inledningsvis ett ointresse av Tobias presentation av sina favoritlåtar. Han upprepar visserligen låtens namn, som ett eko av sin storebror (rad 4) men sitter sedan tyst i soffan en lång stund och fingrar på en kudde som han med jämna mellanrum

puttar på Tobias. Bröderna skojbråkar en kort stund och ignorerar då båda pappa Lasses uppmaning om att vara rädda om datorn (rad 15, 18, 19). Tobias återgår till att fokusera på musiken, medan Todd åter försöker fånga hans intresse genom att prata om Beyblade-snurrorna och klänger på Tobias när han sätter på låten han tycker om mest (rad 31, 33 och 40). På rad 43–44 byter Todd position och blir gitarrist i bandet, och framträdandet blir en gemenskap som bröderna delar. Genom att Todd tar plats i uppträdandet, skapas en ensemble med sångare och gitarrist som iscensätter *Jonas Brothers* låt. Leken kring musiken blir det som utgör mötet, gemenskapen och tillhörigheten mellan bröderna i relation till den musik som spelas.





Bild 5 Bild 6

När de leker artister använder Tobias och Todd videokameran som resurs för att iscensätta musikvideon, och de vänder sig direkt mot den och tittar in i kameran. (rad 54, 62). Todd gör inte samma typ av självpresentation som sin storebror utan blir mer tydligt ett lekmoment som gör det möjligt att orientera sig mot och bli delaktig i att leka musikföreställning med sin storebror. Genom leken visar han sin kunskap om musikgruppens stil och rörelsemönster och det går att se hur dessa blir resurser för att skapa gemenskap med Tobias.

Systrarna

Matilda, 9 år och storasyster, har lånat sin mammas iPhone och sitter med den i sitt och Marias, 5 år och lillasyster, gemensamma rum. Matilda plockar fram en stor lila plastväska som ser ut en gammal bergsprängare, och som har två högtalare. Hon tar ut en sladd ur väskan och kopplar den till telefonen. När Matilda väljer låtar på skärmen avbryter Maria sin lek och ställer sig bredvid sin storasyster.

Deltagare: Maria 5 år och Matilda 9 år

Plats: Flickornas rum

(2011-06-07, film 1, 39. 51- 42.06 + film 2, 00.00-02.59)

1 Matilda (bläddrar bland låtarna) Nej, den ska vi inte lyssna på....

Maria: (Nynnar och smådansar på stället, iakttar Matilda. Musiken

börjar och Matilda höjer upp ljudet).

Ylva Vad är det här för en låt?

5 Matilda: Det är Ola (.) som sjunger Unstoppable (.) fast det här är

Natalie

Ylva: Natalie?

Matilda: Mm. Den heter det! (Byter låt och en ny låt börjar. Båda

flickorna börjar röra sig i takt till musiken. Matilda nynnar med, rör armen i takt och Maria härmar hennes rörelse)

10 Ylva: Ah, den som kommer nu?

Matilda: Neej, det här är Unstoppable. (*Lyssnar. Stoppar ner telefonen*

i väskan och håller upp väskan mot mig).

Maria: Stäng väskan

Ylva: Vad fin den är! Snygg!

15 Matilda: Den köpte vi på landet. (*Tar upp telefonen igen*). Ska jag stänga

av?

Maria: Nej!

Matilda: (till mig) Har du någon önskelåt?

Maria: (Dansar fram till mig och viskar): Higher! Higher!

Ylva: Kan ni inte spela någon av era favoriter?

20 Matilda: Okej....

Maria: Higher! Higher!

Ylva: Vem sjunger Higher?

Maria Det vet jag inte. /---/

Matilda: (Byter låt och börjar sjunga till musiken samtidigt som hon

vickar på överkroppen, gungar lite lätt på huvudet och rör armarna nära kroppen). ;party's in my head, party's in my heeaad (Musiken fortsätter och båda tjejerna rör sig nu i takt till musiken och svänger på huvudet). \mathbb{p}arty's in my head,

party's in my heeaad.

Maria Får jag vara med i bandet? (*Maria ställer sig bredvid sin syster*,

så att hon också syns i kameran. Medan Matilda sjunger dansar Maria bredvid, båda vickar de på höfterna, och vevar med

armarna i olika dansrörelser).

Ylva Vad är det för en låt?

Matilda: Det här är Party in my head. Med September. Det är hon som

sjunger: Ŋa, jag rimmar på, en annan nivå, jag siktar mot toppen, så långt jag kan gå, och jaaaag kommer inte hårt, i stockholms x, det är toppen jag vill nå♪. (...) Vänta. Vad var

det jag sjöng sist?

Ylva: Det är toppen jag vill nå

vi kan lyssna på den istället. (*Tar fram en iPhone ur väskan*)

40 Maria: (Går fram till Matilda och säger med bedjande röst) På

engelskaaa!

Matilda: (Härmar överdrivet bedjande Marias uttryck) på engelskaa...

Maria: Nu ska du få höra hur hon sjunger på engelska

(Precis när Matilda hittat låten i iPhonen och satt på den, ropar 45 mamma Anna på henne från köket. Matilda lämnar rummet

mamma Anna på henne från köket. Matilda lämnar rummet och Maria är ensam kvar. Hon ställer sig framför kameran och

börjar dansa.)

Ylva: Är det här också September?

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Maria: Ja, det här är när hon sjunger

ska jag se ifall det hörs. (*Stänger dragkedjan på väskan, dansar till musiken, och lyfter sedan upp väskan och håller den framför kameran.*) Oj, förlåt, nu ska jag till skolan! (*Trippar ut ur rummet, vänder i vardagsrummet och kommer tillbaka*). Redan ifrån skolan! Jag sätter på lite musik! (*Tar av väskan och fortsätter dansa med den i famnen. Matilda kommer tillbaka*)

med en tallrik med äpplen).

55 Matilda: (Till Maria) Vad ska du göra nu? (Ställer ifrån sig tallriken och

tar sedan väskan från Maria. Tar upp telefonen och stänger av

låten). Maria, vad vill du lyssna på?

Maria: Öhm (.) Jag kommer.

∫jag kommer, jag kommer, jag är nästan dääär♪

60 Matilda: Vad heter hon, Veronicaa...

Ylva: Som sjunger den? Veronica Maggio /---/

Matilda: Letar en stund och hittar sedan låten

Maria: (Börjar dansa och röra sig till musiken). Finns den på

engelskaaa?

I exemplet iakttar och härmar Maria sin storasysters kroppsspråk och sätt att uttrycka sig (rad 2, 9, 31). Hon uttalar även direkt sin önskan om att få vara delaktig genom att fråga om hon får vara med i bandet (rad 29). Men Maria har också egen kunskap om musiken, som hon visar genom att sjunga med i låtarna och önska favoriter (rad 18, 46, 58). Vidare tycks engelskan viktig för Maria som återkommer till att önska låtar på engelska (rad 40–42, 49, 63). Maria härmar Matildas kroppsspråk så länge hon är i rummet, men när Maria har väskan själv en stund, börjar hon leka i relation till musiken. Hon hoppar iväg till skolan och står sen, väl tillbaka från skolan, skrattandes framför kameran med väskan över huvudet (rad 50–55) och uttrycker att det är nu hon ska lyssna på musik. Matilda har iPhonen, och är därmed den som bestämmer vad som ska lyssnas på. Till och med när hon lämnar rummet en stund fortsätter lillasyster Maria att lyssna på den låt som Matilda satt på, men ramar in musiklyssnandet med en lek där hon blir skolbarnet som kommer hem och sätter på en låt.

Musiken kan i båda de empiriska exemplen beskrivas ha olika funktioner för småsyskonen respektive storasyskonen. Marias tycks främst inriktad på att skapa gemenskap med storasystern, medan Matilda orienterar sig via musiken mot en vidare kontext och

ett yttre sammanhang. Precis som för Tobias i exemplet med bröderna, blir musiken ett sätt att berätta något om sig själv och sina kunskaper. Matilda visar sin kunskap om musik genom att berätta om vilken låt som spelas (rad, 5, 11, 34) och sjunger med i texterna (rad 8, 36, 35). Musiken framträder som en arena där de yngre syskonen kan få tillträde till de äldre syskonens musikaliska kapital. De äldre syskonen uppvisar ett mer intellektuellt förhållningssätt och uttrycker sina kunskaper relaterade till musiken. För dem tycks det viktigt att säga något om artisten, sammanhanget och låten. De yngre syskonen gestaltar istället sina kunskaper genom lek – vilket kan förstås genom att de gestaltar sina erfarenheter av musik och specifika artister utifrån vad de lärt av sina äldre syskon. På så vis blir det relevant att fråga om en låt på engelska, eller att kunna härma ett uppträdande på ett sätt som är likt de riktiga artisterna. Musikalisk lek blir central för de yngre syskonen, som sjunger, dansar och härmar, och med kroppen visar en relation till musiken som gör att de blir mer musikande än de äldre syskonen.

Diskussion

För småsyskonen öppnar musiken dörrar till storasyskonens världar. Musiken får därmed en social funktion som innebär att musik blir ett sätt för dem att få kunna anamma samma smak som sina storasyskon. På liknande vis blir storasyskonens kunskaper om musik ett sätt för dem att rikta sig mot äldre barn, unga och vuxna. Det går att se hur storasyskonen agerar som i en slags mästare-lärling-relation till småsyskonet, och vice versa. Macdonald, Hargreaves och Miell (2002) talar om musikaliska identiteter, vilket kan relateras till Söderman (2012) och Burnard et al. (2015) som båda lyfter fram hur musiken får uttrycka vem vi är och vill vara och att människor kan sägas klä sig med musik. I empirin framträder därmed ett slags åldersidentitet vilket småsyskonen närmar sig genom att anamma deras storasyskons musiksmak. I de empiriska exemplen med syskonen i denna artikel fungerar musik på olika sätt för de yngre respektive äldre syskonen. Hos dem tycks två (klassiska) förhållningssätt till musik framträda i syskonens musikaliska interaktion; ett mer folkligt, funktionellt förhållningssätt till musik, kontra en musiksyn som är mer intellektuell. Detta kan i sin tur knytas till resultaten i Rimmers (2010, 2012) studie som visade att ungas förhållningssätt till musik var tydligt präglat av deras sociala bakgrund. Unga med arbetarklassbakgrund uppvisade exempelvis ett mer funktionellt förhållningssätt till musik, medan de med medelklassbakgrund uppvisade ett förhållningssätt där musikens yttre funktioner blev centrala för att kunna intellektualisera musiken. Dessa

två musiksyner kan exemplifieras genom hur småsyskonen leker, dansar och sjunger medan storasyskonen talar om musikens yttre aspekter och visar upp sina kunskaper om artister. Med avstamp i Rimmers resultat skulle det kunna indikera att barnen från de empiriska exempel som presenteras i denna artikel tillhör en medelklassfamilj vilket anges i Ågren (2015).

Tidigare forskning har visat att syskon är viktiga som förebilder och normsättare i barns musiksmak och musiklyssnande (Bergman, 2009; Werner, 2009), vilket framträder i det sätt som syskonen härmar och imiterar varandra respektive de artister vars musik spelas. Bröderna härmar gruppen Jonas Brothers uppträdande, med ett YouTube-klipp som förlaga. Luftgitarren får gestalta den manligt kodade elgitarren (se Ganetz, 2009; Green, 2002). För systrarna gestaltas härmande dels genom att lillasystern härmar sin storasyster, men även genom att de båda kan sägas imitera ett traditionellt kvinnligt scenspråk. Syskonens musikaliska lek och interaktion kan förstås som en del i deras musikaliska socialisation och formandet av musikaliska habitus.

I båda de empiriska exemplen är det tydligt att småsyskonen interagerar med sina storasyskon i relation till musiken, genom lek. Leken kan förstås som det som ger struktur och sammanhang åt musiken (se Bjørkvold, 2009). Det tydliggörs genom att småsyskonen leker att de lyssnar på musik efter skolan eller uppträder. Mediebilder beskrivs som en referensram i barns lek och uttryck (Davies, 2003), och musikens funktion blir på så vis ett slags soundtrack till övrig lek. Bjørkvold (2009) beskriver härmade som en central del av barns musikaliska lärande. I enlighet med Werner (2009) framstår musiken som viktig för att markera åldersskillnad samtidigt som musik som uppfattas som barnslig och relaterad till tidigare åldrar, avvisas av barnen (se även Willet, 2011; Änggård, 2005). Storasyskonens musik blir på så vis en åldersmarkör som utgör ett kapital för de yngre barnen. Genom att tillägna sig de äldre syskonens smak kan de själva uppfattas som äldre. Det går att förstås som en identitetsskapande praktik där "större barn" framstår som en möjlig och önskvärd identitet.

Studiens resultat väcker musikpedagogiska frågor om leken i relation till syskons musikaliska interaktion. Dessutom aktualiseras vidare frågor kring huruvida graden av barns musikaliska autonomi i familjer, i motsats till vad Nilsson (2012) beskriver, egentligen minskar eftersom det i hög grad är föräldrars datorer och Spotify-konton som barnen tar del av. Denna autonomi kan dock misstänkas öka i takt med att barnen blir äldre och i vilket storasyskon blir digitala organiska pedagoger för sina småsyskon. Denna artikel har visat hur syskon i hemmet deltar i musikpraktiker, och hur musiken finns med i deras vardag. Musik och musiksmak kan vara ett sätt för syskon skapa

tillhörighet och gemenskap till varandra, men kan också användas för att markera ålder och distinktion. Studien visar även att musiksmak blir ett sätt för barn att skapa tillhörighet och tala om vem man är och vill vara.

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The Becomings of Satanist Musicianship

A study of how black metal musicians describe their learning processes

Ketil Thorgersen & Thomas von Wachenfeldt

ABSTRACT

Research in music education has in the last decades become more attentive to musical learning through informal contexts. This article adds to the body of research by investigating the musical learning in a genre that is considered unacceptable and bad by most of society: black metal. Through interviews with five young black metal musicians from Sweden and Finland an interesting image was revealed of a musical practice that aims to fight evil by being evil, that worships enlightenment and the fulfilment of the individual potential and also detests religious organisations for suppressing people. The sonic is considered only a part of a gesamtkunstwerk where all parts of a performance are supposed to work together to create a feeling of fear or horror in the audience. The material opens up for interesting paths in music education when working with musical bildung and criticism of taken for granted truths, but at the same time presents a milieu where what is considered good by society is questioned. Keywords: black metal, informal music education, the sublime, Bourdieu, subculture

Introduction

The last twenty years, the focus of music educational research has widened to involve more than institutional settings for learning music. In Europe, researchers such as Lucy Green (2001), Even Ruud (Berkaak & Ruud, 1994), Anna-Karin Gullberg (2002) and Göran Folkestad (e.g. 2006) have paved the way for a wave of research of "informal learning processes" in/of music. Musical learning has later been studied in varied settings like Hip-Hop communities (e.g. Söderman, 2007), Punk (e.g. Hannerz, 2013), online learning of Folk music (e.g. Waldron & Weblen, 2009), Country & Western (Waldron, 2013), Opera (Partti & Westerlund, 2013) and so forth. Studies have even been performed where learning processes inspired by these less institutionalised settings have influenced traditional classroom pedagogies (Green 2008). The main body of research through informal learning practices has been based upon music genres and practices that always had, or lately have acquired, a somewhat higher level of cultural capital in Western society and are accepted as fairly politically correct expressions. This study will instead focus on one of the more extreme genre – both sonically and in ideological terms – of music around today: black metal.

We consider black metal to be one of the genres that are not welcome in music classrooms (Kallio, 2015). While music can be nice, it can also represent and/or enforce
dangerous forces. Some genres are considered less suitable for a musical classroom
at particular times by the broad mass of music teachers and schools. As Kallio (2015)
discusses, to exclude such genres can be considered musical censorship. The music
that is excluded changes through time and musical genres can be subject to *musical gentrification* (Dyndahl et al., 2014), something that has happened to youth culture
such as the jazz of the 1940s, the rock of the 50s and 60s, hip-hop and so forth. For
a genre to be welcome into the music classroom can therefore be a double-edged
sword: It means acceptance and being spread more widely and at the same time it
might lose its identity.

Some research has been made on black metal, mainly from a sociological and/or religious perspective (e.g. Faxneld, 2015; Granholm, 2011), but also with some musicological/philosophical perspective (Bogue, 2004). Bossius (2003) and Kahn-Harris (2007) are two pioneering researchers with their studies on the extreme metal scene, with its equally extreme expressions related to violence, Satanism and fascism. Whether or not Satanism can be defined as a religion is disputed. It might just as well be understood as a collection of ideologies or ideological practices defined by their anti-Christian or anti-religious focus (e.g. Dyrendal, 2008; Faxneld, 2014) – often portraying Satan,

Lucifer, Antichrist or whatever the entity is called, as they rebel against false happiness and oppressiveness of authoritarian systems such as churches, the national state and so forth. Lucifer is turned into a symbol of individual freedom (Faxneld, 2014) and fulfilment of the fullest human potential, and is therefore sometimes also referred to as a self-religion (Dyrendal, 2008). Organisations such as La Vey's Church of Satan have not had any major impact on the black metal scene, probably because leading black metal musicians have described La Vey's philosophy or religion as being too humanistic, hedonistic and even nihilistic (Hagen, 2011). Some scholars have analysed black metal ideology as being more of an intellectual game and role play than being "for real", but as Faxneld (2015) stresses, such a simplification is dangerous. In the black metal milieu, there were, and probably are, people who live according to the ideals of destruction, oppression and anti-happiness and thereby live to make life as miserable as possible for themselves and others. This is however not representative for the majority of black metal fans and musicians who live and believe that some variety of an ideology pursuing the good life through worshipping the devil and evil. Granholm (2011) and Forsberg (2010) investigate the black metal scene from a religious perspective and use Partridge's (2005) concept of Re-enchantment and Occulture. The concept of re-enchantment can briefly be understood as a description of the post-modern era as characterized by a spiritual rebirth that focuses on personal development and well-being rather than institutional worship. Partridge also argues that the perception of today's Western society as being secular, to a great extent is misleading when religious practice has taken on new forms. Society can be understood as moving simultaneously, paradoxically towards both disenchantment ant re-enchantment (Røyseng & Varkøy, 2014). The other term, Occulture, can be considered as a mixture of occult and culture, where culture primarily should be interpreted and understood in the meaning *popular culture* (Hollywood movies, pop and rock music et cetera). Mysticism, Neopaganism and the paranormal "is constantly feeding and being fed by popular culture" (Partridge, 2014: 116).

This study departs from a wonder of how young people choose to play a genre that is considered bad on all levels by the majority of the society, as well as how the young people have chosen to play black metal. This paper describes the learning processes, musically as well as socially and intellectually, that leads up to becoming a black metal musician. As in the previously mentioned studies on learning music outside of institutions, learning is in this article considered a broad concept involving all areas of life where one changes. This includes socialisation, formal education, autodidactic learning, "Bildung" and so forth. There have been several attempts to translate the concept Bildung for an English speaking audience, since the concept is important to

understand education in Germany and Scandinavia, but has no equivalence in English (e.g. Nielsen, 2007; Tängerstad, 2014; Varkøy, 2010; Vogt, 2015). The concept of bildung somewhat resembles the concept education in the broad sense that Dewey (1897) wrote about when he formulated the famous phrase: "I believe that education, therefore, is a process of living and not a preparation for future living" (Dewey, 1897: 7). Another attempt is to say that Bildung is cultivation – to become cultivated. As Tängerstad (2014) says, Bildung can be described as something in between cultivation and education – but being neither. These stories of self-cultivation and socialisation will be used to discuss possible implications for more formalised music education.

The aim is to analyse the musical learning stories of five young black metal musicians from a music educational perspective inspired by the sociological theories of Pierre Bourdieu.

Black metal as a musical and philosophical concept

Black metal is a genre that evolved from "the godfathers of Heavy metal", *Black Sabbath*, through the English band *Venom* and the Swiss band *Hellhammer* (later named *Celtic Frost*) before it was finally defined by the Swedish group *Bathory* in the first half of the 1980's (Hagen, 2011). The musical foundations of black metal as a genre can be described as a mix of Thrash metal and Speed metal, performed by bands like *Slayer* and the early *Metallica*, but also with the thematically dark musical and lyrical ingredients from the likes of Black Sabbath and Slayer. The lyrics often deal with occultism, Satanism and paganism and can generally be described as anti-Christian and antiestablishment. Within the field of black metal there is also a celebration of idealistic traditionalist/perennialist values not far from the ideas that can be traced back to the Scandinavian and German romanticism (von Wachenfeldt, 2015) or connected to the nationalistic and pan-European spheres (for example GRECE, Identitarian movement and Alternative Right) of today.

As a follow-up to the Death metal wave around 1990, the second wave of black metal had its epicentre in Norway with acts like *Mayhem*, *Burzum* and *Darkthrone*. The visual concept and imagery formed by the early black metal bands were consolidated and the genre turned more and more into a religious satanic sect were death threats, homicides and church burnings were not uncommon. Some of the black metal musicians

¹ The topic of black metal, education and Bildung is discussed in detail in paper for the ISPME (International Society of Philosophy in Music Education) conference in Greece summer 20017 called "Black metal Pedagogy as Bildung" by Thorgersen and von Wachenfeldt.

from the second wave were sentenced to long imprisonments due to murder, violence and/or church burning. This period can be described according to Bourdieu (1992) that the genre, as a sociological field, had reached its own autonomy with fairly well defined rules and institutions like specialized record labels, as well as magazines like the Norwegian *Slayer magazine*.

The third wave that evolved during the second half of the 1990's was more focused on music rather than (quasi-)satanic violence and expressions. This third wave was also characterized by symphonic and epic song writing with more complex chord progressions, arrangements and rhythmical structures, which in many respects can be seen as a reminiscence of Bathory's later works of the eighties. Some of the leading bands in the third wave were the Norwegians *Emperor* and *Dimmu Borgir*.

Today's black metal scene is quite diverse and accommodates a large variety of musical and ideological expressions. In Norway, the genre has become a big musical export and some bands are considered fairly mainstream. For example, *Satyricon* performed at the prize ceremony at the FIS Nordic World Ski Championships 2011 in Oslo. Some of the Norwegian black metal musicians have even received awards from official institutions. The guitarist and singer in Emperor, Vegard Tveitan (a.k.a Ihsahn), received the Notodden kommunes kulturpris (Notodden Municipality's Culture prize) in 2002. Nonetheless. Despite these recent signs of acceptance, the genre still represents an ideology and a musical expression that is considered unacceptable by most parts of society.

Within the Bourdieuan Spoon

Black metal as a genre can in most respects be regarded as a *Field of cultural production*, according to Pierre Bourdieu's definition in his *Les régles de l'art* (1992). In the book, Bourdieu describes the formation of the literature field in France with its structures and values. The description is made from a few authors and poets that Bourdieu has pointed out as crucial for the development of the literature field. In a field of cultural production, with its sub genres, there are fairly well-defined norms (doxa) and common interests that the agents are struggling for. Bourdieu's theories of *habitus* and *symbolic capital* are well suited to understand how values of good and bad are defined within the genre and what is considered as desirable; at the same time, it provides tools to understand the genre as understood by society.

Symbolic capital can be understood as a value system, or a set of value systems, similar to economic capital within a field where things and phenomena are assigned to different values according to a logic defined within the field. Symbolic capital, in other words, defines what is considered to have value and have importance, as well as what is considered to be of little value and unimportant by the field's participants (or agents). Some participants have the power to (re)define what is considered important and of value, while others are subject to following the always already defined values of the field. Who gets to define, and who does not, is connected to the participants' habitus. The term habitus can simplified be described as the sum of the parts that makes up a person; their heritage, genes, social upbringing, name, education and so forth are the factors that provide the agent with their social status that defines the power to act within the field. Bourdieu defines different kinds of symbolic capital, but in this article, cultural capital is particularly interesting. Cultural capital defines what kind of art; cultural and artistic expression is valued within the field. In this case - what kinds of music and other expressions are considered good by the black metal musicians as representatives within the field. The field, although somewhat autonomous, always refer to surrounding fields and society as a whole. The value system within and outside the field are not the same but refer to each other. This can be done in a similar way to what Erik Hannerz (2013) did in his thesis Performing Punk where he used the metaphor of a spoon to analyse how cultural capital is produced within the genre (the concave side of the spoon), as opposed to outside the genre (the convex side). What is being learnt will be understood in relation to these parameters of what is considered good black metal as well as how black metal is considered as a musical genre by the surrounding society.

Method

The results of this study are based on in-depth interviews with a small sample of five young male black metal musicians spanning the ages 17 to 26 years old. They were recruited through different internet based forums for extreme metal music and are all active performers within the genre. Four of the participants come from different parts of Sweden and one from Finland. They represent all the instruments typically found in the genre: Guitar, bass, vocals and drums (even if none consider bass as their main instrument). The interviews were done during the first months of 2015. To our knowledge, none of the participants know each other and they describe the qualities in black metal music differently, but we have been able to find cross-references between

at least three of the bands. Two have a planned concert together while a second connection is one participant is praised by another. Four of the interviews were done via teleconferencing software such as Skype™, Adobe Connect™ and TinyChat™ and one was done in a café. Two of the interviews were done by Thomas and three by Ketil. The transcriptions were done using the software Transana™. Ketil transcribed the interviews done by Thomas and vice versa, and then shared to ensure full transparency and possibility for a cooperative process of analysis.

An initial content analysis was then done by both researchers by creating a shared mind map in the online software Prezi™, where themes were constructed as clusters of similar topics and citations from the interviews. A secondary analysis followed where theoretical questions were posed to the mind map and the interviews. The following result was organised according to the most prominent themes from this mind map. The article is collaboratively written in a Google™-doc without us physically meeting. All communication between the researchers has been via phone, chat, video conferencing and e-mail.

The respondents have been ensured anonymity and were also informed about all aspects of the research process. To ensure anonymity, we have decided not to mark out which of the participants says what in the results chapter. The participants have been allowed to read an early sketch of this article to be able to react to whether or not our interpretations of their statements seem reasonable. The reactions have been positive.

Results

Beginning to play

The participants all describe that their interest for black metal as well as their first steps towards playing the genre started in their early teens. While some of them had previous experience from playing an instrument, others started to explore playing from what can be described as a peak experience from encountering black metal. As one of the participants put it:

I guess I was around 13 years old when I heard Mörk Gryning and I thought: Hell that sounded good! I want to play that.²

In accordance with what other research (e.g. Green, 2001) has shown, the boys then started to work on getting together a band without any external help from adults or institutions. So far all the stories are fairly similar, but the backgrounds and the continuation of their stories differ. One of the participants describe a musical upbringing in the Pentecostal church with his brothers. His mother would not allow him to play anywhere but in the church and the instrument was chosen to complete a functional trio for playing when the congregation had meetings. For this participant, metal music in general and eventually black and death metal, represented a teenage riot against the church and maternal control. The others describe fairly easy introduction to the genre, even if they describe a certain feeling of stigmatisation after having assimilated a visual image and aesthetics inspired by extreme metal.

They all describe the initial attraction to black metal as experiencing a certain feeling. The labels they give the feeling differ slightly, but are all feelings that can be considered unpleasantly thrilling such as fear, darkness, uneasiness and danger. At the same time, black metal is described as providing a potential pathway to freedom. This reveals some important values within the field – the dark night of the soul and the minds' liberation is an overall ideological intention that serves as a crucial part of the genre.

None of the participants describe themselves as completely autodidact, but their level of formal education ranges from having attended music in upper secondary school and studied musicology at university, to the Finnish guitarist who: "[...] had some guitar lessons. But I didn't really enjoy them. They were forceful. So mostly I have been just practising by myself." Those who have a more extensive schooling describe it in more positive terms though, and there are few signs that reveal an experience of a split between formal schooling and the more autodidact learning practices in the band or at home. As an interesting result, some even describe the relation between these two arenas as almost symbiotic as in this example from a youth club (after school activity for youngsters where the activity can be chosen according to interest):

² All quotes are translated by us except the quotes from the Finnish participant. The originator of the quote is only revealed where we consider it important to know who said this particular statement. The rest is blurred for anonymity reasons.

The band's method was to develop by playing different covers by amongst others Gorgoroth's song 'The Ritual' which was dark and awful. The band got help through a guitar teacher from upper secondary school to learn the song.

This could be taken as an example of a Swedish music education which has been shown to have a focus on playing songs in rock band in several studies (e.g. Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010; Ericsson & Lindgren, 2010).

The participants all describe a learning process in the genre where the boundaries between the compositional process and the practising process is blurred to the point where it is difficult to see the difference. One of the participants, a drummer, is not himself directly involved in the compositional process, but is still present during writing of all new material and describes himself as the only one not actively composing in the band. Songwriting is also described in collective terms where different members have different roles and responsibilities, where the process starts as an organic activity which is hard to describe since it looks different every time. The music is often constructed around guitar riffs and therefore the guitarists often have the responsibility to come up with the initial idea for the composition. This is then collectively developed, and the musicians get a larger responsibility to create their instrument's part. The vocalist often write the lyrics.

Some informants also describe the importance of seeking help by a more experienced musician in their initial search to become skilled musicians. A guitarist describes how they strived to find the right sound by listening to records and trying to imitate what they heard, when an older guitarist came by and showed a few tricks such as drop-d tuning (tuning down the low E string a major second): "It became so much darker. Aaah Cool!!", whereby they repeated the riff for a very long time until it was internalised.

Aside of taking the guitar riff as the starting point, the idea, feeling or philosophical concept are described as useful outsets for a compositional process.

Because to me when I make a song it's... it's a really big process of experimenting and... for a release I need to find the sound and I need to know how do I describe what the concept is about. Because it starts from the concept when I make music.

This participant represents an act that is more or less a solo project and he describes a different process of composition from the collective.

I remember the last project I had before [band name], [...], but the drummer called me a dictator and didn't want to play with me anymore.

He also describes how he writes everything himself and that this is an important consequence of the individualistic ideology of black metal.

The varieties in the approaches to learning black metal is not surprising, seen in the light of other research on rock music except the focus on ideology. It is like one participants points out:

The musical side never differs to any other musical side. When you need to learn to play guitar, you pick up the guitar and you play and you practice and you become better at it. But it doesn't differ what music you are doing.

So how do they explain that it wasn't just any other music they chose to pursue?

Why just black metal?

Ideology plays a central role in black metal to the extent that in a few of the interviews it was hard to get the participants to talk about anything else. Several of the informants came back during the interviews, speaking of various topics grounded in an interest of improving themselves intellectually and spiritually – not only in music, but also historical, philosophical, and above all: in esotericism and occultism. One of the informants describes his educational journey:

[...] and I think that knowledge will take you damn far in the spiritual work. It feels as though mankind has entered a kind of stupidity – a large boulder of idiocy. And for every scripture I read, it's like taking a chisel and hit away a piece of idiocy [from the boulder]. That's how it feels to me anyway. I try to read all the books that are available, even if it is a book of crap, so then at least I learned that this is crap.

The impression is that the informant through the formal school system, the common mainstream media and public discourse considers himself to have been misled, and that through self-education he is exploring an alternative to the established worldview. All the participants stress the importance of ideology in black metal – an ideology which is rooted in what could be labelled as occultism and/or Satanism, mixed with popular culture (occulture), but which is described in several different ways. All respondents

except one have a philosophical approach to the concept of *evil* and interpret it as a metaphor for individualism, as well as spiritual and cognitive boundlessness. One of the informants, however, interpreted evil in a more "grey-everyday-term" and endeavours for a world of chaos and war. For the participant quoted above, black metal is about developing to his fullest potential as a human being with help of philosophical and theosophical tools that can aid in removing barriers and imagined borders for possible insight into existence.

For another, exposing mankind's darkest sides are considered important in order to help resist and conquer evil: "Black metal is about the negative parts of the human psyche and the world", one participant explains and continues: "and it makes me feel safe". Humankind is not only good and it is art's (black metal's) responsibility to demonstrate the darkest sides of humanity in the safe environment of an artwork so that man can face their inner fears without risking their own life. One of the participants describes his work with alchemy and magic, but is rather careful in his esoteric work when he does not want "demons all over the place".

A third theme that is lifted as ideologically important by several is the focus on individuality – and on the collective and society as potentially and actually oppressive. Satan is therefore considered more of an idea or an ideal than a living entity by these participants, even if they point to others who actually believe in Satan as the fallen angel that lives on – despite the uprise for freedom against the suppressing God.

[...] that's why I believe that the general theme is Satanism and to follow the Devil as well, because he is sort of a pillar for – for the individual – to not budge under anyone or to be dominated by anyone, but to be your own master. And you find your own path. And anyone who opposes this can go to hell.

This freedom from oppression is a central theme that also manifests as important anti-religious ideals. Organised religion is by these participants considered as social structures constructed to limit man, and to keep people in their positions and at the tasks that best serve the church as an organisation, at each and every human being's expense. Therefore, Lucifer, the bringer of light, the illuminator, et cetera, serves as an archetype and role model in the quest for more knowledge and insight, or to put it in theological terms – *gnosis*³.

³ More about this in the discussion.

The participants all give an inviting, open and honest impression, but still advocate this music as a music of darkness, hatred, fear and - surprisingly - love. One participant says "Plenty of Satanists see Satan as good". Another, and the most surprising confession of what black metal was, came from the participant with an upbringing in church, he thought for a little time and almost shyly said that he "believes more in love than in any supernatural entity because love is more real". He explains that their love to each other and to the music is why they make the music and that in his latest songs, his lyrics are about love as well. At the same time, he elaborates over the more classical themes in black metal ideology and explains that he toils with occultism and reads about magic and Satanism because it is interesting. This kind of curiosity for the paranormal seems to be vital for the way they construct themselves as individualistic and at the same time conformist black metal artists: The almost scientific approach to their beliefs, where they read a wide variety of sources about the topic and experiment with different kinds of rituals and ordeals to search for a more authentic view of existence. One of the participants had studied philosophy at university but all of them referred to philosophical or religious concepts and ideas. To believe in Satan is to believe in God and therefore to define what God is must hence be of importance. One participant puts it like this when he is asked how to learn black metal:

Books about occultism and religion. Something that is useful is to read the bible or the Quran or whatever. But read it from an unbiased stance. You should forget all you have learned and interpret it literally instead.

Based on these reflections, black metal ideology can be described partly as a defined progressive force, fighting for the individual, for love and freedom – and – often through exposing the darkest parts of existence, but also just as much defined as being opposed to Christianity and other religions – primarily Abrahamic religions who are seen as doing evil, like war and oppression in the name of some claimed higher good called God. Some of the informants then replace one church with another when they enter an order or another organized cult to enact their belief, but at least two of these participants regard this with great scepticism. One has a New Age approach, where he picks and chooses ideas and ideals from everywhere, while another describes organised Satanism and similar organisations as "[...] being back to square one in Christianity – that this must be followed. It is kind of like a law". The same respondent describes the work on the next album as an album about war. He exemplifies with a

song that he is currently writing about the actions and emotions on Utøya⁴. His war is against Christianity.

How black metal is described

Black metal's sonic and musical qualities are described by the participants as tightly connected to the ideology described above. To the casual listener, it may be difficult to distinguish between death and black metal and when asked to describe to an uninitiated, they all start off by referring to a feeling, function or ideal. One of the informants uses an allegorical approach: "If death metal is like a splatter movie, then black metal is like a psychological thriller".

When pressed on what they would do to sonically and/or musically achieve the aforementioned feeling, function or ideal, certain musical parameters show up. Some are presented as being typical, some desirable, while the same parameters can be viewed in completely opposite ways by another. What becomes evident is that there are different sub-genres and different preferences.

They all agree that typical characteristics of the music is that it is based on a traditional rock instrumentation with bass, guitar, drums and vocals as necessary ingredients with keyboard as a possible addition. Typical musical identification marks are described as the music being fast, guitar- and riff-based, using double bass and blast beats on the bass drum played in fast 2/4-time signature, and a screaming or growling vocal which is slightly higher pitched than in e.g. Death metal. The arrangements are supposed to be "epic" and they should not follow a predefined pattern. Basically, the musical expression is supposed to bring forth the message the band wants to communicate.

So, where do they disagree? There are two important differences between the participant's description of quality conceptions in black metal: The level of musical experimentation allowed and the view of the necessity to be serious in the music.

On the one side, black metal is described in archaic or even reactionary terms: Black metal is then a genre that was defined once and for all during the 1990s and is supposed to develop in deep respect for the godfathers of black metal such as the Norwegian Mayhem or Swedish Bathory and that only little should deviate from the norm set by these bands. So, as a musician you should:

⁴ This refers to the massacre at Utøya 2011 where one man killed 77 people, mostly youngsters.

...keep it at such a serious level and not water it [black metal] out as certain other bands do, who experiment to the extent that they almost destroy.

On the other end of the scale two of the participants celebrate the satanic freedom with respects to what is permissible in black metal. When the French band *Deathspell Omega* is described, it is being praised for their innovative style and experimentation:

I think they are ingenious and they... they are just so far ahead from anybody else, because they have this greater view about creating music

"Everything can be black metal as long as it conveys the right feeling", one participant puts it. On a direct question, as to whether a simple song could be black metal he replies: "There are obvious examples of this. On Watain's latest album there is an acoustic song with clean vocals."

The same participant also explains that humour and irony can be used as long as it is dark humour, while the participant representing the archaic discourse regards such means of humour to be destroying the genre. This divide can be seen as expressions of the maturing of a genre, which has developed into several sub-genres and like in, for example, folk music there are strong advocates for a conservative and preservative role as well as advocates for extending the genre and merging it with others.

One thing they do agree on, is the importance of the visual aspects of black metal. The visual and the auditory are described as equally important in conveying the message – as a part of the "complete package", as one phrases it. A typical visual imagery mentioned is stage scenery consisting of altars, chandeliers, blood and symbols. The face is often painted with "corpse paint"; black and white make up to resemble a skull, and there are often clothes inspired from religious ceremonies or typical leather jackets. Album covers are always carefully thought through, often with occult symbols. All this to create the image of who you are – or who you want to be...

Theatre or Life Style?

As aforementioned, the none-musical appearance is also crucial within the field of black metal. One informant told us that:

...when you play black metal, it is my view that you should always keep up appearances. It is not a requirement for a black metal artist that, when they take off the corpse paint and walk off the stage, that they are who they propagate to be. But everything should suggest that you are. So, what you are as a civilian is not too important as long as the audience can believe that you can eat their child.

As in the perceptions of musical quality, there are also here two opposing views that can be seen as a continuum where one of the participants is clearly on one side of the extreme and another, most of the time, on the other side. The one cited above sees the purpose for the audience and the artist to feel the dark emotions and experience the human fears. Whether or not it is real does not matter as long as the audience believe it is. This connects well with a postmodern view of reality and truth as constructions. On the other side, there is the authenticity and true discourse that is hegemonic. To connect to Erik Hannert's (2013) spoon analogy we can see the contours of two insides of the same spoon. There is different symbolic capital within the black metal spoon. The conservative, preservative that believes in authenticity and one singular identity and one more late-modern view where we can have parallel identities that we use and switch between for different purposes. Most of the participants refer to the visual aspects connected to trustworthiness, but for most that means putting on a persuasive act. Interestingly even the most conservative participant happens to slip out a similar view after having insisted that you have to be true and that black metal is a lifestyle:

[...] When I perform I want to get as far away from my usual character as possible because my usual character is an ordinary human being, and this music is not ordinary for me. So, the more I take off my usual identity and go over to my music identity.... It is almost the same when you enter the stage and take off your own identity

The Gesamtkunstwerk seems to be the ideal and is also a distinguishing factor towards neighbouring genres – classical music, philosophy and the big questions of life, death and existence are in focus. How is this not pretentious?

Discussion

While there are obvious logical breaches in the totality of the ideological mashup presented here, this is not necessarily grounds for a critique of the black metal culture,

as an investigation into any culture probably would show inconsistencies. Based on informants' statements the study acknowledged some ideological positions that revealed parts of the field's norm system. Though the informants' hails individuality and freedom from dogmas, there are some essential expressions uncovered that connects to the field's doxa. The corpse paint and stage performance, the jargon that emphasises a kind of "noble evilness" and almost a pretentious and philosophical way of reasoning about life and how artists and music should be, act and sound like to be granted authenticity. Besides that, in order to acquire social and cultural capital, it is important to listen to and be aware of the "right" performers, which in many respects are early bands like Bathory and Mayhem, but even newer acts as Watain – bands which in the field are what Bourdieu (1992) terms as *culture princes* and *taste makers*.

This study shows that these young black metal musicians are using black metal as an art in several ways: It connects to the meaning of art as experience posed by Dewey (2005), but also to a view of art as the sublime as described by Edmund Burke (2007), as well as connect to notions of art as criticism⁵. These young men have chosen a path to express themselves and to become who they wish to become through active change. Active, deliberate change could be a description of what education is – and as such, black metal could be understood as educational *per se* according to these respondents. They are actively engaging to make a difference for themselves and for society. The usefulness and success of their endeavours are hard to predict as the cultural capital of the genre is fairly low, but the genre is "by nature provocative" as one participant expressed it. The description they make of black metal can be seen as emancipatory: They are striving for freedom *from* evil, or *through* evil, in different ways.

Another thing to notice is that all the informants have a non-christian or even antichristian view of the world. The impression is that it is rather about an *occultural* view (Partridge, 2005), or strive for a mystical and a higher meaning in a secular world – a phenomenon described by Partridge (Ibid.) as *Re-Enchantment*. To put it in other words: The informants collect their own bricolage of popular cultural expressions, mixed with older occult symbols and expressions. The outcome is an unconstrained aesthetic, occult and philosophical mix that serves both as a musical and ideological beacon.

⁵ Interesting, but beyond the scope of this article, is how the participants in the study express opinions of mass culture and the cultural industry as means of mass deception and pacification, as opposed to enlightenment and real value, that (ironically) fits in well with how Adorno analyses the relationships between art and mass culture (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2007; Adorno, 1975).

So, becoming a black metal musician is far more than learning to play the right notes and construct the right arrangements: It involves a high degree of socialisation or perhaps even *bildung* through critical thinking and a broad orientation concerning art, theology, mysticism and philosophy. To become a black metal artist involves trying to inherit an idealistic position and be willing to change this if proven wrong. As the respondent who cherished love in black metal showed clearly: Black metal for him helped him change to become a better human being.

We want to argue that the field of black metal, with its provoking values and aesthetics, can be interpreted as what we would call a *Luciferian principle* within the society – a concept close related to the Jungian *Trickster*⁶ archetype (Griswold, 1983). The Luciferian principle connects to the original meaning of Satan as *The Accuser*, who points his finger at the hypocrisy in society and works as the chaos factor that challenges accepted truths, prevents stagnation and move "the plot" forward.

Black metal will probably not be welcomed into music classrooms for a long time (Kallio, 2015), and would probably not want to be there either, in fear of loosing its lucefierian identity. But if we could just forget about the hatred and evil for one second – black metal pedagogy would be a perfect candidate for our music classrooms – a celebration of the will and ultimately a quest to reach one's own full potential. How can school music, similarly to black metal pedagogy, engage a total engagement in technical excellence, aesthetic communication and sublime existential fulfilment without it? A conclusion could be that formal music education should seek to engage students to engage in these features of musical communication from their own perspectives to lighten the individual's spark for musical excellence. It is not only tempting, but also in its place to round off and epitomize this study with a familiar sentence within the field – the philosophical law of Thelema as formulated by Aleister Crowley: "Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the Law. Love is the law, love under will" (Crowley & Crowley, 2004: 3).⁷

possibilities of personal development in every human.

⁶ The Trickster is a frequent ambiguous archetype in fairy tales, myths and religions. The archetype is mainly characterized by individualism, duality, shrewdness, poor impulse control and a constant desire to challenge the established power structures. The Trickster may, because of the his/her often low social status, use creativity and cunning to achieve their aims. Well-known characters who are often linked with the archetype is Prometheus, Lucifer and Loki, but also characters from popular culture like Han Solo from the *Star Wars* saga and Gollum/Sméagol from *Lord of the Rings*. The Trickster often contributes with a role in *the story* which means that, despite their moral shortcomings, they still perform acts of a positive nature.

