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Contributions to the cultural study of music in performance, education, and society

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PERSPECTIVES IN MUSIC AND MUSIC EDUCATION NO 9

Intersection and interplay

**Contributions to the cultural study of music
in performance, education, and society**

Petter Dyndahl (Ed.)

Intersection and interplay

Contributions to the cultural study of music in performance, education, and society

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PREFACE

This book is an offspring from a PhD course entitled *Cultural Studies, Music, and Music Education*, held at Malmö Academy of Music in 2011-12. In this course, the doctoral students were given the opportunity to write their coursework as long essays on culture-related topics regarding music, music education and/or artistic research. In the assessment of the essays, the group of doctoral students worked as peers in a reviewing process, also involving a number of the senior researchers of the academy, some of which have contributed to the anthology as well. Speaking both as an editor and on my personal behalf, I want to thank all the contributors as well as those course participants who for various reasons did not join the anthology. My warmest thanks go to the academy and to Professor Göran Folkestad, Chair in Music Education, who has allowed me to present and reflect upon culture-oriented perspectives and issues in such an unprejudiced and engaged community of doctoral students and senior researchers. The process of writing chapters, discussing them in this extraordinary group of people, and assembling the anthology has been exceptionally rewarding. I would also like to direct a special thank you to PhD Candidate (and so much more) Sven Bjerstedt, who has provided invaluable linguistic and literary support to all chapters. Our proofreaders, Professor Thomas Egan and Associate Professor Sandra Kleppe from the English Department, Hedmark University College, also deserve thanks for their important contributions.

February 15, 2013, Petter Dyndahl

CHAPTER 1

Towards a cultural study of music in performance, education, and society?

PETTER DYNDAHL

INTRODUCTION

In this first chapter, the contents of the book will be linked to a PhD course that was developed and conducted at the Malmö Academy of Music, in the academic year 2011-12. The course was arranged in two parts, one each semester, and entitled *Cultural Studies, Music, and Music Education*. The overall aim of the course was to present and provide knowledge and understanding of the theoretical basis for cultural studies, as well as discussing its relevance to music education and artistic research. Issues and perspectives from different theories and scholars were examined, including key texts written by essential philosophers and theorists such as Roland Barthes, Zygmunt Bauman, Judith Butler, Jacques Derrida, John Fiske, Michel Foucault, Simon Frith, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Jürgen Habermas, Stuart Hall, Axel Honneth, Fredric Jameson, Julia Kristeva, Jean-François Lyotard, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Slavoj Žižek. Furthermore, questions concerning knowledge and power, subjectivity and identity, ideology and hegemony, modernity and postmodernity, popular culture, the media and its audiences, as well as globalization, homogenization and heterogenization, were discussed in relation to music and music education. A central ethical perspective was to focus on the relationship between the taken-for-granted and the Other in music, its practices and – not least – its education and research cultures.

To elaborate on and operationalize the objectives of the course, the doctoral students who completed the entire program were given the opportunity to write their coursework in the form of long essays on culture-related topics of their own choice, relating to music, music education or artistic research. In the assessment of the essays, the group of doctoral students

acted as peers in a reviewing process, also involving some of the senior researchers of the academy, and this procedure served as a preparatory work for the present publication. Hence, in the anthology, current issues in cultural approaches to music in performance, education, and society are addressed, seen from the perspectives of a wide array of themes and areas of humanistic, social and educational research, including anthropological perspectives on music education, ideology critical curriculum analysis, critical *Didaktik*, matters of postmodernity, intertextuality, authenticity, identity, gender, power, and marginalization, as well as issues related to the sociology of culture and education. At the end of the chapter the subsequent chapters of this anthology will be introduced more comprehensively.

SHIFTING INTERSECTIONS AND INTERPLAYS

When discussing the significance of cultural theory in relation to music, it is important to take into account that in recent decades, the understanding of what can – and should – be seen as music's body of research and educational resources and interests has expanded. As part of this development, a significant research interest in looking at music, its practices and education through the wide scope of culture has come forward. Here, questions of how signifying practices may constitute fields of construction, performance and negotiation of cultural meaning, identity, and power are examined.

On the one hand, this can be seen in the light of the *New Musicology* of the 1980s and 1990s, where an object-oriented concept of music, advocating immanent aesthetic qualities, was left behind in favour of a more situated, contextual understanding of music as potentially meaning-producing actions and activities. This also implied a critique of the Western canon that had dominated music as an academic discipline as well as an institutionalized field of art (see e.g. Clayton, Herbert & Middleton, 2012; Cook & Everist, 2001; Kerman, 1985). At the same time, a new, post-structuralist foundation for a shift in the interest of texts (i.e. in the broadest sense of the term, including music) appears. Instead of analysing 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 meanings, 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 (Barthes, 1977; Kristeva, 1980). Apparently, these tendencies led to a wide range of practices at the intersection of art, culture, music and technology, including those which belong to so-called remix and sampling cultures (Dyndahl, 2005a; 2005b; Middleton, 2000), gradually becoming part of the school subject music and teacher education, legitimized by music anthropology, ethnomusicology, popular music studies, ICT and media studies, hypertext, hypermedia and literary studies (Delany & Landow, 1991), as well as other emerging academic disciplines.

However, on the other hand, one can claim that a variety of music was already present in music education, at least in Scandinavia. A tendency in the Nordic countries from the be-

ginning of the 1970s and onwards was to expand the repertoires and resources of music as an area of teaching and learning. Here, jazz, pop, rock, folk music, and world music, etc. gained considerable educational, curricular and institutional status (Nielsen, 2010; Olsson, 1993). For instance, the institutionalization of popular and vernacular music in Scandinavian higher music education, as well as a parallel academization of those kinds of music within the fields of musicology and ethnomusicology, can be considered to represent an end to the previously dominant, monocultural position of classical music in music education and research.

From the early 1990s on, music education was concerned with further developing its research perspectives and areas, as these eventually included a more distinct pluralistic and socio-cultural attention to music in different learning communities, including informal learning contexts like children's culture and youth culture, popular music cultures, the culture of Internet and social media, and the like (Folkestad, 1997). Thus, an important trend has been to study the learning and acquisition of competence in a variety of contexts outside the classroom and educational institutions. A number of researchers have documented how music education is often situated in a dynamic tension between music in school, everyday life and the media, and between formal, informal and non-formal learning situations and practices (e.g. Folkestad, 2006; Green, 2001; 2008; Karlsen & Väkevä, 2012). The aim has typically been to illustrate how several social and cultural arenas and levels interact – possibly also interfere – with respect to musical learning. A traditional perspective on teaching and learning, seeing the teacher as an undisputable subject in the classroom, has therefore been challenged, and there has been a shift of interest from teaching to learning, from the teacher to the learner, and from schooling to a variety of learning arenas, communities and cultures (Folkestad, 2007). Furthermore, an international research interest in matters relating to music and various dimensions of identity, music's role in societies characterized by increasing cultural complexity and diversity, as well as music's relations to power, social justice and democracy, has been advanced in music education (see for instance Karlsen, 2011; Sæther, 2010; Wright, 2010).

According to Liora Bresler (2007), also arts education has for a long time been crossing borders, reaching out to other scholarly disciplines, initially in order to legitimize and strengthen its position in the school curriculum. In line with this, in emerging cross-disciplinary research areas such as artistic research and research in arts education, we notice the same tendency as in the above musicology and music education to incorporate a number of cultural aspects and dimensions. Taking the case of this anthology as an example, we find aspects of performance studies, gender studies and studies in post-modernity applied to inform issues of authenticity, identity and power in artistic practices and performances.

On these grounds, one can claim that there have been a number of intersections and interplays between cultural theories, cultural studies, and music studies in a broad sense over a period of time.

ISSUES OF MUSIC AND CULTURE

Given that the concept of culture is complex and tendentiously infinite, we must, however, be content with a limited and tentative answer to the question of whether there has been a cultural turn in the study of music in performance, education, and society. In this context, if we take as a starting point two distinctly different ways of perceiving the notion of culture. On the one hand, one can refer to a perspective on culture as an extraordinary level of perfection, or as the British nineteenth-century poet and pedagogue Matthew Arnold once described culture as “the best which has been thought and said in the world” (1869, p. viii). It is reasonable to associate a position like Arnold’s with a hierarchical understanding of culture and aesthetics that would support the idea that there is Art with a capital A, or high, and respectively low, culture. One must confess that this has been a very prevalent way of consideration in musicology, music education, as well as in music as an art form.

On the other hand, literary scholar and cultural researcher Raymond Williams (1958) expressed a radically different understanding when he launched the idiom ‘culture is ordinary’. Hence, he also recognized the active, creative capacity of people to construct meaningful practices in everyday life. It would be suitable to combine this insight with cultural musicologist Christopher Small’s (1998) term ‘musicking’ and his proposal that music, instead of being merely a transcendental, aesthetic object, should be viewed as a variety of acts – including making music, performing music, listening to music, and dancing to music – as well as the everyday usage of popular music and media culture. In that case one might begin to appreciate the craft of musical as more than the traditional skills, and rather understand it as the full spectrum of producing, practicing, perceiving, and debating all aspects of music.

However, one of the most prolific positions is probably occupied by sociologist and popular musicologist Simon Frith, when claiming, “all cultural life involves the constant activity of judging and differentiating” (1996a, p. 251). A crucial aspect of Frith’s seminal book *Performing rites – Evaluating popular music* (1996a) is a deconstruction of the dichotomy between music understood as aesthetic and cultural (the term ‘functional’ being preferred by Frith), respectively. Frith makes the case that the aesthetical and the functional are inextricable from each other in the way we respond to and make sense of music, be it popular or art music. He wants to establish a legitimate understanding of what might be called ‘aesthetic functionality’ (see Dyndahl & Ellefsen, 2009) in scholarly approaches to any music. While addressing a key topic in cultural studies, namely *identity*, Frith emphasizes how the aesthetic experience in his sense of the word only makes sense “by *taking on* both a subjective and a collective identity” (1996b, p. 109). Rather than considering music as a passive mediating sign and articulation of some previously existing identities of subjects and social groups, he is preoccupied with the idea that identity is actually prepared, produced and recognized *within* and *due to* musical practice, aesthetic assessment and evaluation:

What I want to suggest, in other words, is not that social groups agree on values which are then expressed in their cultural activities [...] but that they only get to know themselves as groups [...] through cultural activity, through aesthetic judgment. Making music isn't a way of expressing ideas; it is a way of living them. (Frith 1996b, p. 111)

The individual subject, then, is not regarded as a self-constitutive “doer behind the deed” (Butler 2007, p. 195). Instead, the process of identity negotiation must be comprehended as if “the ‘doer’ is variably constructed in and through the deed” (ibid.). Judith Butler’s understanding appears to be analogous to Michel Foucault’s concept of subjects’ agencies in order to control their relationships to themselves, while, simultaneously, they are discursively constituted as subjects by means of:

[...] technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality. (Foucault, 1997, p. 225)

For Foucault, these practices are grasped as culturally created, ethical patterns of action and activity, at once offered to and forced on us, and always dependent on other technologies as well. Besides the technologies of the self, these technologies involve production, sign systems, and power. Frith’s point of view seems to correspond to this understanding: musical practices form particular aesthetic processes of negotiation of the self, through which we challenge and transform available subject positions and categories, constituting our identities and subjectivities, and, at the same time, we are subjectivized into acting, ethical, comprehensible individuals within normative discourse.

In other words, musical experiences are discursively constructed in the sense that we create bonds between music, the socio-cultural context and ourselves. That is, music cannot be an autonomous and external object, producing meaning in itself. In the encounter with music, we experience our subjectivity and cultural identity in its aesthetic aspects. This might seem both complex and contradictory, but, as Frith sees it, the aesthetic dimension situates us in the world, at the same time – and in the same way – as it disconnects us from the world. The paradox is that the musical, i.e. the aesthetic *and* functional/cultural, experience helps to construct us socially and culturally, while we simultaneously experience the social and cultural meanings as inherent in music, as musically intrinsic qualities, or as the essence of music.

A cultural view of music indicates that musical activities and actions, including music education, always already take place *in* culture; there is no other place or space for them. Likewise, these phenomena and practices inevitably also construct culture; i.e. they should be regarded *as* culture. This double perspective can be linked to Alan P. Merriam’s (1960)

argument that ethnomusicology is ‘the study of music *in* culture’, a definition he later revised to be ‘the study of music *as* culture’ (Merriam, 1977). Bruno Nettl (2005) discusses how three perspectives can be important in order to study the various relationships between music and culture in complementary ways, by which he further nuances the definitions, emphasizing different aspects; i.e. ‘the study of music in its cultural context’, ‘the study of music in culture’, and ‘the study of music as culture’, respectively. Either way, the culture that makes the context of music, the culture in which music takes place, and the culture that forms ‘a way of living’ music revolve around some intersecting pivotal points, which also contribute to the formation of a cultural topology.

Viewing identity from a slightly different angle, Chris Barker defines the concept of cultural identity as:

A snapshot of unfolding meanings relating to self-nomination or ascription by others. Thus, cultural self-identity can be understood as a description of ourselves with which we identify. Social identity would refer to the descriptions others have of us. Cultural identity relates to the nodal points of cultural meaning, most notably class, gender, race, ethnicity, nation and age. (Barker, 2005, p. 437)

If music works as one of the arenas where cultural identities are negotiated and renegotiated, which is a prerequisite for a cultural-theoretical understanding of music, it should have the ability to relate to and signify nodal points of cultural meaning too – acting, then, as a Foucauldian technology of the self. In Frith’s terms, we would experience the personal, social and cultural meanings of class affiliation and mobility, of gender and sexual orientation, of age and generation, of race, ethnicity and nationality, as well as of the significance of time, space and place, when we enjoy, differentiate and judge music’s aesthetic qualities, all while the cultural/functional may be hidden from an initial glance. These activities take place, however, in a number of music-related situations and contexts.

A CULTURAL TOPOLOGY OF MUSIC

How can we describe and map the topics, sites, situations or contexts of cultural studies? Clayton, Herbert and Middleton (2012) highlight the *When?* – or the musical histories, the *Where?* – or the locations of music, the *How?* – or the processes, practices, and institutions of music, the *Whose?* – or the social forces and musical belongings, and the *Who?* – or the musical subjectivities, when explaining what the cultural study of music may consist of. Barker (2005) suggests that the sites of cultural studies in general would be: Issues of subjectivity and identity; Ethnicity, race and nation; Sex, subjectivity and representation; Television, texts and audiences; Cultural space and urban place; Youth, style and resistance; and Cultural politics and cultural policy. In the aforementioned PhD course, several theoretical traditions and positions were focused on, for instance discourse theory, deconstruction, post-colonialism, feminism, performance theory, and theories on modernism/postmodernism,

as well as matters concerning subjectivity and identity, gender and sexuality, intertextuality and the media, ideology and the politics of culture, and cultural perspectives on music education and Didaktik, respectively.

If we look at all these suggestions and recommendations together, we can possibly see the emergence of a cultural topology where some sites are encountered more often than others. Frequent traffic routes also leave more evident trace patterns in the terrain than other less frequented ones. What this anthology could potentially bring that others do not is to make music education and artistic research more visible in the landscape of cultural studies. Also, it is distinguished by the fact that many of the authors emphasize a Nordic perspective in their approach and scope. Accordingly, the attention should now be directed towards the topological patterns and cultural analyses performed by the authors of the following chapters of the book:

In Chapter 2, *Eva Sæther's* contribution is entitled “Insight through participation – Bridging the gap between cultural anthropology, cultural studies and music education”. She builds on personal experiences as a researcher in a multicultural context when she attempts to link the gap between different research approaches. While cultural studies and critical theory in general can be said to rest on analysis of texts in a wide sense, cultural anthropologists build their analysis on field work, strongly opposing to so-called ‘writing desk’ research, collecting data from a position as more or less participating observers, and using more senses than the visual. However, at a closer look, there are some main themes that stand out as central in cultural studies, in cultural anthropology, as well as in ethnomusicology. Leading representatives from the respective research approaches have pierced and stretched concepts such as authenticity, subjectivity, identity, and the Other. In the last decades there has been an increased influence of ethnomusicology in music education research. This is reflected in the activities of international associations such as the *International Society for Music Education* (ISME), *International Music Council* (IMC) and *Cultural Diversity in Music Education* (CDIME), as well as in a growing body of research (e.g. Drummond, 2005; Schippers, 2010; Szego, 2002; Sæther, 2003; Thorsén, 2005). In this chapter, the author herself is placed in the gap, dealing with multi-sensual insights, inspired by radical empiricism and deconstruction, as well as post-colonial theory.

In Chapter 3, *Lia Lonnert* analyses a new Swedish curriculum for schools that was presented in 2011 and came into effect the same year. Basically the focus in the subject of music is on playing music, creating music, and listening to music. But key citations within the subject of music show a return to some ideas from the beginning of the 20th century regarding nationalism, a Nordic ethnocentric worldview and a tie to Christianity in a way that was abandoned in curricula at the end of the 20th century. Also a concept of a collective *cultural heritage* is presented in the subject of music. But since a collective cultural heritage is very difficult to define without making a canon it is required that the cultural heritage is defined

locally between teachers and students. Music is also presented as a tool to the understanding of other cultures. In her chapter, Lonnert presupposes that there is an ideological connection between education and the state's formation of the citizen, and that the concepts used in the curricula also are formed by ideology, the political and economical reality, as well as by contemporary debates. The focus in the chapter is on ideological issues such as the connection to the concept of the nation-state, the concept of culture, the canon of music, and who the Other is. Quotations from the curriculum are compared not only with other quotations but also with legal documents such as the Education Act and other laws. Comparisons are also made with older curricula. By comparing different quotations and different kinds of documents, Lonnert indicates that there are contradictions within the curriculum from 2011 that counteract its official purpose. Because of its close association with the Swedish curriculum and national education matters, this chapter is written in Swedish.

Karl Asp has written the anthology's Chapter 4. In this text the author writes himself into a critical tradition in Central European and Scandinavian Didaktik. He makes a critical analysis of the didactic content of the music subject in Sweden today. In particular, he discusses the selection of content in the ensemble subject in secondary school. Today, the use of popular music as a specific content and/or as a method to learn music is widespread in the formal music education in Swedish schools (Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2009). The purpose of the chapter is to examine issues concerning ensemble teaching using texts and theories of identity and didactics, as well as from cultural studies. The author emphasizes questions about what is taught and what is possible to learn within institutionalized education. By addressing issues of identity, ethics and pedagogical history, he problematizes the didactic choice of content in the music subject. Furthermore, he claims that music teachers' understanding of contemporary popular culture stands in a complex relationship to their educational and didactical choices. However, the author does not make any normative or prescriptive statements, like trying to recommend how music education should be conducted. The aim is rather to examine and thus increase the knowledge of the changing conditions of music education in which didactic choices are conducted. Hence, this insight may provide a basis for further exploration and development of music teaching and learning. Since the chapter is closely related to the realities of Swedish music education and uses a conceptual framework and terminology derived from Scandinavian Didaktik, it is written in Swedish.

Peter Spissky has entitled Chapter 5 "Hear the story in my tune: Authenticity as metamorphosis of personal and musical identity". In this very personal contribution he questions whether or not one can step outside the tradition one is born into. Growing up in former Czechoslovakia in the early 1980s, the author's musical identity was shaped by a strong tradition of the normative Russian violin school. As one of the 'chosen talents', he successfully attended many violin competitions, where the participants were expected to show the highest level of appropriation and assimilation of the traditional aesthetical ideal. There was

no education in early music and performance in the country. The music establishment, both educational and professional, explicitly opposed such activities as disruptive of the 'system values'. Thus, to become a baroque violinist in Czechoslovakia at that time seems to be a paradox. Nonetheless, Peter Spissky became a baroque violinist. Now looking back at his formative years in those turbulent times in Eastern Europe, he realizes that what might then have seemed to be his own decisions based on personal insights were, in fact, strongly influenced by a broader context of cultural, social and political events which were happening around him. However, the changes in Czechoslovakian society and music education did not occur through an outline of the Five-Year Party Plan or via a securely guarded curriculum of the Conservatory. As the author sees it, the readiness for change is always within people, dormant, waiting for an impulse, which is often triggered by the self-confident establishment itself. A totalitarian truth or meta-narrative might, through an absurd insistence on the assertion of being the one and only way, point beyond itself, and indirectly suggest a possible alternative. In this chapter, the author also attempts to see his choices and practices of identity as a baroque violinist in the light of theoretical approaches to questions regarding the self, subjectivity, authenticity, ideology and power.

Susanne Ronner Larsson has written the chapter "Postmodernism and identity. John Cage's *Europeras 1&2* in Zurich 1991 – when a staged anarchy creates anarchy among the participants". In June 1991 John Cage's *Europeras 1&2* was performed at the opera house in Zurich. During the performances, some of the participants developed an anarchistic approach to this postmodern deconstructed opera that culminated with a 'tonal protest' from the brass group, which during a performance suddenly started to play a march. Shortly thereafter John Cage wrote an open letter to the orchestra in which he accused them of deliberately misrepresenting his work. Larsson – who was singing in *Europeras 1* – describes and attempts to explain the strong reaction to which the Zurich Opera singers and orchestra were triggered by participating in *Europeras*, and to put this in relation to John Cage's intentions in particular and postmodern ideas in general. In these efforts she employs theoretical approaches from reflections on postmodernism, that is, the thoughts of Barthes, Jameson and Lyotard, as well as theories of identity, such as the ideas of Foucault, Frith and Hall. In Chapter 6, the author also brings in a significant part of the musicological and music critical reception of John Cage's work in relation to the performance of *Europeras 1&2*.

In Chapter 7, entitled "In search of oscillating relations – power, gender, remix in operatic performance", *Sara Wilén* presents and discusses the project *Opera Nova – power, love, remix*. In this chapter, scenes from the opera repertoire are investigated and problematized by considering the use of cross-casting, improvisational techniques and dialogue with the audience. The project is based on Wilén's idea and was carried out by the ensemble *Operaimprovisatörerna* [The opera improvisers], where she is a member. During her artistic research project, she has worked with literature studies in parallel with the artistic work,

which has rendered new perspectives through a fruitful dialogue between theory and practice. In the chapter, the author discusses and contextualizes the Opera Nova project within a framework of theory derived from different fields, such as musicology, music education, cultural studies, and performance studies. Wilén seeks to exemplify how an intertwining of the techniques of opera interpretation and opera improvisation can open up to problematizing and deconstructing operatic performance from intertextual and performative perspectives. Moreover, she reflects on how to give the improvising singers an extended range of possibilities to perform opera in new readings, where they can develop new musical, societal and gender perspectives. Wilén concludes that the project has given her new artistic insights as a classical singer and improviser and suggests that a conception of oscillating relations between different perspectives on music and performativity could pave the way for a wider variety of operatic performance aesthetics.

Ylva Hofvander Trulsson has written Chapter 8, which is entitled “Chasing children’s fortunes. Cases of parents’ strategies in Sweden, the UK and Korea”. In this she analyses three examples, in which middle-class people examine the role education and leisure time activities can play for their position in society. In the first case, the author describes immigrant parents, originally with a middle-class background, now living in exile in Sweden, who struggle for a new position in the Swedish society. For example, they use music education to regain social status. In the second case, she is concerned with parents from the white middle-class in the UK, having their children enrolled in local comprehensive schools, which are seen as ‘working-class schools’. These parents have made actions to ensure that their children’s social and academic wellbeing remains secure, using arts education among other things. In the third case, Hofvander Trulsson describes Korean families moving to the UK on a short-term basis, with the hope of improving educational and linguistic outcomes for their children and thereby strengthening their competitive tools in a future professional life. The three examples illustrate striving families, who use different means to maintain or refine their social and cultural position. In this chapter, concepts of class, social mobility, inter-generational mobility, disciplinary power and *habitus* are discussed.

In Chapter 9, entitled “Musical marginalization processes: Problematizing the marginalization concept through an example from early 20th century American popular culture”, *Sven Bjerstedt* sets out to analyse a number of representations of the biblical Hagar figure in African American and white American culture. Spivak (1988) has problematized the marginalization concept with regard to the study of the third world subject, arguing that knowledge always expresses the interests of the knowledge producers, and that Western academic research is always colonial. The aim of the present analysis is to demonstrate that a certain doubleness and instability may be intrinsic to the concept of marginalization and may become visible through processes of transculturation. The Hagar figure of the Old Testament is arguably an archetypal symbol of definitive marginalization. In W. C. Handy’s song “Aunt

Hagar's Blues", her central symbolic function in African American culture is manifest. This study focuses on a couple of early 20th century popular culture representations of Handy's song: a 1922 sheet music cover and a 1958 Hollywood film plot. These two representations of Aunt Hagar are studied and analysed with concepts such as identity, meaning production and ideological power as a point of departure. The author argues that these popular culture representations have completely watered down several thousand years worth of cultural/mythological meaning production and that this phenomenon gives rise to interesting questions regarding the marginalization concept in relation to a deconstruction of the central/peripheral dichotomy.

Göran Folkestad has entitled Chapter 10 "Intertextuality and creative music making". He takes as his point of departure the notion that issues regarding the relationships between previous knowledge and experiences and the formation of new knowledge are at the core of all educational sciences, music education being no exception. From this perspective, he finds that the theories of intertextuality become particularly interesting, not only in the analysis of the relationships between different texts but also in general in analysing various phenomena of teaching and learning. After discussing some features and limitations of the concepts of intertextuality and hypertextuality, Folkestad explores how the overarching term intertextuality may contribute to the theoretical development of his own concepts *discourse in music* and *the inner personal musical library*. Among other issues, he suggests that intertextuality might be an important conceptual tool in developing the understanding of *discourse in music*, in particular as a tool in analysing the relationship between different ideas, fragments and elements in the process of composition and creative music making. The metaphor of *the personal inner musical library* 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. On these grounds, Folkestad establishes that in the process of musical creation and performance intertextuality appears in (at least) two phases: (i) on an intrapersonal level in the act of creation where the on-going creation is a new piece of music in which the creative ideas are constantly interacting with the personal inner musical library of the creator(s), and (ii) when the piece of music is performed and thus being re-created by the listener(s). The chapter is concluded by stating that 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 as the point of departure for knowledge formation.

Chapter 11 is written by *Petter Dyndahl*, and is entitled "Musical gentrification, socio-cultural diversities, and the accountability of academics". The final chapter of the book aims

to focus on and examine music's tendency to exclude some people and groups when others are included, to retain somebody when it helps others' social mobility, or to make certain forms of music taboo while others are gentrified. Thus, the importance of musical conditions underlying social development and change is emphasized in their diachronic and synchronic aspects, regarding several intersecting facets of music as culturally diverse and as deeply rooted in socio-economic class relations and tensions. To achieve this, the author employs some relevant historical and theoretical perspectives on the relationship between music, education, and sociality. The presentation is related to recent Scandinavian, especially Norwegian, conditions and development, and focuses particularly on music's impact on position and mobility within social and cultural hierarchies. In this connection, Dyndahl launches the concept of musical gentrification. Thereafter he puts forward three cases, in which he discusses what the term musical gentrification might imply for the understanding of contemporary music, with emphasis on its relationship to the media, cultural policy, and education, respectively. All three cases revolve around social and cultural diversity. The examples also expose different inclusion and exclusion processes and mechanisms. Socio-cultural diversities are further discussed in the chapter, first addressing cultural issues in music education and research. Secondly, the author examines the complex question of representation as it relates to music teachers and researchers. These issues lead to the final section, in which Dyndahl indicates that academics ought to be held accountable for their attitudes, actions and judgments towards the power- and value-laden areas of music and music education.

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The closing appeal to be found in Chapter 11, that academics, researchers and educators should take personal responsibility by applying the critical gaze that a cultural approach encourages on themselves, can be recognized as an implicit principle for this book as well as the PhD course that formed its basis. In that context, a cultural study of music in performance, education, and society may also converge with Edward Said's (2004) notion of a more democratic form of humanism. In this, self-knowledge is seen as the highest form of human achievement and the true measure of education. But Said also considers self-knowledge to be of limited value without the constructive self-criticism and improved awareness that may come from intersection and interplay with other values, cultures and human beings.

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CHAPTER 2

Insight through participation – Bridging the gap between cultural anthropology, cultural studies and music education

EVA SÆTHER

The gap between cultural anthropology, cultural studies and music education may well appear too wide to bridge. While cultural studies and critical theory in general are grounded in the analysis of texts, cultural anthropologists build their analysis on field work, often being strongly opposed to so called “writing desk” research, collecting data from the position of more or less participating observers, using senses other than the visual. However, on a closer look, there are some common themes that stand out as central in cultural studies, cultural anthropology and ethnomusicology. Leading representatives from all three fields of research have explored and extended concepts such as subjectivity, identity, the Other and authenticity. In recent decades the influence of ethnomusicology in music education research has increased. This is reflected in the activities of international associations such as the International Society for Music Education (ISME), the International Music Council (IMC) and Cultural Diversity in Music Education (CDIME), as well as in a growing body of research (e.g. Drummond, 2005; Schippers, 2010; Szego, 2002; Sæther, 2003; Thorsén, 2005). In this chapter, the author is placed in the gap referred to above, dealing with multi-sensual insights, inspired by radical empiricism, deconstruction and post-colonial theory.

THE BEGINNING

It all started one night in Abidjan, in 1986. Defying all good advice to the contrary, I had travelled to Youpougou, the district where the Ivorians were dancing. The dance floors were as big as soccer fields. Here, during starlit nights, the most popular musicians would play. The

poor enthusiasts who could not afford the entrance fee would cry at the long queues at the entrance.

I was there as a very eager young researcher, collecting data for my ethnomusicological study. The focus of my field study was a group of young Norwegian women who had studied African dance in Oslo, at the Centre for African Culture (CAK). I had already interviewed a few of them, collecting material for a study of the drum as cultural symbol and as a carrier of meaning. Now, this group of young Norwegian women were travelling to Abidjan, together with some of the Ivorian immigrants to Norway who used to play for the dance lessons in Norway. I was interested in the identity and symbolic value of the drum in its original context, and how this had changed during the “djembe campaign” in Scandinavia. Starting in the late 1970s the djembe drum became popular in the US and in Europe, introduced by musicians from various West African national ballets. Through master drummers such as Famoudou Konate living in Germany and Mamady Keita, living in Belgium, the djembe has had greater exposure world-wide than any other drumming tradition (Charry, 2000). The drum has itself gained status as the symbol of multicultural music education, used in projects as well as in regular classroom settings.

Deep inside I also had a dream. I wanted to dance. This night I was alone at the hotel, alone with my longing. “No, you can’t go to Youpougon alone. Yes, it is the place where we dance, but whites don’t go there. It is not for you”, my friend, the dance teacher said. She did not have time to come with me. “No, you can’t go there”, the man at the hotel reception said. “Yes”, his colleague said. “I will soon get off work. I can accompany you”.

During the night my kind saviour guarded my purse and Coca-Cola, while I danced, closer and closer to the stage. The drum master made me forget about my whiteness and gradually we had a conversation, my dancing body and his playful musical phrases. It was hot, very hot. Every now and then someone put a banknote on my forehead. It stuck to my sweat without problems.

The day after, when I started to ponder my experience of the dance night, it was these banknotes that caused confusion. I knew I was not dancing well, according to Ivorian aesthetics. Were they meant to wipe the sweat away? To show that money is not important? In the end I asked an Ivorian friend, who answered with astonishment: “You didn’t understand that? The dance is everything to us. It embraces all our culture, all our lives. When you dance our dance, you show that you understand a part of us, that you are a part of us. That is why you got those banknotes on your forehead”.

Years went by. The sticky notes stayed in my memory, stored there during studies in musicology, teaching at a music teacher program, multicultural projects and research studies in music education. When my dissertation *The oral university* (Sæther, 2003) was defended and printed those banknotes popped up again. In fact they had impregnated my methods

chapter. They had inspired me to use the dance as a prompt for initiating interviews and conversations, and to contemplate emic and etic descriptions.

Of course the examiner had objections and comments, one of which was that the book didn't smell of Africa, that it was difficult to get an impression of my experiences. Therefore he insisted on showing a video from my field work as a kind of pedagogical show, but also a critique. If I had made good use of the memory of the banknotes, perhaps his video session would not have been necessary. Had I been careless with the memory? Well, I had produced a thesis in music education, trying to show that I knew how to do it correctly, when it comes to theory, data collection, analysis and presentation. But the examiner had a point, and it is worth paying attention to what was missing.

AS WE SPLASH UPWARDS

In search of what was missing in my dissertation, I turned to a professor in religious studies, Tord Olsson, who has expertise in what he calls “insight through participation”. He has shifted his focus from strict theoretical studies to a more participatory research approach. Thus he has been inaugurated into a Turkish sufi order, lived with Masai people, been apprenticed as marabout in Gambia and hunter in Mali. I knew all that when I came to him with my second thoughts on the memory of the bank notes.

“You should read Paul Stoller”, was his advice. “Start with *In sorcery's shadow*” (Stoller, 1987). I did so, but first I read an article by Tord Olsson himself, a reflection on his own field work among the Masai in Gwanyebugu. It starts with a story: Tord Olsson and the aging masai Ole Kisio are having a conversation about God, in the middle of the sunburned savannah. The curious researcher wants to know where God lives. Ole Kisio answers by gracefully pointing his fly-whisk towards the sky: “Because we believe that God is heaven or is up there in the sky, that is why we splash milk upwards, towards the sky, when we make sacrifices to him” (Olsson, 2000, p. 9).

This is what Tord Olsson wrote in his field notes, and what he found when he examined his material at his writing desk in Sweden. This was his first interpretation, evident to a European, well rooted in the idea that it is the belief in itself that is the basis for religion. Therefore this framed the dialogue with Ole Kisio, a man with a completely different religious experience than the Christian. But something worries the Swedish researcher, as he listens to the field recordings, over and over. In fact, what Ole Kisio was saying, was something completely different: “We think that God (EnkAi) is heaven (enkai), or is up there, because (amu) we splash milk upwards, towards the sky, when we make sacrifices to him” (Olsson, 2000, p. 9).

Ole Kisio articulated an approach that has its point of departure in practice. According to this approach, a specific ritual praxis can serve as a reason to entertain a certain belief, in

contrast to most Western religious thinking. The explanation for Tord Olsson's misinterpretation may also be seen as a critique of generally accepted research on religion, based on written texts, documents that can be structured and analysed. The ritual practice has been given a back seat, with belief in the front seat (Olsson, 2000). As a consequence of this misinterpretation, Tord Olsson made a complete shift in his own research, from the writing desk towards participation, with all senses:

As far as I know, one of the most fruitful methods of anthropological studies of religion is to study living religion and rituals, a method that unlike classical participant observation can be labelled as insight through participation or experience through practice. This is the core: to take part in rituals and other forms of religious life, as a researcher and apprentice, on the same conditions as other participants, as far as possible. My time together with marabouts in West Africa and dervishes from Turkey, and with people and djinns in Gwanyebugu and other villages in Mali, tells me that the learning of oral texts, dogmas and ritual practice is physically anchored in body positions and movements. (Olsson, 2000, p. 19, my translation)

NO MATTER WHAT

Reading *In sorcery's shadow* invites the reader on a journey to Niger, described by the anthropologist Paul Stoller's glowing pen. He travelled to Niger in order to write a dissertation on language habits and on the relationship between the written language and local politics. His first two months were a total failure. His plan included using a questionnaire to get an overview of demographic data and language habits. After negotiations with all sorts of local chiefs he finally got permission to undertake his study. Full of confidence he started. All the informants turned out to be very talkative, and it took him at least the double the expected time to carry out the interviews. The results looked promising: he had lots of material to work with (Stoller, 1987).

At the end of the study he visited the shopkeeper who asked how many languages the neighbour had told the researcher that he knew. "Four", Stoller answered. "Ha, I know that he can talk two, at the most", the shopkeeper said. In dismay at this, Stoller rushed back to the previous informant: "Your neighbour tells me that you only know two languages. Is this true?" "Yes", was the frank answer. "How could you lie to me?" From the answer to this question, Stoller could sense the impending catastrophe: "What does it matter?" The neighbour also informed Stoller that the shopkeeper only knew one language, not two as he had told the researcher. Now angry, the researcher returned to the shopkeeper: "You told me you know two languages, but your neighbour tells me that you only know one". "Yes", was the reply, "what does it matter?"

This formed the beginning of a completely different project, an apprenticeship in Songhay, learning the art of sorcery, where he applied what he learned from the failed questionnaire study: to sit down and listen.

In a later book, Stoller (1989) provides some theoretical comment on the study of sorcery. Two main issues are discussed: firstly how to produce ethnographic literature that gives the reader a taste of the ethnographic material, and secondly how to apply methods that reduce the dominant visual orientation. He reminds us that there are societies where taste, sound or smell are more important than vision. A more sensual method, a method that includes other senses than sight, would not only lead to more vivid research reports, but also produce reports that are more faithful to the reality in the studied field. Using the senses would not be less scientific, but more scientific.

Stoller also points to the fact that it is not only the researcher that tries to classify the Other. The Others' classifications of the researcher are also a source of knowledge: "All too often, ethnographers are so busy classifying others that we don't take time to explore how the others classify us" (Stoller, 1989, p. 91). He underlines how scientific facts are constructed:

In fact, social or scientific facts are not discovered; they are, as Wagner has eloquently told us, "invented". More profoundly, facts are "invented" in contexts in which thought, action, and feeling are inseparable – all part of our fully lived experience. (Stoller, 1989, p. 96)

Another important issue is that in our globalised world, knowledge has become article commodity that can be sold, spread and consumed. In consumer society there are no "noble savages". They have had access to information for a long time. Still, the stereotypes survive. Stoller finds it remarkable that few confessions of classification mistakes have found their way into research texts.

TO HEAR THE WORLD

Vision has a privileged position in Western epistemology. The Songhay, however, can smell the presence of a witch. And if you cannot hear, there is not much in the world to be learned. As Stoller was told during his fieldwork: "Listen to the godji (violin) and let its cries penetrate you. Then you will know the voice of the spirits, they would tell me. Feel the sound of the drum and know the power of the past" (Stoller, 1989, p. 101).

As the godji cries for all of the Songhay, it is the most sacred instrument. It was given to the mysterious ancestor Faran Maka Bote, when he conquered the river spirit Zinkibaru in order to gain control over all the river spirits. Therefore the godji is not supposed to be played outside of sacred moments, and is carefully stored in a cloth bag inside the hut of the high priest. The sound of the godji is the link between now and then, the social world and the world of the spirits.

Stoller (1989) presents an interesting theory about why West African jalis, praise singers, are accorded such high social status. Maybe it is due to the magical power of the words, the

sounds? According to Wolof^{*)} philosophy the praising consists not only of words that carry meaning, it is the breath and the vibrations of the air that have a physical influence on the audience. The praising raises the receiver's emotions, and these change the balance of the bodily fluids. In this way, praising transforms human beings morally, socially and physically, since the bodily fluids are considered to be biological determinants of social position. The song of a Jali thus has a rhetorical effect, much like that described in the Baroque doctrine of the affections.

Among the Songhay, where Stoller was an apprentice, the praising expands the political and social domains. Besides the *jesere* (jali in Songhay) there are *sorko*, the praisers of any of the 150 spirits in the Songhay pantheon. The sound of the praising song is supposed to penetrate the body of the medium and is therefore shouted into the ears. The medium then falls into trance and the praised spirit takes its place in the transformed body.

In Songhay you "hear the world". The drum was originally played by river spirits who danced to its rhythms. The hero Faran Maka Bote, the first sorko, controls both magic and the words that make magic possible. According to the Songhay, magic is neither good nor evil. Magic is power, and only power, and it is the words that enable this power.

There are three types of Songhay magicians: sorko, sohanci and zima. The sorko praises the spirits, but he is also an expert in witch defence, and healing with herbs. They all stem from Faran Maka Bote in a patrilinear line. The sohanci give protection to the military, and can prevent accidents. The zima is the ritual priest who directs and leads the rites when the spirits possess the medium, when the border between the social and the spiritual world is dissolved.

To be an apprentice magician entails learning spells. To learn to hear those spells involves more than understanding words in a literal sense. It resembles the way a musician learns to listen for sounds. The sound of the spells opens up for different worlds to meet. This meeting of the worlds is achieved most readily on Thursday nights, since this is the night when the first heaven comes close to the earth. The world, as perceived by seers among the Songhay, consists of seven heavens and seven hells. God lives in the upper heaven. He communicates with the human beings through his messenger Ndebbi who lives in the sixth heaven. Heavens number two to five are inhabited by the ancestors, and the first heaven is the home of the six spirit families. These families rule earthly matters such as wind, rain, illnesses and power. The role of the sounds, words and music, is to dissolve the border between the earth and the first heaven, to invite the spirits into human bodies and to connect the comprehensible with the intangible. The Songhay regard words as a form of energy, a philosophy that they share with many other peoples in the world:

*) Wolof is the largest ethnic group in Senegal, common even in Gambia.

Cultures which do not reduce words to space but know them only as aural-oral phenomena, in actuality or in the imagination, naturally regard words as more powerful than do literate cultures. Words are powerful. Being powered projections, spoken words themselves have an aura of power. Words in the aural-oral culture are inseparable from action for they are always sound. In oral-aural cultures it is thus eminently credible that words can be used to achieve an effect such as weapons or tools can achieve. Saying evil things of another is thought to bring him direct physical harm. This attitude toward words in more or less illiterate societies is an anthropological commonplace, but the connection of the attitude with the nature of sound and the absence of writing has not until recently begun to grow clear. (Ong, cited in Stoller, 1989, p. 116)

In our heritage from Plato, the search for the objective truth is well rooted in most Western research traditions, anthropological research included. Researchers are also trapped by the episteme that influences the discourse, the written product of their work. Consequently anthropological research has presented data from a Freudian perspective, a cognitive perspective or other recognised perspectives. Stoller (1989) argues that scientific methods and discourses may obscure more than illuminate questions of life and experience.

The arts and the aesthetic have since the age of Plato been the counterpoint to science, and this laid the foundation for a tradition of writing “neutral” scientific texts in the human sciences. In Stoller’s theory, the arts and science need to complement each other, and anthropologists need to confront language in its full context, not just as a neutral mechanism for representation. Thus, his reconstruction of ethnography is not about finding one theory, but creating a humanistic anthropology, with meaningful descriptions of human beings. This encompasses more than ethnographic writing. It includes an epistemological shift towards the Other, and a kind of ethnographic realism. “We need to describe others as people and give them a voice in our discourse. We need to write ethnographies as multilayered texts that communicate to a number of audiences. We need to acknowledge in the text the presence of an ethnographer who engages in dialogue with his or her subjects” (Stoller, 1989, p. 140). In conclusion he acknowledges the necessity of detours:

By taking the detour leading us toward a radically empirical anthropology, however, we will reach a destination where we will no longer have to write about writing ethnography, we will simply write our tales and sense that they are right. (p. 156)

THE OBSCURING VISION

Following Stoller’s advice about taking a detour, the discussion below will lead to radical empiric work, via *Paths towards a clearing* (Jackson, 1989). It is often argued that anthropology offers a way to transcend cultural circumstances, and to enter the lives of others with empathy. If problems occur, they are often described as technical, linguistic or logistical, rather than epistemological. According to Jackson (1989) there is a discrepancy between the talk about understanding and the descriptions of the radical other. They are often described as

illiterate, oppressed, underfed, without freedom, lacking a rational economy and resources. Their voices are unheard to the extent that it might seem that human status is reserved for those who have power and wealth.

Jackson (1989) focuses on what unites the researcher with the informant, the participatory part of the field work and the reflexive dimension of theory building. He reminds us of the dialectic dimension between the knowledge that the researcher builds about the other, and the knowledge that the informant constructs about the researcher. His ultimate goal is to open up for a dialogue between different cultures, and a type of understanding that transcends both intellectual conventions and political ideologies.

The method advocated is radical empiricism, a philosophy of the experience of objects and actions based on participation. The emphasis is on interaction. We are all the result of our interaction with others in a world of mixed and changing interests and situations. Consequently we and the Other are constantly changeable. Radical empiricism is a reaction to traditional empiricism that draws a sharp line between the observer and the observed, the method and the object. The validity of this approach is questioned by radical empiricism, where it is the interaction between the observer and the observed that is crucial to the result. Jackson (1989) compares anthropology to quantum physics, where the laws of nature are not only about the elementary particles, but also reflect our knowledge about them. It is a knowledge that changes, as the research methods develop and change.

In anthropology it is not objects that are studied, but human beings. Therefore the observation is not one-sided, but reciprocal and simultaneous, which makes it difficult to talk about objectivity. Jackson (1989) suggests that objectivity is used as a magical mantra, in order to cope with problems in the research procedure that stem from differences in for example age, language, gender, temperament and theoretical models. The structured models that result from this urge to employ an objective method will not reflect the social reality, but rather a defence against unstructured experiences of the social domain.

Within radical empiricism the comparative method is not used to find objective similarities and differences between cultures, but similarities and differences in the ways we experience the world. It rests on an understanding of cognition as metaphorical, and the insight that it is the choice of metaphors that decides the extent of our understanding. Radical empiricism tries to grasp how ideas and words are intertwined with the world we inhabit, how they are grounded in everyday activities and experiences of everyday life. This is relevant for the study of the other as well as ourselves.

The separation of subject and object within traditional empiricism is a result of the dominating sense within science, that of vision. Jackson (1989) points to the epistemological vocabulary that is used to describe knowledge, with vision or optics as the conceptual metaphor: idea, reflect, speculate, inspect, insight, view and perspective. This visualism leads

to the difference between the one who observes and the one who is observed. It has an alienating effect, where one of the parties becomes subject to the other's observation. This basic view may have devastating effects on research. Jackson (1989) exemplifies this point with Stoller's failure in Niger, when he tried to get an overview of language habits by making a questionnaire. His failure serves as a good example of why knowledge cannot be collected without reference to the context of the informants. The questions of the researcher were simply regarded as completely meaningless. Any answer would do. What was the matter?

Many cultures prioritise other senses than vision as the basis for social knowledge. Jackson (1989) refers to Ong's analysis of the effects of literacy and the dominance of linear perspectives. He exemplifies this with how the Western habit of illustrating kinship with lines is not always applicable. A brother or a sister in West Africa might be something completely different than linear descendants of the same mother or father. Therefore it is serious business when Jali Alagi Mbye from Gambia sings about me, his sister. Of equal seriousness is the claim that his wife has on me to support her while her husband is travelling and I am living in their compound. After all, I am his sister, almost like a brother, and someone has to provide for her.

To Jackson one of the most important points in his claim for radical empiricism is that the world must be understood through physical participation and through other senses than vision.