7 The sentence is from the book *Liber AL vel Legis*, originally written 1904 by the magician and cult leader Aleister Crowley (1875–1947). The word *will* should here be interpreted as the quintessence and

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«And the Melody still lingers on»: Om danningspotensiale i ein discolåt

Silje Valde Onsrud

ABSTRACT

In this article, a cover version of Dizzy Gillespie's "A Night in Tunisia" is analyzed as a compound art expression and as an adaptation from one musical genre to another. The purpose of the analysis is to investigate whether a song like this can be didactical on the art's own premises and have a potential for Bildung. The selected cover version is called "And the Melody still lingers on", sung by the disco queen Chaka Khan. By analyzing musical material for an educational purpose, the article stands with one foot in musicology, and the other in music education. By using analytical tools from musicology, informed by literature studies, the article aims to contribute to new perspectives in music education research. The analysis suggests new aspects to the ongoing discussions about the future for music education, especially in a Nordic context.

Keywords: adaptation, compound art expression, didactics of literature and the fine arts, aesthetic formation (Bildung)

Innleiing

Første gong eg høyrde «And the Melody still lingers on» eller «A Night in Tunisia» som låten vanlegvis blir kalla,¹ sto eg i ei bruktsjappe ein gong tidleg på nittitalet, og låten gjekk over høgtalaranlegget. Det var ikkje ei plate av opphavsmannen Dizzy Gillespie som sto og surra. Den amerikanske jazztrompetisten hadde eg knapt høyrd om som femtenåring. Stemma som slo imot meg høyrde til discodronninga Chaka Khan. Hjarta gjorde eit ekstra hopp då det viste seg at plata frå 1981 kunne bli mi for ein femtilapp eller så. Eg hadde nok betalt meir om eg måtte. Dette var før YouTube og Spotify,² og innspelingar som dette var ikkje nødvendigvis enkle å få tak i. Vel heime i stova framfor platespelaren til foreldra mine sette eg spent ned stiften på vinylen, og blei møtt av Chaka Khan sine velkjende *funky disco*-rytmar. Då eg kom til spor 6 kom endeleg låten frå bruktsjappa. I butikken hadde eg berre lagt merke til musikken. No høyrde eg også teksten:

A long time ago in the forties, Dizzy and Bird gave us this song. They called it "A Night in Tunisia", and the melody still lingers on.

I rubato, nærmast som eit resitativ, syng Chaka Khan seg gjennom dei første tekstlinjene til Dizzy Gillespie sin melodi. Ho har halvert tempoet i høve til den opphavlege *bebop*-stilen. Etter dei historiske fakta i dei første tekstlinjene, brakar *disco*-rytmane laus, og Chaka Khan syng vidare om kor underleg denne nye låten var i si samtid. Ingen hadde høyrd noko slikt tidlegare, og nesten ingen kunne følgje det avanserte spelet:

It was new and very strange Blew the squares right off the stage. Few could play along. But the melody still lingers on.

Slik fortel Chaka Khan om korleis *bebop*-sjangeren vart fødd på 1940-talet. Ho set stilen i ein historisk kontekst med *swing* som kom forut og *cool* som følgde etter.³ Med

¹ Låten hadde opphavleg tittelen «Interlude», og er komponert av Dizzy Gillespie i 1942.

² Chaka Khan sin versjon er spelt inn på plata *What cha gonna do for me* frå 1981 (Khan, 1981), og finst i dag både på Spotify og YouTube. Låten blei utgjeve på nytt på sampleplata *Epiphany – The best of Chaka Khan* i 1996 (Khan, 1996).

³ Sjå teksten i sin heilskap som vedlegg.

fråsegner som «the past you can't ignore» og «without them, where would we be?» gjorde ho meg, som 15 år gamal lyttar, historisk medviten om at det finst musikkformer forut for samtida sine sjangrar, og at desse har vore heilt avgjerande for at musikken i dag har blitt som han har blitt. Eg sat der på golvet framfor platespelaren, langt frå noko kateter, og vart undervist i amerikansk jazzhistorie av ei av mine største pop-heltinner.

Kva var dette for ein didaktisk situasjon, om det i det heile kan kallast noko slikt? Nokon vil kanskje meine at det ikkje er det. Eg vil driste meg til å bruke plassen i denne artikkelen til å drøfte korleis ein låt som denne kan vere estetisk dannande og lesast som didaktikk på kunsten sine eigne premiss. Det betyr at eg vil analysere låten ut ifrå nokre kunstfagdidaktiske perspektiv og analyseverktøy som legg premissa for den avsluttande drøftinga. Problemstillinga står, slik eg ser det, i skjeringspunktet mellom musikkvitskap og musikkpedagogikk, og vil såleis vere relevant for begge felt. Didaktisk refleksjon er vanleg i musikkpedagogiske studiar, medan analyser av eit låtmateriale eller eit verk er noko ein har overlate til musikkvitarane. Omvendt er det ikkje direkte daglegdags med didaktiske refleksjonar i musikkvitskaplege studiar. I det følgjande blir det nytta to ulike analytiske grep for å gå i djupna av denne utvalde låten og undersøke både kva didaktisk potensiale som kan ligge i han og om ein låt som dette kan vere estetisk dannande for den som lyttar.

Å analysere låten kunstfagdidaktisk

Kunstfagdidaktikk er eit omgrep som blei lansert i boka *Ut frå det konkrete. Bidrag til ein retorisk kunstfagdidaktikk* (Nyrnes, 2007) og danna grunnlagstenkinga for forskingsprogrammet *Kunstfagdidaktikk* ved Senter for kunstfag, kultur og kommunikasjon på Høgskolen i Bergen i perioden 2009–2015.⁴ Didaktikk-omgrepet har her ei fagdidaktisk orientering, altså knytt til undervisningas kva, korleis og kvifor i kunstfaga. Didaktikken er eit studieområde innanfor pedagogikken, og er, slik Frede V. Nielsen beskriv det, ein teoretisk og vitskapleg disiplin som dei 200 siste åra har vore knytt til den tyske humanismetradisjonen (Nielsen, 2007: 265). Det inneber også at forståinga av didaktikk er tett knytt til danningsomgrepet og den tyske *Bildung*tradisjonen, noko som vil bli utdjupa om litt. Eitt av dei retoriske grepa Aslaug Nyrnes presenterer (Nyrnes, 2007), er å sjå på den konkrete kunsten si topologi, det vil sei

⁴ På engelsk blir programmet kalla The Didactics of Literature and the Fine Arts. Sjå meir om programmet her: http://www.hib.no/siteassets/bilder-sentre/sekkk/nyhetssaker---sekkkweb/hib_sekkk_aarsmelding_2015_n_e-ok-8apr16.pdf s.25–27.

å sjå på verket, framføringa eller utstillinga som ein stad for refleksjon lokalisert i kunsten sjølv. Å studere topologien til låten «And the Melody still lingers on» vil kunne syne fram ein refleksjon som både kan interessere musikaren, musikkhistorikaren og musikkpedagogen. Eg kjem ikkje til å foreta ei retorisk analyse, men let meg inspirere av den kunstfagdidaktiske tenkinga gjennom å ta utgangspunkt i kunsten som eit konkret topoi, for så å foreta ein didaktisk refleksjon på bakgrunn av det eg finn i sjølve kunstuttrykket. Å betrakte ein låt som ein stad kan gjerne synast noko statisk, i og med at musikk er i rørsle og noko som opptrer i tid. Å forstå låten topologisk er meir å forstå han som ei avgrensa form som får tyding og må bli forstått ut frå den samanhengen han opptrer i. «And the Melody still lingers on» er også ein låt som tydeleg fortel ei historie. Gjennom det lyriske narrativet i låten, altså teksten, blir eit metaperspektiv bygd opp omkring den musikken som blir framført. Som eit samansett kunstuttrykk kjem låtens narrativ til uttrykk både i teksten, i musikken og i vokalisten si stemme. Ei nærlesing av dette samansette kunstuttrykket vil vere første ledd i analysen av låten.

Sidan låten opphavleg er frå 1940-talet og blir fornya med element som kjenneteiknar sjangrar frå 1970- og 1980-talet, finn eg det også relevant å analysere låten som ein adaptasjon. Ei adaptasjonsanalyse vil omhandle ei samanlikning av originalen med adaptasjonen. Spørsmål ein forsøker å gi svar på i ei slik analyse er mellom anna kva som er vidareført, kva som er utelatt eller kva som er endra. Det vil også vere naturleg å spørje kva grunnen kan vere til desse endringane. Dei to analyseverktøya vil bli nærmare skildra i sjølve analysen. I kjølvatnet av analysen vil eg drøfte korleis ein slik låt kan ha eit didaktisk potensiale, men også ha eit potensiale til å være estetisk dannande. Estetisk danning er også eit omgrep som vart utforska i kunstfagdidaktikkprogrammet, men som ikkje vart klart definert. Eg vil derfor i denne artikkelen forsøke å avgrense og tydeliggjere korleis eg brukar det. Det krev ein nærmare gjennomgang av danningsomgrepet, som også bør sjåast i relasjon til didaktikkomgrepet. Eg vil i det følgjande presentere desse omgrepa som eit teoretisk grunnlag for drøftinga i slutten av artikkelen.

Estetisk danning

Bildung-omgrepet går tilbake til siste halvdel av 1700-talet, og fekk stor tyding for pedagogisk tenking på byrjinga av 1800-talet. Frede V. Nielsen skriv om nokre kjerneomgrep

⁵ Sjå også (Nyrnes, 2014) om serien i visuell kunst.

knytt til *Bildung*: «individualitet», «fullstendighet»,⁶ «universalitet» og «mynde». Hovudtanken er at mennesket ikkje har personleg individualitet når det blir fødd, men at dette er noko som kjem gradvis gjennom *Bildung*, og som leier til personleg fridom. *Bildung* må vere komplett i den forstand at alle kreftene til ein person må kultiverast, ikkje berre einskilde dugleikar. Å tileigne seg personleg individualitet inneber at dei personlege kreftene får utviklast som ein integrert heilskap. Til sjuande og sist handlar det om å myndiggjere mennesket, både til å ta vare på og utvikle seg sjølv og til å ta aktivt del i det demokratiske samfunnet (Nielsen, 2007: 269). Dette er ikkje ein avsluttande prosess og noko ein blir ferdig med på noka tidspunkt (for eksempel det året ein person blir bestemt myndig i juridisk forstand). Det finst heller ikkje noka målestokk for når ein er tilstrekkeleg danna. Øivind Varkøy skriv: «The original German concept of *Bildung* is, in contrast to 'education as schooling', focused on a continual process of personal development with no final goals and no absolute knowledge to reach» (Varkøy, 2014: 62).

Wolfgang Klafki har synt korleis det klassiske danningssynet frå 1700- og 1800-talet kan delast i material og formal danning, der den materiale danninga dreier seg om danningspotensialet som ligg i kunstverka, i vårt tilfelle musikken og dens eigne strukturar, det som i musikkvitskapen ofte har vorte kalla musikkens ibuande meiningar eller absolutt musikk. Formaldanning vil ikkje vektlegge musikken i seg sjølv, men korleis han verkar på lyttaren og bidreg til å utvikle til dømes estetisk sans, kritisk tenking og vurdering. Klafki kritiserer dei klassiske danningsteoriane for å legge for stor vekt, enten på den materiale eller den formale sida av danning. Sjølv lanserer han kategorial danning, ikkje som ein balansert syntese av dei to, men som ei «[...] dobbeltsidig åpning [som] skjer på den objektive siden ved at innhold av allmenn, kategorial avklarende art blir synlig, på subjektsiden gjennom at det åpner seg allmenn innsikt, opplevelser og erfaringer» (Klafki, 1996: 193). Sagt på ein annan måte, dreier kategorial danning seg om utvikling av meining og forståing for og i enkeltmennesket. Varkøy beskriv det doble grunnlaget i tradisjonell danningsforståing som, på den eine sida, å tileigne seg danning gjennom kunstobjekt (t.d. musikk) frå eigen kulturarv og, på den andre sida, bli danna gjennom reiser inn i ukjente kunstuttrykk (Varkøy, 2014: 75).

Både Varkøy og Nielsen skriv om danning i møte med kunst. Eg vil kalle dette estetisk danning. Jürgen Vogt forsøker å gjere greie for musikalsk danning som ei konkretisering først av den moderne forståinga av estetikk, og seinare den postmoderne (Vogt, 2015). Frå det moderne perspektivet peikar Vogt på at musikalsk *Bildung* var

^{6 «}completeness» skriv Nielsen i sin engelske artikkel.

knytt til emosjonanes estetikk, ei tenking med røter i opplysningstida, som har vore gjeldande gjennom store delar av det 19. og 20. århundret. På 1800-talet vart det også knytt til det sublime. I denne forståinga av Bildung blir individet forma av og gjennom lytting til musikk. Det har også vore knytt til å dannast inn i ei bestemt sosial klasse (ibid.: 13-14). I ein postmoderne tradisjon skriv Vogt om transformerande Bildung, som framleis handlar om å forme det indre sjølvet, men det handlar også om, slik Vogt formulerer det, «an act of aesthetic self-styling within the medium of music or better: within the context of diverse musical practices» (ibid.: 18-19). Vogt trekker fram Michael Foucault som ein talsmann for denne performative forståinga av korleis subjektet blir danna. Sjølv har eg brukt omgrepet estetisk danning inspirert av Judith Butlers performativitetsteori – at subjektet blir forma av dei praksisane ein går inn i. Omgrepet vart brukt i drøftinga av funna frå ein klasseromsstudie med kjønnsperspektiv på ungdomsskuleelevar si musisering (Onsrud, 2013, Onsrud, 2015). Estetiske praksisar, som til dømes å musisere i ein skuleklasse, gir ikkje berre ei estetisk erfaring av noko kunstnarisk utanfor ein sjølv, men sjølvet kan også bli estetisk forma av handlinga. Eg kallar det ei kjønna estetisk danning når ein går inn i praksisar som har relativt tydelege feminine eller maskuline konnotasjonar som blir imitert og gjenteke gong på gong i klasserommet. I studien peikar til dømes dans seg ut som ein sementert feminin praksis, og jentene som deltek i denne praksisen tek også del i ei kjønna estetisk danning som feminine når dei dansar (Onsrud, 2013: 223–226). Dette er eit døme på korleis det estetiske kan forme subjektet eller individet i situerte sosiale samanhengar som del av ei estetisk danning.

I lys av danningsperspektiva som er nemnd over blir den didaktiske utfordringa for kunstfaga, slik Klafki har formulert det, og blir referert av Frede V. Nielsen: «What content and subject matter must young people come to grips with in order to live a self-competent and reason-directed life in humanity, in mutual recognition and justice, in freedom, in happiness and self-fulfilment?» (Nielsen, 2007: 269). Danning og didaktikk må alltid, ifølge Nielsen, vere tett vevd saman innafor historiske, sosiale og kulturelle rammeverk. Han poengterer vidare: «Artistic forms of expression also change, as does the understanding of their nature and function. Therefore, the arts subjects must continuously be justified, legitimized and be brought up to date as means of achieving *Bildung*» (ibid.: 270). Nielsen adresserer ei utfordring for kunstfaga, som er noko av bakgrunnen for denne artikkelen, nemlig å stadig utvikle musikkfagets didaktikk slik at den møter dei utfordringane dagens unge står i, i høve til å dannast som myndige menneske i sin historiske, sosiale og kulturelle samanheng.

At møtet med ein låt som den eg har gjort til gjenstand for analyse i denne artikkelen skal kunne bidra til dei store danningsmåla som ligg i klassisk danningsteori og seinare postmoderne tenking kring *Bildung* er ikkje openbart. Eg vil derfor bevege meg steg for steg gjennom ein analyseprosess fram til å sjå danningspotensialet i låten. Først blir låten betrakta som eit samansett kunstuttrykk. Sidan blir han analysert som ein adaptasjon. Til slutt blir det forsøkt å sjå ein samanheng mellom den meininga i låten som analysen har generert og unge menneske som i dag skal dannast inn i sin historiske, sosiale og kulturelle kontekst.

Låten som samansett kunstuttrykk og adaptasjon

«A Night in Tunisia» blei komponert i 1942 av Dizzy Gillespie og Frank Paparelli, og rekna som ein sentral komposisjon frå framveksten av *bebop*. Det er i utgangspunktet ein instrumentallåt, som er å finne på fleire innspelingar frå 1940-talet, først som «Interlude»,⁷ men etter kvart med tittelen «A Night in Tunisia». Det er desse innspelingane med Dizzy Gillespie sjølv på trompet og hans makker Charlie Parker på saksofon det blir sikta til når låten blir omtala som originalen.

Den nye teksten på plata til Chaka Khan (Khan 1981) har ho skrive saman med produsenten Arif Mardin. Denne versjonen blir omtala som adaptasjonen eller *cover*-versjonen, og er den låten som hovudsakleg blir gjort til gjenstand for analyse i denne artikkelen. Charlie Parker sitt berømte altsax-*break* frå dei tidlege innspelingane er teke med i Chaka Khan sin adaptasjon. Dizzy Gillespie spelar sjølv trompet på den nye innspelinga. Besetninga for øvrig er sett saman av Herbie Hancock på klaviatur (solo og «breaks») og Oberheim bells, David Foster på mini moog bass og Prophet 5, Ronnie Foster på el-piano, Abraham Laboriel på el-bass, Casey Schelierell på trommer og Paulinho da Costa på perkusjon.

Låten som samansett kunstuttrykk

Ein kvar song er eit samansett kunstuttrykk. Han har minst to bein å stå på, som Magnar Åm skriv i essayet «Å verta meir lydhøyr» (Åm, 2014); tekst og melodi. Sissel Høisæter skil mellom den skriftlege og den munnlege songen. Den skriftlege songen

⁷ Sarah Vaughan (Vaughan, 2001) la til tekst og song den på ei innspeling allereie i 1944. Hennar versjon er ein mykje rolegare variant enn dei instrumentale versjonane frå same tid.

har to modalitetar, teksten som grafem og melodien som noter. Frå eit tekstvitskapleg perspektiv blir det meir problematisk å dele det munnlege verbalspråket i to modalitetar, der verbalspråket i det ein syng finst ein stad utafor stemma, for så å bli ikledd modaliteten stemma. Høisæter skriv: «Slik det munnlege er definert, skil det seg frå det skriftlege ved at det er situasjonsbunde og flyktig» (Høisæter, 2014: 22). Ho meiner derfor at stemme og tekst ikkje er samansett, men ein heilskap som ikkje lar seg dele opp. Med dette in mento vil eg likevel kalle den innspelte låten for eit samansett kunstuttrykk, og skrive om tekst, stemme og melodi, både kvar for seg og saman. Teksten er i dette tilfellet lagt til som ein kommentar til melodien og til den samanhengen melodien har vorte til i. Dette er ikkje uvanleg innafor denne jazzsjangeren. Andre døme på slike songar er vokaljazzgruppa The Manhatten Transfer sine tekstar til låtar som «Confirmation» av Charlie Parker og «Birdland» av Joe Zawinul frå gruppa Weather Report. Eit anna døme er Joni Mitchell sin tekst til Charles Mingus sin låt «Goodbye, Pork Pie Hat» som handlar om Lester Young og tilhøva for afroamerikanske jazzmusikarar på 1930-talet. Chaka Khan har sjølv skrive tekst til ein bebop-medley på ei innspeling frå 1982.

Låten som er gjenstand for analyse i denne artikkelen har også eit arrangement og ei instrumentering som ein ikkje kan sjå bort frå når ein skal vurdere det samansette kunstuttrykket. Med tanke på den rytmiske sjangeren låten tilhøyrer, er ikkje rytmikken heller noko ein kan la vere å kommentere. Også stemma og vokalprestasjonane til Chaka Khan er heilt sentrale i det lydlege uttrykket låten som heilskap har. Eg vil derfor analysere dei ulike musikalske elementa som dannar heilskapen i det samansette kunstuttrykket.

Det verbale narrativet startar nærmast som eit eventyr: «A long time ago...». Sjølv om ein heilt bestemt tidsepoke blir skildra, framhevar dette tekstlege grepet det mytiske preget som har vorte konstruert kring *bebop* og 1940-talsjazzen (Turner, 2007). Også bruken av kallenamna til dei kjende jazzmusikarane «Dizzy» og «Bird» nører opp under det myteomspunne kring desse legendariske personane. I tillegg til dette tidsaspektet kan også stadnamnet Tunisia tolkast symbolsk. Tittelen «A Night in Tunisia», peikar mot eit anna kontinent enn den amerikanske lokaliteten der musikken har oppstått. Sjølv om Tunisia ligg på det afrikanske kontinentet, og Afrika blir rekna som jazzmusikkens vogge, er det vel ikkje Nord-afrikansk musikk som først og fremst er forbunde med jazzens musikalske røter. Staden Tunisia kan kanskje heller lesast som eit symbol på det eksotiske, framande og nyskapande som komposisjonen representerte i samtida si. Slik blir både tid og stad viktige markørar for det verbale

narrativet i låten. Eit slikt litterært grep kallar Michail Bachtin for eit kronotop. Han beskriv det som at tida blir fortetta og rommet blir intensivert (Bachtin, 1991: 14). Denne fortettinga og intensiveringa av tid og rom kan gi ei oppleving av at avstanden mellom notid og fortid minkar, og at det framande og fjerne blir gjort tilgjengeleg og nærare. Det verbale narrativet vil bli kommentert ytterlegare i samband med låten som adaptasjon.

Kva så med det musikalske? Kan ein fortelje noko musikalsk? Ville denne låten gitt meining utan den tillagte teksten? Som instrumentallåt, utan Chaka Khan sin tekst, ville truleg versjonen frå 1981 kravd meir av lyttaren for å komme fram til dei same innsiktene og sjå dei same samanhengane mellom fortid og notid som det teksten bidreg til. Sjølv om ikkje musikk er meiningsskapande på same måte som verbalspråket, oppstår musikk, på same måte som ei forteljing, i tid og rom. Både forteljingar og musikk er ordna og strukturert i ei form for å gi meining til mottakaren. Denne organiseringa i tid og rom kan kallast eit narrativ i vid tyding. Med dette som grunntanke omtalar eg både det verbale og det musikalske narrativet.

I den omtalte *cover*-låten blir det musikalske narrativet drive fram av eit riff over to akkordar som er særskilt karakteristisk i bassen. På denne innspelinga kjem riffet særleg fram gjennom David Foster sitt spel på mini moog bass, understøtta av Abraham Laboriel si markering av basstonane i dei to akkordane på el-bass. Rytmen startar i langsam rubato, og gir på den måten god plass til melodi og tekst, slik at den verbale historia som skal forteljast kjem tydeleg fram. Ein får også tydeleggjort melodien som består av relativt avanserte kominasjonar av tonesprang, noko som ikkje blir mindre komplisert når melodien aukar tempo. Låten har ein A-A-A-B-A-C-break-form, som er noko utvida i andre gjennomkøyring (A-A-B-A*-D-A-A-E-C-break-F) og startar ein tredje gong, men feidar ut etter tredje A-del. For å gi ei kort skildring av det harmoniske biletet, startar låten med tre riffbaserte strofer, før B-delen kjem med ein akkordprogresjon av modale akkordar som i god jazztradisjon avløyser kvarandre og leier fram mot ein ny riffbasert A-del som går over i ein kromatisk nedadgåande C-del som endar i eit *break*. Den musikalske forma er vidareført frå Dizzy Gillespie sin original, men har fått eit meir polert uttrykk, både med ei elektronisk instrumentering frå 1970-talet og eit rytmisk driv som er meir funk og disco enn bebop. Likevel bidreg Dizzy sitt trompetspel innimellom Chaka Khan sin song, til det musikalske narrativet med instrumentale kommentarar til vokalen, slik eg høyrer det.

⁸ Frå dei greske orda kronos (tid) og topos (stad).

⁹ For meir inngåande behandling av musikalske narrativ eller storylines i musikk, sjå Bjerstedt 2014.

Styrken til denne låten er nettopp samanhengen mellom tekst og melodi, kva det verbale og det musikalske narrativet til saman kan tilføre lyttaren. For å sjå litt nærare på denne samanhengen, kan det kommenterast at i første strofe følgjer teksten den relativt kompliserte melodien, medan neste strofe har ein tekst som ikkje er tilpassa originalmelodien, og der Chaka Khan tek seg musikalske fridomar, som i ein improvisasjon. I B-delen går teksten saman med originalmelodien igjen, men A-delen sin originalmelodi høyrer vi ikkje att seinare i låten. Stemma til Chaka Khan er det melodiførande og improvisasjonsbærande instrumentet i adaptasjonen, slik trompeten og saksofonen er det i instrumentalversjonane. Der desse blåseinstrumenta i originalversjonane frå 1940-talet blei traktert av dåtidas mest legendariske jazzmusikarar, med teknisk presisjon som tok pusten frå publikum, syner Chaka Khan tilsvarande kontroll og leikande utføring med stemma som instrument. Hovudsakleg syng ho teksten, men det er også parti der ho scattar nasalt og i eit høgt register som kan gi referansar til trompeten og komponisten Dizzy Gillespie. Bruken av scat-song i denne låten framstår som eit medvite grep, sidan denne vokalteknikken var eit særskilt trekk ved bebop. I den grad stemma vart brukt i denne sjangeren, var det ofte som imitasjon av eit instrument, og vart kalla scat. Likevel skal det nemnast at store vokaljazzsongarar som Sarah Vaughan og Ella Fitzgerald debuterte i 1940-åra, og utvikla vokalteknikkar som gjekk langt vidare enn berre å dreie seg om scatting. Sjølv om ikkje Chaka Khan nemner dei to i teksten sin, er det nærliggande å tenke at ho som vokalist kunne stilt spørsmålet «Without them where would we be?» like mykje til desse vokalistane som til Dizzy og Bird.

Eg har så langt forsøkt å tydeleggjere låten «And the Melody still lingers on» som samansett kunstuttrykk, altså som syntesen av musikk, tekst og stemme. Musikken er brote ned til melodikk, rytmikk, harmonikk, form og instrumentering. ¹⁰ Korleis det samansette kunstuttrykket relaterer seg til dei originale versjonane av låten, vil bli nærare behandla i adaptasjonsanalysen under.

Låten som adaptasjon

Sjølv om adaptasjonsanalyse er mest brukt i samband med mediering av litterære tekstar (Engelstad 2007), er det ikkje uvanleg å snakke om adaptasjon også i samband med musikk. Eit døme på eit slikt perspektiv på populærmusikk er artikkelen "Dancing with my darling: Patti Page and the adaptation in popular music" (May, 2010). Likevel

¹⁰ Det kunne vore gjort mykje meir her, men eg har berre teke med det eg har funne høgst nødvendig for å få fram poeng som leier fram mot svar på artikkelens problemstilling.

har andre analyseverktøy vore meir i bruk, kanskje særleg i høve til resepsjonen av songar, altså tekst og musikk (Buckingham, 2008). "To adapt means to adjust, to alter, to make suitable, and this can be done in any number of ways," skriv Linda Hutcheon i boka *A Theory of Adaptation* (2006). Ho definerer adaptasjon i tre distinkte, men inter-relaterte perspektiv:

For det første, sett som ein formell einskap eller eit produkt, er ein adaptasjon ei annonsert og omfattande endring av eit særskild arbeid eller verk (Hutcheon, 2006: 7). Denne transkodinga kan involvere eit skifte av medium eller sjanger, eller ei endring av ramme, og derfor samanheng. Adaptasjonsteori er kanskje mest brukt i litteraturanalyser der ei tilpassing eller ny produksjon av eit litterært verk til ein ny sjanger eller til eit nytt medium som film, teater, teikneserie eller videospel finn stad. Omgrepa medieadaptasjon eller transmediering blir også brukt om dette. Ein adaptasjon kan også haldast innafor same sjanger eller medium, og endrast i volum som ved tilpassing av eit stykke til eit mindre teater, eller som ved omskriving til ei alternativ demografisk gruppe, til dømes frå vaksenlitteratur til barnelitteratur.

I musikalsk samanheng, og kanskje særleg i populærmusikk snakkar vi ofte om *cover*-versjonar av ein kjent låt. Dette kan også bli forstått som ein adaptasjon. Når eg les Chaka Khan sin versjon av «A Night in Tunisia» som ein adaptasjon, er det ikkje berre grunna transmedieringa frå *bebop* til *disco* og *funk*, men også ei mediering frå ein instrumentallåt til ein vokallåt, med nyskriven tillagt tekst. Ved sidan av den tillagte teksten, er den kanskje mest iøyrefallande forskjellen mellom «A Night in Tunisia» og «And the Melody still lingers on» instrumenteringa. Alle dei elektroniske instrumenta markerer eit tidsskifte. På 1940-talet var besetninga heilakustisk. Fleire av instrumenta som blir brukt i innspelinga til Chaka Khan var ikkje funne opp på 1940-talet. Om ein ser på musikkinstrument som medium, ser vi her ei transmediering frå akustiske instrument til elektroniske instrument. Eit anna element som skil *cover*-versjonen frå originalen er at rytmikken i adaptasjonen har eit preg som gir assosiasjonar til tida etter James Brown og framveksten av *funk*. Ut over dette er det først og fremst vokallinja som inneber den største medieringa frå originalen. Form, melodi og mykje av harmoniseringa er lett å kjenne att frå dei tidlege innspelingane.

Det andre Hutcheon nemner som kjenneteikn ved ein adaptasjon er at som skapande prosess involverer adaptasjonskunsten alltid både (gjen-)tolking og sidan (gjen-) skaping (ibid.: 8). Dette har både blitt kalla appropriasjon og ei slags «berging» av verket, avhengig av perspektiv, for eksempel å vidareformidle forteljingar som er verd å kjenne til, men som ikkje nødvendigvis vil kommunisere med eit nytt publikum utan

kreativ gjenskaping. Etter mitt skjønn er det akkurat dette Arif Mardin, produsenten og tektsmedforfattaren av låten på Chaka Khan si plate, gjer. På plate-coveret skriv han:

Why not update the lyrics to Dizzie Gillespie's "A Night in Tunisia" to show our appreciation for the musical pioneers of the mid-forties? It would be a tribute to those inventors of a new musical language, one that met a lot of resistance initially, but that went on to change the shape of contemporary music.¹¹

Han skildrar også gjentolkinga av låten som ei inkludering av alle dei melodiske riffa, re-harmonisert med nytt lydbilete ved bruk av synthesizarar og: "wonderfully sung by Chaka... The high tones she sings are not in the book. Her creativity is in full view on this tribute to one of America's most important art forms, jazz." Ved å re-harmonisere og gi låten ei ny instrumentering, samt legge Chaka Khan si stemme til produksjonen, er Mardin fullstendig klar over, eller medviten om si gjenskaping av låten og av jazz som historisk kunstform.

Det tredje Hutcheon trekker fram om adaptasjon er at sett som ein resepsjonsprosess kan adaptasjon bli forstått som ei form for intertekstualitet. ¹³ Vi erfarer adaptasjonar gjennom minna våre av andre verk som resonnerer gjennom repetisjon med variasjon (Hutcheon, 2006: 8). Når eg lyttar til Chaka Khan sin tekst i dag, gir ho meg langt fleire assosiasjonar og referansar til jazzhistoria enn ho gjorde den første gongen eg høyrde låten. Dette er fordi eg veit meir om jazzmusikk i dag enn eg gjorde når eg var 15 år. Teksten er ein metatekst om musikken, særlig om melodien. Utsegn som "few could play along" antyder kompleksiteten i melodien, og det høge tempoet til eit ekstremt nivå, som krev musikarar med svært høg teknisk dugleik. "It was new and very strange" og "the music was young and strong" peikar på dei uvanlege intervalla og det banebrytande lydbiletet låten representerer. Nemningar av andre legendariske jazzmusikarar som Duke Ellington, som var ein inspirasjon for dei unge musikarane på 1940-talet, og andre samtidige musikarar frå 1940-talet, som Charlie Parker og Miles Davis er døme på intertekstualitet. Teksten nemner også korleis stilen rydda veg for seinare artistar som John Coltrane og Stevie Wonder. Denne intertekstualiteten genererer eit historisk medvite som gir songen eit læringspotensiale i seg sjølv.

¹¹ Sjå det originale platecoveret (Khan, 1981).

¹² Dette er også sitat frå platecoveret (Khan, 1981).

¹³ Julia Kristeva er den første som tek i bruk dette omgrepet i essayet «The Bounded Text» (Kristeva, 1980) for å skildre korleis ein kvar tekst er gjennomsyra av andre tekstar. Roland Barthes erklærte året etter at «any text is an intertext» (Barthes, 1981, s. 39) med tanke på at tidlegare arbeid og kringliggjande kultur alltid er til stades i litteratur. Det same kan ein gjerne sei om musikk.

Også musikalsk kan ein finne intertekstualitet i låten. På sett og vis kan heile melodien og riffet i A-delen betraktast som intertekstuelt, fordi det er rein parafrasering av originalen. Det mest «reine» intertekstuelle elementet er opptaket av *breaket* til Charlie Parker som er *sampla* inn i den nye versjonen, direkte frå ei av dei tidlege innspelingane. Her ser vi noko av det filosofen Richard Schusterman skriv om når han omtalar dei estetiske ideala i hip hop. Det å resirkulere element av tidlegare kunstnarar framfor å dyrke den unike originaliteten er eitt av ideala i postmoderne kunst (Schusterman, 2000), eit estetisk ideal som allereie var i emning i den tida Chaka Khan gav ut plata si, og dermed kan betraktast som nok eit kronotopisk element som knyter saman fortid og notid.¹⁴

Kva verdi har så ein *cover*-versjon eller adaptasjon, som vi kallar det her, anna enn å vere ein forenkla kopi av noko som opphavleg var originalt og unikt? Spørsmålet fordrar eit bestemt kunstsyn som denne artikkelen vil utfordre. Julia Sanders snur spørsmålet på hovudet og spør heller: Korleis skapar kunst kunst, eller korleis blir litteratur skapt av litteratur (Sanders, 2006:1)? Det same spørsmålet kan stillast om musikk. Ho skriv vidare om lesaren av litteratur:

[...] the more texts they read the more echoes, parallels, and points of comparison they identify in the texts that they encounter. The notion that the tracing of intertextual reference and allusion is a self-confirming exercise is reasonable enough [...], but, as readers we also need to recognize that adaptation and appropriation are fundamental to the practice, and, indeed, to the enjoyment, of literature (ibid.)

Også dette kan ha ei direkte overføring til musikk og lytting til musikk. Å trekke tidlegare musikk inn i nye former kan ha underhaldingsverdi, men også eit potensiale for læring og danning. I det følgjande er det spesielt det siste som vil bli drøfta.

Dannande og didaktisk potensiale i låten

Korleis kan ein låt ha eit estetisk dannande og didaktisk potensiale? Dette var spørsmål eg stilte innleiingsvis i artikkelen, og som blei problematisert i den teoretiske gjennomgangen av *Bildung*-omgrepet og av kva didaktiske utfordringar som kan adresserast

¹⁴ Jf. Bachtins tidlegare nemnde fokus på kronotop i litteraturen.

på bakgrunn av dei klassiske danningsideala. Analysen som er gjennomført ovanfor kastar lys over desse spørsmåla og vil i det følgjande bli drøfta vidare i eit forsøk på å svare for korleis arbeidet med ein slik låt kan ha eit danningspotensiale og verke didaktisk på kunstens eigne premiss. Drøftinga vil også kunne sei noko om grensene for ei slik tankerekke.

Adaptasjonsanalysen har synt kva funksjon fornying av eldre materiale gjennom nye medium eller nye sjangrar kan ha. Dette er kvaliteter som kan ha eit særskilt verd ut får didaktiske perspektiv og danningsperspektiv. Når eldre musikk blir fornya i tråd med samtidas musikkpreferansar, vil den også bli meir tilgjengeleg for samtida. Adaptasjonen vil til dømes kunne appellere meir til skuleelevar enn ein originalversjon frå 1940-talet, fordi lydbiletet er meir attkjenneleg og dermed enklare å relatere seg til. Læringspotensialet kan tenkast å særskilt ligge i sjølve samansetjinga av dei ulike elementa eller kunstuttrykka som har vore behandla i analysen av «And the Melody still lingers on». Dei nye funky rytmane i kombinasjon med trompetspelet til Dizzy Gillespie og sax-breaket til Charlie Parker gjer at ein kan kople saman det nye og det gamle og sjå relasjonane mellom det. Vokalen og teksten til Chaka Khan hjelper også til med å sjå samanhengane mellom gamalt og nytt. Det er altså gjennom å vere eit samansett kunstuttrykk at låten får eit kanskje større didaktisk potensiale enn mykje anna musikk. I dette tilfellet kan kunsten nærmast stå for seg sjølv og lære lyttaren noko. Det treng ikkje bety at læraren, pedagogen eller kunstformidlaren kan avskrivast i møte med ein låt som dette. Snarare kan læraren ta i bruk det didaktiske potensiale som kan ligge i ein cover-låt, til dømes som inngang til eldre musikk. Det vil også vere grenser for i kva grad ein låt i seg sjølv vil kunne tale til enkeltindividet utan rettleiing frå ein som har meir kunnskap. Intertekstualiteten i denne låten blir ikkje nødvendigvis forstått eller fanga opp om ein ikkje har eit visst kjennskap til jazz frå før. Kanskje 15-åringar i dag treng å bli forklart kven Dizzy, Duke, Bird, Max and Miles var. Viss ikkje dei har slike knaggar frå før, kan det ha ein verdi at læraren bidreg med dette. Å tenke kunstfagdidaktikk på kunsten sine eigne premiss handlar ikkje nødvendigvis om at kunsten kan stå for seg sjølv. Det handlar først og fremst om ein didaktikk som er tett på kunstverket. Der ligg det estetiske danningspotensialet, om det er gjennom eiga utøving av musikk eller aktiv lytting. Eg har tidlegare presentert danningsomgrepet som noko som til sjuande og sist deier seg om å myndiggjere individet til aktiv deltaking i samfunnet og til å vere eit heilt og fritt menneske (Nielsen, 2007). Eg har også omtalt estetisk danning som å formast av deltaking i estetiske praksisar (Onsrud, 2013). Om ein ser på lytting som ein aktiv estetisk praksis, kan ein i prinsippet sei at lytting til ein låt kan vere estetisk dannande. Ein av dei seinare tekstane til Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak kan gje innspel til kva dette kan innebere. Omsett til engelsk kunne estetisk danning vore 'aesthetic formation', men dette omgrepet ser ikkje ut til å vere i bruk. Det nærmaste eg kjem noko som kan likne på det norske 'estetisk danning' er når Spivak skriv om 'aesthethic education' i samband med dagens globale utfordringar. Ho argumenterer for at arbeid med skjønnlitteratur gjer folk meir empatiske, og det kan bidra til meir toleranse, fred og respekt mellom folk (Spivak, 2012). Boka kan lesast som eit forsvar for humanioras tyding i dagens samfunn og for verdien av estetisk danning i møte med store samfunnsutfordringar i verda i dag. Spivak antyder med andre ord at den kunstnariske forma i seg sjølv inviterer til empati, fordi litterære former fordrar gjenkjenning og innleving i andre menneske, fiktive som verkelege, deira situasjonar og liv. Også andre kunstformer kan utfordre til å ta stilling, til å la seg involvere og engasjere. Eg oppfattar dette som ei form for estetisk danning, at ein ikkje går urørt frå kunstopplevinga, men let seg forme av den. Ei slik oppfatning av estetisk danning er forankra i den tradisjonelle Bildung-forståinga, men har også det transformerande frå post-moderne forståing i seg. Med sin metatekst til låten «And the Melody still lingers on» inviterer Chaka Khan til å leve seg inn i og prøve å forstå kva tyding 1940-talsmusikken og musikarane frå denne tida har hatt. På denne måten kan lyttaren lære noko om historia, men ikkje berre det. Songen appellerer til å sjå verdien av historia og til å respektere det som ein kulturarv. Det er eit "vi" i teksten som inkluderer lyttaren. Det tek lyttaren med inn i ein musikktradisjon, og inviterer såleis lyttaren til å involvere seg, la seg forme, bli estetisk danna.

Tett saman med korleis synet på danning har endra seg over tid, har også synet på estetikk og kunst endra seg. Når ein har forfekta at individet blir forma av kunsten, har det vore snakk om original kunst, noko som er tett knytt til forståinga av det sublime (Vogt, 2015). Etter den lingvistiske vendinga har synet på originalitet i kunsten endra seg. Vi snakkar gjerne om postmoderne estetiske ideal, tidlegare referert frå Richard Schusterman si bok *Pragmatist aesthetics: Living Beauty, Rethinking Art.* Han skriv også:

...certain themes and stylistic features are widely recognized as characteristically postmodern [...] These characteristics include recycling appropriation rather than unique originative creation, an eclectic mixing of styles, an enthusiastic embracing of new technology and mass culture, a challenging of modernist notions of aesthetic autonomy and artistic purity, and an emphasis on the localized and temporal rather than the putatively universal and eternal (Schusterman, 2000: 61).

Desse karakteristiske trekka ved postmoderne estetiske ideal kan overførast til samanhengen mellom «A Night in Tunisia» som ein original låt som på 1940-talet

representerte noko heilt nytt i tråd med dei moderne estetiske ideala, og «And the Melodoy still lingers on» som er ein resirkulert appropriasjon med ein miks av gamalt og nytt i ei postmoderne tid der ny teknologi har bidrege til eit nytt lydbilete. Danningspotensialet i sistnemnde kan sjå annleis ut enn i den første, også fordi dei estetiske ideala er annleis i tidene dei to versjonane har oppstått.

Kjønnsperspektivet kan også trekkast inn i samband med Chaka Khan sin *cover*-versjon av bebop-låten til Dizzy Gillespie. Jazzhistoria har av mange vorte problematisert som mannsdominert og ekskluderande for kvinner, kanskje særleg i perioden kring 1940-talet (Dahl, 1984, Eels & O'Day, 1981). Chaka Khan set i scene ein ny versjon av bebop, med kvinneleg deltaking. Gjennom songen sin fortel ho også jazzhistoria frå eit kvinneperspektiv. Ho legg ikkje eksplisitt vekt på det gjennom verbalspråket, men skapar det gjennom det performative uttrykket. Ein kan forstå framføringa som ei posisjonering i jazzhistoria som kvinneleg jazzutøvar formidla frå ein alternativ posisjon til den tradisjonelle kanonformidlinga. I eit didaktisk perspektiv kan Chaka Khan si historieformidling supplere og kanskje til dels utfordre tradisjonelle framstillingar av jazzhistoria som blir brukt i musikkopplæring på ulike nivå. Slik kan lytting til låten bidra til eit breiare tilfang av perspektiv på historia, noko som også kan få implikasjonar for kva danning lyttinga kan bidra til.

I tillegg til det potensialet som er drøfta til no, kan også cover-låten som didaktisk reiskap svare på nokre av utfordringane musikkfaget står overfor i dag. Timetalet i musikklærarutdanningane er sterkt redusert i forhold til korleis det var for nokre år sidan, då konservatorietradisjonen styrte utforminga av musikkfaget også i lærarutdanninga. Jon Helge Sætre har argumentert for at denne måten å organisere musikkfaget på ikkje nødvendigvis vil vere berekraftig i framtida. Han foreslår å tenke nytt i høve til å kombinere emne som tradisjonelt har vore delt inn i småemne i musikkfaget (Sætre, 2014). Musikkhistorie kan knytast saman med utøvande verksemd, høyrelære, arrangering og så vidare, i staden for at desse emna skal praktiserast kvar for seg, nærmast med vasstette skott. Den didaktiske utfordringa som Nielsen adresserer om å heile tida fornye musikkfaget ut frå dei danningsbehova samtida har (Nielsen, 2007: 269) er ikkje mindre aktuell i dag enn for ti år sidan. Med dei raske samfunnsendringane vi står overfor, kan ein spørje seg om faget har greidd å tilpasse seg dagens unge. Internett har blitt eit musikalsk skattkammer der all mulig musikk har vorte tilgjengeleg, men er born og unge i stand til å navigere i denne jungelen av sjangrar, komponistar og utøvarar? Her kan musikkundervisninga få ein ny og vitaliserande funksjon. Musikkundervisinga kan gi verktøy til utforskande lytting på eiga hand. Frå den formelle læringa i klasserommet kan born og unge få eit betre

grunnlag for å bli vidare estetisk danna gjennom uformell læring på eiga hand. Jo fleire knaggar elevene blir gitt i undervisningssamanheng, jo meir får dei ut av eiga lyttande utforsking. Lytteopplevingar utanfor klasserommet kan såleis bli rikare av det grunnlaget som blir lagt i musikkundervisninga.

Oppsummering

Analysen i denne artikkelen har hatt til hensikt å vise fram noko av det danningspotensialet og det didaktiske potensialet som kan ligge i ein låt. Gjennom adaptasjonsanalysen har artikkelen vist at historie kan gjerast meir aktuelt for nyare generasjonar ved hjelp av ei fornya form. Gjennom å sjå på songen som eit samansett kunstuttrykk der tekst, musikk og stemme blir ein heilskap, argumenterer artikkelen for at dette til saman kan gi lyttaren ei oppleving som kan vere estetisk dannande og ei form for kunstfagdidaktikk på kunsten sine egne premiss. Adaptasjonsanalysen viser at *cover*-versjonar kan vere eit nyttig utgangspunkt for musikkhistorieformidling. I ei utfordrande tid for musikkfaget, både i skulen og i høgre utdanning, kan det vere hensiktsmessig å tenke meir samanheng mellom det som tidlegare har vore åtskilte emne i musikkfaget, slik som ensemblespel, musikkhistorie, høyrelære og arrangering. I framtida må gjerne desse emna smeltast saman. Dette utfordrar musikklærarar til å gå ut av vante tankemønster om korleis musikkfaget bør organiserast. Denne artikkelen har hatt som mål å danne grunnlag for nytenking om denne problematikken.

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Vedlegg

And The Melody Still Lingers On (A Night In Tunisia)

A long time ago in the 40's Dizzy and Bird gave us this song They called it "A Night In Tunisia" And the melody still lingers on

It was new and very strange Blew the squares right off the stage Few could play along But the melody still lingers on

Max and Miles to name just two Together they grew The music was young and strong And the melody still lingers on

They paved the way for generations From Coltrane to Stevie No one could stop the winds of change Without them where'd we be?

The Duke and the Prez were there before The past you can't ignore The torch is lit, we'll keep the flame And the melody remains the same

In the 40's A night in Tunisia In the 40's A night in Tunisia

Form and Order – Dimensions in Musical Meaning Making

Peter Falthin

ABSTRACT

This paper concerns musical meaning making in relation to semiotic theory and other forms of meaning making. This much-studied topic belongs to those fundamental issues that need constant rethinking. The paper discusses what the author considers oversimplified notions salient in many studies comparing aspects of music to language and their respective capacity to store and convey meaning, intentionally or otherwise. A critical discussion of meaning making in language provides a ground for understanding some of the dimensions and levels active in musical meaning making.

Meaning, is never static, but in constant flux and subject to negotiation, between people and within people. This condition is shared across all media. At a basic level meaning is made by establishing relations between objects to create patterns that constitute form. Repercussions of this basic condition are discussed on semantic, syntactic and textual levels, but as it happens, never resolved at any of them. For it is not the aim in this text to provide answers but rather to explore different facets of the problem and perhaps challenge some of the essentialist notions about music, language and meaning still frequent in scholarly discourse.

Keywords: musical meaning making, semiotics, concept development process, syntax, narrative

The what in the spot

Musical meaning and how it relates and compares to other forms of meaning (language, image, and mathematics to name a few) seems to be an everlasting quest and concern in many different fields of knowledge. It is of interest to music education because it embraces the central didactic what-question. Frede V. Nielsen attributes the shift in interest from methods of teaching to didactics in the 1960:s, to the growing complexity in society prompting a process of increased pressure to embrace an ever wider range of subjects in school and teacher education (Nielsen, 1994). More attention had to be directed towards the problem of what to teach, and teaching methods had to be designed in closer relation to subject specific problems. However, the what-question in music education should not be restricted to address issues of packaging musical stuff and techniques into subjects to form part of study programs, but also to deal with elementary levels of thinking in and about music. What is music? How and why does it speak to us? What, if anything, does it mean? To try to answer these questions would be a folly but to address and elaborate upon them is of great importance in terms of developing knowledge.

As a point of departure to investigate meaning making, I will borrow a metaphor from Jean-Jacques Nattiez: '[M]eaning exists when an object is situated in relation to a horizon.' (Nattiez, 1990: 9). This points to an understanding of meaning as the holistic apprehension of relations; at least two items have to be involved for meaning to emerge. It also implies that we are tuned to understanding by means of difference and contrast. Awareness of contrast brings with it the possibility to distinguish between entities in terms of allocating properties and thereby to acknowledge the individual entities. The ordering of differences and contrasts into patterns is a fundamental property of meaning making across all modes of representation. Hence, meaning making entails both analytic parsing and synthetic construction of patterns and relations.

The purpose of this article is to investigate dimensions of musical meaning making. It entails trying to pinpoint different aspects, layers and levels at play:

 Aspects of meaning concern its different guises: meaning can be syncretistic, associative, logical, complex or conceptual. It can be intrinsic, auto-reflexive or extrinsic, pointing to something outside its medium of expression. Extrinsic meanings open the door to referential meaning, which is perhaps the most discussed aspect of meaning making, especially in comparisons between music, language and visual arts. There are of course aspects to meaning pertaining to other research fields like biology, neurology, law, religion and more, that will not be considered here

- Layers of meaning have to do with different contexts for meaning, like personal, social, societal, cultural. Categories like local and global layers can be understood both to be intrinsic to a musical situation; local and global meaning within a piece or to contain a degree of generalization across different musical contexts.
- 3. Levels of meaning concern dimensions that in language would comprise *semantics syntax narrative*. Semantics concerns referential meaning or signification, and is conventionally designed. Musical examples are to be found in program music, catalogues of musical affects from the baroque era, military signals but also in sound branding and film-music conventions. Syntax has to do with internal relations between the entities of a series of events. Narrative is about the interpretation of semantics and syntax into a meaningful whole.

The division of meaning making into dimensions and their labeling is indeed arbitrary and I make no generality claim of its validity beyond the purpose of this article. The parsing of the concept does not imply an atomistic approach. On the contrary it is my conviction that a holistic conception must be founded on an integrational process of interrelated parts.

Research question

Given the exploratory character of the purpose, a research question would have to be provisional, and comprehensive: *What constitutes musical meaning making in relation to music education?* The focus of investigation is directed towards how processes of meaning making are enacted along the aspects, layers and levels described above. The article will be structured around the levels of meaning, with aspects and layers entering and exiting more casually.

Delimitations

Although semiotics, syntax and narrative are very general phenomena, the application of them are culture specific and may perform different results accordingly. The backdrop for this investigation is Western culture with an emphasis on the instrumental concert music tradition, and genres where Western culture has had a major influence, such as jazz and pop. To avoid making improper Eurocentric generality claims: if nothing else is stated, the reference is Western culture and music.

Semantic misconceptions

The quest for definitions is like a disease, haunting academic discourse. A definition is an attempt to explicitly delimit the signification of a concept and is therefore (by definition) provisional. The simple example of a chair reveals that concepts are dynamic constructs of the mind rather than fixed labels for objects. Most readers of this text would have an understanding of what a chair is, but who could say where that concept begins and ends? Is it to do with physical traits, constructional principles or perhaps function? What would be a definition that entails a professorate and a dollhouse chair meanwhile differentiating the chair from a stool or a bench? To address problems like these, Rosch developed the Prototype Theory (Rosch, 1978) in quest for an understanding of spontaneous perceptive categorization by which 'non identical stimuli can be treated as equivalent' (Rosch, Mervis, Gray, Johnson, & Boyes-Braem, 1976: 383). Still, the notion of categories implies delimitation. Maybe Vygotsky's semiotic theory wherein a concept has a center of gravity, a kernel, from which nodal extensions are developed as new objects are added, provides a better image of conceptual thinking (Vygotsky, 1986).

Thus far, only denotative aspects have been considered, when connotation is brought into the mix, meanings start to emerge. Meanings are invested into concepts by users (talkers, readers, listeners and thinkers) by way of continuous and complex psychological processes, in turn subjected to cultural conventions. In every application of a concept, meanings are negotiated in relation to the context and the interests of the stakeholders involved (Gee, 2007). All this suggests that we should be wary not to put too much trust into definitions by means of language semantics. As put by Kress (2016) in a keynote at 8ICOM-conference 'Language is imprecise'.

In a survey on theories of meaning making and their application to music, Ian Cross and Elisabeth Tolbert (Cross & Tolbert, 2012) start from Frege's early semantic theory by which meaning presupposes relationships of terms within a system of formal logic that allow for making propositions that could be evaluated as either true or false. From that perspective, music could not be said to host meaning because it does not pertain to a system of formal logic and its propositions could not be evaluated true or false.

There are a number of problems already in this point of departure. To begin with, Cross and Tolbert do not acknowledge the difference between meaning making and symbolic representation. Symbolic representation or signification is at best a subset of meaning making, and even that could be debated (Clarke, 1989: 14). Semantics is not primarily about meaning but concerns symbolic representation - signification. But Frege was on to something more than signification when he formulated the problem that while A=A seems a completely redundant, the statement A=B appears to hold some auxiliary information. His solution was that meaning is twofold and contains two different aspects: reference and sense, the former being denotative, pointing to an object, and the latter the relation to other terms that point to different aspects of the same object. Hence, Frege realized that meaning was relational and dependent on context, a point overlooked by Cross and Tolbert. The tradition from this early attempt in formal logic to deal theoretically with meaning has been maintained and developed in e.g. analytical philosophy, linguistics and music (Heinrichs, 2004; Orgass, 2014). But its depending on verification and the essentialist notion of words representing real world objects renders Frege's theory obsolete for contemporary theorizing about meaning making.

Signs of meaning

From semantics Cross and Tolbert (2012) move on to Charles Peirce and semiotics. Peirce sees the problem of signification in a different way: The semiotic process consists of an object or concept, a sign – which is the sound/image/form that is used to communicate the object/concept, and a third component, reminiscent of Frege's sense: the interpretant; the effect that the sign has on the perceiver. The relationship between sign and object –can take on different guises. It can be iconic, when the sign resembles the object, or indexical, when the sign points to the object by some immanent relation (e.g. smoke for fire), or symbolic where the connection is arbitrary and conventional (Atkin, 2013).

A few very simple examples to illustrate these classes of semiotic relations in music could be:

- Iconic: volume, intensity and gestural movement to iconically represent those entities in the physical world,
- Indexical: a marching rhythm to represent the threat of war,
- Symbolic: leitmotifs in program music and music for film, that are conventionally assigned referential meaning, or military signals

The interpretant can transform into a new sign that develops a new interpretant and thereby starts a recursive semiotic process to generate a chain of interrelated signs, which forms a model for conceptual growth (Turino, 1999). The semiotic process is classified along three tricotomies concerning: 1. Type of sign-qualisign, sinsign, or legisign, 2. the above mentioned semiotic relation, and 3. the interpretation of the proposition–factual, possible or symbolic.

Applying Peirceian semiotics, Turino discusses how the direct emotional quality of iconic semiosis and perceived authenticity of indices together create complex patterns and polysemic meanings in music perception. 'Within any given section of music the timbre may function as an icon or index with certain effects. The rhythm, meter, tempo, mode, melodic shape, and texture likewise may each function as discrete signs that compliment, chafe, or contradict the other signs sounding at the same time–contributing to the power of a particular meaning, to new insights, or to emotional tension, respectively.' (Turino, 1999: 237) Predominance of indexical and iconic representation renders the process largely inaccessible to semantic based reasoning, which contributes to its special kind of power. The ever-changing stream of aggregate signs propagates a macro level sign to represent the holistic musical experience.

Cross and Tolbert, however, without much ado, and without any referential support, dismiss the possibility of semiotic analysis of musical meaning on the grounds that '...music does not easily map onto the natural-conventional distinction that lies at the root of Peirce's original theories.' (Cross & Tolbert, 2012: 2) thus disregarding a vast tradition of scholars in musicology, ethnomusicology, music psychology, artistic research, music education and music philosophy (e.g. Adkins, 1999; Clarke, 1989; Eco, 1989; Fischman, 2007; Ojala, 2009; Smalley, 1997; Turino, 1999; Van Leeuwen, 1999; Wishart, 1996 and others) who have devoted massive work to developing musical semiotics as a field for investigating musical meaning and communication.

But there are even more fundamental problems to this survey. Cross & Tolbert talk of music as if it were a subject with an agency to propagate meaning on its own rather than a vehicle for human meaning making. This is not a trivial remark, it reveals an essentialist ontology of music and meaning that is incompatible with the constructivist endeavor inherent in the idea of meaning making as a cognitive and cultural activity.

The essentialist view marks also Cross and Tolbert's dealings with the concept of music as a universal and unambiguous phenomenon, thereby disregarding cultural and historical variations in musical meaning making, not to mention sub-cultural and individual variations. If we believe music to be a result of human activity and a product of cultural and societal communication rather than it existing independent of people, that would entail cultural differences in what it relates to as well as how those relations are expressed. Theories on musical meaning must either allow for such differences or be demarcated to apply to only certain aspects of certain musics. For the theories Cross and Tolbert examine do not concern the meaning of there being music – that would be a problem with general dimensions – but music as a vehicle for meaning making.

Music students and educators alike could benefit from getting more insight into music semiotics, whether in Peirce's pragmatist form or the European tradition stemming from Saussure, and gain access to this large field of aesthetic discourse. Since semiotic theory applies to all kinds of mediated thinking, it provides bridge to other disciplines and to general aspects of meaning making. Dealing with semiotics could offer an accessible path to meta-reflection of music as a form for thinking and how it relates to culture and society; to music as a way of knowing and a form of knowledge.

Ars longa vita brevis

Two dimensions of the unfolding body of knowledge could be metaphorically illustrated by the Latin quote above. The words longa and brevis takes the musicians mind by association back to the early days of music notation, when they constituted a normal frame for long and short musical time values. Back then, the term brevis was relevant to the time spent on such a note. Nowadays we only rarely use a meter that could house a brevis in a bar, let alone a longa. Though this reflection may seem trivial, it has some impact on the problems presented in this paper; namely the nature of semantics and the cultural renegotiation of concepts over time.

In language, as in music, a recurring phenomenon is that in the process of tradition, a concept transforms into its own opposite. Sometimes this change is unequivocal but more often, as in the case of brevis, the old and new meanings coexist and the choice between them is entirely context dependent. Whenever this happens, it becomes very clear that the context is part of the text, as it determines the frame for the understanding of the concept (Derrida, 1967). Meanings in language are not stable over time or even between situations within the same historical timeframe.

Along with the change of the semantic meaning of the words longa and brevis, the semiotic system of music notation in Western culture has changed accordingly. The relation of the words to the music notation symbols is intact but the application of both to our conceptions of rhythm has developed in more ways than one. Not only has there been inflation in terms of time-value, but since the introduction of the bar line in music notation, there has also been a shift in status of how we relate to time-value in a note. The bar is an abstraction, typically larger than a motif or rhythmic gesture but smaller than a musical phrase it holds a special position in rhythmic understanding. The notion of a bar is prismatic; it can hold a meter and subject to grouping into larger formal entities but has no musical value in itself. It is merely a container; a horizon for musical objects to obtain meaning against. A bar is never heard or played. It is a construction that has both cultural and psychological properties. It is a splendid tool for musical expectation by which we continuously prepare time-space for music to unfold. Rhythmical meaning making occurs when expectation is challenged which Leonard B Meyer terms: the inhibition of a tendency (Meyer, 1956).

The introduction of the bar eventually changed our conception of the rhythmic behavior of harmony and melody. Harmonic shift increasingly came to subject to metrical organization, which developed into a convention, fundamental to the concept of tonality. Music notation can thus be said to provide a lattice for organizing pitch and rhythm that according Wishart has gained a hegemonic power over the Western cultural understanding of music (Wishart, 1996).

Ineffability expressed

Could there be aspects of meaning unique to musical execution? Diana Raffman designates musical meaning to the ineffable qualities of performance nuance in musical expression on the ground that these could not be captured in words (Raffman, 1992). I

agree that there is contextual meaning inherent in musical interpretation and expression but this is common to all modes of expression and there is no specific musical meaning in the deviation from an ideal state. Concepts like note names, note values, musical dynamics and articulations are abstractions relying on approximation and generalization just like letters and phonemes are abstractions of the sounds of parts of words. Moreover, rather than relating expressive nuance to a mechanical notion of a score, such nuances are perceived in relation to the context of a particular performance along the aspects, layers and levels described above and to the cultural context(s) at play. The idea of the score as an ideal parametric representation of a collection of musical details is just the kind of notion that Wishart (1996) addressed with his critique of *lattice based musical thinking* by which he states that Western music culture is imbued with a grid-laden thinking, owing to the system of music notation. In Wishart's deconstruction of Western musical discourse, latticed based thinking has permeated musical thinking to the point that it is sometimes treated as if given by nature; that anything that falls between the lattices is considered a deviation. If the lattice is perceived as a pre-existing condition to music-making, it is effectively going to delimit the space of musical possibility. Raffman's ineffable meanings seem to presuppose the musical lattice. That said, if lattice based thinking is a hegemonic construct within Western culture, it is indeed relevant to meaning making theories to relate musical nuance to it. Only, there is some ground work to be laid out first.

Form and order

But semantics and conceptual meanings are merely starting points. Meanings happen preferably on the larger scales of syntactic and textual levels wherein form and order become prevalent dimensions. There are many different types of syntax developed for different purposes. Primarily they fall into the categories of normative/prescriptive rules for application of a system – and descriptive/systematic analysis of a system/syntax. This dichotomy is reflected e.g. in the terms abstract versus abstracted syntax as suggested by Simon Emmerson for application in the analysis of electroacoustic music (Emmerson, 1986). The former is extrinsic to and imposed upon the compositional material whereas the latter is extracted from the musical material. Acknowledging that grammar is an abstraction of language (not the other way around), contemporary linguistics tends to use descriptive rather than normative grammar.

The scope of musical syntax stretch from functional harmony, over set theory (Forte, 1980) and spectral analysis, to generative grammars (Lerdahl & Jackendoff, 2010), just to name a few. Most of these relate to the organization of pitch, e.g. harmonic functions, scale degrees, Schenkerian analysis (Schenker, 1935), Set Theory (Forte, 1980) and more. Others, like prosodic analysis focus on rhythm. But there are also those that take in aspects of sound and/or gesture (Kendall & Vassilakis, 2010; Narmour, 2010; Smalley, 1997; Thoresen & Hedman, 2007). Music education practise rarely explore more than a narrow fraction of these.

Syntax in language and music show many structural commonalities. In Western cultures they are typically structured in hierarchies of similar proportions interrelated in similar ways. Ordering and transformation is used to develop and combine phrases into sections by which forms emerge to convey meanings. Two statements of (linguist) Noam Chomsky and (music theorist) Heinrich Schenker provide an interesting comparison:

'At a deep level, all natural languages share the same structure. This structure tells us something universal about the human intellect.' (Chomsky, 1957: 12) 'At a deep level, all good musical compositions have the same type of structure. This structure reveals something about the nature of musical intuition.' (Schenker, 1935: 12)

The quotes constitute structuralist theory and especially the term 'good compositions' is inherently dubious. The interesting part is not primarily the relevance of the statements as such, but their similarity and the circumstance that they postulate the same kind of syntactical meaning making process to arrive at the conclusion that there is a deep structure inherent in thinking that is reflected in mediated expression. This process entails organizing syntactical phrases in hierarchic structures, the point being that this organizational principle constitutes the framework for syntactical meaning making on a general level. Schenkerian analysis made a great impact on music theoretical thinking in the $20^{\rm th}$ century, but perhaps equally interesting in the perspective of comparison is the adaption of Chomsky's analytical methods to music, instigated by Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendoff (2010). They develop a systematic approach to analyzing hierarchies in musical phrasing with respect to both pitch and rhythm.

Comparing syntactical features of music to those of language Aniruddh D. Patel claims there are no nouns and verbs in music and no syntax in terms of 'who did what to whom' (Patel, 2012). Applying descriptive grammar in which categories emerge from practice, means that we should not presuppose a 'who-what-whom', but rather

extract the relevant units from the text. The who, what, and whom are strictly not just syntactical units, but heavily charged with semantic meanings. If a series of musical events can convey that there is an agent, an action and an object, that would be a purely syntactical meaning. Consider as an example the event of an imaginary solo-concerto in which the orchestra interrupts a softly singing cantilena melody in the solo part, by playing dark and heavy fortissimo staccato chords. This sets off the solo part into bursts of aggressive gestures in upwardly climbing sequence: It starts an argument.

In terms of syntactical meaning making, we have a cause and effect, a change of scene due to the introduction of a conflicting sentiment and articulation. The units are integrational in the Barthesian sense, because they produce meaning not only on the level of the section, but also between sections. There is already semantic meaning in the 'who–what–whom' sense (Barthes, 1977) residing in different combinations of instruments obtaining in the piece (of which the solo part is a special case) the what being the element of conflict brought in by the orchestra. These are then coupled with musical gestures, motifs and tensions to further articulate and differentiate between them. So we have characters, actions and consequence. But the main point is that it becomes meaningful in the syntactical relations, the interplay between form and articulation.

That said, it may be that music making is too much of an effort to be used for trivial matters. It seems that in many cultures music and art is preferred to deal with higher order principles of things rather than particularities. As an allegory to Lacan's notion of empty signifiers (Lacan, 2001) maybe we can think of musical syntax as sometimes being empty, renounce of signified, and therefore effective to engage us to participate in the activity of musical and embodied thinking, but leaving the material content to be induced by the thinker proper.

The value of studying different forms of musical syntax cannot be overestimated. Syntax is at the heart of thinking inside a system, it concerns the very activity of thinking. Music education at large seem to be trapped in the logic of its own canon comprising a limited set of techniques. The risk with that is that thinking stays in the distributional level; it never gets to be integrational with other syntactic levels and therefor no meaning is made.

Narrative

In this text, narrative is understood as the integration of semantics and syntax in the process of constructing meaning. Roland Barthes discusses three levels of narrative meaning: The first level is the denotative message, the second the connotative meanings that can be logically deducted from what is explicit in the message. The third meaning is obtuse and resides in the more perceptive qualities of communication. But though obtuse in relation to meaning it works by finely nuanced expression to tune our interpretation of the message as a whole (Barthes, 1977). The objects for Barthes' analysis were still images from a film. Maybe in time-based media as film and music, the order should be reversed so that the obtuse meaning is often the first encounter that gives rise to a range of connotations from which a denotative message is sometimes deducted or more often, is induced.

Repetition is a central feature in narrative meaning making. In a classic fairytale we expect things to happen three times, and the same is largely true in a Bach-piece. Meyer (1956) brings up the problem of recursive meaning making:

The fact that as we listen to music we are constantly revising our opinions of what has happened in the past in the light of present events is important because it means that we are continually altering our expectations. It means, furthermore, that repetition, though it may exist physically, never exists psychologically. (Meyer: 49)

The second time we hear a phrase; we have a presumption of how it will unfold, based on our memory of what went before. But at the same time we may have an expectation for it not to follow the exact path of the previous event. This expectation in turn may be influenced by other events or sound terms within the system of sound relationships. Even if the repetition turns out to be exact we now understand it as one half of a twice as large and symmetric sound term.

As a series of sound terms unfolds, the probability of its continuation increases and consequently so will the effect of deviations from the expected too. Hence ornamentation and other embellishment is more effective and more likely to appear towards the end of a series.

Incessant sliding

As much as we may have an intent to convey a specific meaning by means of choice of wording and grammatical design, we cannot help but to trigger series of bursts of associations and trajectories of thoughts in the listener, but also in ourselves as we formulate a statement. This notion; that symbolic meaning is indirect and instead of pointing directly to a signified, the signifier releases a chain reaction of signifiers pointing to other signifiers, is put forward in Jacques Lacan's metaphor 'the incessant sliding of the signified under the signifier' (Lacan, 2001). Lacan even turned the Saussurean model of the sign upside down to make the signified slide under the signifier also in a spatial sense. Perhaps it is stretching it too far to renounce the possibility of a connection between a language symbol and a referent but that there is ambiguity present at the semantic level of every utterance seems a reasonable interpretation. Some of this ambiguity has to do with the psychology of expectation. Words at the beginning of a phrase may shift their meaning as the phrase unfolds. In theory, a listener cannot determine her interpretation of a phrase until it is complete. Still, she cannot help herself but to attempt to do so, and the alternative presumptions stay with her as part of the final interpretation. They become unrealized possibilities of a signifier space.

Transferred to a musical context the relations of the details in a musical phrase to each other, to the musical section and to the whole of a piece will change and reform by every new event. To exploit this phenomenon, a composer or improviser may begin a phrase in a seemingly remote place only to land it in the logic of the musical context by the end of the phrase. Tensions and directionalities in the evolving phrase are understood differently in relation to the outset and to the local closure by the end of the phrase.

In a way this technique resembles the use of metaphors in language. By playing something that in some respect seems to be out of context and having it make sense, the player is using a proxy to convey meaning, replacing the would-be-natural phrase with something to steer the imagination to consider extra-contextual meanings and thereby to accentuate the return to the local context. A special case of musical metaphor is the intertextuality that appears when a detail from another piece is quoted. The difference between the local context and the quoted context provides a frame for transformational meaning making. Considering the potential power of metaphorical meaning making in music opens up the mind to extrinsic reference and intertextuality.

Metaphors and expectation

Much of our conceptual thinking in language is structured by metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1985). Metaphors bring out narrative aspects of concepts; they can function as a bridge between the semantic level and a greater context. Systematic connection of concepts to certain groupings of metaphors models a discourse for organizing conceptual thinking. Metaphors can steer what properties of a concept to acknowledge (ibid.). A straightforward example is the orientational metaphor by which for instance 'HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1985: 15, original emphasis). Orientational metaphors organize meaning making in relation to spatial connotation often using dichotomies like up–down; in–out; forward–backward, but also processual notions of movement. Other types of conceptual metaphors include ontological metaphors using objects, entities and substances for categorization, and metonyms by which an object is represented by a part. Metaphors in this sense do not replace the concepts. Rather, they inhabit them as aspects of immanent meaning. The webs of metaphorical connections to concepts influence both how we apply concepts in a particular language and ultimately how we think in terms of concepts.

There are many ways in which metaphor is prominent in musical meaning making: Aspects of register and motion may be understood to work as orientational metaphors and aspects of texture and quality of sound may function as ontological concepts. Intertextual quotations generate metonymic reference to the piece(s) quoted. Music connected to narratives in other media, such as lyrics, film, dance etc. generally has a metaphoric relation to that narrative close to Lakoff and Johnson's (1985) conception.

On abstraction, embodiment and communication

There is a variety of tools to both store and develop music off line. Music can be imagined, it can be put in writing (in music notation systems, in tablatures, in computer code and more) and read back, it can be recorded, discussed, studied, and remembered. Variations on the idea that music appears in the relations of sounds (Small, 1998; 112); that it cannot be without sound, are therefore problematic. Sounding of music is a potent form of representation, but musical experience can be had from imagining or remembering music silently. Musical meaning appears in the abstracted patterns we elicit while listening, reading, playing, composing or thinking of music (Meyer, 1956; Sloboda, 2005).

But does this lead us to conclude that art and music could be entirely ideal, that it could do without the materialization into shape color or sound? There are at least two good reasons why this is not so. Firstly, it would defy part of the purpose. Providing that art and music is made to convey something between people, those processes would be inhibited if the work of art stayed a figure in the mind of the artist/composer. It would not be a vehicle for communication and therefore not contribute to the culture to which it pertained. Secondly, the process when a work transcends from being a conceptual vision into taking material shape, transcending from the verb to the noun or vice versa, is integral to its conception; its becoming a work of art, as says Dewey:

The urge to express through painting the perceived qualities of a landscape is continuous with demand for pencil or brush. Without external embodiment, an experience remains incomplete; physiologically and functionally, sense organs are motor organs and are connected, by means of distribution of energies in the human body and not merely anatomically with other motor organs. (Dewey, 2005: 53)

The notion of aesthetic reflection seeking completion through embodiment and manifest form is analogue to Vygotsky's idea that written language is lacking its material form and therefore is psychologically different from spoken language (Vygotsky, 1986). Vygotsky's point was that learning to read and write is not a simple matter of translating the already known spoken language, but more like learning language anew. The role of embodiment and the impact of the medium for realizing musical thought is vital to the understanding of musical learning and teaching. What kind of competence will result from learning a musical piece or passage conceptually first and only then applying it to the instrument, versus to learn the musical content by piecing together kinetic patterns on the instrument? How will it affect a composition if it is done with instrument in hand, with pen and paper or by the computer? I would suggest a moderation to Vygotsky's statement, that the written form is not less material than sounding form, but it is different, and will render different thinking: The tools form part of the narrative and will present different syntactical affordances.

In the view of John Dewey what makes a work of art; art, is that it exceeds the moment (Dewey, 2005). Every detail in a work of art must be understood in relation to the completeness of the work. In a composition, every step of the way must be seen in relation to what has gone before it and what is to come. Dewey points out that it is not a coincidence that the words work, and construction denote both the activity and its product (ibid.). For art to evoke aesthetic experience it doesn't suffice that

sections and events succeed each other, they must interconnect and interrelate (ibid.). Therefore, abstraction is already present in the moment of perceiving and necessary for the experiencing. Consequently, abstraction can be employed also when nothing is sounded. This is a philosophical phrasing of what Meyer put in psychological terms about how expectations affect the understanding of an unfolding musical phrase.

Collective understandings of society and culture can be enacted in musical meaning making. Interesting comparisons can be made of how structures of society, culture and language are reflected in musical structure; for instance, how conceptions of time in different cultures can make for prevalence of certain rhythmical features. The historic period in catholic culture in Western Europe known as the renaissance, brought about the central perspective in painting and polyphonic music built on strict hierarchy of rhythmic pitch-organization that has had profound influence on our thinking and could be traced in most aspects of Western culture. Repercussions today can be seen in the concept of divisive rhythm. In the Russian orthodox tradition, there was no renaissance, the central perspective never entered the religious art, and in music additive rhythmic patterns are much more salient than in Western music (Bodin, 2006). Over the centuries cultures have blended and this difference is not clear-cut, but the historical narrative can be heard in the additive rhythmical structures prominent in Igor Stravinsky's music, that sets it apart from most of its Western contemporaries.

Coherence between aesthetic principles in art and other domains of thinking could perhaps be illustrated by an extension of an idea of Ludwik Fleck's, that collectively designed styles of thinking guide the principles for development in a community (Fleck, 2008). Fleck used this to reason about conditions for scientific development but the concept can be valid on a broader scale. Cultures foster and support some trajectories of thinking and rejects other. In this light, the activity of musical meaning making entails the act of understanding society and culture by connecting parts to wholeness and generalizing by proxy. (In this context I am primarily considering the *gestures* of understanding, connecting and generalizing.) Christopher Small suggests that the classical symphony concert plays the role of ritual in modern society:

Ritual is a form of organized behavior in which humans use the language of gesture, or paralanguage, to affirm, to explore and to celebrate their ideas of how the relationships of cosmos [...] operate, and thus how they themselves should relate to it and to one another. (Small, 1998: 95)

In this view the symphony concert addresses profound questions of our being in the world, and it does so in organized and sublimated forms that instantaneously put us in contact with basic conditions through the lens of cultural structures. In more general terms Small suggests that through music 'we [are] celebrating our concepts of ideal relationships' (Small, 1998: 106). Maybe differences in meaning making between music and language are due to what purpose we assign to them more than to difference in capacity to carry meaning?

Towards an understanding of understanding

Units at the same level are termed distributional in Barthes' (1977) structural analysis of narratives; they are of no consequence to each other or to the whole and therefore do not in themselves produce meaning. This constitutes the semantical level (and below). Meaning presupposes hierarchical interrelations between levels, integrational in Barthes' terms, that entail some kind of syntax. Seeing Dewey's statement about the necessity for details to interconnect and interrelate both locally and to the whole, in connection to Barthes' integrational concept, suggests that syntactic relations are conditional for meaning making in art and narrative alike. Again this actualizes the idea to apply Lacan's concept of incessant sliding to integrational units at the syntactical level. There is meaning to be had in relations, connections and gestures, all of which relate to spatiality.

What part do the senses play in higher order thinking? More than the interface in our conduct with the physical world the senses are also tools by which we shape our mediated thinking and knowledge. Languages, musics, images, narratives and physical objects of all kinds as well as virtual objects in the digital domain are shaped in processes involving sense perception. On an aggregate level, art – be it music, literature, sculpture or any other form – is meta-reflective of those processes. Small's (1998) phrasing about musical celebration of our ideal relationships is not just about people getting along, but applicable to the relation of one letter to the next in a word, the proportions of a building, the effects of a medicine, the molecular structure of steel and just about everything else in this and any imaginable world, making sense of them, transposing them into a bandwidth we can tune in to.

Thus it is that meaning is realized in the form rather than in the symbolic representation. This is consistent with semiotic theory insofar that the relation between signifier and signified is distributional and meaning making begins with the concept development process – with the interpretation of the signified, furnishing it out, putting it in context and making it relate to other concepts – giving it form.

Implications for music education and research

A task for research in music education in this context is to put more focus on specific musical problems of thinking and learning. Sociological and cultural meta-levels are well represented in the body of research in this field, but problems concerning musical knowledge and problems particular to music teaching and learning need more attention.

The relation between art and culture is complex and in some ways contradictory. Culture is a much broader concept than art, embracing the whole of society in all its activities, objectives and values. Through art we express, reflect on and develop our thinking about culture and society. A challenge for music educators then, is to acknowledge music, not primarily as a decorative amusement, but as a form of knowledge to provide ways of enacted thinking and moreover, to acknowledge musical meaning making in its capacity to uphold, communicate and develop our understanding of society and culture, sometimes by critique and questioning.

This puts demands on music educators to develop profound understanding of possible dimensions of conceptual thinking about music, but also and more importantly conceptual thinking in music. The meta-level thinking *about*, is reflective and analytic and good for systematic ordering of knowledge and understanding. Conceptual thinking *in* music means to be able to connect meta-level thinking with practical musical challenge, to assess and understand the potential meanings of prismatic musical concepts as they unfold and to develop competence to act upon the affordances they bring.

In the intersection between syntax and discourse, narrative emerges. A tool to facilitate understanding of students' musical aims can be found in Simon Emmerson's nine state grid to categorize music compositions along the axes of syntax and discourse (Emmerson, 1986). According to this model, syntax can be either abstract and imposed on the musical material or abstracted from it. Discourse can be either mimetic or aural. Assessing the relation to syntax and discourse along these axes renders a piece a position in the grid that captures important aspects of its aim and

purpose. For teaching purposes, it might be more relevant to apply the model to the process of composition rather than to the finalized piece. Falthin (2014) has made an adaption of the grid for music education purposes, allowing for movement within the model to track processes of change and creative development.

A particular problem to merit investigation is meaning making on group level, in the interplay between players in an ensemble. How are musical values and perspectives experienced and communicated in the activity of playing together?

With this in mind, research directed towards music teacher education should pose questions about status and future direction from the stance of conceptual meaning making in music. Is music teacher education really cutting-edge when it comes to reflective theory and conceptual development in music? Are students being challenged to have a view on musical meaning making on individual, collective and cultural levels? For music education to be sustained as a research field, it needs to address the fundamental subject specific problems. Musical meaning making and the nexus between meaning making and learning are central topics that merit constant rethinking.

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Challenges of assessing music performance: teachers' perceptions

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ABSTRACT

In recent years assessment discourse has given prominence to issues of measurement and accountability, despite the fact that it is principles of individually tailored goals and feedback that characterise the paradigm of educational assessment. It seems that teachers may experience conflicting values involving the dual roles of teacher and assessor, particularly in subjects with larger interpretive scope. Performance on main instrument at upper secondary school is a case in point, having strong traditions for individualised teaching, individually selected repertoire, and a broad range of instruments and genres. Instrumental teachers, who often have different views on knowledge and skills, informed by different discursive practices, are nonetheless part of a schoolbased assessment practice and accountable to the same curricular goals. This article draws on Wenger's (1998) concept of communities of practice, in which he highlights "the inseparable duality of the social and the individual", to explore the perceptions of instrumental teachers concerning assessment of main instrument. Analysis of data from two semi-structured dyadic interviews at Norwegian upper secondary schools reveals tensions between responsibility to the student, loyalties to personally held conceptions of musical quality, and accountability to the professional mandate. While expressing scepticism to assessment because of the difficulties of attempting to make a fair judgement, and the detrimental effects assessment can have on students, the informants have confidence in their own assessment practices on the basis of their professional knowledge and participation in social moderation. They value school-based moderation for its functions of providing quality assurance and development of assessment expertise.

Keywords: music performance, assessment, communities of practice, teacher identities

Introduction

Assessment discourse in recent years has given prominence to issues of measurement and accountability (Stobart, 2008; Torrance, 2007) despite the fact that it is principles such as individually tailored goals and feedback that characterise the paradigm of educational assessment (Gipps, 2012). Assessment is a major factor for students' learning and motivation (Black & Wiliam, 1998; Harlen & Deakin Crick, 2002), and in light of its 'double duty' to fulfil both formative and summative purposes (Boud, 2000), teachers may experience conflicting values involving the dual roles of teacher and assessor (Reinertsen, 2014; Yung, 2001). Where grading is involved, studies indicate that teacher judgements are often based on evidence not only of students' achievement, but also their effort and attitude (Brookhart, 2013). Summative assessment might be particularly challenging for subjects with larger interpretive scope (Prøitz & Borgen, 2010), and a case in point is performance on main instrument at upper secondary school, having strong traditions for individualised teaching, individually selected repertoire, and a broad range of instruments and genres. Although formative assessment is held to be an inherent feature of music teaching (e.g. Colwell, 2003; Nerland, 2003; Swanwick, 1998), requirements of assessment documentation, including summative judgements, place teachers of creative and artistic subject domains in a vulnerable position (Zandén, 2010a). The diversity and unpredictability of such activities make attempting to measure these by concrete learning outcomes problematic (Constantino & Bresler, 2010; McPherson & Schubert, 2004; Sadler, 2009, 2015), yet various alternative approaches to assessment, such as the application of criteria suitable for the individual's work, from a pool of potential criteria (Sadler, 1989); the practice of holistic assessment from a position of connoisseurship (Eisner, 2003); and the consensus of 'appropriate judges' (Amabile & Hogan, 1983), place emphasis on the expertise and autonomy of assessors. Instrumental teachers, while operating in the 'private room' of individual tuition, are nonetheless part of a school-based assessment practice and accountable to the same curricular goals. Assessment, seen as a situated, socio-cultural activity, thus involves "the inseparable duality of the social and the individual" (Wenger, 1998: 14), where local practices are shaped by individual 'participatory identities'. Using this aspect of community of practice (Wenger, 1998) as a conceptual frame, this article explores the perceptions of four instrumental teachers in Norwegian schools about assessing performances on main instrument. With the aim of contributing to knowledge of teachers' perceptions and practices of assessment on main instrument, the following research questions are asked:

- How do teachers perceive the task of assessing performances on main instrument at upper secondary level?
- Based on Wenger's (1998) axis of identity and practice, how might different identities of participation affect assessment?

The Norwegian context

In Norway, elective music programmes at upper secondary level offer a broad range of instruments and genres, and tuition in main instrument is individualised. Objectives for the subject in the National Curriculum for Knowledge Promotion (LK06) (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2006) range from preservation and renewal of the musical life and heritage of the local and broader community, to the individual's development of "qualities important to master for a musician" (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2011). While it is competence, and not participation or effort, that is the focus for assessment, the competence goals include performing a varied repertoire, mastering elementary techniques, making independent choices, and developing personal expression (ibid.). These goals reflect values of student growth and the European ideal of Bildung (Klafki, 2001), conceptualising an "entrepreneurial learner-citizen" who is both a producer and a consumer of culture (Finney, 2013: 149). In line with a central aim of the Knowledge Promotion Reform to enhance teachers' awareness of assessment (Hodgson, Rønning, Skogvold, & Tomlinson, 2010), the steering documents provide only general descriptors for quality, placing responsibility for the concretising of criteria and standards, as well as the organising of formative and summative assessment, at the level of the local school (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2014). Thus teachers assessing performance on main instrument, though accountable to government steering documents, have considerable room for autonomy. Yet assessment of performance on main instrument carries complex challenges for a number of reasons. Instrumental teachers at various levels often have different views on knowledge, skills, and educational intentions, informed by discursive practices (Angelo, 2012; Asp, 2015; Georgii-Hemming, 2005; Nerland, 2003; Schei, 2007). In the context of individualised teaching at upper secondary school, complex relationships are forged between student and teacher, e.g. teachers may have strong empathy for their students but also expectations that students prioritise their main instrument (Ellefsen, 2014), and assessment might involve roles as different as 'companion' and 'policeman' (Yung, 2001). At the same time, students entering the

upper secondary music programme¹ themselves have a range of intentions for the subject as well as different levels of competence in instrumental skills and related subject domains (Ellefsen, 2014). Also, given that assessment is normally school-based until the public examination in the final term², there is room for considerable variation in the ways assessment might be locally organised and understood, e.g. in combinations of the cumulative observations made by the main instrument teacher, or judgements of individual performances involving social moderation (Adie, Klenowski, & Wyatt-Smith, 2012).

There is a long tradition in Norway of scepticism to formalised assessment and grading (Lysne, 2004), and in particular for music teachers to rely on experience and routine rather than engaging with new curricula (Johansen, 2003). Nevertheless, there are indications that teachers focus more after the Knowledge Promotion Reform than previously on assessment and documentation of assessment (Hodgson et al., 2010), and this tendency is also noted in music as a subject at lower secondary school (Vinge, 2014). In what ways the subject of main instrument at upper secondary level might be affected, has not been investigated. However, the particular challenges for assessment of performance on main instrument might differ significantly from some of those experienced in other subjects. For instrumental teachers, the problem is not likely to be the requirements of formative assessment, e.g. finding time for individual student-teacher conversations and feedback (Hodgson et al., 2010), but rather, the requirement to provide qualified, comprehensive and comparable evaluations of students' competences in a context of infinite variables.

Perception and assessment of music performance

Perception of music involves a range of 'interpretive moves', involving musical and extra-musical associations simultaneously (Feld, 1984). According to Green (1988, 2005), these 'inherent' and 'delineated' meanings depend on historical and sociocultural mediation, yet music has autonomy as a perceptible object, since it "cannot be whatever people say it is" (2005: 90). Tensions inhabit this dialectic understanding

¹ MDD – *Musikk dans drama* is a combined performing arts programme for the foundation year, specialising in one subject domain for the remaining two years.

² Although there is the possibility of random selection for external examination of main instrument in year 12, most students have no experience of external assessment in music performance until the final summative performance examination.

of musical perception, since while music has certain characteristics affording meanings that can be agreed upon, to recognise those meanings requires knowledge that is socially situated. The goalposts of musical meaning are therefore negotiable, and this has implications for assessment in light of teachers' professional expertise and identity. Emphasis might be placed on performance affording reproduction of music according to genre-specific criteria, or on the communicative activity of musicking (Small, 1998), where relationships between participants, whether performers or audience, are as meaningful as the sounds produced. A further focus is the understanding that performance affords the mediation of a 'persona' (Auslander, 2006), with possibilities for signifying various forms of authenticity (Gates, 1988; Moore, 2002; Weisethaunet & Lindberg, 2010), and recent research into the physiological, embodied aspects of music performance (Davidson, 2001, 2012, 2014; Leman & Godøy, 2010; Liao & Davidson, 2015) may have made it more admissible to talk about physical and visual elements for all genres. Indeed, where there has been a tendency for popular genres to be judged against the norms of classical genres, preserving hegemonies of Western aesthetic values (Danielsen, 2006, 2016; Green, 2005; Middleton, 2000), the pool of potential criteria for performance may not only have expanded, but even shifted in favour of new hierarchical categories (Dyndahl & Nielsen, 2014). Within this broad spectrum, to use universalising criteria (Green, 2014), such as 'expressivity' or 'innovation', can lead to misunderstandings when their meanings within different genres diverge considerably, and when recognising such idiosyncrasies depends on genre-specific knowledge (Danielsen, 2016).

However, the extent to which it is conformity to criteria from within a given musical practice that will be emphasised, or other, more student-centred principles, can be of great importance for assessment. According to Allsup and Westerlund (2012), each of these approaches can hold moral dilemmas. The former, representing values of praxial music education (Elliott, 1995), places the yardstick for assessment with the teacher's expertise and may restrict her imagination to 'accepted' boundaries for the genre in question, while the latter, influenced by Green's work (2008) on informal learning strategies, may give the student motivation and autonomy, but go no further than these "deliberate but limited starting points" (Allsup & Westerlund, 2012: 134). Applying Deweyian concepts, they argue that education should be a moral enterprise where the educational aims are wider than mere disciplinary knowledge, and warning that the arch-enemy of teachers' professionalism is an assumption that musical ends are ends in themselves, unrelated to other values. Amid concerns that the perceived demand for transparency has led to criteria compliance (Torrance, 2007), and a "trivialisation of teaching and learning" (Zandén, 2010a: 140), the aforementioned

competence goals for main instrument in LK06 do not in themselves tie teachers down to technical rationalities, but can be interpreted widely. It is at the level of teacher and teacher community that these goals are operationalised in assessment of the individual student's work, and it is in teachers' actions and choices that values, or the lack of them, are manifested (Allsup & Westerlund, 2012). Defining 'what counts' (Bernstein, 1971) as a valid realisation of the knowledge implicated in curricular goals, thus depends not only on the types of knowledge with which teachers identify, but also on underlying educational values. Furthermore, what counts within a school-based assessment practice, in the absence of detailed criteria or descriptors, must to a large extent depend on the ability of teachers to articulate and share their views (Zandén, 2010a). In this respect, the community of practice (Wenger, 1998) offers a useful frame within which to discuss assessment practices.