Rather than pretend there is no difference between science and art or argue that one can be epistemologically privileged over the other, we have to learn to play them both off against the other. This is what Bateson means by epistemological openness and what Rorty means when he advocates an "ironic attitude towards truth" – using literature as a dialectical foil for science and vice versa, but not losing sight of their mutual dependency. (Jackson, 1989, p. 187)

INSTEAD OF MAPS

My detour will also take in *A passage to anthropology*, by the Danish anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup (1995). Normally, it is the researcher's privilege to study the other, but Hastrup (1995) found herself exposed to the role of the informant, an experience so transformative that it led to a personal crisis. She had to withdraw as researcher, and write herself back from this frustrating starting point, that grand theories and dogmas that used to help as fixed coordinates for orientation in the world of academia, have been replaced by flexible frames of reference. Maps are no longer of any use; instead there is a great need of travel plans. While maps indicate where you are, travel plans indicate direction and important places on the road, built on experiences of moving around. Hastrup (1995) has used each road stop in her laborious travel back to the researcher's position as a place for contemplation and reflection. Each of these stops manifests itself in chapters that are designed as places for contemplation and reflection, as expressed in their titles: 'Starting in time'; 'The limitation of words'; 'The confirmation of worlds'; 'The creation of coherence'; 'Motivated bodies'; 'Unarticulated

thoughts'; 'Symbolic violence and the loss of self'; 'The emic voice and responsibility' and 'The question of evidence'.

At the first stop, the theme is the relationship between observation and theory, illustrated by thinking about time and translation. She introduces two anthropological tempora: prophetic and ethnographic 'now'. The prophet talks about a new world, but still belongs to the old one. His voice is not always heard, as it seems incomprehensible, but when the new world has appeared, his words seem trivial. A typical good time for prophets is when there are signs of discontinuity, and no categories to describe the situation.

Just like a prophet, the anthropologist mediates between different worlds, separated by place more than time. The perception of a new world is closely related to the expansion of language. A new world develops as it is conceptualised, in anthropological research as in prophecies. The other world is discovered and defined simultaneously; observation and theory are difficult to separate.

The mutual nature of anthropological work places the researcher in an "in-between" that forces her to talk in the ethnographic now. Despite claims of shared authorship it is still the researcher that presents the other. Like the prophet, anthropologists suggest another language, another place, another time. The prophetic condition involves the unsaid being said, and language being expanded on both sides of the conversation. According to Hastrup (1995) the term "informant" needs to be abandoned, since the distance is broken in the newly discovered world between us and them. Herein lies the potential of anthropology.

At the second stop, we learn about the limitations and necessities of language. Words create an illusion of facts, an illusion that is maintained by our own cultures. Behind these illusions lies a multiplicity of values, like a moral universe that cannot be read, but has to be experienced. Worlds are lived, not written. It is the anthropologists' duty to re-create these worlds in a language that makes it possible for the silent worlds to speak (Hastrup, 1995).

The third stop is used to reflect on how we manifest our worlds. The hypothetical dimension has many names, culture and society being two of the most common. Even if you employ a new name, the hypothetical aspect remains. The object of investigation in anthropological research is a kind of communality that is more than the sum of the individuals. To search for the truth on this hypothetical, collective level is complicated from an epistemological point of view. The methodological aspect is even more complicated, since the researcher herself belongs to the class of objects that is studied. But, in spite of the contrast between the manifested and the hypothetical, there is an ontological continuity between the two. It is this continuity that forms the heart of anthropology, in subjectivity, relativity and reflexivity. It is not an obstacle, but rather the only possible point of departure. The ethnographer sums up this continuity in the field, where she shares the experience with the Other

by no longer being herself. Like language itself, anthropology is grounded in a world of shifting experiences that permanently challenge contemporary vocabulary.

At the fourth stop, the one about meaning, we are reminded of Danish author H. C. Andersen's tale about the mother who tries to save her child from death (*Historien om en Moder*, first published in 1847). The child is shivering from fever, outside the winter wind whines, there is a knock on the door, and the mother invites the old man in. When she has heated beer for him, she falls asleep, and the old man, Death, disappears with the child in his arms.

Devastated, the mother leaves home; she has to find Death, in order to get her child back. On her laborious road she reaches a lake that is covered with ice. However, the ice is not strong enough to support her, and not open enough to permit her to cross the lake. "What shall I do", she asks the lake. "Give me your eyes, and I will help you", the lake answers. And the mother, willing to make any sacrifice for her child, cries until her eyes fall into the water. In gratitude she is carried over to the other side, only to discover that without her eyes she cannot navigate in the world or her own. She has to offer her long, beautiful hair to a gardener to get help again. In the end, she meets Death, who is still holding her child. He is very surprised to see the mother on the other side of the lake, and now returns her eyes, washed by the lake to see even more sharply how many destinies there are. She realises that, no matter how much she loves her child, she could not have foreseen what destiny had prepared. She becomes resigned and allows Death to carry the child to the unknown country.

In Hastrup's version the mother symbolises anthropology which seems to have lost its innocent child: the empirical object. It has been stolen by Death, postmodernism, which carried it into the fragmentised world. But Hastrup wants to comfort the mother, and encourage her to see, now more clearly than ever, that there are no life boats, not even made by objectivity. The ocean that both separates us and connects us can be defeated by using anthropological imagination. But this requires us to free ourselves from some myths, for example that reason has to be freed from fantasy, that only the intellect can discover the truth, that the body is separated from the intellect and rationalism from intuition.

THE HIDDEN DANCE

Stop number five is about bodies. The ethnographical now is inhabited by bodies that carry meaning, within themselves. The reason for action is not only to be found in the intellect, since the practical mastering of the world includes corporal experiences. Hastrup expresses herself in metaphors: motivation informs "the hidden dance" and transforms energy into action. This expands the actor's presence and gives her strength. This is what constitutes creativity, a sort of revelatory creativity. Here, my thoughts go back to that night in Abidjan, the night where my hidden dance became visible.

At the sixth stop, the one about unarticulated thoughts, equality is the theme. According to Hastrup, people around the world have the same reason to believe that their world view is the correct one. But this does not have to result in relativism. There is, she argues, a kind of relative truth, and transcultural insight can provide a basis for assessment, a basis that is denied by both blind ethnocentrism and relativism.

The ethics of the unarticulated implies that anthropology has to try to rearticulate the strong values that have been silenced by social circumstances or historical positions, but are still an integrated part of local culture and motivation.

The seventh stop, the one about losing the self, is the central stop of the journey. Here Hastrup tells a story about an anthropologist that was given the leading role in a drama, a play where another woman played her life. The anthropologist was Hastrup herself, the play *Talabot* was directed by Eugenio Barba. This turned out to be a shattering experience of the violence that is a part of anthropological work. To reach the unarticulated, the ethnographer has to somehow force the words to be said. It was the director Barba's presence in her life that made him the author of her biography. But when the play was performed – what remained? When those that had constructed her identity left her and went on to other venues – what remained? Hastrup withdrew as a researcher, unable to look for new informants.

Time has healed the wounds at the eighth stop. There are no shortcuts, the emic voice has to be heard, and that involves a responsibility, both towards the informant and science. The task of the researcher is to give an alternative to the emic declaration of culture, to provide heterotopy (many places) and deterritorialize culture. The researcher is able to create “the whole” by constructing a place of shared social experience, which also serves as the prerequisite for general anthropological knowledge to survive.

At stop number nine it is time for proofs, for evidence that the place is right. But, argues Hastrup, this claim is not relevant. While researchers in the natural sciences are expected to foresee and control the behaviour of things, anticipation and control is not necessarily what is needed from social science. The pragmatic picture she paints of the successful researcher in the social sciences is not the one who “understood it correctly” but the one who “made it new”.

MAPPING THE GAP

As stated in the introduction to this text, one of the burning issues in current music education involves re-visiting the underlying values that have shaped and continuously shape what happens in classrooms, higher music education and in the research field. Hastrup (1995) states that there is “a passage to anthropology” that can be made when it is understood that anthropology is not an exclusive territory for knowledge, but rather an approach to understanding the world. In an analogy with her argumentation I propose that there is a “passage to music

education". This passage is not yet fully open, but it has the key in the door, waiting to be unlocked.

One way of unlocking that door might be to make active use of what Dyndahl (2008) describes as deconstructive music education research:

Deconstructive music education research will not be able to operate with empirical experience as giving a more privileged access to reality and truth than theory. Neither is, in fact, available to us except through signs. Ultimately it will confront the capacity for linguistic presentation with a demand for the development of a theoretical vocabulary which is capable of adequately describing what is paradoxical, ambivalent about the research object. (p. 141)

Another door-opener might be provided by revisiting the idea of cultural diversity in music education. Todd (2008) questions the idea of common ground in educational settings, and calls for a recognition of differences. According to her there is a dimension of violence present in all teaching. For example, the one who thinks that he or she has understood the Other might simply just have forced the Other into the teacher's world view (see Sæther, 2010).

The important issue of relationship between the teacher/learner or researcher/researched can be understood as two different approaches: learning about and learning from. The "learning about" approach entails that (1) we think that we can understand the Other, (2) we think that by acting correctly we can free ourselves from moral and political demand and (3) by playing down the differences within the Other, we meet the Other with a lack of respect. Todd (2008) suggests that the "learning from" approach has to be implemented, for differences to be respected. This approach offers more of a challenge for educators and researchers since it entails 1/ we cannot understand the Other, 2/ we cannot assimilate, 3/ the process of learning needs communication between the teacher and the learner before it can start and, the most demanding point, 4/ there is a risk of losing one's own epistemological security when meeting the Other.

In line with this thought runs the disturbing fact that through history, ethnography and ethnomusicology have been part of the discourse on colonialism. We, the researchers, have given names to people, told them who they are, what their music is like and what they can become (Clair, 2003). No matter what intentions the ethnomusicologist has, there is an evident risk of her finding herself suspended in a Geertzian sense in webs of meaning, spun by herself (see Geertz, 1973, p. 5).

The same point goes for the educator. Perhaps there is a possibility for music, music education and music education research to override the dichotomy of "us" and "them", one of the tensions in current music education (Sæther, 2006). But this does not come as a natural consequence of the power of music. On the contrary, it asks of the involved subjects to

understand the meaning of difference, how difference signifies, and what role it plays in the politics of representation. Who can play whose music? Who can teach what music? Who can be researched by whom? To be able to act in a multiconceptual culture McLaren states that: “We need to become familiar with multiple sets of referential codes from other languages, histories and cultures. In this way we can become border educators as well as border intellectuals. Ultimately we need to reinvent ourselves” (1998, p. 261).

Reinvent ourselves? By radical empiricism, humble fieldwork and multisensory analysis? Or by purely theoretical and philosophical deconstruction? Or, as this chapter suggests, just by bridging the gap.

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KAPITEL 3

Ideologi och musik i *Läroplan för grundskolan, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet 2011*

LIA LONNERT

ENGLISH ABSTRACT

In this chapter, the author analyses a new Swedish curriculum for schools that was presented in 2011 and came into effect the same year. Basically the focus in the subject of music is on playing music, creating music, and listening to music. But key citations within the subject of music show a return to some ideas from the beginning of the 20th century regarding nationalism, a Nordic ethnocentric worldview and a tie to Christianity in a way that was abandoned in curricula at the end of the 20th century. Also a concept of a collective *cultural heritage* is presented in the subject of music. But since a collective cultural heritage is very difficult to define without making a canon it is required that the cultural heritage is defined locally between teachers and students. Music is also presented as a tool to the understanding of other cultures. The author presupposes that there is an ideological connection between education and the state's formation of the citizen, and that the concepts used in the curricula also are formed by ideology, the political and economical reality, as well as by contemporary debates. The focus in the chapter is on ideological issues such as the connection to the concept of the nation-state, the concept of culture, the canon of music, and who the Other is. Quotations from the curriculum are compared not only with other quotations but also with legal documents such as the Education Act and other laws. Comparisons are also made with older curricula. By comparing different quotations and different kinds of documents, it is indicated that there are contradictions within the curriculum from 2011 that counteract its official purpose.

2011 utkom *Läroplan för grundskolan, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet 2011*, Lgr 11, vilken trädde i kraft 1 juli 2011. Läroplanen är uppdelad i tre delar. De två första delarna är gemensamma för alla ämnen och beskriver skolans värdegrund och uppdrag samt utbildningens övergripande mål och riktlinjer. Den tredje delen är kursplaner för de olika ämnena.

Kursplanerna består av *syfte, centralt innehåll* samt *kunskapskrav*. Till kursplansdelen finns kommentarmaterial för de olika ämnena publicerat separat.

IDEOLOGI I LÄROPLANER

En läroplan är ett styrdokument som är bärare av idéer för utbildning. Dessa idéer skall ligga till grund för formandet av medborgare gällande värden, etik, estetik, kommunikation och annat som anses som grundläggande. I detta fall kan läroplanen ses som bärare av ideologi i den ursprungliga betydelsen (Bauman, 1999). Ideologin, vetenskapen om idéerna, är en del av upplysningstidens projekt och syftade till att endast de rätta idéerna, de önskvärda idéerna, skulle forma människans tankar. En läroplan är ett dokument där formandet av de önskvärda och de rätta idéerna sedda ur ett samhällsperspektiv skall forma den rätta och önskvärda medborgaren.

Att skriva en enhetlig läroplan är en närmast omöjlig uppgift. Den har många författare men den skall vara ett enhetligt dokument. Den skall följa riktlinjer för den ideologiska grund som den skall vara en del i. Den skall följa skollagen. Den är skriven i en tradition av läroplansdokument, som i många delar liknar varandra. Den skall användas praktiskt av lärare och elever i det dagliga arbetet. Eftersom läroplanen kan betraktas som ett ideologiskt dokument, och som tidsdokument, är det dock intressant att se vad de begrepp som den innehåller kan ha för innebörder. Begrepp börjar användas under en period, blir moderna, och är en del av den samtida debatten. Begreppens innehåll kan därför inte enbart reduceras till sin lexikala betydelse utan måste ses i ett samtidsperspektiv, vilka diskussioner som förs kring dessa begrepp, vilken betydelse de har i den samtida debatten och varför de är aktuella. I läroplanen, och i kommentarmaterialet, betonas att läroplanen som dokument skall ses som en helhet. Detta bör då även gälla begreppsanvändningen.

Läroplanen kan i detta kapitel betraktas som det som Lundgren (1981) beskriver som läroplanens första nivå. Denna nivå beaktar både det historiska perspektivet på läroplaner och läroplanens relation till den politiska och ekonomiska omvärlden. Utbildning kan betraktas som en del av statsapparaten och som en del i konstituerandet av staten. Läroplanen blir i detta sammanhang en del i styrandet av individen i ett samhällsperspektiv.

MUSIKÄMNET I LGR 11

Centralt för musikämnet i Lgr 11 är att eleven skall skapa musik, lyssna till musik och musicera. En skillnad från tidigare kursplan, Lpo 94, är att musikämnet nu anses ha ett eget värde som konstnärlig uttrycksform och kommunikationsform och inte skall betraktas som hjälpämne till andra ämnen (Skolverket, 1994; Skolverket, 2011b). Innehållet i ämnet musik i Lgr 11 visar framförallt på tre inriktningar: musik som upplevelse, musik som estetisk uttrycksform och musik som kommunikation. I Lgr 11:s formulering av musikämnets syfte betonas starkt att det är i samarbete med andra, och som kommunikationsmedel, som musiken

har en viktig funktion (Skolverket, 2011d). Det *centrala innehållet* i kursplansdelen beskrivs under rubrikerna *Musicerande och musikskapande*, *Musikens verktyg* och *Musikens sammanhang och funktioner*. Indelningen är även gjord i tre delar gällande årskurs 1-3, årskurs 4-6 samt årskurs 7-9.

Detta kapitel är byggt kring tre citat som i läroplanen skall visa på en progression. De tre citaten är hämtade från årskurs 1-3, årskurs 4-6 och årskurs 7-9 och återfinns i kursplanedelen i Lgr 11 under rubriken *Musikens sammanhang och funktioner*. I nyckelcitatet, som inleder de tre följande avsnitten, visas på ett relativt specificerat innehåll som utvecklas under årskurserna. I relation till dessa nyckelcitats görs jämförelser med andra ämnen gällande vissa centrala begrepp och jämförelser med äldre läroplaner. Därefter sätts fokus på centrala begrepp i dessa citat gällande relationen till nationalstaten, begreppet kulturer, förhållandet till traditionen och kanonbegreppet, samt vem den Andre är.

REFLEKTIONER KRING ETT NYCKELCITAT UR LGR 11, ÅRSKURS 1-3

Nyckelcitatet i årskurs 1-3 anknyter till elevens närmiljö. I beskrivningen av musik i läroplanen är detta det enda avsnittet där det finns ett specificerat innehåll i undervisningen.

Musik som knyter an till elevens vardagliga och högtidliga sammanhang, däribland nationalsången och några av de vanligaste psalmerna, samt inblickar i svensk och nordisk barnvisetradition. (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 101)

Frågan uppkommer om de exempel som ges kan symbolisera elevens vardagliga eller högtidliga sammanhang, eller både och. Båda dessa begrepp, vardaglig och högtidlig, kan kopplas till skolans värld. Det finns tillfällen när skolan kan ses som vardaglig under läsåret. Men det finns även tillfällen där skolans miljö kan ses som högtidlig, till exempel under terminsavslutningar, läsårsavslutningar, luciafirande, nationaldagsfirande och många fler tillfällen. Skall elevens vardagliga och högtidliga sammanhang utanför skolmiljön beaktas kan det vara svårt att finna en gemensam grund för eleverna.

Nationalsången kan ses som en symbol för landet Sverige även om den inte officiellt är antagen som Sveriges nationalsång (Du gamla, du fria, u å). Idén med nationalsång är att den skall vara enande för nationen och vara en symbol för nationen. Den har alltså en inåtriktad enande funktion och en utåtriktad symbolisk funktion. Den inåtriktade kan ses som relaterad till det obligatoriska inlärandet i skolan och som allsång (Nationalsång, u å). Nationalsånger är frekvent använda vid sportevenemang och kan här i sin utåtriktade funktion ses som symboler för nationen. Det symboliska värdet av nationers idrottsliga kamp med varandra kan även beaktas i detta.

Den andra punkten är att *de vanligaste psalmerna* är en del av det obligatoriska innehållet. I vissa andra ämnen: Geografi, Historia, Religionskunskap och Samhällskunskap återfinns formuleringen ”[n]ågra berättelser ur Bibeln och deras innebörd samt några av de

vanligaste psalmerna” (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 161; s. 174; s. 188; s. 201) under rubriken *Att leva i världen* som del i det centrala innehållet i årskurs 1-3. Dessa fyra ämnen är sammanlagda under rubriken SO, samhällsorienterade ämnen under årskurs 1-3 för att sedan behandlas som separata ämnen från och med årskurs 4.

Detta kan relateras till att Lgr 11 fastslår att ”[u]ndervisningen i skolan ska vara icke-konfessionell” (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 7; formuleringen återfinns även i Skolverket, 1994, s. 3). Kyrkan är skild från staten sedan den 1 januari 2000 (Ahrén & Samuelsson, u.å.). Den 1 augusti 2010 trädde den nya skollagen i kraft genom Lag (2010-801) om införande av Skollagen (2010-800). I den nya skollagen skrivs i första kapitlet 6 § att ”[u]tbildningen vid en skolenhet eller förskoleenhet med offentlig huvudman ska vara icke-konfessionell” vilket gäller även för undervisning i fristående skolor (SFS 2010-800, 1 kap, 7§). Denna skärpning av skollagen gällande en icke-konfessionell undervisning förtydligas i skolverkets råd om tolkning av skollagen som juridiskt dokument. Skolverket förespråkar att inga konfessionella inslag, som bön, välsignelse eller trosbekännelse, skall ingå i till exempel skolavslutningar. Däremot kan psalmen ”Den blomstertid nu kommer” ingå eftersom den utgör ett traditionellt inslag och inte ett konfessionellt inslag på skolavslutningar (Skolverket 2012a; Skolverket 2012b). Skolverket blir här uttolkare av vad som är tradition till skillnad från vad som är religion.

Läroplanen föreskriver även att skolan skall förmedla grundläggande värden: ”I överensstämmelse med den etik som förvaltats av kristen tradition och västerländsk humanism sker detta genom individens fostran till rättskänsla, generositet, tolerans och ansvarstagande” (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 7; Skolverket, 1994, s. 3). Detta kan dock inte med självklarhet översättas till att behandla undervisningsinnehåll såsom berättelser ur Bibeln eller psalmer. Troligare är att skall detta undervisningsinnehåll kopplas till en utsaga som ”[m]edvetenhet om det egna och delaktighet i det gemensamma kulturarvet ger en trygg identitet som är viktig att utveckla tillsammans med förmågan att förstå och leva sig in i andras villkor och värderingar” (Skolverket 2011d, s. 7; återfinns med annorlunda kommatering i Skolverket, 1994, s. 4). Den Svenska kyrkans särställning som statskyrka kan ses som en del av kulturarvet. Men även andra i läroplanen icke-specificerade uttryck ingår i kulturarvet och kristendomen ges här en särställning inte bara inom musikämnet. Här uppkommer en problematik: att vara medveten om den Svenska kyrkans roll i kulturarvet är inte densamma som att vara delaktig i Svenska kyrkan som gemensamt kulturarv. Betonas delaktigheten i kulturarvet betyder det att kunskapen om psalmer som undervisningsinnehåll i ämnena musik, samhällskunskap, historia, geografi och religionskunskap uttrycker en konfession. Det här beskrivna kulturarvet kan ses som att det vilar på en konfessionell grund och därigenom som lagstridigt emot skollagen.

Kanske kan det betraktas som oproblematiskt med psalmer. De psalmer som åsyftas i Lgr 11 är troligtvis sommarpsalmer som används vid skolavslutningar och julpsalmer som

används vid julavslutningar eller liknande. Men vid dessa tillfällen används även annan musik som är traditionell vilket inte regleras i styrdokument. Vare sig man ser skolans avslutningar och julfirande som vardagliga eller högtidliga sammanhang framkommer det att skolan här själv upprätthåller detta sammanhang. Skapandet av sammanhanget där psalmerna ingår görs av skolan själv i skolmiljö. Det är möjligt att det bland de vanligaste psalmerna även kan ingå andra vanliga men mer konfessionella psalmer som inte ingår i elevernas vardagliga och högtidliga sammanhang utanför skolan. Skolverket har endast ett förslag på psalm som är traditionell och inte konfessionell vilket framkommer som ett problem. Innebär det att endast psalmen "Den blomstertid nu kommer" kan betraktas främst som traditionell och inte konfessionell? Eller innebär det att när en konfessionell text sjungs så betraktas innehållet annorlunda än om en text läses?

Idén med *inblickar i svensk och nordisk barnvisetradition* kan ses som att den utgår från en bärande idé om att barnets värld skall utvecklas från kunskap om närområdet mot en vidare kunskap om världen. Denna idé om utveckling kan relateras till barnets vardag idag och kanske är den inte relevant på samma sätt som det möjligtvis har varit. Barn, vare sig de är födda i Sverige av föräldrar födda i Sverige, födda i Sverige av invandrade föräldrar, invandrade barn och så vidare, har ofta rest mycket. Det är inte ovanligt att de gjort många och relativt långa resor, vilket gör att den kunskap de har om världen genom egen erfarenhet är relativt stor även om de inte har släkt i andra länder. Elevernas kunskaper om musik är heller inte begränsade till svensk och nordisk tradition, och inte heller till texter på svenska eller nordiska språk eller till enbart barnvisetradition. Begreppet tradition kan även problematiseras gällande vilket tidsperspektiv det behandlar, som när den punkt infaller när en barnvisa tillhör en barnvisetradition. Kan det till exempel ses som kontextuellt betingat, att utlärandet i skolmiljö skapar traditionen, eller kan det ses som en tidsmässig aspekt, som när visan har lärts ut i minst två generationer? Vad ingår i begreppet barnvisa? Är det en sång som är skriven för barn eller en sång som har funktionen av barnvisa även om dess ursprung är ett annat? Frågan uppkommer också om en tradition behöver regleras i ett styrdokument, och vad begreppet tradition då kommer att innefatta. Ligger traditionen i styrdokumentets traderande av innehåll från läroplan till läroplan, eller i utövandet som regleras av styrdokumentet? I skrivningen i läroplanen framkommer inte vilka språk som barnvisorna skall sjungas på, det kan tolkas både som att det kan vara sånger som är översatta till svenska och sånger som sjungs på nordiska språk. Inblickar i nordisk barnvisetradition kan även tolkas som de traditioner som finns i de nordiska länderna men som inte är representerade i svensk tradition eller finns översatta till svenska.

Det specificerade innehållet bestående av nationalsång, psalmer, svensk och nordisk barnvisetradition kan återknytas till idén om stamsånger som uppkom under 1900-talets början och ingick i läroplanerna mellan åren 1943-1968 (Engström, 1979). De ursprungliga stamsångerna var 20 och bestod av svenska folkvisor, Sveriges nationalsång och andra

fosterländska sånger, nordiska nationalsånger, julsånger och sommar- och vandringssånger. I Läroplan för grundskolan 1969 ersattes stamsångerna av ett repertoarförslag, en förteckning på ca 140 sånger (Engström, 1979). Flera av de tidigare stamsångerna ingick i repertoaren, bland annat psalmer och nordiska nationalsånger. Dessa psalmer, liksom de nordiska nationalsångerna, kan betraktas som barnvisetradition eftersom de har ingått i undervisningen i skolan under en stor del av 1900-talet. Förutom de nordiska nationalsångerna ingick även andra nordiska sånger i stamsångsrepertoaren. Inslaget av nordiska sånger kan ses som uttryck för nordismen eller skandinavismen, men även för musik som hjälpämne för språkstudier, förutom att det kan finnas andra orsaker till att de ingår. Exempel på denna typ av repertoar kan vara att i *Weiners sångbok för skolan* utgiven 1950 finns Norges och Danmarks nationalsånger bland stamsångerna, samt nio sånger på nordiska språk som inte ingår i stamsångsrepertoaren (Weiner & Norrman, 1950). Sångboken utgavs i många upplagor mellan 1949 och 1963. I den repertoarförteckning som finns i Lgr 69 ingår nordiska nationalsånger och sånger på nordiska språk (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969). I Lgr 80 nämns inte Norden specifikt i detta sammanhang (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980).

Frågan som uppkommer är då vad den *svenska traditionen* består av. Den kommer att delvis vara generationsbunden, som till exempel sånger som man själv sjöng i skolan. Men den kan även bestå av sånger som man sjungit med sina barn och barnbarn, eller sånger man sjungit med sina föräldrar och far/morföräldrar eller andra ur dessa generationer. Denna tradition kan för den enskilde bestå av fem generationers lärande i skolmiljö. Men det går även att betrakta barnets vardagliga och högtidliga miljö som den musik som det möter utanför skolmiljön.

Innehållet beskrivet ovan i årskurs 1-3 kan relateras till en fördjupning som sker i årskurs 4-6:

Ljudets och musikens fysiska, tanke- och känslomässiga påverkan för människan i olika sammanhang. Hur musik används för påverkan och rekreation och i olika rituella sammanhang. (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 102)

Den första meningen i citatet visar på en medvetenhet om musikens påverkan, den andra meningen visar på förståelse för den instrumentella användningen av musikens påverkan. I *Kommentarmaterial till kursplanen i musik* förtydligas:

Eleverna ska nu få möta hur musik används för påverkan och rekreation i mer specifika sammanhang, till exempel vid bröllop, begravningar eller idrottsevenemang. (Skolverket, 2011b, s. 16)

Detta kan relateras till det ovan citerade utdraget om musik från årskurs 1-3 som knyter an till elevens vardagliga och högtidliga sammanhang. Här specificeras att musik används i riter, vilket relateras till kyrkans riter i form av bröllop och begravningar där musiken som ingår

ofta är psalmer vilket anknyter till undervisningsinnehållet i årskurs 1-3. En anknytning visas även genom exemplet idrottsevenemang där nationalsånger är ett ofta förekommande inslag. Det tycks som om eleverna i årskurs 4-6 skall ges verktyg för att kunna analysera undervisningsinnehållet i årskurs 1-3. Världen utanför filtrerad genom skolan skall granskas men skolans egna innehåll som bärare av påverkan tycks inte granskas. Ett exempel kan vara att om psalmen ”Den blomstertid nu kommer” är en del av elevens vardagliga och högtidliga sammanhang så gäller detta främst i skolans regi eftersom den traditionellt används på skolavslutningar.

Musikämnet kan i Lgr 11, i årskurs 1-3, ses som en instrumentell bärare av ideologisk grund genom det specificerade innehållet. I musikämnet skall barnen genom nationalsången tillägna sig symbolen för den enande nationen, genom psalmer tillägna sig erfarenhet av den kristna traditionen, och genom den svenska och nordiska barnvisetraditionen kunskaper om närområdet. Idén med detta är troligtvis att ge dem en stabil kunskap om det närliggande för att de senare skall kunna tillägna sig kunskap om det främmande. Men det är även ett medvetet skapande av vad denna kunskap om det närliggande, och vad kunskap om det främmande, består av. Möjligtvis kan musikämnet här stödja andra ämnen som religionskunskap eller svenska, i vilket det ingår kännedom om andra nordiska språk, vilket tydligare uttrycks i äldre läroplaner. Men i Lgr 11 framhävs att musikämnet inte skall vara ett stödämne för andra ämnen utan ha ett egenvärde.

REFLEKTIONER KRING ETT NYCKELCITAT UR LGR 11, ÅRSKURS 4-6

I nyckelcitatet till musiken till årskurs 4-6 vidgas världen till att omfatta mer än närområdet, och en uppdelning av musik i tre delar görs:

Konstmusik, folkmusik och populärmusik från olika kulturer och deras musikaliska karaktärsdrag. (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 102)

Nationalencyklopedin kan ses som en referenspunkt för akademisk begreppsanvändning, och kan ses som relevant för definitionen av begrepp inom ett styrdokument som en läroplan. Ling beskriver i Nationalencyklopedin att tredelningen kan ses som ”en västerländsk musiktriangel, således bestående av konstmusik-populärmusik-folkmusik” (Ling, u å, b). Denna uppdelning i tre delar kan då ses som en etablerad tradition och inte skapad för läroplanen. Ling menar även att värdehierarkin mellan de olika genrerna idag inte har samma betydelse som tidigare, då konstmusik var en kvalitetsbeteckning. I artikeln *folkmusik* visar Ling även på det problematiska att avgränsa folkmusikens stilistiska drag och på att genredefinitionerna är flytande (Ling, u å, a). Han påpekar att begreppet folkmusik ofta används för att beteckna utomeuropeisk musik, även sådan som skulle kunna betecknas som konstmusik. Även Björnberg påpekar att gränserna är flytande mellan de tre beteckningarna i sin artikel om *populärmusik* i Nationalencyklopedin (Björnberg, u å). Det är möjligt att det är begreppet

kulturer kopplat till *musikaliska karaktärsdrag* som skall definieras i denna tredelning där det finns en oerhörd bredd och otydliga gränsdragningar. Begreppet *musikaliska karaktärsdrag* är inte heller ett enkelt definierat begrepp.

Begreppet *kulturer* blir här centralt i förhållande till indelningen. Om man ser tredelningen som en del i en västerländsk kulturpraxis så byggs perspektivet med att först bygga en närhet med det svenska och nordiska i årskurs 1-3 och därefter en europeiskt centrerad världsbild i årskurs 4-6. Användandet av begreppet kulturer i anknytning till en västerländsk musiksytyn pekar på en etnocentrisk världsbild. I *Kommentarmaterial till kursplanen i musik* visas att begreppet kulturer kan ha ett samband med skrivningen i ett annat stycke gällande användningen av musik i rituella sammanhang (Skolverket, 2011b, s. 17). Det påpekas att musiken som används i rituella sammanhang är känd för många inom samma kultur. De specificerade exemplen gällande rituell musik är musik vid bröllop, begravningar och idrotts- evenemang. Här visas på två exempel som har religiös anknytning och ett som är kopplat till stats- eller landsindelningen.

Den kortfattade formuleringen i läroplanen gör att tolkningen av vad begreppen betyder är svår. Betraktar man till exempel utomeuropeisk konstmusik som konstmusik eller innefattas endast den västerländska konstmusiktraditionen? Vad innefattar folkmusikbegreppet? Vilken kulturell bredd betraktas i beteckningen populärmusik? Är det till exempel möjligt att tänka sig konstmusik utan ett historiskt perspektiv i detta sammanhang? Det är knappast troligt att musikämnet endast skall behandla samtida musik även om samtida musik nämns specifikt i kommentarmaterialet som musik som elever inte kommer lätt i kontakt med från media (Skolverket, 2011b, s. 10). Tredelningen gör det även svårt att genreindela musik som inte med lätthet kan sorteras in under rubrikerna konstmusik, folkmusik och populärmusik.

I olika ämnen i läroplanen används begreppet kulturer på olika sätt. I de naturorienterande ämnena Biologi, Fysik och Kemi ingår i årskurs 1-3: ”Berättelser om äldre tiders naturvetenskap och om olika kulturers strävan att förstå och förklara fenomen i naturen” (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 113; s. 129; s. 146). I årskurs 4-6: ”Olika kulturers beskrivningar och förklaringar av naturen i skönlitteratur, myter och konst och äldre tiders naturvetenskap” (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 114; s. 129; s. 147). I dessa utsagor likställs det kulturella perspektivet och det historiska perspektivet. I årskurs 1-3 handlar det om berättande om dessa perspektiv. I årskurs 4-6 pekar användningen av kulturbegreppet på konstnärliga uttryck samt ett historiskt perspektiv. Det är möjligt att kulturbegreppet som det används i de naturorienterade ämnena syftar på att det finns en icke-vetenskaplig bild av världen. Ett annat stycke i dessa ämnen pekar på ”historiska och samtida upptäckter” där begreppet upptäckter indicerar att det finns en sann naturvetenskaplig världsbild. I ämnet Matematik inleds avsnittet med: ”Matematiken har en flertusenårig historia med bidrag från många kulturer” (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 62). I kursplanen för årskurs 1-3 ingår ”[s]ymboler för tal och symbolernas utveckling i några olika kulturer genom historien” (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 63). Här pekar användningen av kultur-

begreppet i riktning mot en sann vetenskaplig bild till vilken även andra kulturer har bidragit. Exempelen från kommentarmaterialet i matematik visar på kulturbegreppet som kopplat till det som betraktas som högkulturer i historiskt perspektiv som den babyloniska kulturen och mayakulturen (Skolverket, 2011a, s. 13). Ämnet Matematik har i läroplanen generellt sett ett mer specificerat innehåll än övriga ämnen och det saknar i hög grad det kontextuella innehållet i form av historiskt och kulturellt perspektiv vilket de övriga naturorienterade ämnena innefattar. Möjligtvis är detta ett uttryck för matematiken som symbol för den sanna a priori-kunskapen.

Begreppet *olika kulturer* ingår frekvent i musikämnet, i läroplanen ingår även begreppet *kulturell mångfald*. Begreppet olika kulturer visar möjligen på ett globalt synsätt och mångfaldsbegreppet visar på vad som finns inom Sverige som land. I frågor om värdegrund och skolans uppdrag visas på att eleven skall ha förståelse för den kulturella mångfalden:

Det svenska samhällets internationalisering och den växande rörligheten över nationsgränserna ställer höga krav på människors förmåga att leva med och inse de värden som ligger i en kulturell mångfald. Medvetenhet om det egna och delaktighet i det gemensamma kulturarvet ger en trygg identitet som är viktig att utveckla tillsammans med förmågan att förstå och leva sig in i andras villkor och värderingar. Skolan är en social och kulturell mötesplats som både har en möjlighet och ett ansvar för att stärka denna förmåga hos alla som arbetar där. (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 7; återfinns även med annorlunda kommatering i Skolverket, 1994, s. 3f)

I Lgr 80 beskrivs en motsvarighet till detta mål genom att eleven genom musiken skall ”lära känna bl a invandrarländernas olika kulturtraditioner” (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980, s. 108). Begreppet länder används i Lgr 62 på motsvarande sätt som begreppet kulturer: ”Sånger och folkvisor från olika länder” (Kungl. Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962, s. 296).

I årskurs 7-9 kan följande citat även belysa hur eleven skall fördjupa sin kunskap om musikens påverkan och medvetna instrumentella påverkan samt förhållandet till begreppet kulturer:

Ljudets och musikens fysiska, tanke- och känslomässiga påverkan på människan. Musikens funktion för att markera identitet och grupptillhörighet i olika kulturer, med fokus på etnicitet och kön. (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 103)

Flera olika begrepp och delmoment ingår i den senare meningen. Dels återkommer begreppet kulturer, här med fokus på begreppen *eticitet* och *kön*. Det står att eleven skall beakta musikens funktion för att *markera identitet* med fokus på etnicitet och kön samt musikens funktion för att *markera grupptillhörighet* med fokus på etnicitet och kön. Begreppet kulturer reduceras här till att främst gälla två områden vilket reducerar möjligheterna till en vidare definition. I kommentarmaterialet läggs ett tredje område till, *religiös tillhörighet* (Skolverket, 2011b, s. 16).

REFLEKTIONER KRING ETT NYCKELCITAT UR LGR 11, ÅRSKURS 7-9

I nyckelcitatet i årskurs 7-9 fogas en historisk dimension till den tredelade uppdelningen inom musik, samt en fördjupning gällande verk och upphovspersoner:

Konstmusik, folkmusik och populärmusik från olika epoker. Framväxten av olika genrer samt betydelsefulla tonsättare, låtskrivare och musikaliska verk. (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 103)

Här, liksom i nyckelcitatet från årskurs 4-6, är det möjligt att de kortfattade formuleringarna gör att begreppsanvändningen blir problematisk. Vissa begrepp är tydligare anknutna till viss indelning av musik. Begreppet epok är starkare knutet till konstmusik än till populärmusik till exempel. Utsagan ”framväxten av olika genrer” är starkt knutet till populärmusiken. Det går dock att se begreppet epok som den tidsmässiga aspekten och genre möjligtvis som det som är benämnt som *musikaliska karaktärsdrag* i årskurs 4-6. Här nämns dock inte den karaktärs-mässiga aspekten kopplad till kulturbegreppet i det centrala innehållet. Däremot beskrivs i kunskapskraven för årskurs 6 att eleven skall kunna ”urskilja och ge exempel på musikaliska karaktärsdrag från olika genrer och kulturer” (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 103; s. 104) och i kunskapskraven för årskurs 9 att eleven skall kunna ”urskilja och jämföra musikaliska karaktärsdrag från olika genrer, epoker och kulturer” (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 105; s. 106). Kulturbegreppet följer här med till kunskapskraven i årskurs 9 utan att vara specificerat i det centrala innehållet.

Eftersom det historiska perspektivet återfinns först i årskurs 7-9 uppkommer viss problematik. Till exempel om det är möjligt att undervisa i konstmusik utan att beakta den historiska aspekten i årskurs 4-6. Tredelningen blir problematisk i samtidsperspektiv eftersom de tre delarna i viss mån flyter samman musikaliskt. Men även andra aspekter måste beaktas i detta, till exempel definition av genre genom kontext. Det är möjligt att till exempel betrakta den historiska indelningen i konstmusik och populärmusik med utgångspunkt i vem som lyssnade och spelade musiken. Det är även möjligt att betrakta musiken som bärare av vissa specifika musikaliska karaktärsdrag. Kulturbegreppet kan betraktas som geografiskt eller som etniskt. Även andra definitioner av kulturbegreppet är möjliga som till exempel sociokulturella ramar, ekonomiska ramar eller ramar gällande ålder och generation.

Ett betonat ord i utsagan är *betydelsefull* som skall visa på specifika tonsättare av konstmusikverk, och låtskrivare av populärmusikverk och folkmusikverk. Det är här intressant att både skaparen av verket och verket ses som betydelsefulla utan hierarkisk indelning. Här, liksom i fråga om läroplanen som bärare av ideologi, går det att skönja upplysningstidens projekt. Konstnären blir sedd som skapare av ett unikt verk, och nya begrepp som upphovsrätten och patentet uppkommer. Kunskapen blir i och med upplysningstiden sedd som en privat egendom och en tonsättare en skapare av ett unikt verk. Ett begrepp som verkshöjd blir relevant. Den komplexa relationen mellan verk och kompositörer kan i ett historiskt och

samtida perspektiv sättas emot upphovsrätten som idé, som när ett verk kan ses som unikt och när det slutar det vara unikt. Det är dock möjligt att skönja en praktisk tolkning av fokus på betydelsefulla tonsättare och låtskrivare eftersom skriftliga prov troligtvis är en del av bedömningsunderlaget i musikämnet och biografiskt innehåll i detta fall är relativt enkelt att bedöma.

Begreppet betydelsefull används inom ämnena Svenska och Musik för att beskriva innehåll. I Svenska åk 7-9 beskrivs gällande kunskap om litteratur att både verken och upphovspersonen är viktiga, samt att begreppet betydelsefull används: ”Några skönlitterärt betydelsefulla ungdoms- och vuxenboksförfattare från Sverige, Norden och övriga världen och deras verk, samt de historiska och kulturella sammanhang som verken har tillkommit i” (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 226). I Svenska som andraspråk årskurs 7-9 är det något annorlunda formulerat: här betonas inte att kunskap om världen utgår från det nära till att senare vidgas till det mer perifera. Inte heller formuleras att det gäller både ungdoms- och vuxenboksförfattare: ”Några skönlitterärt betydelsefulla författare och deras verk samt de historiska och kulturella sammanhang som verken har tillkommit i” (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 243). Frågan är vad de olika uttrycken betyder i sammanhanget. Är det meningen att det gemensamma kulturarvet från närhet till periferi inte skall betonas för dem som har svenska som andraspråk? Betonningen på både ungdoms- och vuxenboksförfattare och deras verk kan även den ses från tanken på utveckling från barn till vuxen, något som inte heller betonas gällande svenska som andraspråk.

I de andra ämnen i Lgr 11 som ordet *betydelsefull* används, Religion (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 187), Historia (s. 173), Samhällskunskap (s. 120) och Geografi (s. 160) görs det i betydelsen *betydelsefull för eleven*. Detta förutsätter att inom andra områden utgår vad som är betydelsefullt från eleven, men att det inom kulturella uttryck finns en utgångspunkt som är fast. Påvisandet av att det finns vissa författare, tonsättare och låtskrivare som är betydelsefulla tyder på att det är en litterär och musikalisk kanon som diskuteras. I *Kommentarmaterial till kursplanen i svenska* förtydligas att det inte är en kanon som eftersträvas, vare sig som litterär kanon eller författarkanon (Skolverket, 2011c). Det betonas att läraren tillsammans med eleverna skall avgöra urvalet. I *Kommentarmaterial till kursplanen i musik* påpekas att begreppet betydelsefull är centralt, men att vad som är betydelsefullt kan ses som kontextuellt. Det påvisas att det är problematiskt att förtydliga begreppet. Om begreppen skall ses som kontextuellt betingade, och leda till att eleverna kan bli delaktiga i samhällets kulturliv och traditioner och genom musikämnet skapa gemensamma referensramar, kan en problematik uppkomma eftersom besluten om vad som är betydelsefullt fattas lokalt mellan elever och lärare. Målet är att eleven skall ha kunskap som är kulturellt gemensam, men det påpekas att innehållet i denna kulturgemenskap är problematiskt att definiera.

Grundidén tycks vara att efter att ha tillägnat sig kunskapen om närområdet som beskrivits ovan för årskurs 1-3, så kan eleven först vidga sitt kunnande till omvärlden och därefter

vidga sitt kunnande till ett historiskt djup. Dessa tre nyckelcitater pekar på en idémässig kontinuitet. I *Kommentarmaterial till kursplanen i musik* förtydligas detta genom att "[p]rogressionen inom området ligger i att innehållet i de yngre årskurserna i stor utsträckning utgår från elevernas egna referensramar. Allt eftersom vidgas referensramarna till att spänna över musik från olika kulturer, epoker och genrer" (Skolverket, 2011b, s. 18). Frågan är om denna idé kan uppfyllas genom läroplanen. Kan barnen under de tidiga åren ses som en musikalisk tabula rasa, där man utgår från Sverige, Norden och Svenska kyrkan som grund för den fortsatta utvecklingen? Kan de under de senare åren förstå ett komplext historiskt förlopp först utifrån samtidsperspektiv för att senare kunna fördjupa till en historisk och upphovsmanscentrerad världsbild baserat på ett europeiskt ideal? Utgångspunkten för denna idé är grundad på komplexa och inte helt lättdefinierade begrepp som kulturer och etnicitet. Den är även grundad på en tredelning av musikbegreppet i konstmusik, folkmusik och populärmusik där indelningen i sig är problematisk.

NATIONALSTATEN

Begreppet nationalstat kan innefatta idéer om etnisk tillhörighet eller kulturell tillhörighet. I konceptet med en nationalstat ingår symboler och riter, till exempel flaggor och nationalsånger, som en samlande funktion. I Sverige finns även kungahuset som symbol och kopplat till rituella handlingar, men även ingående i konstitution och lag (SFS 1810:0926). I successionsordningen fastslås dessutom att Sveriges statsöverhuvud skall tillhöra den rena evangeliska läran även om det i övrigt råder religionsfrihet i Sverige. Nationaldagen infördes 1983 och blev helgdag 2005 (Regeringens proposition 2004/05:23; SFS 1989:253). Propositionens motivering att göra nationaldagen till helgdag visar på ett vagt sätt att förhålla sig till hur en nationell identitet skapas genom ett lagförslag: "Det svenska språket, den svenska historien, det svenska kulturarvet och det svenska samhällssystemet utgör stora delar av den nationella identiteten som i en tid med ökad internationalisering förefaller bli mer och mer betydelsefull". I och med valet av orden *förefaller bli* visas på en omedvetenhet om hur ett styrande dokument fungerar eller vad detta beslut är ämnat att ha för funktion. Det kan även vara en medvetet vag formulering för att inte tydligt påvisa nationalistiska tendenser i lagstiftningen.

Nationalsången kan idag uppfattas som lätt löjeväckande med sitt uttryck för nationalromantik och nordism och troligtvis är detta en av orsakerna att den inte fått ställning som officiell nationalsång.

Du gamla, Du fria, Du fjällhöga nord
 Du tysta, Du glädjerika sköna!
 Jag hälsar Dig, vänaste land uppå jord,
 Din sol, Din himmel, Dina ängder gröna.
 Din sol, Din himmel, Dina ängder gröna.

Du tronar på minnen från fornstora dar,
då ärat Ditt namn flög över jorden.
Jag vet att Du är och Du blir vad Du var.
Ja, jag vill leva jag vill dö i Norden.
Ja, jag vill leva jag vill dö i Norden.