Community of practice

According to Wenger (1998), it is in sustained pursuit of a joint enterprise that the practices of a social community are formed and continually renegotiated by its individual members, developing "a shared discourse reflecting a certain perspective on the world" (1998: 125-6). With emphasis on the roles of practice and identity, Wenger describes how members of a community of practice develop 'identities of participation', whereby their experience and competence is shaped by, and can contribute to the continuous shaping of, the practice. Since participation is also a constituent of identity in the broader context of membership in other communities, participation in one community is informed by those memberships, and vice versa. Repertoires of meanings and processes that are formed and negotiated in a community can thus reflect specific backgrounds of particular members, and power relations are implicated within this duality of the social and the individual. For newcomers, participation might initially be peripheral (Lave & Wenger, 1991) or involve a role of brokering between insider and outsider perspectives (Wenger, 1998), affecting the balance of explicit and tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 2009) characteristic of the 'economies of meaning' developed in practices.

In professional life, "it is the collective construction of a local practice that, among other things, makes it possible to meet the demands of the institution" (Wenger, 1998: 46). However, even when a community of practice arises in response to a mandate, the practice will evolve as that community's response to the mandate, and the institution's

power over the practice will only be experienced indirectly (Wenger, 1998). Thus relations of mutual accountability, developing over time through negotiation of the joint enterprise, can lead to particular interpretations of standards, and to certain aspects of the mandate being given higher priority than others. In this article, the concept of community of practice is used to explore assessment practices as described by four Norwegian instrumental teachers. The possibility of a range of educational values and artistic discourses impinging on identities of participation and shared repertoires, makes Wenger's (1998) conceptual approach particularly apt.

Researching teachers' perceptions

The term 'perceptions' is used in this study to include beliefs and conceptions relating to assessment practices. A commonly held view of the individual and subjective beliefs of teachers is that they are both value-laden and relatively stable mental constructs, having significant impact on classroom practice and interpretations of it (Skott, 2015: 19), although there is also considerable research showing discrepancy between beliefs and practice (Fives & Buehl, 2012). While beliefs can be viewed as "the single most important construct in educational research" (Pajares, 1992: 329), both beliefs and conceptions of knowledge are dependent on subjective judgement (Pajares, 1992). Skott (2015) sees a need for research into how teachers' engagement in educational meta-discourses relates to their educational experiences, also concerning "the teacher's participation in a range of other practices at and beyond the school and classroom in question" (p. 26). In the current study, exploration of instrumental teachers' perceptions about assessment can give insights into how different 'participator identities' might contribute to assessment practices and potential challenges.

Relevant research

Much of the research in the field of music performance assessment has involved evaluation of performances by independent raters, focusing on two aspects: the development of tools for assessment in the form of rubrics and descriptive statements; and influences on judgements and inter-judge reliability. A third branch of research with relevance for this article focuses on teachers' perceptions in relation to the contexts for assessment. A summary of relevant findings is given in the following.

Development and validation of assessment tools

The large number of studies identifying variables for performance in classical genres traditionally emphasise aurally perceived factors of expressivity and technical accuracy (e.g.Bergee, 1995; Russell, 2015; Saunders & Holahan, 1997; Wesolowski, 2015). Technical skills are understood to be fundamental to both perception of musical expression and overall performance quality in classical genres (Russell, 2015), and to 'creative development' in jazz improvisation (Smith, 2009). More obviously visual factors are incorporated in studies involving live vocal performance (Coimbra, Davidson, & Kokotsaki, 2001; Davidson & Da Costa Coimbra, 2001; Gynnild, 2015), e.g. posture, charisma, scenic presentation and staging (Gynnild, 2015). Descriptive statements developed for criteria-based assessment across instruments by Stanley et al. (Stanley, Brooker, & Gilbert, 2002) include fidelity to the composer's text, ensemble skills where appropriate, "musical creativity, artistic individuality and effective audience communication" (54). This underlining of performers' autonomy and responsibilities to both co-musicians and audience is also found in criteria involving popular genres that are largely ensemble-based, e.g. jazz (Barratt & Moore, 2005) and rock (Blom & Encarnacao, 2012), bringing a series of 'soft skills' into alignment with the 'hard skills' of technique and stylistic accuracy (ibid.). Research investigating the negotiated development and use of criteria in authentic contexts suggests that implicit knowledge plays an important role in assessment (Davidson & Da Costa Coimbra, 2001; Gynnild, 2010, 2015; Stanley et al., 2002).

Influences on judgements and inter-judge reliability

Multiple factors are found to have importance for judgement, including performers' gender and race (Davidson & Edgar, 2003; Elliott, 1996), physical appearance and attire (Davidson & Da Costa Coimbra, 2001; Griffiths, 2010; Howard, 2012; Ryan & Costa-Giomi, 2004; Wapnick, Darrow, Kovacs, & Dalrymple, 1997), facial expressions, body movement and gesture (Juchniewicz, 2008; Lehmann & Kopiez, 2013; Platz & Kopiez, 2013). The question of whether holistic judgements or segmented protocols give more dependability for assessment has not been conclusively answered (Bergee, 2007), but different factors may come into play with the two procedures (Ciorba & Smith, 2009). In a study investigating the effects of introducing criteria-based assessment in a conservatoire setting (Stanley et al., 2002), examiners expressed ambivalence to the use of criteria since, while providing useful focus for assessment and feedback, this could impose limitations on examiners and constraints on holistic assessment. Similar findings are reported by Gynnild in a study involving vocal

teachers at a Norwegian conservatoire (2015). Research relating to assessors' own level of expertise and principle instrument seems inconclusive (Hewitt, 2007), but there are indications that both expertise and familiarity with presented repertoire are salient influences on assessment (Kinney, 2009), and that perceptions of identity connected to instrument and previous experience in assessing have importance for assessment practice (Maugars, 2006; Persson, 1994; Vinge, 2014). Research on assessment of performance on main instrument at upper secondary school is scarce, but an exception is Rui's (2010) study involving Norwegian instrumental teachers. Comparisons between individual teachers' allocated grades and written statements concerning video recordings of student performances suggest that, where there is consensus on grades, there are nevertheless discrepancies between what dimensions are valued in assessment. In addition, Rui suggests that expressivity is considered less in performances at a lower technical level, supporting existing research (e.g. Prince & Hallam, 1996; Young, Burwell, & Pickup, 2003), but also that teachers who emphasise expressive aspects of performance are less severe in assessment than those who focus more on technical aspects (Rui, 2010).

Where several assessors are involved, although not needing to be experienced performers on the instrument in question, a background in the same general family of instruments is found to increase reliability (Bergee, 2003, 2007; Fiske, 1975). These findings align with those of Amabile and Hogan (1983) concerning the consensus of 'appropriate judges' in assessment of creative work. In addition, stability is found to improve with increased panel size (Bergee, 2003; Fiske, 1975, 1977), while a panel size of two or three is not recommended (Bergee, 2003). Assessment using social moderation, however, holds complex issues. Despite perceptions that assessment and assessment competence are strengthened by the use of moderation (Vinge, 2014), several studies find that communities of music teachers have difficulties in verbalising and exchanging conceptions of quality, and that implicit understandings can be problematic (Asp, 2015; Davidson & Da Costa Coimbra, 2001; Gynnild, 2015; Vinge, 2014; Zandén, 2010a, 2010b).

Teachers' perceptions and assessment practices

Research investigating various aspects of instrumental teachers' professional identity and practice reveals different values for performance as a subject domain (e.g. Angelo, 2012; Asp, 2015; Georgii-Hemming, 2005; Nerland, 2003). Values of building a positive self-image, personal enjoyment and enabling of active participation in the community are important in general music programmes (Angelo, 2012; Georgii-Hemming, 2005).

Similarly, in Zandén's (2010b) study concerning popular music ensembles in Swedish upper secondary schools, teachers placed high value on authenticity in the form of students' autonomy, enjoyment and physical expressivity (Dyndahl & Nielsen, 2014; Zandén, 2010b). In contrast, Asp (2015) identifies both instrumental skills, breadth of repertoire and deep knowledge of individual genres among learning objectives for ensemble work. Research concerning main instrument at upper secondary and conservatoire level emphasises the appropriation of conventions of performance practice and repertoire in preparation for a professional career (e.g.Angelo, 2012; Ellefsen, 2014; Nerland, 2003; Persson, 1994), and a discourse of 'specialisation' is identified within the Norwegian upper secondary programme, where a trajectory towards expertise at a professional level is assumed (Ellefsen, 2014: 258).

There is little research exploring the perceptions of instrumental teachers about assessment, but one study (Maugars, 2006), investigating the attitudes of music teachers to examination of their students by external jury at French conservatoires, found that teachers criticised the assessment system in light of personal experience as students, yet perpetuated the same system when they themselves became teachers. The possibility that teachers feel prestige reflected in results is suggested since they felt uncomfortable if their students failed, and proud when they succeeded. In Vinge's (2014) study of music teachers in Norwegian lower secondary school, the task of allocating grades is experienced as a particularly challenging aspect of assessment work, and teachers avoid giving low grades to students who do not score highly in tests, but demonstrate effort and participation in class activities.

In summary, diverse studies indicate tensions involving various types of criteria and implicit knowledge in assessment, but there is little research exploring how instrumental teachers themselves perceive their interactive and locally situated practices. Furthermore, none of these studies addresses issues of assessment of the broadly different types of performance regarding genre, repertoire and instrument in the context of upper secondary school. The purpose of this study is therefore to contribute to knowledge on the perceptions of instrumental teachers about assessment of performance on main instrument at upper secondary level, and to gain insight into the interaction of different 'identities of participation' (Wenger, 1998) in assessment situations.

Research design and method

Taking the perspectives and accounts of individuals as a starting point (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2014), the present study uses qualitative methods with the intention of exploring phenomena 'from the interior' (Flick, 2009). Central to qualitative research is that meanings and events will always be subject to interpretation, placing agency with the researcher, and making the context in which data is generated, interpreted and presented of crucial importance (Ritchie et al., 2014). However, an interpretative stance does not preclude discussion of realities as more than individual constructions. Drawing on the ontological principles of critical realism (Bhaskar, 2008), this study explores the statements of four instrumental teachers in order to identify possible underlying factors informing their perceptions about assessment as a professional practice. This approach acknowledges the difference between the observable events in empirical data, and structural factors that might underlie them (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002). Rather than a realist approach, which assumes the existence of an external reality independent of any observer, critical realism assumes such realities initially as a hypothesis in order to 'scaffold' the research, preserving a more or less 'agnostic' position throughout. Nonetheless, qualitative research has the ultimate goal of explanation (Miles & Huberman, 1994), setting out to clarify the nature and interrelationship of different factors contributing to a phenomenon (Ritchie et al., 2014). Bearing in mind that actors can give no more than accounts of their experiences, their communication of these using the 'intellectual tools' of their situated practices (Säljö, 2005; Vygotsky, Cole, John-Steiner, Scribner, & Souberman, 1978) is the key for interpretation. To contextualise these accounts within a conceptual frame and a systematic and reflexive procedure conduct is therefore essential, and it is this which gives authority to the findings of the qualitative researcher.

In this study, semi-structured dyadic (i.e. with two informants) interview was considered to be an appropriate instrument for an exploration of teachers' perceptions about assessment. While the asymmetric relationship between researcher and informant is often referred to concerning interviews (Kvale, Brinkmann, & Anderssen, 2009), dyadic interviews are claimed to give informants more control over the situation, allowing them to 'co-construct' their version of the research topic, and to stimulate ideas that might have gone unrecognised or forgotten (Morgan, Ataie, Carder, & Hoffman, 2013). Dyadic interviews are valued "for providing a measure of the depth and detail available in individual interviews at the same time that they provide the interaction present in focus groups" (Morgan et al., 2013: 1283). However, the possibility of multi-faceted power dynamics (Hammersley, 2012) between any combination of actors should be

taken into account, e.g. sympathy or antipathy between colleagues, causing individuals to feel inhibited or censor their participation, or trying to meet the researcher's assumed expectations. This form of interview might also be regarded as "a meeting between professionals of different fields" (Bruun, 2015: 139) where different types of knowledge might be accorded higher status, functioning in its turn as a community of practice. In this study, the researcher's professional background as a teacher educator with classical piano as main instrument, but scant experience from upper secondary school, might be seen in various ways, e.g. as credentials for sharing professional understandings, or as peripheral legitimacy (Lave & Wenger, 1991), placing the informants in a position of expertise from which to initiate the researcher.

Two semi-structured dyadic interviews were conducted at upper secondary schools in different geographical regions of Norway. Examples of teacher perceptions were sought, rather than typicality, as well as the possibility of variation at comparable institutions. This was a non-equivalent group design, using stratified purposive sampling (Creswell, 2013) to find schools of similar size offering the elective music programme, and teachers representing several instruments and at least five years' teaching experience at upper secondary level. At each school, teachers were informed of the aims of the study and volunteered to participate. While an advantage of this form of recruitment is the likelihood of finding informants who have particular interest and engagement for the topic of assessment, this must be weighed up against the possibility of imbalances in certain variables. At School A, two female song teachers (A1 and A2) were recruited, with respectively 10 and 19 years' teaching experience. Both of these have a background of studies in classical genres, but teach both classical and popular genres. At School B, recruits were a male teacher of bass guitar (B1) with background in popular genres and five years' experience, and a female teacher of classical piano (B2) with 18 years' experience. The imbalances in gender, instrument and professional experience are acknowledged, yet it is not atypical for the domain studied that e.g. bassists are male, or that singing teachers are a large group, accommodating demand.

Twelve questions were prepared for the interviews, designed to cover key issues for the research questions on the basis of a literature review, and incorporating learning outcomes in LK06 (Appendix). With the purpose of giving more autonomy to the informants, creating an informal tone and reducing the role of researcher, the prepared questions were drawn by informants at random from a box. This method of selection meant that there was no set order of sequence of questions or of which informant might answer first, precluding an organised progression of topics with a

particular thematic chronology. One advantage of this method was giving the informants control of the time used for topics as they accorded them importance, within the time they had available. Nevertheless, the researcher's situated role as interviewer (Kvale, 1996) involved engaging in the conversation with purposes e.g. of clarification, eliciting more information on a topic, or reminding participants of the time remaining. Due to logistical constraints such as timetabling and commuting distances, there were differences in the practical circumstances of the two interviews. For informants from School A, the interview took place at a higher education institution after working hours, lasting 91 minutes. For School B, the interview took place at the school itself between teaching commitments and lasted 51 minutes. Although all twelve questions were drawn at both interviews, answers were longer and there was room for more anecdotal exchanges for informants from School A.

Audio recordings were made of the interviews, giving the possibility of repeated relistenings (Psathas, 1995), and the recordings were transcribed verbatim employing elements of the Jefferson system (2004) in order to document pauses, laughter or other non-verbal elements which might communicate meaning. Acknowledging that the process of listening and transcribing is itself "an act of interpretation and representation" (Bucholtz, 2000: 1463), transcriptions of the interviews were sent back to informants for verification. The subsequent analytical strategy was abductive, involving a zigzag movement of mutually influencing elements of research (Layder, 1998), and coding in Nvivo according to principles of thematic analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001), using topics from the interview questions as well as open coding. This led to new readings of literature, in particular focusing on the work of Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998). Through subsequent readings and revisions of the coded material, three categories were developed in light of Wenger's (1998) concept of participatory identities. These were perceptions of the individuals as (i) teacher-mentor, (ii) instrumentalist, and (iii) participant in a school-based assessment practice. Findings relating to these three aspects are presented and discussed in the following three sections. Numerical codes are employed in order to preserve informants' anonymity. All citations are translated from the Norwegian data to English by the author.

Findings and discussion

Perceptions of assessment as teacher-mentor

All four informants express scepticism to making assessments of music performance, concerning both the fundamental problem of whether trustworthy assessment is possible at all, the difficulties of verbalising implicit knowledge, and the effects of assessment on students. Discomfort in taking the role of assessor is evident, for example, when B2 describes how students sometimes select repertoire which, for various reasons, seems inappropriate, saying:

it feels as though one is judging somebody's musical taste, in a way, and you shouldn't do that!

A view that formalised learning objectives are inappropriate for performance on main instrument emerges when A1 claims the goals in LK06 are

first and foremost for the theoretical subjects. Things you can measure on paper.

She perceives the goals as broad, pointing out that a student with "a very narrow talent" cannot achieve a top grade despite outstanding achievement within his specialism. This kind of assessment problem might be felt particularly keenly by instrumental teachers, in view of possible strong mentor relationships to their students (Ellefsen, 2014). It might therefore be equally problematic to make an assessment when a student who struggles with schoolwork generally, nevertheless manages one narrow aspect of music performance quite well. All four informants emphasise that assessment, and in particular grading, can have negative effects on students. It is suggested that the grading system may actually limit a student's progression, particularly for weaker students, causing fear and a narrow focus on specific learning outcomes, as in A2's remark:

As soon as they've got their first grade, it's as if a hierarchy is established; it's hurtful.

A1 and A2 describe how they try to 'reduce the damage' of normative aspects of assessment by telling students that a test reflects neither a student's all-round competence,

nor the quality of single aspects of performance. As such, they clarify the boundaries of the assessment, but nevertheless also call into question its validity.

These statements are interpreted as demonstrating values of teachers' responsibility to students, not only to be fair, but to nurture students' growth and motivation, giving support to existing findings of tensions in the dual role of teacher-assessor (e.g. Yung, 2001). The informants' descriptions of the negative effects of summative assessment, aligning with established research (Harlen & Deakin Crick, 2002), and their criticism of curricular goals, combine in a picture of the teacher-mentor who wishes to protect the student from detrimental forces, and to encourage student autonomy—even to the extent of ratifying choices considered inappropriate. The task of assessment, in this perspective, is fraught with considerations connected to students' development as autonomous individuals unfettered by curricular constraints.

Perceptions of assessment as instrumentalist

Statements which can be related to types of knowledge, skills and traditions of particular instruments give a different picture of how the informants perceive assessment, and in particular criteria and standards. The notion of what characterises a 'top mark performance' for the two singers, A1 and A2, compared with that of the bass guitarist, B1, has less to do with keeping a rhythmic nerve than with communication and personal expression, but this is not to say that timing and technical issues are not essential, for all three instruments. A fuller description of expertise is given by B2, a pianist:

You have a superabundance of energy to communicate music well, everything is in place, it is like—that moment when you feel the student is just at one with the material, has made it her own, and can feel it's easy to play, fun to play, goes in for it with her whole self.

Issues of technique are here subsumed by a holistic criterion that to a high degree reflects the praxial music discourse (Elliott, 1995), and its recognition is dependent on the assessor.

Another factor mentioned for demonstrating competence is breadth of repertoire. The singers claim this is important, and there might be several reasons for this. These teachers have a classical background, yet teach across genres. If students have a preference for popular genres, their teachers might nevertheless recommend classical repertoire because of a conviction that working with this will provide the best

grounding for good voice production. Indeed, A1 claims that there are some universally accepted criteria for the craft of singing, governed by current conceptions of healthy technique, which carry more importance than curriculum requirements:

I don't think singing as a subject will change just because the curriculum does, because there are some criteria for learning to sing, that just are accepted as the craft itself, about what is currently seen as healthy and good.

Nonetheless, the singers also warn that an assessor who lacks broader genre competence might emphasise features of technical mastery in classical genres, missing important aspects like «feeling and timing and all that», which the informants say they have gained through exposure to rhythmic and popular genres. The bassist, too, recommends his students to present a certain breadth of repertoire, but his rationale is different:

It's to do with what life is really like out there. It's unlikely you'll be playing in a band that's 'gonna make it', that will never play in any other genre. So I stress this, especially for the bassists—don't play four songs in the same genre, right?

Reasoning that students have small chances of a future in a successful band and keeping to one genre, his requirement to present a varied repertoire reflects a discourse that considers future musical enterprise beyond the school context. However, the possibility that the presentation of a varied repertoire may not fulfil intended goals is raised by the pianist, who suggests it is more important to demonstrate a broad 'repertoire of expression' than mastery of several styles. This comment might be a reflection of tensions between views of classical and popular genres (Danielsen, 2006), concerning the possibilities for dynamic and timbral nuance and variation of mood within even a single classical piece. With this in mind, demands for both breadth of repertoire and a certain length of programme might be experienced as different for classical and popular genres.

While *breadth* of repertoire is given importance, conformity to norms for performance practice for *particular* repertoire is discussed for all three instruments. For the pianist, there are limits for how much freedom in tempo and phrasing can be tolerated in music by a composer like Mozart. The singers, on the other hand, while claiming that an unconventional performance might elicit the reaction, "Hallo, you can't sing Mozart like that", concede that there is room to consider the student's own intentions. But it is

not only certain classical genres that are stringently judged according to performance traditions. The bassist, representing popular genres, claims there is a high risk factor involved if students make changes to repertoire that has acquired an 'iconic' position, and that innovations will be tolerated only if the performance is exceptionally good. These views about conformity are connected to assessors' familiarity with repertoire or genre, and seem to be more stringent for the bassist and pianist, than for the singers. In cases where students perform their own material, the singers claim that students' compositions are often "well within [their] own comfort zone", but that a convincing performance is likely to be rated highly. In contrast, the bassist refers to a culture among pop and rock students where there is prestige in composing detailed and challenging music. Students' compositions might thus function as two types of 'shop window' for exhibiting their skills: one where there is comfortable mastery of the material, and the other where virtuosity is stretched to its outer limits.

For assessment, these examples suggest that a complex web of different factors can be claimed to be specific to particular instruments and repertoire, and that instrumental teachers might 'point' assessment in quite different directions. An emphasis on universal criteria of musicking and personal expression over technique and voice quality, as suggested by the singing teachers, stands in contrast to advice given to a bass student to avoid taking risks regarding standard repertoire. The former can be said to reward student autonomy, while the latter focuses not only on performance preserving the 'work' itself, but on a form of criteria compliance (Torrance, 2007), in which future real-life opportunities for performance are envisaged. Individualised teaching contexts throw into relief the professional identity of the teacher as musician (Angelo, 2014; Nerland, 2003), since it is the very specificity of knowledge and skills of the instrument in question that legitimises this form of teaching. In this way, various discourses of music performance, such as the autonomy of certain repertoire or genres, or appropriate vocal technique, might function as mechanisms of gatekeeping as teachers draw up the boundaries for their subject domain, and the informants in this study suggest that these might count more than various learning objectives of the National Curriculum. That these tensions have a bearing on power relations within the duality of social and individual when the qualities of performances are discussed, is likely. Wenger (1998) notes that "different forms of power in a society interact, sometimes reinforcing each other and sometimes creating spaces of resistance" (p. 284). In this way, the question of what types of knowledge teachers emphasise for a particular instrument or repertoire can have great significance for the shaping of assessment in the localised context.

Perceptions as a participant in a school-based assessment practice

Despite the scepticism expressed by the informants to assessment, and to grading in particular, all four seem to perceive themselves as competent assessors with the ability to make independent qualitative judgements of students' performances. They describe how expertise is accumulated over time, enabling them to make decisions in tests or examination situations more rapidly and holistically, and no longer taking personal responsibility for students' results. For example, A1 comments:

I think I've become less rigid, and it's not because I'm not the same person – but now it's not important for me to have the best student [...] So, in the beginning you almost feel it's you getting the grade.

The importance of the community of practice (Wenger, 1998), both for assuring reliability and for providing experiential knowledge equipping teachers better to assess both within and outside their main instrument domain, is emphasised. A2 describes a learning trajectory through 19 years of teaching and assessing, including various in-service courses, which has involved a shift in focus:

In the beginning I was much more concerned with [firstly] good technique, and secondly voice material, one's point of departure. But then the performing and personal expression has come in much more, for my part, since we began doing assessments in the team.

Assessing term tests by moderation is practiced at both schools. At School A, it is usual for all fulltime instrumental staff, and the relevant part-time staff, to be present at each performance and assessment discussion. At School B, the teachers assess in teams of 3–5, based on instrument group. At both schools, lists of local criteria for the various instrument groups have been drawn up, but are experienced to have limited value. The two informants at School A value the large team practice they are part of, depicting the development of a holistic assessment practice where, as mentioned, the universal criteria of "feeling and timing" are emphasised ('feeling' here interpreted as appropriate stylistic expression). They present it as a functional and effective vehicle for trustworthy assessment, and as a learning forum where a shared repertoire of implicit knowledge is developed. At the same time, the informants say that when novices or outsiders are introduced into the team there is a healthy incentive to 'unpack' the discussion and articulate meanings more fully. Although admitting that there is a possibility of teachers being swayed against their better judgement,

it seems that the advantages of social moderation outweigh this. When asked by the researcher what they would change, they call for better preparation of undergraduates for assessment work, as well as recommendations that novice teachers should not participate fully in assessment, but first observe and learn.

At School B, the advantages of social moderation are nuanced slightly differently, with more emphasis on aspects of control: here, the informants stress how professional bonds between fulltime and part-time staff are strengthened, and how development of individual "regimes" can be prevented. The use of lists of instrument-relevant criteria is seen as pertinent, both as an assurance of covering prescribed learning objectives, and to avoid basing assessment on "feelings" (here interpreted as 'emotions'), yet teachers' inherent assessment skills have 'the last say'. The informants' criticism of social moderation is that agreement might be reached on very general terms, leaving out important detail or aspects of performance, and in turn leading to inadequate feedback to students. It is acknowledged that teachers' prestige may play a role in assessment discussion, and the call for more thorough guidelines seems to reflect an awareness of challenges to assessment. At both schools it is claimed that there is seldom dissonance between internal and external assessors at the public exam, but examples of exceptions are given in contexts of one examiner and one teacher assessing student performance. While B2 (School B) notes that teachers can experience a battle of prestige over results, A1 (School A) reports having felt the need for support from likeminded members of her team in discussion with the examiner.

Thus, participatory identity connected to the school-based assessment practice, as depicted by the four informants, is nuanced. While the possibility that individual teachers' judgements might be influenced by the group is acknowledged, the informants claim to have gained increased self-efficacy and independence through membership. Bearing in mind that the two informants from School A are both female singers, and probably work in close cooperation, this might have contributed to a certain picture of a harmonious collegium easily finding consensus in assessment. Nevertheless, the basic message from both interviews about social moderation is that this is an advantageous system for assessment, not least for its function of building teachers' assessment competence in the school. For all the informants, gaining experience as assessors seems to have involved a movement towards more holistic assessment where implicit knowledge is foregrounded.

General discussion

The three projected types of participatory identity identified in the analysis were, firstly, the teacher-mentor demonstrating responsibility to individual students, emphasising student autonomy and resisting formalised plans. The second type was the instrumentalist exhibiting loyalties to received instrumental discourses and career paths. The third was the participant in a local assessment practice, emphasising the community of practice as a source of knowledge and a path to consensus. In the statements analysed, it seems the 'goalposts' for assessment might be in traction between these potentially conflicting values. As suggested by Rui (2010), although teachers might come to the same conclusion with regard to grading, assessment might contain quite different rationales, for example using reactive, hegemonic patterns to preserve professional instrumental ideals, or diluted, 'trivialised' discourses (Zandén, 2010a) which stop with the praxial ideal (Allsup & Westerlund, 2012; Elliott, 1995). At the very least, there is potential for localised interpretations of the mandate (Wenger, 1998). While one purpose of the moderated assessment is to provide feedback (Adie et al., 2012; Harlen, 2007) for the individual student and his teacher, if moderation is geared towards effectivity as well as emphasising holistic assessment, the feedback generated to take back to the student is likely to be sparse. Equally, where the application of instrumental and genre-specific criteria are emphasised, certain conforming principles might lead to constraints for students, and a discouragement to go outside the frame of accepted performance practice. Ultimately, if the experience of success in the form of finding consensus reinforces teachers' selection of strategies and perspectives in assessment tasks e.g. which elements of a situation to treat as important or which to ignore, assessment is in danger of becoming strongly biased. Looking at the findings as a whole, the space located between an understanding that reliability depends on attunement within the assessment group (Sadler, 2015), and the concession that teachers experience various tensions concerning their participatory identities, is a black box demanding the exegesis of authentic assessment situations.

Conclusion

This study sheds light on how four teachers from two Norwegian upper secondary elective music programmes perceive tasks of assessing performance on main instrument. In light of Wenger's (1998) concept of participatory identities, three types of participatory identity were used to frame interview data: the teacher-mentor with

responsibility to individual students; the instrumentalist with loyalties to received traditions and projected career paths; and the participant in a school-based assessment practice. Bearing in mind that it may only take a few interviews to demonstrate that a phenomenon is more complex or varied than previously thought (Becker in Baker & Edwards, 2012), these data are valuable in giving examples of issues that exist in the current Norwegian education system. Findings from this analysis are instances of challenges for assessment of music performance in the context of Norwegian upper secondary school, where identities of participation are informed by the conflicting value systems of responsibility to the student, loyalties to personally held conceptions of musical quality, and accountability to the professional mandate. While expressing scepticism to assessment because of the difficulties of attempting to make a fair judgement, and the detrimental effects assessment can have on students, the informants indicate that they have confidence in their assessment practices on the basis of their professional knowledge and participation in social moderation. They value schoolbased moderation for its functions of providing quality assurance and development of assessment expertise.

These inferences carry implications for further study, where investigation should focus not only on what teachers say and intend, but also what they actually do (Pajares, 1992), in authentic assessment contexts. In a field where students need dependable assessment and feedback to help their further development, but where parameters for artistic performance are in constant change, more knowledge is needed on how instrumental teachers meet the challenges of assessment.

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Goal setting and self-determination in music making: Tenets of becoming a deliberate and motivated music practitioner

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ABSTRACT

The fields of sports, business, education and other organizational fields have for many decades invested considerable time and resources in research investigating quality of motivation, use of goal setting in relation to performance efficacy and social and personal well-being. Paradoxically, this research has barely been considered in relation to music education and performance sciences. The present theoretical article will present and elaborate goal-setting and self-determination theories in relation to music practice and performance highlighting potential benefits and pitfalls in the context of higher music education. In so doing, the connection between goals, social contexts, motivational quality, and instrumental practice/performance will be presented, discussed, and elaborated from theoretical and practical perspectives. Besides actualizing motivational perspectives in the field of research in music education, the present article was especially written with the goal of enlightening the field of higher music education (i.e., music performance students, educators/professors) introducing ways of facilitating motivation and deliberate working habits. Keywords: goal setting, self-determination, motivation, instrumental practice, music acquisition

Introduction

The present article was motivated by the discovery of opposing trends in experience based literature (i.e., literature written by experienced pedagogues and musicians reflecting years of accumulated experience of teaching and performing) and findings in instrumental practice research (Starker, 1975; Neuhaus, 1993; Galamian, 1999; Heimberg, 2007; Leimer & Gieseking, 1972; Bruser, 1997; Jørgensen, 2011; Jørgensen & Lehmann, 1997; Jørgensen, 1996; Nielsen, 2008). The experience based practice literature emphasizes the importance of planning and setting realistic goals for practice as the foundation for progress and mastery of performance. However, the scientific literature on music practice reveals that only a minority of music students are accordingly proactive in their approach to instrumental practice (Jørgensen, 1996; Jørgensen & Lehmann, 1997; Nielsen, 2004; Miksza & Tan, 2015). Furthermore, several studies reveal that music students perceive that they are not taught how to practice, but rather how to play and perform music (Jørgensen, 1996; Atkins, 2009; Lehmann & Jørgensen, 2012; Jørgensen & Lehmann, 1997; Gaunt 2009; Burwell & Shipton; 2013; Jabusch, 2016). Paradoxically, principles of planning and goal setting have for centuries been considered salient within experience based literature on the art of music practice and performance (Martens, 1919; Galamian, 1999; Starker, 1975; Leimer & Gieseking, 1972; Bruser, 1997; Heimberg, 2007; Neuhaus, 1993). The American violist Tom Heimberg explains the planning of music practice as follows: "We need to set our intentions clearly as we begin to practice, and shape each practice session like a work of art. At the same time, we need to let go of our expectation of an immediate result" (Heimberg, 2007: 5). Madeline Bruser, pianist and author of The Art of Practicing, also emphasizes and encourages students to practice calmly and thoroughly with detailed planning away from the instrument accompanied by constant reflection during practice (Bruser, 1997). Similarly, Indiana University professor and cellist Janos Starker explains that:

Discipline must be the basis of one of the classic disciplines, music, and once attained, freedom of expression may spring forth. The order of learning is significant. Beautiful artistic ideas running rampant without disciplined instrumental control remind one of a ride in a magnificent automobile over unpaved roads. Written poetry in a language yet unlearned seldom succeeds (Starker, 1975: 8).

One of the most important teachers in classical music during the last century was the Russian pedagogue and pianist Heinrich Gustavovich Neuhaus, who had the following to say about music practice and performance:

The clearer the goal (the content, music, perfection of performance), the clearer the means of attaining it. This is an axiom and does not require proof. The 'what' determines the 'how', although in the long run the 'how' determines the 'what' this is a dialectic law (Neuhaus, 1993: 2).

These quotes all underline the importance of planning and organization of instrumental practice.

Within the field of sports science and psychology, considerable resources have been invested in research focusing on how athletes set goals, achieve expertise, and prepare for competitions (Orlick & Partington, 1988; Burton et al., 2010; Burton, 1989; Beauchamp, Halliwell & Fournier, 1996; Cleary & Zimmerman, 2001; Filby, Maynard & Graydon, 1999; Starkes & Ericsson, 2003). Over the last five decades, this research has made goal setting the most applied and investigated technique among aspiring athletes (Locke, Saari, Shae & Latham, 1981; Burton, 1989; Burton et al., 2010; Kyllo & Landers, 1995; Nicholls, 1984; Cleary & Zimmerman, 2001).

An additional topical issue closely connected to goal setting is motivation. The field of sport psychology (in contrast to music) has been greatly involved in investigating athletes' and coaches' quality of motivation for continued achievement (Lemyre, Roberts & Howard, 2005; Treasure & Roberts, 1995; Bentzen, Lemyre & Kenttä, 2015). When we work toward new heights, the motivational purposes for setting goals determine our long-term effort and joy of involvement in whatever we aspire to (Deci & Ryan, 2000).

Based on the above-presented topics, the main objective of the present theoretical article is to present, discuss and actualize goal setting in relation to motivation in music education research. In so doing, two well-established theories, *goal setting theory* (GST; Locke & Latham, 1990) and *self-determination theory* (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000) will be presented, discussed and elaborated in relation to instrumental practice and teaching of music in the conservatoire from a practical point of view.

Theoretical questions of interest

- 1. The art of planning instrumental practice is closely related to learning how to set adequate goals (Neuhaus, 1993; Heimberg, 2007; Martens, 1919; Galamian, 1999; Bruser, 1997). This might sound both trivial and obvious. However, one of the essential questions remains: How do we set goals, and what types of goals have the potential to motivate individuals to achieve continuity, persistence and joyfulness in music making and performance?
- 2. The efficiency and continuity of ongoing work is affected by the context in which goals are set and the motivational quality that underpins the achievement context (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000): What type of motivational climate might facilitate music students joy, well being and motivation for achieving personal aspirations?
- 3a. How can principles from GST and SDT combined facilitate music educators' and students' work on instrumental practice?
- 3b. How precisely might these principles be applied in the context of higher music education?

Goal setting

For more than five decades, goal setting has been highlighted in relation to sports, education, and organizational work contexts as a key source of motivation, efficiency, and self-regulation (Zimmerman & Kitsantas, 1997; Cleary & Zimmerman, 2001; Zimmerman, 2008; Zimmerman & Bandura, 1994; Locke, Frederick, Lee & Bobko, 1984; Locke et al., 1981). Through this development several goal constructs have emerged.

Goal constructs

Edwin Locke (1968) was the first researcher to initiate a pure goal setting construct. Since then, hundreds of empirical studies have been published on the topic. Throughout the last five decades, several theories regarding goal setting have emerged. The first phase of the development of a goal theory was based on the Aristotelian idea that purpose constitutes direction and action (Locke, 1968). Subsequently, Locke investigated how different types of goals affect human motivation and work persistence.

During the late 70s, another construct, achievement goal theory (AGT) emerged (e.g., Nichols, 1984). AGT is interested in learner's goal orientation (i.e., why people set goals for themselves). Nicholls (1984) distinguishes mastery orientation (i.e., focus towards personal mastery and learning) and ego-orientation (i.e., focus towards outperforming others and social comparison). Compared to GST, AGT is more interested in explaining how goal orientation affects the performance of different activities. For instance, research has generally found that mastery orientation yields better performance than ego-orientation (e.g., Nicholls, 1984, Treasure & Roberts, 1995). Another goal theory, *goal content theory* (GCT), similarly distinguishes *extrinsic goals* (i.e., orientation towards financial success, fame/popularity and bravura) and intrinsic goals (i.e., orientation towards personal growth, community, and clos relationships) (Deci & Ryan, 2000). In essence, GCT is somehow similar to AGT. On the other hand, GST investigates the act of setting goals on micro level identifying what types of goals that affect performance (e.g., difficult and specific vs. general and vague goals, self-set goals vs. assigned goals etc.). In addition to the effect of goal setting on performance, GST also comprises human goal orientation (i.e., learning goals vs. performance goals). For instance, Seijts, Latham, Tasa, and Latham (2004) found that specific high learning goals effectively influence performance regardless of the subjects'goal orientation. In essence, the positive effects of learning goal orientation are achieved by inducing it as a state. Consequently, GST is a broader theory than AGT and GCT and will consequently be discussed in relation to music acquisition in higher music education in the present article. Moreover, in addition to predicting use of strategies, metacognition and performance, GST provides a conceptualization of goal setting that investigates the most applicable and effective ways of setting goals (Locke & Latham, 2006, Zimmerman, 2008).

Principles of goal setting

The first iteration of GST simply defined goals as "what an individual is trying to accomplish; which is the object or aim of an action. The concept is similar in meaning to the concept of purpose and intent" (Locke & Latham, 1990: 7). Thus, the theory emphasizes conscious goals and the levels of performance associated with them. Locke and Latham (1990) further developed their theory with two main elements, the content and the requisite of goals. "The content refers to the nature of the goals, and the requisite reflects the intensity and the perceived resources and requirements to attain the level of performance demanded by the content" (Locke & Latham, 1990: 25).

The theory has found that *specific difficult goals* are associated with higher performances than so-called *do-your-best goals*. In addition, the highest effort of performance is linearly connected to setting difficult goals as long as they are congruent with the goal achiever's performance capacity (Locke & Latham, 1990; Bandura & Cervone, 1983).

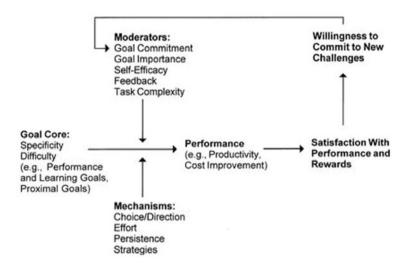


Figure 1. Main components of Locke and Latham's goal-setting theory, printed with permission from Edwin Locke (Locke & Latham, 2002).

Furthermore, the theory presents both *mechanisms* and *moderators*. Numerous studies have found that mechanisms such as effort, persistence, choice, and the repertoire of strategies in use are all factors that are positively affected by specific and adequately challenging goals. Important moderators of the theory are goal commitment, goal importance, self-efficacy, feedback, and task complexity (Locke & Latham, 2002). Goal commitment and goal importance are related to the extent that goals are self-set, and to the extent that purposes for involvement in goal-directed activities are provided. Albert Bandura's (1977, 1986) social cognitive concept of self-efficacy is central in GST. GST maintains that challenging assigned goals with a rationale increases self-efficacy (Locke & Latham, 1991). Furthermore, the use of feedback (a Bandurian socio-cognitive phenomenon) is fundamental in GST. According to GST, when feedback is adequately provided, students are able to evaluate and adjust their level of direction towards goal requirements. Moreover, the right types of feedback lead to feed-forward and vice versa. Lastly, task complexity is found to stimulate a broader use of task strategies. Related research has found that proximal goals in combination with distal goals raise self-efficacy and task efficiency (Locke & Latham, 2002).

GST in relation to music and sport acquisition

Music performance students are frequently involved in goal-directed actions through daily practice on their instruments. *Goal content*, accordingly, might be to learn to play a concerto or sonata within a certain time frame, or to practice five hours daily for the rest of the semester. Such types of goals (because of their general nature) are, according to Locke and Latham's framework, considered as general goals and typically lead to what is referred to as "do your best" activity (Locke & Latham, 1990). A recent study on instrumental practice found that music performance students wanted specificity, a day-to-day plan including how and what to practice (Bratlie & Jørgensen, 2015). In relation to this notion, a meta-analysis revealed that: "Individuals setting specific and hard or challenging goals outperform individuals with specific easy goals, do-best goals, or no assigned goals. People with specific moderate goals show performance levels between those of people with easy and hard goals but may not perform better than people with do-best goals" (Locke, Saari, Shae & Latham, 1981: 145).

Music students in higher music education are commonly highly passionate about reaching their general goals (Jørgensen, 1996; Bonneville-Roussy, Genevieve, & Vallerand, 2011). However, it seems likely that students of music performance lack the ability to properly acknowledge their innate resources and the pre-requisites necessary for attaining general long-term goals (Jørgensen, 1996, Hatfield, Halvari & Lemyre, 2016; Lehmann & Jørgensen, 2012; Nielsen, 2004). The more specific the goals, the more predictable and efficient they become. Furthermore, if goals are set hierarchically (i.e., short-, medium-, and long-term goals), the goal setter is more likely to perceive more meaning, continuity, and motivation than if their goals are non-hierarchical (Locke & Latham, 2002). These claims were supported by a meta-analysis that included 36 studies on goal setting in the realm of sports. The study found that absolute goals and precise goals were more efficient than vague and general goals. Athletes who combined short- and long-term goals showed significantly better results than athletes who only had long-term goals. Finally, cooperative and participant-set goals had significantly greater effect on performance than assigned goals. Moreover, individual, personal and specific goals in combination with short- and long-term goals predicted the most effective goal setting procedures (Kyllo & Landers, 1995). A mixed method intervention study trying out goal-setting techniques among six music students revealed that participants were largely involved in general goal setting prior to intervention. Semi-structured interviews and surveys revealed that general goals tended to make participants inadequately random and inexact in their daily practice. As a result, they were uncertain about how to solve problems and plan concrete practice tasks

and thus dissatisfied with their progress. The study's general findings revealed that students became increasingly more motivated and efficient when they set specific challenging daily goals in combination with long-term goals in their instrumental practice (Hatfield, 2016). Finally, a study assessing the effects of multiple-goal strategies on performance outcomes in swimming training and competition confirmed the predicted hypothesis. The two groups using multiple goal perspectives significantly outperformed both the control group and single-perspective groups. Interviews revealed that the single-outcome goal group explicitly expressed that they found goal setting to be inefficient and anxiety provoking. In contrast, participants applying process goals (i.e. goals that refer to specificity about the behavior needed for successful performance) qualitatively expressed that routines had a positive effect and increased their level of confidence (Filby, Maynard & Graydon, 1999).

When we set goals for ourselves, we are moved by some kind of motivation toward achieving the goal. Thus, the quality of motivation influences how goals are perceived and carried out (Deci & Ryan, 2000). However, even if one is effectively energized through well-documented goal principles, this does not necessarily mean that the energy behind one's motivation is dialectic with need-satisfying ways of developing motivationally. Accordingly, different aspects of motivation will be further discussed in relation to what is referred to as basic psychological needs and motivational quality (Deci & Ryan, 2000).

Self-determination

One of the most topical and most cited theories on motivation is self-determination theory (SDT) (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000). SDT emphasizes motivation as a qualitative phenomenon rather than a quantitative one. In other words, instead of viewing motivation as incremental, or more vs. less of motivation and behavior, SDT explains human motivation in terms of inborn psychological needs. Based on years of experimental and naturalistic research, SDT claims that humans, in addition to physiological needs, have psychological needs as well. Three *basic psychological needs* (BPN) were discovered, namely *competence*, *autonomy* and *relatedness* (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000). SDT claims that if one or more of the BPN are thwarted, individuals are likely to feel unmotivated and helpless. Common consequences of *need thwarting* are defensive mechanisms such as giving up, procrastination, isolation, mechanistic learning and other defensive reactions. On the other hand, when the BPN are fulfilled, individuals

experience well being and satisfaction based on identification and autonomously driven activities. Moreover, humans feel energetic, volitional, satisfied and highly motivated under need-satisfying conditions (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000).

Controlled and Autonomous motivation

SDT distinguishes between two qualitative different forms of motivation: controlled motivation and autonomous motivation. Controlled motivation is based on external pressure (e.g., incentives, deadlines, high expectations, threats and demands, social comparison). Controlled motivation is thus related to external control where humans lack identification and attachment to the executed action. SDT research has found broad evidence that controlled forms of motivation have debilitative and destructive effects on human behavior (Deci, Kostner & Ryan, 1999; Deci et al., 1991). Contrastingly, autonomous motivation is viewed as harmonious with humans' volition, interests and inner values and needs. Autonomous motivation has been found to relate to ongoing effort, creativity, psychological and physical well-being and conceptual learning (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Deci & Ryan, 1985). The earliest research within SDT focused on incentives' effect on intrinsic motivation¹. This research has been summed up in a meta-study including 128 studies showing that monetary incentives have a significant negative effect on intrinsic motivation (Deci, Koestner & Ryan, 1999). Moreover, contingent incentives become an external stimulus that overshadows intrinsic behavior. Further research on self-determination in education has found that students become more involved in conceptual learning, intrinsically motivated, and goal-oriented when the BPN are fulfilled. Furthermore, conditions such as stringent deadlines, high social expectations, grade orientation, and social evaluation resulted in similar defensive outcomes (Deci et al., 1991). Individuals controlled by external incentives are likely to choose the shortest path to achievement, hence, the easiest way out (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Moreover, SDT explains that external stimulus controls internal regulation making the individual externally controlled rather than self-determined. Human agency, according to SDT, is not interpreted as a dichotomy of either external, or internal regulation. Extrinsic and intrinsic motivation are viewed on a continuum from amotivation to intrinsic motivation. Furthermore, this continuum highlights how human beings perceive external stimulus as either more, or less internalized, as illustrated in Figure 2.

¹ This research was conducted in opposition to the dominating paradigm of behaviorism that generally saw incentives as behavioral reinforces predicting amount of behavior.

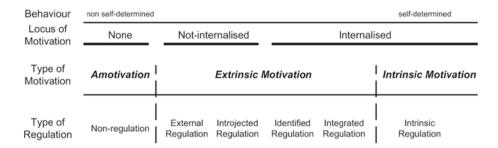


Figure 2. The organismic integration model of SDT illustrated with permission from Edward Deci (Deci & Ryan, 2000).

The organismic model of integration distinguishes four types of extrinsic motivation (Fig. 2). *External* and *introjected* regulation are related to controlled forms of motivation such as being forced, coerced, pressured or manipulated into action. These forms of extrinsic motivation lead to anxiety, procrastination, *ego-involvement*² and lack of interest as a result of no, or poor, integration of external regulation (Deci, Koestner & Ryan, 1999). On the other hand, *identified* and *integrated* forms of regulation constitute an integral part of autonomous motivation through which humans can personally relate to the regulation. Identified and integrated regulation bring about endorsement, interest and qualitative action in achievement contexts because individuals are able to identify personal value in the external regulation (Deci, Koestner & Ryan, 1999).

Motivational quality in music acquisition

Many musicians were forced to play an instrument during childhood, typically by over-ambitious parents who also controlled the music practice context (McPherson & Davidson, 2002). It is not uncommon in such controlled environments for parents to sanction their children when the right quality and amount of practice is not carried out (McPherson & Davidson, 2002). According to SDT, such an environment is likely to either make the practitioner want to quit playing altogether, or to make the practitioner feel detached and alien to music practice throughout their professional life. Paradoxically, an authoritarian teacher might be more autonomy supportive than a non-authoritarian teacher. For example, a student who identifies with, and feels personally related to authoritarian teaching methods could still be an autonomous

² Ego-involvement is a condition in which individuals are mainly concerned about external reactions, or external means for task involvement (e.g., others' expectations, outperforming others, avoiding failure or making a bad impression etc.)

practitioner since the underlying purpose of action relates to the students' sense of self. This implies that we may be dependent on significant others and simultaneously autonomously motivated, fulfilling our basic psychological needs. Moreover, motivation and conceptual learning are likely to spring forth when realistic feedback, supporting language, rationales, belief and autonomy are provided in relation to music activities. Such environments create room for potential identification with and integration of the activity itself (Evans, 2015; Renwick & McPherson, 2009; Rostvall & West, 2001; Reeve et al., 2004; Hallam, 2002). However, more research is needed to confirm these notions.

Self-determination and goal setting compared

Conceptual similarities and differences among the theories

According to GST, goals that are self-set, specific, hierarchical, difficult yet not unrealistic, time-bound and congruent with one's values are the most effective and motivating goals (Locke & Latham, 2002). SDT emphasizes qualitative aspects of motivation such as autonomous motivation and its effects on ongoing behavior (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000). GST principally focuses on "conscious performance goals and the level of task performance rather than on discrete intentions to take specific actions" (Locke & Latham, 2002: 12). This suggests that GST mainly focuses on the "how" and the "what" of goal setting rather than the "why." SDT, on the other hand, mainly focuses on the impact of underlying values, need-satisfaction, and intentions of goal-directed behavior. Thus it refers, to a greater extent, to purposes of action or the "whys" (Deci et al., 1991). Moreover, when we discuss intrinsic motivation in relation to GST, we have to recall SDT and GST are fundamentally different, since intrinsically motivated activities are "those that individuals find interesting and would do in the absence of operationally separable consequences" (Deci & Ryan, 2000: 233). Motivation deriving from activities based on hierarchical goal setting might be seen in relation to extrinsically motivated activities in which "people behave to attain a desired consequence such as tangible rewards or to avoid a threatened punishment" (Deci & Ryan, 2000: 236). Goal setting tends to entail an instrumental element, which is external to and separate from the activity itself³. For instance, while preparing for orchestral auditions, it would

³ Naturally, execution of actions that are extrinsically motivated can also be enjoyable and motivating; however, intrinsic motivation is often aimless and based on the pure joy of the activity in itself, like when

be appropriate to apply long-term goals accompanied by specific goals scaffolding the practice process. Evidently, there is a certain underlying instrumental aspect, which motivates the practice activity. Deci & Ryan (2000) proclaims that the intention behind an action ought to harmonize with a person's inner values. Moreover, if students practicing orchestral excerpts realized the greater value of practicing such excerpts, they would be motivated to accomplish the task at hand (regardless of whether they perceived the task as dull and draining). Viewing the same example from a GST perspective, students would be motivated by completing a target audition accompanied by the satisfaction of having attained realistic, specific, and challenging goals. Hierarchical goals provide us with a rationale and plausible reason for investing effort in a given activity. Accordingly, SDT advocates that providing rationales concerning why a certain external regulation might have personal value to a given individual, stimulates the process of identification and internalization (see Figure 2). However, the two concepts have different underpinnings: GST is mainly concerned with efficiency and results, while SDT is fundamentally concerned with psychological need-satisfaction, intrinsic motivation and mental well-being. Accordingly, Deci and Ryan (2000) point out that one major limitation of Bandura's (1977; 1986) social cognitive theory (and thereby implicitly Locke and Latham's GST) is that it does not distinguish between external and internal perceptions of locus of causality⁴ in relation to motivation (deCharms, 1977). Another main difference between the theories is that GST focuses on activity, learning and motivation as somewhat quantitative (either more motivation or less motivation for attaining the required action). GST's general underpinning is related to effective and desired behaviors and outcomes. Whether the outcome is based on external demands and coercion, or genuine interest and eagerness, is not explicitly mentioned as an important moderator as long as the activity works efficiently and leads to the desired results (Locke & Latham, 1990; Bandura, 1977; Bandura, 1986).

In order to illustrate and perceive this difference, let us imagine a music student practicing a difficult etude following specific guidelines and daily goals. As a result of this pertinent method of practicing, the student might master the piece. However, despite having mastered the etude, the student might still feel controlled and unsatisfied if he or she has not identified and internalized the personal value of practicing

one enters a flow state in which one becomes inextricable with the activity.

⁴ Locus of causality refers to whether the action is perceived as externally or internally driven. Perceptions of internal locus of causality foster need-satisfaction, conceptual learning, and genuine personal involvement in a task (Deci & Ryan, 2000). This should not be confused with Bandura's distinction between personal and vicarious experience (Bandura, 1977). Bandura does not go further into differentiating intrinsically vs. extrinsically driven goals in relation to personal well-being and psychological need-satisfaction, only the amount, efficacy, and type of behavior in general.

and mastering the etude. Moreover, the student's reaction to learning is a result of an external locus of causality. Although this way of learning might be objectively efficient and goal achieving, it still might be perceived as time draining and mechanistic due to a lack of proper identification and integration (see Neuhaus, 1993). The environment and the communication of purpose or intent are thus relevant to ongoing motivation. Moreover, due to the theories' different ways of operationalizing and explaining human behavior (i.e., GST explains human motivation in terms of goal types and perceptions of efficiency, while SDT explains human motivation in terms of need-satisfaction), I propose, therefore, that a combination of these two theories entails qualities (theoretical, practical, and applicable) that complement and enhance human action and motivation (including instrumental practice and performance of music). The next sections preliminarily hypothesize and discuss potential implications of combining aspects of GST/SDT.

Combining aspects of the SDT and GST in music acquisition

Combining key elements from both theories (i.e., basic psychological needs and specific and optimally challenging goals) might be particularly effective despite the discrepancy between theoretical underpinnings. First, according to SDT, autonomy, relatedness and competence provide the essential nutriments for basic psychological need satisfaction. Need-satisfaction, furthermore, would enable the student to motivate him or herself and at the same time stimulate high effort for the relevant task at hand. At the same time, according to GST, continuous aspiration based on challenging and specific yet attainable goals would foster direction, effort, persistence, and use of the most adequate strategies in instrumental practice. As a result, one is satisfied with the results of effort and thus willing to commit to new challenges (see Fig. 3).

I have not been able to find any studies explicitly viewing goal setting in relation to SDT within the domain of higher music education. The nearest study found to the present topic of interest was a study investigating the relationship between *passion*⁵ and attainment of elite level performance among musicians. The study found that "harmonious passion was positively associated with the use of learning goals, that was in turn positively associated with deliberate practice. In turn deliberate practice

⁵ Passion: "a strong inclination towards a self-defining activity that people love, that they consider important, and in which devote significant amounts of time and energy" (Bonneville-Roussy, Genevieve & Vallerand 2011: 124). Harmonious passion is based on a flexible, persisting internalization of activity, free of external or internal pressure. Obsessive passion derives from controlled internalization grounded in external expectations or internal pressures leading to maladaptive behavior such as uncontrollable excitement and activity-contingent self-esteem (Bonneville-Roussy, Genevieve & Vallerand 2011).

predicted higher levels of performance" (Bonneville-Roussy, Genevieve & Vallerand, 2011: 128). Hatfield (2016) tried out a psychological skills training program for music students in which goal setting was one of the core techniques. The study found that general goal setters tended to focus on task irrelevant aspects emphasizing the final result or outcome. Post-test results in the same study revealed that changing from general outcome goals to the application of specific goals helped extrinsically motivated students (i.e., oriented toward the final result and others' expectations) become absorbed in the task at hand, which, in turn, enhanced their self-efficacy, concentration, and motivation for instrumental practice and performance (Hatfield, 2016). A longitudinal study investigating motivation in instrumental practice found that students who were supported by their parents (though not controlled), and who were driven by personal interest, continued to play their instruments. On the other hand, students who avoided practicing challenging pieces, and who were not supported by the environment (i.e., parents, significant others), quit playing (Pitts, Davidson & McPherson, 2000). From a self-regulated theory perspective, Hatfield, Halvari & Lemyre (2016) surveyed music students' motivation and practice habits in higher music education. The findings revealed that planning and goal setting strongly correlated with self-efficacy. Furthermore, students involved with planning/goal setting were found to be self-observant, volitional, and motivated toward continuous efforts to learn.

In combining aspects of GST and SDT, one might question whether they are simply too different for comparison. My answer to such a question would be that the theories' different underpinnings probably make them even more applicable in real world contexts. Lack of parsimony has been a tendency when explaining theoretical concepts (Treasure & Roberts, 1995). In essence, related research tends to be biased because it compares and mixes constructs (mainly in survey studies) that are too similar in nature (e.g., specific goals and mastery goals, perfectionistic striving and mastery orientation, obsessive passion and controlled motivation/perfectionistic concerns etc.). When theories are inherently different, the interactional benefits are both more promising and applicable than in the contrary case. Moreover, GST and SDT are both viewed as generally reliable theories since they have been tested and refined through hundreds of empirical studies over almost half a century. Furthermore, both theories have a strong inclination toward applicability providing guidelines on how, what and why their conceptual principles work in applied settings. Consequently, I believe there is a pragmatic value in actualizing core elements from both theories. With the research discussed above in mind, it is reasonable to believe that GST and SDT resemble the very core of helping music students and teachers to enhance their motivation and efficiency in teaching, organizing, and carrying out instrumental practice and performance. A preliminary model was developed (Figure 3) to illustrate the potential contributions to understanding motivation from synthesizing key elements of GST and SDT:

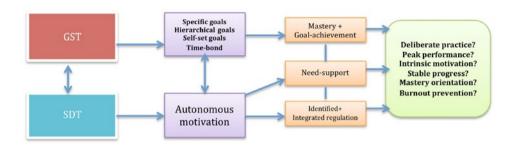


Figure 3. Model combining key- aspects of goal-setting and self-determination theories

GST and SDT provide concrete guidelines regarding how to apply the theories to a wide range of contexts. Hence, we can only hypothesize tentative assumptions as a result (Fig. 3). However, it seems clear that the fields of music education and music performance science could benefit from the concepts presented on both a theoretical and practical level (Evans, 2015; Hatfield & Lemyre, 2016). Moreover, not only might a synthesis of the two theories contribute to new perspectives on motivation in instrumental practice and performance, but it also might actualize new directions in the teaching and acquisition of music. The six hypothesized outcome variables (Fig. 3) are discussed in relation to music acquisition in higher music education in upcoming section.

GST and SDT in the applied context of music acquisition

Rather than discussing key elements from the topics elaborated above, the present article concludes with hypothetical examples of how principles from GST and SDT might be applied to teaching and instrumental practice in the conservatory context. The case examples are based on my personal experience, numerous conversations with fellow-musicians, and music education research. The first case example illustrates how a music student might develop in a context where principles from GST and SDT are insufficiently applied or absent. The second case example, on the contrary,

illustrates how a music student might blossom and develop when exposed to key aspects from both theories. The aim of these narratives are not to substitute reel case examples, but to provide the reader with contrasting examples emphasizing both the benefits and pitfalls of instrumental practice in relation to GST and SDT. In essence, the discrepancy between the two hypothetical cases' motivational quality is highlighted in order to provide a clear practical and theoretical embedding of the two theories. The case examples are also meant to practically exemplify the combining of GST and SDT illustrated in Figure 3.

Hypothesized case examples

Case 1: Marcus, an eager second-year music student is practicing the expressive first movement of the Brahms violin concerto. Marcus has become familiar with the concerto by listening to numerous recordings he has obtained over the years. Consequently, he has gained a clear yet elusive idea of interpretation, personal taste, and detail concerning the final result. His teacher, Nathaniel, who is greatly respected as one of the best violinists in the country, has assigned a task, and expects to hear his student play through the whole first movement of the Brahms concerto at his next lesson. As a result, Marcus practices intensively with great expression, repeating the difficult expressive sections over and over, just as he had heard his favorite violinist Isaac Stern perform them. After two weeks of practicing, Marcus is ready to perform the piece for his teacher. However, during the lesson, he notices that things really are not working out as expected. He excuses himself and tells his teacher that he has in fact managed to play the difficult sections at home and in the practice room. Marcus cannot not grasp why it is still not working after all the taxing hours of practice and repetition he has put in during the past two weeks. Nevertheless, Marcus keeps on trying to make it sound right with great intensity during the lesson. Nathaniel responds, without paying particular attention to Marcus' comments, and gives additional suggestions on fingerings, focusing on the phrasing and expression in the development section of the work. In addition, they work on bowing technique for ten minutes, with Nathaniel explaining and showing multiple ways he ought to use his right arm and fingers. The lesson ends with Nathaniel explaining to Marcus that he can accomplish a lot during the next week and that he expects to hear the Brahms first movement played rather flawlessly in tempo and in tune at the next lesson the following week (i.e., a general goal).

Case 2: Like Marcus, Daniela, an Italian cellist working on the expressive and difficult Dvořák cello concerto, also has strong ideas on how to perform the work. Unlike

in Marcus' case, however, her teacher, Leonard, has exposed Daniela to techniques emphasizing the whole learning process. Before even starting to play the concerto, Daniela had sat down with Leonard and had a conversation about the various parts of the concerto. Leonard had made Daniela identify key challenges and propose ways to overcome these challenges. During this initial lesson, Leonard had asked her openended questions about how she perceived the work. Moreover, he had asked her how she would overcome technical and musical difficulties, thereby involving Daniela as the active party. Leonard would typically ask questions related to problem solving: where to start working, and why she found particular ways of practicing important in relation to learning the concerto. Daniela noticed that Leonards' questions generated new ideas and knowledge about how to approach the work. In addition, Leonard had made her aware of how the best performers tended to keep a calm, somewhat distanced mode of observation while practicing difficult passages. He demonstrated this approach to practice by showing the right way accompanied by an explanation of why this was important and what she could expect from this type of instrumental practice. Subsequently, Leonard asked Daniela if she could explore this uncontrolled calm mode, as he called it, when practicing the five most difficult passages in the concertos' first movement. The lessons with Leonard always ended with Daniela writing goals for the upcoming week. The general goals consisted of playing the five passages calmly, letting go of the feeling of controlling the passages. Through selfobservation and experimentation, Daniela discovered that it would be a good idea to practice the whole first movement slowly and rhythmically. In addition to the general goals, Daniela wrote down specific daily goals giving concrete information on how to practice the five passages. For instance, she had noticed that she learnt complex parts unexpectedly quickly when keeping the tempo manageable. This enabled proximate success. She had learnt from Leonard that this was due to the simple fact that "if we practice quickly and in a fast tempo, we forget things quickly, if we practice slowly and thoroughly, we forget things slowly." Knowing this simple law of cognition led her to adjust her instrumental practice accordingly. Daniela also paid attention to how she managed her time, preventing injuries and unnecessary strain by taking small breaks while practicing and never practicing more than 45 minutes in a row.

Case 1: As the week of practice went on, Marcus became increasingly frustrated the closer it got to his lesson with Nathaniel, who expected him to play the first movement of the Brahms flawlessly in tune. He had practiced through the movement many times and repeated the difficult parts over and over frenetically. Despite having practiced more than seven hours the day before his violin lesson, he had still not mastered the difficult sections. As a result, Marcus started to doubt whether he was ever going to

be able to play the piece as his teacher expected him to. In addition, he began to feel increasing pain in both hands and shoulders resulting in additional concern. Marcus was now seriously concerned about how his teacher would react and if he ever would be able to master the Brahms concerto, which, in turn, had started to annoy him.

Case 2: Daniela, on the other hand, stuck to her specific goals and noticed a huge difference already on the second day of practice. On the third day of practice, she was able to play the five passages almost flawlessly in half tempo consistently. Daniela noticed how her muscle memory had absorbed and accommodated the correct way of execution (for review Lehmann & Jørgensen, 2012). She became exited and wanted to try to play it in tempo with full expression. She did so once with success, but then she remembered the goal of not letting this eagerness and temptation take control over the practice process that she was just in middle of. The day before her cello lesson, she noticed how, like a carpenter, she had built up the piece in layers with the correct execution and accordingly felt genuine satisfaction. She was looking forward to showing the newly internalized results to Leonard.

Case discussion and reflections

Marcus, an enthusiastic, talented and motivated learner, lost track of his developmental process due to both lack of specific guidelines and Nathaniel's general and external expectations. The only thing that mattered to Marcus was to play the Brahms concerto as his teacher expected and as expressively as Isaac Stern (his favorite violinist) had done several years before him. His professor Nathaniel, like many other music professors, intuitively emphasized the music, phrasing and technical execution of the work during lesson, giving loads of directions and information (Burwell & Shipton, 2013). Furthermore, Nathaniel, would typically be the only person speaking during the lessons giving well-meant suggestions culminating in a general long-term goal, namely playing the first movement in tempo, in tune and as flawlessly as possible. Because he was trying to reach these general external goals, Marcus kept on practicing in an intuitive way, "doing his best" during the execution of practice. This dynamic recalls West and Rostvall's (2001) doctoral thesis on autonomy in music acquisition, which identified an asymmetrical pattern between music educators and music students. Music teachers were found to dominate and define the learning situation leaving "little room for students and teachers to discuss and reflect on the teaching process" (Rostvall & West, 2001: 3). Furthermore, Marcus, had never been taught how to set adequate goals for himself. As a result, after repeated experiences of failure, he had increasingly started to attribute failure to a lack of ability and talent.

In Marcus' case, we see an evident lack of goal setting and a dominant concern about not living up to his teachers' general expectations and satisfying his teachers' demands (i.e., introjected regulation). This external locus of causality increasingly thwarted Marcus' intrinsic motives for working on the Brahms concerto and for playing the violin altogether. Introjected regulation typically generates ego-involvement and avoidance behavior due to externally rooted general expectations. In accordance with Locke and Latham (2002), this debilitative goal orientation probably would have decreased if Nathaniel had provided Marcus with a few very specific learning goals to guide the whole practice process on a daily basis. Autonomous motivation might also have emerged had Nathaniel stimulated Marcus' need for exploration, his curiosity and his creative expression. A different teaching style might, in turn, have created a context in which Marcus could have felt, competent, engaged, and autonomous in his acquisition. Even though Leonard was a cellist, Marcus could have benefited from taking lessons with him for a while. Leonard would have awoken his need for self-exploration, awareness and intrinsic motivation for playing the violin. Leonard's approach is comparable to that of a medical doctor's, wherein mutual collaboration results in a common understanding of a diagnosis which is treated with appropriate prescriptions, making the patient healthy and vital. Moreover, because of Leonard's concern with satisfying the basic psychological needs of autonomy, competence and relatedness accompanied by specific challenging goals, he created a condition in Case 2 in which Daniela could develop freely, fully focusing on the process of learning (i.e., each task at hand). And because of Daniela's orientation towards concreteness and awareness in the practice process, neither the final result nor external expectations appeared to be a salient factor in her developmental process. She had constituted her own complete recipe for what, when, and how to approach her practice. In addition, she was even aware of potential pitfalls and thus able to cope adequately when destructive habits and desires sneaked into her cello practice.

Music students' motivational climates and tentative consequences

The two learning environments presented in the case examples resulted in two distinctively different outcomes: Successfully reaching specific goals over time encompassing competence, autonomy and relatedness had made Daniela a secure and self-efficacious music student who actively performed in master classes and competitions. Although she never practiced more than four hours per day, she was considered to be one of the top music students in the academy. Marcus, on the other hand, after having repeatedly experienced unsuccessful performances felt uncertain whether to continue with music studies.

Concluding remarks

The present theoretical article is meant to illuminate motivational constructs successfully applied and developed in sports, education and organizational settings and actualize them in the context of music. My goal was to suggest a new approach, not only to music researchers, but to the applied field of music practice and performance as well (including music professors and music students). Future research in the field of instrumental practice might benefit from taking a "hands-on" approach, implementing the presented material in teaching and guidance of music students. This implies more interventional research trying out principles from GST and SDT. Such future research should emphasize cooperation between students, professors and researchers in order to have a potential impact on ongoing methods of instrumental practice and teaching of music. However, more exploratory research is needed (i.e., survey studies investigating need-satisfaction in relation to deliberate practice habits and mental well-being) on motivation in instrumental practice and teaching of music. Such research should assess the motivational climate not only of music students, but of music educators/ professors as well. Music educators/professors are more prone to motivate others if they are themselves autonomously motivated (Deci & Ryan, 2000). In essence, if people feel that they are important and autonomously motivated agents in their own environments, they are more likely to provide autonomy-support to others in the same environment (for review see Solstad, Van Hoye & Ommundsen, 2015). Indeed, this is a proposition that deserves greater attention in future research.

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Sustaining the assemblage: How migrant musicians cultivate and negotiate their musicianship

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ABSTRACT

Musicians who migrate to another country often make sizeable and interesting contributions to the music scene(s) of their new host country. However, little attention has been paid to their individual strategies for developing a sustainable music career in the new country. The present paper explores what types of actions that migrant musicians in Norway undertake in order to sustain a career in music. Data were collected throughout a study of over one year in duration that involved interviews with musicians and organisers, participant observation of relevant events, as well as a complimentary ethnographic study of the wider music world of migrant musicians in the Oslo area. In this paper, I will discuss two cases that highlight a fairly common use of musical collaborations for acquiring additional resources in different musical fields. The discussion will demonstrate how these resources were assembled together with existing resources, into the overall musicianship of my research participants. Two core categories of actions that appear to be important for sustaining the careers of migrant musicians are defined, namely, cultivation and negotiation activities. This paper draws primarily on sociological theoretical frameworks such as aesthetic flexibility, expanded notions of musicianship, and crafting of the self. In applying these frameworks, this paper explores why these types of actions seem to be necessary for musicians with a migrant background. Are these frameworks crucial to gain new opportunities in new musical fields? Do such opportunities help migrant musicians to build and sustain their music careers?

Keywords: migrant musicians, musicianship, collaboration, assemblage

1. Introduction

The demographic changes that a country experiences as a result of migration are also reflected in local music worlds; migrants with various music backgrounds and skills will, quite naturally, contribute in a variety of fields in their host countries. This is also the case in Norway, where migrant musicians (that is, musicians who have at least one of their parents who has migrated, or the musicians themselves have migrated) are often highly visible within different music arenas. However, few studies exist that pertain to their efforts to explore ways into desirable musical fields that are relevant to their careers in the new country. A postdoctoral project examining the professional development of migrant musicians, part of a larger "Musical Gentrification and Sociocultural Diversity" project, was undertaken to examine this issue.

An ethnographic study, working at the micro-sociological level, was undertaken to investigate the music worlds of migrant musicians, who were currently resident or had recently been resident within the Oslo area. In this study, most research participants were first-generation migrants who had arrived in Norway as adults and often had a music-related background in their country of origin. Some research participants were full-time musicians, and others were semi-professional musicians. From the collected data, I examined the challenges and opportunities that those musicians encountered when they entered, and moved between, different musical fields. I also explored which entrepreneurial skills were necessary to (re)start and sustain careers in Norway and what types of actions were important in this process.

To illustrate and discuss prospects and problems in the career trajectory of migrant musicians, I will focus on two cases from the twelve musicians I interviewed and whose career paths I followed. These two cases are Resa, an Iranian male musician, and Jorge, a Brazilian male musician. After discussing the theoretical framework that I used for my analysis in section 2 and the research methods in section 3, I am devoting section 4 to a detailed discussion of the data that I collected from Resa and Jorge. This discussion examines how opportunities for musical collaborations became a springboard to cultivate and negotiate their musicianship in different musical fields. These musicians were different in terms of music background, music styles, and ambitions. But, the collaborative approach helped them both to sustain their music careers over time. As a part of this, actions such as aesthetic flexibility and careful crafting of the self appeared to be crucial factors, not only to sustain their careers, but also to maintain a better sense of self in the new country.

2. Theoretical framework: Sociological approaches to music

In order to understand the actions and the purposes that migrant musicians engage in to sustain their music careers, there needs to be a theoretical framework that will help in examining the multi-layered patchwork that constitutes those music careers. Here, I will use different overlapping elements that are primarily from music sociology.

2.1 Social spaces of music making

Most of my research participants built their music careers through participation in festivals, performing at venues in Oslo, applying for funding for such activities, and attending teaching institutions (although not all research participants engaged in all of these activities). To describe the social spaces of music making such as these, notions of the field (a social arena for the development of, and competition over, different forms of capital) of Bourdieu (1985) are highly relevant. However, we need to go beyond Bourdieu's rather deterministic view on the role of music in social relations and territories; the music making of my informants emerged from more complex and messy endeavours using a variety of (musical) materials that were connected to the musicians' practices (Prior, 2014: 3). The term "musical fields" is therefore used in this paper to denote a wide range of musicking (Small, 1998) arenas where music functions as an animated force to provide discursive affordances in the development of musicians' career paths.

Multiple, connected musical fields can best be understood by applying the idea of "art worlds" as described by Becker (1992), which are networks that promote certain art forms and produce specific art events that emerge and form separate art worlds over time. Thus, the musical field(s) inhabited by musicians should not be seen as isolated entities, but instead they should be understood as being loosely connected through the paths that are developed as the actors move between multiple musical fields. This can be defined as "music worlds", extending the notion of "art worlds" (Crossley & Bottero, 2015a).

Like Becker, I will examine the roles of people's collective actions, but without losing sight of potential conflict and power issues in and out of the musical fields. To do so, it is important to move beyond the social determination of music practices that Becker (1992) emphasised how participation in art worlds is guided by the social conventions and collective beliefs of the participants in these art worlds. Instead,

one needs to carefully investigate how migrant musicians increase, or decrease, their social mobility by assembling resources while interacting with a wide variety of social factors. This is best done by following the paths of musicians at the micro level. It is also important to look at how someone's overall biography can be a resource or an obstacle (Hesmondhalgh, 2013) in pursuit of a music career in a new country.

2.2 Expanding taste

One important element to examine in order to understand my research participants' social mobility in relation to social factors is aesthetic preferences, in other words, taste in music. After Bourdieu theorised the role of one's taste in forming hierarchies, this perspective has been developed further to examine social stratification in which different social variables (gender, occupation, ethnicity, etc.) are overlapping. For instance, Bennett et al. (2008: 259) discussed how having "good taste" continues to create, mark and consolidate social divisions. An example of embracing "good taste" has been discussed by Peterson (1992), using the term "cultural omnivore". This describes people who inhabit higher status positions in society and amend their aesthetic references to cover a wide range of musical genres, including genres that may previously have been considered "low art". This is seen as a way to distinguish oneself as an elite through an inclusive musical taste (Peterson & Kern, 1996). The omnivore concept also shows that, unlike Bourdieu's more fixed view on the variety of taste within fields, in musical fields there is more aesthetic dynamism. This implies that different types of actor can enter a musical field over time and these actors may place different values on the activities in a particular musical field (Crossley & Bottero, 2015b: 4). Such "incoming" actors can represent new resources, for instance, as an audience or a funder, that migrant musicians wish to compete over. This represents a form of "musical gentrification" (Dyndahl et al., 2014: 53), which implies that "musics that originally hold lower social, cultural and aesthetic status become objects of interest and investment from cultural operators who possess higher status".

It must be stressed here that I do not wish to imply that migrants, by default, belong to a lower class, whether they be real classes or classes on paper (Bourdieu, 1984), than ethnic Norwegians. Rather, I use gentrification as a concept that denotes how music from groups with less power and less influence than other groups, for instance, in terms of access to audiences or funding resources, are adopted, accepted and assimilated by those more powerful groups.

When musicians migrate to another country, they may have to adjust the musical expressions that are related to their musical traditions in order to fit into new musical fields within the new country. This "fitting in" can also be regarded as a form of "gentrification" from the inside as it seeks to attract relevant audiences, collaborative partners, and funding bodies. Such aesthetic renegotiations are at the same time a marketing strategy that is initiated by the musicians themselves in order to succeed in the new country. The gentrification of a particular music genre (Holt, 2013) and a musician's aesthetic re-configuration are both processes, and they are also gradual changes. The strategies in such aesthetic processes have to be investigated at the micro level, "rather than dismissing them as weapons of bourgeois power or manifestations of deep social forces" as Prior (2015: 354) has noted.

In the field of music sociology, taste has been explored as a fluid and transformable entity that opens up one's possibilities for action (e.g., Hennion, 2007; DeNora, 2013; Hara, 2013). Regev (2013), for instance, described fluidity of taste as actors having an "aesthetic cosmopolitan body". This, he suggests, is "a body that articulates its local identity by incorporating elements from alien culture" (Regev, 2013: 176). This view of taste as a fluid process is useful in exploring actors' aesthetic reconfiguration that happens both in and out of musical fields. Hence, we can perceive of taste as a lubricating device for connecting different musical fields and connecting with other actors in those musical fields.

2.3 Musicianship as assemblage

When we think about the social mobility of migrant musicians in their host country, musicians' skills and experience are (obviously) the key resource and the starting point of any actions they undertake. The concept of *musicianship* will be applied in this paper to discuss my research participants' overall expertise as musicians. The concept is often used to describe the attributes of their musical skills and abilities, both acquired (e.g., jamming) and innate (e.g., perfect pitch). Expanding the concept, which is rather narrowly reduced to the mere development of musical skills, Jorgensen (2003: 198) suggests a more holistic idea that should include "thinking, being and acting as a musician" and argues that such musicianship is a "perennial and pervasive goal of music education practice". Based on a similar perspective, Ellefsen (2014: 11–12) suggests that:

Learning musicianship might be understood as learning how to 'be' in the fields of music in a broader sense, in terms of moral standards and rules of

conduct, discursive repertoires and schemes of interpretation, associated subject positions and modes of action.

Actions related to the development of musicianship are, therefore, more pervasive than just rehearsing how to play an instrument, and can also be embedded in everyday life where it represents tacit knowledge and implicit learning. It is also important to consider that music is not a passive object here, but rather it is an active ingredient that "gets into" these actions and their "being". DeNora (2000), for instance, discusses how music is a ubiquitous resource for the active crafting of the self.

For migrant musicians who face the challenges of adapting to a new environment, music may also provide "a key resource for the production of autobiography and the narrative thread of the self" (DeNora, 2000: 158), as Karlsen (2013) explored with reference to immigrant students and "homeland" music. In other words, music can mediate the seemingly fixed realities; the social environments the musicians live in and work with, as well as the presentation and perception of their identities in a new country.

If we put forward the notion that music itself is an active resource within the actions that musicians might undertake to sustain their careers, the Actor-Network Theory, particularly the idea of assemblage, provides some useful insights into how this might be done. DeNora (2007: 278), when applying this concept to music, suggested that:

...people, whether singly or in groups, draw together music and other materials in ways that provide mutual frames and that augment the ways in which those musics and materials seem 'fit' for the purpose. These practices of arrangement or, in Bruno Latour's term, assemblage (2005) are what empower music/materials in ways that come to have power over actors.

In other words, music can function as an actor that is used to compose an assemblage within the music world(s) by mediating the connection between the migrant musicians and other entities, which are also actors, because "anything that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor" (Latour, 2005: 71).

In summary, musicianship can be seen as a music-driven assemblage that can continuously transform and adjust its own form to help the musicians "be" in a musical field. Using this perspective avoids falling into the trap of assuming that musicians only possess static skills that are separate from the rest of their lives.

3. Methods: Ethnographic investigation

My data collection involved interviews, participant observation of relevant events as well as a complimentary ethnographic study of the wider music world involving migrant musicians in the Oslo area. The study was undertaken through examining written material (both Online and in hard-copy magazines), attending general music festivals with participating migrant musicians, and additional meetings with organisers and state-funded organisations working with migrant musicians. I recruited my initial research participants strategically by contacting organisations that had good networks with migrant musicians. Through meetings with staff members from these organisations, I not only started to build a list of potential research participants (plus one research participant from my own personal network), I also enhanced my understanding of the (admittedly broad) area of migrants and music making. These organisations thus became gatekeepers that provided access to research participants. This was reflected in the initial sample, which consisted of active musicians who were used to some level of networking, formal or informal. Later, the technique of snowball sampling supplemented my initial strategic sampling as many of the musicians were happy to introduce me to their friends, colleagues, or collaborators. This way, the ethnographic approach simultaneously enabled me to access my initial research participants and also pushed the research project forward with new research participants.

Overall, I interviewed twelve migrant musicians of different ages, genders, backgrounds, and stages of their career, two Norwegian musicians who collaborate with migrant musicians, and two staff members within relevant organisations. All of them were either living, or visible/active in the music scene, in the Oslo area. The interviews were semi-structured and of a biographic narrative approach (Bertaux & Kohli, 1984; Chamberlayne, Bornat & Wengraf, 2000; Roberts, 2002) was applied. This guided me through the views and experiences of research participants as musicians living in Norway. At the same time, I made sure that I covered areas of interest with respect to my research: their musical backgrounds, biographies, career paths before and after the migration, daily musical engagements, collaborators, and their plans and ambitions. As the subject of career trajectories of musicians was one of my main research interests, I conducted additional interviews with some of my research participants, who seemed to have undergone major changes in their music careers during the period of 6 to 12 months after the first interviews.

I have also undertaken participatory observation of music events that my research participants were involved in during the data collection period. My presence at the

music making events was important as musical experiences are corporeal and multisensory (Finnegan, 2003; Frith, 1998; Seeger, 2008; Shelemay, 2008; Titon, 2008). The ethnographic study was useful in exploring the meaning of music that emerges in the process of music being appropriated by individual actors (DeNora, 2007), given that music is an inherently social process (Small, 1998).

In keeping with the conventions of grounded theory (Charmaz, 1995: 32–33), from the very beginning of the research project, my research interests and the direction of further data collection were led by the data. This grounded approach also allowed me to explore how my research participants experienced and negotiated cultural differences and how their social relations and identities were mediated (Wise and Velayutham, 2009: 3) through the process of developing their music-related skills. Overall, I was able to collect "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1999), that touched upon a wide range of issues that are relevant to the lives and experiences of musicians both in and of Norway.

The data were analysed and coded using NVivo© (QSR International Pty. Ltd., Australia) qualitative data analysis software and by applying a grounded theory approach in the analytical process. The rich data obtained revealed many-faceted music worlds encompassing a wide variety of actors and a multitude of musical expressions; elsewhere, I have discussed other aspect such as musical pathways between old and new musical fields (Hara, in review). Here, however, I shall focus on exploring the actions that musicians undertook in order to sustain their careers.

4. Findings

As aforementioned, I will focus on two of the twelve musicians, Resa and Jorge. Both migrated to Norway in the 1980s and they eventually settled there with a clear desire to establish themselves as professional musicians. Although their career trajectories are rather dissimilar, both of them made use of the opportunities of collaborations to develop their music career further. Examining the collaborations that took place within these two different trajectories, we can enhance our understanding of what types of actions are important to sustain a music career for migrant musicians living in Norway.

4.1 Jorge's case (Male, 56 years old, percussionist, Brazil)¹

Jorge comes from a family of classical musicians; he is himself classically trained and has played the drums since childhood. He moved to Norway in 1983, aged 24, to teach Latin rhythms and samba and meant to stay for just one year, but ended up living in Norway for thirty-two years. In 2015, however, he returned to Brazil due to a lack of jobs in Norway. Below, I outline his 33 years as a musician in Norway, as a three-part trajectory according to his location.

4.1.1 Brazil to Oslo: Towards an internationally active and versatile musician

After having taught Latin rhythms and samba for carnival use in Norway for one year, he decided to stay in Norway because of the jazz music. He also told me:

In the 80s, in Norway, there was a lot of jazz, there were a lot of jazz clubs, (...) I could play sometimes in 2 places in the same night. (...) you know this was incredible. And there was a lot of music, all types of music. I was living from clubs (emphasis), playing in the clubs...

He also mentioned how the diversity of the music life in Oslo at that time stimulated him:

I could play with the Indian musicians. I could play with African musicians. I could play Norwegian jazz; it was rather different than from the jazz we were playing in Brazil. (...) So I had a lot of diversity in different ways than what we had in Brazil. (...) When I came here, [it was] very different. I went home to practice to be good enough to get jobs. Practicing 12 hours a day.

Thus, his move to Norway gave him a chance to perform in a number of different musical fields and to learn a range of music styles, whereby he could expand his aesthetic preferences and together with others produce new aesthetic experiences. These activities helped him to cultivate his musicianship. Cultivation is a term I will use to denote activities that enrich his existing musicianship with new abilities and skills. This activity type is also something that my research participants have engaged in, and it is one of two types of actions that appeared to be important for sustaining

¹ Names of the research participants are anonymised.

the careers of my research participants. Cultivation, for Jorge, included a broadening of his aesthetic capacities by exploring different genres, and he also increased his possibilities for further actions, thus reflecting arguments by DeNora (2013) and Hara (2013), that the opening up of your taste opens up new opportunities for action.

Through these experiences, he also reinforced his identity as a versatile musician who is not limited to a specific genre or style; "a musician for anything" as he emphasised. During his 17 years of residing in Oslo, he was involved in many musical projects in and outside of Norway and he built an extensive international career. He became rather well known in Russia, toured in the U.S. and brought musicians to Brazil. Hence, the migration to Norway became a springboard for him to strengthen and cultivate his musicianship, from a classically-trained percussionist who loves to perform diverse music styles in Brazil, to a versatile and internationally active musician.

4.1.2 Oslo to Drammen: A shift to work with children

After having been involved with many musical projects in and outside of Norway for about 17 years and "travelling a lot" while residing in Oslo, he moved to Drammen, a smaller town with a population of 60,000 people in the south of Oslo. The main, initial reason for this was to shift his lifestyle away from travelling, and from evening work to daytime work in order to improve his family life. He, therefore, decided to focus on the projects of *Concerts Norway* in order to perform for children in schools and kindergartens².

This shift not only helped him to change his lifestyle, but also impacted on his musicianship. For instance, he explained to me what he learned from working with small children:

When I started playing for small kids for my project from 0 to 3 years old, I had to learn one element I didn't have. If I am singing about forest, I have to see the forest. I have to be present in what I am doing. There is a song I am singing; I am rolling a boat. They have to see the fishes, water, I have to be in to that thing. If I don't do, I lose their attention. You know (...) I have to be at the moment. This was a VERY VERY valuable lesson for me. I didn't know about that.

² Concerts Norway is the biggest music agency in Norway and is owned by the Ministry of Culture, which runs music tour projects for professional musicians, and which includes non-European musicians, to give live concerts in schools and kindergartens around the country of Norway.

In this new stage of his career trajectory he performed alone, unlike with his previous Oslo-based work. Just as he practised hard to be able to perform new styles with other musicians when he first arrived here in Norway, in a seemingly different trajectory, he again cultivated his musicianship to suit the audience, in this case, young children. His work for children is rather theatrical, using a variety of percussion instruments and singing, as well as bodily movement to bring the children into the audio-visual aesthetical presence of the scene that he is presenting (e.g., "the forest"). As verbal communication is difficult with children under 3 years of age, he developed a new skill in order to use his instrument communicatively. In his earlier international career trajectory, his virtuoso drum solos would no doubt be rewarded with applause from the audience. This type of culturally conditioned response cannot necessarily be expected from small children. Instead of giving up, he developed an alternative type of solo performance for kids, adapting his performance style in order for it to be more narrative-based.

In this way, further cultivation of his musicianship also required certain activities, that are described above, that constitute negotiations, a second activity type that seems to be required among migrant musicians in order to sustain their careers. In this case, Jorge had to aesthetically adjust his performances according to the requirements of the new collaborative musical field, in this case, a musical field shared with young children. This adjustment required him to learn the capacities and possibilities of the audiences (which also consisted of his collaborators) and to develop appropriate performing styles, accordingly.

4.1.3 Leaving Norway

During the 15 years of his second career trajectory, he concentrated on work for *Concerts Norway*, however, the amount of work with them was slowly reduced and he had no contracts left with them in the spring of 2015. He recently told me about these regretful negative changes to his scope of action; in particular, how his job in Norway had been reduced only to Brazilian music despite his ability and his identity of being a versatile musician:

[When] I came here I was a musician for everything. I played all styles and all types of different music. Slowly, slowly, today I am a Brazilian percussionist. So I am exclusive for Brazilian music. (...) In a way, I felt very strange in the beginning, because I wanted to play the Jazz, I wanted to play funk, I wanted to play rock'n'roll, [and to] play pop. But it never happened again. But then

OK, I can do it when I go to Brazil. I can do it when I go to Russia, I can do it when I go to the USA. But in Norway, I became a Brazilian Percussionist. (...) Here I am Brazilian [pause]. [The] only thing that has to do with Brazil [pause]. Very strange. They put me into this frame.