Inläringen av Sveriges nationalsång är främst kopplad till skolmiljö. Utanför skolmiljön används den ofta som symbol för Sverige i idrottssammanhang och till Sveriges nationaldag 6 juni. Både nationaldagen och nationalsången har relativt svag förankring i Sverige jämfört med många andra länder.

2009 beslutades om en språklag vilken fastslår svenskan som huvudspråk i Sverige (SFS 2009:600). Dessa förändringar i lagstiftningen gällande språk och nationaldag tyder på att en förstärkning av nationalstaten sker under 2000-talet. Det specificerade innehållet i läroplanen gällande undervisningsinnehåll pekar i samma riktning. I linje med dessa förändringar är det möjligt att Sverige kommer att få en officiell nationalsång även om flera tidigare motioner har fått avslag (aktuella motioner är Motion 2011/12:K324; Motion 2011/12:K371 samt Motion 2012/13:K332). I detta kan skönjas att de rituella inslagen i skapandet av den nationella identiteten förstärks genom lagstiftning. Det kan förstås med Žižeks (1989/2011) utsaga att riten inte är ett uttryck för ideologin, den är en del i konstituerandet av ideologin. Han påvisar även att när de yttre styrmedlen över nationsgränserna, som politiska och ekonomiska organisationer, blir starka så motverkas detta med en inre stabilisering av nationella värden. Även Eriksens (1993/2002) idé att nationalismens mål är en enhet mellan stat och kultur och att när staten skall garantera den kulturella identiteten måste den fastslås legalt, kan vara relevant för förståelsen av lagstiftningen.

Žižek (1989/2011) menar att nationalstaten inte är ett enkelt begrepp idag utan att den attackeras från två håll. I Europa har å ena sidan flera tidigare statsbildningar fallit sönder i mindre ”etniska gemenskaper” som bildar stater eller kan bilda stater, å andra sidan finns övergripande strukturer som multinationellt kapital, maffia och politiska strukturer som till exempel Europeiska Unionen, vilka gör att statsstaternas självständighet ifrågasätts. Žižek anser att dessa punkter kan balansera varandra: när universalismen blir för stark kan detta balanseras med en känsla för etniska rötter och läget stabiliseras. Dock har nationalstaten som politisk och etnisk enhet idag inte samma möjligheter som under 1800-talet eftersom strukturerna är annorlunda. Bauman (1999) anser att alla typer av makt, kultur, kunskap, och politik måste förstås ur ett globalt perspektiv. Dagens kommunikationsätt är inte bundna till det personliga ansikte-mot-ansikte-mötet, och de är inte geografiskt bundna på samma sätt som de tidigare varit.

BEGREPPET KULTURER

Begreppet *kulturer* kan definieras på många sätt och är svårt att förstå i en kontext där det inte definieras, såsom i läroplanen. Viss vägledning kan fås genom äldre läroplaner där begreppetländer används, ibland parallellt med begreppet kulturer. Det kan där ofta vara baserat på en geografisk indelning av kulturbegreppet. En annan vägledning inom musikområdet är användningen av begreppet *olika kulturers folkmusik* vilket även det kan anknyta till en geografisk indelning i ett historiskt perspektiv, där folkmusik ofta beskrivs med landstermer, till exempel rysk folkmusik och svensk folkmusik. Det kan dock vara problematiskt att idag definiera musik utifrån ett nationalstatsperspektiv, eftersom den politiska verkligheten idag har ett komplext förhållande till idén om nationalstaten som enhet. Det är möjligt att begreppet *folkmusik från olika länder* därför ersatts med begreppet *folkmusik från olika kulturer* i senare läroplaner.

Det är även problematiskt att avgränsa till exempel folkmusik i ett historiskt, och musik-historiskt, perspektiv. Den etablerade tredelningen kan inte ge en relevant bild av hur musik fungerar kontextuellt, och vad den har för funktion.

I dag är det mycket vanligt att olika musikformer och musikstilar korsas och transformerar, något som närmast kan betraktas som ett karaktärsdrag i vår samtidskultur. I ett mångkulturellt samhälle förstärks den tendensen. Att utveckla förståelse för olika musikkulturer innebär att utveckla en förståelse för den här utvecklingen. Förståelsen för olika musikkulturer berikar mötena med andra människor och öppnar upp för att kunna delta i fler musikaliska sammanhang. (Skolverket, 2011b, s. 10)

Detta stycke från *Kommentarmaterialet i musik* öppnar för flera möjliga tolkningar. Dels är musiken bärande för förståelse och ett ideologiskt redskap för skapandet av förståelse, tvärt emot hur det beskrivs i kommentarmaterialet tidigare att musiken har ett egenvärde. Användningen av begreppet mångkulturellt visar möjligtvis på en etnisk förståelse av begreppet kultur, och musiken beskrivs som en nyckel för förståelse. Stycket ur kommentarmaterialet visar även på ett ideologiskt förhållande till musikhistoria, där de otydliga och flytande gränserna mellan musikformer och musikstilar ses som typiska för samtiden och inte som en kontinuerlig historisk process.

En annan vägledning till begreppsdefinitionen är likställandet av kulturbegreppet med historiebegreppet inom de naturorienterande ämnena. Dels visas på att det finns en sann bild av världen och fiktiva bilder av världen, samt att begreppen kultur och historia i kombination med varandra kan visa på dessa fiktiva bilder. Kanske blir det tydligare i framställningen av det som föreges vara den sanna bilden, som det framställs i ämnet Matematik, där det inte tas för givet utan måste skrivas in att även andra (hög)kulturer kan bidra till en sann historisk utveckling. Detta visar implicit att det är den västerländska kulturen som är jämförelsen. Det finns även en tydlig skiljelinje i de naturorienterande ämnena att begreppet olika kulturer separeras från begreppet äldre tider, vilket tycks mena att de olika kulturerna är samtida

medan de äldre tiderna syftar på västerländsk historia. En parallell kan dras till Lévi-Strauss (1952/1999) analys att en uppdelning, förutom den egna samtida, ofta görs i tre typer av kulturer: de samtida på annan plats, den egna förflutna och de förflutna på annan plats. Det problematiska uppkommer när jämförelser dessa kulturer emellan sker. Lévi-Strauss menar att bara för att vissa aspekter kan likna varandra behöver dessa kulturer inte vara likartade i sin utvecklingspotential, eller vara meningsfulla att jämföra. Skrivningen i läroplanen där begreppen *äldre tider* och *olika kulturer* förekommer tycks visa i denna riktning. I sig är det naturligtvis nödvändigt att i skolvärlden behandla idéer från både historisk kontext och från global kontext, men det förefaller inte nödvändigt att kulturbegreppet skall användas för att påvisa att detta innehåll skall behandlas. Frågan är om en formulering utan att nämna begreppet kulturer i detta sammanhang skulle innebära att endast västerländsk tradition och historia har bidragit till kunskapsutveckling eller kunskapens återvändsgränder. I musikämnets uppdelning i citaten ovan finns beskrivet att eleven i årskurs 4-6 först lär sig om konstmusik, folkmusik, och populärmusik från olika kulturer för att senare fördjupa till olika epoker under årskurs 7-9. Detta visar att det inom musikämnet även finns en uppdelning i en samtida kulturaspekt och en historisk aspekt på musik.

I det antropologiska kulturbegreppet innebär kultur ”materiella ting, beteendemönster, och tänkande” (Ek, u å). Det visar inte enbart på *en* kultur utan innefattar även delkulturer och subkulturer och visar på en process i förändring och inte ett statiskt tillstånd. Det framkommer inte om begreppet kulturer i läroplanen visar på om det till exempel är geografiskt anknutet, knutet till sociala grupper, etnicitet, språkligt definierat eller något helt annat. Det beskrivs dock i läroplanen att begreppet kulturer i årskurs 7-9 skall relateras till begreppet etnicitet. Giddens (1997) beskriver att etnicitet är det som genom praxis och värderingar skiljer en grupp från andra, och att detta bestäms av både den inre betraktelsen inom gruppen och hur den betraktas utifrån. Han menar att de vanligaste bestämningarna är språk, historia, religion, klädsel och ursprung eller synen på sitt ursprung (s. 249). Begreppet etnicitet har här en nära relation med den definition av begreppet kultur som omfattar materiella ting, tänkande och beteendemönster. Giddens menar även att användningen av begreppet ras har beröringspunkter med begreppet etnicitet. Här kan då ses en flytande skala mellan begreppen ras, etnicitet och kultur ur ett historiskt perspektiv och ur ett samtidsperspektiv.

Eriksen (1993/2002) menar att ”vi är uppfostrade att tänka på kultur som ett *ting* som tillhör ett *folk*, som har fysiska gränser och tillhör det *förflutna*” (s. 17). Kulturer, menar han, är processer och föränderliga och att låsa dessa i definierade ramar är problematiskt. Han påpekar att man måste vara vaksam för de ideologier som gör politik av kulturella gemenskaper, och menar att den ”etniska” gemenskapen inte är mer naturlig än andra typer än gemenskaper. Eriksen menar att det som beskrivs som etniska konflikter, eller motsättningar, kan även kan tolkas utifrån andra förklaringsmodeller, men påvisar att etniska förklaringar är ofta vanligt förekommande idag.

Det finns två betydelser av begreppet kulturell mångfald utifrån två traditioner (Lundberg, Malm & Ronström, 2000). Den liberala tanketraditionen visar på *individens* valmöjligheter ur en mångfald av olika kulturella uttryck. Den andra användningen är utifrån det antropologiska kulturbegreppet som visar på *gruppers* kulturer. Det senare begreppet kan visa på olika typer av grupper men används ofta som begrepp för etniska grupper. Lundberg, Malm och Ronström menar att dessa två tanketraditioner, och tolkningar av begreppet, ofta sammanblandas. Fokuset på kulturer, i form av avgränsade grupper, kan vara problematiskt i den mån det tvingar in individen i ett val att behöva tillhöra *en* kultur. En problematik i läroplanen kan vara att kulturbegreppet både syftar på individen och gruppen som enhet. Problematiken kan anknytas till det som Lundgren (1981) kallar den *rationella läroplanen* där individen är central för att möta den heterogena verkligheten. Men denna grund där individen står i fokus möter den politiska analysen av världen idag där indelningen i kulturer, ofta utgående från etnicitet, är central.

TRADITION, KANON ELLER NÅGOT ANNAT?

Tendensen i läroplanerna under 1900-talet visar på en utgångspunkt från en snäv kanon, som stamsångerna, till en vidare, som de rekommenderade sångerna i Lgr 69, till en läroplan utan kanon. Skrivningen gällande utbildningsinnehållet i Lgr 11 årskurs 1-3 visar på en återgång till idén om stamsånger vilken fasades ut från 1969 års läroplan för att försvinna i Lgr 80.

Lgr 11 har en tendens till kanon även om det i viss mån hävdas att det inte är intentionen. I läroplanen betonas att det inte skall skapas en kanon utan det skall definieras lokalt och problematiseras kontextuellt vad som är betydelsefullt. Men å andra sidan skall musikämnet visa på en tradition, medvetenhet om ett kulturarv och en idé om att det finns en gemensam kultur som eleven skall kunna tillägna sig i skolmiljö. Men om denna gemensamma kulturgrund inte kan definieras kan det finnas svårigheter att förankra den lokalt. Här ger läroplanen ett dubbelt budskap: dels att det finns ett gemensamt kulturarv som skall läras ut till eleven och i vissa fall med specificerat innehåll, dels att detta kulturarv skall definieras mellan lärare och elev. Kanske blir innehållet i det gemensamma kulturarvet värderat utifrån skolans egen tradition. I detta fall möjligtvis gällande det innehåll som traderats i kursplaner under 1900-talet eftersom Lgr 11 visar på en återgång till nordismen, kristendomen och nationalstaten som idé och kulturarv, vilket fasats ut under läroplaner under det sena 1900-talet.

I läroplanen framkommer att det är problematiskt att använda ett odefinierat kulturarv som gemensam grund. Frågan uppkommer vilken tradition som skall regleras i en läroplan, om det är skolans eget upprätthållande av sin egen tradition som är det egna gemensamma kulturarvet. Vad är då alternativet till en kanon?

VEM ÄR DEN ANDRE?

Skrivningen med *förståelse för andra kulturer* visar på att det finns en skillnad och att det är denna skillnad som skall betonas. Likheterna inom det som är *vårt kulturarv* påvisas genom skillnaden gentemot de andra kulturerna. Enligt läroplanen skall etiken byggas på kristen grund och på västerländsk humanism. Dessa kan dock inte uppvisa något enhetligt tänkande, exempelvis i ett av de i läroplanen grundläggande begreppen ”människolivets okränkbarhet” (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 7) finns det många olika perspektiv inom både kristen etik och västerländsk humanism exempelvis gällande eutanasi och abort. Och vad är då den Andres etik, är det inte möjligt att se etik ur ett globalt perspektiv? Är det inte möjligt att det finns relevanta etiska värden att hämta ur andra religioner eller världsåskådningar även för västerlandets vidkommande?

Hur långt skall vår förståelse nå? Vad är meningen med vår förståelse? Kan man i denna skrivning läsa in de religioner och världsåskådningar som inte ingår i kristendom och västerländsk humanism, och representationen i vårt land av de som tillhör dessa? Är det till exempel för det muslimska barnet i den svenska skolan som vår förståelse skall riktas? Är det detta enskilda barn som visar på att det är en skillnad? Skall inom musikämnet detta barn definieras musikaliskt genom sin, eller möjligtvis sina föräldrars, folkmusik som tradition och identitetsbärare, så att vi kan förstå det? Hur skall detta barn se det gemensamma kulturarvet genom delaktighet om det redan från början är definierat som skillnad?

Kan det vara så att det är genom skillnader vi uppfattar världen som Derrida framställer det (Dyndahl, 2008), och att vi måste definiera skillnaden? Om vi inte har andra kulturer att relatera till, så har vi ingen egen kultur att definiera. Motsättningen mellan normen och den Andre som polära begrepp visar på en relation som kan åskådliggöras. Derrida (2001) visar på att uppdelningen i polära begrepp på en hög abstraktionsnivå är en konstruktion som både är nödvändig och omöjlig att acceptera. Nödvändig för förståelse av världen men omöjlig som konstruktion eftersom uppdelningen har inneboende motsättningar som oftast inte ifrågasätts, vilket han anser är nödvändigt. Dyndahl (2008) beskriver att Derridas syn på binära motsättningar är att de är godtyckliga och kulturellt betingade, och att de ofta står i ett maktförhållande till varandra där den ena polen kan ses som överlägsen den andra. Spivak (1988) menar att det finns ett problem med att definiera den Andre genom att den som definierar gör det utifrån sin kontext. Den Andre är ofta den som inte faller inom den definierade normen, till exempel en icke-europé eller en kvinna. En icke-europeisk kvinna har därmed dubbel annanhet. Spivak menar att västvärlden återupprepar ständigt sin etnocentrism genom kulturella uttryck och tolkningar. Ett definierande av den Andre kan därmed göra att normen bekräftas.

Men är det *att* det finns en skillnad som är det viktiga och att denna skillnad ständigt måste upprätthållas och definieras? Är det *att det är en skillnad* som är den egentliga diskursen vilket Žižek (1989/2011) hävdar? Žižek pekar på *skillnaden som diskurs*, inte

uppdelningen i sig. Läroplanen framhäver tanken om kulturell identitet som grund för förståelse av skillnaden:

Medvetenhet om det egna och delaktighet i det gemensamma kulturarvet ger en trygg identitet som är viktig att utveckla tillsammans med förmågan att förstå och leva sig in i andras villkor och värderingar. (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 7)

Sammankopplingen mellan identitet och kulturarv blir här tydlig genom att det är genom kulturarvet man skapar sin identitet. Denna skrivning visar på att det finns två kulturarv. Dels det kulturarv som man själv skapar sin identitet i, eller med *arvet* som betoning, det man föds in i. Dels att det finns ett gemensamt arv som skolan är med och skapar. Det påvisas även att kulturarvet är immateriellt och inte artefakter. I samma avsnitt påpekas att det är svårt att förstå och leva med den kulturella mångfalden inom landet. Frågan är om detta en etablerad sanning eller om det är ett uttryck för skapandet av en skillnad:

Det svenska samhällets internationalisering och den växande rörligheten över nationsgränserna ställer höga krav på människors förmåga att leva med och inse de värden som ligger i en kulturell mångfald. (Skolverket, 2011d, s. 7)

I detta stycke framhävs kultur som det som skiljer. Det är en skrivning som skall öppna men som kanske stänger för det enskilda barnet. Är det så självklart att det finns *ett* eget kulturarv som går att definiera? Varför är det kulturen, med den underliggande förståelsen av mångkultur, etnicitet, språk, religion, möjligtvis i kombination med kön, som skall framhävas? Kultur kan även förstås genom andra begrepp som till exempel socioekonomisk bakgrund, klass och social position, eller andra typer av definitioner av kulturbegreppet. Lundberg, Malm och Ronström (2000) menar att fokus på olika kulturer, eller mångkultur, kan ses som en process för upprätthållandet av att det finns en skillnad, där andra förklaringsmodeller kunde visa på likheter. De framhåller att expressiva former, till exempel musik, kan vara en del i att upprätthålla skillnader och befästa gränser och de kan ses som bärare av kulturella skillnader. Lundberg, Malm och Ronström menar att i gestaltandet skapas de skillnader som påvisas att de finns i det kulturella uttrycket.

Musiken används som ett medel i ett ideologiskt mönster för att eleven skall utveckla förståelse, främst för andra kulturer. Detta kulturbegrepp har en grund främst i etnicitet. Kulturerna kan ses som del i ett kulturarv, och därmed något statiskt. Barnen ärver sitt kulturarv och sin kultur. Frågan blir hur många generationer man tillhör en kultur och om kultur här kan ses som närmast ett biologiskt arv. Är detta ett fokus där idén om andra och tredje generationens invandrare skapas, att man har ett kulturellt arv som i viss mån kan ses som statiskt och oföränderligt?

LÄROPLANENS IDEOLOGI

En av utgångspunkterna för detta kapitel är idén om att utbildning, och läroplaner, skall forma eleven till samhällsmedborgare. I en demokrati bör man ha utgångspunkten att detta ideologiska mål är både för samhällets och för individens bästa. Dock kan man inte vara säker på att det finns en enhetlig ideologisk ram för den ideologi som kommer till uttryck i en läroplan. En läsning av läroplanen för att synliggöra den kunskapssyn, den människosyn, den historiesyn, och den syn på politiska och ekonomiska strukturer som finns implicit i läroplanen blir därför nödvändig.

Hur kan man betrakta världen idag? Är den som Žižek (1989/2011) menar sönderfallande i små enheter samtidigt som globala enheter bildar nya strukturer? Det tycks som en omöjlighet att betrakta närhet och periferi genom geografiskt avstånd. Den enskilda elevens avstånd till svensk folkmusik kanske är längre än avståndet till salsa, hip-hop eller John Williams filmmusik. Det lokala musikaliska kulturarvet kanske inte är grundat på de värden eller språk som finns ”lokalt”, och det är svårt att hitta en definition av lokalt i en global värld. Vårt musikaliska kulturarv kan inte heller med självklarhet begränsas till Sverige som geografiskt område. Möjligtvis kan ett svenskt musikaliskt kulturarv härledas till en nationalromantisk bild, men det är troligtvis få elever, eller deras föräldrar, som har en stark relation till detta arv. Inom musik visar läroplanen på, tvärt om mot vad som uttrycks som intentionen, att den inte utgår från elevens musikaliska verklighet utan har som mål att skapa elevens verklighet. Eleven skall formas för att förstå världen utifrån en bestämd utgångspunkt. Denna utgångspunkt för att forma eleven visar på ett identitetsskapande där grunden skall läggas på förståelse från lokalt och samtida till att senare förstå ett globalt och historiskt perspektiv. Skolan har en uppgift att forma elevens värderingar och detta innehåll kan även sättas i perspektiv av styrdokumentens egen tradition där endast en gradvis förändring sker. Här läggs en grund för skapandet av en skolkontextuell musik på ideologisk grund.

I kommentarmaterialet framhävs att musiken främst skall ha ett egenvärde och inte vara ett hjälpämne till andra ämnen, men att det även kan ha effekter på elevens utveckling. Det framkommer tydligt att musikens instrumentella värde för förståelse och tolerans framhävs, i synnerhet gällande andra kulturer. Detta kan ses som ett ideologiskt mål där musiken är ett medel. Användningen av begreppet kulturer riskerar att framhäva det som man egentligen vill undvika. Intentionen är att framhäva förståelse och tolerans för andra kulturer men det som framkommer är att det finns en definierbar skillnad och att denna kan bygga på etnicitet, religiös tillhörighet och kön. Musiken blir i denna kontext snarare ett medel, eller en symbol för, att visa en skillnad än att vara ett medel för förståelse. Det är möjligt att det svenska gemensamma kulturarvet måste definieras genom sin skillnad mot vad det inte är. I detta kan skolans gemensamma värld och ideologiska plan för skapandet av gemensam grund ses. Svårdefinierade idéer om kulturarv har ärvts från idén om nationalstaten som etnisk, språklig och kulturell enhet. Det finns en svårighet med att definiera ett kulturarv samtidigt som man

försöker undvika att konkretisera. Men det finns även det lagstadgade kulturarvet i form av språk och symboler, där även musiken kan vara en del.

Eriksen hävdar att "[m]onokulturen som ideologi, alltså tanken om att det goda och riktiga skulle vara att alla invånarna i ett land omfattas av en gemensam kultur, har övergetts i nästan alla existerande stater" (1993/2002, s. 14). Den svenska läroplanen visar tydligt att det idag i Sverige finns ett ideologiskt mål som omfattar en gemensam kultur. Men det visas även att denna gemensamma kultur är problematisk att definiera. Den skall förankras i elevens individuella livsvärld och lokala skolmiljö samtidigt som den skall vara ett gemensamt kulturarv för alla elever. Den skall inte heller vara en fast kanon. Möjligtvis kan den definieras genom vad den inte är, eller genom att definiera vilka som inte tillhör den.

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KAPITEL 4

Vad för vem?

Ensembleämnets didaktik i kritisk belysning

KARL ASP

ENGLISH ABSTRACT

In this chapter the author writes himself into a critical tradition in Central European and Scandinavian *Didaktik*. He makes a critical analysis of the didactic content of the music subject in Sweden today. In particular, he discusses the selection of content in the ensemble subject in secondary school. Today, the use of popular music as a specific content and/or as a method to learn music is widespread in the formal music education in Swedish schools. The purpose of the chapter is to examine issues concerning ensemble teaching using texts and theories of identity and didactics, as well as from cultural studies. The author emphasizes questions about what is taught and what is possible to learn within institutionalized education. By addressing issues of identity, ethics and pedagogical history, he problematizes the didactic choice of content in the music subject. Furthermore, he claims that music teachers' understanding of contemporary popular culture stands in a complex relationship to their educational and didactical choices. However, the author does not make any normative or prescriptive statements, like trying to recommend how music education should be conducted. The aim is rather to examine and thus increase the knowledge of the changing conditions of music education in which didactic choices are conducted. Hence, this insight may provide a basis for further exploration and development of music teaching and learning.

INTRODUKTION

Parallellt med samhällsförändringar har också musiktraditioner ändrats och funnit nya uttrycksmöjligheter. Det får till följd att vår kunskap om musik, musikundervisning och musikpedagogik som akademiskt ämne ständigt ställs inför nya frågor och problem i takt med att samhället förändras. En sådan fråga kan vara vilka musikgenrer eleverna borde få möta i musikundervisningen? En annan kan vara i vilken grad musikundervisningen ska anknyta till dagsaktuella kulturella uttryck och i så fall på vilket sätt? Det frågorna har gemensamt är att

de intresserar sig för undervisningens vad-aspekter. Vad ska undervisas och hur vet vi att detta är riktigt att undervisa?

Syftet med den här texten är att undersöka ensembleundervisningens *vad-fråga* utifrån texter och teori kring identitet och didaktik men också utifrån ett perspektiv inspirerat av kulturstudier. Texten hämtar också exempel från min licentiatstudie vilken undersökte musiklärarens syn på undervisningsinnehåll (Asp, 2011). Det ska också tilläggas att texten inte har en normativ ambition – som att tala om hur musikundervisning bör bedrivas – utan syftet är snarare att kritiskt diskutera musikundervisningens förändrade villkor och därigenom bidra till en ökad kunskap om musikundervisning.

VARFÖR FRÅGA VAD?

Undervisning i ensemble kan te sig oproblematiserad och självklar: det handlar om att lära ett antal personer hur man spelar musik tillsammans (se Green, 2001; 2008). Vilken musik som undervisningen ska uppmärksamma kan vara svårare att svara på och frågan *hur då* leder till ytterligare frågor om undervisningens utförande. Undervisningens *vad* omfattar idag också en mångfald genrer och spelstilar. Möjligheterna till olika *vad* växer i samma hastighet som nya genrer och musikuttryck ser dagens ljus. Till en sådan utveckling bidrar också nya sätt att sprida musik som Spotify och YouTube. Den teknologiska utvecklingen förändrar också villkoren för musikundervisningen och uppfattningar kring vad ämnet musik är eller kan vara. Samtidigt påverkas undervisningen av den styrning som sker genom skollag, läroplan och kursplaner. När dessa förändras påverkas villkoren för undervisningen vilket aktualiserar nya frågor om undervisningens styrning och dess effekter.

En tendens i ett svenskt musikpedagogiskt sammanhang är att *samtida populärmusik* får större utrymme i skolans musikundervisning (Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010; Green, 2008). Det förändrar synen på musikämnet, vilket tidigare åtminstone till det yttre har karaktäriserats genom en fastställd kanon (se t.ex. Skolöverstyrelsen, 1971-1986, *Lgy 70*). Det innehållsliga valet har då förskjutits från styrdokument till elever och lärare. Det leder till frågor kring reflektionerna bakom urvalet – och frågan *varför detta innehåll?* Inte minst väcks sådana frågor, ifall skolans musikundervisning ska utvecklas mot en mer dialogisk undervisning där lärare och elev tillsammans försöker nå ett lärande som eleven inte kan tillgodogöra sig på egen hand (se Zandén, 2010, s. 188-189). En vidare konsekvens av det förändrade musikämnet är hur ett sådant också påverkar uppfattningar kring hur undervisning ska bedrivas och hur elever lär musik (Green, 2008). Hur ämnet tar sig uttryck och vad som kan anses vara inom ramen för detta ämne påverkar då också uppfattningar kring hur undervisningen ska genomföras: när musikämnet går från att vara körsång till att bli ensemblemusicerande med förstärkta instrument följer också nya uppfattningar kring hur man lär. Undervisningens *hur* hör alltså samman med undervisningens *vad*.

Att ämnet förändras väcker också frågor kring dess (nya) praktik. Det behöver inte betyda att undervisningen är eller blir medveten om på vilka sätt den tar sig uttryck för de inblandade. Ett exempel på sådan omedvetenhet kan vi finna i Gunilla Törnfeldts beskrivning av hur ensembleundervisning i jazz ter sig för en sångerska:

Upprinnelsen handlar om att i själva ensembleundervisningen så har jag alltid upplevt att det varit problem när det har varit sång med. Om man ska beskriva själva problemet så är det i själva undervisningen, att man som sångerska kan bli utelämnad [...] Det kan vara att läraren ger kommentarer, ger feedback till alla utom sångerskan. Eller att man får sjunga i jättekonstiga tonarter, jättekonstiga register. Men sen också i samspelet i ensemblen, att man blir liksom utanför där också. Det är mest saker jag upplevde på gymnasiet faktiskt. (Selander, 2012, s. 146)

I citatet ser det ut som att undervisningen^{*)} bygger på andra värden än att tillgodose elevens behov ur ett lärandeperspektiv. Något annat än elevens lärande får då företräde eller normaliseras genom undervisningen. Med detta sagt vill jag poängtera att undervisning alltid innebär någon form av lärande, men att en didaktisk intention i olika hög grad kan vara riktad mot att en elev ska lära sig något speciellt.

Frågan är hur en sådan norm kan se ut och vad den innebär? Om vi ser till Lucy Greens (2008) forskning kring informellt lärande så kan vi ställa frågan på vilka sätt musikundervisning inspirerad av samtida populärmusik också är medveten om de utmaningar som lärande i musik innebär? Vilka möjligheter, men också problem, uppstår när den samtida musiken utgör grunden för det innehållsliga urvalet? Reproduktionen av stereotypa bilder av kvinnor och män skulle kunna vara ett sådant problem, ett problem som dock är fullt möjligt att förhålla sig till kritiskt genom en reflekterande musikundervisning.

Det går också att förstå musikundervisningens utveckling i relation till den värld som omger den. Musikämnet i skolan hämtar stoff och värden från den värld där musiken äger rum. Det får också konsekvenser för hur undervisningen relaterar till musiksamhället i stort: att lära sig musik blir då också att på olika sätt delta i det musikaliska meningsskapande som existerar inte enbart innanför skolan. När skolmusiken ska locka publik till konserter måste den också i någon mening anpassa sig till publikens smak. Min licentiatuppsats visar att undervisningen ofta legitimeras utifrån sin potential som konsertmaterial – varför alltför krävande genrer väljs bort (Asp, 2011). Undervisningen har således dubbla syften: dels att lära eleverna något och dels att tillfredställa en publik.

Detta exempel belyser också hur musikämnet inte endast angår lärare, elever och skola – utan gränsar till en vidare kontext: konserter, föräldrar, kompisar och (musik-)samhället i

*) "Undervisningen" ska här förstås brett och syftar både på den realiserade undervisningen, så som den tar sig uttryck genom lärares och elevers försorg, likväl som på undervisningen som idé eller ideal. En sådan definition pekar också på hur den realiserade undervisningen inte enbart går tillbaka på enskilda lärares beslut, utan intimt hör samman med idéer om undervisning och lärande.

stort. Det innebär att uppfattningar som kan antas ligga till grund för undervisningsbeslut också relaterar till annat än själva undervisningens processer. En låt som är brett omtyckt kan då bli en självklar ingrediens i gymnasiets musikundervisning utifrån sin roll som gemensamt kulturförråd. ”Man får välja lite smart och kolla vad som går hem och så där...” som en av mina informanter uttryckte det när hon förklarade vilka låtar som spelades för att locka elever till den skola hon arbetade på (Asp, 2011).

VAD INNEBÄR ENSEMBLESPEL I GYMNASIESKOLAN?

Gymnasieskolans samspel i form av ensemble har sedan 1960-talet förändrats från att vara en del i musikämnet, till att idag innebära specifika kurser med ett givet kunskapsinnehåll (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1965; Skolverket, 2011). I styrdokumentet för gymnasieskolan har ämnet genom åren fått en tydligare struktur. Ändå är det svårt att definiera vad ”ensemble” är för något, mer än olika former av samspel eller samsång i grupp. Musiksamhället kan ge exempel på en rad olika ensembler typer och -former. Ensemble kan alltså betyda både stråkkvartett, doo-wopgrupp såväl som jazzkvartett eller hårdrockgrupp. Ensemble som ämne i dagens styrdokument omfattar flera olika typer av kunskaper och färdigheter från spel och sång, insikter i vad som kännetecknar konstnärlighet, instudering till hantering av musikteknisk utrustning.

Kursen i ensemble- och körsång har en särskild ställning på gymnasieskolans estetiska program genom att den både är obligatorisk och omfattar fler poäng än andra inriktningskurser (Skolverket, 2011). Det är därför rimligt att förstå ensembleämnet som ett ämne med hög status i gymnasial musikundervisning. Styrdokumentet har dock inga genrespecifika krav ställda på undervisningen utan lärare och elever får tillsammans välja ut vad som ska spelas. Frågan *vad* är alltså till stor del fri att själv forma, åtminstone så länge den rör sig innanför styrdokumentets formuleringar. Här accentueras frågan om vilken repertoar som ryms i ensembleundervisningen och vilka arbetsformer som kännetecknar undervisningen. Idag utgör samtida musik som rock, pop, reggae, hårdrock, gospel, blues och andra genrer en stor del av undervisningen på gymnasiet (Karlsson, 2002).

DIDAKTIK OCH FRÅGOR KRING UNDERVISNINGENS INNEHÅLL

Traditionellt har undervisningens *vad*-frågor behandlats av *didaktiken* som vetenskap. Under sextonhundratalet utvecklas didaktik i modern bemärkelse genom Wolfgang Ratke och Johan Amos Comenius (Kroksmark, 1994). I den senares *Didactica magna* (Comenius, 1999) lyfts frågor fram om undervisningens *vad*, *hur*, *när* och *varigenom*. Didaktikens frågeställningar har därefter utvecklats och omfattar flera olika frågor där man skilt mellan snäva och vida perspektiv på didaktikfrågorna. Framförallt har *hur*-frågan skilts från andra frågor och förts till metodiken (se t.ex. Nielsen, 1998). Frågan om *vad* kan kopplas både till uppfattningar kring lärandet som när Comenius förespråkar hur modersmålet ska läras före inläringen av

främmande språk eller en mer distinkt uppfattning kring undervisningens innehåll likt den systematik som Johann Friedrich Herbart framlade (Selander, 2012). Frågor om undervisningens innehåll kan i någon mening relatera till didaktikens alla klassiska frågor samtidigt som det går att lägga till en rad andra som *vem som ska lära, med vad, varför detta*, etc. Med Ulf P. Lundgrens forskning har den svenska didaktiken också intresserat sig för läroplans-teoretiska frågor (se vidare Selander, 2012). Därigenom har *vad*-frågan också tolkats ur ett bredare samhällsvetenskapligt perspektiv och skilts från ett mer praxisnära perspektiv på skola och undervisning.

Sammanfattningsvis kan *vad*-frågan förstås på flera olika sätt i ett didaktiskt sammanhang:

- Vad läraren ska göra utifrån styrdokumentens texter eller andra styrande dokument
- Vad giltig kunskap kan och bör vara
- Vilken kunskap eleven ska behärska
- Vilken kunskap bör undervisas vid ett visst tillfälle i syfte att gynna elevens lärande
- Vilken kunskap styrdokumentet uttrycker

Vidare ska tilläggas att begreppet innehåll, betraktat som svar på *vad*-frågan, inte alltid är så enkelt att definiera. Nielsen (1998) pekar träffsäkert på hur ”sång” kan vara både innehåll och aktivitet – dels innebär aktiviteten att sjunga en viss sång repertoarkänning, men likafullt krävs det en sånglig färdighet för att uttrycka denna repertoar. Med andra ord kan undervisningens innehåll svara mot både frågan om *vad* såväl som på frågan *hur*. *Vad*-frågan är dock så omfattande i sig själv att den kräver en mer precis avgränsning för att bli meningsfull för en kritisk diskussion av musikundervisningen. Den här texten kommer fortsättningsvis att diskutera *vad*-frågans epistemologiska räckvidd dels utifrån ett perspektiv på ämnesidentitet och dels utifrån ett kulturteoretiskt perspektiv.

ÄMNE OCH IDENTITET

I Dahlgrens (1989) diskussion av de didaktiska grundfrågorna lägger han också till frågan om vad som ”kännetecknar ett visst kunskaps- eller färdighetsområde” (s. 24). Han frågar sig vad som egentligen utgör ett ämnes *identitet*. Därigenom ifrågasätter Dahlgren huruvida ett ämne kan göra anspråk på ett objektiva och stabilt kunskapsobjekt. Han redovisar hur identiteten hos ämnet kan vara föränderligt på åtminstone tre olika sätt: genom att ett traditionellt ämnesområde utökas med ny kunskap (som ny teknik), genom att kunskapsutvecklingen tar sig nya vägar (som när en uppfattning kring hur vi lär förändras) och slutligen genom strukturella förändringar i ett undervisningssystem (som när nya kurser införs i gymnasieskolan).

Dahlgren menar också att det går att förstå ämnets karaktär i termer av ”formellt” och ”funktionellt”. Han exemplifierar med hur språkundervisning innebär ”formalia” som grammatik och stavningsregler samtidigt som språket har en ”funktionell” karaktär i sin roll som

förmedlare av mening. I det senare perspektivet kan brister av formell karaktär ändå tillåtas så länge budskapet kan tolkas och förstås. Ämnets identitet förhåller sig då också till huruvida undervisningen ska betona formella respektive funktionella karaktäristika. Detta får också konsekvenser för elevens möjligheter att lära: ”Insikten om färdighetens funktionella legitimitet är en bättre motivationskälla för inläringen än ett massivt exercerande med formella färdigheter” (Dahlgren, 1989, s. 26).

Dyndahl och Ellefsen (2011) diskuterar utförligare identitetsbegreppet i en didaktisk hemvist och problematiserar begreppet utifrån en poststrukturalistiskt inspirerad hållning där identitet inte förstås som något entydigt och fast, utan tvärtom rörligt och situerat i en bestämd kulturell, historisk och social situation. Med hänvisning till Foucault (1997) ser de hur subjektet ägnar sig åt olika självteknologier, där subjektet agerar och reagerar inom och gentemot olika diskurser. Identitet, här i bemärkelsen personlig identitet, blir då något som ständigt formuleras och omformuleras i relation till omkringliggande diskurser. I den förståelsen betraktas också olika didaktiska handlingar – som möjligheter att erövra och befästa olika positioner i en utbildningskontext: ”Analogt med folks subjektive identitetsdannelser vil också fagdidaktiske identiteter være konstruert og forhandlet av og i tilknytning til kultur, mening og makt” (Dyndahl & Ellefsen, 2011). Därigenom öppnas också för möjligheten att förstå musikdidaktiska handlingar som frågan om *vad* och *för vem* i relation till de diskurser som omgärdar musik och musikdidaktik. Ett exempel på hur sådana maktfrågor kan ta sig uttryck kan vara hur socialisationsprocesser under musiklärarutbildningen formar musiklärarens sätt att förstå sin undervisning och ämnet (Bouij, 1998; se också Bladh, 2002). Ett annat exempel kan vara hur musiklärare hanterar genus i musikundervisningen. I Marie Selanders (2012) beskrivning av hur en kvinnlig elev tvingas sjunga i olämpliga register kan kön förstås i relation till andra maktfrågor som vilken musik som ska spelas och varför.

Utifrån ett sådant perspektiv blir diskurser kring vad musik är och hur den ska framföras något som eleverna tvingas förhålla sig till. Den typ av musikaliskt meningsskapande som ensembleundervisningen kan ge prov på uppfattar det inte som problematiskt att en kvinnlig elev sjunger i ett opassande register och möjligen kan man förstå detta som att den gymnasiala musikundervisningen i jazz i stället vill erbjuda en arena för unga män, vilka med sina instrument kan kämpa om (ljud-)utrymmet på ett innanför diskursen (eller diskurserna) godtagbart sätt.*)

Det kan framstå som självklart att undervisningen syftar till ett explicit eller implicit lärande, även om undervisningen också strävar efter andra mål som att fungera i ett större socialt sammanhang. Thomas Regelski (2012) har diskuterat undervisningens olika etiska utgångspunkter och föreslår istället hur en etiskt riktig utgångspunkt är att undervisningen ska

*) Jag kommer inte i mer djupgående mening diskutera undervisningen ur ett genusperspektiv. För ett urval av en diskussion av genus i musikundervisning, se: Björck (2011); Nilsson (årtal okänt), Selander, M. (2012); Gustafsson & Sjögren (1999).

åstadkomma något för den undervisade som annars skulle vara omöjligt för eleven att uppnå på egen hand. Han menar också att sådan undervisning inte får skada eleven (s. 9). Regelski menar vidare att undervisningen, sett ur ett konsekvensetiskt perspektiv, bör tillfredsställa viktiga behov hos eleven. *Behov* förstås då av Regelski som:

[...] 'need' is understood as a lack of a necessary or otherwise required condition. On one hand, of course, there is what students think they want; on the other, however, is any deficiency in their present musical abilities and dispositions that is likely to stand in the way of the fullest potential for their lives well-lived musically [...] But students' needs also involve certain musical means they presently lack that are required to fully avail themselves of what music has to offer the good life. This often includes an awareness of the options, beyond their presently favored ones, by which music can enhance their lives. (Regelski, 2012, s. 15-16)

Utifrån en sådan konsekvensetisk hållning bör läraren i första hand försöka förstå vilka behov eleven har genom att se hur undervisningens konsekvenser innebär något av godo för eleven också i ett framtida perspektiv. Musiklärare, menar Regelski, gör ofta tvärtom och påbjuder därmed att eleven måste uppfylla vissa behov både före, under och efter undervisningen. På det sättet framtvingar musiklärare en undervisning som alls inte behöver nå upp till de krav samhället kan avkräva undervisningen, utan snarare arrangerar musikläraren en undervisning vilken värnar en viss musiksyn. Regelski ser då hur musikläraren går någon annans ärende än elevens och undervisningen hotas av vad han kallar ”musicianism”:

[...] a tendency to place musical choices and values before or above educational options and values – especially in situations where the latter, viewed from other pragmatic and ethical perspectives might well deserve equal or even more weight. (s. 21)

Med ett sådant perspektiv på ämnets identitet, ämnets *vad*, går det att förstå hur undervisningen opererar innanför diskurser vilka erbjuder subjekspositioner samtidigt som diskurserna inte alltid behöver vara förenliga med skolans undervisning – om vi vill förstå den senare som undervisning vilken syftar till att erbjuda eleven något hon inte kan skaffa på egen hand och därigenom bli etiskt försvarbar. När jag nu går vidare till ett kulturteoretiskt perspektiv på ensembledidaktiska frågor vill jag föreslå hur ensembledidaktiska frågeställningar borde uppmärksamma just de processer som tilldelar ensembleämnet dess identitet och meningsskapande. Frågan är vem som egentligen kan sägas ligga bakom utformningen av ämnet och vilka ideal som tar form genom detta.

KULTURSTUDIER OCH ENSEMBLEDIDAKTISKA FRÅGOR

Ensembleämnet så som det ofta tar sig uttryck idag, innebär också att skolans musikundervisning förhåller sig till den samtida musikkulturen. Dagsaktuell musik framförs och bearbetas innanför skolan som institution. Det innebär att musikskapande idag också relaterar till de diskurser som musik utgör i samhället i stort. Uppfattningar och framställningar av

exempelvis kön, etnicitet och klass följer då med undervisningen och blir en del av denna, utan att detta nödvändigtvis sker på en för de inblandade medveten nivå. Därtill finns det skillnader mellan skolan som verksamhet och samhället i övrigt som får till följd att det kanske inte är problemfritt att suddas ut gränserna mellan fritid och skola – eller mellan ett privat musikintresse och musikaktiviteter i skolan. En annan aspekt på detta tema är också på vilka sätt ett samtida musikprojekt har betydelse för skolans musikundervisning. Följande utdrag ur ett gruppsamtal med musiklejare på gymnasiet visar på hur samtida musik kan bli en del av undervisningen:

C1: Det första vi gör, det är att vi, de får spela i den genre där de hör hemma, alltså de får bestämma innehållet till den första konserten utifrån det de har med sig i ryggsäcken när de kommer hit och vi hjälper dem att förverkliga det som lärare

[...]

C3: Första konserten har vi valt att kalla ”Elevens värld” och det blir, så väldigt blandat blir det ju inte, det blir ju den popmusiken som de lyssnar på

C1: Ja, men där är vi också lite styrande eftersom vi vill att de ska erfa några speciella milstolpar som ska leda fram till

C2: Den andra konserten

C1: Ja, den andra konserten, den första är deras, sedan är det vi som styr innehållet mycket mer, i en dialog naturligtvis (Asp, 2011)

Här finns det anledning att återvända till Dahlgrens (1989) definitioner av ”funktionell” och ”formell”, där uppfattningen att anknyta till elevernas erfarenheter av musik kan förstås som just en sådan ”funktionell” handling. Samtalsutdraget visar på hur musiklejarna förhåller sig till det de uppfattar som samtida musikkultur respektive den musik som eleverna själva uppfattar som intressant eller engagerande där syftet att skapa motivation för uppgiften blir ett fundament för senare mer formella handlingar. Senare flyttas fokuset från det egenupplevda till mer undersökande uppgifter av ett formellt slag:

C1: Varje sådant här sjok ska presenteras för eleverna så att de vet: ”Vad är målet med det här? Varför gör vi det här?” och så presentation av folkmusiken: så här kan det låta och det här ska vi uppnå genom att göra det här. Sedan så avslutas det med konsert omkring det temat. Det brukar också vara lärare som presenterar sitt material på ett bra sätt, att presentera sin maträtt på ett bra sätt. Sen så börjar hösten i tvåan med klassisk musik och oavsett vad man har för huvudinstrument, så ska man spela klassisk musik, man kan arrangera Fauré eller Bach, med elgitarr blandat med piano och liksom, alla möjliga, bara för att komma åt den musikaliska dynamiken och precisionen som finns i den musiken som är mer styrande på ett annat på ett positivt sätt, disciplinerat sätt för att uppnå teknik, precision, uttryck och dynamik. Det övergår sedan till blues, ett riktigt lappkast till blues, men det är för att få den här kontrasten med det här finspelet till skiten i musiken, det skitiga i musiken, smutsen ska fram och vi har ju gjort det här nu exceptionellt med tvåorna är det första gången som vi känner att vi har hittat hem i formen för de har gjort det så satans bra...

C2, C4: *skratt* (Asp, 2011)

Att knyta an till elevernas erfarenheter för att på så sätt öka motivationen att lära kan vara ett sätt att förstå undervisningens upplägg och urval, men å andra sidan kan fokus på samtida populärmusik också betraktas som ett sätt för läraren att hantera en klassrumssituation – på bekostnad av ett mer differentierat undervisningsinnehåll (se Ericsson, 2002; Ericsson & Lindgren, 2010). En fråga kan också beröra i vilken grad skolan kan förhålla sig till samtida kultur och på vilka sätt? Ett dilemma kan vara att de bilder av individ och samhälle som framställs i populärkulturen inte alls är förenlig med de etiska principer som råder i skolan och omvänt att skolans uppdrag att möta eleven blir svårare om den samtida kultur som eleverna identifierar sig med inte tillåts i skolan (se vidare Borelius & Sernhede, 2011).

En annan möjlig problematisering är också att intresset för samtida populärkultur ser ut att vara en, *i olika hög grad*, medveten didaktisk handling. Formuleringarna i Lpf 94 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994) med tillhörande kurskoder betonade exempelvis genrebredd, men i vilken mening denna genrebredd senare förstås som en didaktisk möjlighet varierar mellan skola och lärare. Så som begreppet genrebredd diskuterades av lärarna i min studie såg den didaktiska potentialen i ett vidgat genrebegrepp sällan ut att vara reflekterad eller medveten – mer än som en riktningsgivande rubrik för undervisningen. Olika genrens potential förstods i första hand som identitetsbyggande eller som grund för olika upplevelser:

A1: Där har väl jag tolkat det så att genrebredden innebär att eleverna har fått spela och traktera både instrument och sång i olika genrer

A2: Men det ger ju verktygen så att de kan använda sig av olika genrer

A4: Förhoppningsvis är det ju så att den där bredden man har i ettan och in i tvåan skapar möjligheter att utforska ny musik och ger eleverna möjlighet att skapa sig olika musikaliska identiteter

A1: De har ändå fått uppleva den genren (Asp, 2011)

Risken blir då att ett undervisningsinnehåll används utan vidare reflektion kring innehållet och dess skilda betydelser för eleverna. Kriteriet att undervisningsinnehållet är samtida eller tillhör en populärmusikalisk kontext överskuggar då andra kriterier samtidigt som musikundervisningen får oönskade konsekvenser i form av exempelvis stereotypa bilder av genus, etnicitet och klass.

En mer traditionell kulturteoretisk fråga är vad som ska eller kan uppmärksammas i en tid där det musikaliska materialet är närmast oöverblickbart? Här speglar intresset för samtida populärmusik också hur värdering av populärkultur är föränderlig. Kulturstudier har under nittonhundratalet intresserat sig allt mer för populärkultur och dessutom vidgat kulturbegreppet till att gälla fler former av kultur än tidigare (Schudson, 1987). Det leder till frågor kring vilken kultur som ska anses vara hög eller låg eller överhuvudtaget varför vissa kulturyttringar kan räknas till ett kulturbegrepp medan andra inte gör det. En mer konservativ förståelse av kultur kan beskrivas med Matthew Arnolds ord: ”the best knowledge, the best

ideas of their time” (Arnold, 1869). Därigenom skiljs också vardaglig masskultur från elitens finkultur, vilken lyckas formulera det som höjer sig över mängden. Ett sådant snävt urval av kultur har kommit att prövas, med flera forskare inbegripna i att vidga kulturbegreppet till att omfatta all den kulturproduktion som äger rum. Hall (1981) för fram kritik mot ett statistiskt kulturbegrepp och förstår gränsdragningen mellan hög respektive låg kultur som något vilken ständigt skiftar. Därför är föreställningar kring vad som ska anses vara ”elitens kultur” inte bundet till ett visst innehåll – Hall beskriver istället kulturbegreppet i termer av ”forces and relations”. Vad som är finkultur är inte en gång för alla avgjort (se också kapitel 11 i denna antologi).

Det kulturvetenskapliga fältet har sedan 1960-talet också ägnat mer uppmärksamhet åt hur kultur också kan förstås som intertextuell förståelse, vilket överskrider förståelsen begränsad till originalverket. *Odyssén* blir ur ett intertextuellt perspektiv då mer än Homeros epos – det är också alla de mänskliga handlingar som berättat och återberättat eposet. *Odyssén* refererar då inte endast till originalverket, utan också alla de meningar och innebörder vilka förs vidare genom en gemensam återberättelse. James Joyces *Ulysses* (Joyce, 1922/1946) blir då en del av en intertextuell process, där en text refererar vidare till en annan och samtidigt omöjlig att berätta utan dessa förgreningar i tid. Med Roland Barthes syn på hur ett konstverk skiftar från Verk till Text blir också kultur förstått som något vilket också produceras av läsaren lika mycket som av konstnären (Barthes, 1977). Barthes föreslår hur fokus ska ägnas *läsningen* – den lekfulla akt där läsaren gör världen begriplig för och genom sig själv. Med Barthes blir uppgiften för universitet (eller skolan, vill jag tillägga) inte att lägga fokus på att finna ”the best ideas” utan på att utveckla läsandet som akt i syfte att komma närmare den text som ska förstås: ”The task is to diminish the distance between writer and reader, writing and reading, and encourage students to be players” (Schudson, 1987).

Ett sådant perspektiv på populärkultur förstår då inte exempelvis genreval som insamlandet av värdefulla artefakter längs med en i förväg utstakad väg – utan som ett sätt att förstå, relatera och leka med världen, inte utan kritiska inslag. Schudson gör en intressant anmärkning när han påpekar att en förändring i synen på verk till förmån för text inte får frågan om distinktioner eller etik att försvinna: om studenter ska bli lekfulla läsare och klara språnget mellan verk och publik upphör inte frågorna kring varför och på vilket sätt dessa ska bli bättre läsare. Finns det särskilda verk som bättre än andra exemplifierar den textliga kommunikation som läsaren behöver möta för att lättare våga språnget mellan verk och text? Ett annat perspektiv på valet av innehåll utifrån dess relevans som antingen rik på Text eller tillhörande en traditionell kanon värd att bevara, kan vara att förstå (populär-)kultur som något mer än bara de objekt den består av. Hall (1981) föreslår ett alternativt sätt att förstå begreppet *populär* genom att uppmärksamma inte kulturens objekt eller sakinnehåll, utan istället alla de gränsdragningar och kamper vilka definierar kultur. Med en sådan definition av populärkultur blir det viktigare att se vad som skapar under- och överordnad kultur eller vilka strukturer

som gör gällande att ett visst uttryck är populärkultur. Halls tänkande är inspirerat av marxistisk teori och kopplar frågan om populärkulturens gränsdragningar till klassfrågor: "what counts is the class struggle in and over culture" (s. 515). Populärkultur ställs då mot andra kulturyttringar och Hall menar att en kulturanalys ska förstå och analysera relationerna dem emellan. Därigenom blir också kampen om och definierandet av vad som är/inte är populärkultur kopplad till hur klasser definierar sig själva och varandra. Kultur (och dess definitioner) blir då också uttryck för makt och hierarkier. Hur man talar om populärkultur blir då avgörande att analysera. Här får också traditioner och traditionsbevarande mekanismer en viktig roll att spela – inte minst i ett utbildningssammanhang: "Educational and cultural institutions, along with the many positive things they do, also help to discipline and police this boundary" (s. 516). Nielsen (1998) uppmärksammar en ämnesdidaktisk inriktning med sin grund i vardagliga erfarenheter ("hverdagerfering"). Han visar hur musikämnets orientering mot elevernas egna, vardagliga erfarenheter också innebär ett spänningsförhållande mellan olika kulturbegrepp. "Vardagskultur" ställs då mot "finkultur", något som också möjliggör olika former av undervisningsinnehåll.

I en svensk musikpedagogisk kontext framstår dock samtidskulturen som relativt oproblematiserad. Den förändring av musikhögskolans undervisning vilken realiserades under 1970-talet kan spegla hur genrebredd kom att bli ett inslag i lärarutbildning och senare i musikundervisning (Olsson, 1993). Därigenom utmanades dominansen av företrädesvis klassisk musik i musiklejarutbildningarna. Detta innebar dock ingen djupare kritisk reflektion gentemot det nya innehåll som då blev en del av undervisningen. Däremot har genus- och identitetsfrågor diskuterats i relation till användningen av samtida populärmusik i en skolkontext (Danielsson, 2012; Borgström-Källén, 2011; Bergman, 2009). Det understryker behovet av att vidare försöka analysera populärmusik som del av undervisningen. I en svensk kontext verkar det dock som att populärmusikens oreflekterade användande utgör ett större problem snarare än i vilken grad musikämnet kan antas anknyta till elevernas önskemål och behov (Sandberg, 1996).

SLUTREFLEKTION

Genom det ökade intresset för ensembleämnet i styrdokument såväl som hos elever, lärare och musikundervisningen generellt – och dess relation till en samtida musikkultur förstår jag det som särskilt viktigt att närma sig ämnet med en kritisk blick. En problematik som jag vill ta upp är hur ett ämne så som det praktiseras och förstås, kan bära på en självförståelse om hur detta ämne ska eller bör undervisas och läras. Det för med sig att musikundervisning, vilken idag fokuserar på genrer och spelformer vilka är nya i ett formellt sammanhang, också för vidare uppfattningar kring genus, etnicitet, sexualitet etc. genom de arbetsformer vilka karakteriserar en praxisberoende förståelse av undervisningen. Dyndahl och Ellefsen (2011) uttrycker det genom att peka på hur en traditionell ämnesidentitet innebär att en bestämd

kunskapsmassa läggs till grund för ämnet. En sådan identitet innebär dock ett urval av kunskaper vilket inte alltid behöver vara uttalat eller medvetet. I motsats till en sådan traditionell förståelse vill de hellre se hur ett poststrukturalistiskt perspektiv på ämnesidentitet gör det möjligt att förstå ämnet som en del av den kultur det fungerar inom. Då framstår det inte som framgångsrikt att peka ut någon speciell grund för ämnet, eller någon annan form av giltig kanon eller underliggande vetenskap. Tvärtom ses den didaktiska identiteten som föränderlig och ständigt i rörelse mellan olika påverkande instanser. I musikämnet kan vi förstå hur olika uppfattningar om musikaliskt meningsskapande bildar olika förutsättningar för hur dess didaktiska identitet till slut tar form. Då blir också *fenomenet musik så som det förstås av samhället i stort* något som kan anta funktionen som grund: musikutövande så som det betraktas av utövare och publik antas utgöra den grund undervisningen ska stå på. Kanske kan det vara en förklaring till varför musikämnet i olika situationer ser ut att ha svårt att formulera en stabil pedagogisk roll: det finns så få trovärdiga förebilder i musiksamhället som kan användas i ett pedagogiskt sammanhang – annorlunda uttryckt: hur ofta får vi höra *Robyn* öva? På det sättet riskerar då musikämnet som förebild eller exempel, att bli snävt avgränsad till de färdigheter och förmågor som representeras av den samtida populärmusiken.

Regelskis (2012) diskussion kring undervisningens etik beskriver hur musikleäraren kan känna större lojalitet gentemot ett bestämt kunskapsinnehåll eller en konstnärlig princip – undervisningen får då till syfte att bevara en framträdandepraxis eller att bevaka de gränser som utgör ett musikaliskt fenomen. En sådan gränsdragning kan också bli en bärande del av utbildningskoden – de normer som karaktäriserar och bär upp en utbildning. Ett sätt att skildra hur detta kan ta sig uttryck i undervisningen och vad det kan få för konsekvenser är följande citat från en intervju med Maria Horn, dåvarande kompositionselev på Kungliga Musikhögskolan i Stockholm:

Jag tänker på läraren jag hade i elbas under gymnasiet. Hela uppfattningen om varför jag skulle öva på mitt instrument, hela känslan av vad musik handlade om, det kretsade kring att man skulle visa att man var bra. Man skulle vara tekniskt duktig och avancerad. Det kom att handla om något annat än vad jag var intresserad av. Jag var inte så medveten om det då. Jag kunde inte ta mina intressen på så mycket allvar att jag kunde se, att det jag egentligen ville själv, det stämde från början inte ihop med den allmänna uppfattningen. Det var att hitta ett personligt uttryck som var intressant för mig, men det flyttade jag bak i mitt eget medvetande på något sätt och allt handlade till slut om den rådande normen som var att vara tekniskt avancerad, att kunna hävda sig gentemot de andra och vara bra liksom. (Selander, M., 2012, s. 201)

Citatet visar också på hur ämnesidentiteten kan förstås på flera olika, också kolliderande sätt. För eleven var de egna konstnärliga ambitionerna annorlunda än de som förmedlades via läraren – undervisningens syfte och identitet skilde sig åt. Därigenom blir vissa (inte sällan genuskodade) identiteter också bärande i en undervisning på bekostnad av andra identiteter. Samtidigt finns det anledning att påminna om hur Regelski (2012) knyter undervisningens

etik till Aristoteles begrepp *fronesis* (praktisk visdom), och därigenom syftar till att hjälpa eleven utifrån elevens behov:

Phronesis thus entails an ethic of care that involves, first of all, caring for students and their needs (at least as much as caring for musical 'standards', the needs of a program, teacher's preferences, etc.) and secondly, being care-full in all the choices that involve curriculum, pedagogy, methods, materials and assessment. (Regelski, 2012, s. 18)

Han uppfattar hur undervisningen också måste innebära något för elevens kunnande efter avslutad utbildning ”In general, the emphasis is on ‘right results’ – clearly advantageous future musical consequences – for students that are the benefits the profession exists to promote” (s. 20). Det för med sig att musiklärarens, utbildningens eller traditionens intresse måste balanseras mot elevens egna motiv att studera musik – vilket inte behöver utesluta handlingar som siktar till att vidga elevens förståelse av (musik-)världen. Bernt Gustavsson (2009) menar att ett tredje sätt att förstå undervisningens balansgång mellan rationalistisk utbildning och subjektets egen önskan om bildning innebär att förhålla sig till de bägge samtidigt. I så fall borde innehållsfrågor också balansera mellan elevens egna önskningar och musiklärarens erfarenheter och kompetens.

Med Dahlgrens (1989) ”formella” och ”funktionella” begrepp kan musikundervisningens bärande aspekter förstås. Ur ett sådant perspektiv kan då ”teknisk perfektion” ses som exempel på ”formell” karaktär, medan ett musikaliskt och personligt uttryck kan vara av en mer ”funktionell” karaktär genom syftet att kommunicera en musikalisk idé. Det skulle också kunna betyda att undervisningen betonar det ena eller det andra i olika hög grad. En annan möjlig analys kan uppnås genom att fråga sig hur de olika begreppen relaterar till varandra: på vilket sätt innebär funktion också form? Det skulle kunna bli en möjlighet för musikundervisningen: att uppmärksamma och medvetandegöra elever om hur musikens formella och funktionella delar hör samman.

En annan problematik är också att undervisning utanför utbildningsinstitutionerna inte behöver vara utpräglat riktad mot ett specifikt lärande på samma sätt som annan undervisning. Här bryter olika ideal samman: dels ambitionen att färdigställa konstverk vis-à-vis elevens lärande (se Zimmerman-Nilsson, 2009), dels i urvalet av innehåll, vilket i ett informellt sammanhang kan ha att göra med identitet och personlig utveckling, medan det i ett undervisningssammanhang har andra syften. Skillnaden mellan formellt och informellt lärande blir då viktig att synliggöra. Zandén (2010) påpekar detta när han konstaterar att:

Ungdomarnas fritidslärande kan även vara mer målmedvetet, till exempel när de arbetar fram ett musikaliskt resultat ”på något loft”. Skolsituationen beskrivs som ett hot mot den kärna av kreativitet och uttrycksvilja som eleverna tilldelas. Den påverkan som kamrater utövar problematiseras aldrig och musikaliska förebilder beskrivs i allmänhet som en tillgång. Här framträder fragment av en pedagogisk teori där lärande sker genom att härma förebilder från världen utanför skolan, där fritt skapande är ett

omedvetet resultat av positiva känslor och där reflektion och undervisning har en hämmande effekt på musikaliskt lärande. (Zandén, 2010, s. 179)

Skolan, eller det formella sammanhang där ensembleundervisningen tar form, kan då sägas ha en annan uppgift framför sig än det informella lärande som tar sig uttryck i ungdomarnas fritidsmusicerande. Även om undervisningen anpassas till informella strategier (se Green, 2008) blir sådan undervisning till slut också en del av den ”formella strategin” och gränsen mellan informellt och formellt släcks ut (se Folkestad, 2006).

Vilken pedagogik blir möjlig i mötet mellan skola och populärkultur?

Med en förståelse av musikämnet grundad i vardagliga populärkulturella uttryckssätt öppnar sig också möjligheter för en musiksyn som betonar Artisten och Publiken. Det innebär att musikämnet definieras av hur det kan fungera som trovärdig representant för de populärkulturella praktiker vilken den imaginära publiken känner till. Det blir en pendang till den diskussion som Dyndahl och Ellefsen (2011) för genom att ett musikämne vilket hämtar sin grund i en vardaglig musikupplevelse är lika oproblematiserad som en mer traditionell grund vilken musikämnet sägs vila på. Den didaktiska potentialen i musikundervisningen utgår då inte från en förståelse av hur någon lär musik, utan snarare utifrån vilka artefakter som ska reproduceras och på vilket sätt.

Ur ett didaktiskt perspektiv ser det då ut som att ensembleundervisningens innehåll vad avser både mål och metod inte alltid har en självklar relation till ett avsiktligt lärande i musik, utan snarare att innehållsfrågor befinner sig i ett spänningsfält mellan musik som någon form av kulturell produkt (eller praktik) och undervisning. Då avgör i stället den kulturella produktens ställning i ett populärmusikaliskt sammanhang frågor kring undervisningens vad. Tidigare forskning har visat hur socialisationsprocesser formar musikleärarens uppfattningar kring sin yrkesroll (Bouij, 1998; Roberts, 1990). Därigenom har yrkesrollsidentiteten som musikleärare ofta formats inom en musikalisk värld med liten koppling till det allmänmusikaliska uppdrag en musikleärartjänst innebär (Bladh, 2002). Utifrån en förståelse för yrkesrollens koppling till ett populärmusikaliskt sammanhang kan undervisningen också ställas i relation till musikvärlden i övrigt. Musikleäraren och eleverna skapar utifrån en sådan syn på undervisning ett giltigt kunskapskriterium genom att efterlikna de meningsfulla processer som elever och lärare uppfattar i musiksamhället. Detta behöver inte vara något negativt men möjligen otillräckligt om undervisningen strävar efter mer än enbart de praktiker och resultat vi förknippar med den populärmusikaliska scenen. Kanske kan en sådan problematik svara på varför musikleärare har svårt att förhålla sig till styrdokument (se Sandberg, 1994) eller en musikleäroll med betoning på pedagogisk kompetens, eftersom en sådan mer pedagogiskt orienterad undervisning i otillräcklig grad förmår att återskapa de musikaliska objekt som den samtida populärkulturen producerar. Svaret blir att den ”musikerism” som Regelski (2012) kritiserar för trots allt innebär ett giltigt kvalitetstecken för de inblandade. Eller att de elever

som inte klarar av att prestera i enlighet med en sådan norm aldrig hörs tillräckligt högt i jämförelse med applåder från den beundrande publiken.

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CHAPTER 5

Hear the story in my tune – Authenticity as metamorphosis of personal and musical identity

PETER SPISSKY

To start with, I am a violinist, involved in early music. A baroque violinist. You know, historical performance practice – researching and reconstructing how music sounded then. In the baroque period. The correct way. The only way. The authentic way. I guess you'll be yawning by now, with a growing urge to turn pages and skip my boring-narrow-nerdy authenticity chapter. Still, please, try to stretch the limit of your tolerance and give me just a minute. It has now been some time since I left the brigades of the baroque police. And the description of my liberation from considering authenticity as searching for, reconstructing, copying and conserving some kind of lost original, as well as reflection on the paradoxes I encountered on the way, will touch upon themes that might interest you: identity, the self, subjectivity, ideology, and power relations.

Through my personal musical background, authenticity will be considered not as something stable, attainable by some magic formula, or by 'hard work', but as an ephemeral ever-changing outcome of ongoing conflicts that the subject, the self, experiences in the world.

Opening such a vast theme as authenticity by waving with my HIP^{*)} passport in front of you will hopefully grant me some alibi and thus a bit of a stable ground under my feet before I make a step, walk, or even dance...

So, to start with, again, this chapter is about authenticity. The term was confidently used in the early music environment in the 70s and 80s with a frequency comparable to the use of

^{*)} Historically informed performance.

the formal address ‘comrade’ in Eastern Europe during totalitarian regimes. Authentic instruments, authentic performance, authentic I-don’t-know-what, thus became a trademark enhancing the commercial value of the product (possibly inspired by the rise of labelling and distinguishing products on the market as ‘ecological’) and manifesting the air of ‘chosenness’ of HIP performers (with a confident self-assured countenance reminiscent of certain religious fundamentalists).

And yes, you are guessing right: I was born and grew up in Eastern Europe in the 70s and 80s, in Czechoslovakia (I moved to Sweden in 1989). So the somewhat far-fetched association between the terms *authenticity* and *comrade* arises from my own experiences and recollections. The implementation of rules in totalitarian systems rings the similar bell of normativity as the quest for re-implementing the rules of the one-and-only true historically informed performance.

Remembering, as a matter of fact, will open an important line of thought throughout this article. Remembering implies having been *there*. Having *been* there entitles one to the agency of an insider (especially in a sense of *coming* from there). But by being *here now* (Sweden), outside my own idiomatic former here (Slovakia), enables me to see my former here as *present there* (Slovakia), a distance necessary for reflection and re-valuation of the past, while being in a parallel process of assimilation to the *former there*, which now became my *present here* (Sweden).

This rather equilibristic exercise with (t)hereness might serve as a useful background for the reflection on the influence of cultural and political circumstances on my identity, or, in accordance with Stuart Hall, the process of identification (Hall, 1996). By setting the *identity* ‘on the move’ as *identification*, and giving up the tempting stability of a static term for the unpredictability of a process, every outspoken articulation of authenticity will appear only temporal, as a trace of a provisory ‘has-been’ (or hopeful ‘might-have-been’), rather than capturing the unequivocal authentic ‘now’.

In fact history does not belong to us; we belong to it. Long before we understand ourselves through the process of self-examination, we understand ourselves in a self-evident way in the family, society, and state in which we live. The focus of subjectivity is a distorting mirror. That is why the prejudices of the individual, far more than his judgments, constitute the historical reality of his being. (Gadamer, 1960/2004, p. 278)

In a specular relation of the self and the environment, the self does not necessarily own its choices. The share of the agency of (free) choice between the self and the circumstantial environment is, at least, blurred, if not ever-fleeting and contingent. Existential *being in the world* constitutes the essence, not vice versa. The ‘definitive’ identity thus might seem to be achieved only at the final destination, which is non-existence. But termination of an active agency of the subject does not automatically deactivate the interests of the surrounding

discourse(s). Thus even the final destination loses the attribute of finality and the apparent final essence is postponed in a chain of substitutions, representations, interpretations, and performances. “Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us” (Hall, 1996, p. 6).

My career-choices, even those appearing to be purely musical and aesthetical, will at a closer look reveal an implication in, or even an addiction to, a game enacted on the vague intersection of personal and public. Of the self and the world.

Identification is, then, a process of articulation, a suturing, an over-determination not a subsumption. There is always ‘too much’ or ‘too little’ – an over-determination or a lack, but never a proper fit, a totality. Like all signifying practices, it is subject to the ‘play’, of *différance*. (Hall, 1996, p. 4)

Well, moving between the different political systems while playing violin may seem like a perfect example of escapism. Is there any traceable continuity, any recognizable myself, my identity, as a source and condition of authenticity? Or, the question is: in all this turmoil and stormy weather, has my playing, the *how*, changed? Possibly. Has my musical story, the *what*, changed? Apparently. Has the meaning of my playing, the *why*, changed? For sure! But there is something which remains. My tune. I know my tune, in spite of the unexpected turns, losses and sacrifices. My tune lives in the ephemeral realm, in the game of temptation and evasion; the play between what-how-why evokes a resonance of promise, an eternal postponement, as the only graspable reality. Playing my tune here for you, from the beginning again, as I remember it, could provide an interesting counterpoint to the discussion of authenticity and related questions of identity, the self, and subjectivity.

So, to start with, I am a violinist... now (also) expressing myself through words. My tune can then be translated as my story.

WRITING – MUSICIAN AT A (DIFFERENT KIND OF) KEYBOARD

But, how do I strike the right key? How do I find the efficiency of flowing harmonies and beautiful melody lines on a keyboard filled with letters? Is the writing, being used to articulate my identity through music – words instead of musical sounds – a new process of identification? The best answer to these questions, in my mind, is another question: Can one ever live outside a language? Language must have ‘happened’ to us suddenly, in an instant, in an acute need to tell a story.

The myriads of events in life need sorting and selecting (done retrospectively), in order to create a coherent design of a ‘story’. A story that one constantly tells and re-tells in the course of life. In the action of telling, we live and re-live our story again and again. At some point we reach such skills in shaping it, that we can hardly set apart the actual events from the resulting story. It might seem that the story is shaping, or even generating, the actual events. The story

itself thus becomes our life. “In the end, we *become* the autobiographical narratives by which we ‘tell about’ our lives” (Brunner, 2004, p. 694).

The authentic articulation of the identity in a story is situated in, and assessed through, the interplay with the other stories in a community, rather than through a pedantic confrontation with, and a continual reinterpretation of, the actual events. The stories are enlivened in a relation with other stories, in an intensifying spiral of intertextual games, moving away from trivial authorship towards shared readership. From the insignificant silence of the event into the resonance of communication. The identity, and its authenticity, is thus constructed in a story, when the actual events are performed in the context of other performances. The process of identification is thus choreographed in a context of voices, gestures, harmony and temporal relations of the environment I found myself in.

“Kde bolo tam bolo...” these words emerge in the furthest periphery of my memory. As they probably do for most of you, in your own languages. The phrase by which every fairy-tale would start: “Once upon a time...” Exciting and exotic, inviting me to something unreal and far away... But then, when those words were uttered, without really noticing when and how, as by magic, I was immersed, through these caressing words, straight into a story. I wonder if this transcendental ‘move’, the absorbing of language through a story, should be called getting lost, or, actually, the opposite: being found...

THE GENESIS OF A VIOLINIST: SOUND MOVEMENT WORD

In the BEGINNING there was... SOUND. Well, that’s what I was told as a 6-year-old violin adept. And of course, as a disciplined and trusting student, I took the SOUND to be a synonym of MUSIC. Through some years, the SOUND would be coming more and more efficiently out of my violin, as prescribed by a TEACHER.

Many evenings, at home, when a ‘serious’ practicing was (finally) done, my brother would drop in with an accordion, my father sat down at a piano or picked up a guitar (with the upper string often-times missing) and before long, mama would join us, singing. This was WHY I loved violin! This was my reward for tedious etudes and scales! Folk dances and songs filled the room. Familiar rhythms invaded my body and I would embrace the violin – a former stranger – as if it was my dance partner – and so I found the MOVEMENT.

My mother’s timeless songs, always resounding in my ears, guided my bow, which seemed to float naturally on the waves of her voice, reading her lips, imprinting the shapes and accentuations – and so I found the WORD.

I believed that this double life – secret joys of folk music at home, while surviving tedious lessons and practising the ‘real stuff’ – was going to be my destiny. But suddenly, one day, unexpectedly, during a lesson, in a moment of neglected vigilance, the most terrible thing happened: WORD and MOVEMENT exploded out off my violin in the middle of my

etude! Shocked, I attempted to apologize, "...so sorry, professor..." and WHAT? What was THAT!?" and terrified "just... a mistake... sorry" and, actually, not so angry: "Do it again!" and unbelievably "I beg your pardon...?" and, was he really smiling? "That was IT!" yes, big smile: "GREAT!! do it again, just like THAT!"

And so I found a NEW BEGINNING: WORD and MOVEMENT. While growing up in Czechoslovakia of the 1980s, this disruption of the wall between learned and playful, in the realm of violin playing, was one of the first in a series of significant liberations: some borders were soon going to be dissolved and another wall was just about to fall...

FINDING (MY) VOICE

As I once strived to find my sound on violin, so I am now finding my voice in writing. But even in words, I don't want to lose music. Let me drum the *rhythms* of the emerging ideas, bathe in the *resonance* of the images, accent the *dissonance* of contrasts and paradoxes, and build the striking *dynamics* of my story! I know... There is a fine line between a rich metaphor and an empty cliché. But as in the beginning with violin, the 'calibration' takes time. But I bet you rather want to hear my bombastic metaphors, than to hear the first sounds I made on violin!

Calibration implies trying out, tuning in, acquiring and embodying, step by step, the idiomatic skills, as opposed to just *knowing* about, being *informed* – but not *doing*. Here lies my central point: *the idiomatic grasp enables the authentic expression of identity*. You might ask: but aren't all violinists *doing* (i.e. playing violin)? And through everyday involvement in the activity of playing, aren't they qualified as idiomatic, and manifesting their authentic identity?

I should point out that the idiomatic skill is not necessarily an achievement in itself. Idiomatic skill is a neutral attribute achieved by repetitive involvement with objects in the world. Through a regular involvement and drill, one could also become a skilful evildoer. The question of *doing* or not *doing* lies in the nature of intentionality behind the repetitive technical processes of skill acquirement. The goal could be to execute the notes on the page as 'precisely' as possible. Or, play them 'beautifully'. One could also aim to play the notes 'faster' than anybody else. Each of these goals would demand some repetitive exercises: relaxing of the bow grip, developing the flexibility and coordination of hand muscles, and automatizing the complex set of movements.

Provided that we could validate the choice of such relative categories as 'precise', 'beautiful', and 'fast', the nature of these aims can be characterized as 'solving a particular task', achieving a skill as an end in itself. Even if such an involvement with technical parameters might lead to the highest levels of professionalism, the missing 'story', the absence of the *what*, might cause this activity to remain in a category of occupation, job, or

work. Occupational character implies imitation and emulation of a prescribed model, and thus leads to identic, similar, the same, rather than identity, personal, and unique.

I will further consider the difference between occupational and existential types of performing agency in the Heideggerian section below (Being in the world). Let me finish this section with an analogy from a violin bowing. There is a remarkable difference between drawing the bow correctly in an efficient ‘sound-producing’ way and drawing the bow as part of a communicative body movement. It is in the body! It comes from the body, and the body is the measure! The bow action is an extension of an expressive bodily movement. The resulting sound is thus manifested as gesture, with a full physical impact on surrounding bodies. Not just a sonic code, which, de-coded by the ear of a listener, will evoke an abstract gesture, enjoyed in mind, but not danced in body.*)

BEING IN THE WORLD

I know some people will suspect that I mistakenly bought Heidegger’s *Being and time* (1927/1962) thinking it to be a treatise on musical timing... Well, consider this as a white flag above my head. This is not interpreting Heidegger through my music making, but rather, using a telling example from Heidegger to explain my music making.

I find his concept of coping with the equipment seen as the expression of one’s identity (rather than just an accomplishment of some particular task) a fitting analogy with the concept of idiomatic and embodied dealing with musical instruments. The way he understands the being of equipment, which in ‘readiness-to-hand’ can genuinely show itself only in dealings cut to its own measure ([playing] with a [violin]); but in such dealings, [violin] is not grasped as an occurring Thing, nor is the equipment-structure known as such even in the using. The [playing] does not simply have knowledge about the [violin’s] character as equipment, but it has appropriated this equipment in a way which could not possibly be more suitable.

The less we just stare at the [violin]-Thing, and the more we seize hold of it and use it, the more primordial does our relationship to it become. When we deal with [Things] by using them and manipulating them, this activity is not a blind one; it has its own kind of sight, by which our manipulation is guided.

In its readiness-to-hand, it must, as it were, withdraw in order to be ready-to-hand quite authentically. That with which our everyday dealings proximally dwell is not the tools themselves. That with which we concern ourselves primarily is the work – that which is to be produced at the time (Heidegger, 1962, pp. 98-99).

*) The bodily movement became a central aspect in considering the violin bowing in my ongoing doctoral research project ‘Ups and Downs – or Bowing in Time’ (started in 2010). The controversial step away from the focus on the movement of the *bow* towards the movement of the *body* as a crucial gestural context for the sound expression might recall Merleau-Ponty’s bold ‘embodiment’ of Heidegger’s Being (*Dasein*).

Dealing with equipment is expressed in the manifold assignments of the ‘in-order-to’. A house-builder uses a hammer ‘in-order-to’ hit the nails, ‘in-order-to’ build a house, ‘in-order-to’ have a shelter... But the final ‘in-order-to’ is not some concrete house to build, or to *enjoy* the shelter he has built. He builds the houses in-order-to be a house builder. Building houses becomes the authentic expression of his identity and the equipment he uses becomes ‘invisible’, as if part of his body.

DO YOU SPEAK BAROQUE?

A jazz singer once asked me during a workshop: “why are you classical guys so afraid of improvising?” Well, I thought, true. The ability to improvise must surely be the final convincing evidence of the idiomatic grasp – being ‘at home’ in what I play, knowing it as my own language, being authentic. But, there is the rub! At home and mother tongue! That was all clearly manifested when the jazz singer sang a couple of examples, improvising at ease on ‘Summer time’.

Then I got an idea: “sorry, I don’t speak jazz. But do you maybe speak Baroque?” The singer, still in an exalted mood of just finishing the song, did not notice the trap: “...sure, what ever, I show you! It is not so difficult... You must just go for it...!”

And she went for it indeed: After a couple of initial bars by the organist (a sheet of music randomly picked from a pile was Palestrina’s madrigal) the singer assumes the harmonic context and starts off with a long note on the fifth. Then, waiting for next chord, while ‘crescendo-ing’ the long note, she is making ready for a number of melodic possibilities, which will be determined by the next chord. She would stay on the same note if the dominant chord appears, or go one step up, or down, if it is subdominant. But, it is none of the expected chords. The sustained note crashes awkwardly with a chord strange to the jazz vocabulary. A confident jazz-shape of the long note waivers, the singer tries a couple of turns up and down to save it. To keep herself safe, she intonates a couple of sequences shadowing the movement of the bass. But she realizes she has to take some risks to make her point. And that’s the beginning of the end. In front of a curious crowd of early music nerds, the jazz singer attempts a bold offensive with a beautiful jazz figuration. But like a bird intending to take off towards the blue sky but crashing in shock into an ‘invisible’ window glass, the beautiful jazz figure burns its wings as soon as it is airborne and crashes in a kamikaze fashion into the last chord and bursts into pieces.

IS THERE A MUSICAL ‘MOTHER TONGUE’?

We skipped back to jazz, to resume a friendly conversation. She acknowledged it is not “...just go for it!” after all. She seemed even to feel pity for us: The canon of the violinistic repertoire, with the broad array of styles, demands from us to master a period of nearly five hundred years. Learning such a vast diversity of styles, and being forced to generalize, we do

not seem to have any ‘home’, a musical ‘mother tongue’, a style we are born with.

That made me think: with nine languages in which I am able to communicate, none of them ever gets close to the nuances and word-play I am able to do in Slovak. The jazz singer is singing... jazz. Not just jazz in general, but her own personal style. She can improvise, play with the tunes freely; and occasionally she even seems to break the rules deliberately, the very rules she does not seem to need. Caccini’s sprezzatura^{*)} comes to mind, when the rules are embodied and mastered to such a level, that some spirited negligence, or, as Andrew Lawrence-King put it, *cool attitude* (Lawrence-King, 2011), brings the last touch, the air of mastery, without showing any eagerness or effort.

This brings us back to the discussion of idiomatic, embodied, and gestural playing. Instead of just aiming at fulfilling the rules, knowing and demonstrating the how, the idiomatic player is aiming at the *what*, a message, a story. With this objective, the idiomatic player is not following, fulfilling or breaking the rules, (s)he is (unconsciously) creating them.

The freedom of a jazz player emanates paradoxically from being situated in a narrow tradition with a seemingly limited scope of expressive modes. The limitation of a classical player is paradoxically imposed by being situated in a broad tradition with the extreme diversity of expressive modes.

As I depicted in the section The genesis of a violinist above, unless I idiomatically assimilate everything I learn, unless I connect the learnt and the playful, I will remain in the above described ‘occupational’ mode of music making; emulating, imitating, and, when successful, only identical. The ability of direct embodied communication of music, which I achieved at home growing up in a folk music environment, must permeate all learnt styles and techniques in order to enter the ‘existential’ mode of music making, leading to a unique, personal identity.

This is the difference between doing and *doing* I was looking for, in the section Finding (my) voice, above. It is not primarily about how to talk or play. Music and language must occur out of an acute necessity to tell the story, or play the tune.

Does being situated within traditions really mean being subject to prejudices and limited in one’s freedom? Is not, rather, all human existence, even the freest, limited and qualified in various ways? (Gadamer, 1960/2004, p. 277)

In the concluding sections, I will apply the concepts of freedom and limitation in relation to identity as discussed above, in a broader context of power relations comparing the totalitarian and democratic political systems, as I experienced them.

^{*)} Caccini revolutionized the style of singing (single-handed, as he himself claims) in his treatise *Le nuove musiche* (1601), which resulted in the birth of a new genre, opera. He borrowed the term sprezzatura from *Il corteggiano* by Castiglione, depicting a model of a renaissance courtier.

MARGINALIZED GENRES AS A POSSIBILITY OF PERSONAL FREEDOM

Folk music was thriving during the totalitarian regime in Czechoslovakia. But although it was an inherent part of family life, as most of the family members could play several instruments or/and sing – at parties, weddings, funerals, or simply as a part of domestic daily ‘noises’ – it remained on the periphery, or non-existent, in higher musical education, in paradoxical contrast to its widespread popularity. The strategy of the instituting *power* seemed to go: “Why should we support and teach it, it just is there anyway!” The Conservatory met the inherent folk music abilities of its students with hidden embarrassment. The teachers being, as it seemed, successfully ‘healed’ from their sins of youth (such as folk or popular music), now, with the zeal of inquisitors, would take up the task of cultivation of the young adepts. There were procedures concerning how to get rid of such unworthy habits. They were simply not to enter the sacred walls of the Conservatory!

To become a baroque violinist in Czechoslovakia in the 1980s is a paradox beyond comparison. Not only was there no education for early music and performance practice. The music establishment, both educational and professional, explicitly opposed such activities as disruptive of the ‘system values’.

Can one ‘step outside’ the very tradition one is born into? Growing up in Czechoslovakia of the early 1980s, my musical identity was shaped by a strong tradition of the normative Russian violin school. As one of the ‘chosen’ ones (talents were vehemently supported by the propaganda machinery), I have successfully attended many violin competitions, where prizes were not awarded for the individuality, personal style or originality. The winners of the competitions were expected to show the highest level of appropriation and assimilation of the traditional aesthetical ideal. Everybody played the same way, but the best ones ‘even more so...’

I did become a baroque violinist in Czechoslovakia in the late 80s, in spite of everything. Although, looking back at my formative years in those turbulent times in Eastern Europe, I can see now that what might then have seemed to be – while being in the middle of things – my own decision based on my own individual (aesthetical) insights was, in fact, strongly determined by the broader context of events – cultural, social and political – which were happening around me. The urge to experiment, to explore new ways, and make things different might be the result of desperately searching for a ‘new’ identity, an escape from the normative system of totalitarian power, away from the traditional towards the alternative.

In this way, pushed towards the marginal choices, I gained a necessary space for identification, and thus, even if just in concealment, I could practise my freedom ‘against’ the power, as a condition for sustained functionality of power relations and in turn, as a basic condition for possible future change.

IDEOLOGICAL METAMORPHOSIS OF FREEDOM

I can see two kinds of agential motivation of individuals in a society: by one's own will (assumed in capitalism as a synonym of democracy), or, by enforcement (assumed in a totalitarian state). These two models have a crucial influence on the personal identity of their subjects, but to see a priori the former as a positive and the latter as a negative environment for personal freedom would be an oversimplification of mechanisms of power.

The capitalist system uses a strategy of activation of the subjects by delegating a great amount of responsibility to the individuals and their manifold businesses. The individuals in such environments, driven by a vision of success, construct their own agendas in a seemingly unrestricted space of self-realization.

Totalitarian regimes of Eastern Europe 'knew better'. The strategy of total control created an environment of but very small, if any, space for individual enterprise. The big design of the system had been installed into the personal lives of individuals, and the 'appropriate' behaviour and activities were imposed.

Thus in both systems, the achieving goals were, in many areas, similar, in spite of the gapingly different models of power relations. In fact, in Foucault's thought, if the system totally negates the freedom of the subject, we cannot talk any more of power relation. An important element of power relations is freedom.

Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are 'free'. By this we mean individual or collective subjects who are faced with a field of possibilities in which several kinds of conduct, several ways of reacting and modes of behaviour are available. Where the determining factors are exhaustive, there is no relationship of power: slavery is not a power relationship (...) [but rather] a physical relationship of constraint. (Foucault, 2001, p. 342)

But how can the power be constituted, exercised and preserved in the game of power relations, if it claims the *freedom* of the subjects? Are there some hidden mechanisms of control? Are the subjects in capitalist society really as free as it is claimed?

I understand the character of freedom in capitalist systems as 'localized'. The system tries to minimize the direct links to subjects by delegating responsibilities and power to various agents in the structure. Thus, most of the changes, conflicts, or even possible revolutions happen in a localized way, in a *closed section* of the system, which can never reach the central life-dependent part of the system. These conflicts even contribute to the growth of power and the reproduction of the system. The main condition of such hidden ideological manipulation is the seemingly free agenda of the subject agents in a localized field. At some point, the opposed local forces call upon the system to intervene, to help, and thus the effect of the conflict strengthens the system itself.

In totalitarian systems, there is no free open movement of the subject. Such a movement

of freedom is constructed in disguise, secretly, in the ‘underground’. These activities are hidden from the attention of the system, and create a space for creativity, authenticity of self-realization.

In comparison, localized fields of manifested freedom in a capitalist system, or the disguised fields of underground freedom in a totalitarian system, can produce comparable authentic cultural products. One on the basis of seeming, the other on the basis of constrained, practice of freedom.

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CHAPTER 6

Postmodernism and identity. John Cage's *Europeras 1&2* in Zurich 1991 – when a staged anarchy creates anarchy among the participants

SUSANNE RONNER LARSSON

INTRODUCTION

During the June festival in Zürich in 1991 John Cage's *Europeras 1&2* was performed at the Zürich Opera on fourteen occasions. This “opera-composition” contained arias and orchestral parts from 64 operas by Gluck to Puccini which, detached from their original context, had been merged with the help of a computer program into an entity where there was no relationship whatsoever between the parts. Even before the premiere the conflicting feelings of the participants in this postmodern deconstructed opera (also described as an anti-opera) were published in the *Zürich Opernhaus-Zeitung* and the reviews after the premiere wrote about the cleavage of the audience into a bravo- and a boo-group. During the performances some of the participants developed an anarchistic approach to their task. This culminated in a “tonal protest” by the brass section. During a performance they suddenly started to play a march. Shortly thereafter, on June 21, John Cage wrote an open letter to the orchestra (*Letter to Zurich*, 1991) in which he accused them of deliberately misrepresenting his work:

My work has been misrepresented, largely, I am sorry to say, by you musicians.

My work is characterized by nonintention and to bring this about I Ching chance operations are employed in its composition in a very detailed way. On the other hand what many of you are playing is characterized by your intentions. We are on opposite sides of the future both musically and socially.

The future is either with the governments, their wars and their laws, or it is with the world as global village, spaceship earth as one society including the rich and the poor, without nations, everyone having what he needs for living. (Kostelanetz & Cage, 2000, p. 255)

The purpose of this article is from an inside perspective (I was singing the part *Dramatic soprano* in *Europeras I*) to try to describe and explain the strong reaction to the Zurich Opera singers and orchestra to participating in *Europeras*, and to relate this to John Cage's intentions in particular, and postmodern ideas in general. Since it is my hypothesis that the strong reactions of the performing musicians and singers were caused by their feeling of a loss of identity, both with respect to their part of the opera-composition and to their profession itself, I will also refer to studies on the process of identity creation.

EUOPERAS 1&2

John Cage was invited by Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Reiner Riehm to write an opera intended to be an "irreversible negation of the opera as such". The result, *Europeras 1&2* was premiered at the Frankfurter Opera in 1987 – the same year as John Cage celebrated his 75th birthday. The title *Europeras* is a pun – pronounced in English it would sound the same as "Your operas" referring to the European operas. John Cage commented: "For two hundred years the Europeans have been sending us their operas. Now I'm sending them back".

In contrast to the classical opera which tries to integrate the arts (*Gesamtkunstwerk*), Cage wanted them to be developed independently.

This carries the independence but coexistence of music and dance with which Cunningham and I were familiar, to all the elements of theatre, including the lighting, program booklets, decors, properties, costumes, and stage action. (Kostelanetz & Cage, 2000, p. 245)

Cage retrieved the principle of independent but coexistent parameters from the serial music – being a scholar of Arnold Schönberg – in which the musical material was divided into its different parameters and then textured. Cage likens the phenomena derived from this principle to an experience he once had:

In Seville on a street corner I noticed the multiplicity of simultaneous visual and audible events all going together in one's experience and producing enjoyment. It was the beginning for me of theater and circus. (Beyst, 2005, p. 8)

The composition/the material

Even though the independent and coexistent parameters in *Europeras 1&2* may give the impression of being part of a circus performance, they are all slaves to the same master – chance. The structure of this postmodern opera, an extensive montage of elements deriving from the world of opera in the age of sampling, was determined by a randomizing computer

program (Metzger, 1987) simulating the *I Ching*. The opera, which is not conducted, is held together by a digital clock depicted on many video monitors, telling the time from the beginning of each of the two parts of the opera (*Europera I* and *Europera II*), at zero minutes and zero seconds, until their ends.

I Ching – synchronicity and causality

By tossing coins while consulting *I Ching*, the ancient Chinese book of wisdom for the numbers of its hexagrams, chance was given the spiritual context for which Cage was searching. Like Jung, Cage sought to emphasize chance to compensate for the Western emphasis on logic and causality.

I have termed synchronicity a concept that formulates a point of view diametrically opposed to that of causality. Since [causality] is mere statistical truth and not absolute, it is a sort of working hypothesis of how events evolve one out of another, whereas synchronicity takes the coincidence of events in space and time as meaning something more than mere chance, namely a peculiar interdependence of objective events among themselves as well as with the subjective (psychic) state of the observer or observers. (C. G. Jung foreword to *The I Ching: or, Book of Changes*, 1950, p. xxiv)

Even though it has later been shown that *I Ching* does not reject the principles of causality but includes them as the basis for the temporal ordering of things, Cage used the formulation “*I Ching* chance operations” (Hayles, 1994, p. 226). John Cage, citing Buckminster Fuller about “the east wind” meeting the “west wind”, writes: “These two tendencies met in America, producing a movement into the air, not bound to the past, traditions, or whatever” (Cage, 1961, p. 73). This is also the reason, he says, why America has an intellectual climate suitable for radical experimentation. By combining oriental wisdom and occidental computer technology Cage produced what Zeller (1991) referred to as an excessive deconstruction of the species opera.

The stage

The stage set consisted of randomly chosen images found in the *Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt* – particularly depicting composers, opera singers, animals and landscapes. These black and white images were given randomly defined time-brackets as well as randomly defined movements above and on the stage which, like a chessboard or the table of hexagrams, was divided into 64 numbered squares.