As discussed earlier, when Jorge first came to Norway, he was fascinated by the opportunities to perform with musicians with various backgrounds. He took those opportunities as springboards to further cultivate his musicianship and expanded his scope of actions by moving from one musical field to another. In these musical fields of collaboration, he also found similarities in the embodied musicianship of the musicians he collaborated with; how to play, hear and listen to the music despite differences in styles played and their backgrounds. Nevertheless, 30 years later in the same country, he was experiencing the discomfort of being pigeonholed into the single "Brazilian musician" identity.

The type of work offered by *Concerts Norway* to foreign musicians is often centred on the music of their (ethnic/country) origins (Ellingsen, 2008). During his work over the past 15 years for *Concerts Norway*, he has therefore been performing the role of "Brazilian musician" in Norwegian society, to some extent. This in turn influenced the musical fields of actions that were available to him. This shows how musicians can make a positive use of resources from their personal biography, but at the same time, it can constrain their actions and identities as Hesmondhalgh (2013: 40) has also discussed. Feeling limited by the reduction in his current possibilities of action in Norway, he decided to go back to Brazil in 2015, where he had, fortunately, kept up his connections and he has a producer and manager to work within musical fields ranging from educational to therapeutic settings.

During the fifteen years of working primarily for *Concerts Norway*, Jorge was able to sustain his music career financially in a musical field where he could also cultivate his musicianship with challenging collaborators, i.e., small children. However, through this work, he was musically pigeonholed, which resulted in an unsustainable career when the "requirement" for "Brazilian music" decreased and his possibilities of actions were reduced. Perhaps, if Jorge had simultaneously cultivated his musicianship in other musical fields, in collaborations or otherwise, this would have helped him remain "a musician for everything", as he used to be.

4.2 Resa's case (Male, 50 years old, santoor instrumentalist and composer, Iran)

Resa plays the santoor, a traditional Persian instrument and is also a composer with music education from both Iran and Norway. He arrived in Norway as a refugee, aged 20 years. Current projects include composing for a Norwegian string quartet and arranging music for a multicultural music group. Below, I will discuss the trajectory of Resa as a musician in Norway, using a chronological order according to the kinds of activities he engaged in that he, himself, defined during the interview.

4.2.1 First decade: learning

Resa learned to play the santoor from, as Resa notes, "the best, greatest master of this instrument" back in Iran. He was interested in developing his musicianship when he moved to Norway, therefore, he took classic guitar lessons and attended a college in Oslo to learn Western music theory and composition. By being exposed to Western music, Resa realised the potential of his knowledge and the capabilities of Persian music, and he practiced hard to develop his own style. In the beginning, he was just performing solo, as performing with others was uncommon within his musical tradition and also because he believed that his tradition was interesting in itself.

The turning point came through a project by *Concerts Norway* that involved performing with other musicians from other countries. However, Resa was very hesitant in the beginning about performing with others. The musical collaboration with other musicians required him to negotiate with his own tradition and the musicianship he had cultivated back in his home country:

It was the type of education I had before I came to Norway. Music was connected to old traditions and it was connected to a big philosophy and was a very serious thing. For me it was actually, to go from this border and play with others, very difficult in the first year.

Although it was difficult to go against the traditions he was taught and which he ultimately embodied, he took up this challenge.

After a while, he found it interesting to play with other musicians, to learn about other cultures and simply to study and develop as a musician. Musical collaborations with musicians from other musical cultures also expanded his aesthetic capacity; "I tried

and saw that is interesting [sic] because it is a kind of feeling that is freedom". He has also become "a multinational musician" through collaborating with others, the kind of musician he had wished to become. Just like Jorge, Resa had also increased his possibilities of actions by broadening his aesthetic capacity through the opportunities of collaborations with musicians having different backgrounds.

As Resa stated, the first decade was about learning. He acquired new skills of the Western music system; playing classical guitar, learning music theory and composition. The collaborations with musicians from other backgrounds that were initiated by *Concerts Norway* made him aware of the potential of collaborations as musical fields to cultivate and to negotiate his musicianship. This learning was also a preparation for further exploration of his musicianship in the second part of his career trajectory.

4.2.2 Second decade: experimenting

Having discovered the potentials of the musical collaboration, Resa started taking the initiative to collaborate with other musicians with diverse skills and background. He also started his career as a composer, writing music for film and theatre. As he, himself, reflexively suggested in our interview, the second decade was a period of "experimentation" when he tried to incorporate the resources he acquired in the previous decade in various combinations. This included using his composition skills to write his own music pieces and also to arrange music, initiating collaborative projects with various musicians while making use of the social network he had built up in the past, and also while availing himself of further collaborative opportunities to learn more and to cultivate his musicianship. His scope of activities was not limited to a specific music genre either; he made himself available to various scenes from so called "world music" via his own ethnic community's music, and from jazz to Norwegian folk, and also classical music scenes. Hence in this period, he negotiated his musicianship further through working with the "other" musicians while incorporating varieties of resources he had acquired in the past to see how they fit together.

4.3.3 The third decade onwards: Running his own projects

As a result of the decade of experimentation, he now has three main projects of his own; 1: solo performances; 2: the multinational collaborative project and 3: a project with a Western string quartet. He produced his first solo album in 2011, however, he no longer focuses so much on solo performance. Instead, he puts most of his energy into his collaborative projects. He performs his own compositions with these two groups.

During the interview, which took place in his music studio in Oslo, he showed me pieces he had composed for the string quartet in notation software on his Macintosh computer. His compositions vary from being "traditional" to "Baroque" inspired, to more "experimental", "abstract" and "folk" (his words). He said about himself "I am a crazy guy (laughing)" while showing me the notations he told me how he learned the technique of composition in Oslo. All of this music, although some pieces are influenced by Western music, is based upon Persian music and, as Resa noted, based on Persian poems.

Composing is just the starting point of a collaboration for Resa. For instance, he carefully teaches other performers how to play these pieces, and spends time to achieve a common understanding (or "find a place" within the harmony) of how to play quarter tones, which is common practice in Persian, but not in Western, classical music. He also teaches the other performers how to very carefully play structural improvisations. During performances, he acts as the band leader, sitting in the middle of a half circle on the stage, directing the whole performance using his body, and with his eye contact on other performers while playing the santoor. He also composed a piece for these two groups to perform together on the same stage for the first time in 2015.

As we can see, collaborations provided access to musical fields that could support relatively large adjustments that were, at times, required of Jorge and of Resa. Collaborations were at the same time challenges that prompted adjustments and supporting frameworks that made these adjustments easier. Resources acquired through collaborations were, over time, included into the assemblage that constituted the musicianship of my research participants. It is now useful to delve deeper into my findings and to explore the different mechanisms that facilitated a sustainable music career.

5. Discussion: Sustain the assemblage to sustain the career

The key goal of this paper was to examine what kind of actions appear to be necessary to sustain the career of migrant musicians in Norway³. This was examined extensively

³ Although this study has limitations, as discussed in the focused cases in this paper, over the whole range of types of music-related occupations, and the study was undertaken within a particular time period (2013–2016) and place (Oslo, Norway), the findings of this study can be applied to the relevant musical fields. I would hope that these findings are likely to be of great interest to the vision of music educators, sociologists, cultural mediators, practitioners, and cultural policy makers, and also to both taste keepers and taste makers.

using ethnographic methods in tracing the musicians' trajectories toward a career as professional musicians. My data here have focused on two of twelve musicians, however, the data from the remaining musicians showed similar, and overlapping findings with regards to the findings that are discussed below.

To better understand the roles and purposes of actions that were required of these musicians, I categorised the actions into two core types: 1. cultivation and 2: negotiation. The actions that these two categories cover are concerned with a) adjusting to, and appropriately responding to, opportunities, requirements and expectations of other actors, and b) assembling appropriate resources into their musicianship. These actions would often be undertaken in order to enter or work inside what I termed a "collaborative musical field". For my research participants, such musical fields were about more than just music making. Collaborative musical fields were often the nexus where a wide range of new and existing actors and resources intersected, in other words, they are a key arena to increase the social mobility of musicians.

As discussed in relation to Jorge's work with small children, it is common for musicians to expand their styles and performances to make their musicianship fit to the needs and requirements of the new musical fields of collaboration, i.e., a negotiation activity. Although initially struggling with the requirement of new musical fields, Resa also found a workable musicianship assemblage so that he could collaborate with others within the two music groups discussed earlier. This allowed him to explore new aesthetic dimensions, while at the same time continuing to (re)interpret Persian music. This, in turn, further allowed him to cultivate his musicianship, starting a virtuous circle:

Because if I want to learn more, no university can teach me anything more than just playing with others and trying to make music. I am also developing all the time, because I am not in my own tradition all the time. I am getting new challenges. I think its new sound. It's new ways of thinking, It's new ways of playing.

The main purpose of these continuous cultivation and negotiation activities is to acquire or enhance different resources i.e., actors as defined by Actor Network Theory (Latour, 2005). These actors can include musical skills, new music partners, their musical traditions or funding bodies which are gathered into the musicianship assemblage. Actors may be already present within a musical field, or as Dyndahl et al. (2014: 53) have discussed, a musical field may attract new interest(s) from actors with additional

power and resources that migrant musicians may choose to compete over. Accessing such additional resources may provide further opportunities for migrant musicians to sustain their career.

The actions required to expand the musicianship assemblage by adding resources are undertaken by the musicians, who themselves are the actors. They bring all relevant actors together to fit into new musical fields of actions. For example, musicians cultivate their musicianship by acquiring new skills or by strengthening their skills, by expanding their scopes of activities, hence bringing new actors into the assemblage while nurturing what they already have in the assemblage. Musicians also negotiate their musicianship through encounters with different musicians and cultures. They reflexively deal with or allocate the actors on a trial and error basis (using negotiation and cultivation type activities), to see which combinations may work in the new musical field and whether any actors need to be adjusted. In this way, continuous cultivation and negotiation of musicianship help them to move from a musical field to another musical field, which helps them to sustain their music career.

One consistently important part of musicians' efforts to cultivate and to negotiate musicianship, was the broadening of their aesthetic capacities by exploring different genres. By doing this, my research participants were generally able to increase their possibilities of further actions. Such aesthetic flexibility was, I would suggest, supported by the embodied cosmopolitanism of my research participants. Such cosmopolitanism was created by, and caused the very act of moving to, another country and seeking a music career there. The benefit of this embodied cosmopolitanism was particularly important in collaborations and international work, by allowing them to more easily bring new elements into a collaboration. Applying the Moltz (2006: 2) notion of "cosmopolitan bodies" that implies that the round-the-world traveller has bodily practices of flexibility, adaptability, tolerance and openness to difference. Further, Regev (2013: 176) has discussed the corporeal flexibility and adaptability to aesthetic diversity as an "aesthetic cosmopolitan body", which he defines as:

not just a body capable of recognizing, accepting, and adapting itself to otherness, to aesthetic idioms and circumstances associated with cultural materials other than those familiar to him or her from his or her native culture, but rather a body that articulates its local identity by incorporating elements from alien cultures (Regev, 2013: 176).

The aesthetic cosmopolitan bodies of my research participants emerged and were reinforced through the opportunities to experience different musical styles and to perform in new settings with new collaborators. Therefore, the aesthetic cosmopolitan bodies of the musicians helped them to sustain and to update their assemblages, by allowing them to be more open to new aesthetic impulses and letting them move between different musical fields.

However, "aesthetic cosmopolitan body" does not only mean the aesthetic openness to otherness which supports the social mobility of the musicians. It also means a body that can perform its local identity while incorporating elements from other cultures that are encountered (Regev, 2013). Therefore, just as musicianship is more than musical skills in isolation (Ellefsen, 2014), the concept of the aesthetic cosmopolitan body also touches on, among other things, a person's values, discourses, interpretation of events, and modes of action. For Resa, collaboration is a musical field where he feels a sense of belonging and where he carries out and expresses his mission as a person who is "a result of multiculturalism" as he calls it. He told me how he, as a "minority", tries his best to show, through performances, the possibilities of music to make people feel a sense of belonging and also to show how human beings, while seemingly different, are not actually different. Composing, performing and arranging, in other words, musicking (Small, 1998) thus allows Resa to make sense of the world he lives in (Frith, 1996) and, at the same time, articulate a sense of belonging (Stokes, 1994).

In the terminology of DeNora (2000), Resa is crafting (or cultivating) the self, that is, his inner experiences and his identity as a musician and a minority, by carefully crafting collaborative aesthetic productions with other musicians through his own projects. In this way, his musicianship, the musically-driven assemblage, extends from his "playing" into his "being", and this allows him to thrive both as a musician and as a person living in Norway. Crafting and nurturing the "self" part of the musicianship can, therefore, be an important part of sustaining one's music career.

Failure to crafting the self, and allowing others to define you, can have negative consequences for the sustainability of a music career. The musical pigeonholing of Jorge over time decreased his possibilities of action, reducing the possibilities to only "Brazilian music", and when this genre was less sought his career became unsustainable.

Such assumptions by powerful actors in the musical field can in turn influence what musical fields of actions are available to an actor. Jorge lost control of a large part of his own musicianship assemblage and he stopped crafting "the versatile musician

self" after having been pulled into orbit around a strong actor (*Concerts Norway*) for many years. The crucial difference between the trajectories of these two musicians is that Resa has been keeping the musicianship assemblage in control, to keep it in line with his own ideals, what he wants to achieve as a musician ("a multinational musician") and a person ("minority") living in Norway. Jorge, on the other hand, although his music career flourished in line with his ideal of being a "musician for everything" in the beginning, lost the control of his musicianship assemblage over time in his unconscious efforts of trying to fit into the external ideal of what roles he should play.

Overall, this study has attempted to show that the aesthetic negotiations of musicians, that take place as they encounter new actors in various musical fields is not a single and straightforward act. Instead, it is a set of on-going actions that requires and encourages migrant musicians to continuously cultivate and to negotiate their musicianship; actions that are initiated by the musicians themselves in order to sustain their music careers in their host country by sustaining the particular assemblage that constitutes their musicianship.

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"A new educational situation" – perspectives on jazz musical learning in the Swedish jazz journal OrkesterJournalen 1980–2010

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to mirror a time of radical change in Swedish jazz education through perspectives formulated in the jazz journal OrkesterJournalen. During the 1980s, jazz musicians are still typically viewed as self-taught; you learn how to play jazz through listening and through playing together in contexts where fellow musicians function as informal "teachers". The growing formal jazz education is viewed with some scepticism. The music's emotional values are emphasized rather than the intellectual ones, and warnings are issued regarding homogenization and "broiler mentality".

During the 1990s, self-regulated, curiosity-driven jazz learning is still in focus. However, there are now also new opportunities to profit from a long formal jazz education as well as an increasing amount of experiences that enable comparisons between Swedish and American jazz education. Based on such experiences, a richer discussion can be conducted about, among other things, the consequences of formal jazz education with regard to tradition and individuality. During the first decade of the new millennium, a Swedish jazz educational profile is appearing more clearly, focusing on the role of personal expression in jazz education, as well as on the role of jazz education for personal development. Key words: jazz education, formal, informal, Orkester Journalen

The circumstances for those who learn to become jazz musicians in Sweden, as in many other places, have changed radically over the past half-century. Formal education in jazz is now available at all stages from arts and music schools to university level. It is a reasonable assumption that Swedish jazz musicians' learning processes are considerably different today than fifty years ago. However, there is hardly any research in this field. This article is an attempt to illustrate how these developments are reflected in the central Swedish jazz magazine *OrkesterJournalen (OJ*, incidentally also the world's oldest extant jazz magazine).

Back in the late 1950s, jazz educational issues were discussed in *OJ* by jazz writer and aspiring music education researcher Bertil Sundin, among others. It was not until 1969–70 that jazz teaching found its way into the Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm as an optional course within music teacher training. During the 1970s, "improvisation teacher training" was established at the conservatories in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmo (Arvidsson, 2011: 160, 202–207).

The historical emergence of jazz education in Sweden has been studied mainly by Arvidsson (2011) and Nylander (2014). While Arvidsson focused on the changing status of jazz, Nylander studied jazz education on the *folkhögskola* level from a sociological perspective. This article attempts to investigate how musicians and others have talked about learning processes in jazz by way of a compilation and analysis of debates and viewpoints on jazz pedagogy that occurred in a central Swedish jazz magazine during a time of transition. The quotation in the article's title is taken from a text by Bertil Sundin, where he complains that

jazz nowadays is taught in a different way than before, not directly and outside the musical establishment [...] Jazz has become a topic in music academies. Surprisingly little has been written in *OJ* about this. (*OJ* 1988 No 12: 31)

The aim of this article is to investigate, by way of an inventory of thirty volumes (1980–2010) of the jazz magazine OJ, whether and how changes in perspective are reflected in the approaches to jazz musical learning formulated in this journal. (The translations from this and other Swedish sources are all mine.) What kinds of development can be observed with regard to views on what jazz education is and ought to be? The central question of the investigation, then, is about studying the institutionalization of jazz learning in an indirect way: how do musicians talk about jazz musical learning during a period (1980–2010) when the conditions for this change significantly?

It is reasonable to assume that the transition from predominantly informal learning to formal learning has had implications both for how musicians play and how they perceive music. The notion that formal, academic jazz education will tend to focus on what is perceived as "measurable", for instance, has often been discussed (and has sometimes been termed "overintellectualizing"; Prouty, 2012: 108). Gullberg (2002) assumes that such an attitude characterizes jazz education at several levels, and she points to a risk of musical standardization due to the fact that jazz education before university, such as on the *folkhögskola* level, "in many cases has focused on the jazz repertoire that has been canonized by the music education environment [at university level], that is viewed as difficult or prestigious, and that can be expected to generate high scores in entrance examinations" (2002: 186).

On the basis of a variety of case studies, Lundberg, Malm and Ronström (2000) summarize a common development in several areas of the Swedish music landscape: "greater expertise – professionalisation – homogenization – formalization – institutionalization – objectification" (2000: 404). When both the number of music practitioners in a genre and their skills increase, this leads to specialization and professionalization, so that repertoire, playing style and appearance will be formalized and homogenized. As an example, Lundberg, Malm and Ronström point to "the transformation that folk music is going through, with the result that Sweden now has a corps of well-trained fully or semi-professional folk musicians alongside the old fiddlers" (ibid: 404), exemplified by a study of "Nyckelharpsfolket" (The keyfiddle people; ibid: 224–240).

It may therefore be of interest to compare the development of jazz with that of the folk music field, where a similar institutionalization has taken place. This development has to a greater degree than jazz academization been the subject of research (cf. Hill, 2005; Åkesson, 2007; von Wachenfeldt, 2015). Hill describes (2005: 24–25) how the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department since its inception in 1983 has come to influence the activities and views with regard to the Finnish folk music field in a variety of ways that can only be summarized very briefly here. The status of folk music and folk musicians has increased. A hierarchy has been established which is dominated by professional folk musicians. Contemporary folk music has been transformed into a kind of art music. Folk music has been re-contextualized: that is to say that it has been removed from its previous context, and a new culture has been created within the institution. The repertoire and style range of folk music have gone through simultaneous processes of expansion and homogenization. Cooperation among folk musicians and professional performers in other areas has been facilitated. The ways of playing folk music have changed among both university trained and amateur musicians.

With regard to Swedish folk music, von Wachenfeldt (2015) points to the following traditional "rooms for learning": home teaching (in the master's home), weddings, dances, and military barracks. During the 1900s a series of educational institutions for folk music emerged (2015: 96). According to Åkesson (2007), as a consequence of institutionalization, folk music educational material has "helped create a kind of canon of music theory" (2007: 120). von Wachenfeldt discerns two main lines of development in Swedish folk musical learning: (a) from a romanticized ideal of the "solitary artist" to ensemble-based group tuition; and (b) from another romanticized ideal of pitch-based learning to a more complex pedagogy based on written music as a complement to transmission based on ear and body language (2015: 97–100). von Wachenfeldt points out, however, that the ideal image of the musician as an individual artist and folk music learning as a master–apprentice relationship persists in contemporary Swedish folk music practice, thereby maintaining a "myth of innate musicality and auto-didactics" (von Wachenfeldt, 2015, Article I: 127).

A preliminary assumption is that the educational institutionalization and the development from informal to formal learning in the fields of folk music and jazz in some respects seem to have had similar conditions, circumstances and consequences. But there is a need for specific studies of practices and perceptions in jazz, and the present inventory of *OJ* texts about jazz musical learning in the years 1980–2010 is intended to constitute a contribution to this research field.

Folkestad (2006) discusses four ways to define the distinction between *formal* and *informal learning* with respect to (a) situation (does learning take place in or out of school), (b) learning style (by written music or by ear), (c) ownership (didactic teaching or open, self-regulated learning) and (d) intentionality (is the mind directed towards learning how to play or towards playing). The emergence of institutionalized jazz education may have resulted in a development towards more formal learning in these four respects. One aim of this study is to investigate how this is reflected in *OJ* writings during the period 1980–2010.

A comprehensive educational change may of course give rise to several reactions, including conflicting views regarding various aspects of the development. An extensive interview study with fifteen well-known Swedish jazz musicians (Bjerstedt, 2014) noted, for example, the existence of various thematic fields in which different outlooks on jazz musical learning are contrasted against each other, such as (a) an older generation of musicians against a younger one, (b) an autodidactic culture against

an educational one, (c) an "open" educational culture against an orthodox one, and (d) advocates of authenticity against virtuosity (ibid: 338–345).

The notion that processes of change may be illuminated by way of identifying and investigating a selection of thematical tension fields has been the point of departure for the analysis of the present material. The voices in the following presentation are, of course, individual expressions of what musicians and others wished to talk about in *OJ* interviews and debates. When viewed together, however, they may arguably provide a picture of key trends in a period of change. The strong dominance of male voices for most of the period in question is very likely associated with *OJ*'s focus on instrumental music as well as with the overall male dominance in Swedish jazz music during this time. Only in the 00s, a trend may be discerned where voices of female jazz instrumentalists are heard to some extent. An *OJ* survey in 2007 reports that the percentage of female jazz students is 24 % on the folkhögskola level and 16 % on university level (*OJ* 2007 No 5: 12–15).

A hermeneutic approach has been the starting point for selection and analysis of the material. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2008) distinguish four aspects between which a hermeneutic interpretation oscillates: interpretive patterns-text-dialogue-partial interpretations. In brief, starting from the interpreter's preconceptions, questions emanate. The active interrogatory approach is complemented in a dialectical manner by a humble, distanced approach which is dictated by respectfulness towards the autonomy of the object of interpretation. Thus, an interpretive pattern and partial interpretations are worked out in dialogue with the text, rendering a continuous transformation of the interpreter's preconceptions throughout the interpretive process. Alvesson and Sköldberg discern a rather large number of hermeneutic "themes". These, the authors suggest, in combination with the four elements of the hermeneutical circle (whole-part, understanding-preconception) and the four aspects of the interpretive process (interpretive pattern-text-dialogue-partial interpretations) make up a diversity of perspectives that may be confronted with each other in a hermeneutical search for truth: asking questions to the text and listening to the text; penetrating the implicit dimensions of the text; aiming at the fusion of horizons.

Statements about jazz musical learning were excerpted from thirty editions of *OJ*. In order to enable confrontation between different perspectives in accordance with the methodological stance presented above, a number of potentially significant interview statements about jazz improvisation and learning were identified during the initial process of analysis. A number of categories or thematic fields were identified. Through

analysis of additional excerpts, these categories were confirmed and extended. The process may be described as a continuous effort to integrate reflection and attention, in order to be able to add further insights to an emerging pattern of interpretation on several levels. One should keep in mind the abductive – in a way almost intuitive – feature of this reflective, interpretive process, as well as its continuous interaction between empirical data, hypothetical conclusions and theoretical perspectives.

After an initial discussion of how informal and formal jazz learning is presented in *OJ* during the period in question, the material has essentially been structured in accordance with the thematic fields that were identified during the analysis process. The final section attempts to present an overview of the developments and a brief comparison with a number of studies of folk music institutionalization.

A transition from non-formal to formal learning

At the beginning of the period in question, *OJ* conveys the general image that jazz musical learning is – and should be – informal. During the 1980s, famous jazz musicians are often presented as self-taught. Formally trained musicians also emphasize the importance of learning processes that are self-initiated and focus on learning by ear. Saxophonist Jonas Knutsson says that "your ear is what's important, your ability to listen to what is going on around you" (*OJ* 1988, No 7/8: 10).

The ideal: to be self-taught, learning by listening and playing

Saxophonist Lennart "Jonken" Jonsson summarizes his musical training: "A regiment musician showed me how to change reeds, and then he took out the sheet music. After 20 minutes I left. So I'm self-taught on the saxophone" (*OJ* 1982 No 7/8: 4).

Gunnar Siljabloo Nilson describes his first acquaintance with his mail order clarinet:

I sat in the kitchen and began to blow, and after a few hours, I managed to play 'Blott för dig' ('Only for you') in the low register. Pretty soon I had to move out to a hut where I sat among washing bowls and craft tools and an old wind-up gramophone that went too fast. I played together with Artie Shaw's recording of 'Begin the Beguine,' for I wanted to learn that one, especially the high glissandos. In [the small country village] Notviken we always put

Shaw first. Goodman came second. I'm stubborn, and despite the fact that Shaw's high notes were even higher on my gramophone, I wouldn't give up until I mastered them. (*OJ* 1988 No 10: 11–12)

The term "self-taught" does not exclude a context for learning, but it is a different one than in formal music education. The singer Nannie Porres is presented in this way: "Like so many other jazz artists, she is self-taught, which means that she has gone the long way and developed her way of singing in the circle of fellow musicians" (*OJ* 1986 No 6: 10).

The importance of learning by listening to good jazz is often emphasized, especially with regard to certain role models: "There are no great musicians who haven't attended 'the Armstrong University'" (cornet player Ruby Braff, *OJ* 1980 No 12: 9). Several musicians agree that listening and practising ought to focus on the music's roots. Saxophonist Steve Lacy talks about his musical development: "I started with jazz's earliest forms of expression and I developed right through its entire history, including bebop" (*OJ* 1983 No 1: 14). Saxophonist Anders Ekholm chimes in: "During my high school years I basically went through jazz history, apart from traditional jazz" (*OJ* 1988 No 11: 14).

The most important learning takes place when you play, according to many voices in OJ. Several musicians think of active music-making as education. Pianist Lars Sjösten sums up his time as a house pianist at the jazz club Gyllene Cirkeln [The Golden Circle] on Sveavägen in Stockholm: "It was like a jazz academy" (*OJ* 1981 No 4: 11). Steve Lacy says about playing with Thelonious Monk: "In any case it was the school I had been looking for – not Berklee or Manhattan, but that school!" (*OJ* 1983 No 1: 15).

Living together with like-minded musicians is pointed out as important. Lars Sjösten describes the collective accommodation where he lived during an important time period at Inedalsgatan 23 in Stockholm: "There was music around the clock" (*OJ* 1981 No 4: 10). Bassist Bjorn Alke calls the apartment "a university of greater consequence than the Academy" (*OJ* 1988 No 1: 7).

Several musicians speak of their fellow musicians as "teachers" in an informal sense. Bernt Rosengren says, for example: "In some way, Fager [pianist Claes-Göran Fagerstedt] was my teacher. [...] I have learned a great lot just by listening to how he harmonizes songs and how he voices chords. I have learned from Horace Parlan in much the same way" (*OJ* 1985 No 2: 10). Bassist Bjorn Alke says: "I think that Dexter

[Gordon] taught me most about jazz" (*OJ* 1988 No 1: 8). Gunnar Siljabloo Nilson tells of his very first gig: "the accordionist was such a bit of devil that he changed the key when I was about to play my solo and it must have sounded awful until I found my way. But I learned a lot, especially to play in all keys. And that of course was the accordionist's aim" (*OJ* 1988 No 10: 12).

A recurring topic in *OJ* interviews during the 1980s regards the need for musicians to be part of a context. Saxophonist Jonas Knutsson also talks about the dangers of building one's improvisations on what you have acquired from books, "then there is a risk that there will be no connection between what you play yourself and what is happening around you. I have heard many such musicians playing like they played together with a [Music Minus One] comp album" (*OJ* 1988 No 7/8: 10).

In the 1990s, the Swedish jazz education system is in a state of rapid growth. However, in interviews with jazz musicians, *OJ* continues to emphasize, like in the 1980s, that many of them are self-taught. Trombonist Jens Lindgren, who works in older jazz genres, is presented as an autodidact: when he started playing "there was a romantic idea that you were a worse jazz musician if you read music, and I believed that" (*OJ* 1997 No 7/8: 31). Similar descriptions occur also of more modern musicians; for example, guitarist Max Schultz is said to be part of "the large group of self-taught guitarists" (*OJ* 1993 No 10: 18–19), and trumpeter Ulf Adåker is presented in this way: "everything he has learned [...] he has learned on his own through practising and trying and gaining experience. As a musician, he is completely self-taught" (*OJ* 1993 No 11: 2). Despite his training at the Academy, guitarist Ewan Svensson is nevertheless presented as being originally self-taught: "He learned to play first, then to read music" (*OJ* 1994 No 7: 3).

The importance of the musician's own curiosity to jazz musical learning is mentioned in several interviews. For instance, bassist Hans Backenroth describes how his curiosity about context has led him to discoveries: "I wanted to know who influenced Jaco Pastorius [...] Then I discovered Paul Chambers [...] Because he sometimes played with a bow, I followed the trail backwards to Slam Stewart records" (*OJ* 1995 No 12: 22).

Several *OJ* interviews with musicians in the '90s focus on playing by ear and demonstrate rather little interest in the music's theoretical sides. Saxophonist Krister Andersson describes how he refused for a long time to learn music theory and how to read music: "I have a mysterious resistance, I have a hard time learning theoretical systems. It may perhaps have something to do with my school days". Only when he

had become a full-time jazz musician did he begin to study music theory seriously: "I started with the piano to learn the chords. It is necessary if you are to have a chance to understand musical grammar" (*OJ* 1992 No 12: 24–25).

Pianist Jan Strinnholm values playing by ear higher than playing written music: "I was lucky to have started playing by ear, because that was how I learned to improvise and play so as to compose in the moment. [...] I find it pretty uninteresting to only interpret a music sheet" (*OJ* 1998 No 4: 18).

Saxophonist Peter Gullin describes how his musical learning on the violin and later on alto sax was largely based on ear training:

I never did my homework. I played other stuff, imitating things I heard on the radio and improvising a lot [...] I copied from the LP *Portrait Of My Pals* for a couple of years on the alto. I played the record and improvised, and I learned dad's [Lars Gullin] and Rolf Billberg's solos. Then I went to my lessons with the book *Saxophone 1* and was supposed to play pieces from it, and I never knew them. (*OJ* 1998 5: 3)

Saxophonist Arne Domnérus describes the jazz musical learning of his youth:

we were one hundred per cent imitators. You had a role model and did what you could to live up to it. [...] mostly I picked up my skills through playing. To improvise was mostly about embroidering around the melody. (*OJ* 1999 No 12: 2–3)

The voices of the 1980s that have been cited here testify to a unanimously positive view of informal jazz learning in Folkestad's (2006) four respects: learning goes on – and should go on – outside school, by ear, on the learner's own terms and with a focus on playing. This view still prevails in *OJ* during the 1990s, but the picture is more complex with regard to the aspects Folkestad discerns: more learning takes place in school settings with written music and didactic teaching directed towards learning how to play. An appreciative attitude to the link between knowledge and creativity permeates certain statements about the emergence of formal jazz education programmes. However, there are several counterarguments: for instance, musicians warn against homogenization, and they insist that qualities such as authenticity, oral tradition and swing need to be preserved. Statements on jazz learning in *OJ* in the 1990s often commend a curiosity-driven, self-regulated learning process where the

musician's individual expression, creativity and development is in focus. Such observations are the basis for what I later on in this article have named thematic fields for critical discussion of the jazz educational development.

The emergence of formal jazz learning

The trend toward more formal jazz training is reflected in *OJ* already in the 1980s. Saxophonist Helge Albin argues that "jazz music here in Malmö is in many ways better than in Stockholm," and he suggests that this has to do with "the jazz education programme at the Music Academy" (*OJ* 1981 No 5: 8). Helge Albin points out that the jazz teacher himself learns by teaching: "when you are to teach something, you have to explain clearly what you mean, and at the same time you explain things to yourself. You remind yourself of what is important, and I think that's a very useful thing" (*OJ* 1981 No 5: 9).

Kurt Lindgren speaks in 1988 about "the large number of applicants to jazz programmes at the Academy of Music [in Stockholm]. And they are really young, tremendously versatile and competent!" (OJ 1988 No 12: 26). Pianist Carl Fredrik Orrje holds that jazz has "lost a generation," but that there are new times ahead: "One of the signs is the jazz educational activities at the Music Academy in Stockholm" (OJ 1988 No 5: 9).

Jazz studies at the Berklee College of Music are mentioned with some scepticism, and the term "Berklee broilers" is coined: "musicians who sound as if someone put carbon-paper between their ambitions" (*OJ* 1983 No 9: 23). The first question in an interview with a Swedish Berklee student, trumpeter Anders Eriksson, is "how great is the danger that you become a Berklee-broiler?" Eriksson declares that the meeting with the school has been a "culture shock" but also that "you get struck by how well organized everything is compared to Swedish conditions, how good *all* teachers are" (*OJ* 1983 No 9: 23). In practising musicians' outlook on teaching materials, some scepticism toward American jazz pedagogy can be discerned. In a review of Sten Ingelf's textbook on jazz and pop harmony, pianist Jan Wallgren considers this book as well as Gunnar Lindgren's and Lennart Åberg's textbook on jazz and pop improvisation, which was issued a few years earlier, to be "more sensible than most jazz textbooks on the international market. Go Sweden!" (*OJ* 1982 No 12: 44).

In several *OJ* interviews with musicians in the 1980s, positive views on the new kind of jazz learning are expressed, such as, for instance, thoughts about how theory and

technique may promote personal creativity. Lars Sjösten says of his studies at the Academy of Music in Stockholm:

The more theory you know, the more fun it is to improvise, the more you learn, the freer you become, he argues. – There is infinitely more to pick from – you learn the rules and then break them, but you must always know what you do. (*OJ* 1981 No 4: 11)

Saxophonist Jonas Knutsson talks about how improved intonation, sound production and legato enabled him to concentrate more on expression when he plays: "Based on that, I add my personality and make my excursions" (*OJ* 1988 No 7/8: 11).

These positive *OJ* arguments about the institutionalization of jazz learning mainly amount to a positive view of the connection between knowledge and creativity. In this context, it can be noted that from time to time the conviction is expressed that it is of importance to formulate a Swedish alternative to the American jazz pedagogy.

A new path of education: municipal music school – upper secondary school – folkhögskola – music academy

In the 1990s, many *OJ* texts indicate that young Swedish jazz musicians now have the possibility to get formal instruction on several stages: from municipal music school over upper secondary school and *folkhögskola* music programmes to the Academies of Music. Pianist Anders Widmark explains that his interest in jazz was nourished at the municipal music school in Uppsala: "there was also something called jazz improvisation" (*OJ* 1991 No 1: 15). Jazz education at upper secondary school level is a novelty in Sweden in the 1990s. Södra Latin is presented in 1991 as "the Stockholm upper secondary school that seems to be jazz's greatest promise for the future" (*OJ* 1991 No 2: 15). In 1993, *OJ* reports that "[s]ome of our most famous jazz musicians become teachers at Sweden's first 'jazz upper secondary school,' the three-year jazz programme at Vasaskolan in Gävle" (*OJ* 1993 No 1: 8). After municipal music school and the music programmes in upper secondary school, there are opportunities to study jazz at *folkhögskola* and music academies. Trumpeter Johan Setterlind did both, and his jazz musical training is presented as typical, "the norm for his generation" (*OJ* 1996 No 2: 17).

American perspectives on jazz learning

Although Sweden was relatively early, by international standards, to develop jazz education, in the US there was already a long experience of formal jazz training (Arvidsson, 2011: 155). In the 1990s, a number of Swedish musicians had gained experience of studying jazz in the United States, often at the Berklee College of Music. Trumpeter Anders Bergcrantz describes his studies as hard, determined work: "There was a lot of homework. I took care of myself and did my job, quite simply. I developed quickly, perhaps more than I have during any other period of my life. You should probably be young when you go to Berklee" (*OJ* 1995 No 6: 2).

Saxophonist Karl-Martin Almqvist studied at Mannes College of Music in New York 1994–1996 and speaks of the educational progression that characterizes American jazz education:

It was strict at Mannes: you had to learn certain things and show that you knew them before you were allowed to go on. They were strict with the basics. Not least the theoretical instruction was amazing. There was a step-by-step methodology that also meant that you were to practise your skills – for example with regard to harmonization. You could do it like this, or this way, or that way – and then you were instructed to actually do it in all these ways. (*OJ* 2001 No 4: 5)

Bassist Hans Andersson provides a similar picture of his studies at the Berklee College of Music in Boston 1987–1988: "First you have to learn the basics, hard bop and stuff, before they encourage you to work on your own expression" (*OJ* 2005 No 4: 19).

Pianist Maggi Olin directs attention to the dynamics between tradition and individuality. Her studies at Berklee made her "respect the tradition [...] After Berklee, I have tried to find a balance between what made me begin with jazz, and the tradition I learned at school." (*OJ* 1995 No 10: 22).

These kinds of perceptions of the focus on a strict methodology in American jazz education will eventually turn out to be an important aspect when institutionalized jazz education in Sweden tries to find and develop its own ways.

Positive voices about the institutionalization of jazz

However, all musicians do not share the view that can be said to dominate *OJ* texts in the 1980s and 1990s, namely, that formal jazz education by definition will be problematic. Saxophonist Fredrik Lundin studied in 1990–91 at the New School of Jazz and Contemporary Music in New York. He describes the difference between his own studies and what is done at the 'rhythmic conservatory' in Copenhagen: Danish jazz students are often "very young and they more or less swallow what's offered without reflecting. They are talented but boring." Joakim Milder comments: "I don't think that these schools are 'harmful' in themselves. Those who graduate as stereotypes would surely never have developed any individuality, and those who can think for themselves will probably have been done no harm." Hans Ulrik adds that "It's hardly wrong to be 'good'. Charlie Parker was, and Keith Jarrett's extremely 'good'" (*OJ* 1992 No 4: 19).

Several musicians describe their studies at the academy as a path to gaining musical experience and making new contacts. Bassist Lars Danielsson says of his time at the Academy of Music Gothenburg: "of course the big thing was to meet and play with others who were into the same kind of music" (*OJ* 1989 No 5: 19). Saxophonist Tomas Franck and trumpeter Mårten Lundgren testify to similar experiences in Malmö and Stockholm (*OJ* 1992 No 1: 22; *OJ* 2000 No 2/3: 23). Trumpeter Peter Asplund says about his jazz education: "some lessons were incredibly rewarding, others gave nothing. [...] The meeting with and grinding with other jazz musicians is important" (*OJ* 1995 No 4: 3–4).

Another aspect that occurs in the jazz educational discussion in OI is about existential perspectives that may complement studies in music theory and instrumental technique. As a teacher of improvisation at the Academy of Music in Stockholm, saxophonist Joakim Milder focuses on issues such as stance and aesthetics:

Those who attend the school are so well developed with regard to music theory and instrumental technique. It is really quite unnecessary to devote teaching time to these things. For many, however, it is completely unknown to think in more philosophical terms about the music. [...] All ethical and existential questions are so obvious in the music. (*OJ* 1997 No 4: 4–5)

A positive view on the connection between knowledge and creativity has been noted above. In the 1990s, this view is supplemented with perceptions of benefits of formal

jazz education that are both rather philosophical (thinking promotes musical development) and very concrete (so does playing a lot).

Thematic fields for critical discussion of the jazz educational development

A number of thematic fields can be discerned where the development of jazz learning toward educational formalization and institutionalization is questioned on various grounds. In this section they are presented under five headings: "Risk of homogenization and codification", "Feeling versus intellect and technique", "In defense of oral tradition and groove", "Change versus rules: consequences of institutionalized learning to freedom and individuality," and "Challenges for jazz education on folkhögskola and academy level".

Risk of homogenization and codification

Some performing musicians appear to be generally sceptical about formal training in jazz. The trumpeter Anders Bergcrantz expresses his views in an interview: "One can never become a jazz musician through education. That must have come from within already before. So you have to know what jazz is all about before further training. Then you can improve yourself and learn theory" (*OJ* 1990 No 10: 18).

Several musicians warn against homogenization and codification as results of formal training in jazz. Nisse Sandström believes that "there is a 'broiler mentality,' that you should learn quickly," and Gunnar Lindqvist adds: "Now you can look up the Coltrane scales and everything in books and a lot of guys come out with all that with the usual, hard tone, without any particular devotion. Anyway, no personality – it is not themselves" (*OJ* 1984 No 10: 8).

Bassist Kurt Lindgren points to the preservative function of homogenization:

Because jazz playing is being taught, there is also a standardization. [...] It simply becomes harder to be original and personal today. In this, demands for quality change. [...] What I mean is that education is in its essence conservative. It will always be behind that which is innovative, because it makes use of existing material. (*OJ* 1988 No 12: 26–27)

Lars-Göran Ulander summarizes his views on the potential of jazz education potential:

The main effect of education is to raise the level of the mediocre, to create musicians who know what they are doing and who are able to play in different styles. Broadly speaking, musicians without a personality of their own – and I guess this is something new, that the different styles of jazz are becoming codified. (*OJ* 1989 No 5: 17)

Arguments about homogenization are among the most common ones in *OJ* debates on formal jazz learning, and the issue continues to be discussed during the following decades.

Feeling versus intellect and technology

In many statements, the goal of education – like the goal of playing – is said to be music as emotional expression. Pianist Steve Dobrogosz complains in an opinion piece: "What makes me despair when I listen to today's music is how often the means of expression are confused with expression itself, and that many are not even aware that there must be something behind the tones!" (*OJ* 1981 No 5: 10). Pianist Robert Malmberg adheres to this view: "if the player feels something and manages to convey that feeling to other people, then it is good music [...] Music must not be associated with achievement" (*OJ* 1981 No 6: 8–9, 30).

Saxophonist Lennart Jansson expresses a related line of thought: "Technique does not impress me. If, like me, you have plodded away at etudes for years, you listen for other things than technique" (*OJ* 1986 No 5: 17). Bernt Rosengren "does not want the creation of music to be an intellectual process, a kind of problem-solving. For him it is important not to lose his playfulness. He advocates the emotional aspect" (*OJ* 1985 No 2: 13).

These statements relate to a thematic field that is closely in line with one mentioned in the introduction: advocates of authenticity versus advocates of virtuosity. It may be seen as variations on a theme by Lester Young: "You're technically hip. *But what's your story?*" (Bjerstedt, 2014: 41).

In defense of oral tradition and groove

Saxophonist Lars-Göran Ulander describes the development: "Jazz nowadays has fallen into a kind of classical music situation. It is no longer passed on through oral tradition" (*OJ* 1989 No 5: 16). Saxophonist Nisse Sandström says of his repertoire classes at the Royal Academy of Music: "It is important that they learn to remember the songs. Jazz is a sort of oral tradition. There should be no fake books. What you know, you should have in your head" (*OJ* 1983 No 11: 7). The same point of view is formulated by Bernt Rosengren: "the worst thing is that the young jazz musicians today must bring this 'secret book' along with all the chords. I think it is a great pity." Sandström, Rosengren and Gunnar Lindqvist discuss the subject together:

Nisse: [...] It is better to know a few songs properly than to bring one of those fake books. What if you go to a jazz festival and there's a jam session until the wee hours. Should we drag along harmony books? Bullshit.

Gunnar: It's embarrassing.

Nisse: Jazz music is an oral tradition.

Bernt: Yes, it ought to be. But I think many feel unsecure. They know tunes

but they don't feel really safe. Then they bring out the book.

Nisse: They have become accustomed to that fucking book.

Bernt: Yes, it's hopeless. They may know it anyway, but the book provides

some safety.

Nisse: Security blanket.

Gunnar: I would die of shame. (OJ 1984 No 10: 7-8)

Older musicians sometimes complain that their younger colleagues, in their opinion, have a less developed musical perception in various respects. Saxophonist Gunnar Lindqvist points to the rhythm: "What surprises me very much today is that the young guys are satisfied with the completely dead rhythms found in today's popular music. [...] They are deluded. It's a *fact* that it does not swing, even though they think it does" (*OJ* 1984 No 10: 9–10).

Change versus rules: consequences of institutionalized learning to freedom and individuality

We have already seen arguments against the formal jazz education programmes warning against homogenization at the expense of personal expression. This thematic field is intensified in the 1990s. The self-taught trumpeter Ulf Adåker is sceptical to

the academization of jazz, which he fears may lock the music in frozen forms, and will not permit instruction in key aspects of jazz. He says that he sees

a danger in this institutionalized education [...] you will learn the 'right' and 'wrong.' It invites you to a different, more regularized way to make music, but this is the one genre that constantly needs to change in order to be interesting, and that thing is very difficult to teach. At the academy you teach that which is easy to make into a curriculum, that which is easy to rate. But perhaps not the most necessary. (*OJ* 1993 No 11: 5)

In 2001, *OJ* publishes an extensive article by Stuart Nicholson declaring that "in the United States, jazz is paralyzed [...]. It is another matter in Europe, where creativity abounds" (*OJ* 2001 No 11: 25). Just as in his later book *Is jazz dead?* (2005), Nicholson points to the "lively jazz education network in the United States" as a cause of the stagnation he sees:

The kind of jazz that is taught at various schools across the United States is centered around mainstream style, built on the conventions of hard bop and post-bop from the fifties and sixties. The music has its fixed rules, is easy to analyse and categorize, and includes definitions of right and wrong that facilitate the teaching process. (*OJ* 2001 No 11: 26)

Far from all students who graduate from these schools will be able to support themselves as jazz musicians, Nicholson argues; and so they

will go back to the teaching industry – now as teachers and often with zero or very little experience of what it means to be a professional jazz musician. It becomes a recycling of teaching: the students become teachers who teach jazz the way they have learned it in school – a way that can easily be explained, analysed, defined and a way in which practical skills can be easily communicated. (*OJ* 2001 No 11: 26)

In this opinion piece, Nicholson however does not write about European or Swedish jazz education in relation to the American situation.

Higher education in jazz has also been established in Denmark and Norway. The focus at Det rytmiske konservatorium (The rhythmic conservatory) in Copenhagen is presented in OI as a more traditional one. Saxophonist Hans Ulrik sees great differences

between jazz in Denmark, Sweden and Norway: "There is much more so called free music in Sweden and Norway" (*OJ* 1992 No 4: 18). Saxophonist Fredrik Lundin agrees: "there are very many musicians coming from the rhythmic conservatory in Copenhagen that sound the same. They have learned how important it is to 'know your jazz'" (*OJ* 1992 No 4: 19).

Several voices in *OJ* comment on the consequences of jazz education for the musician's individuality. Bertil Sundin summarizes the issue:

It is often said that today's college-educated musicians who learn "the academic way," with exercise books with notated solos, will have the music more in their fingers than in their soul, and that it was the other way around when the old informal system prevailed, when you would sit in with different bands, imitate the masters and eventually appropriate a personal style of your own. (OJ 1992 No 7/8: 26)

One opinion that is put forward in the educational debate in OI is that one must 'live' one's music; jazz can only be learned through living, not by going to school. Pianist Per Henrik Wallin expresses a general scepticism regarding jazz education at music academies:

Jazz is not something you learn in school. Life experiences shape the music and expression. It is the life you live and what you experience, plus, of course, that you must know your craft. [...] You have to live the music, it's not a style that you practise in school, it's not an achievement – it's life. (*OJ* 1998 No 7/8: 7)

Saxophonist Lars Gulliksson – himself an academy graduate – perceives limitations in the school's ability to teach jazz, because teaching will inevitably shrink the space for the students' own discoveries: "There are educational materials for any purpose. The space for your own discoveries becomes smaller when everything is served. You get to know which scale is right, and then you play it. If you had not known it from the beginning, you would perhaps have found something new and personal instead" (*OJ* 1997 No 3: 21).

Behind arguments of this kind seems to lie a conception that there is a fundamental polarization between two approaches as to what it means to be a jazz musician: is it to have acquired a certain defined body of knowledge and skills, or is it a free,

personal way to be and to make music? Perceptions of such a polarization are also an important ingredient when Swedish institutionalized jazz learning tries to find and develop its own ways.

Saxophone player Ulf Andersson reflects on the risks that formal jazz education would undermine the musician's personality:

One could perhaps see signs of it in the American school with a hundred tenors who have tremendous technique but who sound almost the same. This is not the case in Sweden. I try to help students acquire good intonation and to be able to tune the instrument – but their timbre and tone will always be individual. Just as the voice of each person is unique. (*OJ* 1999 No 11: 6)

Peter Asplund does not think that any jazz talent has been destroyed by the Academy of Music:

I know we discussed it when we attended, [saxophonist] Fredrik Ljungkvist and I, because we had the same teacher in ear training and harmony, we were taught the same system, from Berklee, and we got to learn what scales to use on the chords. But just look at those who have made their own records: there is a great difference between all. (*OJ* 1995 No 4: 4)

Bertil Sundin argues that music schools should provide jazz students with knowledge about jazz history, and that the role and function of the interpreter should be upgraded as well as that of the improviser; all cannot reasonably be great personalities. He calls for "a better balance in terms of the roles of the re-creator (the interpreter) and the creator. The jazz myth of personal expression and creation has gone much too far" (*OJ* 1992 No 7/8: 27).

The overall impression of the educational debate in *OJ* in the 90s is still that individuality retains its place as the jazz musician's hallmark. A further example of this is given in a statement by saxophonist Lennart Åberg who in 1991 is part of a team of internationally renowned jazz teachers at Bob Brookmeyer's music school in Rotterdam, which will aim at innovative and personal qualities in its students: "just the kind of school that I myself would like to attend" (*OJ* 1991 No 3: 20).

Challenges for jazz education on folkhögskola and academy level

The number of opinion articles focusing on the development of jazz education programmes is not great in *OJ*. But in two consecutive issues in 1992 observations are formulated that deserve to be presented in some detail. In *OJ* 1992 No 7/8, Bertil Sundin writes about some of the general challenges that jazz education at all stages, in his view, are facing. The situation has changed, as jazz has now been incorporated into the academic education system. However, it has not yet quite found its home there:

Virtually all music academies today have some form of education in the African American tradition. Sometimes it is called by that name, sometimes the catch-all term "other genres" is used to denote jazz, rock and various forms of ethnic music, thus connoting what is the most important and the first genre: written Western art music. (*OJ* 1992 No 7/8: 25)

Among the most urgent things that remain to be done, according to Sundin, is to consider and deal with the jazz musical heritage in academia in a similar manner as in art music circles:

Within written art music, drama and literature, artists work within traditions that are respected and have a certain prestige. There is no equivalent for jazz. (OJ 1992 No 7/8: 26)

Sundin exemplifies with Ellington, whose music is nowhere recreated in a satisfactory way in educational contexts, while this happens in very large scale with regard to the big names in classical music. Another example, he says, is music research:

How is it that the keen youth research and music ethnology write about ragtime and blues but then skip to 1956 and Bill Haley? (*OJ* 1992 No 7/8: 26)

Furthermore, Sundin points out that attitudes to formal music education among jazz musicians and jazz listeners can also be a source of difficulties:

The attitude of jazz aficionados is contradictory. Some great bands are not really accepted because they are also involved in educational activities. Some believe that it is vitally important to jazz to retain its underground character. (*OI* 1992 No 7/8: 27)

In a 1992 article entitled "Give Swedish jazz its own school!", bassist and educator Ulf Rådelius argues that an independent Swedish jazz educational institution is needed. His starting point is a description of the jazz programme at Skurups folkhögskola. Among the values he emphasizes in the education on the *folkhögskola* level is the focus on one's own creativity and personal development. Jazz education must contain

both the knowledge of tradition and an open mind for things that move in the moment, preferably with attention directed forward. It is also necessary to look beyond technical exercises, learning songs and scales and other craft skills. Failure to do so may result in failing "balance between the brain and heart" in the aspiring musicians. [...] I would argue that the folkhögskola is a better environment for jazz education than the music academy. [...] We have built in a space for creativity, for creative and personal development in the way we teach. (*OJ* 1992 No 9: 23)

Some voices cited above address the survival of jazz as an oral tradition. Rådelius emphasizes that it is important to develop a special jazz pedagogy based on jazz music's ear-based, oral tradition:

I believe that jazz education should be developed separately and not be inserted into an existing academic university system. Jazz music is basically ear-based and its tradition is essentially "verbal". It is quite natural – without any disparagement of traditional music education – that you can't teach jazz with a methodology that is largely based on notated music. I see an opportunity to take advantage of the "oral tradition" and use it as a method – among others – to convey knowledge. This does not exclude learning from the so-called conservatory model. The important thing, as I see it, is that we must develop our teaching on our own terms. (Ibid.)

In the investigated material, Sundin stands out as relatively alone in advocating that jazz programmes should also take responsibility for a musical heritage and that they should also educate interpreters, not only improvisers. Most statements about jazz learning in OJ in the 1990s focus on the musician's individual expression, creativity and development. In response to those voices that defend jazz as oral tradition, an ear-based jazz educational alternative is formulated.

The growth of a Swedish jazz educational profile

During the first decade of the new century the voices of more active jazz educators are heard in *OJ*. Many of them say they are not convinced that it is really possible to teach improvisation. The view that jazz education should focus on personal expression and communication, rather than on technique and analysis, is a recurring theme in several interviews. According to bassist Christian Spering, you can "hardly teach people to improvise," but should "focus on and encourage personal expression – which will be there naturally in all who really have something to say! [...] One should not be too analytical – you need to allow the spontaneous, the personal" (*OJ* 2000 No 10: 5).

A kind of philosophical attitude permeates certain descriptions of jazz pedagogy. Saxophonist Johan Borgström recounts how he felt that he lacked his own musical voice and how Thomas Gustafson then became an important teacher:

he asked questions and I had to come up with the answers myself. The questions were ingenious, they made me think, but they were also simple things like: why do you play the saxophone? [...] The result was a completely new approach to myself, the audience, the context. (*OJ* 2000 No 11: 23)

Saxophonist Jonas Knutsson expresses his appreciation for Sahib Shibab's teaching style; he avoided answering questions about practical tips on scales and exercises:

he had a philosophical approach to music. He talked about form, expression, swing – and he had an attitude reminiscent of the traditional country fiddlers, more practical than intellectual. (*OJ* 2002 No 11: 5)

Several musicians agree that an important task for jazz education is to teach musicians to think for themselves. The pianist and trombonist Ulf Johansson Werre wants to "teach students to develop what they hear within themselves and use it to do something meaningful" (*OJ* 2003 No 11: 6), and Peter Asplund chimes in:

It is important to bring out the creative and personal in everyone [...] I advise them to go out into the woods and practise, or to read this or that book by Dostoyevsky, or to put music to [the Stockholm street] Valhallavägen ... I urge them to play a lot and to be their own judge – not to take for granted what is right and wrong, but to think for themselves. (*OJ* 2004 No 6: 5)

Pianist Cecilia Persson describes Maggi Olin's attitude as a piano teacher:

She's cool and tough and she taught me that you do not need to keep on making excuses [...] You had to learn to play wrong, to play dirty, to play too much. She helped me across a large barrier of delusions. (OJ 2009 No 5: 10)

Saxophonist Joakim Milder, professor in improvisation and ensemble playing at the Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm, describes how in one course he concentrates on language, letting musicians mimic ordinary voices:

You communicate, you want to express something. That's what affects me, a voice that is saying something. No matter how complicated or simple the music is. (OI 2007 No 7/8: 7)

In contrast, trombonist Bertil Strandberg says that he wants to avoid completely going into the student's personal expression:

You can't teach very much about improvising, but you can do a lot with regard to instrumental technique, working with the craft [...] the tone, the energy, breathing [...] But I don't want to control the personal expression. (*OJ* 2005 No 12: 6)

Several interviews reflect the jazz educational dynamics between technical skills and knowledge of tradition on one hand and personal expression on the other. Saxophonist Klas Lindqvist speaks of his jazz education on *folkhögskola* level as a problematic experience. He was at that time playing with a traditional jazz orchestra and found it difficult to accept what he experienced as the school's focus on the musicians' creativity without any connection to tradition:

Not much related to tradition. It did not even swing. It influenced the students. So I had two fuzzy years, feeling like in a vacuum, not understanding anything, and going back home now and then to get to blow with Second Line. [...] Within certain types of artistic education in Sweden the focus is on 'finding yourself'. You are thrown into a dark room, the door closes behind you and you have to find a way to get out. [...] At the Academy of Music in Stockholm, where I study now, there's more of the traditional roots for the students to build on. (*OJ* 2005 No 10: 45)

Despite occasional voices that emphasize the importance of jazz musicians' technical craftsmanship and relation to tradition, a focus on personal expression becomes increasingly dominant in *OJ* statements about jazz learning during the first decade of this century.

Learning for jazz or learning for life

The volume of jazz education programmes exceeds the demands of the labour market. At the end of the investigated period, it is clear that all those who train to become jazz musicians will not pursue this as their main occupation. Out of those who graduated from the *folkhögskola* jazz programmes in spring 2008 at Skurup, Fridhem and Birka, only one person was actually earning his living as a musician two years later (*OJ* 2010 No 3: 31). In interviews, representatives of the jazz programmes express an approach to the purposes of jazz learning where the students' personal development is valued higher than success in the professional life they are trained for. Pianist Maggi Olin teaches at Skurup and she does not find that too many jazz musicians are being trained. "No, it is up to everyone. It is a great advantage for the individual to have gotten the opportunity to play and be creative" (*OJ* 2007 No 5: 14). Mattias Nordqvist, director of studies at Birka, expresses a similar view:

The ambition to educate all for professional careers as musicians is doomed to fail. But we also focus on the individual. The power of music enriches life no matter what you do after attending Birka [...] Jazz improvisation works as a way to find yourself. (Ibid.)

We have previously seen how views on jazz learning have come to focus on the musician's individual expression, creativity and development. During the '00s, this line of argument is developed further, presenting jazz learning as a means of personal development, rather than as a path to the goal of becoming a jazz musician.

A comparison between the institutionalization of jazz and folk music

Based on the investigated material, the trend towards formalized learning in the field of jazz seems to display both musical and sociological parallels with tendencies that were mentioned in this article's introduction with regard to folk music. Musically,

one dominant perspective appears to be the movement from ear-based learning to learning based on written music. In *OJ*, the viewpoint is expressed that jazz, too, has ended up in "a kind of classical-music-situation" (Lars-Göran Ulander, *OJ* 1989 No 5: 16) where "there are educational materials for every purpose" (Lars Gulliksson, *OJ* 1997 No 3: 21). Jazz pedagogy seems to have to a significant extent come to be based on notation and a sort of music theoretical ("chord-scale") canon (Prouty, 2012: 55) that may be viewed as the result of American influences. In several *OJ* interviews, however, ear-based learning processes are pointed to as being ideal, and a Swedish, ear-based jazz educational alternative is formulated.

Musicians' conceptions about how things ought to be make up a central sociological perspective on folk music and jazz's institutionalization. Åkesson notes that the phenomenon of older folk musical transmission patterns, such as musical family tradition, is now negligible in Sweden; the conditions for folk music have changed, and its character of "performance art" has been strengthened as a result of a number of factors, such as folk musicians' experiences of several different music types, easily accessible archive material, formalized knowledge and skills, as well as musicians getting accustomed to ensemble playing and wanting to make a living as musicians (2007: 302). Similar themes are touched upon and problematized in OI discussions on oral tradition versus institutionalization, for instance in saxophonist Nisse Sandström's utterance: "There should be no fake books. What you know, you should have in your head" (OI 1983 No 11: 7). Åkesson also points to various kinds of development in folk music environments that are characterized by institutionalization: the individual practitioner's skill has come into focus (2007: 50), the performative or 'presentative' aspects of the music have been strengthened, and the transition to being an established genre is notable (2007: 106). Åkesson also holds that the sound character of vocal folk music may change when singing becomes a full-time job for which you have been trained (2007: 236). Comments and reactions to similar trends are also noticeable among voices in OI on formal jazz education; several musicians warn against homogenization and defend the musicians' personal expression.

However, there are also a number of differences between the developmental trends in the fields of folk music and jazz. Firstly, the institutionalization of jazz in Sweden has no nationalistic connotations such as is sometimes the case regarding folk music. In the investigated *OJ* material, no equivalent can be detected in the jazz field to the link between nationalist policies and efforts to raise the status of folk music that may be observed in several countries (such as in Ireland and Finland; McCarthy, 1999: 6; Hill, 2005: 30). Secondly, based on the investigated material, there appears to be an

educational tendency in jazz to emphasize focus on the musician's own creativity and personal development, which does not appear as clearly in the folk music field.

Summary

Through this inventory of perspectives on jazz musical learning in *OJ*, the three decades between 1980 and 2010 emerge as a transition period with regard to perceptions of formal and non-formal learning. In a previous study based on interviews with jazz musicians (Bjerstedt, 2014) a number of thematic fields were noted where contesting views on jazz musical learning occurred: (a) an older generation of musicians against a younger one, (b) an autodidactic culture against an educational one, (c) an "open" educational culture against an orthodox one, and (d) advocates of authenticity against virtuosity (ibid: 338–345). In the analysis of perspectives on jazz learning expressed in *OJ* during the period 1980–2010, the aspects mentioned (a–d) have been complemented with additional thematic fields of critical discussion. For instance, the ongoing trend towards increased institutionalization has been commented on in the form of warnings against homogenization and codification, and in statements that defend music as emotional expression, the oral tradition and the groove, as well as the freedom and personal expression of jazz musicians.

During the 1980s, the self-taught jazz musician emerges as an ideal in OJ. Even formally trained musicians emphasize the importance of self-initiated, ear-based learning processes. Comments on jazz learning expressed in OI in the 1990s also often point out as commendable a curiosity-driven, self-regulated learning process where the musician's individual expression, creativity and development are in focus. According to a prevalent notion, you learn to play jazz mainly by listening and by playing together in contexts where fellow musicians serve as informal 'teachers'. There are diverging views on the emerging formal jazz training. Recurring counterarguments are about jazz not being to the same extent as earlier transmitted by way of oral tradition, and this is said to have negative consequences with regard to, for instance, authenticity, knowledge of repertoire, and swing. Emotional values of the music are highlighted at the expense of intellectual ones. Several musicians warn against homogenization and codification as consequences of formal jazz education. Academic education in jazz music is considered by many to affect the musician's individuality. In the educational debate in OI, the opinion occurs that one must "live the music"; it is said that jazz can only be learned by living, not by going to school, and formal education is said to shrink the space for musicians' own discoveries. Focus on the musician's creativity and personal development is highlighted as important, and it is considered important to develop a special jazz pedagogy based on jazz music's ear-based, oral tradition.

From the 1990s on, Sweden has offered opportunities for long sequences of formal jazz musical training (municipal music school – upper secondary school – folkhögskola - music academy). Furthermore, increasing educational experiences have enabled musicians to make comparisons between Swedish and American jazz pedagogy. In the light of such experiences, a richer debate can emerge, including viewpoints on the effects of formal jazz learning effects with regard to tradition and individuality. Perceptions of the strict methodology of American jazz education have become important to Swedish jazz educators' aim to seek and develop a way of their own. During the '00s, a significant part of Swedish jazz teachers have themselves experienced formal jazz education in Sweden, and in many cases also in the US. The emergence of a specific Swedish jazz educational profile may be due to this experience base. Stuart Nicholson's pessimistic prediction that "students become teachers who teach jazz the way they have learned it in school" (OJ 2001 No 11: 26) does not seem to have been completely fulfilled. For musicians, schools have become a new kind of meeting places that significantly replace venues outside the institutions. Unlike in the past, it is increasingly the case that musicians' outlook on jazz and jazz learning is formed and expressed within the educational system. A central theme of the discussion can be said to be the relationship between different jazz musical ideals, of which several may be perceived as positions on a scale between the poles of freedom and tradition: from an image of jazz as mainly relating to tradition to an image of jazz as mainly communicating the musician's impulses in the present moment. It is about playing "freely" or playing "correctly" - should jazz primarily be an expression of the artist's individuality or of expectations relating to jazz tradition? The overall impression of the investigated material, outlooks on jazz musical learning as expressed in OI during the period 1980-2010, could be said to amount to a partial change of focus in views on Swedish jazz education, making self-expression and communication - rather than technique and analysis - the main issues, and to an increasing emphasis on the importance of jazz education to the musician's personal development. Despite occasional voices that emphasize the importance of the jazz musician's technical craftsmanship and relation to tradition, the focus on personal expression is increasingly dominant in OI statements about jazz learning during the first decade of this century, and several musicians express the view that an important task for jazz education is to teach musicians to think for themselves.

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The Body, to make and to be in music

A phenomenological study

Johanna Österling Brunström

ABSTRACT

This article aims to explore bodily anchored dimensions of meaning in relation to four different musical contexts. How does the body take hold of the music? How does the music take hold of the body? These questions intersect each other through providing different entry points, which aims to illuminate this phenomenon from different perspectives. Given the fact that these issues are intertwined, they cannot nor should be separated. Instead, they should be understood in light of each other. The questions intersect each other, yet are not identical.

The theoretical foundation is inspired by Maurice Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of the body, along with Frede V. Nielsen's view of music as a universe of meaning, which provides a spectrum of experience possibilities.

Four musical contexts are represented; a professional musician (Astrid, in her 60's), a concertgoer and also a professional composer (Björn, in his 40's), a professional DJ (Celia, in her 30's), and a professional dancer (David, in his 20's). The participants in the study have been observed in their contexts through participatory observations and video observations. The observations took place at an orchestra rehearsal (Astrid), a concert (Björn), a nightclub gig (Celia) and a dance rehearsal (David). The observations were preceded by stimulated recall interviews as well as demi-structured interviews (two interviews per person). The collection of empirical data was concluded by a focus group where all four participants took part.

The voices of the participants are heard through life stories that are built on the conducted interviews. Themes (essences) that describe the bodily anchored dimensions of meaning among the participants have emerged through phenomenologic-hermeneutic readings and analysis of their life stories and interviews. The study indicates that all four musical contexts share the bodily anchored dimensions of meaning, emanating from musical learning and knowledge. The

four contexts also share experiences of the aesthetic, emotional and existential relations to musicking. The room also plays a significant role, together with body and communication.

The musician and the DJ express the dual aspect of the body, e.g. to have and to be in a body, and also the distinction between a professional and a private body. The concertgoer/composer and the musician both highlight how the body can expose the person through stress, nervousness and habitus. The concertgoer/composer also illustrates how language emanates from bodily gestures. When the body takes hold of the music, it occurs through an intentional act, through a reaching out in the world – an act of doing. When the music takes hold of the body, it involves becoming shaken, touched and, without notice, being struck by music – an act of being. Between doing and being, there is a gap – the flesh – that can be understood as our existence.

Keywords: body and music, phenomenology, aesthetic, emotional and existential experience

In the following article I will give an account of my dissertation *The Body, to make* and to be in music. A phenomenological study (Österling Brunström, 2015). The article illuminates the thesis' central parts, including the four musical contexts, theoretical framework, method, results and discussion.

Introduction

At first glance, the body can seem and feel obvious. Our bodies often seem so self-evident that they are taken for granted. Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–1961) connects human existence and the body, which means that the body is something absolute, from which one cannot separate: "But [...] I am not in front of my body, I am in it, or rather I am it", he writes (Merleau-Ponty, 2002: 173). The lived body (*le corps proper*) is the prerequisite to experiencing the world. Instead of the body being reduced to an object, an observable entity or a mechanism consisting chemical processes and causal relationships, humans can be aware of and able to reflect on themselves and their being. The lived body should be understood as an integrated unity as opposed to the commonly discussed polarisation between body and soul/awareness, which is often discussed, not least as a result of language limitations. Instead of speaking about the body and about the soul, phenomenology attempts to allow the world to open up and let the objects speak for themselves.

The body as a starting point for learning appears to have a marginalized place in the school context. I support this statement with how curricula and syllabi for music are designed for primary and lower secondary school (Lpfö 98; Lgr 11) together with the occurrence of subjects and courses at high schools, folk high schools and universities. The marginalized place for the body in music and in a school context is to be understood as a contextualization of this article.

Aims and research questions

The study aims to examine bodily anchored dimensions of meaning in relation to four different musical contextual spaces of music: a professional musician: Astrid (in her 60's), a concertgoer/composer: Björn (in his 40's), a professional DJ: Celia (in her 30's), and a professional dancer: David (in his 20's). The study focuses on these

musical contexts and aims to answer the research questions through the lens of the participants' life worlds.

The main research questions are; 1) How does the body take hold of the music? and 2) How does the music take hold of the body? These questions intersect each other through providing different entry points, which aims to illuminate this phenomenon from different perspectives. Given the fact that these issues are intertwined and, they cannot be separated, nor should they be. Instead, they should be understood in light of each other. The questions intersect each other, yet are not identical.

Theoretical framework

Phenomenology is a critical reflection of the world, which aims to explore and thematise central philosophical questions. For example, by using philosophy as a discipline when discussing the act of being, we are not only offered arguments for knowledge, but we are also given opportunities to investigate the actual basis for this knowledge and their conditions. Phenomenology is a philosophy that strives towards the naïve contact with the world that can be said to 'already be there', even before reflecting on it (Merleau-Ponty, 2004).

Phenomenology enables phenomena to emerge. In the actual emergence, we can ask questions about how objects (the phenomena) emerge in front of the subjects. Thus, a core theme for phenomenology is the conditions for emergence (Rønholt et al., 2003: 59).

This study uses existential phenomenology and aims to understand the personal existence, by using Merleau-Ponty and his philosophy about the phenomenology of the body. Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology should be understood as a phenomenology focusing on human body and sociality.

Bodily anchored musical meaning

In my research, the understanding of the concept 'musicking' is based on Nielsen's (2010) and Merleau-Ponty's (2002) thinking.

Musicking involves acting and doing which includes playing, singing, listening, dancing, talking about music, composing, improvising, arranging, and the activities that make it possible. Experience of music – musicking – has a bodily point of departure, where body is understood as existence. The lived body means that subjects and objects are intertwined and interconnected (Merleau-Ponty, 1997: 49). The description of musicking in this article incorporates a personal relationship with the music and the participant. Musicking emphasises that music is a human activity and an experience that helps to understand our relationships with other people and ourselves. Participation in music, along with other people, means communication and relationships between individuals, society and the world. This creates meaning.

Musicking means that music takes the starting point in the lived body. Musicking includes all kinds of music activities and provides opportunities for meetings between people as well as between people and surroundings (world). In addition, musicking provides an opportunity for human beings to meet something in oneself, which can give rise to existential meaning.

This article is built on a phenomenological understanding of music (Nielsen, 2010), along with music having a bodily starting point, meaning that human beings are intentionally directed towards music (Merleau-Ponty, 2002).

The concept of habitus can also be useful when exploring how the body can create meaning during musicking. Habitus should be understood in terms of an individual's positions for action and can manifest through expressions of preference, how a person speaks and acts (Bourdieu, 1994). Bourdieu's understanding of the concept of habitus is in line with a phenomenological explanation. Habitus is embodied taste, style and habit, which manifest itself in action dispositions and historical dispositions that

¹ Christopher Smalls (1998) discussion of musicking is not fully consistent with a phenomenological understanding. Small are interested in why people participate in a musical contexts, while a phenomenological approach rather want to understand how this happens and what one want to participate in, based on the individual's lived body. Small points out that the meaning of music is not found in the sounds, but in the relationship between the people who in some way engage in music. A phenomenological approach however focuses on the relationship between humans and music and the way in which the subject and object are intertwined with each other.

affect future choices and actions. Taste for, for example, art, music, literature and food expresses the individual's habitus, which means that you know how to act in the social field. Taste, language, education and lifestyle are fields that are all affected by habitus, which lead to reproduction, as our habitus determines how to adapt to the environment. Habitus can be understood as an individual's disposition for action and an individual's habitus may show up in different taste expressions, as well as how the person speaks and acts – simply an embodied class expression.

Method

In order to uncover, illuminate and become aware of bodily anchored dimensions of meaning in relation to the four mentioned musical contexts, I selected a phenomenological approach since phenomenology is the theory of what emerges. Experience and meaning are central concepts within the phenomenological philosophy, however this does not mean that we have always dressed phenomena in words. Instead, the phenomena are mainly perceived as 'lived'. Through language, we can understand and uncover concepts and experiences, but phenomenology can also uncover meanings in pre-language contexts through bodily expressions and through perceptions (Keller, 2012: 12). The phenomenological reflection is an activity, bodily anchored in the world. This reflection means that we should understand ourselves while we live our lives. We should thus reflect upon the world in which we already live, and in addition take history into account. Merleau-Ponty argues that there is a lived connection between body and world where our perception is the basis for an open dialogue (Thøgersen, 2010: 128).

The descriptive approach of phenomenology operates methodologically together with understanding, explanation and interpretation as per hermeneutics. Whereas a phenomenological analysis aims to describe an essential structure of a phenomenon, hermeneutic analysis focuses on interpretation. Phenomenology emphasises the fact that humans exist in the world (being-to-the world), which means that meaning is conveyed through language, culture and history. In order to be able to understand and create meaning, experiences of reality need to be explained and interpreted. Existential hermeneutics aim to penetrate and understand the human world through a thorough analysis of the conditions for human existence (Ödman, 2007: 42).

Reduction, construction and destruction

The study uses the analysis methods of *reduction*, *construction* and *destruction*, derived from Heidegger (1982: 23). Reduction means "leading back" and thematising a phenomenon in a way that shows its central aspects, and involves analysing and uncovering. Reduction is a central phenomenological method, yet it is also a method which demands that we become surprised and baffled through detaching ourselves from what is well-known; it is a method that encourages us to see the world with fresh eyes. The phenomenological reduction starts from the basis of the dual aspect of intentionality; for something to appear it must appear to someone, as something. The central aspect in this study is, in other words, how the phenomenon appears to the subject. This act highlights aspects of meaning that are expressed by and with the lived body (Merleau-Ponty: 1997).

In order for something to appear, I (the researcher) have to engage in this process. This is what Heidegger calls construction: "we should bring ourselves forward positively toward being itself" (Heidegger, 1982: 21). I participate in the research process, and my preconceived ideas and understanding are therefore significant. This means I have to become aware of my position and my starting point. Understanding is the basis for interpretation and it constitutes our being-in-the-world. Understanding points towards the future, yet at the same time sets off in the now and the present situation.

Heidegger's third step is called destruction and is described as "a critical process in which the traditional concepts, which at first must necessarily be employed, are deconstructed down to the sources from which they were drawn" (Heidegger, 1982: 23). Destruction aims to thematise prevailing opinions in order to dig down to the roots and, in doing so, find new and wider opportunities to understand concepts (Keller, 2012: 25). When a traditional concept is being destructed, it is possible to bring it back to its historical repetition of tradition. To *destruct* means to analyse and critically inspect something in order to create a new understanding of a concept.

In existential phenomenology, reduction, construction and destruction are important tools for reflection and analysis; regardless of how much emphasis a study may place on one or several of the methods, and regardless of whether any of the methods should be viewed as implied or explicit. The three methods should be understood as included in a circular fashion, similar to the hermeneutical spiral. Phenomenology and hermeneutics should be understood as ontological starting points, where the hermeneutical emphasis rests upon an epistemological foundation. In other words,

phenomenology describes our being-in-the-world as humans, whereas hermeneutics helps us to understand how this happens by a methodical reflection through understanding, explanation and interpretation.

Selection

Participants

I wanted to avoid a so-called traditional understanding of the musician and instead broaden the understanding of the musician (and music). A widespread understanding of the concept *music* means that everyone who in one way or another lives, engages, thinks, speaks, knows music and makes music are included in the concept, which means a broader understanding that gives the study a solid foundation to explore the various intentional acts aimed at the phenomenon.

The following four *lifeworld existentials* have played a decisive role in selecting participants in the study: lived body, lived time, lived space and lived human relations (Van Manen, 1990: 101 ff). Listed themes can be differentiated, but not separated, and should be understood as existential themes that all individuals face when they experience the world: "The four fundamental existentials of spatiality, corporeality, temporality, and rationality may be seen to belong to the existential ground by which all human beings experience the world, although not all in the same modality of course "(Ibid.: 102).

In order to get in touch with the participants who were desirable for the study, I turned to two people in my network of former and current students, students and colleagues.

The selection criteria for participants was inspired by a body phenomenological approach (Merleau-Ponty, 2002; Merleau-Ponty, 1968), music perceived as a universe of meaning (Nielsen 2010) and lifeworld existentials (van Manen, 1990). This involves a widened concept of music and musicians, viewed from a body phenomenological perspective, with the ultimate aim to grasp and illuminate the research questions.

Empirical methods

Through learning about peoples' lived experiences, there are opportunities to access deeper meaning of human experience. The choice of research methods comes from

the aims of answering the research questions, as well as being able to describe and interpret the phenomenon in multiple ways.

In order to portrait how the participants described the phenomenon, I deemed it crucial to use research methods that utilise their own descriptions of experiences and reflections of the phenomenon. For this purpose, I chose observations ('on-site' and video), stimulated recall interviews (Gass & Mackey, 2009; Haglund, 2003), semi-structured interviews (Kvale, 1997) and focus groups (Wibeck, 2009), given that a phenomenological account has a reflecting approach.

Data collection and analysis

Life world phenomena are often complex and rational, embedded into the flesh of the world (Dahlberg et al., 2008: 233). In order to understand these phenomena, I as a researcher must reduce, organise and clarify the picture that emerges, since a phenomenological-hermeneutical methodology emphasises both description and interpretation (Ibid.).

The data collection began with observations of the participants in their everyday lives (an orchestra rehearsal, a concert, a nigh-club gig and a dance rehearsal). The observations ('on-site' and video) aimed to give an insight into the life worlds of the participants. Through observing the participants in their everyday lives and in their work contexts, opportunities were given to "come close".

Each observation lasted for approximately 60 minutes. Descriptive notes were gathered during the observations, as thorough as was possible at the time, with the aim to register as much as possible through keeping an open mind to what was being observed.

Before the participants and I simultaneously viewed the video recordings together from each observation, I had repeatedly studied these video recordings and made descriptive notes as well as reflecting through doing a structure analysis (Holgersen, 2012). I observed how the body and music, and music and body interacted with each other. Everything that I could observe was noted down as thorough as possible, with the aim to uncover the current phenomenon (reduction). I also searched for elements in the video that had not emerged during the on-site observations.

The first stimulated recall interview focused on what the participants saw and experienced when they watched the video from the observation. This meant that they put

into words what they remembered of the experience they had in precisely the moment of the recording, but they also expressed in words the emotions and experiences they had when watching the video.

For interview number two, I had prepared questions that were based on the first interview. Through asking these questions, I wanted to get closer to the phenomenon. The answers from the participants enabled the phenomenon to develop, take shape and come to light.

Yet again, I focused on interview transcriptions and this time I read through them with the aim to bring forward each participant's life story. The aim of the life stories was to obtain access to the four participants' meaning creation of their bodies while musicking. During the analysis of the data, participants were able to read their life stories and were asked to critically reflect, examine, correct and change anything they felt I had misunderstood or misinterpreted.

Next step in the process of analysis involved reading the texts again with openness, thoughtfulness and conscientiousness, in order to enable a new understanding of the data as a whole. In the texts, I underlined what I argue are aspects of meaning. Those that belonged together were brought into clusters of meaning (reduction and construction). The clusters formed a basis for structures of meaning – themes (essences). A hermeneutic approach involves "interpreting" and "understanding" (Ricoeur, 1993: 75; Ödman, 2007: 23–24). I have interpreted and understood the texts and I have thereby selected titles for these themes. Some themes are similar (i.e., can be found in several participants' texts), but are not identical and have therefore been given different names to highlight the similarity but also the fact that they are slightly different. Thereafter, these themes have been inspected from different angles through theoretical discussions, with the aim to understand, explain and raise them to a more abstract level, but also to critically examine and analyse traditional views to enable an increased understanding of the concepts (destruction).

Finally, the themes (essences) have been compared with the aim to investigate similar and dissimilar features of their professional practice as a musician, concertgoer/composer, DJ and dancer. This should be understood as a part of the reduction, in synergy with construction and destruction (Heidegger, 1982) – and in this way, the research questions of my project are being addressed.

Results

Astrid's, Björn's, Celia's och David's life stories have been developed through their interviews. Their statements are presented through interview transcriptions from stimulated recall interviews and the subsequent interviews have been adapted to running text in the subject form. The life stories aim to highlight as well as enable the emergence of participants' meaning creation of their bodies while musicking. The life stories illuminate how participants perceive bodily meaning when musicking. Participants' own expressions and words have been used as much as possible, gathered from the interview transcriptions. I have made minor changes in order to improve accessibility and clarity, but this has included a great deal of respect for their own statements. I have deemed it important to allow their own voices, expressions and nuances to come to the forth, in order to create a personal tone that can define and make each participant visible. This personal starting point and their own perception of the world are crucial to their stories, and they reflect personal and subjective acts of doing and being.

The following themes represent and illuminate each musical context:

Astrid's experiences of her body when musicking as a *musician* can be expressed as:

- Knowledge, routines and habits: Astrid's extensive experience and knowledge is
 integrated in her body. Habits are shaped and her cello becomes an extension of
 Astrid's body.
- *To have and to be a body:* There is a gap between the private and the social body, between the spontaneous and the calculating, between the phenomenal and the objective, and between the wild and the controlling body.
- Nervousness and body: Nervousness and stress create a space between the cello and Astrid, which also reflects the relationship between having and being a body.
- Existential experiences in music: When her cello playing is being made impossible because of physical injuries, this rocks Astrid's existence.
- Relations and communication: Communication happens on several levels in the orchestra: it can be silent, verbal, or physical where minor expressions can become very significant.
- *The room:* Astrid creates a room for herself through her habits, which becomes a room of meaning.

Björn's experiences of his body when musicking as a *concertgoer/composer* can be expressed as:

- *Early beginnings long experience:* Björn's knowledge is based on experiences from early childhood; his skills are embodied and his familiarity deep within many areas of music.
- Experiences in music: Aesthetic experiences of music, Emotional experiences in music, Existential experiences in music: Björn experiences music with his body. The music touches his body and also has an opportunity to act in the touched body. Björn encounters himself in the music, which gives him bodily reactions.
- *Relations and approaches:* The room, The orchestra, The conductor, The administration and performing musicians: Björn expresses different battles played out on different fields. The different individuals' positions for action, or habitus, are taught and coloured by upbringing and social environment.
- Music and language: Björn argues that music can communicate aspects he
 has not always verbalised. However, his language is embodied and it perfects
 Björn's thoughts.

Celia's experience of her body when musicking as a **DJ** can be expressed as:

- *Emotion, experience and knowledge:* Through Celia's experience of listening, seeing and feeling, she knows what music she should play for the dance floor.
- Experience of, with and in music: Music is a way for Celia to get close to herself, experience herself together with her thoughts and emotions.
- *Communication and interaction:* Celia can direct her attention towards the audience as a kind of sonar. She gauges the audience with her body and perception.
- Her own body in movement to the music: Celia expresses music through dance
 and her body focuses outwards into the room, towards the audience in order to
 give energy, but she can also approach music with serenity. She focuses inwards,
 on her own experience, by listening and feeling.

David's experience of the body when musicking as a *dancer* can be expressed as:

- *Knowledge and learning:* David uses his body to invite the world, experiences and events. When a habit is formed, David's existence is being widened.
- Perception to perceive and to be perceived: David feels his body and he feels with his body. David creates music with his body and can at the same time experience music in and with his body.
- *Flow:* In flow situations, something immediate arises, and the body articulates itself and follows the music. Flow involves an experience of presence in the now.

- In the zone between-substantiality: Through David's intentional act and intersubjective co-creation, he experiences music as meaningful. He experiences emotions in the shape of strong emotional expressions together with existential experiences that concern life matters.
- *Conversation communication:* David, the music, and his colleagues, meet in movement, which means interaction and communication.

The study shows that all four musical contexts share the bodily anchored dimension of meaning that starts with *learning* in music. The four contexts also have *aesthetic, emotional* and *existential experiences* in relation to musicking in common. The *room* plays a significant role for musicking in the four contexts, coupled with body and *communication*. The musician and the DJ also expressed the notion of the *dual aspect* of the body; e.g., to have and to be in a body, the professional and the private body. The concertgoer/composer and the musician both highlight how the body can expose them through *stress, nervousness* and *habitus*. In addition, the concertgoer/composer illuminates that *language* emerges from a bodily gesture.

How does the body take hold of the music? How does the music take hold of the body?

Doing something through music means taking a direction, that I want something. This happens through intentionality. I reach towards music, if only through thoughts, and it creates a movement. My ear is drawn to a sound, curiously listening out for tones, sounds, colours, shapes and emotions. My eye reaches towards the sound in the room, my eyes are listening in the same way as my ears see. Movements and bodies make sounds. My hand strives and wants to reach the instrument, the pen, the Hi-Fi equipment, the conductor baton, the notation sheet. I want to feel, experience and be touched. I take hold of the music and my body through an intentional act, and the music reaches towards me. To take hold of or to be taken hold of, pairing, amalgamating without being able to incorporate fully with the one or the other. Close, but with a gap in between. Making sense, the understanding, the increased knowledge, what the body has taken hold of – all creates meaning (Merleau-Ponty, 2002). An act of doing in music – to be musicking – means an act of meaning creation. Music and body are not separate, body is music and music is body. Music and body meets in the flesh. The body takes hold of the music. The music takes hold of the body.

Aesthetic, emotional and existential experiences create change. Chills sweep over my back, I sweat, I freeze, want to cry, laugh, my pulse races and then slows down. Being

affected by music generates emotions, thoughts, perceptions and experiences that are not possible without music. Music has the ability to strike a person with immediacy and directness (cf. Vetlesen, 2004; Nielsen, 2010; Pio & Varkøy, 2012; Varkøy & Westby, 2014; Varkøy, 2015;). Music comes to me and I come to the music, the music expresses itself and I express myself. In music, I meet myself and find myself exposed. When the music takes hold of me, it happens beyond my will and intention. To be shaken, moved and aroused by music means a break with habits, what is expected and what is rehearsed. Being affected by music is an experience that strikes and breaks into everyday life, something that the subject cannot control or anticipate. It just happens. Suddenly and without any warning, I am reminded of life and my vulnerability, mortality and existential loneliness. Conditions that we have been given, conditions that cannot be chosen or, for that matter, removed. To be affected by music means that boundaries of what it means to be a person in the world emerge. To be affected by music affects our being-to-the-world. Music opens doors for our acts of being. Acts of being in music creates meaning. The body takes hold of the music. The music takes hold of the body.

This study is based on the understanding of us human beings as bodily beings-to-the world, which highlights a philosophical position where the body is understood from a holistic perspective. The lived body, *le corps propre*, is an unreducible unity and instead of making a distinction between body and thought, the body experiences, feels, reflects and exists. Between doing and being, there is a gap – the flesh – which is the foundation for the area of contention that can be called existence.

Discussion

Through Bourdieu's concept of fields, the empirical data can be moved from the personal and subjective experience to a more structural level, which gives this study validity and credibility. A field can be understood as a kind of battlefield, a place where battles are fought and won (Bourdieu, 2000). A field is also characterised by how a group of people are united through common interests and values, as well as social, economical and cultural capital. Different fields can interact and interplay with each other, and at the same time be hierarchically organised. The concept of fields gives an opportunity for personal and subjective perspectives to arise and indicate how structures function.

The discussion chapter in my thesis is structured according to three fields: *The body as a field, The emotional, existential and aesthetic field,* and *The field of knowledge and learning*. The three fields emanate from the study in this article and address the ontological premises arguing that we are to the world with our bodies, and that we meet the world with our bodies.

The body as a field

The body holds a capital that expresses itself in clothing, style, language use and posture (Bourdieu, 1993). The body, characterized by habitus, can thus be understood as a kind of status symbol or class indicator, just like the right residential areas, the prestigious cars and the popular brands that signal taste distinctions (Ibid.: 250). The body's habitus can be displayed and assessed. The body's habitus cannot be hidden when the body is marked by habits and dispositions. Habits that are embodied and sedimented. I may feel uncomfortable when I do not know how to act, as well as I feel "at home" when I know how to behave. How do I act when I visit a concert? How should I get dressed? When do I clap? Björn's bodily disposition consists in that he is used to different concert environments. He knows how to behave in a jazz club as well as in a concert hall. This makes him safe, which can also be read in his body. His action pattern shows embodied habits. Just like Astrid's body shows security in the orchestra situation. Her long experience is evident in the way she inhabits the room of the orchestra. However, her body shows one kind of bodily disposition, while the concertmaster and conductor exhibits other types of action dispositions. These dispositions show different degrees of power and influence in the orchestra. This can be read in their bodies. Their bodies clearly show embodied and sedated habits. In the dj-booth is Celia who, with authority, leads the evening and the dance floor in interaction with the guests. Her body shows her dispositions and history, her style and influence. When David is warming up his body, old habits are made visible. When the room is filled with dance, David's body shows another habitus. The careful and sensitive may instead make way for the distinct and direct. David's body fills the room.