The lighting – 6000 elements in a black and white scale – was controlled by a randomizing computer program regardless of the action on stage. Andrew Culver, Cage’s collaborating assistant on *Europeras 1&2* in Frankfurt and Zurich stated:

He (Cage) was very excited about being able to do his own lighting. He spoke of it as the principal experimental aspect of making the *Europeras* and as theatrically the most radical result of the whole process. He wanted to treat light as he’d been suggesting people to consider sounds, that is, as individual points each the center of its own

universe, the multiplicity of the interpenetration being without regard for what the viewer experiences. In lighting the phrase generally used was “without regard for illumination”. (Bernstein & Hatch, 2001, p. 197)

The musicians

The music (or the material, as Cage would say), was found but not composed by John Cage, and so you could refer to this music as “music trouvée” (cf. “l’art trouvée”). As already mentioned, the instrumental parts consisted of fragments of operas from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From all the orchestral scores collected in the Metropolitan Opera Library those with copyright were removed. Out of the remaining hundreds of operas 70 were selected at random. Thereafter a random selection of isolated musical fragments from these operas was made for every instrument represented in the opera orchestra – 28 in all. These parts were to be played solo – that is, *one* 1st violin, *one* 2nd violin etc. – within a randomly defined time (*time-bracket*).

The opera singers

19 opera singers, representing the 19 different voice categories in the chosen operas, each selected 7 arias out of these operas to be sung in tone and complete, that is, the duration of every aria was to be as if accompanied by an orchestra. The time it would take to perform every single aria could be seen as a *time-bracket* which always had the same length. The beginning time of every aria and the *time-brackets* for movements and actions within the arias were randomly defined (see an example of one singer’s score in the Appendix). The successive or simultaneous order of all 133 arias was randomly defined. Compared to the fragmental orchestral part, the intact arias represent a significant privilege given to the singers. The claims of the “traditional opera” were thus made visible.

The actions on stage and the props were randomly chosen from *Webster’s Dictionary of the English Language*. The time-brackets and the coordinates for the actions were randomly chosen. When too many actions were allotted to a singer to be carried out simultaneously, an assistant was provided to perform some of the actions.

The costumes were randomly chosen from an encyclopedia with historical costumes borrowed from the *Fashion Institute* in New York, and were neither related to which aria was sung nor to the action on stage. Cage deliberately chose the costumes to be the only colored items on stage in order to draw more attention to and thus to emphasize even more the privileged position of the opera singer.

The notation

Only the musicians had traditional notation. To prevent serious collisions between singers, dancers, props and stage settings on stage a new score system was developed. The singer’s score from Frankfurt 1987 was used in the Zürich production. It was allowed to change the

arias but not the other parameters such as time, place, action, costumes and props. Thus the time of the new aria had to correspond with that of the original one.

The plot

Even though there is no structured dramatic development to be found in Europeras, John Cage made 12 different librettos by combining randomly chosen fragments of existing librettos. These librettos were then randomly distributed to the audience, one per program, so that different members of the audience had different narratives to follow.

THE REACTIONS

Before the premiere

In the *Zürcher Opernhaus-Zeitung No.6*, distributed by the Zurich Opera house before the premiere the expectations and reactions of the management as well as all the participants (musicians, singers, dancers, stagehands etc.) were quoted. This was, in my opinion, not only a way of paying attention to the conflicting thoughts and emotions concerning *Europeras* but also a means of exciting the expectations of the audience coming to experience this controversial opera. The Director of Opera, Christoph Groszer, who concluded his last season in Zurich with this production, stated briefly that “this finale will be a pleasurable horror”, whereas the Music Director, Ralf Weikert, was of the opinion that what appears to be provocative is just an attempt to question old traditions and thinking structures. There is no need to prepare oneself before going to look at the opera, he said, as long as you are curious and open-minded about “what hasn’t been heard” (here Weikert makes a pun on the word “Unerhörtes” which also could mean something being scandalous). The Director of Casting, Ulrich Peter, was enthusiastic about the idea of producing an opera without any intention of subjective creativity, but where everything is subdued to objective random selection.

The singers experienced their task as very difficult. They had to concentrate in a new way – they were not to act and express emotions or to interact musically. Many reacted negatively thinking themselves abused as “singing computers” without any possibility of creating an artistic statement. One singer found it amusing but, on the other hand, incompatible with the idea of music as a uniting element – as everyone was driven into isolation. Another singer was enthusiastic, because participating in *Europeras* was for him his most important performing experience ever.

The reactions of the musicians were also diverse. A violinist found the idea incomprehensible – only by coincidence would there be a musical statement, and when this occurred it would still come out as “rather chaotic”. A bassoon player found that the use of the random process had gone too far. There were too many longeurs because nothing was happening – and everyone is expecting something to happen, he said. The trombone player

was amused that he for once could experience what he never experienced before – to be on stage and in contact with everyone from the stage-crew to the singers.

The performances

The reaction of the audience on the opening evening was intense. One critic said that he had never experienced such a rebellious premiere-audience at the Zurich opera house before. As John Cage entered the stage he was encountered by equally loud “boos” and “bravos” and some of the opera singers demonstrated their annoyance by whistling.

The leading Zurich papers, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* and *Tages-Anzeiger*, gave the best ratings to the production, but there were also papers with negative reviews. The following headlines may serve to illustrate that no one left the performance unaffected:

„Zerlegt, ausgebreitet, durcheinandergewirbelt“ [Disassembled, spread, thrown into turmoil]

„Die Gattung Oper demontiert – und resümiert“ [The opera genre dismantled – and summed up]

„Kalkulierte Anarchie im Opernhaus“ [Calculated anarchy at the opera house]

„Die Opernbühne als Zirkusmanege“ [The opera stage as circus ring]

„Wer hält hier wen zum Narren?“ [Who is fooling whom here?]

„Wer hat Angst vor John Cage?“ [Who is afraid of John Cage?]

„Sänger piffen ihre eigene Vorstellung aus“ [Singers booed off their own performance]

„Isolation im mechanischen ‚Opernmix‘“ [Isolation in mechanical ‘operamix’]

„Buh und Beifall für John Cages Operncollage“ [Booes and applause for John Cage’s operacollage]

„Gemischter Ariensalat im Opernhaus“ [Mixed aria-salad in the opera house]

„John Cages Europeras I + II erregte die Gemüter im Zürcher Opernhaus“ [John Cage’s Europeras 1&2 provoked feelings in the Zurich opera house]

„Warum? Warum nicht!“ [Why? Why not?]

„Ein babylonisches Operngewirr“ [A babylonian opera-jumble]

„Ein gigantisches Perpetuum des Operngeschichtes“ [A giant perpetuum of opera-history]

The reactions of the audience at the remaining performances varied. In my opinion this had to do with the degree to which the performers were concentrating on their task. At performances where the randomly chosen parameters were respected the bravos would dominate, when they were neglected the boos would be louder.

Due to the fact that there was only one player for every instrument, the brass group was seated way back on stage so as not to be too dominating acoustically. Since they were sitting next to the stage entrance it occasionally happened that they would ask a colleague to play

some of the sparse notes they would have to play – and instead go to the nearby cafeteria and drink coffee. Perhaps it was because of the many “longeurs” and the fragmented phrases that this group slowly developed a strong sense of frustration which led to their playing a march at one of the performances. This open rebellion prompted a strong counter reaction not only by John Cage – but by all of us participating in the performance. It was as if you had suddenly played dissonant music in a Mozart opera. To me it seemed that for a second everyone was holding his breath. My first thought was that Cage had deliberately wanted to provoke this reaction, but his open letter to the orchestra on June 21st clearly showed that this was not the case.

We all know that many of you are not playing the notes that appear in your parts. Instead, you are playing operatic melodies you remember, and, some of you, particularly the woodwinds, in parallel thirds, and a few others, particularly the brass, now and then, in conventional harmonies.

The melodic freedoms you have taken I gave the singers who, as you know, sing arias of their own choice. The same freedoms were not given to you. Your parts are made up of excerpts from actual instrumental parts in the literature. We learn from these that many composers in the past used remarkably few notes, except for their melodies, just one or two and, exceptionally, three. That is, perhaps, not exciting news, but it gives to my work a certain space and lightness, which your licenses turn into thickness and heaviness. I am particularly unhappy when a well-known melody is played by many of you at nearly the same time: it's as though one of you had caught a cold and were infecting the others. In *Europera 2* there are two sections where general inactivity gives a refreshing emptiness. You fill this up so that there is no rest of any kind. During the second of these sections some of you on June 15 began engaging in faulty tone production, suggesting your disgust with the work as whole. (Kostelanetz & Cage, 2000, p. 255)

As for the singers in *Europeras 1&2*, their protests were more subtle. In order to win back the attention of the audience one singer exceeded her time-bracket by deliberately holding a high tone in her aria far too long. Another singer would sing a nonsense text to show his frustration. The audience probably never noticed these particular actions, but in my opinion the lack of concentration on these evenings had a negative influence on how the spectators experienced the performance as whole.

Affective reactions to Cage's music

This was not the first confrontation that John Cage had with an orchestra. In “When Orchestras Attack!” (1975) Benjamin Piekut describes how the New York Philharmonic sabotaged the performance of John Cage's *Atlas Ellipticalis* in 1964 by refusing to follow the score or to take the instructions and parameters seriously at all and how they booed along with the audience when John Cage came out at the end of the piece. Twenty years later, in an interview, John Cage describes the Philharmonics as a group of gangsters doing everything wrong on purpose, not to make fun of something like children would, but to ruin it like grownups with “artistically criminal minds”.

In an article in *Los Angeles Times* in 1993, Mark Swed describes the reaction of the participants in the Frankfurt production of *Europas 1&2* in 1987. They were not ready to rethink their jobs, he says. Not that they were asked to do anything different from what they usually did – they were doing exactly what they were used to doing – the disturbing thing was that they were doing it in a new and disorienting context. Everyone involved, from the singers to the stage hands and the audience, were suddenly treated as individuals. This kind of opera is a theatre circus in which each thing that happens is at its own center, Cage had said, and everyone involved is forced to find his or her own focus.

According to Heinz-Klaus Metzger, the dramaturge in Frankfurt, it was this overthrowing of operatic government that caused the most protest. The singers adapted well, and even found that through the great concentration required of them some sloppy habits that had crept into their singing had been revealed to them. But there was tremendous resistance particularly from the stage-crew. Two days before the premiere the opera house, where Cage and his partner Cunningham were staying, was set on fire by an arsonist and destroyed. A vagrant was accused of the crime, but Cage was not convinced; he believed it to be sabotage. Several weeks later *Europas 1&2* was successfully produced in a Frankfurt playhouse, but the trauma experienced remained with him.

Still, according to Holtz (2012) this spectacular beginning of “the last opera scandal of the 20th century” could in a music history perspective be seen as a metaphor of the negation of the European opera – and the real arsonist would then be Cage himself.

JOHN CAGE’S INTENTIONS

The silent prayer

By rejecting the historically parameters of melody, harmony, rhythm Cage set out to explore the presentable aspects of music. With his piece *4'33"*, tacet for any instrument or instruments from 1955, John Cage composed a manifesto against the fully structured and notated music which he thought predictable while bound to historical styles and expectations. With a piece where the musical content and hence expectations were reduced to a minimum, the performer would be open to the spontaneous flow of musical imagination, and performing music would be a *creative* rather than *re-creative* act – it would be *presentational* rather than *representational*.

4'33" (its 273 seconds is a metaphor for the *absolute zero* $-273,2^{\circ}\text{C}$, where vibratory activity is stilled and silence is absolute) is considered to be the paradigmatic piece of experimental music because it is the most empty of its kind and so the most full of possibilities. The emptiness will be filled by the listener whose mind must be open, free-flowing and capable of supplying its own meanings. Through creative participation the listener becomes more important than the composer, and thus the distinction between the *self* and the *other*, the listener and the music is minimized. This creative act of *presentational*

listening admits the unknown into the experience of music but is also a process of negotiation with the outer world.

The social problem

With compositions indeterminate as to composition as well as to performance Cage hoped to set in motion processes that engaged the musical imagination of the performer. Except for the pianist David Tudor it was hard to find musicians who had the necessary performing skills as well as the imagination and spiritual capacity. Cage wanted the musicians to be free, but giving too much freedom had often led to disruptive behavior. He thought that the problem was not simply musical but also *social*. Society would only change when the individual was prepared to change – and the individual musician would only change by playing unfamiliar music which did not mean anything in particular, namely, when it was simply “vibratory activity” needing no support to give us pleasure.

We are living in a period in which many people have changed their mind about what the use of music is or could be for them. Something that doesn't speak or talk like a human being, that doesn't know its definition in the dictionary or its theory in the schools, that expresses itself simply by the fact of its vibrations. People paying attention to vibratory activity, not in reaction to a fixed ideal performance, but each time attentively to how it happens to be this time, not necessarily two times the same. A music that transports the listener to the moment where he is. (Kostelanetz & Cage, 2000, p. 246)

In his article “The intent of the musical moment” (Bernstein & Hatch, 2001), Austin Clarkson notes that Cage was unable to persuade the Zurich opera orchestra to take the right attitude and practice the necessary discipline. Since they were apparently unfamiliar with experimental music, Clarkson suggests that a series of exercises in presentational music-making, including several “run-throughs” of *4'33*” should have been scheduled before the actual rehearsals began. In an interview about the problem of getting musicians to change their attitude towards Cage's music David Tudor suggested that it would have been better if they had been more fully aware that they all were individuals. For Cage and Tudor *the individual* was someone whose actions not only arose from the *ego-system* but also from the *self-system* – which Clarkson refers to as “the guiding center of the personality, the source of ethical impulses that link the individual to society” (Bernstein & Hatch, 2001, p. 74). The ego-system could also be described as the cognitive or conscious mind and the self-system as the intuitive or unconscious mind.

The transpersonal experience

According to Cage the goal of the creative process was the transformation of the individual. This was a concept for which he found much support in Jung, who regarded the purpose of psychological work as “discovering from images thrown up from the unconscious the meanings that guide the individual on the path to wholeness” (Bernstein & Hatch, 2001, p.

82). Jung found an analogy of this process, which he called “the process of individuation” in *Zen and the I Ching*.

There are two principle parts of each personality: the conscious mind and the unconscious, and these are split and dispersed, in most of us, in countless ways of directions. The function of music, like that of any other healthy occupation, is to help to bring those separate parts back together again. Music does this by providing a moment when, awareness of time and space being lost, the multiplicity of elements which make up an individual become integrated and he is one. This only happens if, in the presence of music, one does not allow himself to fall into laziness or distraction. (Kostelanetz & Cage, 2000, p. 41)

Cage thought that if the conscious mind would give up some measure of control, that is when the ego-system would share control with the self-system, a transpersonal “It” would play. The conscious attitude of the performer would in this way become more flexible and expand to incorporate the roles of the composer and listener. When the ego-system gets in touch with the self-system it will be less critical and judgmental, he said, which facilitates the creative process. The ego must let go of the fear of failure and leave open the question of what is next so that the self-system may participate and answer the question.

To reach this transpersonal position Cage suggested that performers be more “playful” in their attitude – like a child who through playing, using her whole personality and creativity, discovers the *self*. In this way the presentational state of awareness that Cage desired could be achieved. This playful, questioning attitude of the performer would also invite the listeners to open up their own imagination, and no longer just stand outside the experience in order to describe and analyze it, but to be co-creative in their perception of it.

Clarkson describes how professional musicians experienced their entrance into a transpersonal state as a sense of being outside themselves, anonymous in the moment of now where there is just sound happening. The diminished functioning of the ego-system felt like losing one’s identity and sense of rational discrimination. But there was a gain in the state of heightened awareness that incorporated the roles of performer, composer, and listener. And a spiritual quality arose when the musician sensed a merging with the instrument and the music in a holistic “sound” that was happening, as though the musician was being played by the music. Moreover, this presentational state enfolded the musician and the attentive members of the audience in a communal flow of meanings.

The tertiary process

The intermediate or luminal zone between the unconscious and the conscious Jung called the transcendent function because it transcends the standpoint of both the ego and the unconscious. Silvano Areti called this area of intersection between *the primary* and *secondary processes* the *tertiary process* and identified it as the source of creativity. Cage showed his familiarity with the tertiary process, describing it as a lost awareness of time and space.

In a pilot project with graduate student volunteers from York University in Toronto 1996 exercises were made to activate the tertiary process. Clarkson describes one of them – a two-phase exercise for imagining music in silence:

Working in pairs, participants sit in chairs facing each other. First they are asked to imagine a musical solo. After six minutes, they are asked to write about or draw what they have imagined. Then they share their experiences and the discussion is taped. For the second phase, they again sit in pairs and this time imagine performing a musical duet with the partner. After six minutes, they again write or draw the results and then share with the group.

In general, participants respond to the duet exercise by imagining that they are engaged in a musical exchange as separate individuals. Then, after a while, they experience an entity to which both partners seem to contribute actively. [...] Participant A reported the imagined entity as light energy that formed a strong, harmonious bond with her partner, while participant B reported that it was a column made of sounds and colored lights that took shape between them and became an egglike form: “I felt that right between us there was this round thing made out of lights and blues and purples. It was music also. It was both of our musics together, so it wasn’t one answering the other – it was both of them occurring at the same time as one. I knew that both our sounds were together.” With no other stimulus or guidance than the instruction to imagine a musical solo and then a duet, the transitional space between the participants became a highly charged transpersonal field of synaesthetic images. Each participant perceived that her separate identities had merged in a mutually generated “third thing” that was different from what either contributed alone. (Bernstein & Hatch, 2001, pp. 99-100)

Clarkson supposes that musicians who have developed this ability will bring awareness to any music they play. He is also convinced that the data from this project support Cage’s premise that focusing on transpersonal communication has an effect on social interactions.

The intentions and the paradoxical outcome

Seated in the auditorium and watching the rehearsal of *Europera 2*, I am fascinated to experience the “soundscape” created by my colleagues. Filigree musical threads that never come into contact with each other can be heard in the musical space. I focus on one of them, and then suddenly discover another that I decide to follow until the movements of a dancer takes all my attention. My neighbor is laughing – why? Oh, a zeppelin with the text NOHOPERA is coming in through the auditorium – but I prefer to look back at the stage where now some of my colleagues are singing their arias simultaneously and overlapping. Which one will I follow? I am free to choose.

A moment ago, I was detained in *Europeras 1* by the parameters of time and space singing the opera arias of my choice as if accompanied by an orchestra. But there was no one playing *with* me – neither musicians, singers nor audience. Like an autistic opera singer I was isolated in my own space-time world with borders defined by a digital watch and a chessboard-stage, concentrating on singing the aria in pitch and time – but for whom? There was no guarantee that anyone would pay any attention to me. The only communication I

experienced was that of the digital watch, telling me what time it was. The only freedom I had had lay in having chosen my opera arias. But in a way I was fascinated to experience this new way of concentrating.

Today, 21 years later, looking at the video-recording of this rehearsal it is impossible to experience the same soundscape. But, looking at the video 21 years ago would not have created this feeling either. As John Cage said, the experience of a recording compared to a live concert is like “looking at a postcard of a landscape instead of being there”. But if I speed up the video I’m fascinated to see the movements of bodies, props and scenes – and I then realize how all these randomly chosen actions were subjected to a rigid framing in order to avoid collisions. This makes me curious to look at the simultaneousness of rigor and freedom in *Européras 1&2* and their interaction. Can the musicians and singers have a playful, questioning attitude to the composition when they are imprisoned in a rigid structure? Is it necessary to subdue the performers in order to give the audience freedom? Is this the “death of the author” (Barthes, 1968) and performer, with the creative process being placed exclusively in the hands of the audience? Is this the death or revival of the opera?

John Cage not only places a bomb under the opera, but also under the world that is embodied by it. Thus, the ‘independent but coexistent’ parts are not only a negation of the integration of the arts in one encompassing Gesamtkunstwerk, but also a prelude to the completed anarchistic society. (Beyst, 2005, p. 4)

The death of the authority

I think the answer to the question posed at the end of the previous section would be that Cage as an anarchist sought the death of authority and the opera was the musical form or historical institution incorporating the strongest hierarchical structure. He did not want the death of the opera, but through the deconstruction of it he wanted us to be able to see its underlying structure of power relationships. According to Derrida deconstruction “concerns itself with rendering visible the presence of that which is absent or about re-focusing what has been pushed into the blind spot of vision” (Dyndahl, 2008, p. 131).

That the most authoritarian person, the conductor, was replaced by a digital watch was a symbolic act that in my opinion did not provoke any strong reactions. To make the position of the opera singers more apparent Cage deliberately stressed their privileges by giving them colored costumes against the black-white staging and the opportunity to sing complete arias chosen by themselves whereas the musicians only had the opportunity to play randomly chosen fragments of melodies or accompanying parts. This sharpened power relationship could have been one reason why the brass musicians on June 15th reacted by playing a march.

But I also want to point to other factors that could have caused this reaction. One of the factors was surely the pressure put on the opera-singers and the orchestra at the Zurich Opera not only to perform a demanding piece like *Européras* without any kind of preparation for this

totally new concept and how it was to be handled, but also the fact that in June they had to alternate performances of *Europerras* with *Der Ring des Nibelungen*. Was the confrontation Cage versus Wagner planned? The statement of the Director of the Zurich Opera house that the finale will be “a pleasurable horror” might perhaps suggest this idea. Perhaps Cage himself was delighted with this shock treatment of the art of opera triggered by the collision of the two conflicting concepts “independent and coexistent parts” and “Gesamtkunstwerk”, but the performers certainly were not.

Another factor may have been a feeling of a loss of professional identity due to the new non-hierarchical system, containing not just one authoritarian center but many independent and coexisting individual non-authoritarian centers offering no possibility to negotiate an identity. Was this the death of the process of identity?

POSTMODERNISM. . .

According to Lyotard (1979) postmodernism is not modernism at its end but in the nascent state – and this state, he says, is constant. Postmodernism searches for new presentations in order to put forward the *unpresentable* – “Ideas of which no presentation is possible” (p. 361). The postmodern work is not governed by preestablished rules – thus it cannot be judged by applying familiar categories to it. The rules and categories are that what the piece itself is looking for.

In the same year as *Europerras 1&2* premiered at the opera in Zurich Jameson (1991) wrote about the importance of seeing postmodernism not as a style but as a “cultural dominant: a conception which allows for the presence and coexistence of a range of very different, yet subordinate features” (p. 56). He characterizes postmodernism with the paradoxical slogan: “difference relates”. This new relationship of disjointed subsystems and random raw materials demands of the postmodern viewer the ability to see all the parts at once in their radical and random difference. To describe the effects of this disjunction, a feeling of “free-standing isolation”, he writes:

Think, for example, of the experience of John Cage's music, in which a cluster of material sounds (on the prepared piano for example) is followed by a silence so intolerable that you cannot imagine another sonorous chord coming into existence, and cannot imagine remembering the previous one well enough to make a connection with it if it does. (p. 73)

He also stresses the need for the individual body to locate itself – to map its position in a “mappable external world” (p. 83). Describing the *Bonaventura Hotel* Jameson states that the newer architecture wants to expand our sensorium and our body “to some new, as yet unimaginable, perhaps ultimately impossible, dimensions” (p. 80) – a postmodern hyperspace. In his description of the experience of taking the escalators and elevators in the inner space of the hotel – these “physical trajectories” being seen as “virtual narratives and stories” – his

impression is that in this room, where it is impossible to seize the volume, the constant movements give us a feeling that the emptiness is absolutely packed. Looking at *Europeras 1&2* I get a similar impression of this “postmodern hyperspace” – the narrative physical trajectories in the spacious architectural landscape now being replaced by narrative musical threads in the spacious musical landscape – or soundscape as Cage would say. And as in *Bonaventura Hotel* you have to choose among these alternative mobile narrative paths, not knowing where they will take you, to be able to map and remap your surroundings perceptually and cognitively. And thus the text’s unity lies not in its origin but in its destination – it is the death of the Author (cf. Barthes, 1968).

... AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

The identity is socially constructed in an ongoing process within different discourses. Foucault sees the construction of identity as the expression of a power relationship. The shifting power within all interpersonal actions forms the individual by causing her to make individual choices and take up positions. These actions will over time produce the identity within a field.

In effect, what defines a relationship of power is that it has a mode of action that does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on possible or actual future or present actions. ... A power relationship, on the other hand, can only be articulated on the basis of two elements that are indispensable if it is really to be a power relationship. Basically, power is less a confrontation between two adversaries or their mutual engagement than a question of “government”. (Foucault, 2001, p. 340)

The individual is controlled by the power in the form of authority, requirements and standards but she also governs herself through the knowledge that frames her practice and how she relates to her own knowledge and its limits. It is the technologies of the self, strategies that the individual uses on herself, which primarily show how identities are created.

[The 4th category is the] technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conducts, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality. These four types of technologies hardly ever function separately, although each one of them is associated with a certain type of domination. (Foucault, 1994, p. 225)

Identity and “the Other”

Bergesen Schei (2007) introduces the concept *identiting* (my translation of Norwegian *identitering*) meaning the unfinished process of creating the self. *Vocal identiting* is a process in which “the other”, for instance in the form of the audience, will always be involved in shaping the singer’s self-perception. The external requirements “move in” and serve as the

individual's own controlling tool (Sandgren, 2005). An identity emerges in a continuous and lifelong process, where the understanding of the outer world is interwoven with your own experience of who you are and who you would not like to be.

Frith (1996) also describes identity as a mobile process. It is not a thing – it is a becoming, not a being. The identity comes from outside to inside – it is something we try and take upon us, not something we reveal or discover. Hall (1996) sees the creation of identity as a never ending process and only possible through “the Other”.

Identities are constructed through, not outside, difference. This entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relations to the Other, the relation to what is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its *constitutive outside* that the ‘positive’ meaning of any term – and thus its ‘identity’ – can be constructed. (Hall, 1996, p. 4)

Identifying the ego- and the self-system

It is obvious that a performer needs feed-back from the outer world to be able to construct an identity, and as *Europeras* does not allow any subjective communication either with the audience or with the other performers, there is a feeling of loss of identity. To an opera singer as well as to a professional musician who has practiced for many years and is drilled in the musical-technical skills as well as having developed self-strategies in order to achieve success and avoid failure, it is very bewildering to be in this “no man's land” searching for your professional identity.

I am sure John Cage did not intend the death of opera-singers and opera-orchestras; he wanted to free them not only from the authority of an old tradition but also from its influence on the art of performance. Perhaps my time-space prison was really the only way to diminish the functioning of the ego-system and to give up some measure of control to the self-system. By letting the conscious cognitive mind of the ego-system focus on the parameters of time, space and pitch, the intuitive unconscious center of the self-system gained more freedom. That is, there was a loosening of the self-controlling system, letting the body sing rather than the mind.

The speech-theory of the phenomenologist Merleau-Pontys says that speech sits in the tongue, as it has been transposed into the body and become embodied knowledge and skill and acts spontaneously (Bengtsson, 2001, p. 8). By analogy with this, years of singing, playing an instrument or dancing ought to leave one with embodied knowledge and skill that would function spontaneously guided by the unconscious self-system (Ronner Larsson, 2010). This I once experienced when at short notice I was guesting at an opera house in Germany. In the middle of the performance, where I had just had a dialogue, I was supposed to sing a reminiscence of an aria with a very subtle tone accompanied by just a few instruments. I had a black-out – my cognitive mind was in panic searching for a clue to what I was supposed to do

next when it heard someone singing the reminiscence. It was my body singing, and without the controlling ego-system it had sung the phrase that had made the best impression on the audience. Singing colleagues as well as dancers have told me that they have experienced the same phenomena.

In the performance of *Europeras 1&2* the lost external dialogue with the “Other” was compensated for by an internal dialogue with the “Self”. Perhaps the “Self” was in a way also the “Other” to me as I was not familiar with it? This new way of concentrating, really just concerning my own center in my time-space world, also opened up a new way to communicate with the audience. It was not a transpersonal “It” singing – it was more like a flow of concentrated energy. This internal dialogue, being *individual* in the terms of Cage and Tudor, thus turned out to be external as well.

APPLYING CAGE’S INTENTIONS TODAY

In 2001 Clarkson appealed to conservatories and music schools to create a program that would prepare traditionally trained musicians to make music in the tertiary process.

Conservatoires and music schools evidently still do not equip musicians to make music out of the presentational state. Cage’s contribution as a composer will be fully realized only when musicians can make music in the tertiary process by engaging in spontaneous music making that activates the creative imagination. The fear that experimental music seeks the destruction of composed music will abate if we can establish that presentational and representational states are complementary. But this calls for a program that will help traditionally trained musicians make what Margaret Leng Tan described as her leap of faith. (Bernstein & Hatch, 2001, p. 98)

Has there been any change in attitudes towards Cage’s music and has there been any attempt to make a program suitable to prepare performers to play in a presentational state?

Statements about Europeras today

On August 17th 2012 *Europeras 1&2* premiered at the *Ruhrtriennale*. In an act of *gentrification* the Bochum version was held not in an opera house but in the town’s Jahrhunderthalle (Centennial Hall), a converted 20th century power station. Before the premiere the new intendant of the Ruhr festival, Heiner Goebbels, also directing the opera, was interviewed. The interview shows that the intentions of Cage are still present in the new production, but that today in *Europeras* you can also see a metaphor of a too institutionalized Europe, demanding to be released.

We have to think about theatre differently, he says. Cage liberates us from the weight of opera history; perhaps it is also a kind of negation of opera, but one that is intended for opera lovers and which reveals entirely new links. *Europeras* approaches the realm of the visual arts, and thus the way in which we look at visual arts, that is, with a greater freedom. We are freed from the conventional way of telling stories and have the possibility of constructing

stories ourselves. This kind of freedom leads to a sovereign attitude on the part of the spectator, who also has more pleasure because – and this is perhaps the most important thing about the opera – there is so much to discover, including metaphors for Europe – struggles with cultural identity or questions of understanding, the coexistence of various cultures. Europe need not just to be understood as a fortress, but also as a site for exciting exchanges, and that, he thinks, is something that clearly comes to the fore when experiencing this opera (<http://www.ruhrtriennale.de>).

Reactions and reviews

The reactions in the reviews are very mild. Was it due to the directing? One critic even claims that too little attention had been paid to the factor of Chance.

Es müsste ein heillooses Durcheinander sein. Doch die gleichzeitig gesungenen, nach den Regeln des Zufalls collagierten Arien in John Cages "Europeras 1 & 2" klingen oft wie aus einem Guss, beinahe tonal. Die Sänger lassen die Melodien fließen, hören aufeinander, suchen nicht das Schrille und Groteske, sondern den subtilen Gesamtklang. (Berliner Morgenpost, 20.08.2012)

[It ought to have been a terrible jumble. But the simultaneously sung arias, collaged according to rules of chance in "Europeras 1&2", often sound like an integrated whole, almost tonal. The singers let the melodies flow, listen to each other, and do not seek the shrill and grotesque but the subtle overall sound].

Die neue Prunk- und Jubiläumsversion in Bochum, In Szene gesetzt von Heiner Goebbels, ist die bislang üppigste, sie ist aber auch die allerfadeste und witzloseste. Zu wenig überließ die Regie vertrauensvoll dem Ablauf der Uhr, dem Willen der Mitwirkenden oder auch nur dem Genossen Zufall. (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 20.08.2012)

[The new pomp and jubilee version in Bochum, staged by Heiner Goebbels, is to date the most luscious, but also the most boring and non-witty. Too little confidence in the production was placed in the process of time, the volition of the participants or even just comrade Chance.]

Was it because the performers were better prepared and thus more comfortable in their new roles? Or could it be that today we are so used to living in a world of multiplicity that we do not experience the independent but coexistent individual centers as chaotic anymore? Has the human subject finally adapted its perceptual equipment to the *hyperspace*?

I am proposing the motion that we are here in the presence of something like a mutation in built space itself. My implication is that we ourselves, the human subjects who happen into this new space, have not kept pace with that evolution; there has been a mutation in the object, unaccompanied as yet by any equivalent mutation in the subject; we do not yet possess the perceptual equipment to match this new hyperspace, as I will call it, in part because our perceptual habits were formed in that older kind of space I have called the space of high modernism. (Jameson, 1991, p. 80)

Preparing performers with Cage's ideas

Heiner Goebbels also teaches as a professor at the Institute for Applied Theatre Studies at Justus Liebig-University in Gießen. Looking at the content of the study program I notice

many “Cagean” ideas and a way to work where practice and reflection are inseparable. Randomly googling “Europeras”, “Ruhrtriennale” and “Goebbels” I find a statement from an actor performing in the actual production of *Europeras 1&2* which shows that today there is a new attitude towards the way in which the performers are confronted with new material.

Yesterday, at the request of a few of us actors, Prof. Goebbels spoke with us all (sitting in a comforting circle) about his concept of “*Europeras*” and how that fits in with Cage’s wishes for the direction of the piece. It was a generous gesture from such an accomplished guy... like he gave us a free lecture or master class. ... The energy is communal, horizontal, and the feeling is that each element is independent, and in its independence, it respects and supports the other elements just by being what it is. The purity and honesty of the Cage-via-Goebbels approach suits my mentality and ethos and suits “*Europeras*” perfectly. (<http://www.tumblr.com/tagged/heiner-goebbels>)

Filled with optimism that Clarkson’s appeal has been heard, I now cannot wait for a boom in courses on how to make music in the tertiary process at all conservatories and music schools. That would be a nice gift for John on his 100th birthday!

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Appendix THE SINGER'S SCORE - ARIA: 104.2 TANNHÄUSER

		ACTION		Singer 104				Page 1	
1987/10/19									
ARIA									
Num	Perftime	Dur.	Who	From	To	A1:A2	Pos	Sings?	Description
1:2									
104.2 <i>Tannhäuser</i>									
157	0:30:17	0:05	SA	B3	50	9	- L	- no	
158	0:30:22	0:50	SA	50	50	9	- L	- Tannhaus	A starts stopwatch
162	0:31:12	0:51	SA	50	44	9	- R	- Tannhaus	A watches watch <i>aus</i>
173	0:32:03	0:04	SA	44	44	9	- R	- Tannhaus	A watches watch
174	0:32:07	0:41	SA	44	34	9	- L	- Tannhaus	A watches watch
180	0:32:48	0:22	SA	34	34	9	- L	- Tannhaus	A stops stopwatch
181	0:33:10	0:05	A	34	L11	9	- - -	NA	
182	0:33:10	0:10	S	34	B15	-	- - -	no	



Symbols of partiture 104.2

- 1 = Europeras part 1
- 0 = female singer
- 4 = dramatic soprano
(1 = coloratura, 2= lyric, 3 = lyric-dramatic)
- 2 = aria number 2 (of 7)
- Num = number of moment
- Perftime = performance time shown on digital watch
- Dur = duration of action
- From To = movement from square number to square number
- B = back
- L = left
- R = right

Photo

shows the action at the performing time 0:32:03 with the singer 104 on square 44 and the assistant 9 on her right side

By kind permission of KEYSTONE Switzerland

Crib sheet

- 3' = duration of aria
- G = tonality
- D = beginning tone

The singers made their own crib sheet. In my case I divided the aria into significant parts to correspond with a certain time

104:2 Tannhäuser (3') (G-D)	
0:30:17	B3 → 50
0:30:22	50 50 "Dich teure Halle"
0:31:00	"Da Er"
→ 0:31:12	50 → 44 "Aus mir"
0:31:42	↓ "wie jetzt"
0:32:03	44 44 "weiter ferne mehr"
0:32:07	44 → 34 "wie jetzt"
0:32:26	↓ "sei mir"
0:32:48	34 34 "Du teure Halle"
0:33:10	34 → B15 "- gegrüßt"
0:33:20	Out

CHAPTER 7

In search of oscillating relations – power, gender, remix in operatic performance

SARA WILÉN

STOP THE OPERATIC PERFORMANCE

The pianist's right hand fingers wander upwards, take a quick dance turn, and land on a melancholic chord. Don José stands very straight and tense, almost stiff, and stares darkly at an imaginary piece of paper, while trying to write down some letters. Carmen sits on a white wooden bench and looks at Don José, smiling teasingly. Someone laughs in the salon. The pianist's fingers elegantly leap along the same melody line, one octave lower. The two hands join in a repetitive dance rhythm, which tunes into different colours. Carmen rocks more intensely to the rhythm. Don José stares more intensively at the imaginative paper. Several laughs are heard in the salon. What is so funny about this situation?

The circumstances have been described to the audience. The cigarette worker Carmen has been arrested after having stabbed one of her colleagues in a fight in her working place and is kept in custody, guarded by Don José, a soldier with a violent past. Don José and Carmen are alone together in a cell. She needs to get out and he needs to keep her there, so he does not get in trouble. Carmen takes a smiling breath and is just about to start to sing, when a voice from the salon suddenly calls: "Olé!" The music stops. The singers stop. Everyone looks in the direction of the calling voice. "Carmen forgot the hips!" the voice from the audience calls. Laughter and giggles echo through the space as the tall male singer performing Carmen smiles and gives thanks for the remark. He leaves the stage. A shorter bearded man runs on, to take his place, while the female Don José stiffens up again. It is a performance, a Carmen play. The expectations of a world-famous romantic opera are turned head over heels in an

intertextual, parodic play. As soon as a spectator decides to shout “Olé!” to stop the music – and the operatic performance – the power relations of the roles of the audience and the performers in classical music are challenged.

This version of the Seguidilla scene from George Bizet’s opera derives from my experience of how a scene in the project *Opera Nova – power, love, remix (ON)* was performed. ON emanated from an idea about changing roles in opera that I had had for some time. The project started on my initiative and was carried out with the support from the Swedish Arts Council, the City of Stockholm and the Helge Ax:son Johnson foundation in different phases, in the ensemble Operaimprovisatörerna, where I am a member. Opera improvisation is a genre where actions, music, and text are created through live interaction of classically trained singers and musicians, inspired by idiomatic traits in Western classical music in dialogue with the audience (Wilén, in press). In ON, the purpose was to investigate and problematize concepts of power and gender in opera performance and in society from different perspectives, and what actions different roles, or subject positions, may allow. Opera improvisation techniques were combined with critically interpreted scenes from opera repertoire, using cross-gender acting, or cross-casting. A further aim was to investigate performative tools for classical singers. ON was a possibility for me to work with one of the research questions of my doctoral project: How can opera improvisation be used as a way of challenging performative and musical aspects of opera? ON premiered in Stockholm in March 2012, and was played on tour at Vadstena-Akademien in July, and at Bastionen in Malmö in October.

The project ON also sought to explore different medias and platforms for dialogue and exchange of experiences and knowledge, for example on-stage conversations on the theme gender and power in opera and theatre. The first stage conversation was arranged at Moment:teater in Gubbängen one week before the premiere. Two members of the panel started a dialogue that later continued in other public and social media. This was one of the starting points for a debate on opera sexism in Sweden during the spring of 2012, which illustrates how repertoire opera is perceived and performed in Sweden today (Brodrej, 2012; Dellefors, 2012; Ernman, 2012; Gademan, 2012; Hammar, 2012; Lindén, 2012; Lindkvist, 2012; Löfvendahl, 2012; Maticic, 2012; Operaimprovisatörerna, 2012; Söderberg, 2012; Witt-Brattström, 2012).

In this text I intend to contextualize and discuss the project ON in the framework of theory from different fields, such as cultural studies, musicology, music education and performance studies, and reflected in the Swedish cultural climate. I combine different sources, such as research literature, my own experiences as a singer in different contexts, and newspaper articles connected to the debate. During the project, insights and experiences from my ongoing literary studies have influenced my artistic work. My choices of methods show similarities with both “practice-based” artistic research (Rubidge, n.d, p. 5), where the artistic

work emanates from and is inspired by theoretical issues and concepts and “practice-led research”, that can derive from an “artistic hunch” aiming to locate theoretical frameworks that may be implicated in the practice (Rubidge, n.d., p. 6). My intention is to create and expand dialogues on different levels about the conditions for singing and performing in classical music and opera.

THE VOICE AND THE REPERTOIRE IN CLASSICAL SINGING

According to Hemsley (2007) a singer’s voice has certain “natural limitations” (p. 64) and individual characteristics that result in a specific vocal range and vocal quality, such as light or heavy. These features determine which repertoire is suitable for the singer. He points out that the singer’s main concern is to express the contents of the score, referring to opera repertoire, written by composers like Mozart, Puccini, Verdi and Wagner. As a classical singer, I have shaped my instrument during many years’ training and through the practicing and performing of the classical repertoire. During my education and as a freelancer I have chosen (and been assigned) repertoire in collaboration with teachers, conductors, directors and coaches, connected to what I have perceived as my voice type. As a female singer with a high voice, although with a darker colour, I have performed opera roles of both lyric character, as Pamina in *The Magic Flute* (Mozart, 1791/2006), and more dramatic character such as Violetta in *La Traviata* (Verdi, 1853/2008), roles impersonating young women. Being fairly short with a size 36, I have also impersonated children, mostly in contemporary operas. My repertoire correlates with how Cotton (2007) describes the work of singers who launch professional careers.

Hemsley (2007) states that the opera world is increasingly dominated by a casting system where singers are encouraged to choose and profile a certain colour and character of the voice, in order to make a career, which in turn delimits the singer’s ability to develop vocal flexibility and “possibility of discovering their full expressive range and imaginative powers” (p. 66). The classical opera repertoire, including music from Mozart to Strauss, mainly contains roles written for voice types, or voice characters, where a certain colour and range, or tessitura, of the voice is connected to different characters in music.

My work with opera repertoire has led me to perceive my vocal identity as based on these kinds of roles, and on the music connected to them. It has motivated me to develop and enhance the musical and dramatic functions of this voice type, in terms of phrasing, colours of the voice, and acting. My ways of thinking about this relate to Cotton (2007), who draws an image of a singing field where voices are categorized through two systems: voice classification due to physiological facts, delineating “the capabilities and limitations of an instrument” (p. 3) and a *Fach* system of role types, depending partly on trends of the market. She describes classification as an important part of the vocal education, preparing for the “marketplace” (p. 11). The collective expectations and casting trends on vocal timbre change

and vary over time, concerning for instance characteristics such as chasteness, femininity, masculinity and promiscuity, but also the body type of the singer (Cotton, 2007). The arias that are chosen for an “audition package” (p. 1) depend both on the singer’s vocal qualities and expectations and trends in the casting market.

As a repertoire singer I aimed, most importantly, to interpret and perform only the given repertoire in public, in order to present myself as a classical singer. Improvisation was not relevant to me. Hultberg (2000) contrasts two different methods of instrumental training in European tonal classical music. In the 1850s a view of music as works of art developed where the composer’s intentions became more important, “while less space was provided for interpreters’ musical licence” (Hultberg, 2000, p. 29). “Instead of improvising [...] students played printed technical exercises in order to improve their instrumental skills” (p. 30). This is referred to as the “instrumental-technical method” (p. 30) that Hultberg holds to be taken for granted by many in the Western music tradition. My work with repertoire during my education and in professional life shows influences from the instrumental-technical method. I strived to interpret, although without altering, the contents of musical scores, even in music composed before 1850. I have been aware of my responsibility to preserve and respect the traditions in classical music.

The “practical-empirical method” (Hultberg, 2000, p. 25) was prevailing in Western music until the 1850s. The music was approached as a language, from an aural perspective. Pupils on all levels expressed themselves by understanding, playing, and creating music according to the idiomatic features by varying and creating music from existing musical patterns (Hultberg, 2000). This can be seen as relating to “discourse in music” (Folkestad, 2012, p. 201). The practical-empirical method resembles my practice as an opera improviser, where I make up my own actions, music, and words inspired by different idioms in classical music (Wilén, in press). I notice how I often in opera improvisation choose other ways of using my voice than what is common in my work with repertoire, often singing in a lower register, as well as choosing other, more active dramatic actions on stage than I have done in the repertoire roles.

This has led me to consider whether the vocal and dramatic qualities and choices that I have mainly worked with in my repertoire work can be considered to be the only ones that are possible for me, due to the natural limitations as claimed by Hemsley (2007). This also concerns the acting on stage. Am I as a person performing everything I can do in striving to enhance young, light, happy, smart, longing or suffering passive women, children or animals in my vocal and scenic qualities? Frith (1996) sees a merger of bodily practice and imaginative fantasy as an integration of ethics and aesthetics. “Music constructs our sense of identity through the direct experiences it offers the body, time and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives” (p. 124). Could it be that some of the vocal qualities or sounds that are connected to certain roles, are results of

certain discourses in the operas, rather than natural qualities that are innate in my voice and body, and that direct me towards certain sets of dramatic actions in music? How are these discourses constructed and how can I investigate these through practice?

During the last few years, I have noted that theatre institutions as well as free groups and theatre academies have chosen to perform classical repertoire plays with gender-blind casting where the parts can be performed by women as well as men. In 2006, the committee for gender equality presented the report *Taking the stage* (Kulturdepartementet, 2006, my translation). According to Lund (2009), the report pointed at certain insufficiencies in the gender equality work within Swedish performing arts. Two years after, the report *Performing gender* (Att gestalta kön, Edemo & Engvoll, 2009, my translation) was presented as a result of an artistic and educational development work performed by the four Swedish theatre academies. Hagström-Ståhl (2009) describes how the gender perspective of the project generated many new possibilities for making artistic choices.

Reading about *Performing gender* in 2010, I became very interested in trying the same strategies in opera repertoire. During the project I have studied literature connected to cultural studies. This led me into further investigations of the concepts performativity, deconstruction, and intertextuality. Could they open new perspectives on investigating the relations between gender and performance, as well as between work and performance in opera?

PERFORMATIVITY IN THEORY

Before we move on to examples from the project, I would like to contextualize my arguments in a theoretical framework rooted in feminist poststructuralist thinking. Foucault (2009) claims that discourse is the site where power and knowledge are joined together, in discontinuous, unstable segments that can be played in different strategies. Weedon (2009) describes discourse as the structuring principle of society in modes of thinking, individual subjectivity, and social institutions. Analyses of the social and institutional contexts of discourse are a means to examine and question relations of power in feminist poststructuralism.

According to Butler (1997), the performative is a domain where power acts as discourse. The term performativity derives from Austin (2004), who in his lecture series “How to do things with words” describes a performative utterance as an utterance where the saying of certain words or phrases is actually doing something, as in a marriage ceremony. Judith Butler (2004) developed this concept into the performativity theory, claiming that “gender is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceed, rather it is an identity [...] instituted through a stylized repetition of acts” (p. 154). In this way, gender exists mainly through its representations, as a type of performance (Rosenberg, 2000). In *Operaimprovisatörerna*, we work in a similar way. Both men and women wear the same

costumes with jackets and skirts, to open up possibilities for the singers to choose gender as a result of the situation in the improvised scenes.

Butler (2007) claims that gender is not an essence, but a social construction, a frail identity that has been created in outer spaces over time, as an effect of a stylization of the body, due to survival strategies in a coercive system. The incessant use of body gestures, movements, and styles creates an illusion of a stable, gender defined, and natural self, which rather can be considered as reflecting a norm. If the repetition fails, as for instance in a deformed or parodic repetition, the impression of a stable identity is revealed as a political, weak construction. “In this sense, gender is not a performance that a prior subject elects to do, but gender is performative in the sense that it constitutes as an effect the very subject it appears to express” (Butler, 2009, p. 232). Butler asks in which performance, and on which scene, the performativity in gender could be revealed in a way that destabilizes the naturalized categories of identity and desire (2007).

According to Bell (2007), Butler’s work has turned the concept of performativity into an analytical tool for studying differentiated subject positions within structures that delineate certain lines and effects of power. Weedon (2009) sees the range of subject positions offered by language as situated in specific historical and social discourses. To me this relates to how I perceive that the singer in opera improvisation uses altering subject positions as she decentres herself, or is decentered by others, in the emergent improvised fictive and rhetorical situations (Wilén, in press).

Although dominated by music, opera is by no means neutral in terms of gender. According to McClary (2002), opera became an incentive display of gender construction in composing music.

Beginning with the rise of opera in the seventeenth century, composers worked painstakingly to develop a musical semiotics of gender: a set of conventions for constructing “masculinity” and “femininity” in music. The codes marking gender difference in music are informed by the prevalent attitudes of their time. But they also themselves participate in social formation, inasmuch as individuals learn how to be gendered beings through their interactions with cultural discourses such as music. (pp. 7-8)

Consequently, singers who perform a certain repertoire over time are shaped by the vocal discourses they work with. McClary declares some codes as “strikingly resilient” (2002, p. 8), and compares the portrayal of feminine seductiveness and masculine bravura in 20th century films about Indiana Jones to music in 17th century operas. McClary claims that this is a sign that some social attitudes on gender have proven stable over time. She therefore argues that studies of music from the vantage point of musical semiotics of gender “can also provide insights into social history itself” (ibid). Löfvendahl (2012) claims that although opera today is considered a serious art form, it has always been coloured by commercial interests. He

notes that Puccini's famed operas build on popular stage plays dominated by sentimental and exciting traits, including sadism, as in today's thriller films.

RELATIONS BETWEEN WORK, PERFORMANCE, AND TEXT

In order to look into how the role of the musical work affects the performance circumstances in opera, I now choose to investigate and discuss some concepts connected to work and text.

According to Goehr (2007), in classical music the score is synonymous with the work, and, hence, has a regulative function. The performance of a classical piece is conducted through interpreting and showing respect to a score. The concepts of work and text in classical music are practically synonymous. Following Goehr (2007), a musical work is “a complex structure of sounds related in some important way to a composer, a score, and a given class of performances” (p. 20). She describes the concept of *Werktreue* that emerged in Europe in the 19th century. The performer should “comply as perfectly as possible with the scores composers provided” (p. 231). This is relevant in opera performance even today. Dellefors (2012) commented on the debate on opera sexism by pointing out that the role of both the director and the conductor are to realize the intentions of the composer as they are delivered in the score. They are not supposed to enhance themselves.

In performing opera repertoire, I have often come across the conception of the music as the most important part. To sing a part in repertoire opera of for instance Verdi or Mozart is indeed a very inspiring, exciting, and technically demanding job, where the musical performance to a high degree must be in focus. But is it enough just to rely on the music when (re)performing power relations deriving from social structures from the passed centuries on stage, in front of an audience of today? According to McClary (2002), “musical institutions like to claim that music for the most part is not concerned with mundane issues such as gender or sexuality” (p. 9). As I see it, this statement is confirmed in an interview on Swedish radio with the director of the Royal Opera, Birgitta Svendén. She stated that she wanted to avoid delimiting herself by reflecting on gender issues in her artistic choices, since she did not see it as important to consider this in her work (Lindkvist, 2012).

To rely on quality is perhaps not enough. Lindén (2012) has studied the performances of some of the Swedish theatre and opera scenes between 2004 and 2011, analysing body language as well as interpretations. She concludes that it is very rare to see a performance of female sexuality where the woman has an active subject position, and sees a pattern of unequal power conditions in the performances studied, which cannot be regarded merely as the results of the free choices of artists. The opera singer Maticic (2012) argues that opera is a brutal art, where directors work inspired by a “modern” (writer's quotes) ideal created in the 1940s. The singers portray artificial images of individuals, and, for example, the unwillingly aroused woman is a sign for stopgap solutions. Löfvendahl (2012) claims that although in Swedish opera women hold the leading positions in the institutions, a sexually oriented male

gaze still dominates. Brodrej (2012) follows this line of argument and concludes that many antiquated stories of opera need directors that are conscious, skilled, and interested in creating stories that apply to audiences of today.

To further investigate the relation between work and performance in opera, I would like to address how mimesis and realistic acting can connect to opera performance on stage. Mimesis is a concept that has dominated Western arts through history. Aristotle described mimesis as a way of choosing the actions that, correctly portrayed, show the way to the knowledge of universal values (as cited in Diamond, 1997). Diamond argues that mimesis is instead a political practice that recurs through history, coloured by different attitudes. “But the mimesis of this ‘nature’, in its production and reception, will be fully marked by the political, literary, and gender ideologies [...] and the social context” (viii).

Stage realism is the mimesis of positivism, a mode for production that satisfied the need for knowledge and the production of truth (Diamond, 1997). According to Fischer-Lichte (2008), realistic acting derives from late 18th century German literary theatre, where the aim was to elevate the status of the poet’s text and to decrease the influence of the actors. To express the true meaning of the text, the actor’s body was meant to transform from sensual into semiotic, “into a ‘text’ consisting of signs for the emotions and mental states that build a character” (p. 78). There are some similarities to vocal interpretation and how the role of the musical work in opera and classical music affects the acting on the opera stage. From my experience, and following Hemsley (2007), the initial work during opera projects has a main focus on musical interaction and interpretations of the score, led by a conductor or vocal coach. As a singer, I strive to embody the expressive vocal qualities of the score with my voice in terms of interpreting in expression, sound, dynamics, articulation, and phrasing. After a few weeks, the director takes over the rehearsals, and the ensemble starts working on the staging. Situated acting influenced by realism is often used as a vantage point. The conductor or the vocal coach is present, and the aim for me as a singer is to give priority to the prepared musical interpretation of the composer’s work while acting in the dramatic situation.

Theoretical concepts from literary theory have influenced the perception of work and text in other fields, such as cultural studies. In literature the roles of the work and the author have changed during the last decades, due to interdisciplinary findings. The work in literature was earlier conceived as a fragment of substance, a general sign, or an object to be consumed, while read and interpreted through an inner, passive mimesis (Barthes, 1977). In “From work to text” (1977), Barthes describes an epistemological slide in the conception of the work. The authority of the author as a father and owner of the text to whom we should pay respect diminishes. Thus, the work is decanted by the text “from its consumption and gathers it up as play, activity, production, practice” (p. 162). The text is a signifier, a methodological field, or a social space, that should be seen as the deferred action of meaning. It “is structured but off-

centered, without closure” (p. 159) and filled with traces of other anonymous texts, “woven entirely with citations, references, echoes, cultural languages [...]” (p. 160).

Kristeva (1992) explains her concept intertextuality as the transposition from one sign system to another. Every signifying practice is polysemic and creates a field for transpositions of different sign systems, an “inter-textuality” (p. 308). At first intertextuality was used by poststructuralists in their aim to subvert implied concepts of objective and stable meaning (Allen, 2011). Literary as well as non-literary texts were claimed to lack independent meaning, as they were constructed on existing systems with traditions and codes from earlier literature. Middleton (2000) states that an intertextual relation where a text refers to other texts, “pushes against the tendential self-sufficiency of works” (p. 61). This relates to how I perceive the role of the opera improvisation as related to opera. Opera improvisation as a practice can be seen as an intertextual and interperformative play (Wilén, in press), where new words, actions and music are created in live improvisation following – and challenging – certain (idiomatic) discourses of different classical music styles that we have learnt from repertoire performance.

FROM WORK TO PERFORMANCE, TO DECONSTRUCTION IN PRACTICE

If we were to turn the roles over in opera repertoire, would we then see the voice *Fächer* and power relations between men and women that we may consider as natural, as constructed relations or discourses instead? And what would happen with our relations to operas as musical works? In his “de-construction of the transcendental signified” Derrida criticizes the idea of logocentrism and metaphysics of presence (Derrida, 1997, p. 49). It is therefore perhaps not surprising that he names the theatre as undermined and corrupted by the evil of representation (Derrida, 1997). Derrida mentions two kinds of public persons: the actor and the orator (or the preacher). He compares the actor to an alphabetical letter that does not signify anything in itself or take any ethical responsibility for what is said on stage. “He hardly lives, he lends his voice” born as he is “out of the rift between the representer and the represented” (p. 305). The orator, on the other hand, represents himself, and the representer and the represented are the same. According to Dyndahl (2008), deconstruction is an approach to perceiving the complexity and contingency of the world through exposing things that can have been left out or ignored in what occurs as complete and rational. Deconstruction in music education deals with aesthetic dimensions and insights, and therefore can be used to question “the metaphysical, transcendental notion of a work of art” (Dyndahl, 2008, p. 141). Culler (2007) mentions Butler’s concept of performativity, relating to Derrida and Foucault, as the most important feminist method of deconstruction.

In ON, we chose a number of dramatic situations from the opera repertoire, in order to go through and analyse the material from a performative perspective. We decided on choosing mainly duet scenes from operas with the aim of investigating the interplay between two

characters. Preparations started with individual studies of the repertoire, where the singers learnt all the parts in the scenes, in combination with literary studies from a list that I had prepared for the ensemble. For the project we employed an opera director, Elisabet Ljungar, who is also a classically trained violinist. This was important, since the project aimed to investigate opera material from a performative perspective in musical as well as dramatic performance techniques. In the history of opera, cross-dressing is to some extent an established practice, both as written into the scores and in the operatic practice. Breeches roles, where male parts are written for women, occur in operas from different eras. Opera seria roles composed for male castrato singers in the 18th century today are often performed by women. However, from my experience it is not common to cross-cast, or change parts between male and female voices in opera other than in cases related to the ones mentioned above.

During the rehearsals, we combined techniques of improvisation with interpretation working with questions such as: how are gender and power performed in our voices and bodies? What do the characters want to achieve in the situations? What actions do they take? How do we as different singers act in the same part? Changing roles, we did not only face the challenge of having to know how to perform a scene from the different perspectives of the characters. Changing parts also confronted us with the crossing of borders in opera interpretation in a way that went beyond almost everything we have learnt as classical singers. This was an issue that not only concerned the gender question, but also the vocal identity, or *Fach* identity when changing from, for instance, soprano to mezzo-soprano, or from baritone to tenor. Making this choice was a statement in itself, where we challenged the opera as a musical work to be interpreted according to certain, naturalized rules. An opera improviser in an improvisation oscillates between different perspectives as she interacts in parallel or clashing discourses on different levels, such as rhetorical situation, fictive situation on stage, and as a singer in musical action (Wilén, in press). To me, this insight was a very helpful tool in the new ways of interpreting as well as improvising within and relating to repertoire scenes from different subject positions.

In theatre performances (as art events), the performer's actions as well as the materiality of her body can focus and challenge the limits between actor and spectator, or active and passive (Fischer-Lichte, 2008). Fischer-Lichte delineates different performance strategies to achieve this, for example cross-casting and reversing the relationship between the role and the performer. Subject and object are changed into oscillating relations. This in turn makes performance a process rather than an object, thereby questioning the division of the creation of art into production, work, and reception (Fischer-Lichte, 2008). Following this, I see the meeting and creating of opera improvisations in dialogue with the audience as questioning the traditions and structures of operatic performance and musical works. Below I will illustrate how we in this project mixed interpretation and improvisation, with the aim of deconstructing operatic performance. A theoretical discussion will be included in the descriptions.

REMIXING POWER AND REALISM: TOSCA AND SCARPIA

To investigate power relations and positions in operatic performance, we chose a scene between Tosca and Scarpia in Puccini's opera *Tosca* (1900/2008). It takes place in Rome in 1800. The second act is situated in Scarpia's office, Palazzo Farnese. The famous singer Tosca (spinto, or lyric dramatic soprano) implores the head of the police, Scarpia (baritone) to release her lover, Mario (lyrical tenor), who is held in arrest and tortured. Scarpia offers to release Mario if she agrees on being intimate with Scarpia, which she refuses. In our reading, the main strategy of both characters is to negotiate, as they both struggle to execute different kinds of power over the other. Tosca's vocal part has a broad spectrum: she begs in a lyrical voice and later dramatically refuses Scarpia. From the ensemble's experience Scarpia is almost always portrayed as a man of stable power. The part is often sung with full a baritone voice, with a constant high status, which makes him seemingly static and impossible to influence. We decided to try to destabilize Scarpia, thereby opening up the scene for a play of power between him and Tosca. All singers studied and repeated the scene in both roles.

In Vadstena, we decided to invite the audience into creating the scenic space. One singer introduced the dramatic circumstances and asked the audience for details for the scene, in terms of time of day, colours and furniture of the room, and what food Scarpia was eating. The situation was then enacted between two singers, in a realistic style, with a fourth wall to the audience. A big difference from realistic acting, though, was that any one of the singers could enter the scene to "tag out" one of the performing singers, and take over the role. The scene was about eight minutes long, and during this time different kinds of cross-casting and "cross-voicing" occurred in a fluent way, due to the improvisational tagging-out technique. In Vadstena, every singer was free to choose, that is, improvise, her or his own intentions, goals and actions in the moment, as long as s/he followed the written music and text. Near the end of the scene, we stopped the scene and invited the audience to decide how it would end, preferably not as in the original opera. Given this new information from the audience, we continued improvising within the Puccini score for some more minutes, and then slid over to improvisation.

According to Foucault (2009) power is a dense web, a "multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization" (p. 313). Rather than a structure or an institution, it is a result of an unstable strategic situation, filled with complexity, due to the society at hand, and "produced from one moment to the next, at every point, or rather in every relation from one point to another" (ibid). He describes exercise of power as "a set of actions on possible actions" (Foucault, 2001, p. 341) that is executed by some upon others, using consent and threat of violence as instruments. A relationship of power must be articulated in two elements. First, the person over whom power is executed is acknowledged as a subject who acts, and second, s/he who is faced with a power relationship may open up a field of reactions, responses and other strategies. Foucault

stresses that power relations can change at all times, as the result of both conscious and unconscious actions (Nilsson, 2008).

The singers' individual freedom to choose strategies and goals when entering the scene may have been hard to notice for the audience. To us as singers this improvisational technique combined with the written parts gave us a freedom to play, act, and react upon each other's actions, in order to achieve and execute power. Since the end was open, and who would "win" was uncertain, our actions during the written parts were important to give the audience a hint of an idea for the ending. When we were given the ending, we had to perform it, but we had to make our way there, while still defending the choices and goals of our characters. This gave the improvisation a slower tempo than usual, which I perceive as positive. The music in the end was improvised, but inspired by Puccini's music, and the dramatic situation related to the previous scene. This can be seen as an intertextual relation between a written and an improvised scene.

Dyndahl (2005) describes traditional remix as an alternative panning, or changes in relations between background and foreground on a track, through the processing or changing of sounds in a sound image. There are a variety of methods, from reconfigured relations between tracks in a recording, to more thorough changes, exclusions or additions of tracks or other elements (Dyndahl). According to Middleton (2000) the remix culture can be seen as "the final nail in the coffin of work-thinking" (p. 62).

In our performance, Scarpia could be a fairly short soprano at one moment and a very tall baritone in the next, while Tosca was a tenor or a mezzo-soprano of average height. If we choose to perceive the performing bodies, sounds, and actions of the singers as different tracks, the result was a constantly shifting flow of readings on different levels, where the subject positions of the two characters changed, or were remixed. This may also be related to Derrida's view of representation in the theatre (see above, p. 113). One signifier (here: Scarpia) could denote several signifieds (here: singers) and have many meanings, the connection is thus destabilized (Dyndahl, 2008). Derrida (2001) describes language as an infinite play with signs and significations within discourses, a structure, or a centreless field (due to that there is no central signified of absolute, transcendent meaning). The differing voices and bodies of Tosca and Scarpia can also be seen as a play, a way of investigating discourses of power. The different singers with different voices, bodies, and sexes perform power through different strategies. The same relation was embodied in different shapes, as a deconstruction of mimetic realistic acting and discourses of power connected to the voice colour and vocal range in opera performance.

CROSS-CASTING AND PARODY IN THE CARMEN PLAY

Carmen (2003), written in 1875, is one of the most famous Western operas. It is performed in different settings several times a year in Sweden alone. According to McClary (2002), Don

José is the central character, represented by a musical discourse that impersonates the transcendental universality of Western classical music. Carmen is portrayed as the exotic Other, teasing Don José, as an anima more than a realistically portrayed person, in a music based on dances, characterized by chromatic excesses, and teasing and taunting melodies: “before she even begins to sing, her instrumental vamp sets a pattern that engages the lower body, demanding hip swings in response” (p. 57).

The Seguidilla scene in the first act is a dramatic point that is vital to the story, as the characters meet each other in private for the first time. During the rehearsals, we started in realistic performing and took turns in singing the roles. The switches between singing and watching gave us opportunities to compare how different singers expressed actions and feelings in the voices and bodies, and what strategies we used. During the work we asked ourselves: What is the most interesting to see? Should we do drag, where a woman acts as a male character in Don José? Or should she act as a female officer, “Donna Josita”? To sing parts that are written for another voice *Fach* was a challenge, which to me became almost more important than the cross-casting. Carmen is a mezzo-soprano role where much of the part lies in the fourth octave. In spite of being a high soprano I would gladly sing these notes, but the timbre of my voice is lighter, which gives another impression. The Spanish dance character of the music, with a playful, elegant touch, and the passionate, seductive character that is so connected to this role is also very rare for me as a soprano to perform. Don José is a dramatic tenor part, which has about the same tessitura as a lower soprano, although with a more dense and dramatic texture of the vocal lines. This was harder to sing, mostly due to the fact that his lines are shorter, and in the form of very dramatic outbursts.

We worked on different ways of merging improvisational techniques into the scene. During the rehearsals we used “improvisational bubbles” that were included at any point where one of the singers had become aware of her/his unaware slipping in status. In the bubble the singer worked his/her way back again. One notion is that every new aspect or technique, such as the change of subject position or *Fach*, to us seemed rich with possibilities in the beginning. After having worked on it for sometime, it got too familiar, and we were somehow set back again. After having investigated how to enact the scene with a realistic perspective in a number of ways, we were puzzled. As I see it, we were searching for the feeling of something unknown and open to widen our perception that I realize is a vital part of opera improvisation.

In theatre and opera, the issues of action and character are central. In some realistic (theatre) acting, the action is used as a vantage point, whereas the character emerges as the result of the actions. The actor then does not strive to play or impersonate character traits, but decides on actions and goals, that s/he persecutes. In opera, character acting more than action acting is common (although it can affect the dramatic qualities of the performance negative-

ly). This can be due to a number of factors, for instance sometimes a slower tempo in opera as drama, as well as the emotions expressed in the music.

We finally decided to go another way: to choose parody, to exaggerate and play with all the notions of “bad acting” in opera that we could come up with. This was probably a way of mirroring our own images of and expectations concerning these two characters, that are among the most played and famous in opera literature. One of the singers hosted the game, and introduced the dramatic situation with an ironic touch, exaggerating the exotic traits of Spain, Carmen’s passionate bodily behaviour and the troubled manhood of Don José, a silent man with a violent past. The audience was asked to suggest two character traits for each role that stressed these stereotypes. If one of the singers should break the agreement made with the audience, by not featuring the traits given ahead clearly enough in the scene, anyone in the room could stop the play by calling out “Olé!” The singer gave thanks for the criticism with a smile, and was exchanged by another singer, who hopefully could do it better.

According to Hall (1996) identity is articulated inside discourse, in the suture between inner and outer perspectives. As I see it, the goal with Carmen was to create a play with the audience about the singer’s impossible mission in performing a coherent identity of a character while embodying several clashing discourses. The singer had to be fully present in the serious fictive situation, while performing the music according to the score with a free vocal technique, as well as embodying stereotypical physical traits, in order not to be caught by the audience and replaced. The wild goose chase became hilarious to both singers and audience.

Hutcheon (2000) holds that parody can include all kinds of repetition with critical distance. It can be used in problematizing values of the representational process. In music parody can occur as a means of commenting on itself from within. Humour is often, although not always, included. Referring to Butler, Malmio (2007) describes parody as an efficient performative weapon, since it can imitate the language of power, writing itself into the discourses of power as a virus programme, while showing the unnatural ways that power masks itself as “true” and “real” (p. 74, my translation).

In the Carmen play we worked on satirizing the stereotype images of women and men in opera. This goes for the change between different sexes as well as voice *Fächer*. Hutcheon (2000) points to the pragmatic dimension of parody. She holds that the pragmatic function of irony can be seen as signalling valuation. The writer sees parody as mixing similarity and difference, which makes it possible to express contrasting values, such as respect and doubt, at the same time in commenting a work. “This ... mixture of doubling and differentiation, means that parody functions intertextually as irony does intratextually: both echo in order to mark difference rather than similarity.” (p. 64). Using irony as a rhetorical strategy and pending between extramural (from society) and intramural (within a certain genre) strategies can be

seen as ways of using satire and parody as deconstructive strategies (Hutcheon, 2000). Hagström-Ståhl (2009) mentions performativity as an artistic strategy that creates a certain effect of distance that can be connected to Brecht's concept of *Verfremdung* (Brecht, 1975, p. 87). Brecht highly valued the concept of entertainment in his theatrical work as he conceived of laughter as an important strategy in connecting to the audience and making them reflect on the performance and their own reactions (Järleby, 2009).

The opera improviser's oscillation between different perspectives, such as action perspective within a fictive situation, and rhetorical perspective as an improviser addressing the audience, was to me a very helpful tool in this work. Referring to Derrida (1997), the switching between an entertaining rhetorical situation as in the communicative moment with the audience and the fictive dramatic situation in the Carmen play, can be seen as a way of parodying and deconstructing the relations between the representer in a fictive situation of a play (or opera) and the represented, an orator (or a singer) who performs as herself, as in a rhetorical situation. The traditional role of the audience was also challenged, by making them co-creators. Breaking the frames of realistic acting, the actors and the audience are made aware of the fact that performing a work is a way of performing certain discourses, not expressing authentic values.

IN SEARCH OF OSCILLATING RELATIONS

In this project, we aimed to problematize both our singing performance techniques of gender and power in opera, and the performance traditions of opera repertoire. Methods such as cross-casting, cross-voicing, musical and scenic improvisation and opening up for dialogical moments in the fictive situations were used. To create a meeting place between artists and audience in ON also meant creating pathways where the audience would be willing and able to follow us, thereby agreeing on being more or less included in a dialogue. In some scenes, as in the Carmen play, they were free to participate and affect the staging, whereas they were left as spectators behind the imaginative and invisible fourth wall in most parts of the Tosca scene. The role of the audience shifted, from passive spectators to active participants (Fischer-Lichte, 2008), who offered suggestions and affected the actions on stage. This may also affect how they perceive the singers, who oscillate between performing as actors and orators (Derrida, 1997).

ON has given me new experiences on how I can perform with my voice and body on stage, which I hope will influence my artistic choices in the future. Taking on the role as Scarpia or Don José, I interpreted the opera scenes from the male subject position. Enacting these roles means defending their intentions and goals. As soprano I executed actions and power with my voice and body in ways that I earlier have connected to male opera singers and the *Fächer* of baritone and tenor. Performing as Carmen, I became more aware of how tempting it is for me as a singer to embody a stereotypical image in performing a role, in

order to focus on enhancing the vocal performance. This can be seen as deconstructing different discourses of operatic performative practices in terms of roles and subject positions for artists and audience, as well as the voice *Fächer* in opera. To me the oscillation between different perspectives was a helpful tool from opera improvisation that gave way to new perspectives in the repertoire scenes.

I find Barthes' (1977) and Löfvendahl's (2012) notions of consumption connecting to (literary) works and opera respectively very interesting. If operas are perceived as works, or art objects of music, hierarchic structural relations of classical music on different levels may limit the singers' agency in making choices. Stage settings of classical operas where the staging is moved to a contemporary context while the social situations and discourses from the time of the opera remain unchanged and unproblematized could actually reproduce and emphasize hierarchies more than a historical setting would do (Operaimprovisatörerna, 2012).

Consequently, also the musical components of opera, such as the scores and performance practises, need to be approached from different perspectives (Operaimprovisatörerna, 2012). If we choose, inspired by Barthes (1977), to see opera as musical texts, a variety of perspectives open up to other readings and modes of performance. In this way the performers may gain access to more tools to communicate what and how they want to express themselves, rather than mainly focusing on deliverance of the music as works.

This is also important when it comes to vocal education. The performance of music as work is indeed a very rewarding, demanding, and inspiring task that takes a great deal of work. However, when we as singers practise and perform classical singing repertoire as works, during many hours a day for many years, often using tools of the instrumental-technical method, we enter, integrate, and develop historicized discourses into our bodies, often without being aware of it. I believe that a vantage point of classical music as text could give singers greater possibilities in developing as performing artists in music, making their own choices from artistic, societal, and not least musical perspectives to a greater extent, by developing practical-empirical methods.

Opera Nova – power, love, remix, or rather power, gender, remix, is an investigation and a play with different musical and performative processes and traditions in operatic performance. Remixing on the interface between the singing body and sound as materiality can be seen as problematizing the work concept of classical music through practice, or deconstruction from within. A search for oscillating relations between different perspectives on music and performativity in operatic performance can be seen as turning to a diversity of operatic performative aesthetics.

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CHAPTER 8

Chasing children's fortunes. Cases of parents' strategies in Sweden, the UK and Korea

YLVA HOFVANDER TRULSSON

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will analyse three examples from the middle class of the role that education can play for the establishment in the majority society. Case 1 describes immigrant parents, with a middle class background, living in exile in Sweden, who struggle for a new position in the Swedish society (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a; 2010b). Case 2 illustrates parents from the white middle class in the UK with children in local urban comprehensive schools, also called “working-class schools” (Crozier, Reay & James, 2011, p. 199) They have made efforts to ensure that their children’s social and academic wellbeing remains secure with arts education among other things (Crozier, Reay & James, 2011). Case 2 describes Korean families moving to the UK on a short-term basis, with the hope of improving educational and linguistic outcomes for their children and strengthening their competitive tools in a future professional life (Moon, 2011). The three examples illustrate striving families, in case 1 as seen in the phenomenon of class remobility (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a) and in case 2 and 3 exemplified by the struggle to maintain or refine one’s position (Crozier, Reay & James, 2011; Moon, 2011). The analysis of empirical data is done using Marx’s (1875/1978) and Bourdieu’s (1979; 1993; 1998/2004) theories. The text will discuss concepts of class, social mobility, intergenerational mobility, disciplinary power and habitus.

MUSIC IN CHILDREN’S CONTEXTS

Music’s well-documented impact on children’s health and well-being has been described by several researchers in various disciplines (Small, 1998; De Nora, 2000; Bergman, 2009; Krantz, Theorell, Kreuz & Ericsson, 2009; Lilliestam & Georgii-Hemming, 2009). The

importance of music for creativity and communication has been established (Burnard, 2000; 2012), and also its positive effects on learning in other subjects such as languages and mathematics (Sander, 2011). Young people worldwide are spending a considerable amount of time listening to music in various contexts (Sundin, 1995; Ericsson, 2002; Folkestad, 2006). Furthermore, there is a connection between music and identity, which manifests itself via a specific style of music and in turn affects areas such as fashion style, political values, norms and attitudes towards the outside world (Stokes, 1997; Ericsson, 2002; Sernhede, 2002; Söderman, 2007; 2010). Frith (1996) argues that music not only reflects those who play it or listen to it, but also has a constructing and producing role for the identity. Therefore, it can be assumed that music, in a youth perspective, has great value and contributes to forming life perception. If so, then music cannot be regarded as an object or as an isolated personal artefact, yet instead it becomes intimately associated with personal integrity and individual positioning. This, in conjunction with the culture industry's massive sphere of influence, leads to the subject of music and aesthetic learning in schools being put in a vulnerable position (Ericsson, 2002). The relationship towards parents can also give rise to conflicts of interest between youngster's role models in the community and parents' wishes (Ålund, 1997) both in terms of choice of instrument, specialization in musical/aesthetic learning and how boys and girls are expected to act (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a).

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In the last decade, the interest in class issues has grown and the debate from the 70s and 80s has returned, both in Sweden and in the UK. The definitions of class will necessarily be of more interest when social changes in society become obvious and perhaps even threatening. The number of poor children is rising in Europe, unemployment is increasing and the meshes of the safety net have become larger. As a result, the fear to fail and fall through occupies people's minds and affects their behaviours. An example of these kinds of politically connected behavioural changes is the families' enrolment options when it comes to schools (Reay, David & Ball, 2005; Reay, 2008; Crozier, Reay & James, 2011). The growing discourse of educational choices can be interpreted as a product of the market and economic changes in politicized human behaviours (Reay, David & Ball, 2005). Another phenomenon today that is connected to allocation of resources is children's "spare time" after school, which especially for middle class children tends to be overbooked with activities in a way that causes stress-related problems (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a; 2010b; Engström, 2004; Strandbu, 2006).

Jönsson, Trondman, Arnman and Palme (1993) have studied the social conditions in young people's upbringing and the characteristics of their educational plans and leisure activities. They pointed to an imbalance, already in the 90s, when some children had too many and other children had too few activities during their leisure time. As a result of this the authors

problematized musical preferences of young people in relation to class and gender reproduction, and the future life opportunities for the individual. Using Bourdieu's (1986) theory of legitimate culture, they highlighted the cultural capital that was generated within the youth culture and emphasized its significance, as perhaps forming crucial constituent parts of a person's life and therefore his or her perception of the environment.

CLASS STRUGGLE AND POSITIONING

To illustrate how societal changes affect families and their strategies to create good conditions for children in a time shaped by market economic ideology, Karl Marx's and Pierre Bourdieu's theories become interesting. The concept of social change involves class struggle and the development of capitalism. Capitalism can be described as a system of production, which, when it emerged during the industrial revolution in the 19th century, contrasted radically with all previous economic systems (Giddens, 2009). Marx sought to explain, during this time, the changes that were taking place in society and focused on issues of society's rise and fall and the development of human productive power. According to Marx (1875/1978) the social change primarily involved economy, capital and assets. He claimed that the motivation for historical development was closely connected to class conflicts. The rise of social classes involved a collective group of individuals in society that shared similar economic and social relations with each other. Marx's theories of class conflicts and social change had the potential to describe and change the circumstances for the working classes. One of his analyses of the modern time came to the conclusion that the dominant ideas of an age are reflections of the dominant way of life, specifically of a society's mode of production. In other words, the dominant ideas of an age are those of the ruling groups.

To apply Marx's ideas in our time, one could say that free-market capitalism is a dominant idea also in the field of education. The possible and expected choosing of schools could be seen as one of many consequences. The publicly funded but privately managed "free schools" in Sweden are examples of how these options between different types of education for children, where learning agendas, religion and ideology profile vary, have developed. In the UK the independent and private schools are other examples, but in these schools family income has an obvious impact, because of their high fees. As a consequence of this situation the differentiation of children has increased over the last twenty years in Sweden. In the UK educational inequality has a long history. Diamond and Giddens (2005) put it like this: "The UK suffers from high levels of relative poverty and the poor in Britain are substantially poorer than the worst off in more equal industrialised societies" (Reay, 2006, p. 288). Reay continues:

Middle class practices in the field of education add up to a collective class action. Consequently, regardless of what individual working-class males and females are able to negotiate and achieve for themselves within education, the collective patterns of

working-class trajectories remain sharply different from those of middle classes, despite over hundred years of universal state schooling. (2006, p. 294)

Reay (2008) describes the middle-class discourse of the environment in working-class schools as both challenging to recognize and intimidating. One parent in her study expresses “the danger of sending children to schools where there were too many working classes” (Reay, 2008, p. 1076). These schools, which the parent was referring to, were characterized as “undisciplined” and one of the parents was worried that children like hers (from the middle-class) were not the norm in this environment. Social stratification refers to the process of a difference leading to greater status, power or privilege for some groups over the other (Marx, 1875/1978). The example above shows how parents try to maintain the idea of stratification and protect their children from the imagined differences in class belonging. Social stratification is often connected to terms of assets or poverty, but can also occur with other attributes such as gender, age and religious affiliation (Giddens, 2009).

REWARDS AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

To understand how education and leisure time activities influence the positioning of the middle-class in society, the understanding of the field (Bourdieu, 1979) becomes crucial. “Taste”, expressed in genres of music, books, leisure time activities, cloths, everyday habits and food can all be interpreted in a class context, and is a result of habitus. How you present yourself, with your haircut, brands of clothes, ethnic and cultural marks, are all examples of the body hexis (Bourdieu, 2004). Body hexis is the first impression we get of a person, which also forms the basis of how he or she is categorized into groups by gender, sexual orientation, nationality, academic status, health etc.

The class fractions vary because of the amount of economic capital and symbolic capital they inherit or are in a position to acquire (Bourdieu, 1993; 2004). In society, each group tries to develop strategies to gain advantage or to reconcile themselves with their conditions of life, a particular lifestyle that emerges grounded in the unity of dispositions (habitus). These strategies involve what Bourdieu calls symbolic violence. The theory of field dispositions refers to the natural tendencies of each individual to take on a certain position in any field (Bourdieu, 2004). There is no strict determinism with one’s dispositions. Today in an era of globalization often with tensions between different cultural and ethnic groups, the disposition according to habitus becomes complex.

Rewards based on one’s position within the stratification scheme are often seen as something natural in a society which generates structures such as salary levels, housing conditions, travel habits, etc. One example that many might agree on could be that university degrees should lead to higher salaries. In the labour market, stratification also can lead to injustice, where sometimes well-educated immigrants with visible ethnic and cultural marks, a body hexis (Bourdieu, 2004), can experience exclusion and discrimination (Ålund, 2005).

In the stratification scheme, it is possible and most likely that, among individuals and groups, differential (i.e. unequal) access to rewards based on position occurs. It does not mean that people from a specific category cannot change their rank, going socially downwards (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a) or upwards (Skeggs, 2004; Giddens, 2009), but the challenge is bigger. Today, education and school choice have become a key question in the discourse of integration and building sustainability for groups of individuals with immigrant background. The crucial issues for schools and other representatives of education are the alienation among children from parts of the society that are not fully integrated.

EDUCATION IN RELATION TO CLASS

Middle class formation and practices are well described by Skeggs (2004). She reintroduces class as a concept and shows how class is attributed with different values, visible as capital and forms of property. She describes this with Marx's concepts of use-value and exchange-value. Use-value, in Marx's terminology means artefacts of human labour. The utility of consuming a commodity serves a purpose for use (Carver, 1991). In the market economy of capitalism, artefacts also have a second sort of value, an exchange-value. Some affiliations of class and expressions of culture have both use-value to the person and exchange-value in systems of symbolic and economic exchange. Education could be interpreted both as use-value and as exchange-value, providing the individual with both personal development and a tool for labour and establishment.

To study the role of education in relation to class, it becomes important to identify the role and efficacy of symbols. Symbols or structures become constitutive of the individual or the group. Structures in turn affect the choices and decisions and create a framework for behaviour. The situation of migration contributes to experiences of different kinds which are connected with symbols, such as objects and emotional memories which generate, in an exchange-value situation a collective memory in the minority group which in turn influences the personal biography (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a; 2010b).

Hofvander Trulsson (2010a) describes in her thesis the role of the biography "the story of us, our family". This story becomes central in the discourse of many of the interviewed parents and the ideas of fostering the next generation, where choice of school, leisure time activities and support and participation in school related activities become visible. The parents' pre-understanding of fostering relies on experiences in the country of origin, the habitus, but also on experiences, tales and myths from the new country (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a).

INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY

An individual's position in the stratification scheme can change through a process of social mobility, which means a modification of status. The status can move up, an upward mobility,

or down, a downward mobility (Giddens, 1991; 2009). But you can also lose status and try to regain it; this can be interpreted as a process of class remobility (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a). Social mobility is more frequent in societies where achievement and results rather than title or name are the primary basis for social status (Giddens, 2009).

Social mobility allows a person to move to another social status than the one he or she was born with. But this process is also challenging for the individual. Bourdieu (1979) describes a person's disposition is internalized in childhood as a habitus. The disposition becomes a guide to the appropriate social positions. The expected social position, part of a class belonging, like a profession, a life style, or reading habits, need to be challenged in some way, in a process of social mobility (Trondman, 1990). Skeggs (2004) argues that use-value and exchange-value for social mobility are low in the working-class, compared to the middle class. She argues that the middle-class has more freedom to move downwards or upwards, but still retain their social status. Skeggs pictures the middle class's dips and peaks as part of a playfulness that increases rather than diminishes the resources of middle class identity.

Blanden, Gregg and Machin (2005) have focused their research on changes in social status and economic mobility, which may occur from one generation to another. The concept of intergenerational mobility in society is seen by many as a measure of the extent of equality of economic and social opportunity. It also captures the degree of equality in life changes and to which extent the individual circumstances are reflected during childhood, in success later in life, or the opposite, the extent to which individuals can succeed by virtue of their own talents, motivation and luck (Blanden, Gregg & Machin, 2005).

The key findings of Blanden, Gregg and Machin (2005) indicate that international comparisons of intergenerational mobility in Britain are on the same level as in the US, but families in these countries are substantially less mobile than in Canada and the Nordic countries. Intergenerational mobility has changed in the UK and decreased markedly over time, which they illustrate by comparing two cohorts born in 1958 and 1970. No similar change is observed in the US. Part of the reason for the decline in mobility has been the strengthened relationship between family income and educational attainment in these cohorts.

THREE CASES

1. Music and class remobility among immigrant families in Sweden

Hofvander Trulsson (2010a) has in her thesis examined parents with foreign backgrounds from different parts of the world (Uruguay, Iran, Serbia, Hungary, Vietnam, Germany, Bosnia and Estonia) and their motives behind investing in their children's musical recreational learning. The study involved 12 parents, six women and six men, whose life stories formed the results of the thesis. The main result of the thesis involved musical learning's function in equipping children with good education in order to position them in relation to the majority population. The majority of the children of the interviewed parents played classical pi-

ano. The stigma (Goffman, 1971/2001) of being immigrants and overqualified for the jobs they acquired in Sweden was a main motive for parents in their efforts to provide children with more favourable conditions through performing well at school. Common to all interviewees was a feeling of having taken a step downwards, class-wise, in Swedish society. The children were to take a step up again, a class remobility (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a), where musical learning was an important catalyst and component to regain lost cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1998/2004). Parents described the recreational education as an investment in their children's future, in subjects the school was deemed as a failure in, e.g. musical learning. Parents also highlighted the role of music in the creation of wider networks and integration, in a similar way that the Korean "goose families" describe the role of language (further described in the third case). To play a classical instrument was also seen as being a protective measure against falling into the "wrong" circles and turning to crime. The threat of losing control of the children seemed to be a recurrent source of worry. There were examples of parents who regularly entered children in competitions, which would develop their work-ethic and discipline, and give the children a sense of success and of being unique. According to the parents there was sometimes a struggle between the siblings regarding parental attention and care. This struggle was accentuated in a competitive context.

The children were involved in various arts school activities, private tutoring, private music schools and music schools run by immigrant associations (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a; 2010b). Themes analysed from the interviews were the impact of social class on how individuals will act and take strategic action in relation to the field (Bourdieu, 1986; 2004); living standards in Sweden and the narratives of bearing a stigma of being foreign (Goffman, 2001); the importance of music for minority groups and musical learning's importance for class remobility (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a), for "taking a step up" and settling in Sweden. The thesis also described music's essential functions for the individual to connect back to the backgrounds and the role of music in strengthening ties within minority groups. Music also played a key part in recovering lost capital in the form of reputation and positioning within the group. In this study parents expressed, in various ways, their hopes and expectations pertaining to their children and their musical performance. The parents, and especially the mothers, were responsible for the children's musical development. They followed, supported, encouraged and disciplined the children to practice 3-4 hours every day after school and forbade socializing with friends during the week. The discourse of disciplinary power was present throughout the interviews (Foucault, 1977).

Parents themselves often came from middle class backgrounds, with academic qualifications from Sweden and their native country. Some of the parents were also trained musicians or active amateur musicians. Those who lived in exile all had made a substantial step downwards, class-wise, as they mostly had current occupations that they were overqualified for e.g. in manufacturing, as taxi drivers, care assistants, elderly/disability assistants and

various other jobs. Three of the parents were in Sweden because of their work and they had a less exposed position in society than those in exile. For many parents, music represented an educational ideology that they themselves were part of in terms of marking their social class. The children were expected to embrace both a native discourse and to integrate into the Swedish society (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a). In several cases, the children seemed to have had the task of restoring the family's pride and position whilst using their education towards realizing future improvement possibilities for the family.

Some of the exile parents explained how hard it had been to leave the relatives in their native country and several of the families were spread over many continents. Those who left also wanted to show that it was worthwhile, that it actually gave them a better position. The middle class background made it difficult to accept the circumstances they had in Sweden. Parents expressed a clear criticism and low confidence in the Swedish schools' curriculum and methods. Several parents took it upon themselves to compensate for weaknesses in the primary and secondary school in relation to children's recreational time by educating their children themselves and building networks. According to several parents, Western arts music and piano were the paths towards acquiring the cultural capital that is most viable in Sweden and the Western world, and were also viewed by the parents as good methods to learn discipline. Arts schools generally received a lot of criticism from those interviewed and were said to be driven by a notion of quantity, with shorter lessons and many pupils. Therefore, many families chose to place their children in other, more expensive alternatives such as with private teachers, music schools run by churches and elite music schools. Immigrant associations' musical learning was seen as a complement to the aforementioned alternatives.

2. Schooling and arts education among white middle-class families

Crozier, Reay and James (2011) have examined how white middle-class parental involvement is part of the age-old process of social reproduction. It is a qualitative study of white middle-class parents who have chosen to send their children to local urban comprehensive schools (working-class schools), with school performing at or below national average. The comprehensive schools were located in three urban centres in England, the UK, two of which they called Norton and Riverton, and the third in London. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with 180 parents and 68 children from 125 families. The parents "largely rejected engaging in the usual competitiveness for educational success" (p. 199). In spite of the parents' confidence that these schools were adequate, they were not without anxiety and were conscious that they needed to be extra proactive there. The study describes the transmission of parents' middle class privileges to their children and the privileges keep on almost regardless of the parents' intentions. The parents intervened in their children's schooling and they used their own privileges to prepare and position their children for educational success (Crozier, Reay & James, 2011). This was also part of "a seamless transmission of cultural capital and familial habitus" (p. 200) and familial habitus to enable their children to navigate and

negotiate their way successfully through the education process.

The effect of disciplinary power (Foucault 1977; 1997) and the adoption of self-discipline and self-surveillance by the parents depended on a mutual understanding and the children needed to live up to the standards they themselves had set up. The framework was internalized in the child, in a similar way as the children in case 1.

The white middle-class parents were fairly secure in their privileged sense of self (Crozier, Reay & James, 2011). They believed their children would do well, whatever obstacles might come in their way. Even if the child faltered or something objectively impeded their progress, the parents believed in their own powers of social reproduction. These children represented a desirable group for schools, the sort of children who would boost the exam successes. The parents also described the teachers' focus on the middle-class child/children. Sometimes there were very few children with middle-class background in a class, which led to a view that their children were "uniquely gifted or special" (Crozier, Reay & James, 2011, p. 209). There was also an intensified expectation that the middle-class children would have a "halo effect" (p. 209) on the other children's achievements.

Crozier, Reay and James (2011) show that music tuition, in piano, flute, clarinet, theory and composition, was almost consistent across the sample. Drama and dance lessons, like ballet, tap, jazz, modern, were the norm for both sons and daughters. Theatre, cinema, art galleries, museums and historical monuments were talked of frequently as family pursuits for leisure time, whilst fostering a love of books and literature was also seen as important. Even holidays to countries like America, Australia, India, South Africa, France, and Germany were seen as both educationally and culturally significant. Parents worked hard to ensure that cultural capital was "embodied" in their children and became a part of their habitus (Crozier, Reay & James, 2011).

Just as in case 1, music education and drama were not well provided at the local urban comprehensive school and it was also the most frequent criticism against all the schools (Crozier, Reay & James, 2011). Even if they had been satisfied, it seems very likely that the parents would still have sought additional, if not alternative, experiences for their children.

Crozier, Reay and James argue that taste strongly correlates with social position and the consumption of high culture (Bourdieu 1986). As one mother put it: "he just plays the piano because he sees it as part of his persona really" (p. 212). The authors described some children as exceptionally high achievers, with one London son winning Young National Composer of the Year and a number of children representing their county in music or sporting events. However not all the children went on to be musically proficient and some lost interest in the teenage years. Music was still seen as a valuable cultural pursuit and worth investing in. Some of the children auditioned for prestigious weekend music schools and developed a network of friends from all over the city, some of whom, like themselves, were a white middle-class

minority in their urban comprehensives, while others went to private schools. Drama, music, sports and social groups provided middle-class networking (Crozier, Reay & James, 2011).

3. Learning English among middle class Korean families

Another example of struggle for tools to social mobility among families outside the western world is taken from a study of Korean families moving to the UK with the intent of putting their children in English-speaking schools (Moon, 2011). English language skills are clearly related to personal success, as well as national economic success (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992). Moon (2011) has written her thesis about number of Korean sojourner families who are moving to an English-speaking country on a short term basis in the hope of improving educational and linguistic outcomes for their children (a sojourner is a person who resides temporarily in a place).

The ethnographic case study describes the lives of 10 Korean families in southern England. The root of motivation for the move to the UK is parents' dissatisfaction with the education system in Korea and the role of English as an international language. This dissatisfaction can be compared to case 1 and 2, where one of the driving forces for leisure time education was the poor music and arts lessons provided in primary and secondary schools. In all three cases there is a critique against the compulsory school, which led to parent actions. Moon (2011) describes the extraordinary emphasis in Korea on educational development, using words like; an education fever, a war for education and preoccupation with education.

The high value attached to education cannot, according to Moon, simply be attributed to globalization. She refers to Seith (2002) who argues that the pursuit of education is the product of traditional Confucian attitudes towards learning and status and new egalitarian ideas introduced from the West.