Four different people, four different lives, four different habitus.

The emotional, existential and aesthetic field

This field has its starting point in the perceptual and expressive, together with what is experienced as aesthetical, emotional and existential. The relation to music is described as sensual and emotional. The body senses and is sensing. The body is

giving rise to an experience of meaning and existential experiences. The aesthetic, emotional and existential experiences are not identical, but should be understood as closely linked, although in certain contexts the perspectives may need to be separated. Nielsen believes that the aesthetic experience is a basic condition for human beings' existences (Nielsen, 2010: 142). I argue that the existential experience is central to our experience in and through music, based on the conducted research.

Music and body, body and music cross each other (chiasm). Intentionality extends between body and music: the bodily and carnal intentionality structures time and space, together with physical things and social fields, as well as different forms of human identity (Keller, 2012: 268). The densification between body and music, the flesh, describes how the world is connected, comparable with how my own experience is intertwined with the experiences of others.

Music is not a thing; music is something that people make together. Music is something that happens between human beings. Music is the meeting between people (Varkøy, 2014: 45). To meet music means to meet myself. The participants in the study express how they meet the music and how the music meets them; they describe how the body grabs the music and how the music grabs the body. The participants describe existential experiences where life's difficult, beautiful, important and vital moments can be perceived. Deep and revolutionary experiences of purification, redemption and letting go. Experiences to long and strive for. Experiences of being affected. Experiences of meaning. The participants also express how the emotional and sensuous / aesthetic experience open up opportunities to act out and let themselves be awashed with emotions. A meeting between human beings and music is often strong and cataclysmic.

The field of knowledge and learning

Initially, the relevance of the project was highlighted using a description of the body's marginalised position in the school context. The purpose of reconnecting with school is to show how this research can contribute with questions to the school context, and to point forward toward to further research.

The discussion about tacit and suppressed knowledge is old, but I think it is extremely adequate even today. Such an argument is based on Astrid's, Björn's, Celia's and David's experiences of learning, knowledge, familiarity and reflection. All the assessments and choices that they make are intertwined with the grip, the gaze, the foot, the listening, which rest in experience and knowledge. Their knowledge is basically tacit, but

through the act and understanding, which in some form are tacit, they give meaning to the words (Polanyi, 2013; Molander, 1996). However, science is characterised by verbalisation and theorisation and they create a field of tension. How does the body fit into the syllabi of music? What place does the body have in the school world and in the music subject? How should these competencies be evaluated, assessed and rated if they are tacit? They take time to express, reflect and put into action. How does it rely on the requirement of efficiency and objectivity? In order to understand how questions, tensions or cracks occur, construct, shape and generate in the field, it is crucial to think relationally. What forces, structures and mechanisms help to shape the field? The field of knowledge and education is a place for fights between different groups: children/students, custodians, teachers, school staff, school leadership, politicians, the EU, researchers, together with different positions and views. The relation between the different groups becomes crucial for what will happen (Krüger, 2001: 25). I wonder: what place does the living body have in the education context? Is the lived body muted?

A phenomenological understanding of the body is difficult to assert when the body meets school. But on the dance floor, in the concert hall, with the instrument and inside the cypher, the body exists. The body can and should take its place. The body is the starting point for sensations, experiences, reflections, thoughts and questions. Meeting music at school and outside school creates a field of tension, a kind of gap or slip – the flesh. I request a discussion about the meaning of music, a discussion based on an aesthetic, emotional and existential basis. A discussion that primarily deals with the content: *what* is music? *Why* music and *why* should we have music at school? – Instead of a discussion that (too often) deals with how-to-matter.

Finally

I call for a philosophical discussion that takes its starting point in the lived body. An in-depth philosophical discussion that raises questions about music, body, learning, knowledge and human beings in relation to the aesthetic, emotional and existential experience. A discussion that not only results in spoken or written words *about* the philosophical questions, but in a practicing philosophy with a lived perspective. A making and doing in music on the basis of the lived body.

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Appendix

Interview questions

- "relate modes of expression to various genres and musical epochs" (LK06) how does one assess this?
- What are your thoughts on the composer's intention vs the performer's intention?
- "perform musical content with their own personal form of expression" (LK06) how does one assess this?
- "improvisation" (LK06) how does one assess this?
- When a student presents self-composed music, how does one assess the performance?
- What are your thoughts on assessment expertise over time?
- What role does teachers' knowledge of the genre have in assessment?
- What role does teachers' knowledge of the repertoire have in assessment?
- Do teachers need exemplars for standards of differentiated goal attainment?
- What characterizes a performance at a high level?
- Assessment in teams are there advantages/disadvantages?
- If we were not required to give grades for performance, how would we undertake assessment?

Entreprenørskap i høyere norsk musikkutdanning

Åshild Watne & Kristian Nymoen

ABSTRACT

Entrepreneurship in Higher Music Education in Norway

Recently, in Norway, entrepreneurship in higher education has received increased attention. Research projects in Norwegian universities and university colleges initiated by Norwegian authorities have mapped out the status of education in entrepreneurship. Higher music education has also been researched, but only under the umbrella of "humanities and aesthetics". Thus, previous research has not shed light on whether music education institutions prioritize entrepreneurship. This article presents a small, focused survey on entrepreneurship in higher music education in Norway. 23 leaders of Norwegian institutions for higher music education were invited to respond to a questionnaire, 15 of whom accepted the invitation. The survey suggests that entrepreneurship is a higher priority in music education than what surveys from the Nordic Institute for Studies in Innovation, Research and Education (NIFU) seem to indicate for aesthetic disciplines. Close to all of the institutions answer that more than one of their employees have the required competence to teach entrepreneurship. Still, a plurality of the participants admit that there is a potential for strengthening entrepreneurship teaching at their institution. One reason given is the challenge of balancing entrepreneurship on one hand and "pure" music subjects on the other. One possible way forward could be to increase knowledge and awareness of entrepreneurship among teachers, and incorporate entrepreneurial thinking across a broader range of music subjects, rather than teaching music entrepreneurship as an isolated subject. Keywords: entrepreneurship, music education, socio-cultural learning

1 Innledning

Høyere musikkutdanning i Norge omfatter et spenn av ulike utdanningsinstitusjoner, både offentlige og private, med ulike typer av spesialisering og med varierende bredde i utdanningstilbudet. Studentene går gjennom svært forskjellige studieløp og ender opp med ulike kompetanseprofiler. Et fellestrekk er likevel at de fleste etter endt studium ønsker å finne seg arbeid. Regjeringen utga i 2009 en handlingsplan om entreprenørskap i utdanningen (Aasland mfl., 2009). Denne understreker behovet for å inkludere entreprenørskap i utdanning på alle nivå, både for å stimulere til økt vekst i samfunnet og for å gi den enkelte student de beste forutsetninger i møte med arbeidslivet. Dagens musikkstudenter er en heterogen gruppe som etter fullført utdanning må forholde seg til det Skårberg (2013) omtaler som «dagens komplekse musikkvirkelighet», med et uoversiktlig og stadig fornyet utvalg av institusjoner, aktører og plattformer for deltakelse i musikklivet. Høyere musikkutdanningsinstitusjoner har uten tvil et ansvar for å gi sine studenter teoretisk og praktisk musikkfaglig kompetanse, men de har også et ansvar for å utruste studentene til å møte den komplekse musikkvirkeligheten.

I 2014 innvilget Norgesuniversitetet midler til prosjektet *Musikalsk entreprenørskap – mellom børs og katedral*. Prosjektet er et samarbeid mellom Norges musikkhøgskole, Handelshøyskolen BI og Institutt for musikkvitenskap ved Universitetet i Oslo. Et mål med arbeidet har vært å heve kompetansen i entreprenørskap blant ansatte og studenter ved de tre institusjonene. Som en del av prosjektet har vi foretatt en undersøkelse om entreprenørskap ved norske institusjoner som tilbyr høyere utdanning i musikk. Med undersøkelsen ønsker vi å svare på problemstillingen «Er entreprenørskap et prioritert område i høyere norsk musikkutdanning?»

1.1 Entreprenørskapsbegrepet

Det er rom for ulike og mer eller mindre overlappende forståelser av begrepet entreprenørskap. Både Mangset & Røyseng (2009) og Spilling & Johansen (2011) gjør rede for hvordan begrepet har vært i utvikling gjennom det siste århundret. I den klassiske forståelsen av entreprenørskapsbegrepet, ofte kreditert til Schumpeter (1934/1983), står økonomisk innovasjon og oppstart av nye foretak sentralt. Innovasjonsbegrepet viser her ikke til teknologisk nyskapning, men til nyskapning i hvordan kjente ressurser kan utnyttes til forretningsmessig virksomhet (Mangset & Røyseng, 2009).

Senere har begreper som sosialt entreprenørskap, kunnskapsentreprenørskap og kulturelt entreprenørskap kastet nytt lys over begrepet og vist at entreprenørskapsbegrepet ikke nødvendigvis må tolkes inn i rammene av det etablerte næringslivet (ibid.). I disse variantene av entreprenørskapsbegrepet er ikke økonomisk gevinst det mest sentrale elementet, men snarere det å forbedre andre sider ved samfunnet, slik som helse og velferd. Det bør nevnes at økonomisk gevinst, heller ikke innen Schumpeters entreprenørskapsteori, er blant de største motivasjonene. Det er snarere ønsket om selvstendighet, og tilfredsstillelsen ved å gjennomføre noe, som trekkes frem som hovedmotivasjoner (ibid.).

Det viser seg vanskelig å gi en klar definisjon av entreprenørskap. Begrepet diskuteres snarere ved å si noe om dets innhold i ulike sammenhenger enn ved å gjøre presise avgrensninger. I regjeringens handlingsplan fra 2009 står det at «entreprenørskap handler om å etablere ny virksomhet, og om evnen til å se muligheter og gjøre noe med dem innenfor en rekke områder i samfunnet» (Aasland mfl., 2009). I denne sammenhengen mener vi det er hensiktsmessig å forstå begrepet «ny virksomhet» slik at det ikke kun innebærer nyetablering av bedrifter, men snarere en ny praksis eller ny måte å gjøre noe på. Spilling & Johansen (2011) forklarer entreprenørskap på individnivå, og viser til EUs utredning fra 2008 om entreprenørskap i høyere utdanning, hvor entreprenørskap forklares som et individs evne til å omforme ideer til handling. Samtidig understreker de at også miljøet rundt entreprenøren må tas i betraktning, og at samspillet mellom individet og omgivelsene er av betydning.

Bjørkheim mfl. (2002) har i en gjennomgang av etterspørsel og tilbud hos nyetablerte foretak, trukket et skille mellom *levebrødsforetak* og *vekstforetak*. Levebrødsforetak vil i mange tilfeller være synonymt med et enkeltpersonforetak hvor målet først og fremst er å sikre inntekt til eget livsopphold. I motsetning har vekstforetak som målsetting å utvikle en vare eller tjeneste som kan føre til en økonomisk vekst i samfunnet, med nye arbeidsplasser og potensielt stor kapitalgjennomstrømming. Vi ser det som nyttig å trekke dette skillet inn også i andre forståelser av entreprenørskapsbegrepet, hvor vekstentreprenører innen f.eks. sosialt eller kulturelt entreprenørskap har som målsetting å etablere ny praksis som får betydning utover entreprenørens eget virke.

1.2 Om entreprenørskap og læringssyn

Hvordan entreprenørskap skal forstås i utdanningssammenheng, avhenger ikke bare av hva man legger i entreprenørskapsbegrepet, men også av hvilket syn man har på læring. I en gjennomgang av ulike læringssyn og undervisningspraksiser argumenterer Wittek & Brandmo (2016) for at læring skjer i spenningsfeltet mellom teori og praksis. Dette synet har røtter tilbake til Piagets utviklingspsykologi hvor vi finner en sterk sammenheng mellom aktiv utforskning og læring. Sentralt i Wittek & Brandmos argumentasjon er *det sosiokulturelle perspektivet* på læring: «Læring er ikke et løsrevet fenomen, men noe som må studeres og forstås i lys av det sosiale livet og den kulturen der personen deltar og lærer» (Wittek & Brandmo, 2016). Roger Säljö (2001) forklarer at dette perspektivet ikke dreier seg om hvordan kunnskap skal overføres, men mer er en grunnleggende tenkning om hvordan læring foregår.

To sentrale komponenter i et sosiokulturelt læringssyn er *den proksimale utviklingssonen* og *medierende redskaper* (Wittek & Brandmo, 2016). Den proksimale utviklingssonen rommer det studenten i dag kan klare å få til med hjelp fra en mer kompetent person og senere vil kunne lære seg å gjøre på egenhånd. I dette læringssynet er altså interaksjon med andre mennesker helt avgjørende for læring. Videre består læring i å beherske kulturelt utviklede medierende redskaper. Disse redskapene kan være fysiske objekter (spade, blyant) eller psykologiske redskaper som tegn (ord, symboler) eller systemer av tegn (språk). Wittek & Brandmo sier at de sosiale erfaringene vi gjør ved å lære oss å beherske disse redskapene, danner grunnlaget for kunnskap hos enkeltindividet. I musikksammenheng er det ikke vanskelig å trekke paralleller til medierende redskaper som musikkinstrumenter, noter og tonearter.

John Bransford mfl. (2000) peker på viktigheten av å aktivere studentenes forforståelse, ervervet gjennom (praktiske) erfaringer, og beskrevet gjennom det Wittek & Brandmo (2016), med referanse til Vygotskij, kaller *spontane begreper*. Kontrasten, de *vitenskapelige begrepene*, er nøye formulerte begreper som har nyanseringer og innsikt utover de dagligdagse erfaringene. Wittek & Brandmos argument er at undervisere i høyere utdanning best legger til rette for læring ved å gi studentene mulighet til å skape forbindelser mellom hverdagsbegreper og vitenskapelige begreper.

Spilling & Johansen (2011) skiller i sin diskusjon av entreprenørskap i utdanningen mellom utdanning *om*, *for* og *gjennom* entreprenørskap. Disse tre kategoriene inkluderer henholdsvis utdanning om entreprenørskap som et samfunnsmessig fenomen, utdanning i verktøy, metoder og arbeidsformer som klargjør studentene for en fremtid som entreprenører, og utdanning gjennom praktiske, skapende prosjekter, hvor entreprenørskap fungerer som pedagogisk metode. Med en læringsforståelse hvor kunnskapsdannelsen skjer i spenningsfeltene mellom teori og praksis, og mellom individet og dets omgivelser, fremstår utdanning *gjennom* entreprenørskap som en lovende kilde til læring. Gjennom samarbeidsprosjekter hvor studenter utfordres til å

skape og tenke nytt, må de aktivisere og sette ord på sin egen forforståelse. Deltakerne vil sammen måtte lære seg å beherske en rekke medierende redskaper, og dermed oppnå ny kunnskap. I en velfungerende gruppe vil studenter med ulike kompetanser kunne hjelpe hverandre innenfor den proksimale utviklingssonen, og slik kunne bidra til hverandres læring.

2 Entreprenørskap i utdanningen

Regjeringen fikk i 2010 kartlagt entreprenørskapstilbudet i norsk høyere utdanning som en del av prosjektet «Følgeforskning om entreprenørskap i utdanningen» (Bjørnåli mfl., 2011). I kartleggingen kom det frem at det var økonomiske og administrative utdanninger som hadde størst fokus på entreprenørskap. Deretter fulgte utdanninger i naturvitenskap og teknologi. Bjørnåli mfl. (2011) konkluderer med at alle de tre formene for entreprenørskap i utdanningen (om, for og gjennom) er å finne innen økonomiske og administrative fag og i naturvitenskap og teknologi, mens vi innen humaniora og estetiske fag først og fremst ser utdanning *om* og *for* entreprenørskap, og da særlig *for* entreprenørskap med en selvstendig næring som mål, uten ambisjoner om vekst. Ifølge erfaringer blant nyutdannede (Støren, 2012) er det særlig utdanning *gjennom* og *for* entreprenørskap som kan sies å gi et utbytte i form av utvikling av entreprenørielle ferdigheter, mens utdanning *om* entreprenørskap synes å gi lavere utbytte med hensyn til entreprenørielle ferdigheter.

Ved avslutning av prosjektet «Følgeforskning om entreprenørskap i utdanningen» ble entreprenørskapstilbudet i høyere utdanning på nytt kartlagt, og det ble fastslått at alle offentlige læresteder med ett unntak hadde tilbud i entreprenørskap i studieåret 2013/2014 (Scordato & Støren, 2014). 193 studietilbud i entreprenørskap ble identifisert, noe som er en betydelig kvantitativ økning fra 135 tilbud ved forrige kartlegging (Bjørnåli mfl., 2011). Størsteparten av økningen forekom imidlertid som kortvarige kurs på bachelornivå. Det var en liten reduksjon i deltidsstudier, etter- og videreutdanningstilbud og i hele bachelorprogrammer i entreprenørskap. Dette er verd å merke seg ettersom Støren (2012) konkluderer med at kun entreprenørskapsutdanning av litt lengre varighet synes å ha effekt.

2.1 Entreprenørskap i musikkutdanningen

Musikkutdanningen skiller seg på flere måter fra andre typer utdanning hvor entreprenørskap tradisjonelt har hatt større plass. Musikkfeltet muliggjør ulike definisjoner av entreprenørskap. Kunstneren som i sin musikkutfoldelse skaper nye uttrykk med rent kunstneriske mål, gir rom for et entreprenørskapsbegrep der økonomisk vinning ikke er vesentlig. Samtidig vil en stor andel musikkutdannede ende opp som selvstendig næringsdrivende, hvor en evne til å tilpasse seg dagens komplekse musikkvirkelighet er nødvendig. Entreprenørskapsbegrepet i musikkutdanninger kan omfatte hele bredden av tolkninger, fra nyskapende kunstnervirksomhet til økonomisk innovativ virksomhet, og både levebrødsentreprenører og vekstentreprenører.

På tross av entreprenørskapsbegrepets mulige bredde i musikkfeltet påpekes det i rapporten *Kunstens autonomi og kunstens økonomi* at kunstnere forholder seg ulikt til entreprenørskap, og at det er «flere som mener at begrepet ikke er forenlig med å ha fokus på det kunstneriske» (Skarstein, 2015). Samtidig peker rapporten på at mange kunstnere etterspør kunnskap og erfaring innen entreprenørskap, og at kunstnere med utdanning i entreprenørskap i større grad enn kunstnere med utdanning i økonomisk/administrative fag mener at utdanningen har bidratt positivt til deres kunstneriske virke. Den nærliggende diskusjonen om spennet mellom kunstnerisk frihet og økonomisk avhengighet berører tungt forankrede verdier i kunstfeltet. Vi går i denne artikkelen i liten grad inn på diskusjonen, men anerkjenner at problemstillingen kan ha betydning for holdningene den enkelte har til entreprenørskap, inkludert ulike forståelser av entreprenørskapsbegrepet.

I de tidligere nevnte undersøkelsene fra 2011 og 2014 ble også musikkutdanninger kartlagt. Bjørnåli identifiserte i 2011 tre norske utdanningsinstitusjoner med tilbud om emner i musikalsk entreprenørskap. I tillegg hadde alle universitetene og de fleste store høgskolene per 2011 et tilbud i entreprenørskap, uten at det er spesifisert i rapporten hvorvidt dette også gjelder entreprenørskapstilbud i musikkfagene. Den generelle økningen i entreprenørskapstilbudet som ble funnet i oppfølgingsrapporten, synes også å være gjeldende for musikkfagene. Scordato & Støren (2014) har ikke hatt som mål å fokusere på musikkutdanningene, men skriver: «Det har likevel vært en viss økning innenfor fagfelt der slike tilbud var mer sjeldne, som i samfunnsfag og humanistiske og estetiske fag, og dette har i all hovedsak vært gjennom flere tilbud om enkeltemner.» Scordato & Støren rapporterer at det spesielt er private høgskoler som per 2014 har fått flere nye tilbud i entreprenørskap, og nevner blant annet tre private høgskoler der musikkfag er en viktig del av emneporteføljen.

Fokuset på kunstnerisk entreprenørskap er blitt styrket også på tvers av de nordiske landene, blant annet gjennom initiativet *EntreNord*, som ble etablert av Nordisk Ministerråd i 2012. Formålet var å styrke kreative fag i Norden, med særlig fokus på utdanningsmiljøer og vekstbransjene. Dette har foregått gjennom workshops og en årlig konferanse (Skov, 2014), og en webportal med ressurser for undervisere i høyere utdanning.

Selv om økt entreprenørskap i musikkutdanningen har vært et ønske fra overordnet myndighet, finnes det begrenset systematisert kunnskap om i hvilken grad dette er fulgt opp av musikkutdanningsinstitusjonene. Noe kunnskap om entreprenørskap i musikkutdanningen er å finne i de ovennevnte rapportene om entreprenørskap på utdanningsfeltet generelt. Hovedkilden til rapportene er imidlertid institusjonenes websider, og det kan derfor stilles spørsmål ved om all entreprenørskapsundervisning er fanget opp av undersøkelsene.

Det finnes relativt ny kunnskap om *studentenes* syn på entreprenørskap i musikkutdanningen. Kandidatundersøkelsen blant personer utdannet i skapende og utøvende musikk (Arnesen mfl., 2014) omfatter kandidater fra åtte tradisjonsrike institusjoner som tilbyr utdanning i utøvende og skapende musikk på masternivå. I undersøkelsen svarer 64 prosent at musikkutdanningen de har tatt, i liten eller ingen grad er et godt utgangspunkt med hensyn til å utvikle entreprenøregenskaper eller gründerkompetanse. Kandidater med jazz/pop/rock-utdannelse svarer noe mer positivt enn andre, og kvinner litt mindre positivt enn menn på dette området. Kandidatenes svar om entreprenøregenskaper skiller seg fra hva kandidatene sier om utdanningens relevans på andre områder, der de responderer mer positivt. Når det gjelder «å begynne yrkeskarrieren», «videre læring», «å få en jobb i tråd med sine forventninger» og «å arbeide som frilanser/selvstendig næringsdrivende», er det bare 18–26 prosent av respondentene som mener at utdanningen i liten eller ingen grad har vært et godt grunnlag.

3 Undersøkelse

For å belyse hvorvidt entreprenørskap prioriteres i norsk høyere musikkutdanning, har vi gjennomført en spørreundersøkelse blant ledere ved institusjoner som tilbyr slik utdanning. I denne delen av artikkelen beskriver vi undersøkelsen og resultatene slik de forekom. I del 4 gjør vi en kritisk vurdering av vår egen metode og respondentenes

svar. I utviklingen av undersøkelsen har vi måttet balansere to motstridende hensyn. For det første har det vært et mål å la undersøkelsen gi bred og detaljert informasjon om problemstillingen vår, for det andre var det ønskelig få svar fra en størst mulig andel av norske musikkutdanningsinstitusjoner. Vårt valg av en primært kvantitativ metode er dermed et kompromiss. Vi ønsket relevant og riktig informasjon fra så mange institusjoner som mulig og var opptatt at det ikke skulle være for tidkrevende å svare. En mer kvalitativ tilnærming, f.eks. intervjuer, kunne gitt fyldigere og mer nyansert informasjon. Det var imidlertid ikke realistisk innen vårt format. Undersøkelsen er å betrakte som et første kildegrunnlag for videre forskning om entreprenørskap i høyere norsk musikkutdanning.

NIFU-rapportene fra Bjørnåli og Scordato er basert på undersøkelser av utdanningsinstitusjonenes nettsider. En gjennomgang av emnepresentasjoner på nett muliggjorde den brede kartleggingen som disse rapportene skulle foreta. I vår undersøkelse har vi ikke brukt institusjonenes nettsider som datamateriale, men opplysninger direkte fra personene som har ansvar for fagtilbudet. Dette kan identifisere entreprenørskapskomponenter i utdanningen som ikke kommer frem i emnepresentasjonen på nettsidene. Derfor er det ikke mulig å sammenlikne våre resultater direkte med NIFU-rapportene. Både de tre årene som er gått siden forrige NIFU-kartlegging (Scordato & Støren, 2014) samt de ulike metodene må tas i betraktning når resultatene ses mot hverandre.

3.1 Om undersøkelsen

Spørreskjemaet ble utformet i *Nettskjema*, en applikasjon fra Universitetet i Oslo. En lenke til skjemaet ble i september 2016 sendt til ledere ved 23 norske musikkutdanningsinstitusjoner; på det tidspunktet samtlige norske institusjoner/avdelinger tilknyttet Nasjonalt fagråd for musikk. I løpet av de påfølgende ukene mottok vi 15 svar. Av respondentene satt 11 i leder- eller mellomlederstillinger, mens fire oppga at de hadde en annen stilling, men med seksjonsansvar for musikk ved sin institusjon. Blant respondentene er både små, store og mellomstore musikkutdanningsinstitusjoner; offentlige og private, med ulike fokus som utøving, musikkteknologi, musikkterapi, musikkvitenskap og musikklærer- utdanning. Svarene ble avgitt anonymt, men noen deltagere valgte likevel å ta kontakt per epost for å gi en generell tilbakemelding på undersøkelsen. Elektroniske data viser at svartiden for de fleste respondentene var mellom 5 og 15 minutter.

Først i undersøkelsen ble respondentene presentert for hvordan vi definerte kompetanse i entreprenørskap: «kunnskap, ferdigheter og holdninger knyttet til å etablere og/eller utvikle nytt musikkrelatert virke, som i vesentlig grad skiller seg fra den

tradisjonelle utøver- og musikklærerrollen.» Undersøkelsen bestod av flervalgsspørsmål og fordelingsspørsmål med mulighet til å spesifisere gjennom åpne felt. Til sammen 22 spørsmål fordelte seg på følgende temaer:

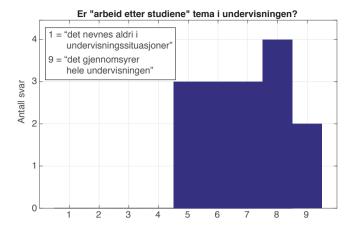
- 1) Utdanningstilbudet og studentmassen ved institusjonen
- 2) Entreprenørskap i utdanningen ved institusjonen
- 3) Bakgrunnsspørsmål om respondenten
- 4) Åpent svarfelt for eventuelle tilbakemeldinger

Hovedtyngden av spørsmålene befant seg i kategori 2 om entreprenørskap i utdanningen ved institusjonen. Vi søkte her innsikt i ledelsens vurdering av og bevissthet om entreprenørskap ved egen institusjon. Vi ønsket å kartlegge emner med entreprenørskap som hovedkomponent og delkomponent, ansatte med undervisningskompetanse i entreprenørskap samt bruken av gruppeeksamen og prosjektarbeid i gruppe. De viktigste resultatene er presentert nedenfor, og diskuteres videre i del 4.

3.2 Resultater

Arbeid etter studiene

Ett av målene med entreprenørskap som del av utdanningen er at studentene skal være godt kvalifisert for arbeidslivet og kunne skaffe seg et virke etter endt studieløp. Derfor har noen av spørsmålene i undersøkelsen vært rettet direkte mot temaet «arbeid etter studiene». Samtlige av våre respondenter sier at arbeid etter studiene er diskutert i institusjonens strategiske planer. Videre svarer alle respondentene at studentenes arbeid etter studiene har en sentral plass i undervisningen (se figur 1).



Figur 1: Figuren viser fordelingen av svar på hvorvidt «arbeid etter studiene» er tema i undervisningen ved hver enkelt institusjon. Fokuset på arbeid etter studiene synes å være tydelig hos alle respondentene.

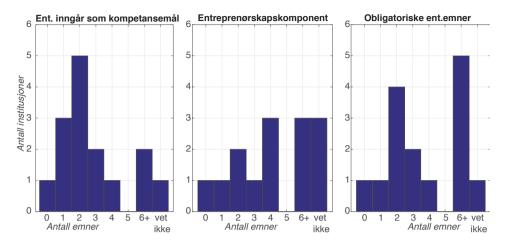
Studentenes behov for entreprenørskapsferdigheter vil være ulike, avhengig av fremtidig arbeidssituasjon. Respondentene ble bedt om å skissere arbeidssituasjonen til studentene fem år etter endt utdanning. Flere bemerket at de var usikre på fordelingen, men det er likevel interessant at forventet arbeidssituasjon ser ut til å fordele seg nokså likt, med mellom 20 % og 30 % i hver av de fire kategoriene:

- 1) fast ansettelse i musikklivet på heltid
- 2) delt arbeid mellom ulike ansettelser og/eller selvstendig virke hvor alt er i musikklivet
- delt arbeid mellom ulike ansettelser og/eller selvstendig virke hvor noe er i musikklivet
- 4) arbeid kun utenfor musikklivet

Overvekten synes likevel å være på de kombinerte arbeidssituasjonene (2 og 3), hvor enten alt eller noe er musikkrelatert.

Entreprenørskap i studiene

Entreprenørskap inngår i flere emner ved de fleste av institusjonene vi har fått svar fra. Hovedtyngden av institusjonene har både emner hvor entreprenørskap er spesifisert som kompetansemål, og hvor entreprenørskap inngår uten at det er spesifisert som kompetansemål. Mange av emnene er også obligatoriske (se figur 2).



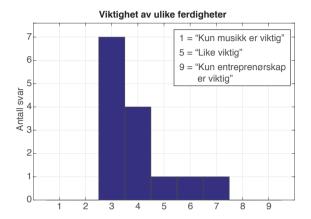
Figur 2: Figuren viser antall emner hvor entreprenørskap inngår som kompetansemål (venstre), emner med entreprenørskapskomponent uten at det er spesifisert som kompetansemål (midten) og hvor mange av entreprenørskapsemnene som er en obligatorisk del av studieløpet (høyre).

Ledere av norske musikkutdanninger er i høy grad oppmerksomme på temaet entreprenørskap, og synes å ha en oppfatning av at dette er en viktig del av musikkutdanningen. Et stort flertall av respondentene oppgir at institusjonen omtaler entreprenørskap i sine strategiske planer for undervisningen, og at entreprenørskap diskuteres blant ledelsen flere ganger årlig. Likevel svarer kun et fåtall av respondentene at entreprenørskapstilbudet ved egen institusjon er passe/nært optimalt. Blant disse har tre institusjoner emneporteføljer hvor entreprenørskap er enten hoved- eller delkomponent i flere obligatoriske emner. Noen svarer også at et undervisningstilbud uten en entreprenørskapskomponent er passe/nært optimalt. Den største andelen av respondentene antyder imidlertid at tilbudet i entreprenørskap kunne ha vært styrket, enten i omfang eller kvalitet, eller i en kombinasjon av disse. Både lav kompetanse og lav interesse blant ansatte nevnes som årsaker til at tilbudet ikke er optimalt. De fleste respondentene oppgir imidlertid behovet for å prioritere andre musikkemner som årsak.

Viktigheten av entreprenørskapsferdigheter

Med utgangspunkt i institusjonens strategiske planer ble lederne bedt om å vekte viktigheten av entreprenørskapsferdigheter mot kunstneriske ferdigheter. Ingen svarte de to mest ekstreme alternativene, dvs. at kun musikalske (1,2) eller kun entreprenørielle ferdigheter (8,9) var viktig. En klar overvekt av respondentene vurderer at

kunstneriske ferdigheter er viktigst (se figur 3). Svarene varierer imidlertid en del, og to av lederne angir entreprenørielle ferdigheter som viktigere enn de musikalske. Gjennomsnittet på dette spørsmålet er tydelig høyere for de respondentene som selv har tatt kurs i entreprenørskap, selv om utvalget her er for lite til å teste dette statistisk.



Figur 3: Diagrammet viser fordelingen av svar på hvilke ferdigheter som er viktigst, sett i lys av institusjonens strategiske planer for undervisningen. Et flertall av respondentene angir musikalske ferdigheter som viktigere enn entreprenørielle ferdigheter. Én respondent svarte blankt på dette spørsmålet.

Utviklingen av tilbudet

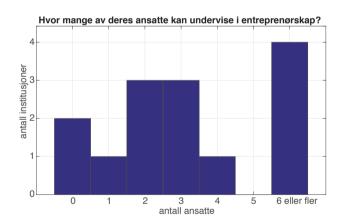
Ettersom entreprenørskapsfeltet i høyere utdanning først ble kartlagt for seks år siden (Bjørnåli mfl., 2011), ble respondentene spurt om hvordan entreprenørskapstilbudet har utviklet seg ved egen institusjon de siste seks årene. 10 av 15 meldte om et litt større eller mye større undervisningstilbud i entreprenørskap sammenlignet med seks år tidligere. Fordelingen er vist i figur 4.



Figur 4: Diagrammet viser at et flertall av lederne mener deres institusjon har hatt en økning i tilbudet i entreprenørskap de siste årene.

Antall undervisere

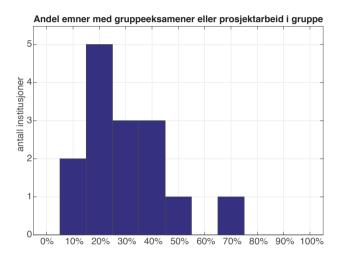
En av forutsetningene for et undervisningstilbud i entreprenørskap er ansatte med undervisningskompetanse på feltet. Flertallet av de som svarte, oppga at de har to eller flere som kan undervise i entreprenørskap (figur 5). Fire av de 15 institusjonene oppgir å ha seks eller flere ansatte som kan undervise i entreprenørskap.



Figur 5: Diagrammet viser at av de som har svart på undersøkelsen, har de fleste to eller flere ansatte som kan undervise i entreprenørskap.

Bruken av gruppearbeid

Lederne ble også spurt hvor mye de benyttet gruppearbeid i eksamener og prosjektarbeid i gruppe. Svarene fordelte seg som vist i figur 6, hvor flesteparten av institusjonene oppgir at gruppearbeid forekommer i mellom 20 % og 40 % av emnene. Motivasjonen for dette spørsmålet var argumentet om at entreprenørskap utvikles i en sosial kontekst (Spilling & Johansen, 2011). Vi har likevel ikke observert noen klar sammenheng mellom andelen gruppearbeid og entreprenørskapstilbudet ved institusjonene.



Figur 6: Diagrammet viser andelen av emner som inneholder gruppeeksamen eller prosjektarbeid i gruppe. Fem respondenter anslår at 20 % av deres emner inneholder gruppearbeid.

4 Diskusjon

Denne delen består av en oppsummering og kontekstualisering av resultatene fra forrige del, fulgt av en drøfting av hvilken betydning disse resultatene kan ha for den pedagogiske praksisen i høyere norsk musikkutdanning og for videre forskning på feltet.

4.1 Metodiske forhold

Før resultatene fra vår undersøkelse diskuteres i detalj, er det viktig å legge frem noen forbehold. Først og fremst bør det nevnes at det er et stort rom for ulike tolkninger av entreprenørskapsbegrepet. Selv om respondentene i innledningen til undersøkelsen ble presentert for en definisjon av entreprenørskap, vil respondentenes egne assosiasjoner til entreprenørskapsbegrepet ha betydning for deres svar. Mangset & Røyseng (2009) argumenter i sin diskusjon av kulturelt entreprenørskap for at entreprenørskapsbegrepets begrensede gjennomslag i akademiske miljøer kan skyldes en frykt for «kommersiell utvanning av kunstfeltets tradisjonelle autonomi» (loc.cit.), og en uro for at det økte fokuset på entreprenørskap i kulturfeltet har et politisk-ideologisk utspring. Vårt syn på entreprenørskap er ikke som en motsetning til kunstnerisk frihet, men snarere som et tankesett som langt på vei følger kunstens mål om å være nyskapende. Dette er i tråd med en bred forståelse av entreprenørskap, hvor målsetningen også kan være å skape samfunnsmessige verdier i en eller annen form. Slik sett innrømmer vi å ha et grunnleggende positivt syn på entreprenørskap, noe som antakelig ikke er tilfellet for alle våre respondenter. En respondent antyder dette ved å bemerke at undersøkelsen synes å ta for gitt entreprenørskap som «et nøytralt eller bare positivt ladet begrep». Det hadde vært fordelaktig å kartlegge respondentenes grunnholdning til entreprenørskapsbegrepet, men dette er vanskelig å gjennomføre uten tidkrevende kvalitative intervjuer. På grunn av undersøkelsens korte format er det faktorer bak svarene vi ikke kan gjøre rede for. Fordelen med det korte formatet er at flertallet av ledere for norske høyere musikkutdanningsinstitusjoner har tatt seg tid til å delta. Svarene representerer dermed et helhetlig panorama for musikkutdanningen.

4.2 Diskusjon av resultater

Lederne som har deltatt i undersøkelsen, synes å være oppdatert om studentenes arbeidssituasjon etter endt utdanning. Flere av våre resultater samsvarer godt med resultatene fra kandidatundersøkelsen fra 2014 blant personer utdannet i skapende og utøvende musikk (Arnesen mfl., 2014). Ledernes svar om studentenes arbeidssituasjon og deres uttrykk om et noe mangelfullt entreprenørskapstilbud reflekterer kandidatenes svar.

Svarene fra våre respondenter antyder at undervisningstilbudet i entreprenørskap er noe høyere enn hva NIFUs tidligere kartlegginger kan gi inntrykk av. Som nevnt skiller ikke disse rapportene mellom musikkfaget og øvrige estetiske fag. Det er derfor noe uklart hvor mange av NIFU-rapportenes registrerte emner som faktisk retter seg mot musikkstudenter. I oversikten Bjørnåli mfl. (2011) presenterer over kurstilbud i entreprenørskap, nevnes på landsbasis tre emner à 10 studiepoeng rettet mot musikkstudenter, samt to emner for kunstfagstudenter og tre for humanister – totalt åtte emner. Oppfølgingsrapporten (Scordato & Støren, 2014) fant en økning. Her er antallet tre entreprenørskapsemner rettet mot musikere, seks emner innen kategorien kunst/kreative næringer, og tre bredere emner for humanister – totalt tolv emner. I vår undersøkelse har respondentene angitt at de til sammen har flere enn 35 emner hvor entreprenørskap inngår som et kompetansemål. Dette resultatet er en klar indikasjon på at en stor andel av norske musikkstudenter har et utdanningstilbud i entreprenørskap.

Noen ganske få av svarene på vår undersøkelse, inkludert noen av svarene i de åpne feltene, antyder at ikke alle våre respondenter mener entreprenørskap er relevant ved deres institusjon. Sterke insentiver for å opprette entreprenørskapsemner kan muligens oppleves som et press til å nedprioritere musikkfaget. Det er mulig at det kan oppstå motvilje mot entreprenørskap som resultat av en noe snever tolkning av begrepet. Det er opplagt at ikke alle musikkstudenter trenger opplæring i forretningsplanlegging, markedsføring eller patentering, som kan være sentrale elementer når entreprenørskap ses som utelukkende knyttet til forretningsvirksomhet. Entreprenørskap i bredere forstand handler om å tenke nytt for å skape nye verdier – ikke bare økonomiske, men også sosiale og kunstneriske verdier. Slik blir entreprenørskap tett knyttet til refleksjon og utvikling som læringsmål: «Hvordan kan jeg bruke kunnskapen jeg har ervervet meg, til å skape noe nytt?»

Et fåtall av respondentene mener entreprenørskapstilbudet ved egen institusjon er passe/nært optimalt. Samtidig antyder undersøkelsen vår at flere norske musikkutdanningsinstitusjoner synes det er utfordrende å gi plass til entreprenørskapsundervisning uten at det går på bekostning av musikkfaglige emner.

En løsning kunne være å bringe elementer fra entreprenørskapsfaget inn i flere av musikkfagene og å dreie entreprenørskapsutdanningen mer i retning av utdanning *gjennom* entreprenørskap, jf. Bjørnåli mfl. (2011) som viser at studenter i estetiske fag primært får undervisning *om* og *for* entreprenørskap.

En kulturentreprenør evner å navigere og utnytte ressurser i sitt nærmiljø, og disse ferdighetene samsvarer på mange måter godt med et sosiokulturelt læringssyn, hvor studentens proksimale utviklingssone til enhver tid er i fokus. Ved å la entreprenørskapskompetanse være en integrert del av musikkfaglige emner vil entreprenørskapsundervisning foregå over lengre tid og gi økt utbytte (Støren, 2012). Dessuten vil relevansen av entreprenørskapsutdanning bli tydeligere hvis tematikken knyttes til kjernefagene i utdannelsen. En av respondentene skriver at dette er en tankegang de er i ferd med å innføre i studiene. Dersom kompetansen fra de «rene» musikkfagene får utvikles gjennom entreprenørielle samarbeidsprosjekter, vil studentene kunne bidra til gjensidig utvikling, jf. vår henvisning til sosiokulturell læring og begreper som den proksimale utviklingssonen. Slik kan studenter sammen lære seg å beherske de medierende redskapene som finnes i musikkfaget. Musikkundervisning gjennom entreprenørskap kan dermed forberede våre studenter på møtet med dagens komplekse musikkvirkelighet. En slik omlegging vil kreve noe kompetanseheving blant de ansatte, men like mye som å heve kompetansen, ser vi for oss at det er snakk om å aktivere en kompetanse som allerede ligger i lærerstaben.

4.3 Avslutning og veien videre

Vi innledet artikkelen med å spørre hvorvidt entreprenørskap er et prioritert område i høyere norsk musikkutdanning. Den foreliggende undersøkelsen går i liten grad kvalitativt inn i undervisningens innhold, men foreslår at faktorer som antall emner og ansatte, samt leders holdninger, er uttrykk for institusjonens fokus på entreprenørskap. Basert på dette konkluderer vi med at entreprenørskap i stor grad *er* en prioritert del av utdanningen ved norske musikkutdanningsinstitusjoner.

I en videre studie vil det være interessant å se kvalitativt på emnene. Hvilke modeller, metoder, tanker og erfaringer ligger til grunn for undervisningen? Hvilke kompetanser søkes utviklet? Undervises det om, for eller gjennom entreprenørskap? Institusjonene vi har undersøkt er ikke en homogen gruppe, og entreprenørskapsutdanning vil kunne oppfattes og praktiseres ulikt. I tillegg til lederens perspektiv vil det være nyttig å få kandidatenes syn på undervisningens form, fokus, innhold og nytteverdi. Med bakgrunn i kandidatundersøkelsen fra 2014 vil det også være interessant å se om det skjer en utvikling på variablene kjønn og musikksjanger.

Det finnes en rekke andre relevante temaer som vi ikke har vektlagt i denne artikkelen. Vi har ikke undersøkt effekten av entreprenørskap i utdanningen eller diskutert synspunkter om at personlige egenskaper som er viktige for entreprenørskap – kreativitet, selvtillit og risikovilje – i liten grad lar seg utvikle gjennom undervisning (Johansen & Støren, 2014). Vi har heller ikke i detalj problematisert hvorvidt et fokus på entreprenørskap går på akkord med kunstens autonomi, en tematikk vi ser spor av i undersøkelsens åpne svarfelt. Skarsteinrapporten setter ikke kunstens autonomi opp mot entreprenørskap, men snarere mot kunstens økonomi (Skarstein, 2015). Med en forståelse av entreprenørskapsbegrepet som noe mer enn det forretningsmessige, fremstår musikalsk entreprenørskap og kunstnerisk frihet ikke som motpoler. Vi mener dermed det er grunnlag for en positiv innfallsvinkel til musikalsk entreprenørskap i høyere utdanning. Det dreier seg om å skape, se nye løsninger med eksisterende materiale, være bevisst samfunnet man lever i og være i en konstant læringsprosess.

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The themes of the contributions represent a wide variety of interests within the Nordic music education community. The articles "Music, media and technological creativity in the digital age" by Anne Danielsen, and "Soundscaping the world with digital tools: The future in retrospect" by Göran Folkestad, first were presented as keynotes at the 20th conference of the Nordic Network for Research in Music Education, March 8-10 2016 at Hedmark University College (now: Inland Norway University College of Applied Sciences). The theme for this conference was "Technology and creativity in music education".

The other contributions represent different interests within the community including for instance gender studies, intercultural music practices, musical meaning making, music and body, assessment, practicing, and entrepreneurship.

The last section of the Yearbook provides information about Nordic doctoral dissertations in music education from 2016-17, the review panel, and the editorial group.

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