It is against this background that we need to note the underlying energy behind strong parental involvement in education, and the intensity of Korean parents, efforts to educate their children for seeking admission to the best schools at almost any cost. (Moon, 2011, p. 164)

Moon (2011) describes the attitudes in Korea towards English and highlights several reasons for the impact it has had in education. English was perceived by many as a symbol of egalitarianism and democracy when introduced by American and British Christian missionaries. After gaining independence from Japan in 1945 and after the Korean War from 1950 to 1953, Korea needed support to rebuild the society. In education the influences from the UK are visible in the lowering of the age at which English is first taught at elementary schools, the growth of English private tutoring and the sharp increase in travel to English-speaking countries for the purpose of improving English. There has even been a proposal in Korea for English to be adopted as an official language (Moon, 2011).

A particularly striking example of this trend is the so called “wild goose family”, where fathers commonly known as “goose dads” remain in Korea while their wives and children, like wild geese, go abroad, though for the sake of their children’s education rather than the climate. Moon (2011) counted the recent estimates of the numbers of goose fathers to approximately 40 000. The two main results in Moon’s study concerned quality in education. The first was described as a general dissatisfaction with education in Korea arising from the examination-driven curriculum, including overreliance on rote learning and private tuition. The second result highlights dissatisfaction with the methods and quality of the English tuition. All of the participants in the study were dissatisfied with the current educational system in Korea and believed that the move would improve the educational outcome of their children. They had high confidence in the British education system and thought of it as less problematic than the Korean system.

Because of the lack of a deeper understanding, most parents attached considerable importance to league tables in selecting their children’s schools. However, other factors were also taken into account, particularly the school’s ethos and sensitivity to the needs of minority children. In Moon (2011) one of the interviewed mothers says; “Everyone said that the school is very good and very considerate in terms of the teachers’ attitudes towards foreign children or minority children. The teachers had very welcoming attitudes to us, when we visited the school at first” (p. 168). Moon’s study captures the difficulties for minority groups to separate themselves from other fellow citizens. According to Moon, most of the parents would have preferred their children to make friends with non-Korean children in order to accelerate their language learning. Schools with no Koreans were usually their first choice, although those with small numbers of Korean children were considered. Moon describes that the children sometimes found themselves in schools where there were many other Korean students, which led to gravitation towards each other and the children and parents were fully integrated into Korean social networks in the UK.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

The chapter has pictured three different groups of families with a heterogeneous profile of middle-class belonging. Case 1 was about immigrant parents living in exile in Sweden (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a; 2010b) who had made a downward mobility (Giddens, 2009) to a more limited economic situation, which can be interpreted as a product of the stratification between majority and minority society (Ålund, 2005). The immigrant families have kept their use-value (Marx, 1875/1978; Skeggs, 2004) and class habitus, even if the surrounding circumstances have changed, with a lesser amount of economic and social capital in their current home country (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a; 2010b). Their exchange-value (Marx, 1875/1978; Skeggs, 2004) is on the other hand marked by the immigrant situation, with traumatic experiences and with relatives scattered over the world. The loss of foothold in several areas in

everyday life has damaged their middle-class position and they find it hard to reconstruct the class-belonging they left in their countries of origin. Education in classical music is described as one of the tools to integrate their children in the majority society. By learning the music from the culture of the parents, the children also connect to the minority group living in exile. From the narratives one can understand that these acts strengthen the bonds in the immigrant group and develop a cultural habitus that is a mix of the circumstances in exile and the striving to be a part of the majority society. The children therefore become a project and a lot of effort is invested in the families' class remobility (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a). Through educating and controlling the children in their leisure time, the parents try to compensate for the criticized Swedish school system. The competitive elements in classical music are mentioned as positive and challenging.

Case 2 highlights the powerful role model that middle-class rearing is to the discourse of a successful upbringing (Crozier, Reay & James, 2011). According to Crozier, Reay and James, middle-class values have a huge impact on the institutions of education and leisure time learning. The ideology of class functions as a guard and preserves the stratification that occurs in the comprehensive schools. This group with middle-class parents, whose children go to working-class schools, represents both the tradition of middle-class-values, but also a struggle with anxiety about the schools' capacity to provide qualitative tuition. This is similar to the dissatisfaction evident in case 3, where the Korean goose families preferred the UK. In case 2 the children felt like outsiders in the schools, which gave some of the parents feelings of guilt. The parents seemed to compensate their well-being and secure the future establishment of the children through the learning of traditional middle-class skills, such as music, arts, travels and social networking (Crozier, Reay & James, 2011).

A similar emotional dilemma is found in case 1 among the immigrant parents who felt guilty putting their children in an outsider position in Sweden, in relation to the majority society (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010a; 2010b). The main difference between case 1 and 2 is the exchange-value in the groups. The group in case 2 seemed to have an attraction and expected attention from schools and politicians. Looking at the comparative advantages between case 1 and 2, it is no overstatement to emphasize that the influence of white middle-class values is hegemonic, where the cultural and social habitus greatly excludes variety and diversity in the form of values of class and ethnicity.

Case 3 (Moon, 2011) with the Korean "goose families" describes a group that, like the first one, wants to achieve further mobility. The children and the mothers moving to the UK struggle to integrate into the British society and blend with native speaking families. Building social capital is described as hard in the new country, so the families end up in new Korean networks in the UK. The plan is to return to Korea with their newly regained capital, to refine their middle-class belonging. For them, bilingual skills are interpreted as crucial for success (Moon, 2011). The exchange-value for the Korean group can be generalized as low in the UK,

compared to the use-value of studying in an English-speaking environment. But when they return to Korea, the exchange-value rises and gives new opportunities.

The three cases illustrate a hybrid profile of middle-class, with a variation of social and economic capital, but with a similar understanding of cultural capital whose intertwined use-value and exchange-value (Marx, 1875/1978) form their actions and strategies in the field (Bourdieu, 1968; 1979; 1990). The families are active agents in Bourdieu's aesthetic field, fostering their children to consume and integrate traditional middle-class values into their cultural habitus framed by 'high' culture and language to acquire the cultural capital for social reproduction.

When the intergenerational mobility (Blanden, Gregg & Machin, 2005) is low in a country, the positioning and the choices become more critical. The threat of the child's and the family's failure in a more and more individualized world causes anxiety about downward mobility or social immobility. The inaugural symbols of middle class create a powerful struggle between the biography (Hofvander Trulsson, 2010), the ethnic and cultural habitus and the expected structuring decisions for educational choices (Crozier, Reay & James, 2011; Moon, 2011). One driving force for leisure time learning was to compensate for perceived inadequacies of the school. The disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977; 1997) was maybe internalized within the child and adopted as a self-playing piano (Crozier, Reay & James, 2011), still the narratives from case 1 describe the worry and alienation that children occasionally felt in their disciplined life of instrumental practice. This reflection is made out of the parents' narratives only, and therefore it is crucial to continue to study this from a child's perspective.

The class habitus in the three cases have considerable similarities, even if they represent groups from different parts of the world, with heterogeneous living circumstances. The focal points of the training that the children receive can be analysed as part of a reborn ideology of parenthood where choice, control and social background rules. In a global perspective, it is possible that the middle-class habitus, because of capitalism and globalization, will narrow the contents and the playground for children's exploration of identity. The borders between insiders and outsiders may be even higher in a future society.

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CHAPTER 9

Musical marginalization processes: Problematizing the marginalization concept through an example from early 20th century American popular culture

SVEN BJERSTEDT

[A]ll African-American music making is driven by and permeated with the memory of things from the cultural past. (Floyd, 1995, p. 10)

As a supradiscursive phenomenon interwoven with the discourses that socially constitute it, black music resonates across the sites and sounds of public culture, from black to white and back again. (Radano, 2003, p. 1)

An analytical approach influenced by cultural studies may help us see how meanings are generated and spread through the practices and structures in a given culture. For instance, by relating musical sound to categories such as class, ethnicity, body, and sexuality, these kinds of studies have provided a broader and deeper picture of meaning production in jazz music (Townsend, 2000; Ake, 2002).

Marginalization as a cultural phenomenon and as an analytical concept is closely related to and highly dependent on meaning production. Clearly, marginalization both as a concept and as a phenomenon is neither monolithic, stable, nor unambiguous. Several examples from popular music show how, even though music forms may start out being identified – and actively identifying themselves – as marginalized, they often quite soon display a remarkable change of identity. The route from *underground to mainstream* has been travelled by blues, rock, and hip hop artists, as well as many others. The transition enables you to prosper by being “down and out”. The relations of identity and authenticity to marginalization will often prove quite paradoxical in the commercialized world of popular music.

THE DOUBLENESS AND INSTABILITY OF THE MARGINALIZATION CONCEPT

The very concept of marginalization is indeed an intricate one. While concrete exemplifications of marginalization in a large number of fields abound in research literature, explicit theoretical problematizations of the concept as such are scarce, to the best of my knowledge. An important and influential text by Spivak (1988) is highly relevant in its problematization of the study of the third world subject. Spivak argues that knowledge is never innocent; it always expresses the interests of the knowledge producers. In particular, she holds, Western academic research is always colonial, produced in order to support Western interests. In this and other aspects, Spivak's critical study "Can the subaltern speak?" (1988) clearly does deal with the marginalization concept. The points I wish to make here, however, are slightly different in that the case I put forward displays a certain doubleness and instability that seems to me to be intrinsic to the concept of marginalization. In the case I present, I argue, this becomes visible through processes of transculturation.

I will focus on an instance of musical marginalization: a concrete, narrow object of study retrieved from American popular culture of the early 20th century. I take this case to exemplify the doubleness and instability of the very concept of marginalization. It is not just a "success story" of swift transitions from suburb to glamour; rather, it encompasses the complete watering down of several thousand years worth of cultural/mythological meaning production.

My object of study is W. C. Handy's "Aunt Hagar's Blues". On examining this song, a number of questions present themselves and will be discussed rather extensively. Who was this Hagar? What meanings have been ascribed to her? How have they been shaped and re-shaped? Before dealing with such questions, a number of relevant concepts ought to be presented and operationalized in the present section, for instance, identity, meaning production, transculturation, deconstruction, and ideological power.

Identity: A strategic, positionistic, non-essentialist concept

Identity is a crucial concept for any researcher who wishes to apply perspectives that are influenced by critical theory and cultural studies (Frith, 1996). It is not a question of how music reflects those who play it or listen to it, but rather how they are constructed and produced by music. Identity is perceived as a non-essentialist concept: a process, not a thing; a becoming, not a being. It works strategically, positionistically. Our experience of music is part of this identity process. According to Frith, music helps create people as a net of identities. An identity works as an ideal, but at the same time identity is real, performed in musical activity.

Meaning production:

The role of history and culture in a process of becoming

The strategic, positionistic concept of identity is at the core of discourse theory. This perspective shows how history, language, and culture are used in processes of becoming: identities come into existence through the meanings that are produced. The question is not what we are but what we can become. Foucault (2011) describes how the subject is submitted to practices of classification: systems of differentiation and instrumental methods. Hall (1996) points out how the subject according to Foucault is historicized as an effect of and through the discourse: a genealogy of the technologies of the self.

Transculturation: Forms of culture travel through time and space; hybridization and indigenization as creative processes

Musical practice is characterized by an ethnical pluralism which is difficult to relate to 'top down' perspectives on ethnicities (Stokes, 1997). Lull (2000) points to the heterogeneity of culture: it oscillates between tradition and change. When its bonds with a certain geographical area are untied, the deterritorialized culture survives in a modified form. The migration in time and space of cultural norms is usually termed transculturation. It is a creative process which is facilitated by modern communication technology. Cultural hybrids come into being (hybridization); imported cultural elements assume local characteristics (indigenization, glocalization); people resume a cultural home in every new place they live (reterritorialization, which is an active socio-cultural synthesis) and form diasporic public spheres. Culture can be actively reterritorialized through the ability of communication technology to facilitate social interaction over physical distances.

Deconstruction: Culturally determined, dynamic meaning production in a transcultural world; Blackness perspectives

In recent decades, phenomena such as meaning and meaning production have been problematized. Dyndahl (2009) sums up some predominant lines of thought. Following Wenger (1998), learning is often viewed as negotiations of meaning. Kristeva (1980) has formulated the notion of intertextuality: text in her view should be viewed as a productive combination and transformation of semiotic codes, discursive genres, material and significance. Bendix (1997) has problematized the concept of authenticity, putting forward the view that no distinction can be maintained in a transcultural world between real and false, pure and hybrid. At the core of such perspectives is the deconstructionism of Jacques Derrida (2001). Derrida questions Saussure's description of the relation *signifié–signifiant*; it is not unambiguous, for language constantly refers to itself. Derrida coins the concept *différance*: a linguistic system is never complete; rather, it is always open to dynamic meaning production through letting existing meanings create denotations for new (ambiguous) *signifiés*. In the Western tradition, our existence is understood through dualistic pairs of opposites: nature/culture,

subject/object, practice/theory, content/form, original/copy, etc. Derrida's perspective undermines our view of such structures as accepted truths. His deconstruction of what seem to be binary opposites shows that these are not absolute. Instead, they ought to be seen as arbitrary relations based on socially constructed value hierarchies. The centre of philosophy is thereby moved from ontology to epistemology. Language and text are in focus. Knowledge of the world, in Derrida's view, is knowledge of the signs in the world. There is no original meaning beyond or before the signs. Derrida deconstructs the opposition between experience and thought; it is culturally determined. He also deconstructs the expression "literal meaning". According to Derrida, all language is metaphorical. Derrida does not contend that only text exists – but he holds that the real world must be interpreted in the same way as texts are interpreted. Deconstruction promotes anti-essentialist, discursive, social constructionist thought: skepticism towards that which seems stable and permanent.

Lines of thoughts like these have proved relevant to many fields, among them those of musicology and music education. The very concept of music has met with critical analysis in Derrida's footsteps.

Radano (2003) maintains that no music can be considered a stable phenomenon, isolated from its historical context, and that the concept of music cannot be presumed to carry an ontological meaning which is independent of social forces: "the very concept of 'music' is grounded in a peculiarly European history that reified sound as form" (p. 41); "to name the many versions of acoustical knowing 'music' is to impose onto a diversity of experience a peculiarly western European socioartistic construct" (p. 103). Referring to Goehr (1992), Radano points out that

'Music' as we know it emerges as a local European concept that becomes a marker of an increasingly racialized conception of civility in the early modern era. This signature of value would be specified to its written, composed manifestations that gain special primacy as 'works' with the emergence of romantic aesthetics. (Radano, 2003, p. 325)

Neither ought the concept rhythm to be perceived as absolute or monolithic. Radano (2003) argues that "'rhythm' is itself constituted in an unstable discourse rather than being something natural and attributable to all music" (p. 42) and that "the discrete European category of rhythm was not likely a part of the slaves' musical epistemology [...] the social power of rhythm was invented within the discourses of colonialism as a way of defining African difference" (p. 103).

Culture is not identical with ethnicity, and cultural patterns do not necessarily coincide with national borders. In his analysis of black culture, Gilroy (1993) advocates *the Atlantic* as a cultural and historical unit of analysis in order to attain a perspective which is neither ethnocentric nor nationalist, but "transnational and intercultural" (p. 15). *The sea and the ship* become his means to elucidate "the inescapable hybridity and intermixture of ideas" (p. xi):

the histories of borrowing, displacement, transformation, and continual reinscription that the musical culture encloses are a living legacy that should not be reified in the primary symbol of the diaspora and then employed as an alternative to the recurrent appeal of fixity and rootedness. (p. 102)

In Foucault's assertion that the modern soul is produced permanently within the body by the functioning of power that is exercised, Gilroy (1993) finds support for an anti-anti-essentialism that sees racialized subjectivity as the product of the social practices that supposedly derive from it (p. 102). Accordingly, Gilroy views black identity as a question of "outcome of practical activity": "Black identity [...] is lived as a coherent (if not always stable) experiential sense of self" (p. 102).

To an extent, Radano (2003) finds himself in sympathy with Gilroy's view: the distinctive feature of black music is "the musically articulated resistances to an overarching white racial supremacy" (p. 39). But he questions the existence of a transcendent, purely musical force beyond the instability of discourses. To maintain that black music possesses certain definite properties (for instance, "soulful, rhythmically affecting, based on collective engagements of call and response") depends, he argues, on "presentist assumptions" (p. 5). Radano's argument is decidedly anti-essentialist: firstly, he questions that black music would "play by a different set of rules, distinct from the traditions governing American social history" (p. 35), secondly and more importantly, he questions the thought of what he terms the myth of a black identity ("the myth of a consistent and stable socio-racial position of 'blackness'", p. 3), since "the sound of black music has acquired meaning through discursive representation" (p. xv). Black music is the product of a social process in relation to white norms, not the symptom of some sort of "racially based" property (p. 8).

In his anti-essentialist analysis of black music, Radano (2003) points to how the meaning of this concept lacks a firm core. On the contrary, in accordance with Amiri Baraka's notion of "the changing same" (Baraka, 1967), he finds it to be the subject of constant renegotiations. Radano finds a concept of "strangeness" or Otherness, developed on the basis of white norms, to be an essential ingredient of Blackness:

The conception of difference records that which is both real and unreal. It designates the places that musical Africanness can inhabit as it inevitably translates those expressions into forms of strangeness that only then become accessible to European-based determination. This logical paradox is the core of black musical hermenutic, for no one side of the tale can be accounted for without the other. (p. 44)

Swedish literature, too, may provide examples of such *discursive instability* regarding black music. Starting in the 1920s, jazz poetry has been an important subgenre in Swedish poetry. Saxophones and cymbals became prevalent metaphors of the noise and ecstasy of modernity (Everling, 1993). However, there was one very early bird among these jazz poets: Emil Kléen,

who used the word “negermelodi” (Negro melody) already in 1888. (This was possibly a *Lese Frucht*, originating in some continental poet’s encounter with the Fisk Singers.) In his lines

kände längtans timmar långsamt glida
 som takter i en negermelodi
 [felt the hours of longing gliding slowly
 as measures in a Negro melody]

Kléen focused on the tardiness, rather than the rapture, of the music (Bjerstedt, 2008; my translation).

Agawu (2003) remarks that every analysis focusing on cultural *differences* (for instance, between “black” and “white”) will always depend on concepts that are socially constructed: “Differences [...] are not simply there for the perceiving subject. We do not perceive in a vacuum. Categories of perception are made, not given.” (p. 232) Agawu advocates an alternative ethnomusicological stance: “Contesting differences through an embrace of sameness might also prompt a fresh critique of essentialism” (p. 235).

Ideological power:

The struggle for access to instruments of meaning production

Without doubt, racist labels have often been decisive for the ways in which African American music has been perceived: “however inaccurate and exclusionist the formations of black music as ‘race music’ may be [...] it has greatly determined modern constructions of musical meaning and experience” (Radano, 2003, p. 20).

Both feminist and postcolonial theory have been inspired by Derrida’s deconstruction of the dichotomy central/peripheral. To view the other as something other, not only a second-rate version of the predominant, entails an ethical research dimension (Dyndahl, 2008). With the aid of deconstruction, female culture has been recontextualized in relation to (male) society; it becomes possible to point at “the otherness” in being a woman in a patriarchal society. Furthermore, deconstruction of the relation master/slave can render it clear that neither the colonial power nor the colonized culture can be expressed in a pure form (Spivak, 1988).

Hall (2009a) discusses how the power to signify entails ideological power. Which kinds of meanings are construed systematically and regularly regarding certain events? How are certain meanings actively made to achieve preference? How do media institutions organize a societal practice in order to produce a symbolic product? *Signification* differs from other modern work processes in that the social practice produces a discursive object.

According to Hall (2009a), the ideological power to signify events in a particular way (significations) is a societal power which affects the outcome of controversial social issues. Ideology cannot be viewed as dependent on a reality that is given beforehand. Neither can the

outcome of ideology be predicted in accordance with any deterministic logic. Both the ideology itself and its outcome depend on the power balance in a particular historical context: “the politics of signification” (p. 124). When meaning no longer depends on how things *are* but on how they are *signified*, it follows that the same event can be signified in different ways. To signify is to produce meaning. Meaning is determined by how signification is carried out in a social practice. Language is not fairly distributed regardless of class and socio-economic position. Key institutions play an important role in how “cultural capital” is distributed. Different classes use the same language; the sign becomes an arena for class struggle. The struggle over the meanings of words is also the struggle for the instruments of signification. Language creates meaning. In the words of Hall: “Speakers were as much ‘spoken’ by their language as speaking it” (p. 126). Ideology is a function of discourse and the logic of societal processes, rather than of the agent's intention. The discourse speaks itself through the agent; the ideology works.

Radano (2003) points out that “there are qualities to black music [...] that draw us into uncharted realms beyond the limits of language” (p. 15). The postcolonial literature scholar Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (1988) has employed the rhetorical concept Signifyin(g) in a radical intertextual approach of broad cultural applicability. His analysis of the cultural manifestations of black Americans point at the physical, material aspects, among other things: “the *how* of a performance is more important than the *what*”; the instrumentalist’s movements are “the physical signifiers that are part and parcel of the black musical experience [...] it is in the material manifestations of Signifyin(g) that reside many of the clues and cues to the perception of black music and its evaluation” (Floyd, 1995, p. 96–97). However, Radano (2003) also warns of the temptation to let the tools of analysis guide and limit the conception of jazz music as only a matter of allusions: “the temptation of fixing jazz practices into a Procrustean bed of indirection” (p. 303).

In the following sections, concepts such as *identity*, *meaning production*, *transculturation*, *deconstruction*, and *ideological power* will be employed in an analysis of the case of Aunt Hagar.

THE CASE OF “AUNT HAGAR’S BLUES”: FROM GENESIS TO HOLLYWOOD

There are many examples of spirituals where heroes from the Old Testament function as sources of inspiration and motivation for oppressed African Americans; from the story of the Flood, “Didn’t it rain?” through “Go down, Moses” and “Joshua fit the battle of Jericho” to “Didn’t my Lord deliver Daniel?” (The Spirituals Project, 2004/2011). Our object of study here is a female example, not from the spirituals but from the African American popular music of the early 20th century.

W. C. Handy's "Aunt Hagar's Blues"

W. C. Handy appeared early as composer of songs that both adhered to and differed from the blues tradition, and that soon were to become part of it, for instance, "Memphis Blues" (1912) and "St. Louis Blues" (1914). Handy eventually became known as "Father of the Blues". In 1921 he wrote the song "Aunt Hagar's Blues" (with the alternative title "Aunt Hagar's Children Blues"). In it, Hagar is portrayed as the mother of all African Americans:

Just hear Aunt Hagar's children harmonizin' to that old mournful tune!
It's like a choir from on high broke loose!
If the devil brought it, the good Lord sent it right down to me,
Let the congregation join while I sing those lovin' Aunt Hagar's Blues!

The song has become part of the standard repertoire of traditional jazz. Louis Armstrong's 1954 version may be the most well-known recording of Handy's composition "Aunt Hagar's Blues" (<http://www.jazz-on-line.com/a/ramt/TS487634.ram>).

The biblical background

The expression "Aunt Hagar's children" has long been used as a collective allusion to African Americans; Aunt Hagar is the symbolic mother of all African Americans, a personification of black womanhood (Yardley, 2006). The origin of this symbol is the story of Abraham in Genesis. (The Bible quotes below are from the King James Version.) When Sarah cannot conceive a child, Abraham turns to his slave Hagar, who bears him the son Ismael. After that, God lets Sarah bear the son Isaac, but Sarah is angry when she sees the boys together and demands that Abraham banish Hagar and her son:

Wherefore she said unto Abraham, Cast out this bondwoman and her son: for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, even with Isaac.
And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight because of his son.
And God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight because of the lad, and because of thy bondwoman; in all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice; for in Isaac shall thy seed be called.
And also of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed.
(Genesis 21:10–13)

Hagar wanders about with her son in the desert. When she is out of water, she leaves him beneath a bush. As she cries, God's angel speaks to her and leads her to a well:

And God heard the voice of the lad; and the angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven, and said unto her, What aileth thee, Hagar? fear not; for God hath heard the voice of the lad where he is.
Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hand; for I will make him a great nation.
[...]

And God was with the lad; and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer.(Genesis 21:17–18, 20)

Furthermore, Paul writes in his epistle to the Galatians:

For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a freewoman.

But he who was of the bondwoman was born after the flesh; but he of the free-woman was by promise.

Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar.

For this Agar is mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children.

But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all. (Galatians 4:22–26)

Many people have identified with the banished Ishmael: for instance, August Strindberg in his autobiographical novel *The son of a servant (Tjänstekvinnans son)*. The New Testament lines have probably been perceived as an additional reason for African Americans to pick Hagar as a symbol of enslaved black people.

Aunt Hagar in African American culture

Early on, Hogan (1942) points out that Handy's song is "traceable to folk ancestry". Thelwell (2002) calls attention to the fact that "Aunt Hagar (and Handy) was evoking an ancient discourse within African cultures".

There are several examples of Hagar's different roles and meanings in literary contexts. In the description of the slave auction in Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's cabin* (1852/2010) there is an Aunt Hagar. Old, half blind and crippled, she has but one child in life, fourteen year old Albert.

The mother held on to him with both her shaking hands, and eyed with intense trepidation every one who walked up to examine him.

'Don't be feared, Aunt Hagar,' said the oldest of the men, 'I spoke to Mas'r Thomas 'bout it, and he thought he might manage to sell you in a lot both together.'

'Dey needn't call me worn out yet,' said she, lifting her shaking hands. 'I can cook yet, and scrub, and scour, – tell em dat ar, – you tell em,' she added, earnestly. [...] 'He an't gwine to be sold widout me!' said the old woman, with passionate eagerness; 'he and I goes in a lot together; I's rail strong yet, Mas'r and can do heaps of work, – heaps on it, Mas'r.'

'On plantation?' said Haley, with a contemptuous glance. (pp. 76–77)

The African American sculptress Edmonia Lewis wished to create a symbol of the African mother in the United States with her famous marble sculpture Hagar (1868) – as well as a

symbol of the oppression of African women (Robinson, 2001). In the only novel by Langston Hughes, *Not without laughter* (1930), Aunt Hagar is the maternal grandmother of the main character Sandy. This Aunt Hagar has been described as “one of those strong black Christian women who behind a strong physical form hides a humble, understanding heart” (Erkerd, 2011).

When the African American anthropologist John Langston Gwaltney published a collection of “urban narratives”, *Drylongso: A self-portrait of Black America* (Gwaltney, 1981), he dedicated it to “Lucy and all the other flowers in Aunt Hagar’s garden”, and he included a note of explanation, describing Aunt Hagar as a “mythical apical figure of the core black American nation” (Williams, 2006, s. 172).

According to an interview with the author, the title of Edward P. Jones’s Pulitzer award-winning short story collection *All Aunt Hagar’s children* (Jones, 2006) emanates from an expression he grew up with: “The phrase, ‘all Aunt Hagar’s children’ is one my mother used for black people” (Elliott, 2006).

Martin-Ogunsola (2004) expands on the symbolic function of Aunt Hagar and contributes further literary examples:

Hagar is a strong link between the Old and New World cultures. For example, in the African American oral tradition Aunt Hagar, a former slave and matriarch, becomes a symbol of everyone’s mother, grandmother, auntie, and the like – the great nurturer of the black community. [...] In written literature, Hagar is a figure of richly textured dimension in the works of African American writers such as Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Richard Wright, Langston Hughes, Maya Angelou, and Toni Morrison, among others who pay tribute to her. (p. 6)

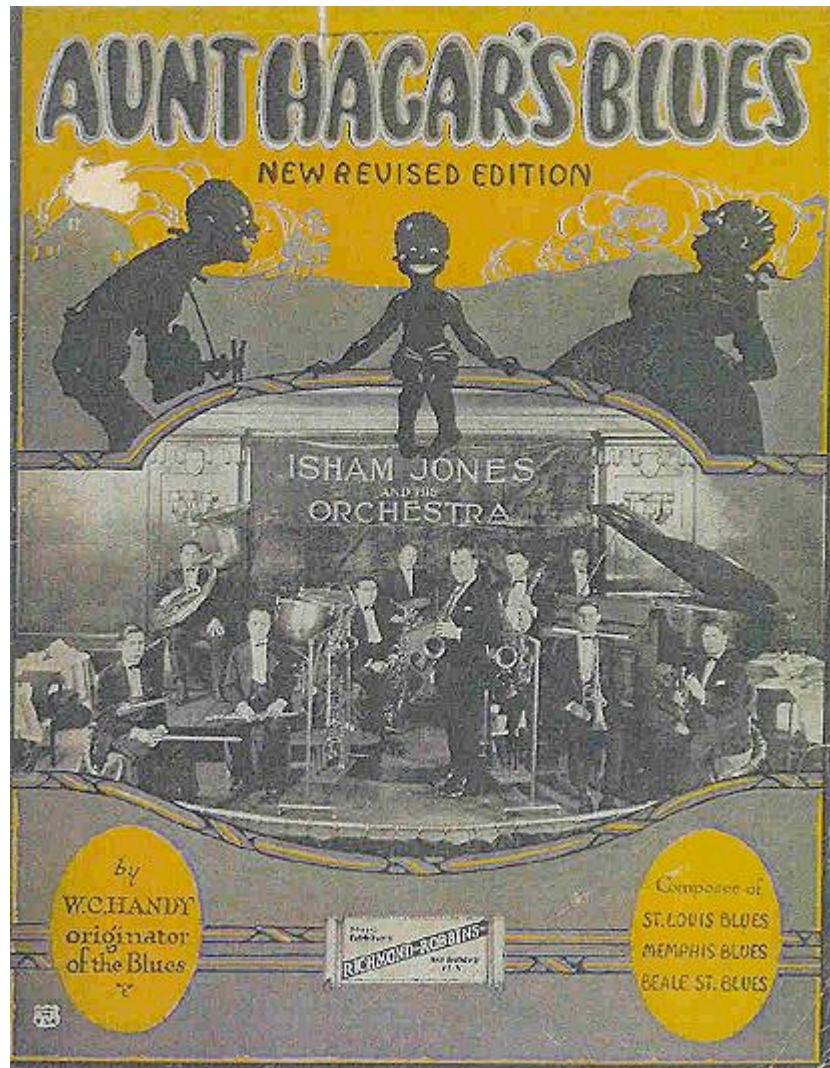
Williams (2006) points out that African Americans have appropriated the biblical Hagar for more than two centuries “in many different contexts, supporting a variety of meanings” (p. 172). Aunt Hagar has been a subject of analysis by several black American feminist theorists (Scholz, 2004).

In the two ensuing sections, I present two examples of how Aunt Hagar, through the mediation of W. C. Handy, appeared in white American popular culture.

Aunt Hagar in the dance parlours

One of the most successful American dance bands in the early 1920s was led by the white hit song composer Isham Jones. On November 1st, 1922, his orchestra made one of its many recordings on the Brunswick label: “Aunt Hagar’s Blues” (<http://www.redhotjazz.com/ishamjones.html>). When this recording was issued, a new sheet music issue of W. C. Handy’s composition was published as well, with a new front page. The centre of this front page is a photograph of “Isham Jones and his orchestra”, a traditional, public relations oriented orches-

tra picture including tuxedos and an urban music stage environment. Above the photograph, in stark contrast, there are three black caricature cartoon figures.



Aunt Hagar in the film factory

W. C. Handy's life was made into film in Hollywood in 1958. The Paramount Pictures film *St. Louis Blues* was directed by Allen Reissner and presented singer/pianist Nat "King" Cole in the main role as W. C. Handy. One of the film characters was called Aunt Hagar. The film makers, however, completely disavowed the African American tradition of this name. Instead, script writers Ted Sherdeman and Robert Smith furnished the main character with an aunt called Hagar. The part of Aunt Hagar was played by Pearl Bailey. In the film story, her bluesy way of singing angers the father of young Will, the methodist pastor Charles Handy. The main conflict of the film is between father and son: is blues "the devil's music" or "our people's music"? Eventually, father and son are reconciled when the New York symphony orchestra performs W. C. Handy's most well-known composition, the title song "St. Louis Blues". The song "Aunt Hagar's Blues", however, does not occur in the film (IMDb, 2011a & 2011b).

DISCUSSION

In this section, the two representations of Aunt Hagar presented above are studied and analysed with concepts such as identity, meaning production and ideological power as a point of departure.

Hagar's identity and meaning along her way through cultures

Hagar is part of a pattern of meaning creation on several levels: in society, religion, and music. Through thousands of years, Jews, Christians, and Muslims have interpreted the Genesis story of how Hagar and her son are banished into the desert. As a symbol of definitive marginalization, it must be considered archetypal. During the last centuries, Aunt Hagar has also come to carry a central symbolic function in African American culture. Radano (2003) observes that "Christian-based ecclesiastical interpretations have been part and parcel of the broader construction of black musical meaning" (p. 31). Aunt Hagar is one of many examples. Through its prehistory and history of reception, "Aunt Hagar's Blues" also interestingly exemplifies *multidirectional transcultural loans* of materials and themes. One line goes from Judaism via Christianity to the picture of the black mother such as she is portrayed in a long series of African American cultural manifestations, one of them being Handy's song. Another line goes from Otherness culture back to predominant culture: from the symbolic manifestation of the black mother in Handy's song to white popular culture's reappropriation (and watering down) of its meaning. In this section, this will be studied with reference to a 1922 sheet music cover and a 1958 film plot.

Hagar as an example of cultural meaning production

Above the photograph on the sheet music cover is a caricature sketch of three black people: a male banjo player, a grinning boy and a laughing woman. This picture might reasonably be interpreted as carrying an ambition to sum up in a visual concentrate something of the predominant stereotyped conception in the United States of the black (Southern) population in an agrarian environment at that time; the picture seems to ascribe to the black population characteristics such as primitive and contented. Such conceptions were wide-spread in Western culture. Bjerstedt (2004) shows how in a 1929 Swedish overview of human geography, a picture of a black musician has been provided with these notes: "A plantation Negro with his banjo. [...] When an American Negro feels pleased, he likes to make noise." (My translation.)

The sheet music cover strengthens the dichotomy white/black through the mediation of other dichotomies such as central/peripheral and culture/nature: through the geometrical placing of the pictures, through the representation of urban versus rural environment (the differences regarding musical instruments should be noted!), as well as through the contrast between visual media (photograph versus caricature drawing).

Gates (1988), in his analysis of the cultural manifestations of black Americans through the rhetorical concept Signifyin(g), points to (among other things) the physical, material

aspects of meaning production: “the *how* of a performance is more important than the *what*”; the movements of the instrumentalist are “the physical signifiers that are part and parcel of the black musical experience [...] it is in the material manifestations of Signifyin(g) that reside many of the clues and cues to the perception of black music and its evaluation” (Floyd, 1995, pp. 96–97). It may be interesting to apply these perspectives to Isham Jones’s recording of “Aunt Hagar’s Blues”. An analysis of the sounding material must confine itself to a few subjective impressions. It seems possible to perceive a non-academic, “black” idiom both in the clarinet playing throughout and in the cornet solo (from circa 1:18 to 1:53). In brief, advances towards black music culture are discernible not only in the choice of material but in the execution of it as well. To my knowledge, there remains no 1920s footage of Isham Jones’s orchestra, but a conjecture based on the photography might be that the orchestra’s public appearances were characterized by “physical signifiers” comparatively fit for the drawing-room, and that its “material manifestations of Signifyin(g)” had little in common with the music culture represented by the cartoon.

As a biography of W. C. Handy, the film *St. Louis Blues* (1958) is rather incongruent with other biographical sources. It uses blues music as a point of departure for a pure Bürger–Künstler conflict, the dramaturgy of which, in all its one-sidedness, could be perceived as a lightweight version of, for instance, the *Bildungsroman* of Goethe or Thomas Mann, with *American dream* spices added. On the other hand, the film reflects rather well black jazz and entertainment of its own time: it contains performances by Pearl Bailey, Cab Calloway, Nat King Cole, Ella Fitzgerald, Mahalia Jackson, and Eartha Kitt.

In the light of Hagar’s history as an archetypical marginalization symbol, the symbolic value ascribed to Aunt Hagar by the film script is minimal. The real W. C. Handy did not have a relative of that name. The choice to include an aunt in the story must be interpreted as an intellectual wink to Handy’s song “Aunt Hagar’s Blues”, possibly also to the Aunt Hagar founded in myth; the film part can certainly be described as a strong African American woman. But its function in the film has nothing to do with the Hagar myth; its only task is to serve the Eurologically based dramaturgy. Consequently, the fictitious film aunt can be seen as a renunciation of the African American mother symbol. Based on the film fiction, Handy’s reasons for writing a song entitled “Aunt Hagar’s Blues” could be perceived as quite commonplace: he had an aunt by that name. The Eurological dramaturgy puts the Afrological mythology to death.

Hagar as an example of ideological power

Neither Isham Jones’s version of “Aunt Hagar’s Blues” nor the part of Aunt Hagar in the film *St. Louis Blues* would exist but for the African American mythological background presented above. However, neither representation acknowledges this position of dependence; on the contrary, it is denied. In a racist society such as the United States of the 1920s or the 1950s,

indirect and narrow representations of the relation of white cultural manifestations to black culture are hardly surprising.

In brief, the perspectives presented on the meaning production of the figure Hagar (staged in the story of Hagar's banishment to the desert) have to do with *marginalization*. The Isham Jones sheet music cover can hardly be said to contribute to a 'marginalization' interpretation in the same way as the Aunt Hagar symbol in African American culture; this symbolic value, rather, is completely neglected, even though it was essential to the creation of the song. On the other hand, as noted above, the sheet music cover can be said to marginalize African Americans from entirely different perspectives (the perspectives of racist American society and the predominant white popular culture) and by entirely different means (visual representation). In this way, the sheet music cover serves to illustrate the doubleness in the marginalization concept: its meaning depends on which agent is connected to the production of meaning.

When Eurological film dramaturgy puts Afrological mythology to death, this gives life to several processes that have to do with the production of meaning with respect to the concept of marginalization. Even though the film plot is enacted in an African American environment, the signification that produces meaning has been radically recontextualized when Aunt Hagar passes on from the mythical function as the symbolic mother of all African Americans to the commonplace function as the protagonist's aunt. By means of this recontextualization, signification becomes completely watered down. The paradoxical result is that while African American culture nominally is at the centre of the film, it is utterly marginalized through the neglect of the Hagar myth. The relation of the film to African American culture is double: it places the culture both in periphery (the Hagar myth) and at its centre (a narrow and distorted picture). This signification is carried out in a social practice that, with regard to the black/white dichotomy, must be said to be complex: the originators of the film are white throughout (script, direction, production); the actors are black throughout; while the film audience is racially mixed. The meaning production in different phases from intention to reception is characterized by the same complexity.

The two representations of Aunt Hagar presented at length above point to an *intrinsic doubleness and instability in the very concept of marginalization* – ironically, the concept which essentially sums up the meaning production traditionally associated with the Aunt Hagar figure! This phenomenon gives rise to interesting questions regarding the marginalization concept in relation to a deconstruction of the central/peripheral dichotomy. This is not the forum for a further approach to such problems, but I will conclude this article, taking these observations as my point of departure, with an attempt at a formulation of a number of more general questions.

To signify somebody or something as “marginalized” seems to take it for granted that a process of evaluation has taken place. Any such process must be problematized since it presupposes that a certain relation between centre and periphery, text and margin, discourse and concealment, has been taken for granted. What agent has the power to place somebody or something in the margin? Who defines the central position? Who draws the boundaries to the periphery? Is not every agent the centre of her own world? What does it mean for an agent to define herself as peripheral? What consequences will this kind of marginalization have for the agent? These kinds of questions would seem to call for continued discussion and analysis.

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CHAPTER 10

Intertextuality and creative music making

GÖRAN FOLKESTAD

INTRODUCTION

Issues regarding the relationships between previous knowledge and experiences, and the formation of new knowledge are at the core of all educational sciences, music education being no exception.

From this perspective, the theories of intertextuality become particularly interesting, not only 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, et cetera – but also in general in analysing various phenomena of teaching and learning.

In the opening chapter of this book Dyndahl 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 as follows:

Instead of analysing 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. (Chapter 1, p. 8)

When studying and analysing creative processes such as composition and music making, this approach becomes of great interest and of vital importance. In my own studies on creative music making, from Folkestad (1996) and onwards, intertextuality has, implicitly, been a core element in the analysis of the situated musical activities under study.

The aim of the present chapter is twofold: (i) to discuss the concepts of *intertextuality* and *hypertextuality* on the basis of literature and empirical examples, and (ii) to explore whether

these concepts might be fruitful in analysing and discussing creative music making, and how they may contribute to the theoretical development of the concepts *discourse in music* and *the inner personal musical library*, as presented in Folkestad (2012).

INTERTEXTUALITY – HYPERTEXTUALITY

The first aim of this chapter is to discuss *intertextuality* and *hypertextuality* in order to reach an understanding and preliminary description of the similarities and differences between these concepts, and how they are defined and used by different scholars. In the following, I will start by discussing intertextuality on the basis of literature and empirical examples, followed by the same thing being done with hypertextuality. The section ends by presenting a concluding analysis of the similarities and differences found between these concepts.

Intertextuality

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).

Fiske (1987) distinguishes between intertextual relations on two dimensions: (i) *horizontal intertextuality*, defined as the relations “between primary texts that are more or less explicitly linked, usually along the axes of genre, character, or content” (p. 108), and (ii) *vertical intertextuality*, relations between a primary text – e. g. a television programme – and “other texts of a different type that refer explicitly to it” (p. 108) – e. g. secondary texts such as studio publicity, journalistic features, or criticism.

Middleton (2000) concludes that “the best umbrella term for the popular music practices...is probably intertextuality” (p. 61). He takes his point of departure in a definition of intertextuality as “the idea that all texts make sense only through their relationships, explicit or implicit, with other texts” (p. 61). He also 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, et cetera, in the process of creating, interpreting, performing and listening to music.

In this perspective, opera improvisation (Wilén, see Chapter 7) is a very good and interesting example of intertextuality. Opera improvisation might in fact be seen as an example of *intertextuality in practice*, and presupposes intertextuality on (at least) three levels: (i) on the intrapersonal level where the singer interacts with his/her previous musical knowledge and experiences in working out what to sing, and when deciding how to reply to an impetus given by another singer; (ii) on an interpersonal level, in the interaction on stage between the singers/actors in their real-time, improvisational process of creating the performance, and (iii) in the interactive, interpersonal process between the actors and the audience. All these levels of interactive processes presuppose a common agreement concerning stylistic conventions and the musical language in use. Moreover, these interactions imply the meeting of the previous personal musical experiences of all the people involved.

One example of intertextuality, today very common in the sampling culture described by Dyndahl (2000a, 2000b), is to be found in Kanye West’s “Through the wire”. Early in the morning on October 23, 2002, Kanye West was in a near-fatal car crash on his way home from the studio. As a result, his jaws were wired due to the medical treatment needed. Already in November, only one month after the crash and with his jaws still wired, he recorded “Through the wire”, released in September 2003 as the lead single of his debut album *College dropout* (2004). The lyrics start with “They can’t stop me from rapping can they?... I spit it through the wire”, and then the lyrics continue by describing how he feels about the situation being in hospital, seriously injured with his jaws wired, which allowed him to consume only liquid food, still having so much on his mind that he wanted to communicate through his music.

The title “Through the wire” is a good example of intertextuality as it obviously came, not only from Kanye West’s present situation after the car crash, but from David Foster’s song “Through the fire” written for, and recorded by, Chaka Khan in 1985. The original recording including Chaka Khan’s lead vocal, sampled and speeded up, is also the basis of Kanye West’s composition and production, on top of which he performs his rap. Moreover, the connection between “wire” and “fire” is already done in the original chorus ending with

Chaka Kahn singing the lines “For a chance at loving you/I'd take it all the way/Right down to the wire/Even through the fire”.

This is only one example of many hip-hop songs through which today's young listeners of hip-hop get to meet older songs and artists. In this way, I would argue, the samplings done by hip-hop artists of older songs, serving 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 that sense, Kanye West's albums might be described as serving as a journey in the history of African American music.

In Folkestad (2008) I described this task of music teachers 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.

This educational component of hip-hop music and artists is described by Söderman (2011) in terms of *folkbildning*, a Scandinavian movement established in 1912 “to provide voluntary education for the general population” (p. 211). *Folkbildning* is also used to describe “the process of learning in which self-education is an important dimension” (p. 211). Söderman argues that “in the same way as the Swedish working class once found a way out of their marginal position through *folkbildning*, today's immigrant youth, ‘new Swedes’ access Swedish society by articulating their position through hip-hop” (p. 211).

Hypertextuality

Instead of using intertextuality as the umbrella term for any kind of relationships between different texts, as is the case with most theorists including the authors presented in the previous section, Genette “uses the term ‘transtextuality’ when referring to the ensemble of any

type of relation, explicit or not, that may link a text with others” (Lacasse, 2000, p. 36). In Genette’s terminology, *transtextuality* then has five subcategories: (i) *intertextuality*, “practices that aim at including some elements of a previous text within the present text” (p. 37), thus defined in a more restrict sense, identifying a relationship of copresence between two texts, e. g., quoting, allusion and plagiarism; (ii) *paratextuality*, “relationships between a particular text and some of its accompanying features, such as the general title, chapter titles, foreword, illustrations and cover” (Lacasse, 2000, pp. 36-37); (iii) *metatextuality*, texts about texts, e. g., reviews and critiques; (iv) *architextuality*, which “denotes a more abstract relationship between texts by virtue of their belonging to the same particular genre” (p. 37) and (v) *hypertextuality*, “practices which aim at producing a new text out of a previous one” (p. 37). However, in the same section, Lacasse (2000) states that “Genette’s ‘hypertextuality’ should be regarded as a subcategory of what a large number of theorists... have come to know as ‘intertextuality’” (p. 36).

According to Lacasse (2000), “Genette develops a theory of ‘hypertextuality’, which studies and characterises particular relationships that occur between different works” (p. 35). Essential in this definition of hypertextuality is the relationship between a given text – the hypertext – and an earlier, previously written text – the hypotext – where the former in one way or another transforms the latter.*)

What Fiske (1987) describes as *horizontal intertextuality* might also be interpreted as *hypertextuality* in Genette’s terminology, as it refers to an explicitly intertextual relationship between two texts within the same genre. Moreover, in Fiske’s description these two texts are separated in time as is the case with hypotext and hypertext, respectively. In addition, what Fiske describes as *vertical intertextuality* has much in common with Genette’s *metatextuality*. In the following part of this section, the focus will be on hypertextuality – including hypotext and hypertext. Moreover, in the remaining of this chapter hypertextuality is defined as a subcategory of intertextuality.

One of the questions that arises in using hypertextuality as an analytic tool in musical contexts is what defines the hypotext and the hypertext, respectively, and on what grounds this definition is made. In many cases this might be unproblematic, for example, regarding a parody it is normally quite obvious which original text (the hypotext) the parody (the hypertext) is a transformation of, as by necessity the original has to precede the parody. However, in discussions of hypertextuality in the context of relational processes such as improvisation and composition this becomes more complicated. In Dyndahl (2005b), the description of the intertextual layers of the hip hop artist Eminem’s song “Stan” contains a good example: as

*) The general meaning of *hypo-* is under, below, too little and of *hyper-* above, over, too much, for example, in physiology where the diagnoses *Hypothyreos* means a deficiency, i.e. too little of thyroid gland hormone – under the reference value – and *Hypertyreos* means a surplus, i.e. too much, over the reference value of thyroid gland hormone.

suggested by Dyndahl, “Stan” might be regarded as a remix of Dido’s previously recorded song “Thank you”, thus applying a widened definition of *remix* including “extensive changes, exclusions or additions of tracks and other elements” (p. 217). In Dyndahl’s description, based on Lacasse’s (2000) definition of hypertextuality, including hypotext and hypertext, and in line with how these concepts are applied in linguistics and musicology, the relationship between Dido’s “Thank you” and Eminem’s “Stan” is clear; the former is the hypotext of the latter. Still, for most people the Dido version of “Thank you”, originally recorded and released in 1998 for the soundtrack of the movie *Sliding Doors*, was relatively unknown until it was released as a single on December 12, 2000. It then became a big hit very much due to the fact that its chorus melody line appeared in Eminem’s “Stan”, released three days *earlier* (December 9, 2000), and rapidly peaking as number one in both the United Kingdom and Australia. Accordingly, I would argue that for the great majority of listeners Eminem’s “Stan” was *experienced* as the hypotext of Dido’s “Thank you”.

Another example demonstrating this issue is the song “While my guitar gently weeps” by George Harrison, first recorded and released in 1968 on the Beatles ninth album *The Beatles*, also known of as *The White Album*, due to the plain white sleeve of the cover. The cover of *The White Album* and its successors are good examples of (i) intertextuality, and paratextuality in Gennette’s terminology, in the case of *The Black Album* released in November 2003 by Jay-Z, and of (ii) both intertextuality and hypertextuality in the cases of *The Brown Album* released by Kev Brown in January 2004 including edited versions of Jay-Z’s a cappella versions on *The Black Album*, and *The Grey Album* released by Danger Mouse in February 2004, on which he uses an a cappella version from Jay-Z’s *Black Album* together with samples from *The White Album* by the Beatles.

In the Beatles’ *White Album* version of “While my guitar gently weeps” the lead guitar is played by Eric Clapton, who was invited by George Harrison to do this but not formally credited on the album cover. Here, Clapton’s “weeping guitar” is essential and very much at the core of the production. However, in 2006 the album *Love* was released containing a new version of “While my guitar gently weeps”. The origin of the project was a collaboration between Cirque du Soleil and George Harrison resulting in the show *Love*, which opened in June 2006 at the Mirage in Las Vegas. One of the differences between the two versions might be described as follows: while the weeping guitar was physically present by Clapton’s guitar in the *White Album* version, the weeping guitar is more of a metaphor for the state of mind of the singer in the *Love* version.

The material of all the songs on the *Love* album – except for the “While my guitar gently sleeps” version – consists of the multi-track tapes of the original Beatles recordings directly transferred to digital multi-track files in ProTools, thus enabling almost unlimited possibilities of cutting, pasting and editing of elements from the original recordings and combining them in any new way. For example, by doing this the introduction of “Blackbird” now serves as the

introduction of “Yesterday”; the “Because” version consists of only the original vocal tracks, sound edited and time-stretched, and so forth. George Martin (2006) describes the enterprise as follows:

My brief was to create a soundscape of around one and a half hour’s length using any sound I needed from the original Beatles multi-track recordings. It was an offer one could hardly refuse, and I asked my son Giles if he would work with me on this project. (p. 1)

Giles Martin’s (2006) description of his work with ProTools programming and sequencing the original tracks, “feeling like I was painting a moustache on the Mona Lisa” (p. 3), gives a good picture of the possibilities of sampling and hard disc editing:

So in true Beatle tradition, tracks were reversed, sped up and slowed down. Early on in the project I had turned the cymbal backwards on “Sun King” for an effect for “Within You Without You/Tomorrow Never Knows” and I realised I’d turned the vocals around as well. My dad loved the melody line that this created and said that it’s exactly the sort of thing that John would have gone for. From this “Gnik Nus” was born! (p. 3)

In this perspective it is interesting to note that on the cover of the *Love* album this process is not labelled “re-mix” but “re-work”, thus signalling that what has actually been done is a *re-creation* of the Beatles’ songs.

Regarding “While my guitar gently sleeps” on *Love* (2006), it consists of the demo recording prior to the studio recording of the *White Album* (1968), with George Harrison singing and playing the acoustic guitar, together with the only new recordings on the *Love* album, the strings on “While my guitar gently sleeps”, a result of the negotiations with Olivia Harrison, who at first refused to authorise the usage of the demo version (George Martin, personal communication).

In this example, the relationship between hypotext and hypertext becomes even more complicated. Is the “original version” of the *White Album* the hypotext of the *Love* version, or is the *White Album* version the hypertext of the demo version, at the same time as it is the hypotext of the *Love* version, the demo version and the *Love* version being the same recording? In a strict sense, and on the basis of the definitions in the literature cited above, the *White Album* version is the hypertext of the demo recording, as they are in a strict sense created in that order in time, at the same time as this hypertext is developed on the basis of a hypotext released 38 years *later* than its hypertext. This means that the hypotext of the *White Album* recording is used to produce a hypertext of the *White Album* version! However, on the basis of the *experiences* of the great majority of listeners – in fact by everyone but George Martin and the members of the Beatles – the *White Album* version might be regarded as the hypotext of the *Love* version.

The examples above demonstrate the difficulties in using the traditional definition of hypertextuality, as used in linguistics and musicology – analysing the relationship between the hypotext and the hypertext on the basis of their factual order and appearance in time – in describing the intertextual relationship between different pieces of music of contemporary music creation. This is further accentuated due to new technology and new ways of approaching music as described by Dyndahl (2005b). However, defining hypertextuality as a relational process on an individual level, in which what is experienced as hypotext and hypertext, respectively, may change and vary from person to person, and from situation to situation, on both an intrapersonal and interpersonal level, *hypertextuality* might contribute with valuable aspects and resources in analysing creative processes such as composition and music making.

Intertextuality and hypertextuality: a conclusion

One way of discussing and clarifying the possible epistemological differences between *intertextuality* and *hypertextuality*, as presented above, might be by comparing these concepts in light of the distinction made in phenomenography between the first and the second order perspective, respectively (Marton & Booth, 1997, pp. 118-121). The basis of this distinction might also be seen as one of the fundamental and general differences in approach between quantitative and qualitative research methodology, with their respective origin in positivism and hermeneutics. In phenomenography, the distinction between a first and second order perspective is essential: from a first order perspective “statements are made about the world” (p. 118), that is, the researcher aims at describing different aspects of reality in terms of facts, that is, things that can be observed from the outside, and by everyone, for example, existence/expansion, intensity, variation and correlations between variables with *measurable* qualities. On the other hand, from a second order perspective the researcher is “making statements about *the world as experienced by people*” (italics in original) (p. 118); the researcher aims at describing people’s conceptions and experiences of, and how they talk about, various phenomena – that is, *experienced* reality. Accordingly, the experience of an individual, the second order perspective, does not necessarily have to be “true” or “false” as seen and analysed from a first order perspective, but the research enterprise is to capture and describe people’s *awareness* and *experiences* of reality (Marton & Booth, 1997). The results of such a study are often presented as categories of description, together constituting the outcome space of the study, describing the variation on a collective level of how a phenomenon is conceptualized, experienced, expressed, et cetera.

In Dyndahl’s opening chapter of this book he describes the shift from “traditional musicology”, based on “an object-oriented concept of music” (Chapter 1, p. 8) and with the analyses mainly based on music scores and other written documents “advocating immanent aesthetic qualities” (p. 8), to “new musicology” emphasising “a more situated, contextual understanding of music as potentially meaning-producing actions and activities” (p. 8). This

latter description might also be valid in characterising one of the main features of the research in music education conducted at the Malmö Academy of Music, right from the outset in 1995 and onwards (Folkestad, 1997, 2007).

As I see it, this shift from “traditional musicology” to “new musicology” may be described as a shift from a first to a second hand perspective. It might also, a bit simplified, be described as a shift from a focus on *product* to a focus on *process* and in doing so also a shift from a main emphasis on *what* to a focus on *how*.

In line with this, based on the literature and discussion presented above, *hypertextuality*, with its focus on *product* and *what*, and the actual “objective” relation in time between the hypotext and the hypertext, might be interpreted as an ambition to analyse the relationships between texts from a first order perspective. As a contrast, *intertextuality*, with a focus on the *process* and *how* and the experienced relationship on a subjective and individual level between the entering texts might be interpreted as an enterprise aiming to provide a description from a second order perspective. However, different definitions of intertextuality might lead to somewhat different conclusions regarding this, and *hypotext* and *hypertext* used to describe experiences on a subjective individual experienced level, as described above, might be a valuable contribution in the analysis of, for example, creative music making.

In the following sections of this chapter, this wider definition of intertextuality, in line with Barthes (1977) and Kristeva (1980) – including its subcategory hypertextuality – with a focus on all kinds of relationships between the different texts involved, and as perceived and experienced on an individual level – a second order perspective – will be used and referred to as *intertextuality*.

INTERTEXTUALITY – DISCOURSE IN MUSIC

In Folkestad (1996) a new concept was introduced – *discourse in music*. Its essence is the assumption that music itself might be regarded as a discourse – musical actions and activities are seen as discursive practices and discursive activities.

The point of departure is *discourse*, defined in its most general linguistic definition as “language in use” (Webster, 1977). This definition implies that for a conversation between two persons, an agreed meaning of the words is required. The agreed meaning of words, the discourse, differs from situation to situation, and from practice to practice. Wittgenstein (1953/1978) states that no words have any meaning in themselves, but are defined by the context, and consequently one cannot understand human speech unless one participates in and understands the context in which it is uttered. The same applies to music, which like language is connected to practice: literal as well as musical expressions which are adequate and 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 something 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, and in music research hitherto has mostly been used to describe how people talk about music and make distinctions about music in words – that is, discourse *on* music – the concept of discourse also includes non-verbal forms of dialogue such as music, body movement, gestures et cetera. Thus, wider definitions of *discourse* emerge, which include all forms of human communication and negotiation in situations of practice.

People can understand, speak and write a language, and master various linguistic dialects within that language, while other languages are not comprehensible to them. Literary creation takes place in a language and within a linguistic discourse that has been mastered, and the same is true of music and music making. 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 all the music heard and experienced before in which the music also mediates the societal, traditional, and historical features of the *discourse in music*, the musical language in use.

Discourse *in* music and the discourse *on* music are both cultural tools and as such resources in, for example, answering questions on musical creativity and performance, as demonstrated by Johansson (2008), who adopts and develops *discourse in music* as a methodological tool in her investigations of expert organists' improvisations. In relation to discourse on music, the concept *discourse in music* points to the fact that there is an intertextual level in music, which one relates to and converses/interplays with in a dialogue with all previous musical knowledge and experiences.

Taking into consideration the interactive attitude of young people when approaching music, the results of, for example, Folkestad's (1996) study might indicate that by listening to music, and in some cases by playing and trying things out on an instrument, an implicit and unreflected image of the discourse in music is formed; not only of how the music sounds and its meaning and message, but also of how it is created. Thus, the experience of music, that is, acquiring the discourse in music, also mediates insight into how to create the music. One conclusion of this study is that on the basis of their personal musical experience, participants implicitly or explicitly define a musical context, and the musical features and discourse of that musical practice become the prerequisites for the creation of that particular tune.

One of the challenges in defining *discourse in music* is to describe its similarities and differences compared to *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 I interpret “the dominant ideology” as 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), a definition that I would argue has its origin in the ancient Greek dramas, and has been transformed through history via *Commedia dell’arte*, and 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.

Compared to genre tradition and style, discourses create meaning and sense, are hierarchical, and have a normative and valuing function. The discourse both on a macro and micro level, respectively – simultaneously constituting and constituted – operates on both an individual and collective level in all kinds of musical discursive practices such as music education (Nerland, 2003). Other examples are when musicians and composers adopt the black discourse in music, “the language of signifying” (Gates, 1988), as described by Bjerstedt in Chapter 9; when baroque musicians are playing “baroquish” (Spissky, see Chapter 5); and as seen above when George and Giles Martin are creating the *Love* album in “Beatlish”.

Similarly, when the hippies in the musical and movie *Hair* meet in Central Park, NYC, celebrating the spiritual and lifestyle values of the hippie movement in singing “Let the sunshine in”, the harmonies of the choir arrangement as well as the expression and singing style are almost identical with the singing of the congregation in, for example, a black Baptist church – “gospelish” – telling the audience that the hippie movement is the new religion and spiritual community. That is, the intertextual process enables the discourse in music and the singing in “gospelish” to be understood as “gospelish”.

As described above, Kristeva (1980) argues, in line with Barthes (1977), that everything is 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, p. 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.

There are several examples in the chapters of the present book that might be interpreted as descriptions of power struggles between predominant and opposing discourses. Sæther's methodological discussion in Chapter 2 might be seen as having its origin in different opposing discourses on research, as previously described in terms of first and second order perspectives. In Chapter 5, Spissky's description of how he fought his way into playing baroque music in Czechoslovakia of the early 1980s, in opposition to the maintaining musical paradigm of the normative Russian violin school, demonstrates how the dominant musical discourse used its power tools in trying to oppress a competing and opposite discourse in music. In Chapter 6, Ronner Larsson describes the clash between the prevailing opera discourse and John Cage's postmodern deconstructed opera. Hofvander Trulsson's description in Chapter 8 of how parents make use of music and music education as a resource in their efforts to achieve "class remobility" implies an awareness of the cultural capital and values mediated by different discourses in music. Gentrification, as described by Dyndahl in Chapter 11, may be interpreted as power struggles between opposing discourses operating on both an individual and a collective level.

In conclusion, as seen above, there are many similarities between the ways in which intertextuality – with its origin in linguistics (the structure of language) – and discourse (language in use) are defined and explained. Discourse in music – as also discursive practice (Foucault, 2002) and rhetorical practice (Johansson, 2008) – presupposes and rests on intertextuality. The discussion above also demonstrates how intertextuality might be an important conceptual tool in developing the understanding of *discourse in music*, in particular as a tool for analysing the relationship between different ideas, fragments and elements in the process of composition and creative music making.

INTERTEXTUALITY – THE PERSONAL INNER MUSICAL LIBRARY

As a tool for understanding and illustrating the relationship between previous musical experiences and the compositional process, Folkestad (2012) 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 metaphor of *the personal inner musical library* 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. Phrased in Gurwitsch's (1964) terms of intentionality: at the same time as the piece of music under creation and some specific musical experiences are in explicit intentional focus – the theme – so are implicitly all the other musical experiences of the full personal inner musical library – the thematic field. This refers to all the musical creation and performance of that individual, as a *tacit dimension* (Polanyi, 1967) of the musical and compositional process.

Accordingly, 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, 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, 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* appears in two phases: (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).

From what has been described in previous sections, I understand the concept of intertextuality as very fruitful in developing and understanding the concept of the *personal inner musical library* as an intertextual resource in composition and music making, in the processes of which the intertextuality appears between new ideas and existing pieces of music by other composers as well as previous music of one's own.

CONCLUSION

Returning to the example of opera improvisation, all the levels of interactive processes described above presuppose a common agreement of the discourse in music, the musical language in use. Moreover, these interactions imply the meeting of the personal inner musical libraries of all the people involved.

As seen from the presentation above, intertextuality might be regarded as a core element in all learning and creational processes and is thus an important concept in analysing and describing these processes and the relationships between different texts involved in this. From this perspective, an alternate interpretation of the ideas in Swedish music curricula of a collective cultural heritage, as described by Lonnert in Chapter 3, is that this might be seen as an ambition to establish a common foundation of intertextual resources for all children in Swedish schools regardless of their national, ethnical and cultural background. Furthermore, the didactic choice of content in the music subject, problematized by Asp in Chapter 4, also has bearing on a discussion regarding the intertextual relationships between what is learned and how it is learned, and between previous and new knowledge of the students.

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 as the point of departure for knowledge formation on the “journey of new musical endeavours and experiences” (Folkestad, 2008, p. 502).

Today, the sampling culture previously described in this chapter is spread to, and adopted/adapted by, almost every area of artistic and creative activities. This occurs increasingly without the original author, composer or artist being explicitly acknowledged or paid.

It has been argued, on the basis of the established values of authorship and distribution of royalty, that “copyright” does not mean the “right to copy”. However, for the new generation of creators and receivers, the *homo sampliens*, 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. If, or when, that happens, it 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 in these respects rest, turns out to be a historic parenthesis of 300 hundred years, starting in 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 the new discourse of open access. This development will 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 use, 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 is to be regarded as good news or bad news is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss and decide. However, I think we can all agree upon the fact that for all these new ways of creative musical activities – 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.

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CHAPTER 11

Musical gentrification, socio-cultural diversities, and the accountability of academics

PETTER DYNDAHL

INTRODUCTION

What are the likely socio-cultural consequences of musical practices, processes and policies? Hesmondhalgh (2008) claims that there is a dominant conception in sociologically informed analysis of music, put forward by DeNora (2000), Finnegan (2003) and others, in which music is seen primarily as a productive resource for active self-making. At the same time, some recent research in music education emphasizes music's positive impact on social inclusion, social justice and democracy (Karlsen, 2011; Wright, 2010). This is, of course, laudable, and in many cases legitimate, too. However, Hesmondhalgh's argument is that these assumptions may rest on an exceedingly optimistic understanding, which implicitly perceives that music supports and reinforces positive social and historical processes, while at the same time, it is seen as independent of negative trends:

[...] if music is as imbricated with social processes as the dominant conception suggests, then it is hard to see how people's engagement with music can be so consistently positive in their effects, when we live in societies that are marked by inequality, exploitation and suffering. (Hesmondhalgh, 2008, p. 334)

What makes this chapter particularly relevant in relation to the above objection is that it aims to examine music's tendency to exclude some people and groups when others are included, to hold some people back while it helps others' social mobility, or to taboo certain forms of music while others are gentrified. Thus, the importance of the cultural (in this case, musical) conditions underlying social development and change will be emphasized in their diachronic

and synchronic aspects, regarding several intersecting facets of music that are both culturally diverse and deeply rooted in socio-economic class relations and tensions.

I have organized the chapter as follows: in the next major section, I present some relevant historical and theoretical perspectives on the relationship between music, education, and sociality. This presentation is related to recent Scandinavian, especially Norwegian, conditions and development, and focuses particularly on music's impact on position and mobility within social and cultural hierarchies. The section concludes with the introduction of the concept musical gentrification.

Thereafter I put forward three cases, in which I discuss what the term musical gentrification might imply for the understanding of contemporary music, with an emphasis on its relationship to the media, cultural policy, and education, respectively. All three cases revolve around social and cultural diversity. The examples also reveal different inclusion and exclusion processes and mechanisms.

Socio-cultural diversities are further discussed in the third major section, first addressing cultural issues in music education and research. Secondly, I discuss the complex questions of representation as they relate to music teachers and researchers. These issues lead to the final section, in which I indicate that academics ought to be held accountable for their attitudes, actions and judgments towards the power- and value-laden areas of music and music education.

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Societal change and social mobility

Social mobility and class elevation have become recurrent themes in Scandinavian literature, film and autobiographical essays (e.g. Ambjörnsson, 1996; Linderborg, 2007; Petterson, 2004; Seljestad, 2010; Sveen, 2000; Trondman, 1995; 2010). While this may be regarded as a general Nordic phenomenon, the degree of economic growth as well as social change and class mobility that have taken place in the Norwegian society, show some extraordinary circumstances and features. Few nations have experienced a corresponding economic growth from a rather deprived and peripheral point of departure. This growth is mainly thanks to the country's hydrocarbon industry, which has gone through an immense development since the late 1960s. Since World War II, a substantial educational revolution has also taken place, not only concerning science and technology, but with regard to the humanities and aesthetics as well. Given a large measure of political stability, the Norwegian welfare state has developed and ensured common public education, including overall free higher education.

With regard to music, the same period represents an equivalent boost for music education and music institutions. In Norway there are over 400 municipal music and art schools, programs for upper secondary specialization in music, dance and drama in every county,

music education for teachers throughout the country, conservatoires and universities in all regions, public orchestras and ensembles, national opera, public and private broadcasting corporations, several Norwegian and multinational record and media companies, and so forth. And, certainly, Norwegian culture and society have been fully exposed to the Western – gradually global – emergence of popular music, media and youth culture, as well as the digital transformation of information and communication technology. Later in this chapter I discuss in some detail Norwegian, Scandinavian as well as international tendencies concerning music, culture and diversity.

When it comes to mobility in the spatial sense of the term, there are countless studies of how music is influenced by and included in material and discursive processes of fluidity and fixity (Connell & Gibson, 2003), for instance with respect to migration and globalization, or thematizing mobility as a leitmotif in popular culture, symbolizing change and freedom. However, as regards social mobility, although the aesthetic significance may be focused in artistic, literary and essayistic approaches, it is rarely directly discussed in existing research. There are only a few studies that have thoroughly analysed the impact of music in relation to social mobility. Trondman (1990) and Roe (1993) argue that different tastes in rock music have marked social distance between classes and have been related to the establishment of social hierarchies from the early 1990s on. Hofvander Trulsson's (2010) study of how immigrant parents make use of music education as a potential tool for social success and integration of their children is also relevant to the topic. Therefore, although there are several Scandinavian research publications that have carefully focused on music's impact on society and sociality (e.g. Lundberg, Malm & Ronström, 2003; Sæther, 2011), though not on social mobility in particular, one must assert that a strong tradition of research in investigating music's contribution to the development and change of society has not yet been established. On the other hand, there exists a prominent history of studying social mobility within Nordic sociology in general, i.e. from Ramsøy (1977) to Trondman (1994), Hansen (2009) and others (see Dahlgren & Ljunggren, 2010).

Forms of cultural capital

When exploring how musical taste may work to maintain or alter the social hierarchies of Scandinavian societies, various sociological approaches have emerged, from which different concepts of cultural capital have proven highly productive in the study of the association between social positions and aesthetic preferences (see for example Arts Council Norway's [2011] new research project on culture and power). According to Bourdieu's (1986/2011) notion of cultural capital, the concept differentiates between embodied, objectified and institutionalized forms of cultural capital. This division entails a cultural circuit of capital that links institutions, specific cultural artefacts, and individual agents. One description of cultural capital may define it in terms of the objects and practices that are approved by the education system, likely to be mobilized by privileged classes as a key strategy of inheritance to the next

generation. Bourdieu asserts that the sociology of culture is inseparable from the sociology of education, and vice versa. The mechanisms of academic approval and ranking create not only academic differences but also long-lasting cultural differences, which point to habitus as a system of perception and appreciation of socially situated practices. Bourdieu states: “Habitus thus implies a ‘sense of one’s place’ but also a ‘sense of the place of others’. For example, we say of a piece of clothing, a piece of furniture, or a book: ‘that looks petty-bourgeois’ or ‘that’s intellectual’” (1990, p. 131). These terms may certainly be used about music as well. He further expounds: “All of this is exactly encapsulated in the expression ‘that looks’ [...] which serves to locate a position in social space through a stance taken in symbolic space” (p. 113).

After Bourdieu, there have been a number of important sociological studies that focus not only on how institutions consecrate specific cultural forms, but also on whether and how individuals and groups embody cultural capital. Since modern education is often regarded as essentially a middle-class endeavour, it may be of interest to confront this point of view, and the notion of cultural capital as well, with some studies that explore the cultural configuration of the middle classes, which generally point to a degree of cultural variety that apparently does not indicate any hegemonic form of cultural capital.

Cultural omnivorousness

In the 1990s, Peterson and his collaborators (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996) published a series of articles in which they argued that openness to diversity was beginning to replace exclusive preference for high culture as a means of class distinction. This idea, designated ‘cultural omnivorousness’, suggests that middle-to-upper-class taste does not necessarily take an elitist or snobbish form, but that high status is associated with preference for, and participation in, a broad range of cultural genres and activities. This is consistent with claims that late or post-modern cultural formations encourage the aptitude to sample, mix and match cultural forms. Peterson argues that the distinction between omnivores and univores is replacing the opposition between highbrow and lowbrow taste as a central criterion for classifying cultural practices and styles of consumption.

The Peterson approach differs from Bourdieuan social theory in that, rather than consuming only high culture, members of the dominant classes now also consume much of what would have previously been dismissed as low culture. For example, in Peterson’s studies, when American high-status groups were asked to name their favourite music, country music scored higher than opera. Nonetheless, distinction remains, but the strategies for achieving distinction are changing. What matters now is not so much what you consume but how you consume it. In other words, knowing about and participating in a wide repertoire of cultural practices is now becoming a badge of distinction. However, Peterson concludes that

the expanded repertoire does not mean that “the US is becoming a more egalitarian society”, nor “does it mean that leisure activities and taste in music are losing their efficacy as status markers for the elite [...] It may just mean that the image of the taste-exclusive highbrow, along with ranking from ‘snob’ to ‘slob’ is obsolete” (Peterson, 1992, p. 252). The symbolic boundaries of taste still exist, as do the social hierarchies they support and make visible, but they are increasingly no longer based on cultural exclusivity but on a special mode of cultural appropriation, which is both intellectual and intertextual (see Danielsen, 2006, for a corresponding Norwegian viewpoint).

Gentrification

In economic and urban geography, the term gentrification refers to the changes that take place when wealthier people acquire property in low income and working class communities and areas. In this process, old industrial buildings often are converted to apartments and boutiques. Furthermore, new businesses, attracting well-heeled consumers and those who can afford increased commercial rent, move in, further increasing the appeal to more affluent migrants. This can create ripple effects in the guise of galleries, concert venues and other cultural institutions establishing themselves in the district. However, one can claim that some city planners and politicians have adopted lifestyle magazines’ rhetoric and values when asserting the blessing of gentrification. This may be because they belong to privileged classes that benefit from living in and visiting neighbourhoods with qualities appropriate to their own ‘open-minded’ taste and lifestyle. But this also means that they have omitted part of the original definition of the term gentrification, which is that in the process of renewal and rebuilding accompanying the influx of middle-class or affluent people into deteriorating areas, the initial, poorer residents, who are unable to pay increased house prices or rents and property taxes, are often dislocated or excluded (Zukin, 1988).

Still, what does the term gentrification possibly imply for the understanding of today’s music cultures and music education? In the next section, I will try to explore this question by presenting three cases of what may be regarded as musical gentrification. The first case is devoted to examples from the American film and music industry, the second one emphasizes contradictions in regional and national cultural policies of Norway, whilst in the third case I discuss a few general trends in Nordic music education.

THREE CASES OF MUSICAL GENTRIFICATION

I. From noble savage to chamber bluegrass

In their study, Peterson and Kern (1996) show how country music has changed its social status, in line with the shift in the high status groups from exclusionist snob to inclusionist omnivore. As the study explains, new authenticity discourses, providing an almost autonomous aesthetic understanding, have now made it possible to regard this music as distinguished and distinguishing. Peterson and Kern point out that elite magazines and journals at

some point began to discuss country music and ‘roots music’ with a level of seriousness once reserved only for classical music and opera; and that such articles and essays “provide omnivores with the tools they need to develop an aesthetic understanding of country music” (p. 904).

In the 1960s and 1970s, country music was unconditionally considered low culture, associated with, on the one hand, the ‘insipid’, commercial aesthetics and traditionalist, conservative values of the Nashville music industry, or, on the other hand, the Otherness and primitivism of its origin, for instance in Appalachian bluegrass music. The latter is portrayed in a classic scene from the American film *Deliverance* (Boorman, 1972), where four suburban businessmen friends on a river-canoeing trip encounter Appalachian hillbilly culture, pictured as rural, ignorant, quick to violence, and inbred in its isolation. In this scene, the character Drew, a liberal and intellectually minded sales supervisor, is trying out chords on the guitar when he gets a musical response from an apparently retarded young boy, sitting on the porch with a banjo in his hands. One of the other tourists, the insurance salesman Bobby, drops the remark: “Talk about genetic deficiencies. Isn’t that pitiful?” An indigenous bystander overhears the comment and replies: “Who’s pickin’ a banjo here?” The fingerpicking duel escalates, and one of the hillbillies starts dancing followed by curious and disdainful gazes from the urban visitors. Soon it becomes clear that the virtuoso banjo boy sits in the driver’s seat, at the end outplaying Drew, who resigns with a grinning: “I’m lost!” Despite the visitor’s skepticism towards the natives, Drew has obviously developed some respect of the young mute boy, which he proves by reaching out his hand saying: “God damn, you play a mean banjo. Hey, you wanna play another one?” However, the gesture is rejected, and the hostility between the two groups restored. This is further confirmed by Bobby’s line: “Give him a couple of bucks.” Drew is obviously disappointed that the boy ignores him. The soundtrack captures the conflictual contact between the cultures in a remarkable way, symbolized by the banjo duel. At the same time, the concept of ‘the noble savage’, here portrayed by the sole idealized indigene of the film, contributes to constructing the banjo and the bluegrass music as the Other, compared to the primary given culture.

Nowadays, parts of country music – and not least bluegrass music – have gained quite another cultural status. A telling example of this is an updated ‘banjo duel’, performed by some of today’s foremost bluegrass musicians: Alison Krauss & Union Station gave a live concert on the web station *Yahoo! Music’s RAM Country*, May 26, 2011, performing songs from their album *Paper airplane* (2011) including Peter Rowan’s “Dust bowl children” (dahliacorona, 2011, June 14). The song begins with alternating guitar and banjo, until they come together in an intricate fabric of accompaniment patterns for the vocals, eventually followed by fiddle, Dobro and double bass. What is very interesting is how the musicians are portrayed and how they orchestrate themselves in this performance. RAM Country Studio features a very sober stage design. The musicians are gently lit against a dark background,

carefully placed on Persian carpets, with no other distracting visual elements around them. The band wears relatively neutral outfits, with almost no genre window dressing. They seem to be concentrating seriously on the music, with introspective gaze and subdued gestures. Although the music is performed vividly, there are hardly any elements referring to its social, vernacular functions. In contrast, music's aesthetic dimension is foregrounded. The bluegrass band poses and performs more or less like a classical quintet or a chamber jazz ensemble. This is not some Other music, this is a sophisticated musical performance oriented towards a purely aesthetic perception and experience. I would assume that the ingenious aestheticization is a response to new listeners who have moved into country music, and who help to extract this music into a general aestheticization of everyday life (Featherstone, 1991; 1995). In addition, the proliferation of new media platforms may also be a reason for country music's refurbished appeal. The next case may be suited to discussing in greater detail whether or not these matters entail some kind of exclusion or marginalization of the former country music audience.

II. (Dis)qualified audiences

In 2011, the Norwegian government proposed that a country music festival should receive government support (Kulturdepartementet, 2011). This triggered a debate about what criteria were needed to achieve such status. It was interesting to observe that cultural journalists and connoisseurs, acting as gatekeepers for an elevated, aesthetic understanding of country music, characterized the audience of the proposed festival as unqualified, unable to distinguish between 'proper', 'authentic' country music, and what they describe as 'dance band with steel guitar and cowboy hats' (Asker, 2010, October 10). "I have been there and seen how an audience well marinated in alcohol, wearing camping outfits, have ruined the experience for the seriously interested," a profiled journalist and author reported to one of Norway's leading broadsheet newspapers (Kvalshaug, 2011, July 11, my translation). Moreover, he referred to popular bands like the Norwegian band Vassendgutane, who are often booked for these kind of festivals to ensure the financial basis for the event:

A government-supported festival cannot book *Vassendgutane* as headliner or give access to more and more of the dance band community, as we have seen in recent years. There is an infinite distance between international quality country music and Norwegian dance band music. (Kvalshaug, 2011, September 5, my translation)

Certainly, there may be a few differences between a country inspired dance band like Vassendgutane and bluegrass supergroup Alison Krauss & Union Station, whom the above journalist points to as an example of quality country music. However, although it might be interesting to pursue the authenticity discourse that underlies these judgments (Dyndahl & Nielsen, 2011), the crucial point here is that 'the seriously interested' audience in this case may represent the culturally affluent middle-class listeners, moving into formerly under-privileged music cultures, displacing, marginalizing or excluding the original, less culturally

affluent residents or audiences of the festival, in order “to gentrify elements of popular culture and incorporate them into the dominant status-group culture” (Peterson & Kern, 1996, p. 906). It is important to emphasize that in this case marginalization is mainly caused by the lack of symbolic and cultural capital and not economic means.

The inclusion/exclusion processes, concerning country music and dance band music respectively, confront music education and research with some important challenges, too. While popular music in general seems to be highly appreciated in music education and a wide array of academic disciplines, Scandinavian dance band music may serve as a significant example of a cultural form that is to a large extent excluded from education and research (Dyndahl, forthcoming 2013). Considering the popularity and prevalence of dance band music, remarkably little research has been done on this music and its practices in the Nordic countries. Moreover, there are no programs or courses in dance band music taught at music academies or universities, unlike jazz, rock, hip-hop etc., which, in turn, indicate what aesthetic objects and practices are approved by the education system – including the overall state school system – and are thus worth paying attention to. Or, to put it another way: there may be subtle distinctions between the cultural areas that are attractive for musical gentrification in a given socio-historical context, and those that are not.

III. Inclusion/exclusion tendencies in Scandinavian music education

Given the evidence presented in the above paragraph, one can argue that both concepts of gentrification and omnivorousness seem to match recent tendencies in the Nordic countries from the late 1970s onwards, to expand the repertoires and resources of music as an educational subject, an academic field, as well as an area for support and funding from cultural authorities, organizations and institutions. Here, popular music, jazz, folk music, world music, informal learning perspectives in music etc. have gained considerable educational, curricular and institutional status. For instance, the institutionalization of jazz, rock, and so-called ‘rhythmic music’ in Scandinavian conservatoires (Christophersen, 2009; Dyndahl & Nielsen, 2011; Karlsen, 2010; Olsson, 1993; Tønsberg, 2007), and a parallel academization of popular music within the fields of ethnomusicology and musicology, represent the end of classical music’s hegemony in higher music education, a tendency that has also affected the subject music in teacher education and the school system. In line with this, one might, on the one hand, approve of what seems to be an increasing willingness to recognize the Other in music education and research, parallel to ethical demands and democratic responsibilities put forward by a number of philosophers from Levinas and Irigaray onwards. However, on the other hand, omnivorousness itself can represent an updated and elevated form of cultural capital, since the ability to range between cultural forms relies on a particular kind of ‘Kantian’ aesthetic distance habitually associated with privileged cultural agents and consumers.

In many ways, the above tendencies correspond to a trend described by Nielsen (2010) in a comprehensive report he and his colleagues have made on Danish music education and its status in historical perspective from 1970 to 2010. The report states that, on the one hand, what is perceived as a value-neutral or polyvalent tendency has spread, which means that various music cultures are equally valid. On the other hand, this may also prove to be consistent with middle-class postures regarding tolerance, inclusion and openness to diversity, at the expense to some extent of other social class values and strategies of enhancing cultural capital. For that reason, as Peterson and Kern (1996) remind us, the shift from the exclusionist snob to the inclusionist omnivore does not prevent both headings from remaining elitist positions, although based on different aesthetic stances. Thus, in spite of the apparently open-minded, all-encompassing approach of omnivorousness, musics that are considered to represent a narrow-minded, low cultural discernment would hardly be approved of by academics.

According to the above Danish report, the opposite tendency has also been manifested in recent music education, in which some subcultures have profiled themselves on their own terms, which in turn has led to intolerance, isolation or marginalization of other subcultures. The point is that what appears at first sight to embody cultural diversity and aesthetic acceptance might draw some pretty clear-cut boundaries, even within popular music, as well. In this perspective, one could look at the academization and institutionalization of Other musics (Born & Hesmondhalgh, 2000) as a form of gentrification in music education and research, where academics and professionals, or those who Florida (2002) entitle 'the creative class', take new possession of certain popular cultures, thereby displacing some of the original 'inhabitants'.

What's more, musical gentrification may affect not only social class, but also ethnicity, gender, and other important pivot points for cultural identity, meaning and power. During the last decade there has been a growing tendency to focus on informal learning situations and practices in music education (Folkestad, 2006; Green, 2001; Karlsen & Väkevä, 2012), which in some cases can be considered as an attempt to adopt popular music's forms of communication, dissemination and learning in an educational context (Green, 2008). However, unreflective rearranging of the positions of formal and informal learning may lead to equally unreflective power relations being re-established in school, and in ways that to some degree entail exclusion, analogous to what happens in the process of gentrification. With reference to Allsup (2008) and Georgii-Hemming and Westvall (2010), Zandén (2010) discusses how a strong emphasis on informal learning in popular music pedagogy can lead to a situation where students are provided with poor foundations for exercising democratic dialogue and critique, how they may lose opportunities to meet new, and for them, unfamiliar music, and how a new ethnocentrism can occur, where students devote themselves entirely to mono-ethnic, male-dominated rock music.

CHALLENGES FACING MUSIC EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

Addressing cultural issues in music education

For music education, the above cases first of all indicate that it can never be value-neutral in the strict sense. By focusing on particular cultural products and practices, music education is inevitably taking part in negotiations of cultural capital and power positions. However, to counteract this, it is not necessarily the case that paying educational attention to any deserving music would benefit these music cultures in the process of cultural valorization. In some cases it may have the opposite effect, for example, if counter-cultural expressions become subject to formal, institutionalized education and thereby lose their power as opposition symbols. In line with this, Nerland (2004) points to a set of key challenges facing music education and cultural diversity, linked to issues of relevance, credibility, as well as competence development and change readiness.

The question of relevance may be considered in relation to students' cultural and social positions and affiliations, and to their potential for development and transformation. A crucial point is how music education interplays with the students' experiences and surrounding life-worlds, and thereby helps to attribute value to their aesthetic and cultural competencies. If music educators and researchers are reluctant to acknowledge the musics, aesthetics and cultural practices that numerous individuals and groups strongly identify with, they risk music education becoming irrelevant. In turn, this could give access to political movements that nurture a basic skepticism towards academics, education and research, in their place celebrating ordinary people's commonsensical ability to cope with questions, challenges and options regarding musical taste, aesthetic and cultural significance, regardless of what 'so-called experts' might say. There is of course nothing wrong in people's resistance against the mixture of disdain and pity that middle-class liberals might display to the lower classes' lifestyle and taste. On the contrary, this may reflect an anti-authoritarian sign of health. However, one can find indications that the aforementioned dance band music may be part of a so-called *culture war*, which is a metaphor used to claim that political conflict is based on sets of conflicting cultural values. The term points to the rhetorical, cultural psychological connection that is established between certain lifestyles, taste and stylistic preferences on the one hand and political or ideological values on the other. In Sweden, dance band music has been intimately associated with social democratic culture and its public institutions, such as the 'folk parks' (Eriksson, 2008), whilst the Norwegian dance band culture has shown a definite affinity towards right-wing populism and its worship of ordinary people's culture (Lykkeberg, 2008; Marsdal, 2007; Olsen, 2010). On these grounds, Scandinavian dance band music may very well be seen as one of the most distinctive politicized musics of Norway today, demonstrating the political impact of music as a symbolic, social marker, in this case associated with resistance to elitist cultural and educational ideals and phenomena – including musical gentrification – advanced and advocated by right-wing populists.

In schools, no matter what *didactic identity* (Dyndahl & Ellefsen, 2009) the subject music – or, more precisely, its actors and institutions – claims for itself or is interpreted as conveying, it is unavoidably obliged to constitute a cultural field of constructing, performing and negotiating meaning and power, which forms the basis for how music education can also be adopted by students as an arena for their identity projects and personal, cultural investments. However, different didactic identities are significant with respect to which meanings and whose powers are becoming dominant or marginal respectively. Accordingly, there may be a variety of ways in which music education helps students to experience new forms of musical and cultural expression and practice, and eventually guide them into development processes that also recognize their starting points, experiences and preferences. These matters concern the extent to which and for whom music education offers a basis for development and change readiness, or – perhaps appearing as the ultimate goal of middle-class education – forms a cultural basis for social mobility.

On the one hand, developing such opportunities may seem like a necessary change for the better for music education in late modern society, which, on the face of it, has also been implemented by means of cultural omnivorousness, in this respect seemingly representing democracy and social justice. On the other hand, musical omnivorousness may in itself help to maintain the differences between the middle-class and lower classes. The complex issue is whether to give students the opportunity to use music as a trajectory of social mobility by tentatively recognizing musics that tend to be despised by middle-class academics as a potential starting point for the formation of conditioned taste, or whether music teachers should leave this music alone as an opposition symbol. These are, however, questions that are impossible to give a definite answer to.

It may, though, be useful to once more recall Hesmondhalgh's critical reminder (with a possible exception for, in Nordic context, the suffering aspect) that if music is intertwined with social processes, then it is hard to see how musical engagement can be consistently positive in its effects. From this point of view, the concept of change readiness may involve embedded paradoxes, contradictions and conflicts, leaving problems with musical gentrification and cultural omnivorousness in music education unsolved. What matters is from what position, interest and habitus one would ask questions about relevance, credibility, competence development, along with a willingness to change. Music educators should therefore, as part of their professional reflexivity, question and discuss the forms of socio-cultural meaning, power and conflict they actually have to deal with in various situations and different contexts. But to be able to operate with such a multidimensional cultural analytical perspective, insights into Cultural Studies, including the sociology of culture and education, become essential to music education as well as to teacher education.

Problems of representation

The next obvious question is whether or not music educators and scholars should take the role of spokesmen for those whose musical and cultural values and perspectives tend to be gentrified, marginalized or tabooed. The overall issue, here, seems to be the problem of representation: who can speak for whom? In her seminal essay “Can the subaltern speak?” Spivak (1988) discusses how prominent Western intellectuals like Deleuze and Foucault (Foucault, 1977) fail in their analysis of the international division of labour and global capitalism, because they believe that the oppressed should be given the opportunity to speak for themselves, not being represented by someone else. Spivak scrutinizes the very idea of representation. With reference to Marx’s (1852/1954) differentiation of the notion of representation by means of the two German words *vertreten* and *darstellen*, Spivak shows how Deleuze and Foucault do not distinguish clearly between the two meanings: “Two senses of representation are being run together: representation as ‘speaking for,’ as in politics, and representation as ‘re-presentation,’ as in art or philosophy” (Spivak, 1988, p. 275). She further argues that there is a relationship between the two dimensions, from whence we:

[...] encounter a much older debate: between representation or rhetoric as tropology and as persuasion. *Darstellen* belongs to the first constellation, *vertreten* – with stronger suggestions of substitution – to the second. Again, they are related, but running them together, especially in order to say that beyond both is where oppressed subjects speak, act, and know for *themselves*, leads to an essentialist, utopian politics. (p. 276)

Spivak criticizes Deleuze and Foucault, on the one hand for reintroducing an undivided subject into the discourse of power. The consequence is the disavowal of the role of ideology in reproducing the social relations of production, which disseminates an unquestioned valorisation of the oppressed as subject, implying that there are essentialist relations between concrete experiences, interests and actions. The presupposition that there is a “‘true correspondence to own being’ is as artificial or social as the patronymic” (p. 285), Spivak argues. Even if there are huge differences between those whom she refers to as subaltern in colonial India and individuals and groups experiencing musical gentrification and cultural marginalization in the Nordic countries today, the point is that in both cases, neither people’s voices nor their utterances can escape from being situated in specific social, cultural or pedagogical contexts and power structures.

On the other hand, Spivak also criticizes intellectuals for apparently re-presenting the voice of the oppressed as if they themselves were ‘absent nonrepresenters’. In this way, she argues, that whilst “representing them, the intellectuals represent themselves as transparent” (p. 275), whereas they actually re-present the subjugated subjects from an unconscious or unreflective position that implicitly contributes to define them as the Other, in part by consistently presenting them as being more homogeneous than the intellectuals’ own group or class.

Both aforementioned aspects of representation can be discussed critically in relation to the musical configuration of cultural diversities. Cultural Studies has among its objectives to scrutinize and display the interests of traditions and positions that claim to represent the political and cultural interests of ordinary people, but also of those who claim to govern good taste, aesthetic quality and authentic culture, allegedly way above vernacular vulgarity. However, this is particularly challenging with respect to the seemingly tolerant and inclusive dynamics signified by omnivorosity.

Furthermore, the insight that when acting as a representative of something, one simultaneously re-presents or interprets it from a certain position – such as situated knowledge, situated values and interests, situated subject positions, or the deeply rooted habitus – would entail attentiveness to the recognition that any statement, any attitude conveys a positional, normative interpretation; conscious or unconscious. This also applies to the researchers and teachers who manage the knowledge and the language of knowledge. Education, institutionalization and academization must in this context be seen as cultivation practices according to the power, significance and standardized distinctions arising from the specific values of cultural capital, as well as the norms of habitus – including the social anatomy of taste.

On this basis it is not possible to understand representation without bringing in re-presentation. It is also not possible to think of re-presentation without acting as a representative of any interests. But then, is it possible to take a position beyond both dimensions of representation, where oppressed subjects speak, act, and know for themselves, and where one can avoid ending up in an essentialist pose? Spivak responds:

To confront them is not to represent (*vertreten*) them but to learn to represent (*darstellen*) ourselves. This argument would take us into a critique of a disciplinary anthropology and the relationship between elementary pedagogy and disciplinary formation. (pp. 288-289)

THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF ACADEMICS

The lesson learned from Spivak should be that we must turn the mirror on ourselves, i.e. that we should not neglect using the analytic tools given by theory and methodology to examine, not only our motives, but also the internalized, psychological configuration of motives for cultural choices and decisions, in academic as well as daily life. Those who to a large extent are the enthusiastic driving forces behind gentrification, urban as well as musical, are academics.

In other words: as middle-class academics, educators and researchers – as the contemporary ‘gentry’ or members of ‘the creative class’ – we (in this context implied as the author and probably most readers of the chapter) should attempt to address our own position thoroughly, in order to remove the transparency cloak and thereby make some of our class habitus and culturally capitalized power evident, not least when it comes to music genres and

cultural practices we may distance ourselves from for various normative unconscious reasons – in some cases, possibly occasioned by the socio-cultural mechanisms and dynamics of musical gentrification.

Often, however, a self-reflexive perspective is the most difficult to capture; that is, we may have trouble seeing our own position as situated in specific symbolic value systems. Still, this may be one of the problem areas where research *can* make a difference.

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